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How To Understand Things

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I.

The smartest person I've ever known had a habit that, as a teenager, I found striking. After he'd prove a theorem, or solve a problem, he'd go back and continue thinking about the problem and try to figure out different proofs of the same thing. Sometimes he'd spend hours on a problem *he'd already solved*.

I had the opposite tendency: as soon as I'd reached the end of the proof, I'd stop since I'd "gotten the answer".

Afterwards, he'd come out with three or four proofs of the same thing, plus some explanation of why each proof is connected somehow. In this way, he got a much deeper understanding of things than I did.

I concluded that **what we call 'intelligence' is as much about virtues such as honesty, integrity, and bravery, as it is about 'raw intellect'**.

Intelligent people simply *aren't willing to accept answers that they don't understand* — no matter how many other people try to convince them of it, or how many other people believe it, if they aren't able to convince themselves of it, they won't accept it.

Importantly, this is a 'software' trait & is independent of more 'hardware' traits such as processing speed, working memory, and other such things.

Moreover, I have noticed that these 'hardware' traits vary greatly in the smartest people I know -- some are remarkably quick thinkers, calculators, readers, whereas others are 'slow'. The software traits, though, they all have in common -- and can, with effort, be learned.

What this means is that you can internalize good intellectual habits that, in effect, "increase your intelligence". 'Intelligence' is not *fixed*.

II.

This quality of "not stopping at an unsatisfactory answer" deserves some examination.

One component of it is energy: thinking hard takes effort, and it's much easier to just stop at an answer that seems to make sense, than to pursue everything that you



don't quite get down an endless, and rapidly proliferating, series of rabbit holes.

It's also so easy to think that you understand something, when you actually don't. So even figuring out *whether* you understand something or not requires you to attack the thing from multiple angles and test your own understanding.

This requires a lot of intrinsic motivation, because it's so hard; so most people simply don't do it.

The Nobel Prize winner William Shockley was fond of talking about "the will to think":

Motivation is at least as important as method for the serious thinker, Shockley believed...the essential element for successful work in any field was "the will to think". This was a phrase he learned from the nuclear physicist Enrico Fermi and never forgot. "In these four words," Shockley wrote later, "[Fermi] distilled the essence of a very significant insight: A competent thinker will be reluctant to commit himself to the effort that tedious and precise thinking demands -- he will lack 'the will to think' -- unless he has the conviction that something worthwhile will be done with the results of his efforts." The discipline of competent thinking is important throughout life... (source)

But it's not just energy. You have to be able to motivate yourself to spend large quantities of energy on a problem, which means on some level that **not understanding something — or having a bug in your thinking — bothers you a lot**. You have the drive, the will to know.

Related to this is **honesty, or integrity**: a sort of compulsive unwillingness, or inability, to lie to yourself. Feynman said that the first rule of science is that you do not fool yourself, and you are the easiest person to fool. It is uniquely easy to lie to yourself because there is no external force keeping you honest; only *you* can run the constant loop of asking "do I really understand this?".

(This is why writing is important. It's harder to fool yourself that you understand something when you sit down to write about it and it comes out all disjointed and confused. Writing forces clarity.)

III.

The physicist Michael Faraday believed *nothing* without being able to experimentally demonstrate it himself, no matter how tedious the demonstration.



*Simply hearing or reading of such things was never enough for Faraday. **When assessing the work of others, he always had to repeat, and perhaps extend, their experiments. It became a lifelong habit—his way of establishing ownership over an idea. Just as he did countless times later in other settings, he set out to demonstrate this new phenomenon to his own satisfaction.** When he had saved enough money to buy the materials, he made a battery from seven copper halfpennies and seven discs cut from a sheet of zinc, interleaved with pieces of paper soaked in salt water. He fixed a copper wire to each end plate, dipped the other ends of the wires in a solution of Epsom salts (magnesium sulfate), and watched. (source)*

Understanding something really deeply is connected to our physical intuition. A simple “words based” understanding can only go so far. Visualizing something, in three dimensions, can help you with a concrete “hook” that your brain can grasp onto and use as a model; understanding then has a physical context that it can “take place in”.

This is why Jesus speaks in parables throughout the New Testament — in ways that stick with you long after you’ve read them — rather than just stating the abstract principle. “*Are not two sparrows sold for a cent? And yet not one of them will fall to the ground apart from your Father.*” can stick with you forever in a way that “*God watches over all living beings*” will not.

