

Notes

1. There is a useful account in an article by D. E. Powell and Paul Shoup, 'The Emergence of Political Science in Communist Countries', *American Political Science Review*, LXIV (1970) 572.
2. A phrase borrowed from C. B. Macpherson, *The Real World of Democracy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), *avec mes hommages respectueux*.
3. Paul Lazarsfeld, in *Main Trends of Research in the Social and Human Sciences*, pt i: 'Social Sciences' (Paris and The Hague: Mouton/UNESCO, 1970) chap. i.
4. Aristotle, *Politics*, 1282 b, 1. 16, and *Nic. Eth.*, 1094 a, ll. 26-9
5. Aristotle, *Politics*, 1253 a, l. 3. 'Political' is by no means an adequate translation of Aristotle's πολιτικόν. But I think that if one explored the problem of translation it would extend and deepen the present point, without changing it radically.
6. Parsons needs no citation, but it would be appropriate to refer here to Easton's most influential work, *The Political System* (New York: Knopf, 1953). Much has happened since 1953, and Easton is now by no means the only source of 'systems language' in political science. But it was he who first opened these perspectives.
7. M. Duverger, *Introduction à la politique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1964).
8. A. MacIntyre, *A Short History of Ethics* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), p. 4.
9. See for instance J. K. Galbraith, *The New Industrial State* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1967), and Y. Modrzhinskaya, 'Quiet Anti-Communism', *International Affairs* (Moscow), Aug 1967.
10. A reference to P. B. Medawar's view that a truly professional scientist must be skilled in *The Art of the Soluble* (London: Methuen, 1967), p. 55.
11. K. W. Deutsch and L. N. Rieselbach, *Recent Trends in Political Theory and Political Philosophy*, supplement to the *Annals*

- of the *American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCGLX (1965) 141.
12. The volume on *Contemporary Political Science*, published by UNESCO in 1950, serves as benchmark to indicate the advance made in less than twenty years.
 13. This is at present a most fruitful area of collaboration between political science and social psychology.
 14. Evanston, Ill. : Row, Peterson, 1957.
 15. New York : Harcourt Brace, 1950.
 16. New York : Wiley & M.I.T. Press, 1957.
 17. T. W. Adorno *et al.*, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper, 1950).
 18. See in particular B. de Jouvenel, *L'art de la conjecture* (Paris: Rocher, 1964) and various papers in the series *Futuribles*.
 19. But see H. A. Simon's essay on 'Bandwagon and Underdog Effects of Election Predictions', in *Models of Man* (New York : Wiley, 1957) p. 79.
 20. 'The Theory of Organisational Decision-Making', in A. Ranney (ed.), *Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics* (Urbana : Illinois U.P., 1962) p. 193.
 21. There is an interesting personal narrative by Heinz Eulau, who attributes the initiative to individuals who had worked closely together in applied social research during the war years – 'The Behavioral Movement in Political Science : A Personal Document', *Social Research* (1968) pp. 1–29.
 22. *American Political Science Review*, LV (1961) 763.
 23. 'Recent Trends in Research Methods in Political Science', in *A Design for Political Science*, Monograph No. 6 of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia), Dec 1966. He seems to have forgotten judicial data, which are very rich and important.
 24. The Swedish professional journal, *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift*, was first published in 1898, the *American Political Science Review* not till 1906.
 25. The *Revue française de science politique* was first published in 1951. There are important statements about the character and scope of the discipline in M. Duverger, *Méthodes de la science politique* (Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1959) and M. Prélot, *La science politique* (Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1961).
 26. J. Kornai, *Overcentralisation in Economic Administration*, trans. J. Knapp (London : Oxford University Press, 1959).

