Some possible new directions for the political science discipline are presented. Within the context of current, formal undergraduate education, political science has two major functions: (1) to provide part of the required general social science education, and (2) to attract and prepare future recruits for the profession. These functions are referred to as "old uses." The discipline's most common career is teaching; therefore, political scientists as professionals are best at reproducing themselves. The premise for "new uses" is that, in addition to contributing to the general education of college graduates and preparation of more teachers of political science, the discipline could make a major contribution toward the preparation of professionals in the public service. Generally defined, the public service comprises that component of the world of work that is supported by public funds. The potential for "new uses" of political science lies in a conscious and determined effort within the discipline to create programs relevant to the preservice and inservice education and training of competent professionals for the public service. (Author/ND)
NEW USES FOR THE STUDY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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NEW USES FOR THE STUDY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

I Introduction

These pages will present some thoughts bearing on my own experience of over a decade as an academic administrator committed, from both personal belief and professional responsibility, to the goal of making formal education responsive and relevant to society. In spite of the increase of my professional responsibility over the years, my concern has been first and foremost that of a political scientist interested in making his own discipline and training relevant beyond present uses.

In spite of a personal feeling that American political science may have become somewhat "self-involved," it is unquestionable that the concerns of the discipline, the debates within it, and even some of its "fads" and "rhetoric" have attracted a large number of intelligent and capable individuals. The training provided in most graduate programs is both relevant and viable. The curriculum vitae of even the most recent products of graduate programs, the new recruits into our profession, attest to the fact that political science as a field of study is rich and diverse. Most graduates, not only at the Ph.D. level, but also at the M.A. level, come with the sound substantive knowledge required of a professional person, as well as the skills and desire to pursue more knowledge on their own or to adventure with confidence into a variety of uses for our discipline. Without such conviction I could hardly be in a position of exploring possibilities as well as encouraging "new" uses of political science.

Before I address myself specifically to the topic of our panel: New Uses of Political Science, we must examine, albeit briefly, the old or current uses of our discipline.

II The Old Uses of Political Science

Within the context of formal undergraduate education, the discipline of political science has had two major functions: 1) to provide part of the general education — in some cases referred to as liberal arts — required by colleges and universities of their graduates, and 2) to attract and prepare future recruits for the profession. In terms of general education, political scientists, in addition to offering the traditional American Government course, have contributed to social science courses offered at the freshman and sophomore years. It is also possible for undergraduate students to satisfy their general education requirements by taking specified political science courses. In most undergraduate courses the students are somewhat naturally divided between those who are taking the course because it is required and those who are taking it with certain career goals in mind.

In terms of professional training, students interested in political science are expected to register in a series of courses designed to give them a complete perspective of the various subfields and/or specializations of the discipline. Some differences in emphasis may exist from one school to another. One may
emphasize the behavioral aspects of the discipline, for example, another the institutional aspects, or another normative theory as against operational theory. On the whole, however, there is uniformity among the products of B.A. programs and perhaps even M.A. programs. In spite of the richness and diversity of the discipline, the number of basic works is limited.

To the best of my knowledge, there is no reliable data indicating on a national basis and over a period of time what happens career-wise to political science graduates at the B.A. level. That very few of these graduates are able to find a career directly related to and consistent with their major in college can be concluded from a study made in the mid nineteen sixties in New York State. Aimed at establishing the supply/demand relationship in the State, political science, as in the case of other liberal arts disciplines, turned out to be less than half of one percent of the total professional employment picture, and therefore it could not be treated separately.

This should be no surprise. As a liberal arts discipline--political science is found usually in colleges or divisions of liberal arts--too positive a correlation with career objectives would be a contradiction in terms.

Given this situation, the proper conclusion for the conscientious teacher is to maintain as many career options as possible for graduates. Fortunately, or unfortunately, a similar situation prevails for the graduates of most, if not all, liberal arts disciplines. In terms of a career in political science, enrolling in a graduate program seems to be the one logical course of action open to the products of undergraduate departments. The general outcome of such a choice is to postpone for a few years the reality of a labor market situation that seems unreceptive to the potential contribution of a person trained in the political science of the post-behavioral era. Alternatively, in the case of the more able and enduring students, it may lead to a teaching career in political science, beginning the cycle all over again. In fact, and it need not be construed as an indictment, political scientists as a profession are best at reproducing themselves.

