

ON POLITICAL THEORY.

It might seem farfetched to introduce the discussion of the theory of politics by a survey of scientific disciplines in general. However, I hope, this will appear justified in the sequence.

All scientific disciplines, whether they be akin to physics or to politics, owe their existence to the conjuncture of three entirely independent factors: a human interest in some 'corner' of the universe; a method which is suitable to form definite elements into a pattern; ~~applied to them~~; finally, the presence of such elements in the 'corner' towards which interest is turned. The discipline registers the regularities shown by the pattern to ~~exist~~ be existing in the elements.

The emphasis is on the independence of the factors. None is a function of the other. Interests form part of man's original equipment; most men are interested in nature, ~~power~~ glory, love, secrets or fate; some in mathematical series; all in ~~human~~ matters of every day life. Methods are rules applicable to operations; ^{concerned with applying to definite elements} innumerable rules of this sort may be devised, but only few will produce a pattern. Finally, there are the ^{elements} and their actual distribution in the universe. Obviously, it is a matter of chance, whether a method produces a pattern or not, and if it does so, whether the elements thus patterned out occur in a region towards ^{which} human interest happens to be directed. ^{Yes,} However, unless the three factors coincide, no science ^{can} ~~will~~ emerge.

Mendelism is an example, ^{in natural science,} of method meeting conditions which lead to ~~an~~ unpredictable success. The crossing of peas of various kinds according to definite rules of operation happened to produce a numerical pattern. Even so the method ^{could} ~~would~~ not have resulted in the establishment of a scientific discipline, ^{if we had no interest at all in} ~~but for the paramount interest~~ ~~man takes in~~ anything that throws a light on the phenomenon of heredity.

Or take ~~an instance~~ ^{the} in the field of social sciences, ^{the} the device of ^{means} systematically choosing from ~~scraps~~ ~~mann~~ according to a scale of priority. When applied to markets this otherwise useless method produced a pattern which revealed highly complex regularities in the various kinds of prices. And yet this astonishing result would not have led to the creation of the discipline of theoretical economics but for the interest attached to the phenomenon of prices in a market economy. ^{Without it,} But for this circumstance, ^{regularities shown by} the device ~~would hardly have been invented~~, or, if invented, ~~not put to~~ ~~use~~ ^{every} ~~use~~ the patterns would have been ~~hardly~~ ~~seen~~ ~~the~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~most~~ ~~obvious~~.

~~Proposed~~

us apply this to political theory. The interest which it is designed to satisfy ~~looks towards~~ ^{centres roughly on} the ~~organism~~ ^{organism} body politic. The method which brought it into existence is the rule of reason. The elements which thus come into view ~~belong to~~ ^{form part of} the individuals on the one hand, the common good on the other.

We will have to show how a ~~scientific~~ ^{was} theory ~~constructed~~ ^{constructed} on these foundations, and ~~deduce~~ ^{to} from ~~these~~ ^{then the} ~~importance~~ ^{importance} central problems ~~of this discipline.~~ ^{of this discipline.}

~~Through~~ ^{rely on our inquiry}out we will use ~~as our main instrument~~ ^{as our main instrument} the threefold determination of the structure of science.

~~Before~~ ^{I preliminary} we proceed to do so, some remarks on the nature of the three factors may be in place.

Unfortunately, ~~few~~ ^{Few} sciences, ~~which~~ ^{which} correspond to the ~~direction~~ ^{direction} of our interest. They simply do not answer ~~the question~~ ^{the question}

~~of our interest.~~ They merely get near enough to the ~~subject~~ ^{subject} ~~or~~ ^{it} ~~circumscribe~~ ^{circumscribe} with sufficient clarity to satisfy some of our curiosity.

~~Very few~~ ^{Very} disciplines are as ~~near~~ ^{near} to the point, ~~which~~ ^{how} tells us ~~how~~ ^{how} much ~~we~~ ^{we} should also, naturally like to know what ~~it~~ ^{it} is.

