

# POLIS V12: The Complete Political Science Series – 12 Giants

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*This document combines two companion papers:  
“Tensional Reinterpretation of Six Founders of Modern Political Science”  
and “Tensional Reinterpretation of Six More Political Pioneers”.*

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## Abstract

Within the POLIS V12 tensional ontology, every political system is a polis constituted by three meshes (solid, liquid, gaseous) and governed by the closure condition  $\epsilon = \sum K_m(2 + K_m) = 0$ , with  $T = K_{\min}$  as the tensional origin. This paper applies the framework to six foundational figures of political science: Niccolò Machiavelli (realism and power), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (general will), Edmund Burke (conservatism), Alexis de Tocqueville (democracy), John Stuart Mill (liberty and representative government), and Karl Marx (class struggle). Each classical contribution is reinterpreted as a tensional configuration: Machiavelli's *virtù* as strategic  $K$  management; Rousseau's general will as collective  $\epsilon$ ; Burke's organic society as slow Phase 5 reorganisation; Tocqueville's tyranny of the majority as mesh imbalance; Mill's harm principle as  $K$  boundary; and Marx's class consciousness as Phase 4 explosion. The universal equations remain unchanged; no free parameters are introduced.

## 1 Introduction

POLIS V12 is a closed, parameter-free tensional conservation theory built on four axioms (Tensional Ontology, Harmonic Ground  $H = 1$ , Tensional Conservation, Data Origin  $T = K_{\min}$ ). The governing equation, after normalisation, is

$$\epsilon = \sum_{m=1}^n K_m(2 + K_m) = 0,$$

with  $K_m = (v_m - T)/(v_{\max} - T) \in [0, 1]$ . The disequilibrium index is  $\text{IDT}^* = \epsilon/(1 + \epsilon)$ . All real political systems reside in Phase 4 ( $\text{IDT}^* \geq 0.70$ ) unless artificially uniform. The Rolling Law  $2\pi r_p = V_{\text{orb}}T_{\text{rot}}$  applies fractally at all scales.

This paper reinterprets six key political contributions within this tensional ontology. No classical primacy is assumed; tension is the primitive.

## 2 Niccolò Machiavelli – Realism and Virtù

Machiavelli separated politics from morality, focusing on power and the effective truth. In POLIS V12, power is the ability to impose one's  $K$  on others. The prince's *virtù* is the skill to manage  $K$ : to increase it when needed (force, cunning) and decrease it when prudent (appear merciful). The lion and the fox are two modes of tension: raw  $K$  (violence) vs cunning  $K$  (deception).

Machiavelli's advice that it is better to be feared than loved if you cannot be both is a tensional trade-off: fear (negative  $K$  for subjects) reliably reduces  $\epsilon$ ; love (positive  $K$ ) is less stable because it depends on the subject's subjective feelings. The "state" is a polis

that alone can wield high  $K$  (monopoly of force). Fortune (fortuna) is external variation in  $T$  and  $v_{\max}$  that the prince must adapt to. The concept of "necessità" (necessity) is the drive to reduce  $\epsilon$  when survival is at stake.

### 3 Jean-Jacques Rousseau – General Will and Social Contract

Rousseau's social contract creates a collective body (the sovereign) with a general will that aims at the common good. In POLIS V12, the general will is the normalised sum of individual  $K$  preferences:  $K_{\text{general}} = (1/N) \sum K_{\text{citizen}}$ . The sovereign is a polis superior to individuals; it can force a citizen to be free (i.e., align their  $K$  with the general will). The general will is always right (just) because it is the  $T$  of the political polis.

Rousseau's distinction between the will of all (sum of private interests) and the general will (common interest) is the difference between the raw average  $K$  and a corrected  $K$  that excludes extreme outliers. The law is the expression of the general will; it applies equally to all ( $K$  same for all). The legislator is an external figure who helps the people discover their general will – i.e., calibrates the normalisation parameters.

### 4 Edmund Burke – Conservatism and Organic Change

Burke argued for gradual reform, respecting inherited institutions, and warned against violent revolution. In POLIS V12, organic change is a slow Phase 5 reorganisation that preserves the accumulated  $K$  stored in customs and traditions. The social contract is not a one-time agreement but a continuous tensional bond across generations.

Burke's critique of the French Revolution (abstract rights, sudden overthrow) is that it removes the solid mesh (institutions) too quickly, causing a Phase 4 explosion (terror) rather than a reorganised Phase 5. The "prescription" (long custom) gives legitimacy because it has been tested over time (low  $\epsilon$ ). Society is a partnership between the dead, the living, and the unborn – a hierarchical polis with intergenerational  $K$  transmission.

### 5 Alexis de Tocqueville – Democracy in America

Tocqueville analysed American democracy, noting its strengths (associations, local government) and dangers (tyranny of the majority). In POLIS V12, democracy decentralises  $K$ : power is distributed among many polises (towns, states, federal government). The tyranny of the majority occurs when the majority's  $K$  overwhelms minority  $K$ , pushing the minority's  $K$  below a tolerable threshold (Phase 3 saturation for the minority).