Faraday, again, had this quality in spades -- the book makes clear that this is partly because he was bad at mathematics and thus understood everything through the medium of experiments, and contrasts this with the French scientists (such as Ampere) who understood everything in a highly abstract way.

But Faraday’s physical intuition led him to some of the most crucial discoveries in all of science:

*Much as he admired Ampère's work, Faraday began to develop his own views on the nature of the force between a current-carrying wire and the magnetic needle it deflected. Ampère's mathematics (which he had no reason to doubt) showed that the motion of the magnetic needle was the result of repulsions and attractions between it and the wire. **But, to Faraday, this seemed wrong, or, at least, the wrong way around. What happened, he felt, was that the wire induced a circular force in the space around itself, and that everything else***



*followed from this. The next step beautifully illustrates Faraday's genius. Taking Sarah's fourteen-year-old brother George with him down to the laboratory, he stuck an iron bar magnet into hot wax in the bottom of a basin and, when the wax had hardened, filled the basin with mercury until only the top of the magnet was exposed. He dangled a short length of wire from an insulated stand so that its bottom end dipped in the mercury, and then he connected one terminal of a battery to the top end of the wire and the other to the mercury. **The wire and the mercury now formed part of a circuit that would remain unbroken even if the bottom end of the wire moved. And move it did—in rapid circles around the magnet!** (source)*

Being able to generate these concrete examples, even when you're not physically doing experiments, is important.

I recently saw this striking representation of the “bag of words” model in NLP. If you were reading this in the usual dry mathematical way these things are represented, and then *forced yourself* to come up with a visualization like this, then you'd be much further on your way to really grasping the thing.

Conversely, if you're *not* coming up with visuals like this, and your understanding of the thing remains on the level of equations or abstract concepts, you probably do not understand the concept deeply and should dig further.

Another quality I have noticed in very intelligent people is **being unafraid to look stupid**.

Malcolm Gladwell on his father:

*My father has zero intellectual insecurities... It has never crossed his mind to be concerned that the world thinks he's an idiot. He's not in that game. **So if he doesn't understand something, he just asks you. He doesn't care if he sounds foolish. He will ask the most obvious question without any sort of concern about it...** So he asks lots and lots of dumb, in the best sense of that word, questions. He'll say to someone, 'I don't understand. Explain that to me.' He'll just keep asking questions until he gets it right, and I grew up listening to him do this in every conceivable setting. **If my father had met Bernie Madoff, he would never have invested money with him because he would have said, 'I don't understand' a hundred times.** 'I don't understand how that works', in this kind of dumb,*



Most people are not willing to do this -- looking stupid takes courage, and sometimes it's easier to just let things slide. It is *striking* how many situations I am in where I start asking basic questions, feel guilty for slowing the group down, and it turns out that *nobody understood what was going on to begin with* (often people message me privately saying that they're relieved I asked), but I was the only one who actually spoke up and asked about it.

This is a habit. It's easy to pick up. And it makes you smarter.

IV.

I remember being taught calculus at school and getting stuck on the "dy/dx" notation (aka Leibniz notation) for calculus.

The "dy/dx" just looked like a fraction, it looked like we were doing division, but we weren't *actually* doing division. "dy/dx" doesn't mean "dy" divided by "dx", it means "the value of an infinitesimal change in y *with respect to* an infinitesimal change in x", and I didn't see how you could break this thing apart as though it was simple division.

At one point the proof of the fundamental theorem of calculus involved multiplying out a polynomial, and along the way you could cancel out "dy*dx" because "both of these quantities are infinitesimal, so in effect this can be cancelled out". This reasoning *did not make sense*.

The "proof" of the chain rule we were given looked like this.

$$\frac{dz}{dx} = \frac{dz}{dy} \cdot \frac{dy}{dx}.$$

(Amusingly, you can even get correct results using invalid mathematics, like this. Even though this is clearly invalid, it doesn't feel far off the "valid" proof of the chain rule I was taught.)



It turns out that my misgivings were right, and that the Leibniz notation is basically just a convenient shorthand and that you more or less *can* treat those things "as if"



they are fractions, but the proof is super complicated etc. Moreover, the Leibniz shorthand is actually far more *powerful and easier to work with* than Newton's functions-based shorthand, which is why mainland Europe got way ahead of England (which stuck with Newton's notation) in calculus. And then all of the logical problems didn't really get sorted out until Riemann came along 200 years later and formulated calculus in terms of *limits*. But all of that went over my head in high school.

