

Preface to the German edition by Professor Ekkehart Krippendorff

Everyone talks about the new thinking – well, here it is, or in any event, an important step toward it. Not in the form of one of the many well intentioned books, which are flooding our market offering solutions to our environmental problems, over population, climate warming, food emergencies and malnutrition, but as a provocation which is focused, unexcited, modest in tone, and stubbornly decided in its cause. A provocation of reason, but not one of the many self-righteous appeals to an anonymous world public, without time and location, knowing that no one will react to the language of “we should”, “we must”, “it is necessary” etc.; which is put forth with the cheap courage of rhetorical radicalism. This provocation in contrast has a foundation, it knows its audience who it is challenging, and with whom it is seeking the dialogue: it is Political Science. The challenge is contained in the programmatic title, which advocates a change of paradigm to a theoretical re-orientation, which aims to make thinkable social orders, which have put the killing of people behind them, fundamentally, unconditionally and historically.

It is actually a modest undertaking, this “making thinkable”. It is a call for a scientific effort to depart from the acceptance of an anthropological given that there is a natural, human readiness to kill. The failure to question this as a social construct shows the need for a political science based on the non-killing command. Why this modest immodest appeal to the good sense of social science? For one it brings to mind that this is a legitimate child of democracy, as discovered, established and reasoned by Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and the falsely accused “Sophists” - the first teachers of self determination, the auto-nomia. Here political science was founded as a Philosophy, as systematic calling for the norms of community, justices, freedom, harmony, beauty, and virtue. Since then, however, in the renaissance of the city republics, where rediscovery was associated with the name of Machiavelli, the academic and politically informed understanding tended to reduce itself to governance science, governance techniques, and to the methods, instruments and lawfulness of the use of power. In this powerful tradition, the discipline has been at home until the present day. In the examination and analyses of government science and techniques there is hardly a place for normative relationships (and here we arrive at the subject of the provocation). Still, while this 20th century normative social science thinking is not altogether apparent, it tends to be written in small letters. Freedom, equality, justice, democracy, while held high as values, the extent to which they inspire the scientific business of analyses, the empirical, the methods and discussion of theory, is a question which tends to be responded to in the negative.

Glenn D. Paige's provocation reminds political science not only about its normative mandate as such, but goes a step further, in that he suggest adding non-killing to the classic canon of norms, so that in the asked for change of paradigm, the constantly rhetorically demand of “New Thinking” in the discipline, is introduced with forethought with one central argument. If it is true that political science is the science of the art of community, and not least, that of intercultural living together, then it is not only legitimate, but also likely to be successful and without illusions and to start here with the provocation. It is its Archimedic point the 5th commandment “you shall not kill”, as the global ethos of politics and its scientific critique. Paige's language and method of argumentation is virtually exemplary, in that, while he does not permit doubt about the results of his thinking (the adoption of non-killing as norm would be an immense

cultural and material win for society) but will at the same time go into the many possible and legitimate counter arguments and doubts. No dogmatist is talking here, no blue-eyed propagandist of the good, but an idealistic pragmatist, in its best sense. Always astounding and provoking he reasonable questions: If killing is part of the anthropological equipment of our species, why is it that the people who kill make up such a minute percentage? It cannot be because of the deterrence of the death penalty or the fear of revenge. Let us try to think about it for ourselves. Paige encourages us by referring to the impressive ancestor gallery of great pacifists: If they were able, on the stage of politics and in the spirit of pacifism to propose nonviolence, then dare we hope that it is possible to make non-killing, non-utopian and realistic societies at least thinkable. Many historical and ethnological societies are being cited, which have lived these norms, or have at least come close to their practical realization. Again and again Paige invites us to test his statements. Absent is any know-it-all arrogance, which too often characterizes and makes unbearable the 'Weltverbesserer' (those who want to improve the world). Paige pitches his theses through nearly all humankind's great problems, makes them plausible, and in the literal sense, worth thinking about. All of this without pseudo scientific jargon in simple language and arranged easy to see at a glance.

Not the least, he turns toward the self-evident; that of the political scientist as an individual, who he asks to self-critically reflect upon their work, their profession, and their professional calling. He does not exhaust himself in value free analyses and the process of how to rule. Instead the political scientists are understood as persons, co-responsible for shaping a human friendly society on the basis of "reverence for life" (Albert Schweitzer). Thus, here is a friendly invitation addressed not only to a scientific discipline, but to every individual, to give new thought to one empty, and maybe even the central, space in their specialty and how it could be filled. Can there be any more beautiful provocation?

Kindly translated by Hans Sinn