unusual generosity, and with complete disregard for the solvency of the University, crossed out the nine hundred dollars and made it an even thousand. You can see that we thought highly of Professor Feynman even then! Feynman took up residence here at the end of 1945, and spent five highly productive years on our Faculty. He left Cornell in 1950 and went to Cal. Tech., where he has been ever since.

Before I let him talk, I want to tell you a little more about him. Three or four years ago he started teaching a beginning physics course at Cal. Tech., and the result has added a new dimension to his fame—his lectures are now published in two volumes and they represent a refreshing approach to the subject.

In the preface of the published lectures there is a picture of Feynman performing happily on the bongo drums. My Cal. Tech. friends tell me he sometimes drops in on the Los Angeles night spots and takes over the work of the drummer; but Professor Feynman tells me that is not so. Another of his specialities is safe cracking. One legend says that he once opened a locked safe in a secret establishment, removed a secret document, and left a note saying ‘Guess who?’ I could tell you about the time he learned Spanish before he went to give a series of lectures in Brazil, but I won’t.

This gives you enough background, I think, so let me say that I am delighted to welcome Professor Feynman back to Cornell. His general topic is ‘The Character of Physical Law’, and his topic for tonight is ‘The Law of Gravitation, an Example of Physical Law’.

The Law of Gravitation, an example of Physical Law

It is odd, but on the infrequent occasions when I have been called upon in a formal place to play the bongo drums, the introducer never seems to find it necessary to mention that I also do theoretical physics. I believe that is probably because we respect the arts more than the sciences. The artists of the Renaissance said that man’s main concern should be for man, and yet there are other things of interest in the world. Even the artists appreciate sunsets, and the ocean waves, and the march of the stars across the heavens. There is then some reason to talk of other things sometimes. As we look into these things we get an aesthetic pleasure from them directly on observation. There is also a rhythm and a pattern between the phenomena of nature which is not apparent to the eye, but only to the eye of analysis; and it is these rhythms and patterns which we call Physical Laws.

What I want to discuss in this series of lectures is the general characteristic of these Physical Laws; that is another level, if you will, of higher generality over the laws themselves. Really what I am considering is nature as seen as a result of detailed analysis, but mainly I wish to speak about only the most overall general qualities of nature.

Now such a topic has a tendency to become too philosophical because it becomes so general, and a person talks in such generalities, that everybody can understand him. It is then considered to be some deep philosophy. I would like to be rather more special, and I would like to be understood in an honest way rather than in a vague way. So in this first lecture I am going to try to give, instead of only the
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generalties, an example of physical law, so that you have at least one example of the things about which I am speaking generally. In this way I can use this example again and again to give an instance, or to make a reality out of something which will otherwise be too abstract. I have chosen for my special example of physical law the theory of gravitation, the phenomena of gravity. Why I chose gravity I do not know. Actually it was one of the first great laws to be discovered and it has an interesting history. You may say, 'Yes, but then it is old hat, I would like to hear something about a more modern science'. More recent perhaps, but not more modern. Modern science is exactly in the same tradition as the discoveries of the Law of Gravitation. It is only more recent discoveries that we would be talking about. I do not feel at all bad about telling you about the Law of Gravitation because in describing its history and methods, the character of its discovery, its quality, I am being completely modern.

This law has been called 'the greatest generalization achieved by the human mind', and you can guess already from my introduction that I am interested not so much in the human mind as in the marvel of a nature which can obey such an elegant and simple law as this law of gravitation. Therefore our main concentration will not be on how clever we are to have found it all out, but on how clever nature is to pay attention to it.

The Law of Gravitation is that two bodies exert a force upon each other which varies inversely as the square of the distance between them, and varies directly as the product of their masses. Mathematically we can write that great law down in the formula:

\[ F = \frac{G m_1 m_2}{r^2} \]

some kind of a constant multiplied by the product of the two masses, divided by the square of the distance. Now if I add the remark that a body reacts to a force by accelerating, or by changing its velocity every second to an extent inversely as its mass, or that it changes its velocity more if the mass is lower, inversely as the mass, then I have said everything about the Law of Gravitation that needs to be said. Everything else is a mathematical consequence of those two things. Now I know that you are not all mathematicians, and you cannot immediately see all of the consequences of these two remarks, so what I would like to do here is to tell you briefly of the story of the discovery, what some of the consequences are, what effect this discovery had on the history of science, what kind of mysteries such a law entails, something about the refinements made by Einstein, and possibly the relation to the other laws of physics.

The history of the thing, briefly, is this. The ancients first observed the way the planets seemed to move in the sky and concluded that they all, along with the earth, went around the sun. This discovery was later made independently by Copernicus, after people had forgotten that it had already been made. Now the next question that came up for study was: exactly how do they go around the sun, that is, with exactly what kind of motion? Do they go with the sun as the centre of a circle, or do they go in some other kind of curve? How fast do they move? And so on. This discovery took longer to make. The times after Copernicus were times in which there were great debates about whether the planets in fact went around the sun along with the earth, or whether the earth was at the centre of the universe and so on. Then a man named Tycho Brahe* evolved a way of answering the question. He thought that it might perhaps be a good idea to look very very carefully and to record exactly where the planets appear in the sky, and then the alternative theories might be distinguished from one another. This is the key of modern science and it was the beginning of the true understanding of Nature – this idea to look at the thing, to record the details, and to hope that in the information thus obtained might lie a clue to one or another theoretical interpretation. So Tycho, a rich man who owned an island near

*Tycho Brahe, 1546–1601, Danish astronomer.
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Copenhagen, outfitted his island with great brass circles and special observing positions, and recorded night after night the position of the planets. It is only through such hard work that we can find out anything.

When all these data were collected they came into the hands of Kepler,* who then tried to analyse what kind of motion the planets made around the sun. And he did this by a method of trial and error. At one stage he thought he had it; he figured out that they went round the sun in circles with the sun off centre. Then Kepler noticed that one planet, I think it was Mars, was eight minutes of arc off, and he decided this was too big for Tycho Brahe to have made an error, and that this was not the right answer. So because of the precision of the experiments he was able to proceed to another trial and ultimately found out three things.

First, he found that the planets went in ellipses around the sun with the sun as a focus. An ellipse is a curve all artists know about because it is a foreshortened circle. Children also know because someone told them that if you put a ring on a piece of cord, anchored at each end, and then put a pencil in the ring, it will draw an ellipse (fig. 1).

![Figure 1](image1.png)

The two points A and B are the foci. The orbit of a planet around the sun is an ellipse with the sun at one focus. The

*Johann Kepler, 1571–1630, German astronomer and mathematician, assistant to Brahe.

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next question is: In going around the ellipse, how does the planet go? Does it go faster when it is near the sun? Does it go slower when it is farther from the sun? Kepler found the answer to this too (fig. 2).

![Figure 2](image2.png)

He found that, if you put down the position of a planet at two times, separated by some definite period, let us say three weeks – then in another place on its orbit two positions of the planet again separated by three weeks, and draw lines (technically called radius vectors) from the sun to the planet, then the area that is enclosed in the orbit of the planet and the two lines that are separated by the planet’s position three weeks apart is the same, in any part of the orbit. So that the planet has to go faster when it is closer to the sun, and slower when it is farther away, in order to show precisely the same area.

Some several years later Kepler found a third rule, which was not concerned only with the motion of a single planet around the sun but related various planets to each other. It said that the time the planet took to go all around the sun was related to the size of the orbit, and that the times varied as the square root of the cube of the size of the orbit and for this the size of the orbit is the diameter across the biggest distance on the ellipse. Kepler then had these three laws which are summarized by saying that the **orbit forms an ellipse**, and that equal areas are swept in equal times and
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that the time to go round varies as a three half power of the size, that is, the square root of the cube of the size. These three laws of Kepler give a complete description of the motion of the planets around the sun.

The next question was - what makes planets go around the sun? At the time of Kepler some people answered this problem by saying that there were angels behind them beating their wings and pushing the planets around an orbit. As you will see, the answer is not very far from the truth. The only difference is that the angels sit in a different direction and their wings push inwards.

In the meantime, Galileo was investigating the laws of motion of ordinary objects at hand on the earth. In studying these laws, and doing a number of experiments to see how balls run down inclined planes, and how pendulums swing, and so on, Galileo discovered a great principle called the principle of inertia, which is this: that if an object has nothing acting on it and is going along at a certain velocity in a straight line it will go at the same velocity in exactly the same straight line for ever. Unbelievable as that may sound to anybody who has tried to make a ball roll for ever, if this idealization were correct, and there were no influences acting, such as the friction of the floor and so on, the ball would go at a uniform speed for ever.

The next point was made by Newton, who discussed the question: 'When it does not go in a straight line then what?' And he answered it this way: that a force is needed to change the velocity in any manner. For instance, if you are pushing a ball in the direction that it moves it will speed up. If you find that it changes direction, then the force must have been sideways. The force can be measured by the product of two effects. How much does the velocity change in a small interval of time? That's called the acceleration, and when it is multiplied by the coefficient called the mass of an object, or its inertia coefficient, then that together is the force. One can measure this. For instance, if one has a stone on the end of a string and swings it in a circle over the head, one finds one has to pull, the reason is that although the speed is not changing as it goes round in a circle, it is changing its direction; there must be a perpetually in-pulling force, and this is proportional to the mass. So that if we were to take two different objects, and swing first one and then the other at the same speed around the head, and measure the force in the second one, then that second force is bigger than the other force in proportion as the masses are different. This is a way of measuring the masses by what force is necessary to change the speed. Newton saw from this that, to take a simple example, if a planet is going in a circle around the sun, no force is needed to make it go sideways, tangentially; if there were no force at all then it would just keep coasting along. But actually the planet does not keep coasting along, it finds itself later not way out where it would go if there were no force at all, but farther down towards the sun.

Figure 3

(fig. 3.) In other words, its velocity, its motion, has been deflected towards the sun. So that what the angels have to do is to beat their wings in towards the sun all the time.

But the motion to keep the planet going in a straight line has no known reason. The reason why things coast for ever has never been found out. The law of inertia has no known origin. Although the angels do not exist the continuation of the motion does, but in order to obtain the falling operation we do need a force. It became apparent that the origin of the force was towards the sun. As a matter of fact Newton was able to demonstrate that the statement that equal areas are swept in equal times was a direct consequence of the
simple idea that all the changes in velocity are directed exactly towards the sun, even in the elliptical case, and in the next lecture I shall be able to show you how it works, in detail.

From this law Newton confirmed the idea that the force is towards the sun, and from knowing how the periods of the different planets vary with the distance away from the sun, it is possible to determine how that force must weaken at different distances. He was able to determine that the force must vary inversely as the square of the distance.

So far Newton has not said anything, because he has only stated two things which Kepler said in a different language. One is exactly equivalent to the statement that the force is towards the sun, and the other is exactly equivalent to the statement that the force is inversely as the square of the distance.

But people had seen in telescopes Jupiter’s satellites going around Jupiter, and it looked like a little solar system, as if the satellites were attracted to Jupiter. The moon is attracted to the earth and goes round the earth and is attracted in the same way. It looks as though everything is attracted to everything else, and so the next statement was to generalize this and to say that every object attracts every object. If so, the earth must be pulling on the moon, just as the sun pulls on the planet. But it is known that the earth is pulling on things—because you are all sitting tightly on your seats in spite of your desire to float into the air. The pull for objects on the earth was well known in the phenomena of gravitation, and it was Newton’s idea that maybe the gravitation that held the moon in orbit was the same gravitation that pulled the object towards the earth.

It is easy to figure out how far the moon falls in one second, because you know the size of the orbit, you know the moon takes a month to go around the earth, and if you figure out how far it goes in one second you can figure out how far the circle of the moon’s orbit has fallen below the straight line that it would have been in if it did not go the way it does go. This distance is one twentieth of an inch.
there are tides roughly every twelve hours, and that is two tides a day. There was also another school of thought that came to a different conclusion. Their theory was that it was the earth pulled by the moon away from the water. Newton was actually the first one to realize what was going on; that the force of the moon on the earth and on the water is the same at the same distance, and that the water at y is closer to the moon and the water at x is farther from the moon than the rigid earth. The water is pulled more towards the moon at y, and at x is less towards the moon than the earth, so there is a combination of those two pictures that makes a double tide. Actually the earth does the same trick as the moon, it goes around in a circle. The force of the moon on the earth is balanced, but by what? By the fact that just as the moon goes in a circle to balance the earth’s force, the earth is also going in a circle. The centre of the circle is somewhere inside the earth. It is also going in a circle to balance the moon. The two of them go around a common centre so the forces are balanced for the earth, but the water at x is pulled less, and at y more by the moon and it bulges out at both sides. At any rate tides were then explained, and the fact that there were two a day. A lot of other things became clear: how the earth is round because everything gets pulled in, and how it is not round because it is spinning and the outside gets thrown out a little bit, and it balances; how the sun and moon are round, and so on.