At the time, I was infuriated by these inadequate proofs, but I was under time pressure to just *learn the operations* so that I could answer exam questions because the class needed to move onto the next thing.

And since you actually *can* answer the exam questions and mechanically perform calculus operations without ever deeply understanding calculus, it's much easier to just get by and do the exam without really questioning the concepts deeply -- which is in fact what happens for most people. (See my [essay on education](#).)

How many people actually go back and try and understand this, or other such topics, in a deeper way? Very few. Moreover, the 'meta' lesson is: don't question it too deeply, you'll fall behind. Just learn the algorithm, plug in the numbers, and pass your exams. Speed is of the essence. In this way, school kills the "will to understanding" in people.

My countervailing advice to people trying to understand something is: **go slow**. Read slowly, think slowly, really spend time pondering the thing. Start by thinking about the question yourself before reading a bunch of stuff about it. A week or a month of continuous pondering about a question will get you surprisingly far.

And you'll have a semantic mental 'framework' in your brain on which to then hang all the great things you learn from your reading, which makes it more likely that you'll retain that stuff as well. I read somewhere that Bill Gates structures his famous "reading weeks" around an outline of important questions he's thought about and broken down into pieces. e.g. he'll think about "water scarcity" and then break it down into questions like "how much water is there in the world?", "where does existing drinking water come from?", "how do you turn ocean water into drinking water", etc., and only *then* will he pick reading to address those questions.

This method is *far* more effective than just reading random things and letting them pass through you.

V.

The best thing I have read on really understanding things is the [Sequences](#), especially the section on Noticing Confusion.



There are some mantra-like questions it can be helpful to ask as you're thinking through things. Some examples:

- But what exactly *is* X? What *is it*? (h/t Laura Deming's post)
- Why *must* X be true? Why does this *have to* be the case? What is the single, fundamental reason?
- Do I really believe that this is true, deep down? Would I bet a large amount of money on it with a friend?

VI.

Two parables:

First, Ezra Pound's parable of Agassiz, from his "[ABC of Reading](#)" (incidentally one of the most underrated books about literature). I've preserved his quirky formatting:

No man is equipped for modern thinking until he has understood the anecdote of Agassiz and the fish:

A post-graduate student equipped with honours and diplomas went to Agassiz to receive the final and finishing touches.

The great man offered him a small fish and told him to describe it.

Post-Graduate Student: "That's only a sun-fish"

Agassiz: "I know that. Write a description of it."

After a few minutes the student returned with the description of the Ichthus Helioplodokus, or whatever term is used to conceal the common sunfish from vulgar knowledge, family of Heliichterinkus, etc., as found in textbooks of the subject.

Agassiz again told the student to describe the fish.

The student produced a four-page essay.

*Agassiz then told him to look at the fish. **At the end of the three weeks the fish was in an advanced state of decomposition, but the student knew something about it.***

The second, one of my favorite passages from "Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance":

He'd been having trouble with students who had nothing to say. At first he thought it was laziness but later it became apparent that it wasn't. They



just couldn't think of anything to say.

One of them, a girl with strong-lensed glasses, wanted to write a five-hundredword essay about the United States. He was used to the sinking feeling that comes from statements like this, and suggested without disparagement that she narrow it down to just Bozeman.

When the paper came due she didn't have it and was quite upset. She had tried and tried but she just couldn't think of anything to say.

He had already discussed her with her previous instructors and they'd confirmed his impressions of her. She was very serious, disciplined and hardworking, but extremely dull. Not a spark of creativity in her anywhere. Her eyes, behind the thick-lensed glasses, were the eyes of a drudge. She wasn't bluffing him, she really couldn't think of anything to say, and was upset by her inability to do as she was told.

It just stumped him. Now he couldn't think of anything to say. A silence occurred, and then a peculiar answer: "Narrow it down to the main street of Bozeman." It was a stroke of insight.

She nodded dutifully and went out. But just before her next class she came back in real distress, tears this time, distress that had obviously been there for a long time. She still couldn't think of anything to say, and couldn't understand why, if she couldn't think of anything about all of Bozeman, she should be able to think of something about just one street.

He was furious. "You're not looking!" he said. A memory came back of his own dismissal from the University for having too much to say. For every fact there is an infinity of hypotheses. The more you look the more you see. She really wasn't looking and yet somehow didn't understand this.

He told her angrily, "Narrow it down to the front of one building on the main street of Bozeman. The Opera House. Start with the upper left-hand brick."

