THE NONSENSE AND NON-SCIENCE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
A POLITICALLY INCORRECT VIEW OF 'POLY-T(R)IC(K)S'

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Abstract

The purpose of this short essay is to highlight the failures in contemporary Political Science by sketching a small model of what the discipline would look like if it were in fact a "discipline" driven by scientific questions and methods responsive to public benefit rather than to indoctrination and control. Rather than simply accept, on faith, the "expert" assurances of quality, or the subject labels or claims of "inclusiveness" and "representation", this essay offers some questions and alternatives that the educated public can use to hold the discipline to its mission and to assure that it is not simply serving itself and power.

"None of the social sciences can predict worth a damn.
It's not just in economics but in political science, in sociology.
We tried to make predictions, and they didn't work out.
That has created a kind of failure of nerve."
— Seymour Martin Lipset, a professor of political science and sociology at Stanford U.'s Hoover Institution (1985)[1]

Introduction:

A poll of American Ph.D. "political scientists" some 50 years ago found that two out of three "agreed" or "strongly agreed" that much of what was considered "scholarship" in their discipline was "superficial and trivial" and most discussion was "little more than hair splitting and jargon" (1964 study, cited in Ollmann, 2015, p. 1). It seems that little has changed today.

If you ask a contemporary Political Science Ph.D. today to define the basic research questions of the discipline, the definition of key terms that would constitute the building blocks of a discipline, and the benefits to humanity from such a discipline, they will likely look at you in bewilderment before spouting a stream of apologetic jargon that leaves you feeling like the discipline is stuck back in the time of Plato's *Republic* (380 B.C.E.) and Aristotle's *Poetics* (335-323 B.C.E.) combined only with mass survey data and computer printouts.

While Political Science teaches, in its subfields of Public Policy and Public Administration, the need for setting clear goals and objectives that are in the form of "missions" and "visions" to solve specific problems in ways that are measurable, publicly accountable and ethical (Barry, 1984; Brown and Moore, 2001; Bryson, 1988; Emmanuel, Merchant and Oatley, 1990), none of this applies today to the discipline, itself. That contradiction suggests either that the discipline itself is a fraud or (more likely), that it is another unaccountable, corrupt bureaucracy now desperately in need of reform.

In theories of accountability and public administration, professions devote themselves to technical excellence and work to enforce those standards of excellence on their members in order to maintain their

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reputations and their public support. The mechanisms of public funding, competition, and legal enforcement (prosecution and civil suits) work to maintain standards.

In the area of academia, where the work of the professions is that of advancing and disseminating knowledge, the standards follow the idea of "discipline" in which there are basic research questions and specific problems to be solved, measurable technical skills for solving the problems, measures for comparative success in teaching the skills and concepts, public and private benefits of application, and ethical concerns, the assumption is that these missions and measures are regularly reported and that there are also effective systems of feedback and accountability. The assumptions are that the public exerts direct accountability through the choices of students and what they study, through public funding decisions, and by private funding, and that academics in the discipline also agree to see their work as a "calling" with human advancement, public benefit, and intellectual progress as their sworn objectives.

For decades, however, it has appeared that these assumptions may be wrong, both for specific university disciplines like Political Science, and for the functioning of governments (and public and private markets). Whether the result of pressures of controlling military bureaucracies and/or other elites (Schrecker, 1986) or economic institutions (corporations) and other forms of economic power (Lindblom, 1977) or all of these, coordinating with each other (Mills, 1956), the idea of independent, professional, accountable academic disciplines may be a myth. Similarly, as Charles Lindblom, then President of the American Political Science Association, noted in 1981, the idea of government agencies and political parties working on behalf of public interest and the long-term human future rather than for their own individual or institutional benefit, or for the benefit of specific elites interests, may also be a false assumption, if not an agreed mythology (or ideology) of the political science profession (Lindblom, 1981).

Neither the exposure of the failures of accountability of academic disciplines, nor the failures of specific disciplines like Political Science, to challenge systematic biases and its own contradictions between what it teaches/preaches and what it does, itself, have led to any internal changes or any external oversight and/or pressure for change.

Rather than view Political Science as a "discipline" answering specific scientific questions about human group behaviors in the political sphere, for long-term human benefit, as a result of rigorous codes and public oversight, one might view the "discipline", instead as an example of an unaccountable bureaucracy, promoting the self-interest of its members, seeking status and funding in areas where it would have advantage (government management) in the service of and collusion with powerful actors in their sphere of interest (military powers, police powers, media, and other political elites) and as a bridge for other elites seeking political access and political power (economic elites) and helping them maintain power. This short-circuiting and corruption of institutions is among those areas studied by Political Scientists, particularly in their applied sub-disciplines (public administration) and in those systems that are disparaged as failures, but with assurance that the lens is rarely, if ever, turned back on Political Science or on the powers-that-be that they serve.

At a time when some of renegade Political Scientists have begun to break ranks and declare so-called "democracies" as in fact the very opposite of how they have been painted, and in-fact either oligarchies (Gilens and Page, 2014) or "inverted totalitarian regimes" (Wolin, 2003), it appears that it has been Political Science that has also been subverted and that was responsible for much of the "inverting". The actual role of Political Scientists today seems to have become the training of bureaucratic Kafkaesque functionaries (Kafka, 1922; Whyte, 1956) and the ("wannabee") political class for manufacturing consent (Chomsky and Hermann, 2002) and controlling the mass public and "deterring dissent" (Chomsky, 1977).

The purpose in this short essay is to highlight the failures in contemporary Political Science by sketching a small model of what the discipline would look like if it were in fact a "discipline" driven by scientific questions and methods responsive to public benefit rather than to indoctrination and control. Rather than simply accept, on faith, the "expert" assurances of quality, or the subject labels or claims of "inclusiveness" and "representation", this essay offers some questions and alternatives that the educated public can use to hold the discipline to its mission and to assure that it is not simply serving itself and power.

This essay will offer a short overview of what one finds in the institutions of Political Science today, a point by point analysis of its failures in meeting the requirements of an academic discipline (question, definitions, boundaries, methodologies; a discussion of the role/social function it would serve as a public benefit social science and the role it actually does seem to serve with comparisons to similar roles in major empires; and then some thoughts for the future[2].

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Problematic Roots and Recent Degeneration of the "Discipline":

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From its past until today, one way to easily recognize the confusion and failure of the discipline of Political Science is to see what isn't there; fundamental disciplinary questions and then use of the scientific method to provide answers and to raise new questions to build on what is confirmed.

At the basis of an academic discipline are a set of intellectual questions and at the basis of a social science discipline are the initial experiments that test hypotheses and seek to begin to build basic predictive models in answer to the original questions. Yet if one explores both the people and works of those whom Political Scientists herald as their "founders", along with the general documents today that describe the state of the discipline and seek to describe it to others, there is little to be found other than confusion. For these failures in the discipline to have existed this long and to this extent suggests that this confusion is in the discipline's design and is in the interests of those who control it.

The Lack of Actual Origins and Founding of the Discipline:

The history of established disciplines is usually to identify thinkers who began to pose the discipline's original questions and to then identify those who began to use the scientific method (testing hypotheses with experiment/data) in providing the first answers, as well as to indicate when specific questions were set in frameworks either within larger fields or next to those of other fields. The fact that Political Scientists cannot agree on these today is itself good evidence that no real discipline has yet to form and no real social science of Political Science has emerged.

European and North American Political Scientists originally identified the founders of the discipline as Plato (380 B.C.E.) given his writings and teachings defining a "Republic" and governing institutions and Aristotle (335 to 323 B.C.E.) for his writings and teachings on "politics". Both began to define the terms that political scientists still use (like "democracy") and some ideals of government, but beyond definitions and moral arguments they didn't clearly identify sets of disciplinary questions.

If these ethical principles and observations are considered early Political Science, it would then be difficult to exclude early religious and legal teachings like those of Moses (from nearly another millennium before the Greeks) or the writings and teaches of Confucius (564/480 to 484/400 B.C.E.) in China, on governance a century before the Greek philosophers. Although these are not included, the effort to accept some Asian origins of Political Science does allow the inclusion of Chanakya (4th Century B.C.E.).

Others say that Political Science really started with Machiavelli's work in 16th century Italy with his advice on ruling a principality, derived from his practicing experience (1513). But if Machiavelli's practical experience in maintaining power is considered "political science", then it would seem that the claims of military generals on their use of (military) power in international relations would also qualify as Political Science, such as that of Sun Tzu in China (5th Century B.C.E.).

Assuming these are really just the records of observers and practitioners and not the actual discipline of Politics, then the question is when the first experiments were conducted to test hypotheses about political behavior in order to predict specific phenomena. Here, there is also confusion and a failure to establish logical boundaries with other fields.

Where is the science and the first proof of hypothesis testing? In the United States, many departments start with the French government officials Tocqueville and Beaumont who travelled to the U.S. for comparative studies of different aspects of government and who tried to explain the differences (Tocqueville, 1835-40; Beaumont, 1835). What they did, however, was not hypothesis testing. It was

more like what the humanities and non-science of social anthropology does today in using journalistic methods to raise larger questions.

Perhaps closer to science is the work of Emile Durkheim (1893) and Max Weber (1947 [1925]) describing governmental and corporate bureaucracy and their form of organization in mass society. Indeed, the study of government bureaucracy and influences of corporate and economic power are now staple aspects of Political Science. Neither of these approaches, however, are considered Political Science, because they do not start with "government". So while they may have largely founded the contemporary Political Science sub-discipline of Political Economy, they are still viewed as "Sociologists".

Political Scientists also began in the mid-19th century to apply Charles Darwin's concept of evolution, from biology, to human systems, in an effort to provide what they called "scientific" explanations of political hierarchies, internal to societies and in their international relations in theories of "social Darwinism" (Morgan, 1877) and other explanations of "social evolution" (Marx, 1867). Morgan's work has now been abandoned but Marx's theories are still cited by segments of Political Science professors like the "New Political Science" (*sic*) adherents. Given that neither the work of Morgan or Marx has become the consensus basis for predictions in the discipline, neither would seem to qualify as the founding social science, though it is arguable that some of Marx's propositions were hypotheses of political change that have been shown valid through testing. Nevertheless, there seems to be little effort today to distinguish the proven theorems for prediction from theories that were more akin to ideological (or religious) assumptions about human nature that cannot be tested or that are not valid for predicting political phenomenon and that are used, instead, to try to change beliefs and promote policy.

