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The conventional view of ecy-polity:

In the conventional view the ecoy is a private realm, the polity public. The ec'y is the sphere in which individuals go about the business of life, providing themselves with the means of existence. The polity is the sphere in which decisions are made regarding the collectivity.

Supported by economist's view - positive economics - based

Supported by economist's view - positive economics - based on means*ends distinction with economic action involving the neutral adaptation of means to ends. Thus the economy is viewed as a value-neutral instrument for satisfying wants and the economist as a neutral analyst.

The political scientist sees himself as concerned with the use of power to achieve collective ends.

Actually the economy is a social political order unto itself, a distinctive way of ordering the relations between men in a wide variety of situations. As such it is a rival to the polity. It provides its own self generating set of rules and powers. This with fact that its xxiex values pervade the society has had fateful implications for the zzawamxxim polity. It is in the nature of the market economy that the ends of life appear as means; all as means to end which is making money. Aristotle was first to perceive the effects of this on the polity: "every art is turned to money making." It is these arts which are the ends, the primary values of the liberal polity.

The problem, therefore, is not to bring the polity to bear on the painty economy; that we have accomplished. The problem is to reaffirm the sovereignty of the sovereign, to recognize and affirm the rights and aspirations of the citizen and distinguish these from those of the consumer and the producer.

the Pre for of Carde.]

Beneath the concerns now rising to the surface of public debate in the United States is the fundamental question of the relation between the economy and the polity in our society. In essence it is the question of the place and function of the economy and the polity in the liberal democratic society which both serve. It is the burning question of our time. It ap lies with urgent pertinency to several levels of contemporary thought and action. from public policy to the abstract realms of economic theory: from the transcendent ideals of political philosophy to the intimate reaches of private morality. And as the polities and economies of the new natrions of the world struggle to emerge from the chrysalis stage of embeddedness in their societies, a new urgency is added to the question. Unfortunately, it is a question which we are exceptionally ill-equipped to answer confidently, so deeply has the convnetional view of he place and function of the economy and polity Here say what The economy has played a unique and dominant role in the development of our society in a fr e society penetrated our thinking at all levels of action. money-market economy that its values and institutions pervade sel outline thought and action in the society which houses it. The money-market economy provides an order which, with its system of universal rewards and punishments, can call forth or curtail the "production" of an infinite array of values, material and not, from the everyday items of subsistence to the services of a doctor, and artist. a teacher, or a television "personality." Through the countless

economizing choices of individuals getting and spending their

income, the economy, therefore, has the task of "producing" not only the material means of livelihood but a wide variety of the social, cultural and intellectual roles which are vital to the health of the body politic. Thus in the market economy it is but slight exaggeration to say that all the values, and illusions are transformed into one. Feonomic success is success itself; a healthy economy is a healthy society.

In the development of the market economy the distinction between the economic and political orders was thus dangerously obscurred. Indeed, the political order was, to a large extent, engulged in the economy. Politics became economics as the interests embodied in the liberal state shught their realization through the economic order, and the political values of a free society found their principal expression and their uphelders in the profit system. Government itself came perihously chase to becoming an instrument of the contending powers of the market place rather than a vehicle for the citizen.

But as we steam ahead to the dubious shores of the "affluent society," a sea change seems to be overtaking American opinion. Increasingly we hear doubts expressed concerning the time honored view that economic success can solve all our ills, private and public. Actually we are in the middle of a secular shift in the place of the enomy in our society.

The first major departure from tradition followed upon the economic crises of the post-World War I era and the depression decade of the 1930's. The theories of Keynesian economics and the policies of the New Deal brought the political process to bear upon the economy. The stability of employment and prices in the economy became a matter of public policy, and the balance of power

among the major contending forces in the economy was altered by political means.

Radical though this shift was, it was relatively easy for economists to understand and for policy makers to accomplish without any of us raising questions about the nature of the economy and its place in our society. For though Keynesian economics and the New Deal both represent the reemergence of the polity over the economy contemporary society, the immediate values served by these events were still economic values. The raise right to a steady job, to the enjoyment of a high standard of living, and the right of the worket to exert some control over the work process were not in themselves reolutionary values. The producer and the consumer still prevailed.