Her eyes, behind the thick-lensed glasses, opened wide. She came in the next class with a puzzled look and handed him a five-thousand-word essay on the front of the Opera House on the main street of Bozeman, Montana. "I sat in the hamburger stand across the street," she said, "and started writing about the first brick, and the second brick, and then by the third brick it all started to come and I couldn't stop. They thought I was crazy,



and they kept kidding me, but here it all is. I don't understand it."

*Neither did he, but on long walks through the streets of town he thought about it and concluded she was evidently stopped with the same kind of blockage that had paralyzed him on his first day of teaching. **She was blocked because she was trying to repeat, in her writing, things she had already heard, just as on the first day he had tried to repeat things he had already decided to say. She couldn't think of anything to write about Bozeman because she couldn't recall anything she had heard worth repeating. She was strangely unaware that she could look and see freshly for herself, as she wrote, without primary regard for what had been said before.** The narrowing down to one brick destroyed the blockage because it was so obvious she had to do some original and direct seeing.*

The point of both of these parables: nothing beats direct experience. Get the data yourself. This is why I wanted to analyze the coronavirus genome directly, for example. You develop some basis in reality by getting some first-hand data, and reasoning *up* from there, versus starting with somebody else's lossy compression of a messy, evolving phenomenon and then wondering why events keep surprising you.

People who have not experienced the thing are unlikely to be generating *truth*. More likely, they're resurfacing cached thoughts and narratives. Reading popular science books or news articles is not a substitute for understanding, and may make you stupider, by filling your mind with narratives and stories that don't represent *your own synthesis*.

Even if you can't experience the thing directly, try going for information-dense sources with high amounts of detail and *facts*, and then reason up from those facts. On foreign policy, read books published by university presses -- not *The Atlantic* or *The Economist* or whatever. You can read those after you've developed a model of the thing yourself, against which you can judge the popular narratives.

Another thing the parable about the bricks tells us: **understanding is not a binary "yes/no". It has layers of depth.** My friend understood Pythagoras's theorem far more deeply than I did; he could prove it six different ways and had simply thought about it for longer.

The simplest things can reward close study. Michael Nielsen has a nice example of this -- the equals sign:



I first really appreciated this after reading an essay by the mathematician Andrey Kolmogorov. You might suppose a great mathematician such as Kolmogorov would be writing about some very complicated piece of mathematics, but his subject was the humble equals sign: what made it a good piece of notation, and what its deficiencies were. Kolmogorov discussed this in loving detail, and made many beautiful points along the way, e.g., that the invention of the equals sign helped make possible notions such as equations (and algebraic manipulations of equations).

Prior to reading the essay I thought I understood the equals sign. Indeed, I would have been offended by the suggestion that I did not. But the essay showed convincingly that I could understand the equals sign much more deeply. ([link](#))

The photographer Robert Capa advised beginning photographers: "If your pictures aren't good enough, you're not close enough". (This is good fiction writing advice, by the way.)

It is also good advice for understanding things. When in doubt, go closer.

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Notes On Karl Popper

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*The gods did not reveal, from the beginning,
All things to us, but in the course of time
Through seeking we may learn and know things
better.
But as for certain truth, no man has known it,
Nor shall he know it, neither of the gods
Nor yet of all the things of which I speak.
For even if by chance he were to utter
The final truth, he would himself not know it:
For all is but a woven web of guesses.*

— Xenophanes

This quotation from Xenophanes, who lived around 500 BC, contains the essence of Karl Popper's philosophy: fallibilism; gradual improvement via a process of conjecture and criticism; scientific knowledge as an externalized, objective entity (a "woven web of guesses").

Popper is one of the most underrated philosophers, because he was right about several important things. These include democracy, the paradox of tolerance, scientific method, fallibilism, and open society/anti-Marxism [1]. In addition, Popper managed to solve several important philosophical problems (e.g. induction) in convincing ways, a feat which has eluded most philosophers. So I think most people should know more about his ideas.

Let's go into them a bit more.

Fallibilism

The essence of fallibilism is: you can never *know* whether you have reached certain truth. Every assertion is provisional, and may be false.

The best theories we have are those which have so far withstood a barrage of criticism in the form of arguments, experimental tests, and so on, and have so far *not been found to be false*. (Not: "found to be true".)

In some cases, we even *know* that our best theories are



false -- for example, we know that at least one of general relativity or quantum theory is false in current form, since they contradict each other.