If there is any primary statement of Political Science questions that is understood as the core of the discipline, perhaps it may be found in the title of Harold Lasswell's book, *Who Gets What, When, How*, but it did not appear until 1936.

This inability or unwillingness of the discipline to establish those aspects that meet the name of the discipline as "science" and those aspects that are just an humanities, continues. While there is a sub-field of "Political Theory" that one might assume would fill the role of the humanities aspects of the field, to question the direction of causality and on types of variables, to speculate on new theories and models that could then be scientifically tested and to offer thought experiments (in forms of utopian/dystopian models) and raise ethical and moral questions that could be tested in some way, the roles of science and humanities in the discipline remain in confusion.

The Lack of Boundaries and Clarity on the Placement of Political Science with Other Social Sciences and the Relation of its Scientific Theory to Technical Applied Sub-Fields

As a science, Political Science should logically fit alongside other social sciences with a clear division of questions and subject matter, and it should also have two clear levels of its own; one for science and one for technical applications of the science. It does not have either.

Fit within the Social Science

Along with a lack of clarity on basic questions and lack of commitment to the scientific method as the second missing essential founding block of the discipline, Political Science has also never clearly defined the boundaries of its study and its fit with other disciplines and social sciences. This has also been a source of confusion.

At its core, there does seem to be a basic logic of the sub-disciplines within Political Science that can be depicted diagrammatically. Most Political Sciences have roughly eight sub-areas: six of them thematic that can be depicted in three levels, and two of them functional areas serving the discipline (Political Theory and Methodology).

Figure 1 presents the six sub-areas in these three different levels.

- The central core area of the discipline is Comparative Politics. To establish itself as a discipline, Political Science has to at least list different kinds of political systems and compare them. A sub-area of this core is the study of the domestic system of the home country of the Political Scientist.
- At a more global level, different political systems interact with each other. The word that Political Scientists use is "International" Relations rather than the real term, which should be "Political System" relations.
- At a micro level are the specific institutions of government and politics. In most systems, there are executive agencies to administer funds and to use force, legislative agencies to arbitrate funding and oversight, and judicial agencies to handle disputes. Though there are three areas, most current Political Science scholars only recognize the executive agencies, calling the field Public Administration. Of course, there are also other political actors influencing or educating the public and government, but they are not studied separately as institutions.
- The field of Political Economy is essentially an enlargement or an addition to the field of Comparative Politics, adding economic institutions and their interrelationships with government and political actors. Modern corporate forms both influence and are regulated by governments and are part of the expanded concept of Comparative Politics.
- Public Policy is an output of government and part of the activity of politics but it touches on every sphere: health, environment, resources, food, clothing, and shelter. It is not directly a subject of Political Science but rather of these other fields, with a governance dimension.

Although the sub-fields of Political Science do have this internal logic, the confusion occurs in the relation of the studies to the general social science study of human behavior. Figure 2 presents the problem in the form of a chart.

When the social sciences began to emerge as separate disciplines in the 19th century, they began to divide their areas of study on the basis of areas of analysis. The first segregation of levels was relatively easy. Humans exist in groups and behavior can be studied at the group level, and they have individual behaviors that can be studied at the individual level. Psychology generally studies behavior at the individual level, including individual behaviors of individual humans within groups. The other main social sciences study behavior at the level of groups. There is not yet a clear linkage between these two levels of study. Figure 2 depicts the two levels.

At the level of groups, we recognize human behavior in a number of levels of groups, from family units to communities to humanity as a species. The social sciences have generally been ordered in ways that recognize two cohesive and long-standing units, of "culture" (ethnic-language groups in particular geographic environmental niches) and of complex "society" (multiple cultures together in the form of large political and social units of empires or nation-states. The two disciplines that study these two levels are Sociology (the level of society) and Anthropology (the level of human cultures, from the evolution of primates and differentiation of humans to historical human groups to modern ethnic and language groups and then clusters of cultures). The upper boundary of anthropology has been a bit blurred with sociology since complex societies are cultures of cultures and also may be considered "cultures", so there is bit of a blurring in "social anthropology".

Within the level of culture at all levels are three recognized groupings of human institutions and functions that became the other three basic social sciences: Economics (for economic functions and systems), Political Science for political functions and systems, and Sociology (for social functions like education and care, and smaller units like the family, community, and other age groups and networks). This hierarchy is shown in the upper left side of Figure 2.

The problem is that Political Science has not clearly meshed within this framework and that is why the discipline, depicted in Figure 1, is shown in Figure 2 in three possible places that essentially overlap.

By the logic of the social sciences, Political Science should focus on the functions and institutions of Politics and government at the level of culture, both in individual cultures (and across the scope of cultures from primates to historical cultures to contemporary cultures) and in the "cultures" of complex

societies. As a social science, it would integrate its perspectives by working at these different levels of culture.

Yet, for reasons that seem to be purely ideological (and perhaps religiously motivated, in order to avoid recognizing evolution and the connection of humans to nature), Political Science has chosen not to fit itself within the level of human cultures, evolution of humans (and the politics of primates), or most of human history. It has avoided the study of "Intercultural Relations" of political systems and political determinants and organization of cultures and has substituted only relations of the European, colonially imposed "nation states" and the colonial governing systems of nation states at the level of "nation states". That is what is clearly implied by the sub-discipline of "International Relations". The implication of the structure of the entire discipline is that it is defined by a political mission to further nation states rather than to study the actual science of politics and government. "Comparative Politics" is essentially the study of "Comparative Nation-State Colonial and Post-Colonial Systems" and "Public Administration" is essentially the study of "Colonial Government Administration" rather than of the actual scope of human political action and governance at all levels.

The actual boundaries that Political Science has set in relation to fields like anthropology and sociology, seems to be for these political ideological reasons rather than for disciplinary ones, described in the following sections. The sub-disciplines of "Political Sociology" and "Political Anthropology" reflect the distortions created by the inability of Political Science to actually fit itself as a social science within social sciences. The result is not only a confusion within these two other disciplines that has also fragmented study into specific types of systems and specific times, and thus destroyed the ability of any of them to actually produce a coherent science that works across all cases (the basic requirement of a science) but has also made it impossible for them to come together to build a social science of politics and government.

At the same time, apparently in the effort to control political behaviors within the context of the nation-state, at the micro-levels, Political Science has also broken the barrier between the levels of analysis of human behaviors, at the group level and at the individual level, largely defining itself within these restricted frameworks of levels of analysis (1961) with disputes on the levels mostly within this framework, and has become a second discipline of Psychology in the area of seeking to predict and control individual behaviors for applications of political hegemony.

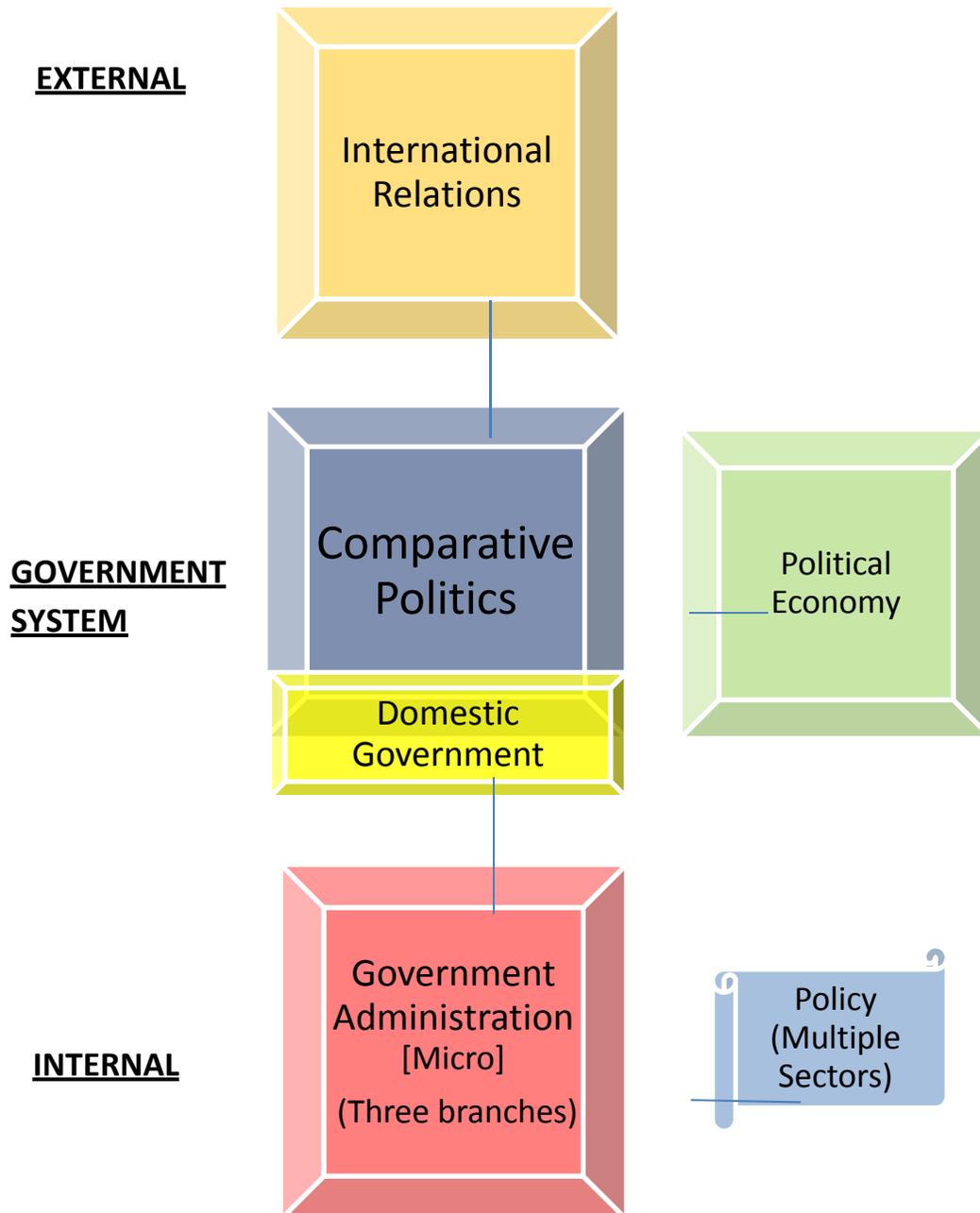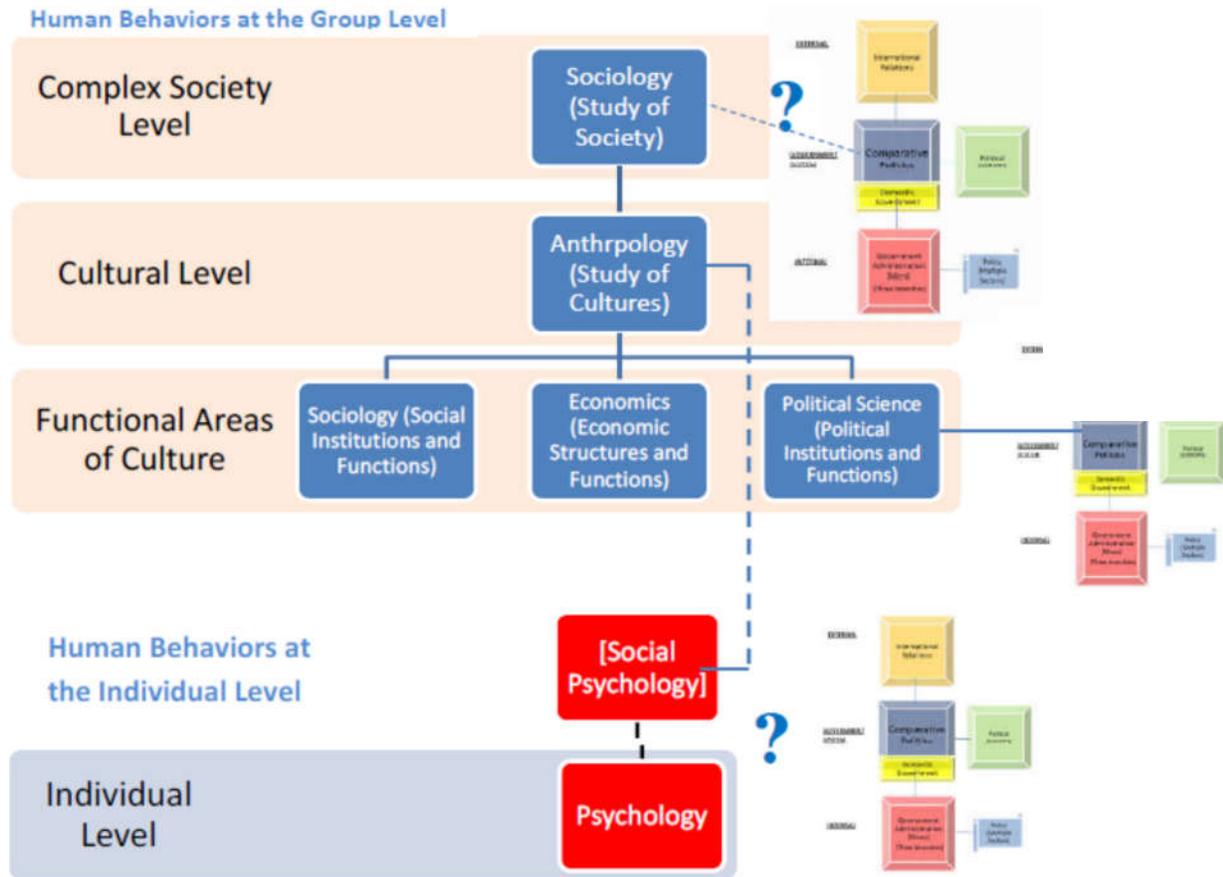**Figure 1**. Logical Organization of Political Science (Subjects for Research)