III Premises for "New" Uses of Political Science

In addition to contributing to the general education of college graduates and to the preparation of more political scientists, or to be precise, of more teachers of political science, the discipline could make a major contribution towards the preparation of professionals in the public service. Generally defined, the public service comprises that component of the world of work that is supported by public funds. In theory the terms public service and public administration are substantially interchangeable. In fact, however, public administration both as a subfield of political science and as an independent field of study seems to have followed in the footsteps of the larger discipline: political science. Although efforts are being made towards the revision or, where necessary, the creation of public administration and public affairs curricula at the undergraduate level,
the resistance of a good part of the profession to the extension of the scope of our discipline to all levels of formal education has been a major obstacle.

A role for public administration in the preparation of students for careers has been found appropriate only at the managerial or executive level. The dream of directors of M.P.A. programs is that their graduates will become as accepted as M.B.A.'s and will be given the same kind of executive positions. Any attempt to become concerned with public service at lower levels has so far been frustrated by deep dissension within the professional ranks. The current efforts of the National Association of Schools of Public Administration and Public Affairs in this direction, conservative as they are, have met with disson and distrust from many of our colleagues.

The use of political science in preparing professionals for employment in the public service must be considered in the context of the changes in modern industrial societies, in terms of both the implications of the changes that have created the post-industrial society, and the changes taking place in the formal educational system.

A positive correlation seems to exist between the increase in the size of the service component of the G.N.P. and the expansion of the domain of the public sector. Year after year in the past decade the Manpower Report of the President has been indicating an expansion in the number of jobs in the public service. The basic statistical data does not need repetition, but its implications for formal education are not clear. As anyone who has been involved with manpower analysis and research in the last decade can easily attest, the direction of the new manpower situation resulting from the economic and technological change characteristic of the post-industrial era, can be identified only in trends. More jobs will open in the service sector of the economy, and more of these jobs will be the responsibility of some level of public authority. The areas of job expansion, though a conservative or liberal stance in public policy may intervene at least for the immediate future, are generally associated with human services, health, education, environmental control and the search for new sources of energy. In addition, existing public service functions and fields of employment such as law enforcement, corrections, social service and mental health, are undergoing significant change and redefinition. In some cases the profession today is quite different from its counterpart of twenty years ago and similarly, may hardly resemble the profession which will exist in twenty years time. Such is the case for example with the law enforcement component of criminal justice.

Unfortunately, even careful analysis of social change and manpower needs can hardly result in ready made formulae to be used in the education or reeducation of large categories of workers. But the nature of the problem as well as the nature of the necessary remedies can be seen from works such as the H.E.W. report: Work in America.

Though one may not fully agree with the conclusions of Daniel Bell's work The Coming of the Post-Industrial Society, the direction of his analysis of social trends is unquestionably provocative. Bell asserts that "the subordination of the economic function to the political order" constitutes the "decisive
social change taking place in our time." This assertion should certainly give encouragement to the graduate programs in public policy analysis emerging in various universities. Hopefully, those who identify with these programs, the goal is not simply to continue doing exactly what has been done under the aegis of political science, but more a desire to put the findings of political science to use, a "new" use, together with the findings of other disciplines in the analysis and evaluation of specific public policies and their implications.

Another clear thrust of the changing society that Daniel Bell calls to our attention is the widespread desire for professionalism in many fields of work. The increase in the number of professional organizations in the United States and the corresponding increase in the membership of existing organizations seem to support such an assertion. As Bell puts it in the case of professionalism:

"...the boundaries of definition are fluid and often indistinct, yet certain core elements are obvious. A profession is a learned (i.e., scholarly) activity, and thus involves formal training, but within a broad intellectual context. To be within the profession means to be certified, formally or informally, by one's peers or by some established body within the profession. And a profession embodies a norm of social responsiveness. This does not mean that professionals are more charitable or high-minded than their fellows, but that expectations about their conduct derive from an ethic of service which, as a norm, is prior to an ethic of self-interest. For all of these reasons, the idea of a profession implies an idea of competence and authority, technical and moral, and that the profession will assume an hieratic place in the society."