Why might fallibilism be true? There are two main arguments [2]:

First, the asymmetry between verification and falsification: if your theory predicts X, then observing not-X can, under certain conditions, “falsify” your theory [3]; whereas any number of observations of “X” never conclusively proves your theory correct. (The cliché example is the theory “all swans are white”: you cannot prove it for sure! A black swan may always be lurking...) [4]

Since we cannot rule out observations that haven’t been made yet, theories will always remain provisional and may contain hidden errors.

Second, the usual alternative to fallibilism is to start with some axioms that one knows to be true; or to designate a particular *source* of beliefs (such as the senses) to be foundational, such that any beliefs that come from that source may be considered true. But the idea of a “foundational” belief is problematic because of the infinite regress problem: what does that foundational belief rest on? Either it rests on something else, in which case it isn’t foundational, or it is “self-justifying”. And the idea of a particular type of belief being “self-justifying” is arbitrary & question-begging.

Popper’s solution to this problem is to dismiss the notion of “justification” altogether: you can judge which of two theories is better using criticism, *without* having to appeal to whether belief in either theory is justified. *Any* idea, from any source, may or may not be valid, but judging ideas from the source is *not* valid.

(People sometimes dismiss emotions and prefer reason as a reliable source. According to Popperian epistemology, this is a fallacy: sometimes your emotions are right and your reason is wrong, and vice versa. Ideas must be judged on their merits, not on where they came from! So listen to your emotions.)

So if fallibilism is true, then certain knowledge is impossible, which implies that science works by attempt to *disprove* theories (error-correction), as hard as possible.

Spending your time looking for “confirmatory evidence” is a waste of time. What you should do, and what good scientists do, is sketch out what your theory *forbids*, and then try your hardest to find evidence of that; try to *disconfirm* your theory. [5][6]

This doesn't mean all knowledge is hopeless, but it does mean that we can never get absolute certainty about



anything, because a criticism may always come along and destroy it. And if we ever did reach the truth, we would never be able to tell, because there isn't any known way of conclusively proving that our current state of knowledge really is the final state.

More interestingly, it implies that science is an infinite process; we will never know whether we have reached the end, and may never. In practice, the more knowledge we accumulate, the more ignorance we recognize around us; solving a problem with a new theory raises a host of new, more interesting problems.

(A contrasting view would be: there are a finite number of important questions, with a finite set of knowable answers; ignorance decreases in constant proportion to our increase in knowledge; and there will eventually be an end to knowledge discovery. Popper opposes this.)

As Einstein wrote:

[in the struggle for new solutions] new and deeper problems have been created. Our knowledge is now wider and more profound than that of the physicist of the nineteenth century, but so our doubts and difficulties.

Around the same time as Einstein was inventing special and general relativity, Lord Kelvin was saying that physics had no further surprises to yield; Einstein was proven right.

The history of science seems to bear this out: Newton's theories were thought to be true until Einstein's theories came along and explained the facts in a new and better way. Similarly, at some point Einstein's theories will be augmented and superseded by even better theories. The history of science is one of a long train of false theories that were replaced by better ones. Constant improvement is possible.

One may object to this by reaching for the most obvious form of certain knowledge we have, i.e. mathematical proof. Surely we know that $2+2 = 4$, for example?

The counter-argument here is to ask: *why* that example; it's not because it comes with a shiny "truth" tag on it. It's because you can't see any way that it could be false. In short, you've tried your hardest to criticize it, and you can't disprove it.

We may be wrong at any moment! Even mathematical proofs are fallible; we could all believe that a certain proof was watertight, & then discover a critical mistake in it at some later point.

Conjecture and criticism



For Popper, the growth of knowledge is very much like biological evolution.

In evolution, we are presented with an *environment*. Various *organisms* attempt to fill the niche, and random *mutations* happen. Some of those mutations and organisms fit the environment; some don't, and die off. Over time, the process converges towards optimal organism/environment fit. Until the environment changes, and so on...

In knowledge (or science), we are presented with a *problem*. Various *theories* (and variants of these theories) attempt to solve the problem. Some of the theories are criticized and fail, so they die off; the good theories remain. Over time, the process converges towards *truth*, and the problem is gradually solved. Until the new theories give rise to new problems, and so on...