EXTERNAL

International
Relations

GOVERNMENT
SYSTEM

Comparative
Politics

Political
Economy

Domestic
Government

INTERNAL

Government
Administration
[Micro]

(Three branches)

Policy
(Multiple
Sectors)

Figure 2. Fit of Political Science into the Framework of the Social Sciences

Disciplinary Hierarchy of Theory and Application

Were Political Science to fit into the framework of a humanistic social science, it would also have a clear hierarchy between pure science and technical (technological) applications of that science as well as a clear set of ethical principles assuring the humanitarian oversight and use of the technologies to assure human well-being and advancement. In fact, there are aspects of Political Science that are predictive and scientific and there are existing disciplines that apply the predictions of Political Science as "technologies" (essentially a form of "social engineering"). The problem is that there is no systematic recognition of these relationships and there is very little humanistic ethical and legal oversight to assure that the technologies are used to promote humanitarian goals rather than elite goals of exploitation and control.

Table 1 systematically presents both the existing and possible technological fields of "Applied Political Science" in direct relationship to the existing sub-fields of Political Science, described above. It is unclear if Political Science as a discipline and Political Scientists are consciously aware of this structure as a whole, though parts of it are clearly recognized, such as the teaching of "Diplomacy" as an adjunct of the "science" of International Relations.

The left column of the chart presents the sub-fields of Political Science, including those implicit but not explicitly recognized fields like Legislative Administration, Judicial Administration, and "Inter-cultural Relations" (as a subset of "International" Relations). Next to it is the technical application field. Some of these are already recognized and named, like Diplomacy, but others do not exist as specific "disciplines" even though they may be recognized as professional categories (such as "Democracy Building" and "Good Governance" in the area of "International Development" interventions).

Since there is currently no clear ethical oversight or public or legal oversight of these disciplines and they have emerged freely, the second and third columns of the table are designed to suggest both the humanitarian uses of these technologies (and specific kinds of professionals who do or could apply them) and the short-term, self-interested or political elite controlling objectives of these technologies.

The final column recognizes the professionals who perform administrative roles related to these technologies and who may also be trained in them at a lower level.

What Table 1 reveals is not only the large number of applied technologies that actually rely on Political Science as a science, to drive the development of applications (some nine categories, including the mixed category area of "Policy" but not including the non-science subfield of Political Theory, that can promote the science of Political Science and that has applications, but is not really a technology). It also reveals how many of these areas cannot find science in Political Science and have begun to seek it from other social sciences or new "disciplines". The role of Political Science in Human Rights, in Peace Studies, in International Development, in Judicial Administration and Legislative Administration, is ambiguous. Civic Education/Political socialization and social control are now in sociology. Jurisprudence (the Science of Law/Law and Social Science) is almost non-existent. All of this represents a confusion and failure in Political Science.

Table 1. Idealized View of Political Science as a Science with Technical Applications, Noting Ethical Obligations and Risk of the Technologies

Sub-Fields in Political Science Departments (Missing areas in Italics)	Technical/Applied Field		Administrative Functionary Category
	Positive Humanitarian Long-Term Interest	*Negative Short-Term Self-Interest*	
Comparative Politics (At the system level)	Political System Engineering ("Democracy and (Good) Governance")		
	Overseas		Project Administrators
	Building Democracy, Autonomy, Sustainability, Human Rights (Progress): Humanitarian statesman/women	Global Harmonization: Neo-colonial administration/ Globalization;	
Domestic (e.g. "American") Politics and Law (An Example of a Domestic system, over time)	*Domestic*		Civic Educators
	Political Reformers, Public Advocates and Watchdogs	Pundits/ Propagandists	
International Relations (At the global level, between nation-state systems and also, potentially, internally between cultures)	Diplomacy (Foreign Service, Foreign Affairs)		
	Diplomacy		
	Diplomacy (Peacemakers/ Negotiators); Heritage protection and education	Diplomacy (Praetors for Control/ Assimilation and Espionage for Regime Change)	Translators, Case workers,
	International Development and Human Rights		
	Human Rights Lawyers building constitutions and rule of law systems for cultural and individual rights	"Rightswash" missionaries (rights propaganda) and Distortions promoting single rights categories while forcing assimilation	NGO Functionaries for short-term benefits
	Sustainable development, cultural protections	Colonial development of markets, exploitation of resources and labor, harmonization	Project Administrators
	National Defense		
	Civil Defense and Civilian Military Oversight/ Balance of Powers	Military Strategy and Imperialism (Generals)	Soldiers

Public Administration Theory/ Administrative Science/ Bureaucracy (micro level, institutional theory of executive institutions)	Public Management (Executive)		Line Bureaucrats
	Public and NGO Management (Social Entrepreneurs and watchdogs); Government/Public Regulators of Business and State Powers	Shadow governments and deep structures for "networks"/ "nomenklatura" of the political class	Line Bureaucrats
[Jurisprudence/ Legal Science/ Court Administration (micro level theory of judicial institutions)]	*Judicial Administration/ Management*		Lawyers/Judges; Paralegals/Court Administration; Police; Prison Management; Social Workers
	Justice System Builders and Reformers; Re-Education and Reform; Mediators; Conciliators;	*Corporate and Government Lawyers and Prosecutors*	Lawyers/Judges; Paralegals/Court Administration; Police; Prison Management; Social Workers
[Legislative Science (micro-level institutional theory of legislative institutions]	*Legislative Administration/ Management*		Public relations and communications
	Legislative and Constitutional Drafters;	*Corporate lobbyists*	Public relations and communications
Public Policy (applied, sectoral level)	[Mixed Disciplinary Areas of "X"-Policy or "Public X", e.g., Environmental Policy, Public Health)		
	Public Advocates	Specific industry Lobbyists; Public relations specialists	-
Political Economy (system level extended to additional institutions)	Public-Private Sector Managers		
	Heads of co-operatives, unions, socially responsible finance	Corporatism through "Public-Private Partnerships"	Middle Management
Political Theory (Humanities corollary of Political Science) [not a science field with applications]	[Science fiction writers]	[Pundits and public relations specialists]	Journalists, editors

Table 2 attempts to summarize these failures with some quick commentary for each category. In the views of this author, only one of the nine categories could be said to have some basic science (Political Economy). None of the categories appear to have any real scientific basis for applications. Work continues but appears to be driven by ideology or by established techniques that are established practices without any science behind them. Many of them today are described more as "crafts" ("statecraft") or "arts" (diplomacy) or driven by tradition or ethics (law, rights) rather than by science. Others appear to have developed a scientific basis for the technical based on measured experience of what has worked (e.g., military tactics) but without being driven by any science or "natural laws" of politics and government systems.

