ARTICLES

A Christian Perspective in Political Science

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Less than a century ago the study of government was closely related to the findings of history. Lord Acton's dictum "History is past politics," suggested that students of government were "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the members of the historical profession. This relationship is manifested still in the curricular pattern of many colleges and some universities. The current scene finds political scientists working assiduously to alter this servile state by establishing the independence of their discipline from that of history or any of the other social sciences with which it had been associated.

The past fifty years has witnessed both a narrowing and a broadening of the field of political inquiry. The growing bodies of knowledge concerning man and his works that are subsumed under the rubrics of economics, sociology, geography, anthropology and social psychology have reduced the field of political science to inquiries concerning government, its sanctions, its institutions, its goals and its processes. While the field of study has been reduced in scope, the methods of study have been strongly influenced by the prevailing existential mood. This has led political scientists to renounce all consideration of normative frameworks of reference, whether historical or philosophic in nature, and to adopt a behavioral perspective with emphasis upon systems analysis and statistical demonstrations of current patterns of political action.

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This effort to imitate the methodology of the physical sciences had two recognizable effects. First, it has separated the study of politics from its historical foundations. Without these substructures of thought and experience it is incompetent to identify desirable goals for political action or to speak with authority concerning the institutional arrangements which will assist men in establishing or perpetuating the values which they deem essential to community welfare. Hans Morgenthau has described the present state of the discipline as follows:

> And of politics nothing is left but the struggle of individuals and groups for access to the levers of power, in terms either of majority or oligarchic rule, crying out again either for expert management or else for utopian reform, oblivious of the distinction of what is desirable and what is possible and of the ineluctibility of power itself.[1]

Robert A. Dahl, one of the leaders in the behavioral movement, speaking to the Fifth World Congress of the International Political Science Association in Paris in September, 1961, indicated that those who had joined the behavioral protest in political science were prepared to describe values as empirical data, but that they sought "to avoid perscription or inquiry into the grounds on which judgments or value can properly be made." He expressed the opinion that in their concern for analyzing what is, the members of the behavioral school had found it difficult to make systematic use of what "has been." They had developed an "a-historical" theory in political science.[2]

Secondly, political science has suffered a severe blow to the unity of the discipline which it once manifested. The stress upon systems analysis and statistical projections has shattered the organic unity which formerly prevailed within a historical or philosophic framework of reference. Five fragments: empirical political science, standards of evaluation, history, general theory and speculation—all are seeking a new basis for unity. This condition within the discipline makes it impossible for its practitioners to speak with much authority concerning what ought to be in political life. It is gradually becoming identified with social psychology,

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1. Hans J. Morgenthau, *The Decline of Democratic Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 3.
2. Robert A. Dahl, "The Behavioral Approach to Political Science: Epitaph for a Monument to a Successful Protest," *A. P. S. R.* 55:763-772, p. 771.

sociology and anthropology in their effort to present an objective and empirically determined description of social process. There is the definite possibility that political science may become absorbed in a general social science discipline of a behavioral variety. This will leave all of the historical, philosophic and economic elements of the discipline for consideration by the historian, the philosopher and the economist.

The Need for a Unifying Methodology

Political science reflects an ambiguous image because its scholars are losing sight of a basic methodology for all knowledge concerning man and the universe. The ancient Greeks considered that there were three major concerns for all speculative thought. One was the problem of *being,* or ontology. Another was the problem of *becoming,* or axiology. The third was the problem of *ending,* or teleology. The Greeks employed philosophic speculation in discussing the first and the last, but recognized that the middle term, becoming, or current behavior, was subject to description. Man proceeded deductively from an assumed universal principle to clarify his view of origins. He proceeded inductively to describe the current manifestations of life in both the natural and the social universe. His knowledge of the ends of action, both in nature and in man, depended upon his assumptions concerning being and the accuracy of his descriptions concerning becoming.