~~Yet~~ ^{yet} physicists ~~keep~~ ^{keep} telling us that the question is meaningless. And so we put up with what they can tell us ~~about it~~ ^{about it} (which may satisfy some of our ~~interests~~ ^{interests}).

~~Some~~ ^{some} other interests ~~are~~ ^{are} satisfied, but ~~our~~ ^{our} original interest ~~is~~ ^{is} unsatisfied.

The same ~~is~~ ^{is} true in regard to political theory. Nothing is probably more natural to man than interest in his position in the community, ~~the~~ ^{the} right and wrong ~~of it~~ ^{of it}, the good and evil which comes from government, the prospects of communal welfare and of his ~~own~~ ^{own} share in it.

Nothing, accordingly, could be more welcome to ~~him~~ ^{him} than reliable knowledge about what to do and what to avoid in order to make both the community and himself happy.

He would like to know how to vote? How long the government will be in? What foreign policy he should support? ~~Under~~ ^{Under} ~~no~~ ^{no} circumstances ~~is~~ ^{is} there no science which could tell him, ~~these things.~~ ^{these things.}

He must put up with a second or even third best ~~and~~ ^{and} be content if he can gain some clarity on the nature of his position in society, ~~and~~ ^{and} learn, in brief, anything ~~that is~~ ^{that is} relevant. Even that may ~~be~~ ^{be} vital to him.

Exactly ~~is~~ ^{is} relevant, ~~depends~~ ^{depends} on the ~~subject~~ ^{subject}, of course, on the ~~subject~~ ^{subject}.

~~of course~~ ^{of course}, on the ~~subject~~ ^{subject}.

~~of course~~ ^{of course}, on the ~~subject~~ ^{subject}.

~~of course~~ ^{of course}, on the ~~subject~~ ^{subject}.

Effect

It is better to have to

What exactly

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character of the interest, which natural science rashly assumes cognitive, in the sense that ~~we want~~ we want to know something'.

But neither the word 'want', nor the word 'know', nor the word 'something' should ~~take~~ be taken in ^{its} the precise sense. Actually, our interest may ~~merely~~ reflect, a hitch in the process of living, which cannot ~~even~~ be formulated as a question, and cannot therefore be answered ^{shall speaking} in the ~~strict~~ sense of the term. At this sub-inquiry ^(S. Five) stage we are not yet interested in 'something', nor do we 'want' ~~actually~~ anything and even less would it be accurate to say that what we ^{desire} want is to 'know'. Everything depends upon the situation. ^(even a) Assuming our interest to have reached the intellectual level ~~at all~~, it still may be no more than a wish to ~~discover~~ some indication of how to behave so as to get rid of the cause of the interest - a very different thing from a 'thirst for knowledge.' The notion that a numerical statement about measurable quantities is the ideal answer to any question, is ~~based on the superstitious~~ ^{search the physical way of saying} authority of natural science which ~~discounts~~ ^{that} any interest ~~that~~ ^{which} is not directed towards such an answer. Indeed, in the case of political theory, the questions themselves are ridiculed as meaningless, a ~~circumstance~~, which ^{it is argued}, ~~accounts for the fact that answers also are meaningless.~~ This, however, is only another instance for the proved incapacity of the scientific mind to understand human problems. He ^{It} maintains ^{used arbitrarily} that the method defines the body politic and ~~consequently~~ ^{in effect,} leaves no room for investigations. But this means ^{to leave} leaving out the 'third dimension' of science, ^{namely} which is interest. If 'knowledge' about 'something' was everything, ^{than} nothing could be learnt about ^{real things} the ~~body politic~~ ~~that was not largely contained in its definition.~~

~~But the same, accidentally, would be true of mathematics, without tailing either its uselessness or its unscientific character. Actually, neither political theory nor mathematics are useless, only their use are not always obvious. Political ^{theory however} interest caters not so much for the interest of knowing what the body politic is than of living in it.~~

