

of lectures will be given as follows: "Disarmament and Security," by M. Nicholas Politis, formerly minister of foreign affairs in Greece and now minister to France; "The European Situation," Dr. A. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, professor of law at the University of Hamburg, a member of the German peace delegation to Paris in 1919, and present member of the commission for the arbitration of disputes arising out of the fulfillment of the Dawes plan; and "Chemistry in World Progress," Sir James Colquhoun Irvine, president of the University of St. Andrews. Special lectures will be given also by Sir Frederick Whyte, president of the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1920-25, and Dr. Umberto Pomilio, of Naples. The former will speak on the general political situation in the Orient and the latter on industrial materials and their uses. General conferences, open to all members of the Institute, have been arranged as follows: "A Survey of the International Situation in the Far East," Professor George H. Blakeslee, of Clark University; "Public Opinion in World Affairs," Mr. Arthur S. Draper, foreign editor of the *New York Herald-Tribune*; "The Future Rôle of Chemistry in World Affairs," Mr. Harrison E. Howe, Washington, D. C.; and "Mineral Resources in their Political Relations," Professor Charles K. Leith, University of Wisconsin. The round-table conferences, confined strictly to those members of the Institute who have been assigned to them, are: "Aspects of the World Economic Situation," Professor Moritz J. Bonn, University of Berlin; "The Future Rôle of Chemistry in World Affairs," Mr. Harrison E. Howe, Washington, D. C.; "International Problems Arising from the Diversity of Legal Systems," Mr. Arthur K. Kuhn, New York City; "Mineral Resources in their Political Relations," Mr. H. Foster Bain, New York City, Professor Charles K. Leith, University of Wisconsin, and Mr. Charles McDowell, Chicago; "The Chinese Republic and the Powers," Mr. Henry K. Norton, New York City; "Limitation of Armaments," Professor J. S. Reeves, University of Michigan; and "Inter-American Problems in the Foreign Policy of the United States," Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Pan American Union, Washington, D. C.

The Content of the Introductory Course in Political Science. Probably no more significant exposition can be made of the present state of political science than to note the divergence of opinion among its devotees with regard to the content of the introductory and fundamental course in the subject. Moreover, it is not the expectation or object of this paper to bring agreement where there is now disagreement. For a

time it seems rather likely that the present situation will become intensified as the quest for introductory material proceeds, a quest that many individuals, a number of special academic agencies seeking to produce desired citizen types, and higher institutions of learning generally are all pursuing with greater or less zeal.

In the past, the divergence in opinion among those responsible for offering introductory courses has been indicated chiefly with respect to the assortment and quantity of descriptive material to be used. Disagreement has been born of training and has been accentuated by the different aims or objectives which the introductory course was presumed to serve. Such adaptation seems to be logical within moderate limits, and if there is no body of material which may be generally accepted as fundamental there is hardly any limit to the variations in which curricula may indulge. Indeed, in this respect political scientists have been wise and logical, for as between bodies of descriptive material there is no good reason for denying the validity of any of it as a suitable point of beginning. Obviously, however, with given objectives and under given circumstances, some parts may be more advantageously used than others.

Thus it has come about that the demand for broad cultural training has been met in many instances by giving a general introductory survey of the political practice of the race during historical times, including some consideration of the major apologies or criticisms with respect to the various aspects thereof. The historical method serves to determine and describe the political phenomena of a given period or people and to provide a record of the process by which practice became rationalized. When this survey of political experience and reflection was complete, the student was deemed to have the background against which to project and evaluate current phenomena. Unfortunately, because of the limitations of time and method the conditioning factors which produced the formal political institutions or maintained them have rarely been dealt with. As a result, few if any of the students could acquire insight into the relation between causal factors and the political phenomena under scrutiny. In short, the introduction, if such it has been, has lacked dynamic quality and has had little or no vital relation to the life of the student.

One may observe also that this result has not been appreciably altered by a second type of introductory course which seeks to illumine the mind of the student through the comparative analysis of political practice in the chief contemporary states. It should be noted, however,

that there is some gain in the degree of interest stimulated by the sense of nearness in time and of seemingly practical values incident to familiarity with one's own age. But, on the whole, the material available for comparative study of formal political institutions is wanting in effectiveness, and the success of such a course is to a large extent dependent upon the vividness with which the instructor can present the material. Moon-like, it will dimly but gratifyingly reflect the glow of a radiant personality. Such a teacher is the only living force with which the student, unless he be unusually curious about the human scene, ever comes into contact. Of executive systems, legislative systems, administrative systems, legal systems, systems of local government, *et cetera*, as vehicles of life, he learns little and understands less. Usually he glimpses only the variations in color and leaves the course with the usual number of semester hours credit and the usual want of insight into the conditioning factors which produced the spectacle. Still, he is the gainer, if, in the presence of a body of political experience so rich and varied in character and so vast in extent, he becomes humble.