The modern political scientist in quest of a "physics" of political phenomena has forgotten all about the problem of origins, has little concern about "ends," and has limited his study of current behavior to the development of a more accurate understanding, statistically speaking, of man's political living. The product is a truncated body of information without beginning or ending. "Unless the study of politics generates and is guided by broad, bold, even highly vulnerable general theories," writes a leading American political scientist, "it is headed for the ultimate disaster of triviality."[3]

It seems appropriate that we should address ourselves to the following inquiry: What methodology can be employed that will restore a sense of unity to the study of political science and enable it to provide guidance to its students? I propose for our consideration the Christian perspective, which makes possible a historico-cultural methodology, which

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3. Dahl, *op. cit.,* p. 772.

is grounded in the revelational principle that Christ is the creative source of all phenomena both spiritual and temporal.[4] To begin with a primary assumption of this nature will enable political scientists to conceive a unity in the political insight derived from revealed religion, speculative philosophy, history, and science. Thus equipped, students of politics would be able to bring to bear upon the problems of government all of the resources of learning and experience in the development of that organized body of knowledge known as political science. Hans Morgenthau put the proposition clearly when he wrote:

> Political science is of necessity based upon, and permeated by, a total world view—religious, poetic as well as philosophic in nature—the validity of which it must take for granted.[5]

This point can be illustrated by a true incident. Three American social scientists stood outside the entrance of the United States Information Service auditorium in a South Asian city. They talked after the showing of an American cultural movie. Their conversation centered upon the effort of the American poet Robert Frost, portrayed in the movie, to convey the genius of American life. Had he succeeded? They were not sure! What was left out of the picture? The religious element.

Each man confessed his feeling that the secular and humanistically centered utopia pictured on the screen had failed to convey to people outside the American culture the religious impulse, a religion of voluntary response to God, which provided freedom of religious expression for Catholic, Protestant, and Jew, and the atheist or agnostic. This was a way of life that the people of a culture based on religious monism would find difficult to understand. If they were not brought to this realization, they would have no understanding of the genius of the American republic.

This incident depicts the problem of political scientists—yes, all social scientists—in our day. The persistent effort of students of government to imitate the physical scientist in his basic presuppositions and his methodology is threatening not only to destroy it as a unified discipline but to make of it a new formalism "more arid and stultifying than the old—and even less productive."[6] What is needed is a perspective which permits

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4. Colossians 1:16-17.
5. Morgenthau, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
6. Demetrios Caraley, "The Political Behavior Approach: Methodological Approach or new Formalism— A Review Article," *Political Science Quarterly* 79:96-108 (March, 1964), p. 102.

the student of politics to assess the totality of cultural factors which may be brought to bear upon a particular phenomenon under observation.

Has a methodology of this nature previously been employed in the study of politics?

An examination of literature dealing with the interpretation and description of political systems suggests that one of the most penetrating studies of American political institutions is to be found in Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America.* This young French observer took a comparative cultural stance in his observations. By so doing, he was able to discover that the dynamic of the American democracy lay in its religious institutions and that American democracy grew out of the English Puritanism, which had established a close relationship between divine revelation, as contained in the Bible, and the forms of political organization and practice which developed in England and America.

The work of de Tocqueville is important to the Christian teacher of political science because it offers a theoretical basis upon which to assert the importance of the Christian perspective in the study of political institutions. Herman Heller affirmed the necessity of the Christian perspective when he wrote:

> The inability of political science to discover universally binding principles since the abandonment of Christian and natural law presuppositions leaves it without claim to the rank of a science.[7]

What Heller endeavored to say was this: that political science had no adequate foundation of thought since it abandoned its common acceptance of divine revelation as the basis of rational investigation. Whether this be expressed in the form of the divine will as revealed in God's special revelation, the Scriptures, or whether it be demonstrated in the concept of a universal natural law, the fundamental assumption is the same–there is an authoritative framework of reference from which all human speculation is to begin. Without this there can be no organic unity in the discipline of political science or any of the systems which seem to present organized and systematic knowledge concerning the life of man.

This concern for a broader framework of reference in the pursuit of verifiable knowledge in the field of governmental studies has been

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7. Herman Heller, "Political Science," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* 12:207-223, p. 219.

voiced by a number of political scientists. Glenn Tinder, of the University of Massachusetts, has argued recently that the study of things political must be undertaken in the light of values contained within Western civilization. These values, says Tinder, express not only the hedonistic and the moralistic, but the religious perspective. Here he finds a great difference between the Hebrew-Christian perspective, as set forth in the Old Testament and the Greek perspective in classical literature. In the latter, history is assimilated with the natural order, becoming cyclic in form. In the former, history transcends nature and presents to the mind a view of history which acknowledges evil in the present but looks forward to a final harmony "in which all incongruities are resolved and all evil defeated."[8] Teachers of government with an understanding of the unique cultural system of the West, with its unusual combination of the revelational, reflective and scientific achievements of man are in position to make an important contribution to the study of politics in our time.