Since no theory is final, each theory presents us with a set of further problems. The best theories are very fertile: they give rise to a host of new, interesting, and deeper problems, e.g. Newton's account of gravity then gives rise to the problem of how gravity can act at a distance; Maxwell's electromagnetic theory gives rise to the problem of whether Galilean relativity applies to the speed of light, which in turn gives rise to special relativity, and so on... [7]

A nice implication of this “evolutionary” view is that problem selection and problem generation are at least as important as problem solving in the activity of science; organisms in barren environments will take much longer to flourish compared to fertile environments. It's important for scientists to pick the right problems and then try and solve those. Michael Nielsen divides researchers into “solvers” and “generators” on this basis.

Einstein again:

[solving problems] may be merely a matter of mathematical or experimental skill. To raise new questions, new possibilities, to regard old problems from a new angle, requires creative imagination and works real advance in science

Szent-Gyorgi:

A scientific researcher has to be attracted to these (blank) spots on the map of human

knowledge, and if need be, be willing to give up his life for filling them in.



Magee:

Popper considered it a waste of time for a thinker to address himself merely to a topic...there is often a feeling of so-what-ness hanging in the air, since no particular problem has been solved, or question answered. The whole procedure is arbitrary. So Popper suggests as a general principle that a thinker should address himself not to a topic but to a problem, which he chooses for its practical importance or its intrinsic interest, and which he tries to formulate as clearly and as consequentially as he can. His task is then manifest, namely to solve this problem...

Objective knowledge

Economists sometimes distinguish between *human capital* (stored in neuronal connections) and *knowledge* (stored in books, explicit, codified). Writing then becomes the act of converting human capital to knowledge, which in turn creates more human capital. (This is the starting point for Paul Romer's Nobel-winning work on endogenous growth theory).

Just as the evolutionary phylogenetic tree is an objective fact, so too is scientific knowledge: all the books, theories and papers that constitute scientific knowledge exist independently of any human's mental state, even though they are originally created by humans.

Popper anticipated this insight in his "three worlds" argument. The three worlds are:

- World 1: Physical objects
- World 2: Mental states
- World 3: Science, art, philosophy, objective knowledge... things that we created, but which exist independently of humans

Consider two possible scenarios: (1) all technology, civilizational artifacts, and human memories of these things are destroyed, but our books, libraries, scientific papers, and engineering manuals remain; (2) same as #1, but our books, libraries, science papers and so on are all destroyed too.

In case #1, we would be able to recover civilization painfully but within some reasonable timeframe, whereas in scenario #2 we would have to rediscover everything from the beginning, which would take us millenia. This shows that the world of scientific knowledge exists in



those books/libraries/papers, as an entity that exists independently of human mental states — even though they are all the creations of human creativity.

Given the existence of world 3, Popper suggests that the best way to make a contribution to scientific knowledge is to understand the current set of theories and problems that constitute the current state of scientific knowledge, and then aim to extend it by considering a particular problem or theory and aiming to solve that problem. In doing so, one may create new theories and subject them to critique. One may put forward a scientific theory without actually believing the theory; in Popper's parlance, we can "let the theories die in our stead". (Contrasted to evolution, where organisms literally die if they are maladapted to their environments.)

Implications for other areas

Popper's philosophy has a large number of implications for other areas of life. (The physicist David Deutsch has done a lot of work drawing this out & the below is indebted to reading and discussions with him.)

(1) Politics

In political philosophy, Popper is famous for (1) his theory of democracy (2) the paradox of tolerance. Both more or less follow from the above epistemology.

The theory of democracy goes like this: typically, political philosophers ask the question "who should rule?" But mistakes are inevitable, and nobody actually knows the best way to govern. The most important criterion for a society overall is that it makes progress and creates knowledge at the fastest rate possible on how to make its citizens affluent. In order to do this, citizens must be able to make mistakes and correct them. Thus, the essence of democracy isn't "who should rule", but *the ability to remove a bad ruler*, which is the same as being able to correct a mistake.

(For those of you who follow UK Politics, this is Dominic Cummings's worldview as set out in his blog. Current political systems aren't error-correcting fast enough to adapt to a rapidly changing world, which means they have to be reshaped to be able to do so. Technology helps get a better view of what's actually going on — such as the effects of various policies — which in turns makes correcting errors easier; hence his emphasis on tech.)

The process of governance should follow the same process as that of all knowledge creation: a government commits to trying a set of policies to solve certain problems. After a sane period of time, say 5 years, they are assessed on whether or not they solved those problems, whether citizens believe they will continue to solve problems well, and so on. If citizens think they made a mistake electing that government, they should be



able to kick them out (without violence) and enact a new government. The most important thing in knowledge creation, including political knowledge, is *error-correction*. This is Popper's criterion.