Tocqueville's emphasis on "associations" (voluntary organisations) as a buffer against state power: they create intermediate  $K$  levels between the individual and the government, reducing  $\epsilon$  by absorbing tension. The concept of "self-interest properly understood" is when citizens act in their long-term  $K$  (enlightened self-interest) rather than short-term  $K$ . The "individualism" (withdrawal from public life) is a decrease in  $K_{\text{civic}}$ , which can

lead to despotism.

## 6 John Stuart Mill – Liberty and Representative Government

Mill's *On Liberty* defended freedom of speech and action, limited by the harm principle. In POLIS V12, the harm principle states that an individual's  $K$  may be constrained only when it threatens to raise  $\epsilon$  of others (i.e., causes harm). Free speech is essential because it allows lower- $K$  ideas to challenge higher- $K$  orthodoxies, preventing  $\epsilon$  from stagnating (Phase 3).

Mill's representative government balances majoritarian rule with protection of minorities (proportional representation). His concept of "higher pleasures" (intellectual) vs "lower pleasures" (bodily) ranks  $K$  values: intellectual pursuits have higher  $K$  (more lasting) and therefore contribute more to the sum of  $\epsilon$ . The "tyranny of the majority" in Mill includes social pressure (silencing opinions) – a gaseous mesh that reduces  $K_{\text{free expression}}$ .

## 7 Karl Marx – Class Struggle and Revolution

Marx analysed history as class struggle (slave/master, feudal lord/serf, bourgeois/proletariat). In POLIS V12, each class has a characteristic  $K$  distribution. The bourgeoisie own the means of production (high  $K_{\text{capital}}$ ), the proletariat only their labour (low  $K_{\text{wage}}$ ). Capitalism exploits workers by extracting surplus value (the residual  $x = K_{\text{product}} - K_{\text{wage}}$ ). The increasing poverty of the proletariat (lower  $K$ ) and concentration of capital (higher  $K$ ) drive the system toward Phase 3 saturation.

Revolution occurs when the proletariat's collective  $K$  reaches a threshold and they seize the means of production – a Phase 4 explosion. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a transitional polis that suppresses the bourgeoisie (reduces their  $K$ ). Eventually, the state withers away as classes disappear and  $\epsilon$  approaches zero (communism). Marx's "alienation" is the worker's separation from the product of their labour – the worker's  $K$  is not reflected in the object they produce.

## 8 Conclusion

The six foundational contributions to political science are coherently reinterpreted within the POLIS V12 tensional ontology. Power politics, general will, conservatism, democracy, liberty, and class struggle all become natural consequences of the closure condition  $\epsilon = \sum K_m(2 + K_m) = 0$  and the fractal hierarchy of political polises. No free parameters are added.

## Zenodo references

- Main treatise: [10.5281/zenodo.19618276](https://zenodo.org/record/19618276/files/10.5281%2Fzenodo.19618276)

- POLIS Bible: [10.5281/zenodo.19836226](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.19836226)

### Abstract

This paper extends the POLIS V12 tensional reinterpretation to six additional political giants: Hannah Arendt (totalitarianism), Leo Strauss (natural right), John Rawls (justice as fairness), Robert Dahl (polyarchy), Michel Foucault (power/knowledge), and Francis Fukuyama (end of history). Each is re-read as a tensional configuration: Arendt's banality of evil as low- $K$  compliance; Strauss's natural right as universal  $K$ ; Rawls's original position as veil of ignorance ( $K$  unknown); Dahl's polyarchy as distributed  $K$ ; Foucault's disciplinary power as mesh that produces  $K$ ; and Fukuyama's end of history as a temporary  $\epsilon$  minimum. The universal equations remain unchanged; no free parameters are introduced.

## 9 Introduction

As in the companion paper, POLIS V12 rests on four axioms. After normalisation the mother equation is

$$\epsilon = \sum_{m=1}^n K_m(2 + K_m) = 0,$$

with  $IDT^* = \epsilon/(1 + \epsilon)$ . All real political systems are in Phase 4 ( $IDT^* \geq 0.70$ ) unless artificially uniform. The Rolling Law  $2\pi r_p = V_{orb}T_{rot}$  applies fractally.

This paper reinterprets six more foundational contributions to political science.

## 10 Hannah Arendt – Totalitarianism and the Banality of Evil

Arendt analysed totalitarianism (Nazism, Stalinism) as a novel form of government that destroys all intermediate  $K$  levels (associations, law, rights). In POLIS V12, totalitarianism is a polis that attempts to reduce all other meshes to zero, leaving only the leader's  $K = 1$  (omnipotent). The "banality of evil" (Eichmann) is the observation that perpetrators act not out of high  $K$  (malice) but out of low  $K$  (thoughtless compliance with routine). Evil can be committed by those with  $K \approx 0$  (no moral resistance).

Arendt's concept of the "right to have rights" is the minimum  $K$  required to be recognised as a member of a political community. Without it, a person is a bare life ( $K = 0$ ) – stateless, helpless. The "radical evil" (the creation of superfluous people) is the reduction of human  $K$  to zero without even the capacity to suffer.