The Revelational Perspective

An analysis of the revelational perspective in Western thought starts with the explanations of life found in Mesopotamian and Egyptian literature. Both profess belief in a cosmic order in which deity or deities embrace ultimate reality. The life of man is simply a reflection of the divine order of existence. Politics, as such, does not exist among men. It is to be found, as Professor Jacobsen says, in the "primitive democracy" of the gods. Political activity is mediated to men through the civil and military officers of the realm, the "*en-si*" and the "*sakanakku.*" The political area of administration, the city, was looked upon as the private patrimony of the local diety or, as in the case of Egypt, the Pharaoh, a son of Horus, the sun god, was considered to be the head of the household of all the Egyptian people.[9]

The revelational literature of the Hebrews presents quite a different picture of the cosmos. For the writers of the Old Testament, the Lord God was above the world of men and things, but related to it, not by an

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8. Glenn Tinder, "The Necessity of Historicism," *A. P. S. R.* 55:562-563.
9. Thorkild Jacobsen in Henri Frankfort, et al, *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), pp 149-150, 191-192; John Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 78-79. Gleason Archer notes that Professor Jacobsen has now accepted the concept of dual rulers rather than the priest-king (pa-te-si), as formerly believed, in Mesopotamian culture.

assumed patriarchal concept of ownership but by right of creationship. Because God had created the natural world and man in separate acts, man and nature were separate in identity, although enjoying existence through the beneficent activity of Supreme Deity. Politics in this system centers around the responsive and creative activity of man, an individual separated from nature, who is endowed with the capacity and the liberty to communicate with his Maker. Life is given direction and purpose through the granting of a covenant which establishes a recognizable line of communication with Deity and places upon man, a free moral agent, the responsibility of responding to the offer of direct communicating relationship.

This idea of man's political activity being sanctioned by a center of authority outside the community of men is in startling contrast to the political systems developed by the Greeks and the Romans. Both Plato and Cicero endeavored to establish the principle of authority upon the basis of an assumed "logos" or posited "law of nature" which transcended all of life and gave it unity. But Plato's conception of the philosopher-king, trained reason functioning in a harmoniously trained body, was no more effective as a motivating myth than the mythological character of Chiron, half man and half beast, that Machiavelli invoked as instructor of the prince.[10] Both lacked the mediatorial demonstration of the ultimate power which the Hebrews possessed in the Law and the Prophets, a potent concept which was amplified in the person and ministry of Christ, "the Son of God with Power."[11]

It was this concept of authority and power, whose ultimate source lay outside the community, that gave thrust to the great work of St. Augustine in the fourth century and later provided the basis for the free political institutions advocated by the leaders of the Reformation. Both Calvin and Luther embraced the biblical perspective of constitutional government in their contest against the paganized religious and political forms of government that then pervailed in both church and state.[12] This is the view of government and its sanctions which undergirded the Puritan protest in England. It is the concept of authority and its sanction

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10. Leo Strauss, "Machiavelli's Intention: The Prince," *A. P. S. R.* 51:33-34.
11. Romans 1:5
12. Sir Erskine May, "Democracy in Europe," *The Quarterly Review* CXLV, No. 289, January, 1878, pp. 112-142, as reprinted in Lord Acton, *Essays on Freedom and Power* (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1948), excerpt pp. 132-133.

which distinguished the American Revolution and the drive toward the constitutional system manifested in the fundamental law of the American republic.