The aspiration to professionalism implies a search for formal training and education. It may be appropriate here to clarify the controversy over the terms training and education. An analysis of the arguments can only lead to the conclusion that the debate often involves problems of semantics. In spite of the obvious differences between the two terms, however, with education implying open-ended knowledge, and training well defined and specific routine knowledge, if one adds to the discussion the variable of the level at which education or training are taking place, it is obvious that there is much training in good education and much education in good training.

In the aspiration to professionalism, educators can and must respond sensibly by establishing programs based on the responsibilities of the persons and job categories involved. In our experience the process towards obtaining goals identified with professionalism is characterized by much give and take between those who aspire to professionalism on one side and the educators on the other.

Professionalism need not imply uniform activities and uniform educational standards for all individuals involved in a given activity. Training and education may very well take place at various levels of sophistication. For several years manpower studies have indicated that in many work categories there is a need for people with varying degrees of training and education below the highest
level. In science and engineering the term technician often identifies the intermediate levels. In the human and social sciences the term "paraprofessional" is more common. Both terms imply training and education that equip individuals with the requisite knowledge, skills, and attitudes to perform duties under supervision. In the case of law enforcement, for example, even routine duties require not only certain knowledge, skill, and attitudes, but also an ability to use discretion in situations with serious human implications.

Higher education, i.e., education beyond the high schools, is in a process of ferment and change in most industrialized societies. Quantitatively two facts have characterized this change in the United States since the 1960's: the increasing number of people seeking some form of higher education and the increasing number of institutions established to satisfy this demand. In some cases, of course, the demand was created by the ready availability of the opportunity to enter a college or university program.

The fall in the demographic curve and even the recent economic situation have hardly made the expected negative impact on the number of people being served by the many and diverse institutions of higher education, especially in the large urban areas of the country. The large influx of people into colleges and universities has been decried in some quarters as an inflationary situation leading to diminished value of the degrees and certificates issued. Such a fear belies certain assumptions about education that may be inconsistent with the needs of our changing society. A recent New York Times editorial based on the findings of a Harvard - M.I.T. study suggested that there is a "popular reassessment of the benefits that could be reasonably expected to flow from a student's considerable investment of time and money in higher education." The educational establishment is chided for making appeals based on "crass materialism -- actually promises of dollars quickly to be 'repaid' to those who went to college." In conclusion the editorial asserts that higher education should "play down the purely materialistic appeal, thus making the American campus safe for education and attractive to those who seek larger benefits."

The editorial implies the obvious fact that a profound change has taken place in the relationship between formal education and career opportunities, though it is hard to believe that at any time in this century people who sought a college degree did not have in mind some "crass" hope for economic rewards. The editorial, however, fails to point to the fact that higher education is no longer, if it ever was, a uniform and homogeneous reality for all those engaged in it. A major burden of the educational establishment is to educate the public to this new reality. Modern industrial societies, whether they are willing to admit it or not have been faced, especially since the end of the last war, with the ever increasing and ever more complicated phenomenon of mass higher education. It may be an indication of the conservatism inherent in higher education that very few people responsible for institutions of higher learning from legislators, to trustees, to administrators, to professors in the classroom,
or even to students, are willing to recognize this fact and act on its implications. To many, the ideal college or university still remains a peaceful institution where people meet to seek knowledge in a "dispassionate" manner as the spirit moves, or the last event of importance dictates. The ideal model both in terms of content and process is that of Socrates and his followers in the Athens of the Fourth Century B.C. But we forget that even Socrates attempted to teach all those who sought his company and were willing to sit at his feet.

In terms of the implications of the changes attendant in the post-industrial era, the formal educational system of the past may be outmoded in part because of its elitism. While it may pretend to serve the masses, it operates on the old premises of selection rather than imparting knowledge and skills to as many as possible. The structure of two, four and six year programs of study is more consistent with the time when formal higher education provided a way station between the ages of eighteen and twenty four rather than a service for more diverse groups of individuals at intermittent points in their productive and even retirement years.