The search for the practical equipment needed by the citizen for the exhausting tasks of his day of omniscience has led the majority of colleges and universities to begin instruction in political science with a survey of American government and politics. Whether inducted into this field after a brief review of former rationalizations regarding major political phenomena, or by short cuts through the devious and tortuous pathway of American colonial polity, revolutionary fervor, and the *realpolitik* of constitution making, or by some combination of the two which first hurriedly brings him through the deserts of speculation to the border of his promised land and then temporarily plunges him back into the wilderness of American political origins—in any case he soon finds himself in the presence of the supreme law of the land and in the midst of the most luxuriant flora in the political world. Forty-nine major governments flourish in the American field and a bewildering complex of local governmental agencies. Without more ado, the beginner undertakes the conquest of their organization, powers, functions, administrative and legislative processes, foreign affairs, interstate relations, citizen rights and duties, political party organization, functions, and methods, and the chief political, social, and economic problems of American life. If he survives both the content and the methods of instruction he adopts one of four principal alternatives: he joins the army of vanishing voters; he joins the group of professional Fridays who stage the sham battles of American politics; he joins a hundred per cent American service club

and thanks God he is not as alien as his forefathers were; or he becomes a reformer, perhaps as futile as his predecessors. Now and then he may endure to the end, become a teacher of American government, perhaps even the author of a text to perpetuate his enlightenment among the throngs who are crowding into civic responsibility.

More recently has appeared the introductory approach through the statement of major problems of politics and the description and analysis of the chief solutions which have been worked out. The student is ushered into the presence of such dignified and diverse puzzles as the scope of governmental activity, the suspension of constitutional guarantees, pluralism vs. monism, the merit system, and public control of government, budgetary procedure and representative government, the regulation and control of commerce and industry, the judicial function, etc. Perhaps he has been assured by way of prelude that political science is under obligation to other sciences and makes use of their findings as a starting point. Some of these sciences, such as sociology and social psychology, are commonly deemed by curricular arrangement as undesirable for persons less mature in social experience than juniors and seniors. Thus the foundations for the understanding of government and politics are denied, and the formidable task of begetting insight and the interest in the political scene which almost invariably accompanies it is deferred until the majority have succumbed to the bewildering immensity and intricacy of the political problems indicated or view them as a stupid evil which every healthy mortal will do well to ignore. Some, more impressed with the dilemma presented in political society, will rejoice in the contacts established and come to the conclusion that such a course should be made compulsory. A minority decide to do major work in the field as a means of satisfying the requirements for a small amount of concentration before receiving the bachelor's degree. A few sense the importance of becoming familiar with the main trails in preparation for law or graduate work in the field. On the whole, there is freshness in the problem approach to political science, but chiefly because its newness has afforded temporary relief and change to an overworked, jaded, and disillusioned teaching personnel.

Is there a fundamental and dynamic approach to political science which offers emancipation from the worst evils we now endure and from the mental malpractice in which we now participate? No amount of rationalization will establish the validity of present practice, or of any practice that rests chiefly upon descriptive material, problem material, "practical methods," and the like. Normally the result will be a class of

student Babbitts, skilled crammers, immediate forgetters, creatures of rote, and unwitting pillars of some form of oligarchy. We are caught up in an immense and alleged educational machine, inundated with numbers who seek they know not what, a machine in which the administrative problem of providing sufficient and competent instruction has been shifted to overburdened teachers and overcrowded classrooms, and in which pedagogical devices, textbooks, and reports of various sorts are substituted for the indispensable contact of learner with learner and constitute the squirrel cage within which we keep in motion and cultivate the illusion of progress. From such a predicament there may be no rescue in sight. From the standpoint of organization and method there can be no relief so long as the teacher permits administration to saddle him with the problem of numbers. But in the widespread disagreement as to the nature and content of the introductory course there is evidence of healthy experiment and determined exploration.

There is one divergence from the introductory courses just described which is so fundamental in character and content and which involves such a marked reevaluation of objectives and methods that previously mentioned differences seem less significant in contrast. Especially is this the case because it seems possible to realize both the cultural and practical objectives of the introductory work more effectively than do any of the courses now generally in vogue. It is in the hope that the experience of one who has been exploring the possibilities of this newer approach may be helpful to others charged with the responsibility of introducing the student to political science that attention to it is invited, especially as it is not assumed that the content and method of the course have been more than tentatively worked out.