One interesting implication of it is that First Past the Post electoral systems are superior to Proportional Representation systems. In brief, this is because PR typically leads to coalition governments where it is not clear who is to blame for a given policy, and as a result the country as a whole doesn't learn much and doesn't make progress. FPTP leads to a clearly accountable government with the ability to enact its policies and an easy means of removing them if they fail. (David Deutsch explains this more in [this YouTube video](#).)

The "paradox of tolerance": because of fallibilism, nobody actually knows anything, so everybody must be free to make guesses, criticize others' guesses, and engage in reasoning and free speech, so that we can improve our theories over time. However, anything that impedes this process should not be tolerated, because impeding this process means impeding the entire process of learning itself, which means that we will never make progress. Thus, we should tolerate people and ways of life but we cannot tolerate those that are intolerant, i.e. that seek to shut off criticism, free speech, and the means of making progress. Liberal democracies thus need to guard things like freedom of speech and critical thought jealously, otherwise they may end up failing. In short, running a tolerant polity requires a certain degree of intolerance towards anything that would threaten the polity's existence.

(2) Parenting & Education

Although Popper didn't explore this himself, I think his philosophy entails taking movements such as [Taking Children Seriously](#), [Unschooling](#), and the homeschooling movement more seriously, at least at the margin.

The premise of these movements is that most parenting/education philosophies take it for granted that you have to coerce children into doing various things for their own good. But fallibilism implies that nobody knows for sure what good is, and good criticism must be taken seriously as an objective idea, regardless of the source. So in the case where the parent and child disagree, they must work it out using reason, which means *not* forcing children to do a certain thing. Coercion cuts off the reasoning/learning process by saying "person X is right because they are person X", which violates the rule that the source of an idea doesn't matter, only the idea itself does.

Popperian epistemology also implies an account of education as being about each person creating knowledge for themselves, rather than "receiving" knowledge passively (which he called 'the bucket theory



of the mind', i.e. the idea that you can just pour ideas into the mind the way you pour water into a bucket). Reading instruction, or hearing them, is merely the beginning of the process; you then have to guess what the meaning of what you're reading/hearing is, and synthesize the essential "thing" behind the words, which is a highly active process.

For example, suppose we're both sitting in a lecture by Popper, and I ask you to imitate Popper's way of speaking; as any AI researcher knows, this instruction does not speak for itself. Should I copy Popper's Austrian accent? Should I be standing? Should I face the back of the room, as Popper is doing? Should I be copying Popper's formal diction, or just the content of his thoughts? Etc. As this set of questions makes obvious, understanding pretty much anything involves an active process of interpreting the meaning behind such statements, and this understanding may be revised as further thinking occurs. This is what Popper means when he says:

In fact, I contend that there is no such thing as instruction from without the structure, or the passive reception of a flow of information that impresses itself on our sense organs.

(3) What to work on

Nobody can predict where important knowledge is going to come from -- we can guess, but there will always be an element of surprise. This is notoriously true in scientific and technology fields, which are full of entertaining examples of random nobodies/underdogs coming out of nowhere and reinventing fields based on seemingly ridiculous ideas. (See this excellent Quora answer, on how startup ideas often seem dumb, for an entertaining example.)

It is often said that people should work on the most impactful thing. But by the above, one doesn't know a priori what the most impactful thing is, because one doesn't know the state of future knowledge. Lots of impactful innovations come from working on areas that seem remarkably unpromising but are interesting/fun to the researcher.

For example, most of the 20th revolution in biology was driven by a bunch of nerds playing around with fruit flies, and the entire field of genetics comes out of an obscure Swiss monk called Gregor Mendel who was cross-breeding various strains of peas. Szent-Gyorgyi won the Nobel Prize for discovering Vitamin C (ascorbic acid) by investigating why bananas turn brown but some other fruits don't. Newton discovered much of contemporary mechanics, optics, and cosmology, but he also spent time



on alchemy and Biblical numerology. As Paul Graham has pointed out, he couldn't see in advance which of these would bear fruit; things that are “huge if true” are worth working on, but one cannot guarantee that they will lead to important knowledge!

What you are interested in — what is “fun” — is an important signal of which part of the knowledge tree you should be trying to grow. As Popper says, seek fun problems and fall in love with them.