As science developed and measurements were made more accurate, the tests of Newton’s Law became more stringent, and the first careful tests involved the moons of Jupiter. By accurate observations of the way they went around over long periods of time one could check that everything was according to Newton, and it turned out to be not the case. The moons of Jupiter appeared to get sometimes eight minutes ahead of time and sometimes eight minutes behind time, where the time is the calculated value according to Newton’s Laws. It was noticed that they were ahead of schedule when Jupiter was close to the earth and behind schedule when it was far away, a rather odd circumstance. Mr Roemer,* having confidence in the Law of Gravitation, came to the interesting conclusion that it takes light some time to travel from the moons of Jupiter to the earth, and what we are looking at when we see the moons is not how they are now but how they were the time ago it took the light to get here. When Jupiter is near us it takes less time for the light to come, and when Jupiter is farther from us it takes longer time, so Roemer had to correct the observations for the differences in time and by the fact that they were this much early or that much late. In this way he was able to determine the velocity of light. This was the first demonstration that light was not an instantaneously propagating material.

I bring this particular matter to your attention because it illustrates that when a law is right it can be used to find another one. If we have confidence in a law, then if something appears to be wrong it can suggest to us another phenomenon. If we had not known the Law of Gravitation we would have taken much longer to find the speed of light, because we would not have known what to expect of Jupiter’s satellites. This process has developed into an avalanche of discoveries, each new discovery permits the tools for much more discovery, and this is the beginning of the avalanche which has gone on now for 400 years in a continuous process, and we are still avalanching along at high speed.

Another problem came up - the planets should not really go in ellipses, because according to Newton’s Laws they are not only attracted by the sun but also they pull on each other a little – only a little, but that little is something, and will alter the motion a little bit. Jupiter, Saturn and Uranus were big planets that were known, and calculations were made about how slightly different from the perfect ellipses of Kepler the planets ought to be going by the pull of each on the others. And at the end of the calculations and observations it was noticed that Jupiter and Saturn went according to Newton’s Laws. This was the first demonstration that light was not an instantaneously propagating material.

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*Olaus Roemer, 1644-1710, Danish astronomer.
to the calculations, but that Uranus was doing something funny. Another opportunity for Newton's Laws to be found wanting; but take courage! Two men, Adams and Leverrier,* who made these calculations independently and at almost exactly the same time, proposed that the motions of Uranus were due to an unseen planet, and they wrote letters to their respective observatories telling them –`Turn your telescope and look there and you will find a planet'. 'How absurd,' said one of the observatories, 'some guy sitting with pieces of paper and pencils can tell us where to look to find some new planet.' The other observatory was more ... well, the administration was different, and they found Neptune!

More recently, in the beginning of the twentieth century, it became apparent that the motion of the planet Mercury was not exactly right. This caused a lot of trouble and was not explained until it was shown by Einstein that Newton's Laws were slightly off and that they had to be modified.

The question is, how far does this law extend? Does it extend outside the solar system? And so I show on Plate 1
evidence that the Law of Gravitation is on a wider scale than just the solar system. Here is a series of three pictures of a so-called double star. There is a third star fortunately in the picture so that you can see they are really turning around and that nobody simply turned the frames of the pictures around, which is easy to do on astronomical pictures. The stars are actually going around, and you can see the orbit that they make on figure 5. It is evident that they are attracting each other and that they are going around in an ellipse according to the way expected. These are a succession of positions at various times going around clockwise. You will be happy except when you notice, if you have not noticed already, that the centre is not a focus of the ellipse but is quite a bit off. So something is the matter with the law? No, God has not presented us with this orbit face-on; it is tilted


Plate 1. Three photographs taken at different times of the same double star system.
Plate 2. A globular star cluster
Plate 3. A spiral galaxy
Plate 4. A cluster of galaxies
Plate 5. A gaseous nebula
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Figure 5

at a funny angle. If you take an ellipse and mark its focus and hold the paper at an odd angle and look at it in projection, you will find that the focus does not have to be at the focus of the projected image. It is because the orbit is tilted in space that it looks that way.

How about a bigger distance? This force is between two stars; does it go any farther than distances which are not more than two or three times the solar system's diameter? Here is something in plate 2 that is 100,000 times as big as the solar system in diameter; this is a tremendous number of stars. This large white spot is not a solid white spot; it appears like that because of the failure of the instruments to resolve it, but there are very very tiny spots just like other stars, well separated from each other, not hitting one another, each one falling through and back and forth in this great globular cluster. It is one of the most beautiful things in the sky; it is as beautiful as sea waves and sunsets. The distribution of this material is perfectly clear. The thing
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that holds this galaxy together is the gravitational attraction of the stars for each other. The distribution of the material and the sense of distance permits one to find out roughly what the law of force is between the stars... and, of course, it comes out that it is roughly the inverse square. Accuracy in these calculations and measurements is not anywhere near as careful as in the solar system.

Onward, gravity extends still farther. That cluster was just a little pin-point inside the big galaxy in plate 3, which shows a typical galaxy, and it is clear that again this thing is held together by some force, and the only candidate that is reasonable is gravitation. When we get to this size we have no way of checking the inverse square law, but there seems to be no doubt that in these great agglomerations of stars - these galaxies are 50,000 to 100,000 light years across, while the distance from the earth to the sun is only eight light minutes - gravity is extending even over these distances. In plate 4 is evidence that it extends even farther. This is what is called a cluster of galaxies; they are all in one lump and analogous to the cluster of stars, but this time what is clustered are those big babies shown in plate 3.

This is as far as about one tenth, maybe a hundredth, of the size of the Universe, as far as we have any direct evidence that gravitational forces extend. So the earth's gravitation has no edge, although you may read in the papers that something gets outside the field of gravitation. It becomes weaker and weaker inversely as the square of the distance, divided by four each time you get twice as far away, until it is lost in the confusion of the strong fields of other stars. Together with the stars in its neighbourhood it pulls the other stars to form the galaxy, and all together they pull on other galaxies and make a pattern, a cluster, of galaxies. So the earth's gravitational field never ends, but peters out very slowly in a precise and careful law, probably to the edges of the Universe.

The Law of Gravitation is different from many of the others. Clearly it is very important in the economy, in the machinery, of the Universe; there are many places where gravity has its practical applications as far as the Universe is concerned. But atypically the knowledge of the Laws of Gravitation has relatively few practical applications compared with the other laws of physics. This is one case where I have picked an atypical example. It is impossible, by the way, by picking one of anything to pick one that is not atypical in some sense. That is the wonder of the world. The only applications of the knowledge of the law that I can think of are in geophysical prospecting, in predicting the tides, and nowadays, more modernly, in working out the motions of the satellites and planet probes that we send up, and so on; and finally, also modernly, to calculate the predictions of the planets' positions, which have great utility for astrologists who publish their predictions in horoscopes in the magazines. It is a strange world we live in - that all the new advances in understanding are used only to continue the nonsense which has existed for 2,000 years.

I must mention the important places where gravitation does have some real effect in the behaviour of the Universe, and one of the interesting ones is in the formation of new stars. Plate 5 is a gaseous nebula inside our own galaxy; it is not a lot of stars; it is gas. The black specks are places where the gas has been compressed or attracted to itself. Perhaps it starts by some kind of shock waves, but the remainder of the phenomenon is that gravitation pulls the gas closer and closer together so that big mobs of gas and dust collect and form balls; and as they fall still farther, the heat generated by falling lights them up, and they become stars. And we have in plate 6 some evidence of the creation of new stars.

So this is how stars are born, when the gas collects together too much by gravitation. Sometimes when they explode the stars belch out dirt and gases, and the dirt and gases collect back again and make new stars - it sounds like perpetual motion.

I have already shown that gravitation extends to great distances, but Newton said that everything attracted everything else. Is it really true that two things attract each other?
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Can we make a direct test and not just wait to see whether the planets attract each other? A direct test was made by Cavendish* on equipment which you see indicated in figure 6. The idea was to hang by a very very fine quartz fibre a rod with two balls, and then put two large lead balls in the positions indicated next to it on the side. Because of the attraction of the balls there would be a slight twist to the fibre, and the gravitational force between ordinary things is very very tiny indeed. It was possible to measure the force between the two balls. Cavendish called his experiment ‘weighing the earth’. With pedantic and careful teaching today we would not let our students say that; we would have to say ‘measuring the mass of the earth’. By a direct experiment Cavendish was able to measure the force, the two masses and the distance, and thus determine the gravitational constant, G. You say, ‘Yes, but we have the same situation here. We know what the pull is and we know what the mass of the object pulled is, and we know how far away we are, but we do not know either the mass of the earth or

*Henry Cavendish, 1731–1810, English physicist and chemist.

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the constant, only the combination’. By measuring the constant, and knowing the facts about the pull of the earth, the mass of the earth could be determined.

Indirectly this experiment was the first determination of how heavy or massive is the ball on which we stand. It is an amazing achievement to find out, and I think that is why Cavendish named his experiment ‘weighing the earth’, instead of ‘determining the constant in the gravitational equation’. He, incidentally, was weighing the sun and everything else at the same time, because the pull of the sun is known in the same manner.

One other test of the law of gravity is very interesting, and that is the question whether the pull is exactly proportional to the mass. If the pull is exactly proportional to the mass, and the reaction to force, the motions induced by forces, changes in velocity, are inversely proportional to the mass. That means that two objects of different mass will change their velocity in the same manner in a gravitational field; or two different things in a vacuum, no matter what their mass, will fall the same way to the earth. That is Galileo’s old experiment from the leaning tower of Pisa. It means, for example, that in a man-made satellite, an object inside will go round the earth in the same kind of orbit as one on the outside, and thus apparently float in the middle. The fact that the force is exactly proportional to the mass, and that the reactions are inversely proportional to the mass, has this very interesting consequence.

How accurate is it? It was measured in an experiment by a man named Eötvös* in 1909 and very much more recently and more accurately by Dicke,† and is known to one part in 10,000,000,000. The forces are exactly proportional to the mass. How is it possible to measure with that accuracy? Suppose you wanted to measure whether it is true for the pull of the sun. You know the sun is pulling us all, it pulls the earth too, but suppose you wanted to know whether the

*Baron Roland von Eötvös, 1848–1919, Hungarian physicist.
†Robert Henry Dicke, American physicist.
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pull is exactly proportional to the inertia. The experiment was first done with sandalwood; lead and copper have been used, and now it is done with polyethylene. The earth is going around the sun, so the things are thrown out by inertia and they are thrown out to the extent that the two objects have inertia. But they are attracted to the sun to the extent that they have mass, in the attraction law. So if they are attracted to the sun in a different proportion from that thrown out by inertia, one will be pulled towards the sun, and the other away from it, and so, hanging them on opposite ends of a rod on another Cavendish quartz fibre, the thing will twist towards the sun. It does not twist at this accuracy, so we know that the sun’s attraction to the two objects is exactly proportional to the centrifugal effect, which is inertia; therefore, the force of attraction on an object is exactly proportional to its coefficient of inertia; in other words, its mass.

One thing is particularly interesting. The inverse square law appears again – in the electrical laws, for instance. Electricity also exerts forces inversely as the square of the distance, this time between charges, and one thinks perhaps that the inverse square of the distance has some deep significance. No one has ever succeeded in making electricity and gravity different aspects of the same thing. Today our theories of physics, the laws of physics, are a multitude of different parts and pieces that do not fit together very well. We do not have one structure from which all is deduced; we have several pieces that do not quite fit exactly yet. That is the reason why in these lectures instead of having the ability to tell you what the law of physics is, I have to talk about the things that are common to the various laws; we do not understand the connection between them. But what is very strange is that there are certain things which are the same in both. Now let us look again at the law of electricity.

The force goes inversely as the square of the distance, but the thing that is remarkable is the tremendous difference in the strength of the electrical and gravitational forces. People who want to make electricity and gravitation out of the same thing will find that electricity is so much more powerful than gravity, it is hard to believe they could both have the same origin. How can I say one thing is more powerful than another? It depends upon how much charge you have, and how much mass you have. You cannot talk about how strong gravity is by saying: ‘I take a lump of such a size’, because you chose the size. If we try to get something that Nature produces – her own pure number that has nothing to do with inches or years or anything to do with our own dimensions – we can do it this way. If we take a fundamental particle such as an electron – any different one will give a different number, but to give an idea say electrons – two electrons are two fundamental particles, and they repel each other inversely as the square of the distance due to electricity, and they attract each other inversely as the square of the distance due to gravitation.