27. R. E. Lane, *Political Ideology: Why the American Common Man Believes What He Does* (New York : Free Press, 1967); R. E. Agger, D. Goldrich and B. E. Swainson, *The Rulers and the Ruled: Political Power and Impotence in American Communities* (New York : Wiley, 1964).
28. This has been one object of the Yale University data programme : B. M. Russett, *et al.*, *World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators* (New Haven : Yale U.P., 1964). See also A. S. Banks and R. B. Textor, *A Cross-Polity Survey* (Cambridge, Mass : M.I.T. Press, 1963).
29. For a further reference to the explicit study of political culture see p. 72 below.
30. e.g. Almond's well-known introduction to G. Almond and J. S. Coleman, *The Politics of Developing Areas* (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton U.P., 1960); more recently, G. Almond and G. B. Powell, *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach* (Boston : Little Brown, 1966).
31. See further, pp. 48–50.
32. B. Brodie, *Strategy in the Missile Age* (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton U.P., 1959).
33. M. A. Kaplan, *System and Process in International Politics* (New York : Wiley, 1957); J. W. Burton, *International Relations: A General Theory* (Cambridge U.P., 1965); H. J. Spiro, *World Politics: The Global System* (Homewood, Ill. : Dorsey Press, 1966). But see also *The General Systems Yearbook*, vols 1–12 (1956–67) for an interdisciplinary approach of a more rigorous kind.
34. T. C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge, Mass : Harvard U.P., 1960); *Arms and Influence* (New Haven : Yale U.P., 1966).
35. E. S. Quade (ed.), *Analysis for Military Decisions* (Chicago : Rand McNally, 1964); C. J. Hitch, *Decision-Making for Defense* (Berkeley and Los Angeles : California U.P., 1965).
36. Both Pittsburgh : Boxwood Press, 1960.
37. In particular, *Paix et guerre entre les nations* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1962). Cf. the work of P. Renouvin and J.-B. Duroselle, *Introduction à l'histoire des relations internationales* (Paris : Armand Colin, 1964).
38. In the U.S.A. this close connection with intelligence services is not denied; see for instance McG. Bundy at p. 3 of E. A. J. Johnson (ed.), *The Dimensions of Diplomacy* (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins U.P., 1964).

39. *New Federations: Experiments in the Commonwealth* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1967); of eight clear cases, one (East Africa) was a non-starter, four have collapsed (Central Africa, Nigeria, West Indies, South Arabia), one is precarious (Malaysia), two (India and Pakistan) have attained relative stability, but can they still be defined as 'federations' in the old sense?
40. See the literature of political, international and general systems theory already quoted; and also A. Etzioni, *Political Unification* (New York : Holt, Rinehart, 1965); K. W. Deutsch, *The Nerves of Government* (New York : Free Press, 1963); K. W. Deutsch and W. Foltz (eds.), *Nation-Building* (New York : Atherton, 1963).
41. See further, 'Decision-Making', p. 85 below.
42. The eight 'fundamental categories of rational legal authority' are to be found (e.g.) in R. K. Merton *et al.*, *Reader in Bureaucracy* (Glencoe, Ill. : Free Press, 1962).
43. For instance, H. A. Simon, *Models of Man* (New York : Wiley, 1957); R. M. Cyert and J. G. March, *A Behavioral Theory of the Firm* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. : Prentice-Hall, 1963).
44. R. S. Parker and V. Subramaniam, 'Public and Private Administration', *International Review of Administration Sciences*, xxx (1964).
45. National Planning Series, Syracuse U.P.
46. *Public Enterprise and Economic Development*, 2nd ed. (London : Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965).
47. *Democracy, Decentralisation and Development* (London : Asia Publishing House, 1963).
48. *Area and Administration* (University of Alabama Press, 1964).
49. *Gizira: A Story of Development in the Sudan* (London : Faber, 1959).
50. *The Zande Scheme* (Evanston, Ill. : Northwestern U.P., 1966).
51. Aristotle, *Politics*, bk I, at 1253 a. Could this be put in H. A. Simon's terms? 'To live' ($\zeta\eta\nu$) is to satisfice, 'to live well' ($\epsilon\upsilon\zeta\eta\nu$) is to maximise : in this case to maximise (subject to external and internal constraints) a number of independent variables, which may or may not be reducible to a single standard.
52. *Community Power Structure* (Chapel Hill : North Carolina U.P., 1953).
53. e.g. by S. E. Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics* (London : Pall Mall Press, 1962).
54. Cambridge U.P., 1961.