Some Biblical Perspectives Regarding Politics

First, popular sovereignty is a misnomer as a concept of ultimate authority in a political system. Christ's declaration: "Full authority is given to me in heaven and in earth," is ample demonstration of the proposition that all human sovereignties are of a limited character.[13] This insight provides ample sanction for the phrase "under God" in the American pledge of allegiance, and lays the basis for a concept of constitutionalism which recognizes that the sanction for authority and power lies outside the community.[14]

Second, the distribution of power between ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions is a basic principle of human existence. This principle is not grounded in religion, as such, for each of the great religious systems tends to justify a union of civil and ecclesiastical power as the primary basis of order in society. Christ's rejection of the exercise of political power in support of His Messianic mission[15] and His declaration of two-fold responsibility for His followers[16] demonstrate the confirmation of the great truth of separation between civil and religious authority originally stated in the "law and the prophets." The historical book of I Samuel deserves more attention in this connection than has usually been given to it. The plight of Saul, Israel's first king, is the plight of one charged with the development of a concept of kingship which was shorn of its religious functions. The kingship of David, as recorded in II Samuel and I Kings, reveals a successful demonstration of divided authority in a period of national growth and expansion.

Three, the rule of law is basic to the maintenance of order. The description of the democratic kingship, found in Deuteronomy 17:14-20, provides a model which is in direct contrast to the Roman concept of a divine emperor sanctioned by popular consent and subject, therefore, to no restraint in the exercise of power. It is no accident that the

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13. Jacques Maritain, "The Concept of Sovereignty," *A. P. S. R.* 44:343-357.
14. Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York: Viking Press, 1963), pp. 182-183.
15. Matthew 4:8-10.
16. Matthew 11:21.

executive office created by the framers of the American Constitution resembles the concept of kingship set forth in the Deuteronomic model more closely than that of any previous European monarchy. The framers were free to create an executive who expressed the aspirations of the Puritan commonwealth in their contest with the English monarchy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a monarchy corrupted by the Romanic model even though professing scriptural foundation.[17]

Four, religious freedom is the basis of civil liberty. The most dramatic demonstration of this principle lies in the scene depicted in Exodus 5:1-3. Moses and Aaron, his brother, are represented as appearing before the Pharaoh of Egypt to present a request from the people of Israel for freedom from work over a period of three days in order that they may engage in a religious pilgrimage into the wilderness. The issues at stake are clearly seen when one realizes that the Pharaoh is a divine ruler representing in his office and in his person the religious and political institutions of the Egyptian empire. Pharaoh's query, "Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice and let Israel go?" is full of contempt for anyone who would presume to worship a deity other than he. The whole problem of religious pluralism and the right of freedom of conscience is wrapped up in the narrative which follows. Not only must the Pharaoh be brought to a recognition of God's sovereignty as the basis of the claim for freedom of worship, but all of the galaxy of small deities worshipped in the Egyptian households must be taught that man must be left free to worship God. The entire story of Israel's deliverance from the totalitarian system of ancient Egypt is instructive for an understanding of the issues underlying the modern move toward suppression of religious freedom in the totalitarian countries of the Left.

Five, a recognition of the ministerial character of positions of authority in both church and state is essential to sound administration of public affairs. Undoubtedly, the clearest model of this fundamental concept is to be found in Zechariah 4. Here the vision of the lamp stand and the two olive trees symbolizes the deputed character of authority as well as the principle of separation of church and state. The framers of the American state and federal constitutions dealt with one aspect of this problem of authority when they provided for institutional checks and balances between the departments of government established. The Supreme

17. William Haller, *The Elect Nation* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), pp. 75-78.

Court under John Marshall early dealt with the issue when the Chief Justice lectured the President on the obligation of the Chief Executive to carry out the expressed will of Congress in statue in the case of Marbury v. Madison. The Presbyterian Church in the United States wrote this principle into its Constitution of 1788. The Supreme Court referred again to the principle in ruling upon the President's responsibility to enforce the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 in Georgia v. Stanton, 1867.

Six, the responsibility of maintaining order in the community must be discharged by the citizens if political freedom is to prevail in a given community. The biblical model of citizenship combines religious responsibility with social outreach. The worship of God is primary; the service to man in the light of this divinely-inspired devotion is ancillary.[18] Augustine chose this particular model as the basis of his political sociology. His basic presupposition was that men tend to polarize in society in accordance with the compulsive motivation of their "loves." From such presuppositions flow the religiously-based concept of citizenship: an awareness and concern for the welfare of others, which is manifested in the assumption of responsibility for the public welfare.