The introduction indicated deals with political control as one of the major factors in social control and traces and develops its genesis, nature, and technique. The findings of anthropology, social biology, psychology, sociology, and economics are reviewed, thus enabling a survey of political phenomena from the standpoint of causation as well as description. The historical method and the critique of law are employed and government is given genetic treatment. Its relations to and interrelations with other types of social control, e.g., the family, religion, education, etc., are indicated. The life of the student from infancy to the present day takes on new meaning. Interest becomes dynamic as the origins, motivations, techniques, and mechanisms of control by the group over the individual are unfolded, and as the desires, motivations, habit responses, and mechanisms of the individual to which appeal is made and through

which control is made effective pass in review. The human scene in its political aspects takes on new meaning as it becomes associated with the problem of one's own personality, a major and intriguing factor from each individual's point of view. All the groups to which the student belongs and all the controls to which he is subject become the objects of scrutiny and subjects for reflection, and the individual's relation to the functions of restraint, social and political integration, efficient regulative activity in behalf of the common welfare, and to the effort to attain equitable and harmonious adjustment among the conflicting egoisms of the multitude become apparent. Even national loyalty begins to take its logical place in the world relationship in which it properly belongs.

This reconstruction of approach with a view to explaining as well as describing political phenomena involves the development of new methods and techniques and the use of terminology and material heretofore unappropriated or ignored. The textbooks of today are valuable as works of reference, but afford no basis adequate for the task in hand. Moreover it is not possible to assume that the freshman or sophomore in political science has the background in biology, sociology, economics, and psychology necessary for the explanation and understanding of political life. Yet without such background the descriptive material and rationalizations of existing political systems now so generously placed before him can rarely have real cultural or civic significance. The mastery of them may be of some importance as discipline, or in a program of inculcation, or in the process of maturing the thousands of minds now in contact with higher education; but these processes may be, and all too frequently are, unrelated to the development of a sense of causal relationships in the field of political science. As a rule, the recipients of such training are as uninformed except in respect to the formal and routine aspects of government as before taking the courses given. Nor is it sufficient for teachers of political science to plead in mitigation of this situation the absence of background and preparation on the part of the students. Not only in behalf of those who will later specialize in the field, but for the quickening of all who come into contact with the subject, it becomes our business to organize the background as an integral part of the material of the course and to present it from whatever contributing sciences it may be drawn in such fashion as will best illumine and vitalize the particular field in which we labor.

To find content for such an introduction is not difficult, but it would be presumptuous to indicate more than a tentative selection. In my

judgment, there is no valid reason why an instructor might not work out such an introduction in connection with any part of the general domain of political science from which he can bring data with the greatest ease and assurance. This alone would serve to break up the regimentation of approach and secure the enthusiasms for introductory work which ordinarily accompany only the mastery and understanding of particular fields. But in this country it is more likely that general introductory courses will usually be worked out in connection with the political phenomena of American life, and occasionally with those of other contemporary governments. My experience has indicated that a semester devoted to background in the basic contributing fields is adequate to develop the criteria and technique for analyzing political controls, and the rest of a year course of six hours credit may well be spent in applying this basic knowledge to specific problems in the field under study, e.g., American government.

As one who has taught more than one introductory approach to political science, and who has achieved a relative measure of success in dealing with large bodies of students, I confess to being deeply aware of the mental malpractice to which I have subjected thousands of normal individuals through a stupid introduction to the subject. In so far as this paper suggests reconstruction, it is done humbly and in the hope that better ways may be devised. It is in no spirit of finality that I indicate the content of the introductory course with which I am now experimenting and which I find so fruitful and rewarding, but rather that the account here rendered may call forth further testimony and experiment on the part of others.