Question: What is the ratio of the gravitational force to the electrical force? That is illustrated in figure 7. The ratio

\[
\frac{\text{Gravitation Attraction}}{\text{Electrical Repulsion}} = \frac{1}{4.17 \times 10^{42}}
\]

\[
= 1/4,170,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000
\]

Figure 7
of the gravitational attraction to electrical repulsion is
given by a number with 42 digits tailing off. Now therein
lies a very deep mystery. Where could such a tremendous
number come from? If you ever had a theory from which
both of these things are to come, how could they come in
such disproportion? What equation has a solution which
has for two kinds of forces an attraction and repulsion with
that fantastic ratio?

People have looked for such a large ratio in other places.
They hope, for example, that there is another large number,
and if you want a large number why not take the diameter
of the Universe to the diameter of a proton – amazingly
enough it also is a number with 42 digits. And so an interesting
proposal is made that this ratio is the same as the ratio
of the size of the Universe to the diameter of a proton. But
the Universe is expanding with time and that means that the
gravitational constant is changing with time, and although
that is a possibility there is no evidence to indicate that it is
a fact. There are several partial indications that the gravita-
tional constant has not changed in that way. So this
tremendous number remains a mystery.

To finish about the theory of gravitation, I must say two
more things. One is that Einstein had to modify the Laws of
Gravitation in accordance with his principles of relativity.
The first of the principles was that ‘x’ cannot occur in-
stantaneously, while Newton’s theory said that the force
was instantaneous. He had to modify Newton’s laws. They
have very small effects, these modifications. One of them
is that all masses fall, light has energy and energy is equiva-
 lent to mass. So light falls and it means that light going near
the sun is deflected; it is. Also the force of gravitation
is slightly modified in Einstein’s theory, so that the law has
changed very very slightly, and it is just the right amount
account for the slight discrepancy that was found in the
movement of Mercury.

Finally, in connection with the laws of physics on a small
scale, we have found that the behaviour of matter on a
small scale obeys laws very different from things on a large
scale. So the question is, how does gravity look on a small
scale? That is called the Quantum Theory of Gravity. There
is no Quantum Theory of Gravity today. People have not
succeeded completely in making a theory which is consistent
with the uncertainty principles and the quantum mechanical
principles.

You will say to me, ‘Yes, you told us what happens, but
what is gravity? Where does it come from? What is it? Do
you mean to tell me that a planet looks at the sun, sees how
far it is, calculates the inverse square of the distance and
then decides to move in accordance with that law?’ In other
words, although I have stated the mathematical law, I have
given no clue about the mechanism. I will discuss the pos-
sibility of doing this in the next lecture, ‘The relation of
mathematics to physics’.

In this lecture I would like to emphasize, just at the end,
some characteristics that gravity has in common with the
other laws that we mentioned as we passed along. First, it
is mathematical in its expression; the others are that way
too. Second, it is not exact; Einstein had to modify it, and
we know it is not quite right yet, because we have still to
put the quantum theory in. That is the same with all our
other laws – they are not exact. There is always an edge
of mystery, always a place where we have some fiddling
around to do yet. This may or may not be a property of
Nature, but it certainly is common to all the laws as we
know them today. It may be only a lack of knowledge.

But the most impressive fact is that gravity is simple. It is
simple to state the principles completely and not have left
any vagueness for anybody to change the ideas of the law.
It is simple, and therefore it is beautiful. It is simple in its
pattern. I do not mean it is simple in its action – the motions
of the various planets and the perturbations of one on the
other can be quite complicated to work out, and to follow
how all those stars in a globular cluster move is quite beyond
our ability. It is complicated in its actions, but the basic
pattern or the system beneath the whole thing is simple.
This is common to all our laws; they all turn out to be
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simple things, although complex in their actual actions. Finally comes the universality of the gravitational law, and the fact that it extends over such enormous distances that Newton, in his mind, worrying about the solar system, was able to predict what would happen in an experiment of Cavendish, where Cavendish's little model of the solar system, two balls attracting, has to be expanded ten million million times to become the solar system. Then ten million million times larger again we find galaxies attracting each other by exactly the same law. Nature uses only the longest threads to weave her patterns, so each small piece of her fabric reveals the organization of the entire tapestry.

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In thinking out the applications of mathematics and physics, it is perfectly natural that the mathematics will be useful when large numbers are involved in complex situations. In biology, for example, the action of a virus on a bacterium is unmathematical. If you watch it under a microscope, a jiggling little virus finds some spot on the odd shaped bacterium - they are all different shapes - and maybe it pushes its DNA in and maybe it does not. Yet if we do the experiment with millions and millions of bacteria and viruses, then we can learn a great deal about the viruses by taking averages. We can use mathematics in the averaging, to see whether the viruses develop in the bacteria, what new strains and what percentage; and so we can study the genetics, the mutations and so forth.

To take another more trivial example, imagine an enormous board, a chequerboard to play chequers or draughts. The actual operation of any one step is not mathematical - or it is very simple in its mathematics. But you could imagine that on an enormous board, with lots and lots of pieces, some analysis of the best moves, or the good moves or bad moves, might be made by a deep kind of reasoning which would involve somebody having gone off first and thought about it in great depth. That then becomes mathematics, involving abstract reasoning. Another example is switching in computers. If you have one switch, which is either on or off, there is nothing very mathematical about that, although mathematicians like to start there with their mathematics. But with all the interconnections and wires, to figure out what a very large system will do requires mathematics.
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I would like to say immediately that mathematics has a tremendous application in physics in the discussion of the detailed phenomena in complicated situations, granting the fundamental rules of the game. That is something which I would spend most of my time discussing if I were talking only about the relation of mathematics and physics. But since this is part of a series of lectures on the character of physical law I do not have time to discuss what happens in complicated situations, but will go immediately to another question, which is the character of the fundamental laws.

If we go back to our chequer game, the fundamental laws are the rules by which the chequers move. Mathematics may be applied in the complex situation to figure out what in given circumstances is a good move to make. But very little mathematics is needed for the simple fundamental character of the basic laws. They can be simply stated in English for chequers.

The strange thing about physics is that for the fundamental laws we still need mathematics. I will give two examples, one in which we really do not, and one in which we do. First, there is a law in physics called Faraday’s law, which says that in electrolysis the amount of material which is deposited is proportional to the current and to the time that the current is acting. That means that the amount of material deposited is proportional to the charge which goes through the system. It sounds very mathematical, but what is actually happening is that the electrons going through the wire each carry one charge. To take a particular example, maybe to deposit one atom requires one electron to come, so the number of atoms that are deposited is necessarily equal to the number of electrons that flow, and thus proportional to the charge that goes through the wire. So that mathematically-appearing law has as its basis nothing very deep, requiring no real knowledge of mathematics. That one electron is needed for each atom in order for it to deposit itself is mathematics, I suppose, but it is not the kind of mathematics that I am talking about here.

On the other hand, take Newton’s law for gravitation,
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completely, and some of them hit. Look, then, at what
would happen (fig. 8).

Figure 8

S is the sun, and E the earth. If the sun were not there, par-
ticles would be bombarding the earth from all sides, giving
little impulses by the rattle, bang, bang of the few that hit.
This will not shake the earth in any particular direction, be-
cause there are as many coming from one side as from the
other, from top as from bottom. However, when the sun is
there the particles which are coming from that direction are
partly absorbed by the sun, because some of them hit the
sun and do not go through. Therefore the number coming
from the sun's direction towards the earth is less than the
number coming from the other sides, because they meet an
obstacle, the sun. It is easy to see that the farther the sun
is away, of all the possible directions in which particles can
come, a smaller proportion of the particles are being taken
out. The sun will appear smaller – in fact inversely as the
square of the distance. Therefore there will be an impulse on
the earth towards the sun that varies inversely as the square
of the distance. And this will be a result of large numbers of
very simple operations, just hits, one after the other, from
all directions. Therefore the strangeness of the mathematical
relation will be very much reduced, because the fundamental
operation is much simpler than calculating the inverse of
the square of the distance. This design, with the particles
bouncing, does the calculation.

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The only trouble with this scheme is that it does not
work, for other reasons. Every theory that you make up has
to be analysed against all possible consequences, to see if it
predicts anything else. And this does predict something else.
If the earth is moving, more particles will hit it from in
front than from behind. (If you are running in the rain, more
rain hits you in the front of the face than in the back of the
head, because you are running into the rain.) So, if the
earth is moving it is running into the particles coming to-
wards it and away from the ones that are chasing it from
behind. So more particles will hit it from the front than
from the back, and there will be a force opposing any
motion. This force would slow the earth up in its orbit, and
it certainly would not have lasted the three or four billion
years (at least) that it has been going around the sun. So
that is the end of that theory. 'Well,' you say, 'it was a
good one, and I got rid of the mathematics for a while.
Maybe I could invent a better one.' Maybe you can, because
nobody knows the ultimate. But up to today, from the time
of Newton, no one has invented another theoretical descrip-
tion of the mathematical machinery behind this law which
does not either say the same thing over again, or make the
mathematics harder, or predict some wrong phenomena. So
there is no model of the theory of gravitation today, other
than the mathematical form.

If this were the only law of this character it would be
interesting and rather annoying. But what turns out to be
true is that the more we investigate, the more laws we find,
and the deeper we penetrate nature, the more this disease
persists. Every one of our laws is a purely mathematical
statement in rather complex and abstruse mathematics.
Newton's statement of the law of gravitation is relatively
simple mathematics. It gets more and more abstruse and
more and more difficult as we go on. Why? I have not the
slightest idea. It is only my purpose here to tell you about
this fact. The burden of the lecture is just to emphasize the
fact that it is impossible to explain honestly the beauties of
the laws of nature in a way that people can feel, without
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their having some deep understanding of mathematics. I am sorry, but this seems to be the case.

You might say, 'All right, then if there is no explanation the of law, at least tell me what the law is. Why not tell me in words instead of in symbols? Mathematics is just a language, and I want to be able to translate the language'. In fact I can, with patience, and I think I partly did. I could go a little further and explain in more detail that the equation means that if the distance is twice as far the force is one fourth as much, and so on. I could convert all the symbols into words. In other words I could be kind to the laymen as they all sit hopefully waiting for me to explain something. Different people get different reputations for their skill at explaining to the layman in layman's language these difficult and abstruse subjects. The layman then searches for book after book in the hope that he will avoid the complexities which ultimately set in, even with the best expositor of this type. He finds as he reads a generally increasing confusion, one complicated statement after another, one difficult-to-understand thing after another, all apparently disconnected from one another. It becomes obscure, and he hopes that maybe in some other book there is some explanation.... The author almost made it — maybe another fellow will make it right.

But I do not think it is possible, because mathematics is not just another language. Mathematics is a language plus reasoning; it is like a language plus logic. Mathematics is a tool for reasoning. It is in fact a big collection of the results of some person's careful thought and reasoning. By mathematics it is possible to connect one statement to another. For instance, I can say that the force is directed towards the sun. I can also tell you, as I did, that the planet moves so that if I draw a line from the sun to the planet, and draw another line at some definite period, like three weeks, later, then the area that is swung out by the planet is exactly the same as it will be in the next three weeks, and the next three weeks, and so on as it goes around the sun. I can explain both of those statements carefully, but I cannot explain why they

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are both the same. The apparent enormous complexities of nature, with all its funny laws and rules, each of which has been carefully explained to you, are really very closely interwoven. However, if you do not appreciate the mathematics, you cannot see, among the great variety of facts, that logic permits you to go from one to the other.

It may be unbelievable that I can demonstrate that equal areas will be swept out in equal times if the forces are directed towards the sun. So if I may, I will do one demonstration to show you that those two things really are equivalent, so that you can appreciate more than the mere statement of the two laws. I will show that the two laws are connected so that reasoning alone will bring you from one to the other, and that mathematics is just organized reasoning. Then you will appreciate the beauty of the relationship of the statements. I am going to prove the relationship that if the forces are directed towards the sun equal areas are swept out in equal times.

We start with a sun and a planet (fig. 9), and we imagine that at a certain time the planet is at position 1. It is moving in such a way that, say, one second later it has moved to position 2. If the sun did not exert a force on the planet, then, by Galileo's principle of inertia, it would keep right on going in a straight line. So after the same interval of time, the next second, it would have moved exactly the same

Figure 9
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distance in the same straight line, to the position 3. First we are going to show that if there is no force, then equal areas are swept out in equal times. I remind you that the area of a triangle is half the base times the altitude, and that the altitude is the vertical distance to the base. If the triangle is obtuse (fig. 10), then the altitude is the vertical height AD and the base is BC. Now let us compare the areas which would be swept out if the sun exerted no force whatsoever (fig. 9).