There is no more dramatic presentation of this principle in any literature, sacred or profane, than the parable of Jotham.[19] This story, related by the surviving member of a family of seventy brothers that had been murdered by Abimelech, the usurper, tells of the effort of the trees to secure one to rule over them. Each in turn, the olive tree, the fig tree, and the grape vine declined to serve as monarch. Each indicated that the divinely given function to provide oil, figs, and wine, respectively, for the men of their generation absolved them from the responsibilities of maintaining public order. The trees of the forest were obliged, therefore, to submit to the rule of the bramble, who insisted as a price for the performance of the governmental functions a pledge of absolute dependence and obedience. If the pledge were not kept, they might expect the fire of destruction.

The lesson contained in this parable concerning the responsibilities of citizenship is quite obvious; those who shirk civic duties on the ground that they have more important functions to perform may expect inferior persons to discharge the obligations of government under conditions which

18. Deuteronomy 6:5; Leviticus 19:18; Matthew 22:37-39.
19. Judges 9:1-21.

reduce the people to slavery. The very nature of the agreement by which power is conferred upon the bramble precludes any interaction between ruler and people that would preserve individual liberty and develop a sense of personal responsibility among the citizenry.

Scientific Study of Political Phenomena

"Science is organized knowledge," declares the inscription over the door of a second floor room in the Library of Congress. For the student of government this means that he must determine what general area of human activity he will include in his inquiry and what method of organization he will employ in assembling and classifying his findings. It will be helpful for the student of politics to remember that scientific inquiry in any field involves certain basic questions:

1. What is the nature of the phenomena that I am studying?
2. What device or devices may I use to bring the phenomena within the range of my vision and comprehension?
3. What system of identification, i.e., framework of reference, may I employ in analyzing and classifying the phenomena under observation?
4. What method of testing shall I use in clarifying the data derived from my inquiry?
5. How may I arrange and prepare the data observed and studied for communication to others?
6. To what extent may the information thus derived be used in predicting the future course of human activity?

It will be helpful to begin by employing a simple analysis of the universal aspects of phenomena to be studied in political science. If we assume that the basic postulate in political studies is the existence of man in time and space, we can assume for purposes of analysis that political phenomena are associated with a characteristic feature of man's observed existence, namely, a certain tendency to develop institutionalized forms of behavior that are concerned with the general problem of maintaining order. Greek philosophers and the writers of early religious literature, including the Hebrews, recognized that the principle of order raised other questions for consideration, namely, the problem of justice. While the Epicurean philosophers thought that order was maintained primarily for providing security for man, Plato, Aristotle and the Hebrew writers discovered that justice was the only objective that was worthy the nature of man. For man was not simply a fortuitous concourse of atoms, as the Epicureans held; he was either an object in nature endowed with the

peculiar quality of reason, or he was a created being endowed with the very "image" of his Creator. In either case security, protection against physical destruction, would be inadequate to minister to the needs of the total person. Thus political science, which for Aristotle included those basic principles of understanding which undergirded the entire universe of nature as well as the practices employed to attain man's highest goals for living, early became involved in a consideration of values. For the Greeks they were norms established by the community; for the Hebrews they were standards revealed by the Creator of man and his society.

Nineteenth century political scientists such as Auguste Comte and John Stuart Mill sought to introduce the concept of change as the most important value related to the problem of order. This emphasis left political scientists without any standard for measuring the results of their observations.[20] Since change could best be observed by an application of a certain order of thinking, described as the "scientific method," those who followed this empirical emphasis in the hope that it would yield scientific norms that could be used both as a standard of measure and a basis of prediction were left without any basis for judging the reliability of the new totalitarian forms of government which characterized the political developments of the twentieth century.[21]

A cultural approach to the study of politics provides an opportunity to employ all of the component elements of a cultural system in evaluating a given set of political institutions. Eric Voegelin has reminded students of politics that every political society is characterized by an internal structuring which is representative of a value system that is characteristic of the people involved. This value system is made up of beliefs which characterize the people under investigation, and is dependent upon a "cosmion" of the political order which is engendered by communication among the members of the society.[22] Voegelin's observation raises the question of origin for the beliefs and values which make up the "cosmion" that illuminates the concept of politics and the institutional arrangements for order and justice within a given society. It is at this point that the nature of politics in the West becomes manifest. Greek writers