Unappealing as the concept may sound, part of the function of higher education today is credentialing, i.e., offering proof that people have received a given education or training. It would be in the best interests of society and the educational establishment, if this function were taken seriously. The implications however are both numerous and extensive. For example, the length of the student's program at an institution should be consistent with the specific objectives to be achieved. Modern behavioral science can be of help in assessing different individual abilities and matching them with intermediate or ultimate goals. The method of delivery should also be related to objectives. The traditional classroom structure may have been rendered outmoded by modern technology. Finally, the faculty must have the expertise required by the objectives or must be able to both achieve and apply it to specific situations. The implications for innovation in instructional materials and curricula could be far reaching if the premises of educating as many as possible with the best available means were to replace the elitist premises of selection for its own sake. Clark Kerr's notion of the multiversity instead of the university has qualitative as well as quantitative implications. Last, but not least, an internal structure within each institution consistent with program objectives, independent of the departmental structure, could be more appropriate than the present structure where programs often become the exclusive property of discipline based departments.

IV. "New" Uses of Political Science

The potential for "new" uses of political science lies in a conscious and determined effort within the discipline to create programs relevant to the pre-service and in-service education and training of competent professionals for the public service. It is open to question whether such "new" uses will emerge alongside the current uses of the discipline in contributing to general education and in the training of more teachers as an integral part of an effort made by the
entire political science profession. It is possible that the "new" uses will emerge in spite of the leading organized professional groups. A contribution to career oriented programs, pre-service and in-service, requires fracturing the shell of our existing departments, and an honest assessment on the part of political science as well as other disciplines as to the kind of contribution each can make to a given program. The tendency to appropriate students and mold them to our own image must be replaced by an unselfish dedication to help prepare individuals to be competent professionals in a field other than our own. This would be the best test of the relevance of political science that has an important contribution to make. The present attempt by some institutions to prepare students for careers by adding "internship" or "coop" experiences to the major, is hardly a satisfactory answer. The number of students reached through these devices has been hardly significant.

If the purpose of political science, touse the dictionary definition, is to study the institutions, principles, organizations and methods of government—and let us not forget the study of behavior, which was not mentioned by the dictionary—then political scientists should have some role in the education and training of most, if not all, individuals in public service careers. Such training and education, however, must revolve around the institutions most relevant in the case of each group of professionals involved. One implication of this is that many of us must turn our attention to the much neglected institutions of state and local government; we must rescue the study of the institutions of state and local government from its present condition of boredom. Such a goal can be accomplished if the capable and intelligent people attracted to the profession can be persuaded to turn their attention to political institutions and processes close to the community. James Q. Wilson, one of our more respected colleagues, who made a considerable contribution to the study of police behavior and institutions, constantly reminds his readers of the hundreds of hours he has spent riding in squad cars and talking to policemen as part of his own personal training in the field of criminal justice. In our profession the study of institutions such as the police, departments of corrections and buildings, and of officials such as sheriffs, city, county and state comptrollers, and directors of personnel, to name just a few, should become as common as the monotonous studies of institutions of the federal government, or the government and political behavior of England, or voting behavior nationally and in Congress.

In-service education and training of public service personnel can hardly be relevant if the faculty member is not familiar with the institutions and laws that affect the professional life of the class on a day to day basis. The demand for professionalization, and therefore, for formal training and education, comes mostly from those who work at levels of government other than the federal. They constitute the largest component of the public service and their number is expected to increase. The police constitute the best example of what can happen when a group
of public servants seek professionalization through education. Over the last few years criminal justice programs have been emerging throughout the country. At first, in large cities, it was not uncommon to have policemen teach other policemen, although political scientists and other social scientists slowly found their way into the programs. The many millions of dollars made available through the Safe Street Act legislation helped greatly, but as LEEP funds are being curtailed, more institutions are developing criminal justice programs partly to accommodate the demand for further education coming from individuals who have completed programs in the community colleges.

The question of what political science can teach to people in the public service depends on the type and level of public officials involved. In the case of law enforcement, especially in large urban areas, political science can make some valuable contributions at various levels of the hierarchy from patrolmen to top level executives. At the line level, meaningful and relevant instruction can be provided in the institutions and processes of local government, police organization as an organizational model, basic principles of public law, especially as related to the criminal code of the state and relevant parts of the municipal code, and elements of administrative law, including some philosophical considerations on the use of discretion in the enforcement process. How would such instruction differ from instruction in traditional courses in local and state government, public law or administrative law? The basic difference, if there is one, lies in structuring the curriculum in such a manner that the institutions and problems most relevant to the audience involved become the point of departure for discussion which should eventually involve relevant general principles of law, or of government.