The two distances 1–2 and 2–3 are equal, remember. The question is, are the two areas equal? Consider the triangle made from the sun and the two points 1 and 2. What is its area? It is the base 1–2, multiplied by half the perpendicular height from the baseline to S. What about the other triangle, the triangle in the motion from 2 to 3? Its area is the base 2–3, times half the perpendicular height to S. The two triangles have the same altitude, and, as I indicated, the same base, and therefore they have the same area. So far so good. If there were no force from the sun, equal areas would be swept out in equal times. But there is a force from the sun. During the interval 1–2–3 the sun is pulling and changing the motion in various directions towards itself. To get a good approximation we will take the central position, or average position, at 2, and say that the whole effect during the interval 1–3 was to change the motion by some amount in the direction of the line 2–S (fig. 11).

This means that though the particles were moving on the line 1–2, and would, were there no force, have continued to move on the same line in the next second, because of the influence of the sun the motion is altered by an amount that is poking in a direction parallel to the line 2–S. The next motion is therefore a compound of what the planet wanted to do and the change that has been induced by the action of the sun. So the planet does not really end up at position 3, but rather at position 4. Now we would like to compare the areas of the triangles 23S and 24S, and I will show you that those are equal. They have the same base, S–2. Do they have the same altitude? Sure, because they are included between parallel lines. The distance from 4 to the line S–2 is equal to the distance from 3 to line S–2 (extended). Thus the area of the triangle S24 is the same as S23. I proved earlier that S12 and S23 were equal in area, so we now know S12 = S24. So, in the actual orbital motion of the planet the areas swept out in the first second and the second second are equal. Therefore, by reasoning, we can see a connection between the fact that the force is towards the sun, and the fact that the areas are equal. Isn’t that ingenious? I borrowed it straight from Newton. It comes right out of the Principia, diagram and all. Only the letters are different, because he wrote in Latin and these are Arabic numerals.
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Newton made all the proofs in his book geometrical. Today we do not use that kind of reasoning. We use a kind of analytic reasoning with symbols. It requires ingenuity to draw the correct triangles, to notice about the areas, and to figure out how to do this. But there have been improvements in the methods of analysis, which are faster and more efficient. I want to show what this looks like in the notation of the more modern mathematics, where you do nothing but write a lot of symbols to figure it out.

We want to talk about how fast the area changes, and we represent that by $\dot{A}$. The area changes when the radius is swinging, and it is the component of velocity at right angles to the radius, times the radius, that tells us how fast the area changes. So this is the component of the radial distance multiplied by the velocity, or rate of change of the distance.

$$\dot{A} = \dot{r} \times \overline{\dot{r}}$$

The question now is whether the rate of change of area itself changes. The principle is that the rate of change of the area is not supposed to change. So we differentiate this again, and this means some little trick about putting dots in the right place, that is all. You have to learn the tricks; it is just a series of rules that people have found out that are very useful for such a thing. We write:

$$\ddot{A} = \ddot{r} \times \overline{\dot{r}} + \dot{r} \times \overline{\ddot{r}} = \dot{r} \times \overline{\dddot{r}}$$

This first term says to take the component of the velocity at right angles to the velocity. It is zero; the velocity is in the same direction as itself. The acceleration, which is the second derivative, $\ddot{r}$ with two dots, or the derivative of the velocity, is the force divided by the mass.

This says therefore that the rate of change of the rate of change of the area is the component of force at right angles to the radius, but if the force is in the direction of the radius,

$$\dddot{r}_m = 0 \text{ or } \ddot{A} = 0$$

as Newton said, then there is no force at right angles to the radius, and that means that the rate of change of area does not change. This merely illustrates the power of analysis with different kinds of notation. Newton knew how to do this, more or less, with slightly different notations; but he wrote everything in the geometrical form, because he tried to make it possible for people to read his papers. He invented the calculus, which is the kind of mathematics I have just shown.

This is a good illustration of the relation of mathematics to physics. When the problems in physics become difficult we may often look to the mathematicians, who may already have studied such things and have prepared a line of reasoning for us to follow. On the other hand they may not have, in which case we have to invent our own line of reasoning, which we then pass back to the mathematicians. Everybody who reasons carefully about anything is making a contribution to the knowledge of what happens when you think about something, and if you abstract it away and send it to the Department of Mathematics they put it in books as a branch of mathematics. Mathematics, then, is a way of going from one set of statements to another. It is evidently useful in physics, because we have these different ways in which we can speak of things, and mathematics permits us to develop consequences, to analyse the situations, and to change the laws in different ways to connect the various statements. In fact the total amount that a physicist knows is very little. He has only to remember the rules to get him from one place to another and he is all right, because all the various statements about equal times, the force being in the direction of the radius, and so on, are all interconnected by reasoning.
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Now an interesting question comes up. Is there a place to begin to deduce the whole works? Is there some particular pattern or order in nature by which we can understand that one set of statements is more fundamental and one set of statements more consequential? There are two kinds of ways of looking at mathematics, which for the purpose of this lecture I will call the Babylonian tradition and the Greek tradition. In Babylonian schools in mathematics the student would learn something by doing a large number of examples until he caught on to the general rule. Also he would know a large amount of geometry, a lot of the properties of circles, the theorem of Pythagoras, formulae for the areas of cubes and triangles; in addition, some degree of argument was available to go from one thing to another. Tables of numerical quantities were available so that they could solve elaborate equations. Everything was prepared for calculating things out. But Euclid discovered that there was a way in which all of the theorems of geometry could be ordered from a set of axioms that were particularly simple. The Babylonian attitude — or what I call Babylonian mathematics — is that you know all of the various theorems and many of the connections in between, but you have never fully realized that it could all come up from a bunch of axioms. The most modern mathematics concentrates on axioms and demonstrations within a very definite framework of conventions of what is acceptable and what is not acceptable as axioms. Modern geometry takes something like Euclid’s axioms, modified to be more perfect, and then shows the deduction of the system. For instance, it would not be expected that a theorem like Pythagoras’s (that the sum of the areas of squares put on two sides of a right-angled triangle is equal to the area of the square on the hypotenuse) should be an axiom. On the other hand, from another point of view of geometry, that of Descartes, the Pythagorean theorem is an axiom.

So the first thing we have to accept is that even in mathematics you can start in different places. If all these various theorems are interconnected by reasoning there is no real way to say ‘These are the most fundamental axioms’, because if you were told something different instead you could also run the reasoning the other way. It is like a bridge with lots of members, and it is over-connected; if pieces have dropped out you can reconnect it another way. The mathematical tradition of today is to start with some particular ideas which are chosen by some kind of convention to be axioms, and then to build up the structure from there. What I have called the Babylonian idea is to say, ‘I happen to know this, and I happen to know that, and maybe I know that; and I work everything out from there. Tomorrow I may forget that this is true, but remember that something else is true, so I can reconstruct it all again. I am never quite sure of where I am supposed to begin or where I am supposed to end. I just remember enough all the time so that as the memory fades and some of the pieces fall out I can put the thing back together again every day’.

The method of always starting from the axioms is not very efficient in obtaining theorems. In working something out in geometry you are not very efficient if each time you have to start back at the axioms. If you have to remember a few things in geometry you can always get somewhere else, but it is much more efficient to do it the other way. To decide which are the best axioms is not necessarily the most efficient way of getting around in the territory. In physics we need the Babylonian method, and not the Euclidian or Greek method. I would like to explain why.

The problem in the Euclidian method is to make something about the axioms a little more interesting or important. But in the case of gravitation, for example, the question we are asking is: is it more important, more basic, or is it a better axiom, to say that the force is towards the sun, or to say that equal areas are swept out in equal times? From one point of view the force statement is better. If I state what the forces are I can deal with a system with many particles in which the orbits are no longer ellipses, because the force statement tells me about the pull of one on the other. In this case the theorem about equal areas fails. Therefore I
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will shorten, and when they are very far in the radii will be very small, so in order to produce the same area per second they will have to move a great deal faster. You will see then that as the stars come in they will swing and swirl around faster and faster, and thus we can roughly understand the qualitative shape of the spiral nebulae. In the same way we can understand how a skater spins. He starts with his leg out, moving slowly, and as he pulls his leg in he spins faster. When the leg is out it is contributing a certain amount of area per second, and then when he brings his leg in he has to spin much faster to produce the same amount of area. But I did not prove it for the skater: the skater uses muscle force, and gravity is a different force. Yet it is true for the skater.

Now we have a problem. We can deduce often from one part of physics, like the Law of Gravitation, a principle which turns out to be much more valid than the derivation. This does not happen in mathematics; theorems do not come out in places where they are not supposed to be. In other words, if we were to say that the postulate of physics was the equal area law of gravitation, then we could deduce the conservation of angular momentum, but only for gravitation. Yet we discover experimentally that the conservation of angular momentum is a much wider thing. Newton had other postulates by which he could get the more general conservation law of angular momentum. But these Newtonian laws were wrong. There are no forces, it is all a lot of boloney, the particles do not have orbits, and so on. Yet the analogue, the exact transformation of this principle about the areas and the conservation of angular momentum, is true. It works for atomic motions in quantum mechanics, and, as far as we can tell, it is still exact today. We have these wide principles which sweep across the different laws, and if we take the derivation too seriously, and feel that one is only valid because another is valid, then we cannot understand the interconnections of the different branches of physics. Some day, when physics is complete and we know all the laws, we may be able to start with some axioms, and
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no doubt somebody will figure out a particular way of doing it so that everything else can be deduced. But while we do not know all the laws, we can use some to make guesses at theorems which extend beyond the proof. In order to understand physics one must always have a neat balance, and contain in one’s head all of the various propositions and their interrelationships, because the laws often extend beyond the range of their deductions. This will only have no importance when all the laws are known.

Another thing, a very strange one, that is interesting in the relation of mathematics to physics is the fact that by mathematical arguments you can show that it is possible to start from many apparently different starting points, and yet come to the same thing. That is pretty clear. If you have axioms, you can instead use some of the theorems; but actually the physical laws are so delicately constructed that the different but equivalent statements of them have such qualitatively different characters, and this makes them very interesting. To illustrate this I am going to state the law of gravitation in three different ways, all of which are exactly equivalent but sound completely different.

The first statement is that there are forces between objects, according to the equation which I have given you before.

\[ f = \frac{GMm}{r^2} \]

Each object, when it sees the force on it, accelerates or changes its motion, at a certain amount per second. It is the regular way of stating the law, I call it Newton's law. This statement of the law says that the force depends on something at a finite distance away. It has what we call an unlocal quality. The force on one object depends on where another one is some distance away.

You may not like the idea of action at a distance. How can this object know what is going on over there? So there is another way of stating the laws, which is very strange,

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called the field way. It is hard to explain, but I want to give you some rough idea of what it is like. It says a completely different thing. There is a number at every point in space (I know it is a number, not a mechanism: that is the trouble with physics, it must be mathematical), and the numbers change when you go from place to place. If an object is placed at a point in space, the force on it is in the direction in which that number changes most rapidly (I will give it its usual name, the potential, the force is in the direction in which the potential changes). Further, the force is proportional to how fast the potential changes as you move. That is one part of the statement, but it is not enough, because I have yet to tell you how to determine the way in which the potential varies. I could say the potential varies inversely as the distance from each object, but that is back to the reaction-at-a-distance idea. You can state the law in another way, which says that you do not have to know what is going on anywhere outside a little ball. If you want to know what the potential is at the centre of the ball, you need only tell me what it is on the surface of the ball, however small. You do not have to look outside, you just tell me what it is in the neighbourhood, and how much mass there is in the ball. The rule is this. The potential at the centre is equal to the average of the potential on the surface of the ball, minus the same constant, \( G \), as we had in the other equation, divided by twice the radius of the ball (which we will call \( a \)), and then multiplied by the mass inside the ball, if the ball is small enough.

\[ \text{Potential at centre} = \text{Av. pot. on ball} - \frac{G\text{mass inside}}{2a} \]

You see that this law is different from the other, because it tells what happens at one point in terms of what happens very close by. Newton's law tells what happens at one time in terms of what happens at another instant. It gives from instant to instant how to work it out, but in space leaps from place to place. The second statement is both local in
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time and local in space, because it depends only on what is in the neighbourhood. But both statements are exactly equivalent mathematically.