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20. Arnold Brecht, *Political Theory* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1959), p. 9.
21. Brecht, *op. cit.* pp. 12-13.
22. Eric Voegelin, *The New Science of Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), pp. 31-37.

seized upon the concept of nature as the cosmion on which to build their interpretation of the political order.[23] Plato's effort to establish a concept of order and justice upon his assumed view of nature as eternal and harmonious left much to be desired when it faced the Hebrew-Christian conception of a "cosmion" built upon a created universe. Such a universe was temporal in nature. It contained a society of men characterized by sin, a type of behavior which was observable because man's life continually fell short of the order of justice, eternal in character and ultimately resident in an eternal, personal God.

A systematic study of political phenomena must begin, however, with a basic assumption concerning the nature of the universe. The natural sciences can contribute much to this. These observations, it must be remembered, are inquiries that are focused upon current behavior. They have no access by reason of their limited methodology to information about the basic character of the natural world. The Christian perspective offers the illumination of divine revelation, namely, that nature is created entity and, therefore, temporal, not eternal in character. Since man, the focus of attention in political science, is part of nature, any information derived concerning him as a part of nature will be tentative in character and subject to continuing change or alteration. It is true, also, as Giambattista Vico pointed out in the early seventeenth century, that the scientific observer has little opportunity to study the essence or character of natural phenomena including man. This means that man must develop a "representation, or schema,"[24] an abstraction to serve as a working model, which will, in turn, enable him to bring political phenomena within the range of observation. Plato took the position that the *polis,* the unit of political existence, was a useful model for it was the "man writ large." Others have assumed that it was the estate of a deity or a voluntary association of individuals or families for specific social purposes. Organismic models, such as found in the human body, have been used by political thinkers. So, too, have mechanical models such as Montesquieu's "separation of powers" system. More recently political scientists have employed an organizational model stressing executive integration as found in the

23. George H. Sabine, *History of Political Theory* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1937), pp. 25-32.
24. Benjamin Ginsberg, "Science," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), 13:592.

modern corporation.[25] Failure on the part of political scientists to agree on a basic model has made it difficult to establish a body of knowledge with organic and structural unity.[26]

The "Covenant" Concept

The biblical concept of a body of people bound together in response to a divine authorization known as "the covenant," has had great influence in the development of Western political culture. The leaders of the Protestant Reformation found two basic principles in the model described in the Scriptures: (1) that political authority was divine in origin but extended to the community of men through a mediatorial law or a mediatorial Person, (2) that political institutions and processes grew out of man's response to the responsibilities contained in the covenant. These principles are fundamental to the concept of constitutionalism which characterizes much of political development since the sixteenth century.

The American constitutional system is peculiarly indebted to this model for its sanctions. The Mayflower Compact of 1620 and the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut of 1639 both claimed divine revelation indirectly and directly as authority for their composition. Several students of American institutions have pointed out recently that those who drafted the first American state constitutions, the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of 1787 fell back of necessity upon this sanction as authority for their action.[27] Without this model in Western culture American leadership would have been under severe strain to present a rational basis for their revolutionary and seditious action.

This observation again gives point to the contention that the framework of reference in political inquiry must be sufficiently broad to include all pertinent data whether identified by some as religious instead of secular. It reminds every student of government that the techniques of observation and the literary symbolisms employed in the effort to record

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25. Emmette S. Radford, "Reflections on a Discipline," *A. P. S. R.* 55:755-762, p. 760.
26. Heinz Eulau, "Political Science," in Bert F. Hoselitz, editor, *A Reader's Guide to the Social Sciences* (Chicago: Free Press, 1959), p. 92.
27. Mary Baldwin, *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1928), pp. 168-170; Andrew C. McLaughlin, *Foundations of American Constitutionalism* (New York: New York University Press, 1932), pp. 66-85.