The involvement of educational institutions with public service agencies has had a "pyramid" effect. Eventually some graduates of short in-service programs or two-year institutions seek entrance into degree programs at both the graduate and undergraduate level. It is safe to assume that more would have done so if the in-service programs often offered on company time had been seen as more relevant and stimulating. But given the short experience with such non-traditional approaches to education, the record throughout the country is good, especially in terms of the number of students who were stimulated enough to seek further education of their own volition and during their own time.

As academic institutions and governmental agencies learn to work together, the opportunities for cooperation multiply. In our own experience such growth has extended to cooperation with every conceivable type of agency at all levels of government. Our recurrent problem is a lack of faculty qualified to meet the demands of the agencies involved. In many cases, especially at the more sophisticated level, courses and programs have been established with the help of guest
lecturers. In some areas, such as management and constitutional law, or urban politics, young faculty members have developed their own expertise to accommodate the constant demand for such courses from large agencies including the police department or the regional offices of H.E.W.

In spite of the rhetoric, adjunct appointments of qualified government personnel as instructors for a whole course or part of it or as team teachers have not been fully exploited. They would be ideal for breaking through the "cultural" shell that some government agencies have a tendency to develop. Given the tightness of the academic market one assumes that they should not be used as substitutes for the employment of regular faculty, but as an adjunct resource. In our experience, the most successful faculty and programs are those where the problem of credibility is reduced to a minimum by the obvious expertise of the faculty member, or, by the extent to which he or she is accepted by the student body.

In certain specialized fields the need has arisen to attract individuals out of public service into permanent teaching positions. In each case we have asked that the individuals return to graduate school if possible, or we have hired them after their own enrollment in a graduate program in contemplation of retirement. They have been encouraged to participate in activities associated with academic life; i.e., stay in contact with their field of expertise, join academic professional organizations, and hopefully contribute to their field through research and publication. Such a metamorphosis is not easily attained; in our experience it is a phenomenon quite independent of physical age and has to do with the basic attitude of the individual towards the profession he or she was associated with before teaching. Some of us had hoped that federal programs such as the Intergovernmental Personnel Act would help in creating a pool of government personnel available to colleges and universities with extensive programs in public service education, but I.P.A. has been a failure in terms of both funding and direction.

A word about the structure of the formal educational system is in order at this point. The work that several institutions throughout the country have been doing in the education for public service seems to transcend the two, four and six year structure of the system of higher education. In our field of political science we have colleagues who still claim that up until graduate school, college should not be concerned with "career" preparation but simply with liberal education. Without wanting to discuss the issue of liberal education versus career education, let me suggest that liberal education must also have a content and there is no reason why this content should not revolve around the institutions and processes typical of the agencies cooperating in our programs. In traditional political science, strictly speaking, even Introduction to Public Administration in most schools is not offered until the third or fourth year of college. Giving tradition the benefit of the doubt, we assume that such practice was based on the expectation that the student had to complete certain prerequisites and to have
the necessary previous exposure to benefit fully from the course. Or was it that the myth of training only the upper echelons had to be maintained? That the "mysteries of the profession" had to remain intact until the "masses" had been selected out? Hearing constantly from colleagues that their programs are exclusively for management level personnel seems to confirm this suspicion.

Non-management personnel must also know about organization and the institutions they serve. The formal structure of the delivery service of political science education is not ready for such reality. In fact, at the community college level where much of the work in educating individuals in "line" positions has been done, there has had to be much improvising both in terms of teaching staff and materials. Our experience in Chicago shows that the first phase of the experiment is over and that it has been successful. The structural problem, however, still remains and as a result the students may suffer. Some who have completed a two year program either on their own or in agency sponsored programs bring their credits to four year institutions to find that some courses will have to be repeated or that some of the work towards the major was done before the so-called prerequisites.