## 11 Leo Strauss – Natural Right and the Ancients vs Moderns

Strauss revived the idea of natural right (universal moral standards) and criticised modern relativism. In POLIS V12, natural right is the set of  $K$  values that are invariant across all times and cultures, derived from the nature of the human polis (e.g., self-preservation, justice). The distinction between "ancients" (Plato, Aristotle) and "moderns" (Machiavelli, Hobbes) is a difference in normalisation: ancients used a higher  $T$  (virtue) than moderns (self-preservation).

Strauss's "esoteric writing" (hidden meaning in philosophical texts) is a tensional strategy: authors lower the surface  $K$  (exoteric) to avoid persecution while embedding a higher  $K$  (esoteric) for careful readers. The crisis of modernity (value nihilism) occurs when political polises no longer recognise any  $K$  above the lowest common denominator (relativism).

## 12 John Rawls – Justice as Fairness

Rawls's theory of justice uses the original position behind a veil of ignorance. In POLIS V12, the veil of ignorance prevents individuals from knowing their own  $K$  (talents, social position). They must choose a social contract that maximises the minimum  $K$  (maximin rule). The two principles of justice are: (1) equal basic liberties for all ( $K_{\text{liberty}}$  equal), (2) social and economic inequalities only if they benefit the least advantaged (the difference principle: increasing  $\min(K)$ ).

The original position is a tensional thought experiment: it forces choosers to normalise  $K$  as if they could end up in any position. The "reflective equilibrium" is the iterative adjustment of  $K$  between principles and intuitions until  $\epsilon$  is minimised. Rawls's "overlapping consensus" (different comprehensive doctrines agree on political  $K$  values) is the stable convergence of diverse polises on a shared mesh (Phase 5).

## 13 Robert Dahl – Polyarchy and Democracy

Dahl defined polyarchy as a real-world approximation of ideal democracy, characterised by contestation (competition for power) and participation (inclusive voting). In POLIS V12, polyarchy distributes  $K$  across multiple centres of power: no single person or group has  $K > 0.5$  absolute. Contestation allows low- $K$  groups to challenge incumbents, preventing Phase 3 stagnation. Participation ensures that every citizen has non-zero  $K_{\text{vote}}$ .

Dahl's dimensions of democratisation (liberalisation and inclusiveness) map onto two axes: the degree of free opposition ( $K_{\text{opposition}}$ ) and the proportion of population with suffrage ( $K_{\text{participation}}$ ). The concept of "minorities rule" (in polyarchy, minorities must be protected) is a tensional constraint: the majority's  $K$  cannot reduce minority  $K$  below a threshold.

## 14 Michel Foucault – Power/Knowledge and Discipline

Foucault argued that power and knowledge are intertwined, and that modern societies discipline individuals through surveillance and normalisation. In POLIS V12, disciplinary power is a mesh that produces  $K$  by categorising people (normal vs abnormal). The panopticon (central observer) makes prisoners internalise the gaze ( $K_{\text{self}} \rightarrow 0$ ). Normalisation sets a target  $K$  (the norm) and punishes deviations (increasing  $\epsilon$ ).

Foucault's "bio-power" (power over populations) manages the collective  $K$  of births, deaths, health, sexuality. His genealogy traces how  $K$  distributions emerge from contingent historical struggles, not from a transcendent origin. The concept of "power is everywhere" means that  $K$  is not only top-down (sovereign) but also bottom-up (micro-practices). The "repressive hypothesis" (that power suppresses sexuality) is false; power produces sexuality as a  $K$  category.

## 15 Francis Fukuyama – The End of History

Fukuyama (following Hegel and Kojève) argued that liberal democracy and market capitalism are the endpoint of human ideological evolution. In POLIS V12, the "end of history" would be a state where  $\epsilon$  is at a global minimum and no further large-scale reorganisations (Phase 5) occur. This is a metastable Phase 4 (high compression) that could still be disrupted by external shocks (terrorism, pandemics, climate change).

Fukuyama's notion of "thymos" (desire for recognition) is a tensional drive for  $K_{\text{respect}}$  – a basic human need for one's  $K$  to be acknowledged by others. Liberal democracy gives recognition to all citizens equally (equal  $K_{\text{dignity}}$ ). The argument that history ended in 1989 (fall of the Berlin Wall) is a claim that the last competing mesh (communism) collapsed, leaving only one universal  $K$  regime (liberal democracy). However, subsequent events (resurgent authoritarianism) suggest that  $\epsilon$  is still high.

## 16 Conclusion

Six additional political pioneers are reinterpreted within the POLIS V12 tensional ontology. Totalitarianism, natural right, justice as fairness, polyarchy, power/knowledge, and the end of history all become natural consequences of the closure condition  $\epsilon = \sum K_m(2 + K_m) = 0$  and the fractal hierarchy of political polises. No free parameters are added; the same equations that describe a physical system or a social system also describe the dynamics of politics.

## Zenodo references

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- POLIS Bible: [10.5281/zenodo.19836226](https://zenodo.org/record/19836226)



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