Table 2. Assessment of Political Science as a Science with Technical Applications

Sub-Fields in Political Science Departments (Missing areas in Italics)	*Technical/Applied Field*	*Assessment of Role of Political Science in Establishing the Science for Technical Application in Humanitarian-Legal Interest*
Comparative Politics (At the system level)	Political System Engineering ("Democracy and (Good) Governance")	Little science and little humanistic application.
	Overseas	
Domestic (e.g. "American") Politics and Law (An Example of a Domestic system, over time)	*Domestic*	
International Relations (At the global level, between nation-state systems and, potentially, also internally between cultures)	Diplomacy (Foreign Service, Foreign Affairs)	
	Diplomacy	Technical application has little scientific basis to draw on.
	International Development and Human Rights	Technical application has little scientific basis to draw on and is co-opted by economics.
	National Defense	Technology has no scientific basis to draw on.
Public Administration Theory/ Administrative Science/ Bureaucracy (micro level, institutional theory of executive institutions)	Public Management (Executive)	The Technical application exists but with little real science behind it
[Jurisprudence/ Legal Science/ Court Administration (micro level theory of judicial institutions)]	*Judicial Administration/ Management*	Little basic science and little application
[Legislative Science (micro-level institutional theory of legislative institutions]	*Legislative Administration/ Management*	Little basic science and little application
Public Policy (applied, sectoral level)	[Mixed Disciplinary Areas of "X"-Policy or "Public X", e.g., Environmental Policy, Public Health)	[Not relevant]
Political Economy (system level extended to additional institutions)	Public-Private Sector Managers	Some basic science but little application
Political Theory (Humanities corollary of Political Science) [not a science field with applications)	-	No current scientific application

The Lack of Statements of Goals of the Discipline Today

Even if the traditional development of Political Science as a discipline may have come out of non-scientific beliefs (e.g., religious principles of a "good society"), the discipline could be moving towards a science if it were orienting itself towards finding answers to specific questions using empirical methods, without relying on pre-determined assumptions. A quick review of the strategic plans and self-descriptions of the discipline by political science associations and academic departments, however, shows that there is no recognition of a scientific basis nor even the standard requirement to fulfill a public "mission" and to address specific problems that are the basic requirements for all public organizations, as the discipline itself teaches as the standard required for others.

Although the American Political Science Association (APSA) does have a "strategic plan" (2017), there is not a single mention of the actual academic mission of the organization! There is no list of research questions to answer, no mention of public benefits, and no priorities. The "plan" is to develop the form of the profession, with additional work, in specific subject areas and tasks, but without any substance. Indeed, one might describe the current APSA four year plan as no different from the five year plans of academics in the Soviet Union, that were based only on published pages and numbers of students taught government approved doctrines.

A quick search of two Political Science department websites for their mission statements shows the exact same fault. In a Google search, the listings are sparse. It may be, in fact, that Political Science departments no longer have or recognize missions and the concept of discipline. The reality is that few Political Science departments come up in the search because few even claim to present any mission or purpose beyond keeping their faculty employed and funneling students into classes and either further study or the job market.

The website for Harvard's Government department offers a good example of the lack of any connection with disciplinary goals at all (Harvard Government department, 2017). The department describes its "excellent resources" and "dedication to excellence" in "the study of politics" and lists some areas of work but without any mission or purpose other than noting it is an "extremely flexible concentration", apparently bending to whatever pressures and demands are placed on it but without any self-direction. It is designed to "serve you well in whatever endeavor you choose". Graduate students are told that they will have "an opportunity to define and explore your own questions about politics and government". Apparently the department no longer recognizes a framework of questions and a mission of the discipline other than being constituency driven.

The department that comes up first in a serch of those that do have mission statements is that of Miami University of Ohio, whose web page bears the key title, "Political Science Mission and Goals" (2017). Nevertheless, the statement describes neither a mission nor a goal. Not a single research question is mentioned. Not a single public benefit is defined. The statement simply describes the department's topics ("the study of politics and government" with no further definition), its subject areas, and titles of courses. In place of describing the skills it teaches and its applications, the statement simply claims that it works to "prepare" students "for their futures" of further study or specific positions, without describing what they will do or for what purpose. The statement praises the faculty for "awards" but without describing what problems they solved or contributions they made.

The second university department that comes up in the search is that of Spelman College, which is an historically black institution and that one might expect would focus on specific value to African-Americans in understanding African and African-American political systems as well as issues of specific concern to political minorities. The department's statement is titled "Political Science Goals and Objectives" (Spelman College, 2017) and one might expect it to list the questions and skills of the discipline with specific additional emphasis on political science questions of concern to African-Americans and Africans. This website does provide an attempt at specifics on "Goals" and "Objectives", but it simply draws them from the "requirements for an excellent department as outlined by the American Political Science Association", meaning that they also appear as empty form with zero content in the way of actual research questions, scientific methods, and skills. The "goal of the political science department"

is stated only as "to transmit the knowledge of the discipline" without describing what that knowledge is or how it can be used, if at all. There are six objectives that are described as what "students should be able to do" "upon completion of the courses", but they comprise an empty list with form but no content: "demonstrate an understanding of the concepts and principles of political science", "apply the knowledge of the discipline", "organize ideas and focus them effectively", "demonstrate an outstanding (sic) of verbal and written communicative, analytical and critical thinking skills", "recognize their personal value systems" and "provide content for integrating skills for teacher preparation". The statement is entirely boilerplate and applicable to any discipline, with only one or two words specific to Political Science, and apparently not even proofread. Along with the statement from Miami University, this one suggests that Political Science is in fact a joke.

This is not to say that there are no scientific questions and no science in Political Science. If one goes beyond these statements and opens up course syllabi or course descriptions in university catalogues, one can start to find a few of the key scientific questions of the discipline that it seeks to answer, and some answers. The problem is that the profession and its departments are not, today, oriented to organizing their work around actual research missions for applications with social benefit, and apparently no one is able to hold them accountable.

The Result of This Confusion, Visible in the Work of Political Scientists, Today

The test of what is happening in Political Science is to be found in major journals in the field, where one should be able to survey the key questions that are being asked and the progress that has been made after some 2,500 years, or perhaps the past nearly 200 years of the discipline. If Political Science is functioning correctly as a discipline, its work should be steadily building upwards with each generation building upon the discoveries of the previous one and applying the basic science with new technologies. Scientists (it may have been Isaac Newton), describe themselves as each contributing a small amount to this ongoing endeavor, likening it to "standing on the shoulders of giants". In sampling three journals in Political Science to try to answer this question – the *American Political Science Review* (*APSR*) of the APSA, the journal of *New Political Science* (*NPS*) that sees itself as an innovative counter to the discipline and an attempt to invigorate it with alternative approaches, and the applied journal of *Foreign Affairs* – it appears that either Political Science has stood still for its history with little or no progress or that what may have been discovered in the past is now being systematically erased by "current debates" so that it is lost and forgotten. There may be some elements of both.

An examination of the February 2017 issue of the *APSR* suggests that Political Science today has become a self-parody. The questions that are asked seem trivial attempts to prove what seems to be long-known or common sense. Definitions that should have been settled 2,000 years ago are being reopened in ways that seem to assure paralysis. Focus seems to be on very specific cases on very narrow concerns that have little applicability outside of one political system (generally the U.S.) and that have built-in assumptions and ideology. The research also seems to be in the area of individual psychology and workings of specific institutions rather than at the level of society or culture that would characterize a social science.

The major article on theory, for example, "A Problem-Based Approach to Democratic Theory", states simply in its abstract that "Over the last few decades, democratic theory has grown dramatically in its power and sophistication … But these debates are increasingly unproductive" because they focus on "elections" or "deliberation". The author here believes he has something new to say to solve the problem, by asking the politically and ideologically loaded question, "What kinds of problems does a political system need to solve to count as 'democratic'? … it should empower inclusions, form collective agendas and wills, and have capacities to make collective decisions." Indeed, one could argue that oligarchy, corporatism/fascism, and benevolent monarchy all fit this definition. One wonders what Political Science must be teaching to lead to this and whether Plato and Aristotle are rolling over in their graves. The obvious principle that most non-political scientists could answer immediately is that democracy requires a "balance of power" at the level of communities and individuals, and this is the principle one finds discussed in the U.S. 250 years ago in creating a "federal" system to balance ethnic community interests

along with a system of individual rights. So, why is Political Science intent on destroying its definitions and concepts and starting all over with politicized definitions to undermine discipline?

Another article, "Moving beyond Elections to Improve Well Being", also belabors the obvious and also apparently seeks to rewrite centuries of recognized political concepts. Its statement that "competitive elections alone" do not assure specific improvements, restates what has been known for hundreds of years about the importance of public oversight of government, of legal checks and enforcement, and of civil society. The data here comes from Brazil. Is Political Science now simply defined by the need to include data from different countries, with no focus at all on questions? This seems to be what is happening in the social sciences today in the era of "political correctness" and "neo-liberalism".

The ideological biases of the discipline in favor of promoting nation-states and specific institutions like political parties to ensure the continuation of neo-colonial control also come across clearly in article titles and abstracts. An article on "State Development, Parity and International Conflict" suggests that the underlying ideology of the discipline is to promote "state maturation" and globalization rather than to question the legitimacy of the nation-state, itself. Similarly, rather than increasing mechanisms of public oversight and control, the subjective bias is for "Making Parties more Deliberative", a concept that is now appearing in the *APSR* but that is actually taken from the mantra of one-Party states as ways of justifying their monopoly on power (!).

Articles like "How Public Opinion Shapes Religious Beliefs" and "The Incumbency Curse" arguably belong in psychology journals rather than in Political Science.

While *New Political Science* opens up hopes for replacing ideology and non-science with objective, humanistic, science, it is as if *NPS* is a reverse negative of *APSR* that offers an opposing set of undefined ideological or theological buzz words in a perverse co-dependency. Indeed, a blind reviewer of this essay and a member of the New Political Science group even asked that I refrain from critiquing *New Political Science* for engaging only in politics but not the science of political science, claiming that the group had no intent to do social science but only to offer a political ideology to counter and to be "critical of" the existing political ideology, with neither group interested in doing social science. This lack of any social scientific grounding is visible in its articles. An article in the February 2017 issue asks, "What if this is not capitalism anymore but something worse?" as if the agencies of inequality are not human action following certain describable laws of social behavior but "isms" that appear like incurable diseases. Eliminating the idea of human agency and identifying a labeled "devil" is a return to primitive beliefs and anti-science. Perhaps that is what is "New" Political Science today. One might ask the authors and editors, "What if *NPS* is not intellectualism anymore but something worse, like symbolism and regressivism, recidivism, and just another form of neo-colonialism and globalism?" These theological "isms" like "capitalism" continue to be used as explanatory variables (both dependent and independent (!)) even though no one actually agrees on the definitions and they do not seem to exist in a pure or measurable form given that human systems have always had mixes of public and private incentives and mixed management forms (Lindblom, 1977).