(4) Creativity

Another implication: there is no known way of reliably generating ideas that are only good; “idea generation” software has an error rate that is irreducible. (If there were such a thing as always generating only correct ideas, then one would be infallible, which we have shown is not possible). Nobody knows how ideas are generated; but if you want to generate good ones, you are best served by generating a lot of them (create mutations) and then filtering hard (selection) and pursuing the good/promising ones.

This has practical implications. From Arthur Jensen's paper on creativity:

I once asked another Nobel Prize winner, William Shockley, whose creativity resulted in about a hundred patented inventions in electronics, what he considered the main factors involved in his success. He said there were two: (1) he had an ability to generate, with respect to any given problem, a good many hypotheses, with little initial constraint by previous knowledge as to their plausibility or feasibility; and (2) he worked much harder than most people would at trying to figure out how a zany idea might be shaped into something technically feasible. Some of the ideas that eventually proved most fruitful, he said, were even a physical impossibility in their initial conception. For that very reason, most knowledgeable people would have dismissed such unrealistic ideas immediately, before searching their imaginations for transformations that might make them feasible.

Jensen again:

The individuals in whom this mental manipulation process turns out to be truly creative most often are those who are relatively rich in each of three sources of variance in creativity: (1) ideational fluency, or the capacity to tap a flow of relevant ideas, themes, or images, and to play with them,



also known as “brainstorming”; (2) what Eysenck (1995) has termed the individuals’ relevance horizon; that is, the range or variety of elements, ideas, and associations that seem relevant to the problem (creativity involves a wide relevance horizon); and (3) suspension of critical judgment. Creative persons are intellectually high risk takers. They are not afraid of zany ideas and can hold the inhibitions of self-criticism temporarily in abeyance. Both Darwin and Freud mentioned their gullibility and receptiveness to highly speculative ideas and believed that these traits were probably characteristic of creative thinkers in general. Darwin occasionally performed what he called “fool’s experiments,” trying out improbable ideas that most people would have instantly dismissed as foolish. Francis Crick once told me that Linus Pauling’s scientific ideas turned out to be wrong about 80 percent of the time, but the other 20 percent finally proved to be so important that it would be a mistake to ignore any of his hunches.

Further Reading

Bryan Magee’s [“Popper”](#) is a nice short overview of Popper’s work.

[“Popper Selections”](#) is a great primary source: excerpts from various of Karl Popper’s books, most of which are collections of essays.

The best Popper books to start with are [“Conjectures and Refutations”](#) and [“Objective Knowledge”](#).

Many more implications of Popper’s philosophy are sketched out in David Deutsch’s [“Beginning of Infinity”](#).

Thanks to David Deutsch and Karl Wilzen for commenting on drafts of this.

[1] Any thinker who was strongly against Marxism, for reasons which remain valid today, at a time when Marxism was in intellectual fashion and indeed seemed like a good bet, is impressive in my view.

[2] I don’t attempt to prove this thesis rigorously; this essay is just a sketch of Popper’s viewpoints.

[3] “Falsify” is a slight simplification. It makes the theory worse; theories can’t be decisively falsified, but there is such a thing as a “really good” theory and a “really bad” theory, and rationality means we pick the best ones.

[4] There is an elegant analogue of this asymmetry in Buddhism. Buddhism observes that there is an



asymmetry between suffering and pleasure; suffering is more bad than pleasure is good. A small amount of suffering can ruin any amount of pleasure, but pleasure does not fix suffering. Moreover, suffering and death are inevitable (for now), and no amount of pleasure changes this fact. One can cope with an infinity of pleasures and never have perfect satiation -- one can never reach the perfect upper bound -- but there is a lower bound we eventually reach, i.e. death. Human life can be thought of as a downward-biased random walk in which suffering and bad feeling are inevitable; the only rational response is to stop playing the game and reach perfect equanimity, etc.

[5] Chapter 22 of “Harry Potter and the Methods of Rationality” by Eliezer Yudkowsky is a memorable dramatization of this way of doing science.

[6] This, in short, is why astrology isn't a science: it seeks confirmatory evidence, but never sets itself up to fail. It explains everything, and therefore nothing! Good theories take epistemological risks.

[7] This account contrasts radically with the induction-based conception of science, which says that one starts with data and then finds patterns in that data. The problem with this account is that science doesn't *have* to start with data. Moreover, all 'observing' involves a human making decisions -- implicitly or explicitly -- about what features of the observed sense data are relevant, and interesting, and require explanation. In that sense, "all observation is theory-laden". Popper used to demonstrate this in lectures by asking his students to just “observe!”, prompting the question “what should we observe”?