There is another completely different way of stating this, different in the philosophy and the qualitative ideas involved. If you do not like action at a distance I have shown you can get away without it. Now I want to show you a statement which is philosophically the exact opposite. In this there is no discussion at all about how the thing works its way from place to place; the whole is contained in an overall statement, as follows. When you have a number of particles, and you want to know how one moves from one place to another, you do it by inventing a possible motion that gets from one place to the other in a given amount of time (fig. 13). Say the particle wants to go from X to Y in an hour, and you want to know by what route it can go. What you do is to invent various curves, and calculate on each curve a certain quantity. (I do not want to tell you what the quantity is, but for those who have heard of these terms the quantity on each route is the average of the difference between the kinetic and the potential energy.) If you calculate this quantity for one route, and then for another, you will get a different number for each route. There is one route which gives the least possible number, however, and that is the route that the particle in nature actually takes! We are now describing the actual motion, the ellipse, by saying something about the whole curve. We have lost the idea of causality, that the particle feels the pull and moves in accordance with it. Instead of that, in some grand fashion it smells all the curves, all the possibilities, and decides which one to take (by choosing that for which our quantity is least).

The Relation of Mathematics to Physics

This is an example of the wide range of beautiful ways of describing nature. When people say that nature must have causality, you can use Newton's law; or if they say that nature must be stated in terms of a minimum principle, you talk about it this last way; or if they insist that nature must have a local field - sure, you can do that. The question is: which one is right? If these various alternatives are not exactly equivalent mathematically, if for certain ones there will be different consequences than for others, then all we have to do is to experiment to find out which way nature actually chooses to do it. People may come along and argue philosophically that they like one better than another; but we have learned from much experience that all philosophical intuitions about what nature is going to do fail. One just has to work out all the possibilities, and try all the alternatives. But in the particular case I am talking about the theories are exactly equivalent. Mathematically each of the three different formulations, Newton's law, the local field method and the minimum principle, gives exactly the same consequences. What do we do then? You will read in all the books that we cannot decide scientifically on one or the other. That is true. They are equivalent scientifically. It is impossible to make a decision, because there is no experimental way to distinguish between them if all the consequences are the same. But psychologically they are very different in two ways. First, philosophically you like them or do not like them; and training is the only way to beat that disease. Second, psychologically they are different because they are completely unequivalent when you are trying to guess new laws.

As long as physics is incomplete, and we are trying to understand the other laws, then the different possible formulations may give clues about what might happen in other circumstances. In that case they are no longer equivalent, psychologically, in suggesting to us guesses about what the laws may look like in a wider situation. To give an example, Einstein realized that electrical signals could not propagate faster than the speed of light. He guessed that it was a general
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principle. (This is the same guessing game as taking the angular momentum and extending it from one case where you have proved it, to the rest of the phenomena of the universe.) He guessed that it was true of everything, and he guessed that it would be true of gravitation. If signals cannot go any faster than the speed of light, then it turns out that the method of describing the forces instantaneously is very poor. So in Einstein's generalization of gravitation Newton's method of describing physics is hopelessly inadequate and enormously complicated, whereas the field method is neat and simple, and so is the minimum principle. We have not decided between the last two yet.

In fact it turns out that in quantum mechanics neither is right in exactly the way I have stated them, but the fact that a minimum principle exists turns out to be a consequence of the fact that on a small scale particles obey quantum mechanics. The best law, as at present understood, is really a combination of the two in which we use minimum principles plus local laws. At present we believe that the laws of physics have to have the local character and also the minimum principle, but we do not really know. If you have a structure that is only partly accurate, and something is going to fail, then if you write it with just the right axioms maybe only one axiom fails and the rest remain, you need only change one little thing. But if you write it with another set of axioms they may all collapse, because they all lean on that one thing that fails. We cannot tell ahead of time, without some intuition, which is the best way to write it so that we can find out the new situation. We must always keep all the alternative ways of looking at a thing in our heads; so physicists do Babylonian mathematics, and pay but little attention to the precise reasoning from fixed axioms.

One of the amazing characteristics of nature is the variety of interpretational schemes which is possible. It turns out that it is only possible because the laws are just so, special and delicate. For instance, that the law is the inverse square is what permits it to become local; if it were the inverse cube it could not be done that way. At the other end of the equation, the fact that the force is related to the rate of change of velocity is what permits the minimum principle way of writing the laws. If, for instance, the force were proportional to the rate of change of position instead of velocity, then you could not write it in that way. If you modify the laws much you find that you can only write them in fewer ways. I always find that mysterious, and I do not understand the reason why it is that the correct laws of physics seem to be expressible in such a tremendous variety of ways. They seem to be able to get through several wickets at the same time.

I should like to say a few things on the relation of mathematics and physics which are a little more general. Mathematicians are only dealing with the structure of reasoning, and they do not really care what they are talking about. They do not even need to know what they are talking about, or, as they themselves say, whether what they say is true. I will explain that. You state the axioms, such-and-such is so, and such-and-such is so. What then? The logic can be carried out without knowing what the such-and-such words mean. If the statements about the axioms are carefully formulated and complete enough, it is not necessary for the man who is doing the reasoning to have any knowledge of the meaning of the words in order to deduce new conclusions in the same language. If I use the word triangle in one of the axioms there will be a statement about triangles in the conclusion, whereas the man who is doing the reasoning may not know what a triangle is. But I can read his reasoning back and say, 'Triangle, that is just a three-sided whatever-you, which is so-and-so', and then I know his new facts. In other words, mathematicians prepare abstract reasoning ready to be used if you have a set of axioms about the real world. But the physicist has meaning to all his phrases. That is a very important thing that a lot of people who come to physics by way of mathematics do not appreciate. Physics is not mathematics, and mathematics is not physics. One helps the other. But in physics you have to have an understanding of the connection of words with the real world. It is
necessary at the end to translate what you have figured out into English, into the world, into the blocks of copper and glass that you are going to do the experiments with. Only in that way can you find out whether the consequences are true. This is a problem which is not a problem of mathematics at all.

Of course it is obvious that the mathematical reasonings which have been developed are of great power and use for physicists. On the other hand, sometimes the physicists' reasoning is useful for mathematicians.

Mathematicians like to make their reasoning as general as possible. If I say to them, 'I want to talk about ordinary three dimensional space', they say 'If you have a space of $n$ dimensions, then here are the theorems'. 'But I only want the case 3', 'Well, substitute $n = 3$.' So it turns out that many of the complicated theorems they have are much simpler when adapted to a special case. The physicist is always interested in the special case; he is never interested in the general case. He is talking about something; he is not talking abstractly about anything. He wants to discuss the gravity law in three dimensions; he never wants the arbitrary force case in $n$ dimensions. So a certain amount of reducing is necessary, because the mathematicians have prepared these things for a wide range of problems. This is very useful, and later on it always turns out that the poor physicist has to come back and say, 'Excuse me, when you wanted to tell me about four dimensions . . .'

When you know what it is you are talking about, that some symbols represent forces, others masses, inertia, and so on, then you can use a lot of commonsense, seat-of-the-pants feeling about the world. You have seen various things, and you know more or less how the phenomenon is going to behave. But the poor mathematician translates it into equations, and as the symbols do not mean anything to him he has no guide but precise mathematical rigour and care in the argument. The physicist, who knows more or less how the answer is going to come out, can sort of guess part way, and so go along rather rapidly. The mathematical

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*Paul Dirac, British physicist. Joint Nobel Prize with Schrödinger, 1933.
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ultimately physics will not require a mathematical statement, that in the end the machinery will be revealed, and the laws will turn out to be simple, like the chequer board with all its apparent complexities. But this speculation is of the same nature as those other people make - 'I like it', 'I don't like it', - and it is not good to be too prejudiced about these things.

To summarize, I would use the words of Jeans, who said that 'the Great Architect seems to be a mathematician'. To those who do not know mathematics it is difficult to get across a real feeling as to the beauty, the deepest beauty, of nature. C. P. Snow talked about two cultures. I really think that those two cultures separate people who have and people who have not had this experience of understanding mathematics well enough to appreciate nature once.

It is too bad that it has to be mathematics, and that mathematics is hard for some people. It is reputed - I do not know if it is true - that when one of the kings was trying to learn geometry from Euclid he complained that it was difficult. And Euclid said, 'There is no royal road to geometry'. And there is no royal road. Physicists cannot make a conversion to any other language. If you want to learn about nature, to appreciate nature, it is necessary to understand the language that she speaks in. She offers her information only in one form; we are not so unhumble as to demand that she change before we pay any attention.

All the intellectual arguments that you can make will not communicate to deaf ears what the experience of music really is. In the same way all the intellectual arguments in the world will not convey an understanding of nature to those of 'the other culture'. Philosophers may try to teach you by telling you qualitatively about nature. I am trying to describe her. But it is not getting across because it is impossible. Perhaps it is because their horizons are limited in this way that some people are able to imagine that the centre of the universe is man.

The Great Conservation Principles

When learning about the laws of physics you find that there are a large number of complicated and detailed laws, laws of gravitation, of electricity and magnetism, nuclear interactions, and so on, but across the variety of these detailed laws there sweep great general principles which all the laws seem to follow. Examples of these are the principles of conservation, certain qualities of symmetry, the general form of quantum mechanical principles, and unhappily, or happily, as we considered last time, the fact that all the laws are mathematical. In this lecture I want to talk about the conservation principles.

The physicist uses ordinary words in a peculiar manner. To him a conservation law means that there is a number which you can calculate at one moment, then as nature undergoes its multitude of changes, if you calculate this quantity again at a later time it will be the same as it was before, the number does not change. An example is the conservation of energy. There is a quantity that you can calculate according to a certain rule, and it comes out the same answer always, no matter what happens.

Now you can see that such a thing is possibly useful. Suppose that physics, or rather nature, is considered analogous to a great chess game with millions of pieces in it, and we are trying to discover the laws by which the pieces move. The great gods who play this chess play it very rapidly, and it is hard to watch and difficult to see. However, we are catching on to some of the rules, and there are some rules which we can work out which do not require that we watch every move. For instance, suppose there is one bishop only, a red bishop, on the board, then since the
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bishop moves diagonally and therefore never changes the colour of its square, if we look away for a moment while the gods play and then look back again, we can expect that there will be still a red bishop on the board, maybe in a different place, but on the same colour square. This is in the nature of a conservation law. We do not need to watch the insides to know at least something about the game.

It is true that in chess this particular law is not necessarily perfectly valid. If we looked away long enough it could happen that the bishop was captured, a pawn went down to queen, and the god decided that it was better to hold a bishop instead of a queen in the place of that pawn, which happened to be on a black square. Unfortunately it may well turn out that some of the laws which we see today may not be exactly perfect, but I will tell you about them as we see them at present.

I have said that we use ordinary words in a technical fashion, and another word in the title of this lecture is 'great', 'The Great Conservation Principles'. This is not a technical word: it was merely put in to make the title sound more dramatic, and I could just as well have called it 'The Conservation Laws'. There are a few conservation laws that do not work; they are only approximately right, but are sometimes useful, and we might call those the 'little' conservation laws. I will mention later one or two of those that do not work, but the principal ones that I am going to discuss are, as far as we can tell today, absolutely accurate.

I will start with the easiest one to understand, and that is the conservation of electric charge. There is a number, the total electric charge in the world, which, no matter what happens, does not change. If you lose it in one place you will find it in another. The conservation is of the total of all electric charge. This was discovered experimentally by Faraday.* The experiment consisted of getting inside a great globe of metal, on the outside of which was a very delicate galvanometer, to look for the charge on the globe, because a small amount of charge would make a big effect. Inside the globe Faraday built all kinds of weird electrical equipment. He made charges by rubbing glass rods with cat's fur, and he made big electrostatic machines so that the inside of this globe looked like those horror movie laboratories. But during all these experiments no charge developed on the surface; there was no net charge made. Although the glass rod may have been positive after it was charged up by rubbing on the cat's fur, then the fur would be the same amount negative, and the total charge was always nothing, because if there were any charge developed on the inside of the globe it would have appeared as an effect in the galvanometer on the outside. So the total charge is conserved.

This is easy to understand, because a very simple model, which is not mathematical at all, will explain it. Suppose the world is made of only two kinds of particles, electrons and protons - there was a time when it looked as if it was going to be as easy as that - and suppose that the electrons carry a negative charge and the protons a positive charge, so that we can separate them. We can take a piece of matter and put on more electrons, or take some off; but supposing that electrons are permanent and never disintegrate or disappear - that is a simple proposition, not even mathematical - then the total number of protons, less the total number of electrons, will not change. In fact in this particular model the total number of protons will not change, nor the number of electrons. But we are concentrating now on the charge. The contribution of the protons is positive and that of the electrons negative, and if these objects are never created or destroyed alone then the total charge will be conserved. I want to list as I go on the number of properties that conserve quantities, and I will start with charge (fig. 14). Against the question whether charge is conserved I write 'yes'.