observations must be sufficiently widely chosen so as to include the whole spectrum of interpretations which are understood and employed within a given culture. Without this liberality of spirit in scientific inquiry and this willingness to receive information from a variety of sources the findings of the political scientist may be insufficiently described and interpreted. The late Paul Tillich made it very plain to his Japanese hosts in a recent visit to that country that Buddhists had little to contribute to the development of democracy. The reason was simply this, that the Buddhist emphasis upon self-exaltation and self-perfection was directly opposed to the Christian conception of sacrificial service which undergirded the model of democratic society in the West.[28]

The inclusion of data from the total culture of a people provokes an inquiry concerning the manner in which data is to be acquired. Most students would emphasize the use of controlled observation and the testing of these observations by further controlled observation or a statistical simulation of the same. The inclusion of factors such as religion, literature and art in the study of political phenomena suggests the propriety of reflection as a proper manner in which to discover illuminating insights in the development of a reliable representation of a given political system, institution or process.[29] When reflection is employed in the interpretation of a given political system, the observer is able to draw upon an informed imagination in a description of the "cosmion" which illuminates any given political system. The scientist himself assumes the role of an artist who is instructed by both systematically derived generalizations and by intuitively or logically conceived relationships binding the formally structured and abstractively conceived data into a meaningful whole.

Techniques for Communication

There remains for consideration the process of verifying this system of analysis and the problem of communicating the insights thus derived. This phase of our methodological inquiry inevitably raises the question of techniques. Shall these be by generalization, that is, by demonstration

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28. Paul Tillich, *Christianity and the Encounter of the World Religions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 72 ff.
29. David G. Smith, "Political Science and Political Theory," (mimeographed paper presented at annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D. C., September 5-8, 1962), p. 3.

of logical relationship between the conclusions drawn and the data derived or by verification, the systematic testing of conclusions suggested from data derived by means of the new devices of Content Analysis?[30] It seems proper to suggest at this point that there is no *one* way to verify scientific knowledge. Each system yields a type of demonstration that is useful. To employ one without the other may lead to distortion of interpretation of the observer's findings. Efforts have been made by students of American culture and by students of culture in Soviet Russia to form generalizations concerning the life of both great countries. What one discovers in the literature embodying the findings of students of a given culture is this: those who follow the historico-cultural methodology are able to present a clearer generalization on the full meaning of the ruling values than those who concentrate upon an existential description.

Two studies of the past fifteen years reveal how meaningful a Christian perspective can be in the description of the ideas which have conditioned men in political action. John H. Hallowell of Duke University begins his *Main Currents in Modern Political Thought* with this simple declaration of focus:

> ". . . the presuppositions from which this book is written are those of the classical Christian tradition, as I understand it." (viii)[31]

Eduard Heimann, author of *Reason and Faith in Modern Society,*[32] a penetrating study of Liberalism, Marxism and Democracy, informs his readers that he proposes to examine these modern political ideologies from the perspective of a "theology of society." The broader implications of his presuppositions are set forth in an article entitled, "Christian Foundations of the Social Sciences," which appeared in *Social Research* for August, 1959. These and other studies demonstrate the validity of the contention

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30. See Bernard Crick, *The American Science of Politics: Its Origins and Conditions* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1959), pp. 219-220, for helpful discussion of this problem. Herbert McClosky, "Concensus and Ideology in American Politics," *A. P. S. R.* 58:361-382 demonstrates the importance of Content Analysis in testing contemporary acceptance of basic American political ideas.

31. John H. Hallowell, *Main Currents in Modern Political Thought* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1950).

32. Edward Heimann, *Reason and Faith in Modern Society* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), p. vii.

of this paper. They deserve a wider consideration among students in evangelical Protestant colleges.

Will Herberg's essay, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* arrives at generalizations concerning the relationship between religion and culture in twentieth century America which are of broader scope and of deeper perspective than those revealed in Gerhard Lenski's study, *The Religious Factor.* The former attempts a historico-cultural analysis; the latter describes religion as a sociological factor in the society of the Detroit metropolitan area. Similarly, the presentation of data on the foundations of constitutionalism in the West which is contained in such studies as Carl J. Friedrich's *Constitutional Government and Democracy*[33] and his more recent essay, *Transcendent Justice,*[34] clearly demonstrate the great value of the broad cultural framework of reference which permits the investigator to employ insights derived from Christianity, philosophy and institutional history in his presentation. A. D. Lindsay's *The Modern Democratic State,*[35] Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* [36] and Hannah Arendt's *On Revolution,*[37] are equally useful in presenting a full-orbed cultural basis for an understanding of the American Revolution and the French Revolution.