Typically, the articles in *NPS* are either purely ideological, like the one above, or simply representational advocacy for particular groups rather than any attempt at science. In the same issue is another article that "builds upon post-pluralist and post-Marxist insights to outline the advocacy system's 'politics of affirmation' … using recent antigay legislation." The article concludes with political advocacy designed "to destabilize neoliberalism's hegemony", targeting yet another ideology as the disease to be eradicated, rather than focus on human agency. Political scientists today seem reduced only to labeling in place of predicting.

Another example in the same issue of *NPS* that seems to be in the issue only as a form of representation of women, is entitled "The Colonized Vagina" and it concludes with this sentence in its abstract as the "conclusion" of this scientific research study. "Contemporary feminists, I conclude, should claim their 'right to return,' in this case to the vagina as home and place of belonging on the fluid borderlands between the hymen and uterus, as a step towards ending sexism." If there is any actual social science in this piece, this author cannot find it. The assumption of this author is that if there is a "colonized vagina", the human agent doing the colonizing must be a "colonizing Penis". Probably it

would take a rocket scientist and undoubtedly a female one, to describe whether and how a male feminist should claim the "right to return" to "the vagina as home and place of belonging." Both as a feminist and as a beneficiary of feminism, and especially as a supporter of such views, I am personally embarrassed to see such scholarship masquerading as "political science".

Foreign Affairs describes itself as "the leading forum for serious discussion of American foreign policy and global affairs" since 1922. Among its articles in its March 21, 2017 issue were those on "How Trump Should Manage Afghanistan" (apparently, the magazine seems him as its new owner) and on "The Fight for Mosul: Why It's Taking Longer than Expected" (meaning that Political Science predicted that it could and should be taken with a quick fight, but apparently failed again to consider actual behavior of human beings.

What these journals suggest is that Political Science today is actually a discipline in a two-dimensional "Flatland" (Abbott, 1884) where it is unable to build anything because it currently undermines the most basic fundamentals of a discipline; starting with a definition of terms and then the methodology of hypothesis testing using empirical data on objectively measurable phenomena. It appears that the goal of the discipline is to either undermine attempts at predictions or comparisons (particularly in areas that might lead to human betterment and transformation, like rights protections and power balancing) or to promote science on very limited questions that strengthen existing institutions and hierarchies. The discipline seems to be working to undermine itself and to prevent advances.

Contemporary Trivial Pursuits: The "Current Debates": The Replacement of Science with Ideology:

A recent critique of Political Science suggested that the discipline itself was somehow "governed" (though not explaining how) by five myths:

1) That it studies politics
2) That it is scientific;
3) That it is possible to study politics separated off from economics, sociology, psychology and history;
4) That the state … is politically neutral [and] available … to whatever group wins the election; and
5) That [it] advances the causes of democracy." (Ollmann, 2015).

The first three parts of the critique are essentially those challenging the discipline as not meeting the requirements of a social science in terms of its questions, its methods, and its boundaries. The last two critiques are essentially those challenging its neutrality and ethics, seeing it as driven by ideology and elite interests.

Where Ollman and other critics have fallen short is in outlining what Political Science would look like as a social science, what questions it would ask, what variables and methods it would use, and what ethical goals and procedures would regulate its applications.

Table 3 is a rough initial attempt to model what a humanitarian, objectively, scientifically based Political Science might look like and how it compares to a generalized (though perhaps slightly caricatured) depiction of Political Science today. The table takes contemporary subjects in Political Science and suggests the research questions it should pursue, the methodological approaches it should take and types of variables it should use, as well as how it might be applied, compared to current Political Science that appears to be driven, in whatever countries it appears, to serve existing political power and elite control by limiting and narrowing questions and methods or by distorting them.

The Failure of Political Science as a Science

If Political Science were a "science", it would ideally need to meet the definition of science and use scientific methods, assuring: "a systematic study of the structure and behavior of the physical and natural world through observation and experiment."(https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/us/science). Though I use a simple dictionary definition here that works across the social sciences, this is one that has its roots in the philosophy of science and uses the elements that political theorists, themselves, recognize

for scientific testing; that of positivism, elaborated by Ludwig Wittgenstein (Temelni, 2015) and falsification, of Karl Popper (1983 [1956-57]). If political science were a social science, it would use the scientific method of hypothesis testing and comparisons rather than simply offer case studies, posited models with specific assumptions about behavior that have no empirical basis or about systems that do not come specifically from observation ("rational actor" models, "behavioral models"). It would offer empirical observations at the level of cultures and societies with links to the natural world, rather than behavioral questionnaires and other measures only of subjective beliefs and transmitted ideology. It would offer objective definitions rather than those based on ideological views ("isms") (Domar, 1988).

Not only do political scientists study the concepts of science in their discussions of political theory and political philosophy and not only do leaders in the field, like Lindblom, periodically offer critiques, but the approach favored by this author for how to "do" social scientific Political Science has been promoted in political science methodology texts like one by several leaders in the field (King, Keohane, and Verba, 1994). Yet, "knowing" and having the tools are one thing and "acting" is another. Political scientists are ready to discuss and critique, but they prefer this pedantry to actually "doing" social science and building the discipline.

The Failure of Questions

Table 3 lays out the fundamental questions for prediction in Political Science that are the major questions specific to the sub-fields; questions on the predicting of revolution, genocides, war, discrimination, equality, and sustainability, and then narrower sub-questions that fit into an overall framework. Some of these have been the staple of Political Science and one can find them scattered throughout the literature, but often they are just marginalized inquiries of single political scientists and a small group of colleagues without being the driving questions of an overall framework (e.g., the study of "political violence", Gurr, 1970).

In place of this fundamental agenda and important global questions, the discipline has largely substituted narrow and trivial questions to serve specific interest groups rather than humanity, such as predicting election results rather than predicting larger questions of collapse and system change or "progress", predicting specific policy outcomes by small groups of individuals, predicting the ability to spread certain controlling ideologies, or predicting short-term "stability" for corporate investment or colonial hegemony.

The Failure of Methods

Along with the narrowing of questions is the restriction on methods. Like the discipline of Economics, Political Science methodologies have often begun with ideological or theoretical assumptions about human behavior (short-term individual "utility"/benefit maximization, rational pursuit of interest), about causality, and about proof. Although the discipline is set at the level of human groups (cultures and societies) in order to uncover the logic of choices at the group level, Political Science has largely refused to start with empirical study of cultures and societies and has moved instead to individual psychological behaviors in institutions (behavioralism, taken from psychology; game theory models from psychology; rational choice and "utility" models from economics) and to study of nation-states and institutions of the nation state system that are already placed in an established global framework constraining their choices and actions. These frameworks make it impossible to study cultural and system evolution or "irrationality" since there is already a religious assumption that all choices are made at the individual level and not influenced by larger social objectives, biological constraints (and human "failings", irrationality, emotions and self-destructiveness). The assumptions on causality are largely those of the Catholic Church, in opposition to principles of social and cultural evolution that have been recognized in the past two centuries since Darwin (1871). The assumption is that nature and environment and biology are irrelevant and that all choices of political systems and policies are independent free choices with nothing other than outside human constraints[3]. The assumptions are that contemporary institutions are the

highest form of human development, that they are benign, that they promote human long-term survival and interests, and that they will choose the "best" long-term outcomes.

The constraint on methods has not only been set by a religious ideology about human behavior and by political ideologies about who Political Science, itself, serves, in its own institutional short-term interests of aligning itself with the existing structure of power and resources, but also with an ideology of measurement. Political Science has restricted its data to contemporary reporting, contemporary surveys, and contemporary definitions, as well as small controlled experiments. By avoiding more historical data, more definitions of political units (cultures and historic empires[4], rather than just nation-states), and thought experiments, it restricts itself to micro-behavior, posited models and case studies.

If any "prediction" is being done in political science today, it is limited to predicting elections or political choices, largely using models of "interests" and "utility" with data that is drawn only from either public polls or "expert opinions". Among the leading examples today is the work of Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, whose focus is limited to leadership selection and who now largely works for clients like the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, other government agencies and businesses (Bueno de Mesquita, 2002; Sniedovich, 2012).

The author challenged a number of political science colleagues to see if they could identify work that they considered "predictive" and "science" in Political Science. All said that they could. They dispute the conclusions in Table 3 below that the work of political scientists does not meet the definition of science. Yet, though they offered work from different sub-fields of Political Science, it all had the same flaw of the work of Bueno de Mesquita. It offered guesswork of some future event in a limited time frame and context of current events or that was actually outside of the framework of "political" questions, looking instead at psychological behaviors or project management. None were larger questions about humanity and political systems, their rise and fall and ability to change. They were limited to the same kind of short-term electoral or policy choices or choices among leaders. They are predicting minutiae and largely for the purposes of political control, such as predicting "terrorist attacks" and local crime (Schrodt and Brackle, 2013).

The work of EGAP (Evidence in Governance and Politics, 2017) is simple project intervention using funds and marketing to change specific attitudes and behaviors. What they are doing is marketing studies and project evaluation, rather than asking fundamental questions of the discipline of political science to predict war, genocides, system changes, and types of systems that arise in given conditions. EGAP's work on public awareness "campaigns" is simple another part of a portfolio of standard international interventions like the "anti-poverty" projects that they also manage. The project on their website for "making voters more informed about their politicians" is simply a public education activity that they are measuring, though they describe it as "vigorous evidence" and "empirical research in the social sciences" (EGAP, 2017). Political scientists today, however, seem unable to see the difference between measuring political (or propagandistic) advertising and its impacts and asking scientific questions about politics.

The Failure of Definitions and Variables

By restricting its assumptions to religious views of human choice and to beliefs about what constitutes "government" and "political systems" (only those contemporary systems within the global nation-state framework), Political Science also assures that its variables, definitions, and cases are all tautological. Eliminating all natural variables as potential independent variables to describe human behaviors means that the only remaining variables are subjective, human defined, value-laden terms. Studies like those of animals and how they respond and organize themselves in response to social density or to other environmental changes and restrictions as ways to explain group behaviors are immediately eliminated from the discipline (Calhoun, 1962). What is left are "isms" like "capitalism", "socialism", and "fascism" that are mostly used ideologically to distinguish between the position of the political scientist defending his/her society and its empire or trade networks, and its opposition. Most of the "proofs" of the discipline use variables that are multi-colinear (essentially measuring the same system and values but using different words) to essentially reach conclusions like "our system promotes growth", "our system promotes peace", "our enemy systems promote war", and "our enemy systems are not

progressive or humane"[5]. "Our system is better because votes show that people want it" rather than, "People vote for our system because of these mechanisms of control".