Every body politic like a rising tide takes hold of all the more powerful

The rule of reason consists in relating individual behavior to the common good. ^{This is implied in the postulate} by assuming that the common good ~~is~~ ^{is} the 'purpose' of that behavior. When applied to an empirical society, the ~~terms of the~~ ^{rule} seem singularly vague, ~~if not pointless.~~ ^{when complete} The 'common good' may be taken to refer to matters as different as the ~~glory~~ ^{glory} of the

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An instance from natural science:

nation, the survival of the existing society, the welfare of the individuals, the freedom of public life, the maintenance of a Covenant with God or a favorable balance of trade. ~~MAN~~ Behavior of the individuals again is ^(a no less) ~~an inclusive term~~ inclusive term, ~~comprising~~ It comprises ~~the whole~~ the whole sphere of their private and public life from every ^(conceivable) ~~possible~~ angle. The rule of reason demands that ~~every~~ in every case the 'common good' by the 'purpose' of their behavior. ~~Such a postulate is meaningless, unless~~ ^{It would, in effect, be meaningless} ~~unless~~ unless ~~it is taken as~~ it is taken as ~~implied~~ implied (1) behavior is determined by 'motives' (for ~~human~~ ~~purpose~~ ^{that} ~~enter~~ into behavior); (2) the 'common good' is a definite state of affairs (otherwise it cannot be the aim of a purpose). Even so the application of the method remains uncomfortably hazy. ~~Without further~~ ^{for p 3} ~~Without further~~ ^{explicit definitions} ~~rules~~ rules which would indicate which elements of the 'common good' can be related to which individual motives, the rule of reason seems to result in ~~no~~ ^{recognizable} pattern at all.

III.

~~THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ELEMENTS SUPPLIES THE ANSWER.~~

The distribution of the elements supplies the answer. Let us take ~~an~~ ^s example from the field of ~~nature and society~~ nature and / society. ~~Man is interested in~~ ^{Man is in-} ~~audition.~~ ^{terested in} audition. Very different disciplines cater to this interest. ~~Most of this interest is~~ ^{it is} ~~of course, practical: listening~~ ^{in conversation, in} ~~to music we~~ ^{we} ~~indulge in this interest. But much of it is cognitive~~ ~~it appeals to~~ ^{an} ~~intellectual curiosity which yearns~~ ~~for explanations and predictions. But even this cognitive strand of this~~ ~~interest~~ ^{spacious} ~~turns towards a 'corner' of the universe~~ ~~where a variety of elements are hiding. 'Hearing' may link sound~~ ~~with human anatomy~~ ^{and} ~~it may produce a discipline called~~ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~psychology of the senses, it may deal with 'sound' and~~ ~~numerous~~ ~~measurable aspects of space and time~~ ^{the} ~~which physics has so successfully explored; it may refer to 'music'~~ ~~and the laws of harmony; it may~~ ~~turn towards the history of~~ ~~musical instruments~~ ~~or towards the~~ ~~techniques of~~ ~~operatic singing. In each case an almost completely different set of~~ ~~elements appear on the scene.~~ ~~Live sounds in the~~ ~~physiology of the senses~~ ~~together with parts of the human~~ ~~body;~~ ^{anatomy} ~~masses~~ ~~, space and time~~ ~~in acoustics;~~ ~~musical notes in~~ ~~the theory of harmony; artifact~~ ~~manufacture~~

in the history of musical instruments; ~~human~~ sweet sounds, ~~and~~ an orchestra
 and the organs of the body ~~appear~~ in vocal training. ~~The world of~~ ^S sounds,
 hearing, song, music and/speech ^{human} are all huddled together in that
 corner of the universe towards ~~our~~ ^{which our} interest ~~faces~~; ~~and yet~~
 as the search light of one method after another is turned ~~on~~ ^{on} this
 region ~~different~~ ^{though they may} elements come in view, ~~however they overlap~~
~~also~~ ^{also} intermingle

~~The~~ ⁽ The strands of interest ~~are~~ ^{both practical and cognitive}
 changing in the most varied ways. ~~And yet all interest in addition has~~
~~something in common~~.