In the beginning, it is important to challenge the validity of the thought process and opinions of the student with respect to all social phenomena and to indicate how much of the political *credo* of the average man has no rational quality so far as his relation to it is concerned. Having initiated this iconoclastic attack upon the opinionated and prejudiced concepts and attitudes with which all students enter upon the study of social and political phenomena, a few days are spent in reviewing the findings of modern biology in regard to heredity, environment, the question of population, and the increasing significance of the science of eugenics, all factors having important political implications. The mimeograph readily enables a class to cover the essential facts, including the significant relation between biology and the basic sciences of chemistry and physics, within the time allotted. Occasionally an important current contribution is available to assist, such as the recent

article by Professor Conklin in the November *Scribner's*. The next step is to acquaint the student with the findings of psychology, especially objective psychology, in regard to bias and prejudice, the egoism of the crowd, the phenomena of response within the crowd, the significance of repressed complexes, the factors of wise thinking, habit response, and the importance of control terms and slogans, the presence of human motivation in social causation, the fallacies lurking within institutions as mental concepts—these and special contributions such as O'Higgins, "The American Mind in Action," are available as aids to a causal explanation of political behavior on the part both of the individual and of the group. Follow this with a survey of the folkways and *mores* as significant controls in the realm of public affairs and the political *credo* of the individual—an effective method of establishing the sociological basis of political science. When to this is added an introduction to the political practices of primitive people, the headmen and medicine men of today begin to show through the veneer with which they have been covered through usage and uncritical acceptance.

A class may then consider the economic controls in political behavior, using chapters from Keller's "Starting Points in Social Science" to indicate and explain the importance of economic conditions. The change in the character of the fundamental economic problem from that of overcoming constant deficit in production to that of securing proper distribution of surplus, and the political implications of that change, are suggested by Patten's "New Economic Basis of Civilization." Read in connection with one of the modern utopias, the effect is to project the imagination of the student into a future calling for the fruitful release of all the energies he may possess.

The remainder of the semester may be spent in considering the validity and importance of government as one of the controls of society, the chief one, and its relation to other obvious controls, those exercised by religion, the family, and education, to mention the most important. But none of these are now viewed with uncritical eye; they, too, have become the objects of inquiry, investigation, and reflection, and all the accepted modes of expressing control subject to challenge and appraisal. In entering upon the study of government, the student now brings to the task not only an understanding of its place in the field of science generally and the social sciences in particular, but a basic knowledge essential to insight as to the meaning and validity of its forms and functions and an attitude of mind that brooks no vapid generalizations in lieu of explanation based upon working hypotheses drawn from all

the contributing fields of knowledge. Government ceases to be the object of rote and becomes the vehicle through which life, the student's life, that of his family and of the groups with which he is associated, is expressed and its interests given force and made effective. His spirit is chastened and humbled as he realizes how little of reason and how much of emotion has entered into his thinking and how through obvious techniques the mechanism of his own personality has been available to exploit and control his behavior through illogical appeals.

From such an introduction, the teacher may launch into a second semester studying the phenomena of political life and organization in any one of a number of directions such as American national, state, or municipal government or other modern government. But the treatment can never be purely formal and descriptive—always it must reflect the government as an agency of social control operated or rendered inoperative by human forces, groups, and individuals seeking expression or struggling to realize objectives through the mechanisms of political society and the control of the mechanism of personality in others. The political aspects of the human scene and the techniques of political control are the objects of increasingly dynamic and discriminating interest.

No teacher of political science should imagine that such an introduction, with its accompanying release of energy and scrutiny of all present forms of political control, is free from its problems. Not so. Critical eyes are turned toward all the social controls to which the student is subject. Group regimentation through fraternities and sororities come, under review, family relations are examined in a new light, university and college regulations are brought under the microscope, athletic exploitation of the loyalties and *mores* of student life becomes visible, propaganda of all sorts, idealistic and otherwise, advertising appeals—all these aspects of the human scene and many more become areas of new understanding through ability to transfer his technique of inquiry, investigation, and reflection to bear upon different kinds of situations. In it all, the dominant attitude, if the teaching has been well done, is one of humble awareness and increasing dependence upon research and expertly formulated appraisals.

With such an introduction, the teacher of political science has at his command an immense laboratory comprising the controls of group and campus life as well as those of state and nation. The scientific method is shown to be available for the description and explanation of political phenomena. Certain hypotheses are already indicated, although

the nearness of the frontier is apparent to all. The quest for explanation becomes a passion stimulated by the realization that one's own most interesting self is deeply involved in the area of life under review. The contact of learner with teacher, also a learner rather than an oracle or a textbook, is one of the most stimulating experiences in academic life and need not be reserved for upperclassmen and graduates. Insight into the controls of government and politics is the essence of political science, and the acquisition of insight offers the only assurance that the average person can be sufficiently immune to illogical appeals, propaganda, and control to be considered a free man. Without free men in such a sense, the assumptions underlying popular government are invalid. The alternative, however disguised, is some modification of oligarchy—government of, by, and in the long run for, the few. An introduction to political science that is candid, objective, scientific, and explanatory might contribute much to the realization of the age-long dream of a great society of free men in a free state.

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