When these approaches lead to absurdities, such as "People are rational actors, therefore if they do not vote it is because either they are completely satisfied or the costs of voting are high, therefore we must lower the costs of voting", they are backed by suppression of other variables and assumptions such as "If people do not vote, it is because they know that voting makes no difference and it makes no sense even with almost zero cost to spend time on something that has no impact on their lives and just legitimizes elite control". Rather than add more variables and open up the assumptions to testing, the response seems to be to then measure types of systems that will increase voting (e.g., mandatory voting, electoral campaign fear tactics, more propaganda and pressure, changed school curriculum) that implicitly borrow from the models of totalitarian, one-party systems, rather than that move towards actually measures of power balances and political control or mechanisms of social and political change.

The Failure of Units of Analysis and Boundaries

The existing divisions between what Political Sciences studies, the variables and methods it uses, and the data it uses, and the study of political phenomena and institutions in other social science disciplines like Anthropology (in Political Anthropology) and Sociology (in Political Sociology) works to assure the disintegration and stagnation of the discipline as a social science.

- *Political Anthropology and its Wall with Political Science* – The current division between Political Science and the sub-field of Political Anthropology within Anthropology essentially poisons the study of political phenomena in both disciplines.

Were Political Science to recognize its connection to the four fields of Anthropology, including primate behaviors, the archaeological record of human cultures and political systems, and the current expression of politics at all levels within all contemporary societies and cultures in the holism of culture and complex society, Political Science would exist as part of a scientific continuum rather than an isolated self-legitimizing study of colonial and post-colonial nation-states in the single global system. It would have a large and diverse data set of human phenomena, several new sets of models to study failures and change of political systems in cultural and social context, unlimited types of variables and data to test, and openness to alternative modeling of causality, logic and levels of behavior. But it has chosen to avoid all of these.

Primates have politics and humans are primates so there are already basic models of politics to use to understand the actual logic and systems of behaviors, rather than to start with religious assumptions (Van der Waal, 1982).

Similarly, on major questions like those of predicting war and peace, collapse, genocide, inter-ethnic relations, and equity, there are also anthropological models[6]. The discipline started with holistic views of systems in their ecological and human niches and then examined how individual cultures adapted. This is a potentially richer approach than the standard methodological approach in Political Science of assuming that all countries and political systems are the same and that one or two variables can be extracted for "cross national" regression analyses to "prove" the impact of a single, supposedly "independent" variable somehow induced and imposed entirely apart from its cultural context. The relevance of the anthropological approach is analogous to the approach of cell biology and animal testing in studying immunology and medicine. The approach of Political Science today is like trying to understand disease without cell biology (Feierbend and Rosalind, 1966). Even when Political Scientists may be asking an important scientific question, the data and methods (level of analysis) assure a dead end. That means that the question will not be answered.

The right question to ask here, though, is, if Political Anthropology offers the frameworks, data and integrated approach to asking these larger questions, why hasn't it effectively competed with Political Science and replaced it? In this author's view, the answer is that the same forces that have corrupted and

distorted Political Science, disintegrating holism, eliminating science, narrowing questions, and forcing the discipline to serve elite interests and ideologies (like globalization, and "exceptionalism" of major powers) as well as religious assumptions of causality, have also prevented Political Anthropology from continuing as a social science and fulfilling its humanistic role.

Political Anthropology has been cut up to assure that it is a dead discipline.

- At the level of Social Anthropology, Political Anthropology has copied Political Science in no longer examining political systems at the level of culture and focusing on globalization. It has eliminated scientific testing and prediction. It has reversed causality to accept the religious view of human choice. Its focus is on rituals of politics and power and on how minorities can assimilate themselves more quickly into the global system in order to destroy their cultural differences. It calls for group advocacy but no applications. It presents theory and philosophies of "power" and "voices of oppression" without measures. Indeed, one of the scholars who bridged the two fields and may have opened the door to current crossovers, James C. Scott, a political scientist using ethnographic methods, brought the models of social networks to study hierarchies of power as a potential new tool to understand micro-level exchanges, but still without much in the way of predictions or comparisons at the level of culture or society (Scott, 1976).

- At the level of Archaeology, Political Anthropology has become story telling of the "evolution" of political systems in a straight line from tribes to chieftaincies to modern empires in ways that mostly justify globalization as the highest form of development. It has developed its own jargon that is unintelligible to Political Science and to Social Anthropology and that assures its insularity. Rather than speak of political systems and measure power balances, it defines "polities" and "state" and kin networks. Rather than measure Empire or rights, it justifies globalization by looking for historic examples of "trade" and even fitting slavery into "systems of trade" with slaves as goods to be traded, rather than as part of a human record of empire, hegemony, and genocide.

- At the level of Physical Anthropology (Human Evolution), Political Anthropologists ask questions about war, violence, and alliances that are at the heart of politics, but they do not seek to explain contemporary human behaviors. Instead, they engage in religious arguments about "human nature".

- *Political Sociology and its Wall with Political Science* – While Sociology at the level of mass society offers the variables for Political Science to use to understand the holistic deep structures of contemporary societies[7], Sociology today seems more concerned simply with the homogenization of groups into the nation-state structure rather than with scientific predictions or humanistic solutions.

The promise of Sociology is that its ability to segment society for study on the basis of variables like ethnicity, profession and institution, caste and class, offers sets of variables for measuring political power balances, networks, and control in ways that are predictive at the level of society. Given that Political Science chose to work at the level of societies/nation-states, sociological variables offered at least a broader spectrum of measurable variables to use for political questions. Within Political Science, Barrington Moore (1966), brought these social variables into modeling of political regimes as did sociologists in their studies of "aristocracy and caste" (Baltzell, 1964) and power elites (Mills, 1956), more than fifty years ago. Studies of political movements and violence also used demographic and economic variables. These models were admittedly limited in that they still accepted the same approach to causality as Political Science, in which they did not explain the origins of differences, only the relationships between segmentation and political power. They partly changed the causal arrow to suggest that society and economics could influence government/politics and vice versa, though without explaining exactly where human action could change these. Political Sociology also continued to reintroduce the larger questions of Political Science into debates with Political Science, such as determinants of revolution, wars, and inequality, and the ethical questions of Political Science. It is possible that the basis

for the Political Sociologist's concerns for ethics and equity issues may have reflected the ethnic and gender compositions of the two disciplines, with Sociology presenting the concerns of minorities and women, as opposed to the more establishment-based discipline of Political Science.

oday, however, Political Sociology appears to be little different from what one finds in New Political Science; interest group advocacy and strategies for homogenization based on economic and survey data, identity politics, and ideological, anti-scientific reasoning with non-predictive "explanations" using "isms" like "Marxism", "capitalism", and "socialism". Along with it are approaches to "Criminology" to support punitive forms of control rather than to expose them and to advocate for humanistic reforms, as in the past.

Conflicts of Interests and Ideological Distortions of Political Science

Fifty years ago, the Sociologist Daniel Bell wrote a short article examining some ten different theoretical models that Political Scientists were using to try to explain the differences between the Soviet Union's political system and that of the United States, that he provocatively titled, "Ten Theories in Search of Reality" (1969). Rather than start with reality and try to see what predictions and explanations it could yield, the goal of much of Political Science has been to start with a political position and then to create what looks like "science" and "evidence" in order to proselytize it. Both the political pressures and the funding of Political Science, wherever it develops, seem to be to assure that the "science" offers justification for those in power behind a veneer of "science" that the public cannot challenge.

In the United States, during the Cold War and beyond, the goal of Comparative Politics was to demonize the Soviet Union, China, and other empires while promoting the American Empire. Today, it is to promote its "exceptionalism", in a position above international law and morality. The goal of International Relations was to study foreign systems to understand how they could be transformed or manipulated for corporate commercial and strategic military interests and to shift focus in support of whatever system promoted those interests, including support for the Nazis before World War II (Oren, 2002). The goal of American Government was to confirm the U.S. political system as "democratic" and "progressive" while that of Political Economy was to proselytize the superiority of the American political economy and to bless the growth of corporate power and corporate hierarchies.

It is easy to reveal the many myths that Political Science promoted in its teachings and research to maintain the status quo and to suppress aspirations for participatory democracy and more effective citizen oversight of public and private institutions in ways that reflect actual balances of power and legal principles of accountability, transparency, sustainability and human rights.

The standard teaching of American politics, however, almost entirely excludes the historical political systems of the Native Americans in the past and today, the cultural influences of Native Americans on the U.S. system (including federalism and caucuses) (Johansen, 1998) and the environmental influences on these systems. It mostly excludes the ethnic political differences of European colonial territories and the corporate political systems and religious political systems brought by Europeans. It almost entirely excludes the workings of political power within modern corporations and institutions, within the military, within the national security state and within police forces. It mostly excludes the power of political networks and of international power and networks and kin relations. It mostly excludes the workings of assassination and paramilitaries and organized crime in political power.

The study of the U.S. political system is mostly a myth, focusing only on formal rules that are not followed and institutions on paper. There is no empirical study of power balances and actual measures of political power and influence and how they work, the workings of propaganda, control or fear. What is left is a mythology of formal structures.

"Democracy" is redefined in terms of the formal structures and voting, rather than in terms of actual measures of power, rights, balances and influences.

Indeed, the teaching of Political Science in the United States, is almost exactly parallel to the teaching in one-Party states that also teach their populations that they are "independent", "sovereign", "democracies" of "the people", teaching the formal written Constitutional documents to claim the

existence of citizen rights and powers as a diversion from reality. Rather than allow direct study of reality, "evidence" is limited to the documents and data that existing powers write and control.

The teaching of "law" and "legal systems" is similarly confined in almost all countries to the written law and to studies of what judges SAY about what they are doing as justifications, with little real study of how the system works. It is little different from the Church scholarship of centuries ago.