55. There is an important discussion by Professor Giovanni Sartori of the University of Florence, *Democrazia e definizioni*, published in English as *Democratic Theory* (Detroit : Wayne State U.P., 1962). See also A. P. D'Entrèves, *The Notion of the State* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1967; first published in Italian in 1962).
56. I. L. Horowitz (ed.), *The Rise and Fall of Project Camelot* (Cambridge, Mass : M.I.T. Press, 1967).
57. Notable names (among others) in this field are Max Gluckman, M. G. Smith, F. G. Bailey, Lucy Mair, I. Schapera, P. C. Lloyd, Georges Balandier, Fredrik Barth, J. C. Mitchell.
58. A. Detoef, quoted in A. Kaufmann, *The Science of Decision-Making*, trans. R. Audley (London : Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968), p. 25.
59. Three names notably associated with this tradition are C. H. McIlwain, C. J. Friedrich, Benjamin Akzin.
60. E. Jaques, *The Changing Culture of a Factory* (London : Tavistock, 1951), and other works.
61. Clearly items 1 and 2 here are postulates about 'political man' in relation to this 'measure' of what is approved. They could be explicated at great length, and their 'ecology' could be studied. But they are postulates nevertheless, not hypotheses.
62. *Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa* (Glencoe, Ill. : Free Press, 1963).
63. W. L. Guttsman, *The British Political Elite* (London : MacGibbon & Kee, 1963).
64. See, for instance, M. Anderson, 'The Myth of the Two Hundred Families', *Political Studies*, XIII (1965) 163; and note the special issues of the *Revue française de science politique*, Apr, June, Aug 1964 and Feb 1965: 'Catégories dirigeantes ou classe dirigeante?', and R. Aron's article in the last of these.
65. C. S. Wilson and T. Lupton, 'The Social Background and Connections of "Top Decision-Makers"'. *Manchester School*, xxvii (1959) 30.
66. In particular, H. Valen and D. Katz, *Political Parties in Norway* (Oslo : Universities Press, 1964).
67. Notably, G. Almond and S. Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton U.P., 1963).
68. New York : Science Editions, 1960.
69. In recent years a number of economists have concerned themselves in voting as a method of summing individual preferences.

- See various important and interesting books by K. J. Arrow, I. M. D. Little, D. Black, A. Downs, J. M. Buchanan, G. Tullock, C. E. Lindblom.
70. Stein Rokkan, *Main Trends of Research in the Social and Human Sciences*, chap. x.
 71. J. C. Wahlke, *et al.*, *The Legislative System: Explorations in Legislative Behavior* (New York : Wiley, 1962).
 72. M. Gluckman (ed.), *Closed Systems and Open Minds: The Limits of Naivety in Social Anthropology* (Edinburgh : Oliver & Boyd, 1964).
 73. This is not to depreciate good theoretical work – in particular, the volume on *The Public Interest*, ed. C. J. Friedrich in the Nomos series (Harvard U.P., 1962).
 74. There is a good example early in Caesar's *Commentaries on the Civil War* – bk 1.5.3.
 75. Cicero, *De Legibus*, bk III, 8.
 76. See the able discussion by the late B. Leoni, 'The Meaning of "Political" in Political Decisions', *Political Studies*, v (1957).
 77. See note 64 above and, in particular, J. M. Buchanan and G. Tullock, *The Calculus of Consent: Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democracy* (Ann Arbor: Michigan U.P., 1962).
 78. Only in the U.S.A. has it been possible to build satisfactory collections of 'public administration cases', analogous to the 'business cases' used in teaching at Harvard and in other business schools. An experiment by the British R.I.P.A. was apparently not pursued – F. M. Willson and G. Rhodes, *Administrators in Action*, 2 vols (London: Allen & Unwin, 1961–5).
 79. London : Methuen, 1967, p. 7.
 80. See note 34 above.
 81. W. H. Riker, *The Theory of Political Coalitions* (New Haven : Yale U.P., 1962).
 82. See note 53 above.