Evaluations of the current viability of such concepts in the life of the public must be demonstrated by another methodology. It is at this point that the system of Content Analysis may prove to be very useful if properly oriented by data drawn from an historico-cultural investigation. A recent article by Herbert McCloskey, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics,"[38] offers a plan of study which adopts the presupposition that the American constitutional system is based upon an ideology which can be ascertained through a study of the contents of state papers and public discussion. Professor McCloskey then proceeds to employ a system of structured interviews designed to make plain the extent to which

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33. Carl J. Freidrich, *Constitutional Government and Democracy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1937, rev. ed. 1941).
34. Friedrich, *Transcendent Justice* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1964).
35. A. D. Lindsay, *The Modern Democratic State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962, Galaxy Book; original printing, 1943).
36. Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1955).
37. Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York: Viking Press, 1963).
38. McCloskey, *op. cit.*

these concepts are currently employed in political discussion. An effort is made, also, to compare the current understanding of the basic concepts in comparison with the understanding which prevailed at the time of the Constitution. The results of such a study show clearly that the accurate and meaningful transmission of such democratic values as freedom, equality, confidence in the constitutional system and willingness to follow the rules of the game are not always clearly understood by the larger body of participating citizens. People often respond without reference to conscious consideration of these values. The study reveals, however, that as education and sophistication are extended in American society there tends to be a greater awareness of the values contained in the ideology. Similar studies have been made at the Cornell Center for International Studies involving an effort to develop a methodology which will evaluate more accurately the present attitude of Russians toward Americans.[39] To adopt such studies as the only method of arriving at truth concerning the problem of order among men would leave students of political science with a historical and cultural framework inadequate to evaluate the data thus derived.

The problem of communication of knowledge developed through these approaches is directly related to the method of study. It is quite obvious that a historico-cultural approach will be able to make use of language that is more closely related to common sense concepts. The necessity of employing mathematical formulae and symbols in the Content Analysis approach makes general communication quite difficult. This situation will probably continue until such time as the general public and even the educated groups become better trained in the use of mathematical language. In the meantime students of political science have warned of the limitations of mathematics as a means of discovering new data and communicating it to scholars and to others.[40]

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39. See Urie Bronfrenbrenner, "Allowing for Soviet Perceptions and Motives," a mimeographed paper presented at the American Political Science Association meeting in New York, September, 1963.

40. See articles by Oliver Benson and Andrew Hacker on political science and mathematics in James C. Charlesworth, editor, *Mathematics and the Social Sciences* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1963), pp. 30-76.

Conclusion

What has this brief exposition endeavored to transmit by way of a Christian perspective of Political Science?

1. That the Christian perspective is based upon the presupposition that there is a unity in the universe because of God's creative and redemptive relationship to it through Jesus Christ. This assumption leads to the necessity of building an understanding of political science on a methodology which begins with the cosmos, rather than man, and conceives man in the cosmos historically committed to the task of maintaining order among men. Since man is made in the image of God, the problem of justice becomes an important consideration in the study of order among men.

2. That the Christian perspective may best be implemented through the use of a historico-cultural methodology which provides an opportunity for the student to study the problem of order and justice within the framework of that broad scope of knowledge which employs insights from the fields of science, religion, philosophy, philology, literature and art. This permits the use of a model or scema which displays the unity of the cultural life that forms the framework of reference for the decision-making activity of man in his effort to maintain order and justice.

3. That the Christian perspective need not be unalterably committed to any one particular method of accumulating and organizing data. The "scientific method" employed should be determined by the nature of the political phenomena under consideration.

4. That the determination of "truth" in political science must be in recognition of the limited character of the nature of scientific inquiry, and that it must always be evaluated in relation to the phenomena under consideration and the method of thought employed.

5. That the communication of knowledge about things political will depend for its effectiveness upon the nature of the word symbols employed. This will mean that the broader the range of cultural knowledge, i.e., religious, philosophic, scientific, aesthetic, linguistic, the more effective will the concepts of political science be communicated to this and to succeeding generations.