Currently the shift in emphasis from economic to the political sphere continues, but in a radically new phase. It sought articulation in the late President Kennedy's "New Frontier;" it is inherent in the new concern with the persistence of povery in the midst of plenty, in the civil rights struggles throughout the land, and in such recent Supreme Court decisions as those concerning parity of voter representation in the several states. But this phase we do not so readily understand. Our current crisis is from the beginning one of the political order. The liberal polity, which thrives and progresses only when nourished by a plurality of functionally independent interests, has been seriously weakened by our excessive reliance on the market system to provide for the representation and resolution of conflicting interests in our society. We have relied on the economic system not simply to provide the material means of life, but to

determines the functional variety of the "interests" which compose the liberal polity. Education, health, research, the arts,
politics, the communication of ideas, even the activities of
leisure itself -- all these are "produced" wholly or in large
part through the agency of that remarkable insitution, the market. Viewed in this light it is a political institution comparable
to and more powerful than the state itself. And it is precisely
in these areas which introduce the vital qualitative balance of
life in a free society that the market fails

where to begin the doctrinal discussion?

This is an inclevancy, but it was the original starting portint, so I endow it.

The slow but steady ascent of economic theory to the aloof realms of positive science over the past three decades poses some interesting dilemmas for those economists whose principal interest in the economy is political, sociological and historical—indeed, for all those social scientists who which to locate the economy and study its place, or function, in society. For, while much has been achieved in the direction of a logically positive theory of economics, the economy has been lost.

There is an exceptionally wide area of agreement among contemporary economists of the West upon the definition of econ nomics and of the economic problem of man living in society, but as the acceptance and logical refinement of these central concepts of modern economics is extended, the possibility of defining the economy with equal certitude and locating its place in society recedes further and further into the background.

nomics and the economic problem exposes the problem clearly. Economics, as every textbook now tells us, is a science concerned with the maximal adaptation of means to ends. The economic problem is essentially a problem in rational action. It derives from the inherent scarcity of means to satisfy an endless variety of human ends and the consequent difficulty of allocating means to ends as as to maximize achievement. Thus economics is concerned with economizing, an aspect of human action in all kinds of situations, but hever (except in the most artificial situations, such as some kins of games) an act found in its pure form in

the daily course of life. This point that economic man is an abstraction, once a source of bitter controversy, is not only accepted by economic theorists; it is really the basis of economic theory's claim to the satus of a positive science. It is a point which also seems to have stilled the institutionalist criticism of economic theory's lack of empirical validity, and largely to have satisfied contemporary sociologists and anthropologists.

But there is a problem. The very success of economic theory inx isolating for analysis what seems a universal aspect of human experience dooms to failure any attempt employing the same concepts to locate the economy and study its variegated relation to the society of which it is a part. Following the precepts of economic theory we shall find that the economy is both everywhere and nowhere. Economizing is an essential part of human action. It pervades thought and action to a greater or lesser extent in all kinds of situations. If we take the economy to be the locus of economizing, we shall have to find it in the experiences of love, religion, politics, war and play as well as in those of making and distributing the material means of life, or in the getting and spending of money. The very fact that economics theory deals only with an aspect of action prevents it from identifying the economy as a distinctive set of interrelated operations, such as those of the production, and distribution of material things. Here economic theory leads us nowhere, because it deals with an orientation toward action rather than action itself.

Outline: Doctrinal development.

Conventional view of the relation betw. polity and economy arises with emergence of polity and economy in 17th and 18th cents.

Hobbes: fundamental statement of nature and necessity of political order in liberal, utilitarian society.

"artificial" (not natural law) character of polity.

absolute power to sovereign; sovereignty the only basis of rights and obligations, including property rights. The state, the polity is the creative center for all powers granted to individs.

Locke: Separation of economy from polity 33 property rights given natural law foundation (rights inhere in man), labor theory of val; function of state re economy to protect rights generated in private sphere by labor and exchange.

Smith: First analysis of exchange as a system of order see The of Mor. Sent. for breadth of exchange concept.

W. of N., theory of market exchange.
Separation of economy from polity remains; now exchange as a separate order is given natural validity in instinct to Tr., B and exchg.

But the economy remains restricted largely to the substantive sphere through the labor theory of value.

Marshall: Subjective value revolution and expansion of concept of economy and exchange sphere.

By shifting to scarcity as source of value rather than labor, sphere of economy expands to include all scarce values; anything saleable. Intangible property.

The battle is won and lost in Marshall's principles. Statting with substantive coneept, he is forced by logic of his theory to free the economy from substantive moorings. Now the economy is the exchange order and it is everywhere.

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