To understand how the discipline is being manipulated today, once can look directly at its funding sources and how recipients of funds claim that they are doing "science" in the public interest without pressure. This statement of funding from an article that sounds innocuous, on simple "coding" of "political event data" is itself written in a kind of code that almost sounds like self-parody. "This research was supported in part by contracts from the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency under the Integrated Crisis Early Warning System (ICEWS) program (Prime Contract #FA8650-07-C-7749: Lockheed-Martin Advance Technology Laboratories) as well as grants from the National Science Foundation (SES-0096086, SES-0455158, SES-0527564, SES-1004414) and by a Fulbright-Hays Research Fellowship … The results and findings in no way represent the views of Lockheed-Martin, the Department of Defense, DARPA, or NSF" (Schrodt and Brackle, 2013). Would any reader, taught to analyze views based on "interests" and "following the money" believe that work could not be influenced in some way by such funding? One might joke that "the results and findings in no way represent the views of the funders, but the questions asked and the ideology of the work certainly led to its selection." Recipients of such funds cannot deny that they need to sell their work in ways that require self-censorship and subservience to interest of the funders. If funding is driven by militaries rather than directly by citizens, can the discipline really claim to have an humanitarian and public agenda?

While Political Science today is different in many countries from what it was some fifty years ago, because of the inclusion of different representational groups in the discipline as well as in political positions, the fundamental approaches of the discipline have not changed. The stories of additional groups have simply been added to the mix of voices without change in the methodologies or of the purpose of the discipline in protecting the existing system.

There is still no real public oversight of the discipline and no enforceable ethics code to assure that its work meets public needs and evidences a professional, scientific standard rather than an ideological standard influenced by elites[8].

Applied Political Science, in the form of Public Policy, continues to either provide solutions for control and manipulation used by elites to maintain electoral and political power or to manipulate foreign governments for gain, or to address public needs with the same "solutions" that are reproduced over and over again but never implemented because the focus is never on public mobilization to assure progress.

Much of Political Science has degenerated into journalistic reporting on foreign systems, on public views, on political movements, and on domestic political actors to serve the needs of those with power to protect their interests by manipulating those actors.

Discussion: The Social Role of Political Science:

What Table 3 really shows is that there are two fundamentally opposing views of what Political Science as a discipline could and should be: one as a predictive social science providing solutions for public benefit and progress as defined by professional standards and international rights treaties and laws, and one as a process of political indoctrination and control that serves the existing structure of power and seeks to maintain it with predictions on very narrow questions of marketing political ideas and controlling some minor current events that may be random noise against the background of longer, fundamental concerns and underlying political and governmental concerns that are no longer the focus of political scientists. Although Political Science claims that it is the first vision, following scientific principles and the public interest, it appears in fact to be much closer today to the second. The problem is that both of these functions may be "legitimate" institutional functions in complex societies at different times, but the blurring and merging of these roles undermines both.

A complex, industrial society relies on social science in order to maintain flexibility and to protect the use of its resources. Without science and technology to preserve and protect human systems, it is always at risk of collapse, war and conquest, or disintegration. If Political Science is not serving this role, then it is easy to argue that the risks of these events are high.

Meanwhile, all societies rely on some form of unifying "religion" and rituals to maintain a sense of identity and cohesion as well as to reinforce important fundamental beliefs for the society. In the past, religious education and indoctrination served that role. Today, that role is apparently being continued by university disciplines and by political actors, essentially acting in conducting a state religion and its rituals. If Political Science and other university disciplines were appropriately fulfilling the role of protecting opportunity, equality, efficiency, flexibility, choice based on evidence and reason, professional ethic, and progress, they would be serving as watchdogs and the ethical and moral conscience of the system in order to protect it. If Political Science and other university disciplines are partly serving in this role today only to promote and serve power and stagnation, in destruction of actual social science and in place of religious institutions, then they have gone well beyond the role of promoting cohesion and have been corrupted and co-opted.

What seems to have happened today is that Political Scientists have traded in their professionalism and ethics simply to serve their own institutional and individual interests for advancement and proximity to the political power they study rather than to the science, public, and ethic that they are supposed to serve.

Table 3: Comparison of Idealized Political Science as a Social Science with Humanistic Applications to the Current Approach of the Discipline, by Existing and Logical (Missing) Sub-Fields

Sub-Fields in Political Science Departments	*What Political "Science" Would Do*	*What It Does or Seems to Do and the Problem*
Comparative Politics (At the system level)	<u>Predict</u>: What political systems form in different environments (distribution and mechanisms/functions including control), processes of change and influences, what is possible to change. <u>Approach</u>: Seek hard variables (natural and physical measures like demographics, environment) linked to power and influence, with models of the "deep structure" of systems. <u>Applications</u>: Democracy Building and Good Governance: Promote human goals of sustainability, social progress. Restore and revitalize traditional mechanisms.	<u>Predict</u>: No fundamental predictions; only those of micro-level changes of specific leaders and policies <u>Approach</u>: Labeling, reporting, and promotion of ideological rankings to promote propaganda about the benefits of the systems in which political scientists work and to demonize others as well as to collect information on them for political control and influence. <u>Applications</u>: Harmonization of weak systems into hegemonic blocks with information used by business and (colonial) governments for facilitating relations in manipulating foreign governments.
Domestic (e.g. "American") Politics and Law (An Example of a Domestic system, over time)	<u>Predict</u>: [Same as above, applied to U.S.] <u>Approach</u>: Full history and applications starting with Native systems, genocide, empire <u>Applications</u>: Transform empire to sustainable rights based global partner with an internal democratic system fulfilling its stated principles and international law	<u>Predict</u>: Predict elections and policy outcomes <u>Approach</u>: Present only the formal institutional systems not the deep structures in ways that describe all changes as "progress" and that regurgitate the history of elites. Promote elites and status quo with only incremental efficiency and interest group changes as the Panglossian "best of all possible worlds" (Voltaire, 1759) while discrediting other change. <u>Applications</u>: Electoral and NGO mobilization for political control.

International Relations (At the global level, between nation-state systems and, potentially, also internally between cultures)	<u>Predict</u>: Find the determinants of War and Peace, Genocide, Political conflict/violence; Empires and Disintegration; and Alliances, Global Distribution and Mechanisms <u>Approach</u>: Use all units of analysis (cultures and groups, not only nation states) <u>Applications</u>: Peacemaking, Global human rights protections (cultural and individual rights), sustainable development, civil defense and civilian military oversight.	<u>Predict</u>: Predict autonomy and justice movements in order to suppress them and co-opt them. <u>Approach</u>: Assume only one acceptable unit (nation states), one linear path of progress to ensure homogenization and hierarchy in favor of major powers and assume a preference for control and assimilation rather than diversity with negotiated conflicts. <u>Applications</u>: Information for business and military to create weakness and instability to allow for exploitation. Promote corporate elite interests and profits of military and industry. Proselytize interventions and disruptions as "security", "democracy", "assistance" and "development". Promote trade blocks and globalization to promote corporate elites.
Public Administration Theory/ Administrative Science/ Bureaucracy (micro level, institutional theory of executive institutions)	<u>Predict</u>: Predict root causes and mechanisms of system failure at the micro/institutional level (imbalance of interests) and of success (efficiency, accountability, sustainability, rights realization), within the context of what is possible for a given political system in a given environment, and factors of change and repair. <u>Approach</u>: Map all interests, powers, motivations of stakeholder individuals and groups in relation to mechanisms and all types of causality and logic. <u>Applications</u>: Public and NGO Management (Social entrepreneurs and watchdogs).	<u>Predict</u>: No predictions beyond micro-level choices of individuals based on personal interests and psychology. <u>Approach</u>: Make assumptions about political parties, bureaucracies and elites of long-term interest, representation, rationality and other posited attributes in models without empirical evidence and modeling of actual choice and causality. <u>Applications</u>: Increase bureaucratic autonomy and resources with a government rubber stamp for those actions that promote elites with the reverse for those to protect citizens.

[Jurisprudence/ Legal Science/ Court Administration (micro level theory of judicial institutions)]	<u>*Predict*</u>*: Predict root causes and mechanisms of system failure at the micro/institutional level (imbalance of interests) and of success (efficiency, accountability, rights realization), within the context of what is possible for a given political system in a given environment, and factors of change and repair.* <u>*Approach*</u>*: Map all interests, powers, motivations of stakeholder individuals and groups in relation to mechanisms and all types of causality and logic.* <u>*Applications*</u>*: Justice System Builders and Reformers: Promotion of equity, participation, and oversight in the justice system at all levels of process of juries (grant and petit), oversight, equal access to lawyers, private attorney generals, class actions, etc.*	*[Not really existent today in political science. Found partly in law schools as part of the "legal realism" movement (Frank 1949; Llewelyn, 1939) and partly scattered throughout social sciences in "Law and Society" but mostly as theory or area reporting particularly on the U.S., and partly in Judicial Institutes as well as in international projects for "Administration of Justice".]* <u>*Predictions*</u> *(where it exists): No predictions* <u>*Approach*</u> *(where it exists): Apply U.S. system elsewhere as the model of success.* <u>*Applications:*</u> *Corporate manipulation of jury selection and trial procedures to purchase advantage in the judicial system and government efficiency of "administration of justice" without equity.*
[Legislative Science (micro-level institutional theory of legislative institutions]	<u>Predict</u>: Predict root causes and mechanisms of system failure at the micro/institutional level (imbalance of interests) and of success (efficiency, accountability, sustainability, rights realization), within the context of what is possible for a given political system in a given environment, and factors of change and repair. <u>Approach</u>: Map all interests, powers, motivations of stakeholder individuals and groups in relation to mechanisms and all types of causality and logic. <u>Applications</u>: Citizen legislative mechanisms, legislative system techniques, electoral selection techniques, recall and oversight, challenges to party monopolies and duopolies,	*[Not really existent independently today in political science though partly in comparative politics in studies of parties and legislative processes and in some applied institutes offering theories on legal enforcement (Seidman, 2000) as well as in international projects to "strengthen Parliaments".]* <u>*Predict*</u>*: No predictions other than short term electoral victories and spending agendas* <u>*Approach*</u>*: Focus on "elections" as the key element of "democracy" rather than on other forms of citizen oversight and participatory democracy.* <u>*Applications*</u>*: Promotes powerless puppet "show" Parliaments, tied to financial interests and under surveillance*
Public Policy (applied, sectoral level)	[Not political science]	-

Political Economy (system level extended to additional institutions)	<u>Predict</u>: Model for predicting the relation between environment-production systems, inequalities, and productive organization and political systems and for the workings of control mechanisms that prevent other forms. <u>Approach</u>: Test and study all kinds of enterprises and public (worker-community) participation and oversight. Direct compare systems on multiple attributes and use all methodologies to "study up" the hierarchies. <u>Applications</u>: Public-private sector managers promoting cooperatives, socially responsible finance.	<u>Predict</u>: Predict public uprisings to prepare for suppression and control/co-optation. <u>Approach</u>: Allow only related variables (GDP, corporate democracy, party voting, peace between trade partners) to confirm and promote the ideological linkages. Restrict testing and measurement of alternative forms. Focus on short-term and claim inability of long-term measures. <u>Applications</u>: Promote "stability" and "growth" through teaching of doctrines.
Political Theory (Humanities corollary of Political Science)	<u>Approach</u>: Alternate variables, models and theories to diversify potential for proof and predications, including thought experiments of Utopian and dystopian systems and change. <u>Applications</u>: Future political systems in space; Restoration of lost mechanisms and harmed cultures (traditional systems)	<u>Approach</u>: Present history (ancestor worship for the discipline). <u>Applications</u>: Diversion of the agenda of science, reason and humanistic applications and replacement of skills and logical predictions of outcomes of inequalities and imbalances, through confusion/nihilism based on the belief of the inability to find absolutes and objectivity. Cheerlead for or divert criticism of and focus on new forms of authoritarian control and human obedience as part of "security", "cooperation", "harmony", "order" and technological "progress".