While each separate discipline satisfies some
 of it, none satisfies ~~all~~ ^{it completely} ~~nor even perhaps~~ ^{done} ~~perhaps~~ ^{do they}
 perhaps ~~at~~ together. ⁽ Indeed, our original interest does not only direct
 the beams of the search light, but ~~it~~ ^{it} also ~~combines~~ ^{combines} the results
 of this operation. ~~As long as the original interest has not been impaired,~~
 it ~~can~~ ^{can} perform the vital function of putting to use the ~~various~~
 results of the ~~various~~ disciplines. Without this it would not be
 possible to apply ~~theoretical~~ ^{theoretical} knowledge to empirical ~~reality~~.

~~They~~ ^{to come to us, for example,} social sciences, ~~which~~ ^{which}
~~turn~~ ^{turn} towards the human world, which occupies an altogether
 different place in our consciousness ~~from~~ ^{from} that of Nature.
 Much has been made of the fact that the elements of nature and society
 are largely ~~vertical~~ ^{vertical}; ~~our~~ ^{our} physical body, our sensations and
 appetites, indeed, even our mental faculties are such as ~~may~~ ^{may} connect
 our world with that of minerals, ~~and~~ ^{and} plants and animals. ~~It has been overlooked,~~
 however, that though this may be true, and indeed explains why some
 parts of the human world could be satisfactorily explored with the ~~help~~
 of methods rightly described as ~~those of natural science,~~ ^{those}
~~of natural science,~~ ^{of natural science,} ~~because~~ ^{because} the character of the interest is ~~utterly and completely~~
~~different~~ ^{different}. The job of living arises here ~~in~~
 with an immediacy unknown in the field of the natural sciences, and ~~even if~~
 similar urgency can be found there, the meaning of ~~living is itself~~ ^{living}
~~different~~ ^{different}. ~~Informal analogy~~

However, the ~~of nature and society holds insofar as in both cases the corner of the~~
 universe explored contains ~~different~~ ^{different} elements, susceptible to
 different disciplines. ~~What is the position~~

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 different disciplines. ~~What is the position~~

Let us apply to political theory. The interest which it
igned to satisfy centres roughly on the body politic. The method which
brought it into existence is the rule of reason. The elements which
come into view from part of the individuals on the one hand, the common
good on the other.

We will try to show how a theory was constructed on these foundation
tions. Throughout we will rely in our inquiry on the threefold determina
tion of the structure of science.

I.

Before we proceed to do so, some remarks on the nature of the three
factors may ^{be} in place.

Similarly, No sharp borders divide one 'corner' of the universe ~~from another~~
~~interests~~ from an other. It is ~~easily~~ impossible to define
our natural interests. ~~an~~ interest and the ~~concern~~ region
towards which it turns are ~~usually~~ ^{in effect, the} interchangeable terms, and
the reason for their indefinite character is ~~obvious~~ obvious. Inter
est, in health, in football or in sonnets is interest in anything that
is relevant to them. ~~But~~ ^{cannot be stated in advance} what is, what is not, is a matter of
trial and error. Interests are not simple but complex, they are as varied
and as flexible as human motives. The personal, the statistical or the
medical aspect of ~~health~~ health, for instance, contain a ~~number~~ ^{number} of
different ~~elements~~ elements. Towards each of ~~an~~ interest may be
found to turn, if by some appropriate method/ ~~they~~ they happen to be formed into organised knowledge, or as we pre
fer to call it, ~~happened to be~~ ^{happened to be} 'patterned out.' A ~~great~~ ^{great} number of ~~patterns~~ ^{patterns} may thus fall
within the borders of ~~an~~ interest in 'health! And while each of ~~these~~ ^{them}
~~patterns~~ ^{may be} sharply defined ~~by~~ ^{in terms of the} method by which it was originated,
the aggregate of ~~these~~ ^{remains} patterns/ ~~is~~ ^{as} indefinite .as ~~an~~ 'interest in ~~health~~
'health'.