Communication among departments and schools at all levels is imperative if students are to be served properly. Fortunately, as a result of the changes that occurred in the late sixties the problem of prerequisites and required courses is no longer the serious problem of years past. Perhaps the difficulty of structure can be best overcome in arriving at a division of labor among the two year, four year, and master's degree programs in terms of the expected level of operation at which the student/employee is in or will enter. The community colleges, given their elasticity and past record, should be aiming at preparing newly recruited individuals in the public service, mainly individuals who are expected to operate at the line level under supervision. The community colleges are also most capable of offering short-term programs using the expertise of senior institutions or of graduate schools as necessary. Four year institutions should develop programs for mid-management personnel. They should also continue to serve those students who, through agency inducement and personal desire, wish to complete a traditional program of four years of study, although the program of study may not be totally relevant to career objectives. Finally, the graduate departments should conduct the programs aimed at individuals preparing for management positions. This may be best achieved through part-time programs which take longer than the common M.A. program of approximately three semesters of full-time work. In terms of career, it is more appropriate in some cases to have individuals seek an education after a period of exposure to the public service. They are often more realistic students, highly motivated, who contribute to a program almost as much as they receive from it. The longer period of residence of usually three to four years gives the student adequate time to assimilate the content of the courses. Of course, the traditional graduate full-time program leading to the Ph.D. and a teaching career should continue, though we may have too many institutions engaged in this function. A ten to twenty percent reduction could result in an
overall improvement in standards. In addition, graduate departments could perform important support services to departments and programs at the undergraduate level. They could conduct research and evaluation of undergraduate programs and provide in-service training opportunities for faculty.

At this point the issue of the D.P.A. (Doctorate of Public Administration) or similar doctoral degrees should be considered. I am not convinced that there is a massive need for such a degree at least in this decade. The ultimate teaching degree should remain the Ph.D. Teaching to be effective requires research, and yet research should be constantly turned to the advantage of teaching. The question of teaching or research is a question of emphasis, a question that the individual will have to pose himself upon entering his or her career as to whether he or she wants to join a department emphasizing one or the other.

With the M.A. and M.P.A. degree being somewhat clearly structured and somewhat uniformly defined in most institutions, some individuals who complete such degrees feel that they would like to continue but are not ready or willing to engage in a Ph.D. program. This is not infrequently the case with the M.P.A. graduates who, therefore, turn to law school and eventually become lawyers. Such cases constitute a change in career and not a progression in an existing direction. M.P.A. graduates who wish to continue by going to law school, can be advised perhaps of opportunities to take additional graduate courses emphasizing research methods. In career terms, these individuals aim not so much at skills identified with executive positions, but at skills involving planning and research. This is an area where graduate schools with M.P.A. degrees could develop 12 to 15 hour certificate programs oriented to the objective of imparting research and evaluation skills.

The structure of the institutions that employ most of us is a problem that can be transcended through the efforts of professional organizations. At national or regional meetings, for instance, panels should focus on education for public service with participants from all levels of the formal educational system sharing their experiences. Much research is also needed. We need to hear more in terms of who is doing what and the accomplishments of specific programs. This is another instance where there could be fruitful cooperation between graduate departments and undergraduate programs with the latter taking on the responsibility for instruction and the former assuming the responsibility for research and evaluation. Finally, the compartments of formal educational structure could and should be made less confining by permitting periodic movement up and down the various levels through exchange and temporary appointments.

V Conclusion

Perhaps the "new" uses of political science that have been advocated in these pages are not so new after all. As political scientists, do we want a role in
shaping the future of our changing society? The problem is one of will. Do we want to emerge from the comfortable life of our departments and cooperate with others to make a meaningful contribution to the preparation of professionals? Do we want to make this task a self-conscious effort within our profession with dedication for those we teach and respect for those who cooperate with us in the achievement of our goal?

At the beginning of this century in his famous essay on the study of Public Administration, W. Wilson advocated the study of administration, because among other things, he wanted the business of government to become less unbusiness like. His argument supposedly was based on historical development as well as idealistic aspirations for reforms in public life. That view today stands more as prophecy than a program for action. Today, we speak of professionalism in the public service. Such thrust is connected more with the socio-economic and technological changes that have affected industrialized countries than with idealistic hopes for reform. It is connected to the mounting costs of government services as well as the tremendous power that has accrued into the hands of the public service. The call for professionalization is a call for a guarantee of minimum standards. What civil service commissions were supposed to do through personnel selection and training has not been done. Instead, selection has been biased and exclusive. Collective bargaining has entered as a new force in providing the public servant with job security. Agency training has seldom addressed itself to the objective of professionalizing the employees. This is where the mission of education generally and of political science in particular lies. If it is approached with true professional spirit within our own fraternity and with a sense of total cooperation with the government agencies, political science can make a great contribution to the quality of public life in this third century of the existence of the nation.