This theoretical interpretation is very simple, but it was later discovered that electrons and protons are not permanent; for example, a particle called the neutron can disintegrate into a proton and an electron - plus something else

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charge</th>
<th>Baryon No.</th>
<th>Strangeness</th>
<th>Energy</th>
<th>Angular Momentum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Nearly</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conserves Yes & Yes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Units</th>
<th>Source of field</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is the completed table which Professor Feynman added to throughout his lecture.

Figure 14

which we will come to. But the neutron, it turns out, is electrically neutral. So although protons are not permanent, nor are electrons permanent, in the sense that they can be created from a neutron, the charge still checks out; starting before, we had zero charge, and afterwards we had plus one and minus one which when added together become zero charge.

An example of a similar fact is that there exists another particle, besides the proton, which is positively charged. It is called a positron, which is a kind of image of an electron. It is just like the electron in most respects, except that it has the opposite sign of charge, and, more important, it is called an anti-particle because when it meets with an electron the two of them can annihilate each other and disintegrate, and nothing but light comes out. So electrons are not permanent even by themselves. An electron plus a positron will just make light. Actually the 'light' is invisible to the eye; it is gamma rays; but this is the same thing for a physicist, only the wavelength is different. So a particle and its anti-particle can annihilate. The light has no electric charge, but we remove one positive and one negative charge, so we have not changed the total charge. The theory of conservation of charge is therefore slightly more complicated but still very unmathematical. You simply add together the number of positrons you have and the number of protons, take away the number of electrons – there are additional particles you have to check, for example anti-protons which contribute negatively, pi-plus mesons which are positive, in fact each fundamental particle in nature has a charge (possibly zero). All we have to do is add up the total number, and whatever happens in any reaction the total amount of charge on one side has to balance with the amount on the other side.

That is one aspect of the conservation of charge. Now comes an interesting question. Is it sufficient to say only that charge is conserved, or do we have to say more? If charge were conserved because it was a real particle which moved around it would have a very special property. The total amount of charge in a box might stay the same in two ways. It may be that the charge moves from one place to another within the box. But another possibility is that the charge in one place disappears, and simultaneously charge arises in another place, instantaneously related, and in such a manner that the total charge is never changing. This second possibility for the conservation is of a different kind from the first, in which if a charged disappears in one place and turns up in another something has to travel through the space in between. The second form of charge conservation is called local charge conservation, and is far more detailed than the simple remark that the total charge does not change. So you see we are improving our law, if it is true that charge is locally conserved. In fact it is true. I have tried to show you from time to time some of the possibilities of reasoning, of interconnecting one idea with another, and I would now like to describe to you an argument, fundamentally due to Einstein, which indicates that if anything is conserved – and in this case I apply it to charge – it must be conserved locally. This argument relies on one thing,
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that if two fellows are passing each other in space ships, the question of which guy is doing the moving and which one standing still cannot be resolved by any experiment. That is called the principle of relativity, that uniform motion in a straight line is relative, and that we can look at any phenomenon from either point of view and cannot say which one is standing still and which one is moving.

Suppose I have two space ships, A and B (fig. 15). I am going to take the point of view that A is the one that is moving past B. Remember that is just an opinion, you can also look it at the other way and you will get the same phenomena of nature. Now suppose that the man who is standing still wants to argue whether or not he has seen a charge at one end of his ship disappear and a charge at the other end appear at the same time. In order to make sure it is the same time he cannot sit in the front of the ship, because he will see one before he sees the other because of the travel time of light; so let us suppose that he is very careful and sits dead centre in the middle of the ship. We have another man doing the same kind of observation in the other ship. Now a lightning bolt strikes, and charge is created at point x, and at the same instant at point y at the other end of the ship the charge is annihilated, it disappears. At the same instant, note, and perfectly consistent with our idea that charge is conserved. If we lose one electron in one place we get another elsewhere, but nothing passes in between. Let us suppose that when the charge disappears there is a flash, and when it is created there is a flash, so that we can see what happens. B says they both happen at the same time, since he knows he is in the middle of the ship and the light from the bolt which creates x reaches him at the same time as the light from the flash of disappearance at y. Then B will say, 'Yes, when one disappeared the other was created'. But what happens to our friend in the other ship? He says, 'No, you are wrong my friend. I saw x created before y'. This is because he is moving towards x, so the light from x will have a shorter distance to travel than the light from y, since he is moving away from y. He could say, 'No, x was created first and then y disappeared, so for a short time after x was created and before y disappeared I got some charge. That is not the conservation of charge. It is against the law'. But the first fellow says, 'Yes, but you are moving'. Then he says, 'How do you know? I think you are moving', and so on. If we are unable, by any experiment, to see a difference in the physical laws whether we are moving or not, then if the conservation of charge were not local only a certain kind of man would see it work right, namely the guy who is standing still, in an absolute sense. But such a thing is impossible according to Einstein's relativity principle, and therefore it is impossible to have non-local conservation of charge. The locality of the conservation of charge is consonant with the theory of relativity, and it turns out that this is true of all the conservation laws. You can appreciate that if anything is conserved the same principle applies.

There is another interesting thing about charge, a very strange thing for which we have no real explanation today. It has nothing to do with the conservation law and is independent of it. Charge always comes in units. When we have a charged particle it has one charge or two charges, or minus
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one or minus two. Returning to our table, although this has nothing to do with the conservation of charge, I must write down that the thing that is conserved comes in units. It is very nice that it comes in units, because that makes the theory of conservation of charge very easy to understand. It is just a thing we can count, which goes from place to place. Finally it turns out technically that the total charge of a thing is easy to determine electrically because the charge has a very important characteristic; it is the source of the electric and magnetic field. Charge is a measure of the interaction of an object with electricity, with an electric field. So another item which we should add to the list is that charge is the source of a field; in other words, electricity is related to charge. Thus the particular quantity which is conserved here has two other aspects which are not connected with the conservation directly, but are interesting anyway. One is that it comes in units, and the other that it is the source of a field.

There are many conservation laws, and I will give some more examples of laws of the same type as the conservation of charge, in the sense that it is merely a matter of counting. There is a conservation law called the conservation of baryons. A neutron can go into a proton. If we count each of these as one unit, or baryon, then we do not lose the number of baryons. The neutron carries one baryonic charge unit, or represents one baryon, a proton represents one baryon – all we are doing is counting and making big words! – so if the reaction I am speaking of occurs, in which a neutron decays into a proton, an electron and an anti-neutrino, the total number of baryons does not change. However there are other reactions in nature. A proton plus a proton can produce a great variety of strange objects, for example a lambda, a proton and a K plus. Lambda and K plus are names for peculiar particles.

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In this reaction we know we put two baryons in, but we see only one come out, so possibly either lambda or K+ has a baryon. If we study the lambda later we discover that very slowly it disintegrates into a proton and a pi, and ultimately the pi disintegrates into electrons and what-not.

\[(\text{slow}) \lambda \rightarrow \text{P} + \pi\]

What we have here is the baryon coming out again in the proton, so we think the lambda has a baryon number of 1, but the K+ does not, the K+ has zero.

On our chart of conservation laws (fig. 14), then, we have charge and now we have a similar situation with baryons, with a special rule that the baryon number is the number of protons, plus the number of neutrons, plus the number of lambdas, minus the number of anti-protons, minus the number of anti-neutrons, and so on; it is just a counting proposition. It is conserved, it comes in units, and nobody knows but everybody wants to think, by analogy, that it is the source of a field. The reason we make these tables is that we are trying to guess at the laws of nuclear interaction, and this is one of the quick ways of guessing at nature. If charge is the source of a field, and baryon does the same things in other respects it ought to be the source of a field too. Too bad that so far it does not seem to be, it is possible, but we do not know enough to be sure.

There are one or two more of these counting propositions, for example Lepton numbers, and so on, but the idea is the same as with baryons. There is one, however, which is slightly different. There are in nature among these strange particles characteristic rates of reaction, some of which are very fast and easy, and others which are very slow and hard. I do not mean easy and hard in a technical sense, in actually doing the experiment. It concerns the rates at which the reactions occur when the particles are present. There is a clear distinction between the two kinds of reaction which I have mentioned above, the decay of a pair of protons, and
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the much slower decay of the lambda. It turns out that if you take only the fast and easy reactions there is one more counting law, in which the lambda gets a minus 1, and the K plus gets a plus 1, and the proton gets zero. This is called the strangeness number, or hyperon charge, and it appears that the rule that it is conserved is right for every easy reaction, but wrong for the slow reactions. On our chart (fig. 14) we must therefore add the conservation law called the conservation of strangeness, or the conservation of hyperon number, which is nearly right. This is very peculiar; we see why this quantity has been called strangeness. It is nearly true that it is conserved, and true that it comes in units. In trying to understand the strong interactions which are involved in nuclear forces, the fact that in strong interactions the thing is conserved has made people propose that for strong interactions it is also the source of a field, but again we do not know. I bring these matters up to show you how conservation laws can be used to guess new laws.

There are other conservation laws that have been proposed from time to time, of the same nature as counting. For example, chemists once thought that no matter what happened the number of sodium atoms stayed the same. But sodium atoms are not permanent. It is possible to transmute atoms from one element to another so that the original element has completely disappeared. Another law which was for a while believed to be true was that the total mass of an object stays the same. This depends on how you define mass, and whether you get mixed up with energy. The mass conservation law is contained in the next one which I am going to discuss, the law of conservation of energy. Of all the conservation laws, that dealing with energy is the most difficult and abstract, and yet the most useful. It is more difficult to understand than those I have described so far, because in the case of charge, and the others, the mechanism is clear, it is more or less the conservation of objects. This is not absolutely the case, because of the problem that we get new things from old things, but it is really a matter of simply counting.

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The conservation of energy is a little more difficult, because this time we have a number which is not changed in time, but this number does not represent any particular thing. I would like to make a kind of silly analogy to explain a little about it.

I want you to imagine that a mother has a child whom she leaves alone in a room with 28 absolutely indestructible blocks. The child plays with the blocks all day, and when the mother comes back she discovers that there are indeed 28 blocks; she checks all the time the conservation of blocks. This goes on for a few days, and then one day when she comes in there are only 27 blocks. However, she finds one block lying outside the window, the child had thrown it out. The first thing you must appreciate about conservation laws is that you must watch that the stuff you are trying to check does not go out through the wall. The same thing could happen the other way, if a boy came in to play with the child, bringing some blocks with him. Obviously these are matters you have to consider when you talk about conservation laws. Suppose one day when the mother comes to count the blocks she finds that there are only 25 blocks, but suspects that the child has hidden the other three blocks in a little toy box. So she says, 'I am going to open the box'. 'No,' he says, 'you cannot open the box.' Being a very clever mother she would say, 'I know that when the box is empty it weighs 16 ounces, and each block weighs 3 ounces, so what I am going to do is to weigh the box'. So, totalling up the number of blocks, she would get –
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in the water, so she adds another term, and now she has –

\[
\text{No. of blocks seen} + \frac{\text{Weight of box (lbs.)}}{30} + \frac{\text{Ht. of Water (in.)}}{6}\in.
\]

and once again it adds up to 28. As the boy becomes more ingenious, and the mother continues to be equally ingenious, more and more terms must be added, all of which represent blocks, but from the mathematical standpoint are abstract calculations, because the blocks are not seen.

Now I would like to draw my analogy, and tell you what is common between this and the conservation of energy, and what is different. First suppose that in all of the situations you never saw any blocks. The term ‘No. of blocks seen’ is never included. Then the mother would always be calculating a whole lot of terms like ‘blocks in the box’, ‘blocks in the water’, and so on. With energy there is this difference, that there are no blocks, so far as we can tell. Also, unlike the case of the blocks, for energy the numbers that come out are not integers. I suppose it might happen to the poor mother that when she calculates one term it comes out \(6 \frac{1}{2}\) blocks, and when she calculates another it comes out \(\frac{1}{4}\) of a block, and the others give 21, which still totals 28. That is how it looks with energy.

What we have discovered about energy is that we have a scheme with a sequence of rules. From each different set of rules we can calculate a number for each different kind of energy. When we add all the numbers together, from all the different forms of energy, it always gives the same total. But as far as we know there are no real units, no little ball-bearings. It is abstract, purely mathematical, that there is a number such that whenever you calculate it it does not change. I cannot interpret it any better than that.