Under these circumstances it might appear that 'interest' does
not matter ^{too} much, since it is indefinite and is only an other word for
a 'corner' of the universe, which is equally indefinite. This is not so
Interests are natural to man and are easily identifiable. ~~More~~ ^{Moreover} they ~~are~~ ^{are}
of ~~all~~ ^{all} theoretical ~~interests~~ ^{interests} knowledge, and for the
both philosophically no less interesting ~~fact~~ ^{fact} ~~of its applicability~~ ^{that theory can be applied} to
empirical reality.

are these disciplines and what is their relation to political theory?

~~XX~~
~~XX~~

Human society is, of course primarily ~~more~~ of practical, not merely of ~~of~~ theoretical interest to man.

The various scientific disciplines concerned with human society are mainly the ~~various~~ different branches of sociology, anthropology, economics, and science, ~~anthropology, sociology, and statistics.~~ statistics. Although they are all concerned with ~~the human community,~~ the human community, with inter-personal relations, with group history and group life, with regularities ~~in~~ observable in man's behavior in society yet ~~these patterns are different.~~ the actual elements ~~made~~ visible in them are different, or at least are related in a different fashion. Even the distribution of the same elements varies enormously if sociology is compared to law, or ecology to the theory of sovereignty. But one of the most peculiar of all is political theory.

Interest here is narrowed down to that which the rule of reason can pattern out of the body politic. Only that ~~of~~ in the individual shows up which is ~~human~~ volition directed towards the ~~common~~ common good, ~~the latter being a state of affairs such as can be the human~~ ~~object of man~~ a mere purpose. The individual is here ~~an~~ idealised shadow of himself. ~~whose volition is determined by~~ -- ~~is~~ a citizen ~~whose~~ civic virtue. ~~service of the~~ Conversely, the common good is ~~human~~ legitimate ~~power~~ since it is rooted in the ~~will~~ will of the citizen. Sovereignty ~~appears as a function~~ of individual freedom. Such as ~~as well as the~~ Civic rights and public duties, the hierarchy of legitimate ~~power,~~ ~~which has gained~~ power, ~~form part of the pattern~~ the clarity and definiteness ~~is~~ ~~at the price of shedding all other elements of social reality~~ ~~except those~~ encompassed in the rule of reason. It is a gaunt structure as empty as mathematics.

~~And yet no progressive human community~~ ~~perhaps~~ ~~as we will see,~~ ~~is more vital to the survival of organised society~~ ~~than political theory~~, without which, indeed, no progressive human community is possible. For the more general its propositions, the wider its applicability. However, it remains

~~And yet no progressive human community~~

to be shown how such an application of theoretical propositions to empirical reality is possible at all. ~~the~~

The answer, again, lies in the 'third dimension' of science, the interests which give rise to it. Human interest is not simple but complex. ~~Strands of interest intermingle in the most varied way. Numberless interests of various ~~original~~ character, tone and intensity combine in the apparently simple 'interest' with which we turn towards some 'corner' of the universe. ~~the~~ elements of reality existing in that region a manner which is utterly unpredictable. ~~are again dispersed in the most varied manner and manner by ~~various~~ methods and manners to those~~ ~~patterns~~ produced by the ~~different~~ methods applied to ~~the~~ elements. ~~and again ~~the~~ patterns ~~produced~~ also is unpredictable.~~~~

Now this comprehensive interest has the quality of persistence. It does not disappear after having given birth to a scientific discipline. ~~function being to~~ It continues to be active its main ~~function being to~~ make use of the ~~to use the results of the various disciplines.~~ Although each method separates out a distinct pattern in 'the region of interest', the interest capable of relating by virtue of the strands contained in it is ~~able to relate~~ the patterns to one another and thus ~~putting~~ together again that ~~which the method has separated~~ employed.