Methodology	Guiding Principle for Science: Choose the methodology and variables to answer the intellectual disciplinary questions objectively. Choose methodologies that do not have ideological assumptions at their basis and allow for all forms of modeling and directions of causality, feedback. Variables: Focus on measurable (natural) variables and specific actions/agency, not ideological terms that remove agency and measurability and create tools for measuring the variables and outcomes. Methodologies Taught: All qualitative and quantitative measures and models allowed including social experiments, invention of new measures, and studying "up" and down hierarchies. Long term, historical, sociological, business and management, legal elements and other measures. All courses taught with field methods and skills.	Guiding Principle for Doctrine: Choose the methodology to fit the goals of social control and then let the methodologies define the questions that are and can be asked. Choose starting assumptions about human nature to be confirmed (individual benefit maximizing, behavioral conditioning) and causality (human free choice not constrained by biology, environment. Culture and society) and then fit reality to these models. Variables: Focus on non-measurable (ideological, vaguely defined) variables that remove agency and measurability and on subjective beliefs rather than measurable actions. Methodologies Taught: Journalistic, idiosyncratic measures, opinion polls and ambiguous choice measures, regressions using only cross-country data but not structural or deep structural modeling. Test only pre-vetted "theories" that reinforce pre-chosen beliefs about institutions and systems as being the only choices and the "best" choices.

Conclusion:

The idea of a predictive and humanistic social science is not an idea foreign to the public, though the discipline of Political Science treats it only as fantasy. Since World War II, one of the world's best-selling science fiction writers, Isaac Asimov, based his series of *Foundation* novels (1942-86) on the idea that political events could be predicted, and he outlined some of the concepts that it would follow. In our world, however, Political Scientists have hijacked, narrowed, and distorted the enterprise of Political Science as a science, much as Asimov and several dystopian science fiction writers also have predicted they would. What has yet to be predicted is how, when, and under what conditions we can hope for and build (or rebuild) a humanistic scientific Political Science, if ever.

We seem to be seeing a failure of almost every public and private institution, today, despite Political Scientists and elites largely pretending that everything is fine and exactly the way everyone wants it to be and it should be. Among institutions, not only are Parliaments, executives, courts, the media and international organizations failing to meet their stated purposes and commitments, in the face of public mistrust, but Political Science, among other social sciences, has failed to uphold its mission as a science and its claim to public protection. Rather than fulfilling its role in serving humanity with scientific advances and humanistic technological applications, the profession of Political Science has become like many other bureaucracies; a self-perpetuating monopoly acting in its own interests.

Although it has allowed for the entrance of some previously unrepresented groups, to study and advocate for their particular interests (women, minorities, and sexual minorities) so long as they support assimilation, globalization, increasing political and economic inequality, and the ascension of corporatism, the national security state, and militarism, little if anything else has changed.

Existing control systems appear to be rigged to assure that nothing will change. The discipline colludes with for-profit publishers who help to screen work to assure the maintenance of political hierarchies and interests, while also serving military, the security state, corporate and public bureaucracies domestically and globally (Schrecker, 1986). Control systems for advance within the discipline prevent the entrance of new methodologies, of changed assumptions, of alternative variables, of ethical guidelines, of broader questions, or of alternative systems of governance and oversight. Publications will only review work that follows the "current debates", cites the accepted authorities, and falls in ideological line with either the mainstream or innocuous co-dependent ideologies that offer no real challenge to the discipline and suggest no real social change.

Competing disciplines that could reinvigorate and challenge Political Science like Sociology and Anthropology have fallen in line to the same pressures and agreed to similarly suppress social science.

There are still some pockets of Political Science existing at the margins and popping up in new sub-disciplines or in quirky journals. Some disciplines that are essentially parts of Political Science have arisen independently, including areas such as Sustainable Development/Development Studies (though still largely influence by Economics), Human Rights (though largely legalistic and philosophical rather than social science), Legal Studies (that is mostly advocacy and philosophy today rather than social science), Peace and Conflict Studies, and Global(ization) Studies. They offer some potential challenges if and when there is a real demand and opportunity to challenge Political Science.

Countries can potentially develop competing Political Science as well, though most are now fitting into the same global Political Science hierarchy.

In the processes of "scientific review" or even public review, scholars and teachers with better approaches could fairly compete by demonstrating the predictive value and public benefit of their theories. In a rigged system that abandons science and substitutes political power, networks, and proselytizing, there is little they can do other than wait and hope for the collapse of the current system and the benefits of relying on science and public benefit. Given the lack of predictive power or public benefit of contemporary Political Science, the principles and predictions found in science fiction like classics of Asimov, are likely to prove true.

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[1] It is a bit ironic that in making this observation, Lipset may have also been referring to his own failure of nerve.   His major theoretical contribution, the correlation between wealth ("modernization") and "democracy", is somewhat spurious given that the measure of "democracy" implies the loss of one's cultural differences and rights to measures of production and consumption and values that are defined as "modernization". The two definitions are measuring the same cultural values and are of course correlated given that they are measuring acceptance (or forced acceptance) of the same ideology and its authority.

[2] For purposes of terminology, rather than putting words in quotations ("") to indicate irony and degeneration of the language to denote the opposite of its earlier meaning (what Orwell would call "Newspeak" or "Doublepeak" (Orwell, 1949; Lutz, 1997)), this essay will use the words "Political Science" without putting the word "science" or "political" in quotes, though the current "true" meaning, in the view of this author that would be more appropriate would be either "Political Theology" (in the sense of being ideological dogma and political ideology (Chomsky, 2002) and maintaining itself as a religious order with rituals, and not in the sense of promoting a specific religion (Rousseau, 1762; Bella, 1967) or state or civic religion (Schmitt, 1996 [1932]), though there are aspects of that, too) or "Politic(ized) Science". Similarly, the word "discipline" will be used to connote the institutional structures of the profession (its graduates, professors, and members of its association, as well as its academic departments, institutes and journals) even though the author believes the more appropriate terminology today would be "indiscipline" or "business/industry" (noting that it exists for its own corporate business interest, rather than an actual scholarly or humanitarian public benefit purpose) or "cabal" (given that it is a self-perpetuating collective existing for its own benefit and does not produce anything substantive, unlike a business or industry) or, perhaps, "priesthood/ministry" (given that it is not very different from a religious order).

[3] *Editor's Note*.   For an example of how reversing causality can actually predict political violence and political stability/instability, see Lempert, David (1987). "A Demographic-Economic Explanation of Political Stability: Mauritius as a Microcosm," *Eastern Africa Economic Review*, Vol. 3 No. 1

[4] *Editor's Note*.   For an outline of a social science of empires, see Lempert, David (2012). "The Social Science of Empire," (Review Essay using four books of "The American Empire Project" as a take-off point), *Journal of Developing Societies*, Fall, Volume 28, No. 4; 441-68.

[5] *Editor's Note*.   In fact, there are universal agreements on measures and ways of using objective measures for concepts like "democracy", "human rights", "development" and "progress". See Lempert, David (2011). "A 'Democracy Building' Development Project Indicator for NGOs and International Organizations," *Global Jurist*, Volume 11, Issue 2, Article 4. http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/gj.2011.11.issue-2/1934-2640.1385/1934-2640.1385.xml?format=INT ; (2017). "Measuring "Progress" and "Regress" in Human Rights: Why We Need a Set of Social Contract Measures to Replace Indices of Violations and Slogans," *DePaul Journal for Social Justice*, May (forthcoming, on-line); (2014). "A Vision for International Development and a Tool for Comparisons," *Journal for Economics and Social Policy*, Volume 16, No. 2. http://epubs.scu.edu.au/jesp/vol16/iss2/3 ; (2016). "The Myth of Social Progress, Revisited", *Human Figurations: Long Term Perspectives*, Volume 5, No. 1, March.   http://quod.lib.umich.edu/h/humfig/11217607.0005.107/--myth-of-social-progress-revisited?rgn=main;view=fulltext

[6] *Editor's Note*: For two recent approaches to "predicting political systems" and to seeing how political systems pattern themselves in clusters, see Lempert, David (2016). "Predicting Political Systems Using Economic, Environmental and Relational Variables," *Social Evolution and History*, 15:2:164-194, September. Longer Version on the web: (forthcoming) and (2014) "Classifying Cultures by Their Relations in Groups: Drawing from Models in Psychology and Ecology," *Social Evolution and History*, Volume 13, Number 1, March, pages 99 – 134, On the web at: http://www.sociostudies.org/journal/articles/242737/

[7] *Editor's Note*.   For a recent example published outside of Political Science, see Lempert, David (2017). "The 'Deep Structure' of U.S. Political Culture: An Anthropological View of 'Deep Politics'", *Peace Studies Journal*, Volume 10:1, pages 20-56. ,On line at: http://peaceconsortium.org/peace-studies-journal/archives/psj-vol-10-issue-1

[8] *Editor's Note*.   At least one such protective code was presented to applied Political Scientists in a major journal of the field, some 20 years ago, but it has not been adopted or enforced. Lempert, David (1997). "Holding Accountable the Powers That Be: Protecting Our Integrity and the Public We Serve," in *Public Administration Review*, Spring.