This energy has all kinds of forms, analogous to the blocks in the box, blocks in the water, and so on. There is energy due to motion called kinetic energy, energy due to gravitational interaction (gravitational potential energy, it

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is called), thermal energy, electrical energy, light energy, elastic energy in springs and so on, chemical energy, nuclear energy – and there is also an energy that a particle has from its mere existence, an energy that depends directly on its mass. The last is the contribution of Einstein, as you undoubtedly know. \(E = mc^2\) is the famous equation of the law I am talking about.

Although I have mentioned a large number of energies, I would like to explain that we are not completely ignorant about this, and we do understand the relationship of some of them to others. For instance, what we call thermal energy is to a large extent merely the kinetic energy of the motion of the particles inside an object. Elastic energy and chemical energy both have the same origin, namely the forces between the atoms. When the atoms rearrange themselves in a new pattern some energy is changed, and if that quantity changes it means that some other quantity also has to change. For example, if you are burning something the chemical energy changes, and you find heat where you did not have heat before, because it all has to add up right. Elastic energy and chemical energy are both interactions of atoms, and we now understand these interactions to be a combination of two things, one electrical energy and the other kinetic energy again, only this time the formula for it is quantum mechanical. Light energy is nothing but electrical energy, because light has now been interpreted as an electric and magnetic wave. Nuclear energy is not represented in terms of the others; at the moment I cannot say more than that it is the result of nuclear forces. I am not just talking here about the energy released. In the uranium nucleus there is a certain amount of energy, and when the thing disintegrates the amount of energy remaining in the nucleus changes, but the total amount of energy in the world does not change, so a lot of heat and stuff is generated in the process, in order to balance up.

This conservation law is very useful in many technical ways. I will give you some very simple examples to show how, knowing the law of conservation of energy and the
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Formulae for calculating energy, we can understand other laws. In other words, many other laws are not independent, but are simply secret ways of talking about the conservation of energy. The simplest is the law of the lever (fig. 16).

![Figure 16](image)

We have a lever on a pivot. The length of one arm is 1 foot and the other 4 feet. First I must give the law for gravity energy, which is that if you have a number of weights, you take the weight of each and multiply it by its height above the ground, add this together for all the weights, and that gives the total of gravity energy. Suppose I have a 2 lb weight on the long arm, and an unknown mystic weight on the other side — X is always the unknown, so let us call it W to make it seem that we have advanced above the usual! Now the question is, how much must W be so that it just balances and swings quietly back and forth without any trouble? If it swings quietly back and forth, that means that the energy is the same whether the balance is parallel to the ground or tilted so that the 2 lb weight is, say, 1 inch above the ground. If the energy is the same then it does not care much which way, and it does not fall over. If the 2 lb weight goes up 1 inch how far down does W go? From the diagram you can see (fig. 3) that if AO is 1 foot and OB is 4 feet, then when BB' is 1 inch AA' will be ¼ inch. Now apply the law for gravity energy. Before anything happened all the heights were zero, so the total energy was zero. After the move has happened to get the gravity energy we multiply the weight 2 lb by the height 1 inch and add it to the unknown weight W times the height — ¼ inch. The sum of this must give the same energy as before — zero. So:

\[ 2 - \frac{W}{4} = 0 \]

so W must be 8.

This is one way we can understand the easy law, which you already knew of course, the law of the lever. But it is interesting that not only this but hundreds of other physical laws can be closely related to various forms of energy. I showed you this example only to illustrate how useful it is.

The only trouble is, of course, that in practice it does not really work because of friction in the fulcrum. If I have something moving, for example a ball rolling along at a constant height, then it will stop on account of friction. What happened to the kinetic energy of the ball? The answer is that the energy of the motion of the ball has gone into the energy of the jiggling of the atoms in the floor and in the ball. The world that we see on a large scale looks like a nice round ball when we polish it, but it is really quite complicated when looked at on a little scale; billions of tiny atoms, with all kinds of irregular shapes. It is like a very rough boulder when looked at finely enough, because it is made out of these little balls. The floor is the same, a bumpy business made out of balls. When you roll this monster boulder over the magnified floor you can see that the little atoms are going to go snap-jiggle, snap-jiggle. After the thing has rolled across, the ones that are left behind are still shaking a little from the pushing and snapping that they went through; so there is left in the floor a jiggling motion, or thermal energy. At first it appears as if the law of conservation is false, but energy has the tendency to hide from us and we need thermometers and other instruments to make sure that it is still there. We find that energy is conserved no matter how complex the process, even when we do not know the detailed laws.

The first demonstration of the law of conservation of
energy was not by a physicist but by a medical man. He demonstrated with rats. If you burn food you can find out how much heat is generated. If you then feed the same amount of food to rats it is converted, with oxygen, into carbon dioxide, in the same way as in burning. When you measure the energy in each case you find that living creatures do exactly the same as non-living creatures. The law for conservation of energy is as true for life as for other phenomena. Incidentally, it is interesting that every law or principle that we know for "dead" things, and that we can test on the great phenomenon of life, works just as well there. There is no evidence yet that what goes on in living creatures is necessarily different, so far as the physical laws are concerned, from what goes on in non-living things, although the living things may be much more complicated.

The amount of energy in food, which will tell you how much heat, mechanical work, etc., it can generate, is measured in calories. When you hear of calories you are not eating something called calories, that is simply the measure of the amount of heat energy that is in the food. Physicists sometimes feel so superior and smart that other people would like to catch them out once on something. I will give you something to get them on. They should be utterly ashamed of the way they take energy and measure it in a host of different ways, with different names. It is absurd that energy can be measured in calories, in ergs, in electron volts, in foot pounds, in B.T.U.s, in horsepower hours, in kilowatt hours—all measuring exactly the same thing. It is like having money in dollars, pounds, and so on; but unlike the economic situation where the ratio can change, these dopey things are in absolutely guaranteed proportion. If anything is analogous, it is like shillings and pounds—there are always 20 shillings to a pound. But one complication that the physicist allows is that instead of having a number like 20 he has irrational ratios like 1:6183178 shillings to a pound. You would think that at least the more modern high-class theoretical physicists would use a common unit, but you find papers with degrees Kelvin for measuring energy, mega-
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which we now call an anti-neutrino. The anti-neutrino which comes out takes up the energy. You might say that the only reason for the anti-neutrino is to make the conservation of energy right. But it makes a lot of other things right, like the conservation of momentum and other conservation laws, and very recently it has been directly demonstrated that such neutrinos do indeed exist.

This example illustrates a point. How is it possible that we can extend our laws into regions we are not sure about? Why are we so confident that, because we have checked the energy conservation here, when we get a new phenomenon we can say it has to satisfy the law of conservation of energy? Every once in a while you read in the paper that physicists have discovered that one of their favourite laws is wrong. Is it then a mistake to say that a law is true in a region where you have not yet looked? If you will never say that a law is true in a region where you have not already looked you do not know anything. If the only laws that you find are those which you have just finished observing then you can never make any predictions. Yet the only utility of science is to go on and to try to make guesses. So what we always do is to stick our necks out, and in the case of energy the most likely thing is that it is conserved in other places.

Of course this means that science is uncertain; the moment that you make a proposition about a region of experience that you have not directly seen then you must be uncertain. But we always must make statements about the regions that we have not seen, or the whole business is no use. For instance, the mass of an object changes when it moves, because of the conservation of energy. Because of the relation of mass and energy the energy associated with the motion appears as an extra mass, so things get heavier when they move. Newton believed that this was not the case, and that the masses stayed constant. When it was discovered that the Newtonian idea was false everyone kept saying what a terrible thing it was that physicists had found out that they were wrong. Why did they think they were right? The effect is very small, and only shows when you get

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near the speed of light. If you spin a top it weighs the same as if you do not spin it, to within a very very fine fraction. Should they then have said, 'If you do not move any faster than so-and-so, then the mass does not change'? That would then be certain. No, because if the experiment happened to have been done only with tops of wood, copper and steel, they would have said 'Tops made out of copper, wood and steel, when not moving any faster than so and so ...'. You see, we do not know all the conditions that we need for an experiment. It is not known whether a radioactive top would have a mass that is conserved. So we have to make guesses in order to give any utility at all to science. In order to avoid simply describing experiments that have been done, we have to propose laws beyond their observed range. There is nothing wrong with that, despite the fact that it makes science uncertain. If you thought before that science was certain well, that is just an error on your part.

To return then, to our list of conservation laws (fig. 14), we can add energy. It is conserved perfectly, as far as we know. It does not come in units. Now the question is, is it the source of a field? The answer is yes. Einstein understood gravitation as being generated by energy. Energy and mass are equivalent, and so Newton's interpretation that the mass is what produces gravity has been modified to the statement that the energy produces the gravity.

There are other laws similar to the conservation of energy, in the sense that they are numbers. One of them is momentum. If you take all the masses of an object, multiply them by the velocities, and add them all together, the sum is the momentum of the particles; and the total amount of momentum is conserved. Energy and momentum are now understood to be very closely related, so I have put them in the same column of our table.

Another example of a conserved quantity is angular momentum, an item which we discussed before. The angular momentum is the area generated per second by objects moving about. For example, if we have a moving object,
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and we take any centre whatsoever, then the speed at which the area (fig. 17) swept out by a line from centre to object, increases, multiplied by the mass of the object, and added together for all the objects, is called the angular momentum. And that quantity does not change. So we have conservation of angular momentum. Incidentally, at first sight, if you know too much physics, you might think that the angular momentum is not conserved. Like the energy it appears in different forms. Although most people think it only appears in motion it does appear in other forms, as I will illustrate. If you have a wire, and move a magnet up into it, increasing the magnetic field through the flux through the wire, there will be an electric current — that is how electric generators work. Imagine that instead of a wire I have a disc, on which there are electric charges analogous to the electrons in the wire (fig. 18). Now I bring a magnet dead centre along the

Figure 17

axis from far away, very rapidly up to the disc, so that now there is a flux change. Then, just as in the wire, the charges will start to go around, and if the disc were on a wheel it would be spinning by the time I had brought the magnet up. That does not look like conservation of angular momentum, because when the magnet is away from the disc nothing is turning, and when they are close together it is spinning. We have got turning for nothing, and that is against the rules. ‘Oh yes,’ you say, ‘I know, there must be some other kind of interaction that makes the magnet spin the opposite way.’ That is not the case. There is no electrical force on the magnet tending to twist it the opposite way. The explanation is that angular momentum appears in two forms: one of them is angular momentum of motion, and the other is angular momentum in electric and magnetic fields. There is angular momentum in the field around the magnet, although it does not appear as motion, and this has the opposite sign to the spin. If we take the opposite case it is even clearer (fig. 19).

Figure 18

If we have just the particles, and the magnet, close together, and everything is standing still, I say there is angular momentum in the field, a hidden form of angular momentum which does not appear as actual rotation. When you pull the magnet down and take the instrument apart, then all the fields separate and the angular momentum now has to appear and

Figure 19
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Figure 20

measure, and we will discuss it in much more detail in the next lecture. The reason this is not very interesting in classical physics is because the times when there are such nicely symmetrical initial conditions are very rare, and it is therefore a not very important or practical conservation law. But in quantum mechanics, when we deal with very simple systems like atoms, their internal constitution often has a kind of symmetry, like bilateral symmetry, and then the symmetry character is maintained. This is therefore an important law for understanding quantum phenomena.

One interesting question is whether there is a deeper basis for these conservation laws, or whether we have to take them as they are. I will discuss that question in the next lecture, but there is one point I should like to make now. In discussing these ideas on a popular level, there seem to be a lot of unrelated concepts; but with a more profound understanding of the various principles there appear deep interconnections between the concepts, each one implying others in some way. One example is the relation between relativity and the necessity for local conservation. If I had stated this without a demonstration, it might appear to be some kind of miracle that if you cannot tell how fast you are moving this implies that if something is conserved it must be done not by jumping from one place to another.

At this point I would like to indicate how the conservation of angular momentum, the conservation of momentum, and a few other things are to some extent related. The conservation of angular momentum has to do with the area swept by particles moving. If you have a lot of particles
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(fig. 21), and take your centre (x) very far away, then the distances are almost the same for every object. In this case the only thing that counts in the area sweeping, or in the conservation of angular momentum, is the component of motion, which in figure 21 is vertical. What we discover then is that the total of the masses, each multiplied by its velocity vertically, must be a constant, because the angular momentum is a constant about any point, and if the chosen point is far enough away only the masses and velocities are relevant. In this way the conservation of angular momentum implies the conservation of momentum. This in turn implies something else, the conservation of another item which is so closely connected that I did not bother to put it in the table. This is a principle about the centre of gravity (fig. 22).

A mass, in a box, cannot just disappear from one position and move over to another position all by itself. That is nothing to do with conservation of the mass; you still have the mass, just moved from one place to another. Charge could do this, but not a mass. Let me explain why. The laws of physics are not affected by motion, so we can suppose that this box is drifting slowly upwards. Now we take the angular momentum from a point not far away, x. As the box is drifting upwards, if the mass is lying quiet in the box, at position 1, it will be producing an area at a given rate. After the mass has moved over to position 2, the area will be increasing at a greater rate, because although the altitude will be the same because the box is still drifting upwards, the distance from x to the mass has increased. By the conservation of angular momentum you cannot change the rate at which the area is changing, and therefore you simply cannot move one mass from one place to another unless you push on something else to balance up the angular momentum. That is the reason why rockets in empty space cannot go... but they do go. If you figure it out with a lot of masses, then if you move one forward you must move others back, so that the total motion back and forward of all the masses is nothing. This is how a rocket works. At first it is standing still, say, in empty space, and then it shoots some gas out of the back, and the rocket goes forward. The point is that of all the stuff in the world, the centre of mass, the average of all the mass, is still right where it was before. The interesting part has moved on, and an uninteresting part that we do not care about has moved back. There is no theorem that says that the interesting things in the world are conserved – only the total of everything.

Discovering the laws of physics is like trying to put together the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. We have all these different pieces, and today they are proliferating rapidly. Many of them are lying about and cannot be fitted with the other ones. How do we know that they belong together? How do we know that they are really all part of one as yet incomplete picture? We are not sure, and it worries us to some extent, but we get encouragement from the common characteristics of several pieces. They all show blue sky, or they are all made out of the same kind of wood. All the various physical laws obey the same conservation principles.
Symmetry in Physical Law

Symmetry seems to be absolutely fascinating to the human mind. We like to look at symmetrical things in nature, such as perfectly symmetrical spheres like planets and the sun, or symmetrical crystals like snowflakes, or flowers which are nearly symmetrical. However, it is not the symmetry of the objects in nature that I want to discuss here; it is rather the symmetry of the physical laws themselves. It is easy to understand how an object can be symmetrical, but how can a physical law have a symmetry? Of course it cannot, but physicists delight themselves by using ordinary words for something else. In this case they have a feeling about the physical laws which is very close to the feeling of symmetry of objects, and they call it the symmetry of the laws. That is what I am going to discuss.

What is symmetry? If you look at me I am symmetrical, right and left - apparently externally, at least. A vase can be symmetrical in the same way or in other ways. How can you define it? The fact that I am left and right symmetric means that if you put everything that is on one side on the other side, and vice versa - if you just exchange the two sides - I shall look exactly the same. A square has a symmetry of a special kind, because if I turn it around through 90 degrees it still looks exactly the same. Professor Weyl,* the mathematician, gave an excellent definition of symmetry, which is that a thing is symmetrical if there is something that you can do to it so that after you have finished doing it it looks the same as it did before. That is the sense in which we say that the laws of physics are symmetrical; that there are things we can do to the physical laws, or to our way of representing the physical laws, which make no difference, and leave everything unchanged in its effects. It is this aspect of physical laws that is going to concern us in this lecture.

The simplest example of this kind of symmetry - you will see that it is not the same as you might have thought, left and right symmetric, or anything like that - is a symmetry called translation in space. This has the following meaning: if you build any kind of apparatus, or do any kind of experiment with some things, and then go and build the same apparatus to do the same kind of experiment, with similar things but put them here instead of there, merely translated from one place to another in space, then the same thing will happen in the translated experiment as would have happened in the original experiment. It is not true here actually. If I actually built such an apparatus, and then displaced it 20 feet to the left of where I am now it would get into the wall, and there would be difficulties. It is necessary, in defining this idea, to take into account everything that might affect the situation, so that when you move the thing you move everything. For example, if the system involved a pendulum, and I moved it 20,000 miles to the right, it would not work properly any more because the pendulum involves the attraction of the earth. However, if I imagine that I move the earth as well as the equipment then it would behave in the same way. The problem in this situation is that you must translate everything which may have any influence on the situation. That sounds a little dopey, because it sounds as if you can just translate an experiment, and if it does not work you can just presume that you did not translate enough stuff - so you are bound to win. Actually this is not so, because it is not self-evident that you are bound to win. The remarkable thing about nature is that it is possible to translate enough stuff so that it does behave the same way. That is a positive statement.

I would like to illustrate that such a thing is true. Let us take as an example the law of gravitation, which says that the force between objects varies inversely as the square of

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*Hermann Weyl, 1885–1955, German mathematician.
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the distance between them; and I would remind you that a thing responds to a force by changing its velocity, with time, in the direction of the force. If I have a pair of objects, like a planet going around a sun, and I move the whole pair over, then the distance between the objects of course does not change, and so the forces do not change. Further, when they are in the moved-over situation they will go at the same speed, and all the changes will remain in proportion and everything go around in the two systems exactly the same way. The fact that the law says ‘the distance between two objects’, rather than some absolute distance from the central eye of the universe, means that the laws are translatable in space.

That, then, is the first symmetry – translation in space. The next one could be called translation in time, but, better, let us say that delay in time makes no difference. We start a planet going around the sun in a certain direction; if we could start it all over again, two hours later, or two years later, with another beginning, but starting with the planet and the sun going in exactly the same way, then it would behave in exactly the same way, because again the law of gravitation talks about the velocity, and never about the absolute time when you were supposed to start measuring things. In this particular example, in fact, we are not really sure. When we discussed gravitation, we talked about the possibility that the force of gravity changed with time. This would mean that translation in time is not a valid proposition, because if the constant of gravitation will be weaker a billion years hence than it is now, then it is not true that the motion would be exactly the same for our experimental sun and planet a billion years from now as it is now. As far as we know today (I have only discussed the laws as we know them today. – I only wish I could discuss the laws as we shall know them tomorrow) as far as we know, a delay in time makes no difference.

We know that in one respect this is not really true. It is true for what we now call physical laws; but one of the facts of the world (which may be very different) is that it looks as if the universe had a definite time of beginning, and that everything is exploding apart. You might call that a condition of geography, analogous to the situation that when I translate in space I must translate everything. In the same sense you might say that the laws for time are the same and we must move the expansion of the universe with everything else. We could have made another analysis in which we started the universe later; but we do not start the universe, and we have no control over the situation and no way to define that idea experimentally. Therefore as far as science is concerned there really is no way to tell. The fact of the matter is that the conditions of the world appear to be changing in time, the galaxies separating from one another, so if you were to awake in some science-fiction story at an unknown time, by measuring the average distances to the galaxies you could tell when it was. That means that the world will not look the same if delayed in time.

Now it is conventional today to separate the physical laws, which tell how things will move if you start them in a given condition, from the statement of how the world actually began, because we know so little about that. It is usually considered that astronomical history, or cosmological history, is a little different from physical law. Yet if put to a test of how to define the difference I would be hard pressed. The best characteristic of physical law is its universality, and if anything is universal it is the expansion of all the nebulae. I have therefore no way of defining the difference. However, if I restrict myself to disregard the origin of the universe and take only the physical laws that are known, then a delay in time makes no difference.

Let us take some other examples of symmetry laws. One is a rotation in space, a fixed rotation. If I do some experiments with a piece of equipment built in one place, and then take another one (possibly translated so that it does not get in the way) exactly the same, but turned so that all the axes are in a different direction, it will work the same way. Again we have to turn everything that is relevant. If the thing is a grandfather clock, and you turn it horizontal, then the
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A pendulum will just sit up against the wall of the cabinet and not work. But if you turn the earth too (which is happening all the time) the clock still keeps working.

The mathematical description of this possibility of turning is a rather interesting one. To describe what goes on in a situation we use numbers to tell where something is. They are called the co-ordinates of a point, and we sometimes use three numbers, to describe how high the point is above some plane, how far it is in front, say, or behind in negative numbers, and how far to the left. In this case I am not going to worry about up and down because for rotations I just have to use two of these three co-ordinates. Let us call the distance in front of me \( x \), and \( y \) can be the distance to the left. Then I can locate any body by telling how far it is in front and how far to the left. Those who come from New York City will know that the street numbers work that way very neatly - or they did until they began to change the name of Sixth Avenue! The mathematical idea about the turning is this: if I locate a point as I have described, by giving its \( x \) and \( y \) co-ordinates and someone else, facing a different way, locates the same point in the same way, but calculating the \( x' \) and \( y' \) in relation to his own position, then you can see that my \( x \) co-ordinate is a mixture of the two co-ordinates calculated by the other man. The connexion of the transformation is that \( x \) gets mixed into \( x' \) and \( y' \) and \( y \) into \( y' \) and \( x' \). The laws of nature should so be written that if you make such a mixture, and resubstitute in the equations, then the equations will not change their form. That is the way in which the symmetry appears in mathematical form. You write the equations with certain letters, then there is a way of changing the letters from \( x \) and \( y \) to a different \( x', y' \), and a different \( y', y \), which is a formula in terms of the old \( x \) and \( y \), and the equations look the same, only they have primes all over them. This just means that the other man will see the thing behaving in his apparatus the same way as I see it in mine, which is turned the other way.

I will give another, very interesting, example of a symmetry law. It is a question of uniform velocity in a straight line. It is believed that the laws of physics are unchanged under a uniform velocity in a straight line. This is called the principle of relativity. If we have a space ship, and we have a bit of equipment in it that is doing something, and we have another similar equipment down here on the ground, then, if the space ship is going along at a uniform speed, somebody inside, watching what is going on on his apparatus, can see nothing different from the effects I, who am standing still, can see on my apparatus. Of course if he looks outside, or if he bumps into an outside wall, or something like that, that is another matter; but in so far as he
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is moving at a uniform velocity in a straight line, the laws of physics look the same to him as they do to me. Since that is the case, I cannot say who is moving.

I must emphasize here, before we go any further, that in all of these transformations, and all of these symmetries, we are not talking about moving a whole universe. In the case of time I am saying nothing if I imagine that I move all the times in the whole universe. So also there would be no content in the statement that if I took everything in the whole universe, and moved it over in space, it would behave the same way. The remarkable thing is that if I take a piece of apparatus and move it over, then if I make sure about a lot of conditions, and include enough apparatus, I can get a piece of the world and move it relative to the average of all the rest of the stars, and this still does not make any difference. In the relativity case it means that someone coasting at a uniform velocity in a straight line, relative to the average of the rest of the nebulae, sees no effect. Put another way, it is impossible to determine by any effects from the experiments inside a car, without looking out, whether you are moving relative to all the stars.

This proposition was first stated by Newton. Let us take his law of gravitation. It says that the forces are inversely as the squares of the distances, and that a force produces a change in velocity. Now suppose I have worked out what happens when a planet goes around a fixed sun, and now I want to work out what happens when a planet is going around a drifting sun. Then all of the velocities that I had in the first case are different in the second case; I have to add on a constant velocity. But the law is stated in terms of changes in velocity, so that what happens is that the force on the planet with the fixed sun is the same as the force on the planet with the drifting sun, and therefore the changes in velocity of the two planets will also be identical. So any extra velocity I started with on the second planet just keeps on going, and all the changes are accumulated on top of that. The net result of the mathematics is that if you add a constant speed the laws will be exactly the same, so that we cannot, by studying the solar system and the way the planets go around the sun, figure out whether the sun is itself drifting through space. According to Newton’s law there is no effect of such a drift through space on the motions of the planets around the sun; so Newton added that ‘The motion of bodies among themselves is the same in a space, whether that space is itself at rest relative to the fixed stars, or moving at a uniform velocity in a straight line’.

As time went on, new laws were discovered after Newton, among them the laws of electricity discovered by Maxwell. One of the consequences of the laws of electricity was that there should be waves, electromagnetic waves – light is an example – which should go at 186,000 miles a second, flat. I mean by that 186,000 miles a second, come what may. So then it was easy to tell where rest was, because the law that light goes at 186,000 miles a second is certainly not (at first sight) one which will permit one to move without some effect. It is evident, is it not, that if you are in a space ship going at 100,000 miles a second in some direction, while I am standing still, and I shoot a light beam at 186,000 miles a second through a little hole in your ship, then, as it goes through your ship, since you are going at 100,000 miles per second and the light is going at 186,000, the light is only going to look to you as if it is passing at 86,000 miles a second. But it turns out that if you do this experiment it looks to you as if it is going at 186,000 miles a second past you, and to me as if it is going 186,000 miles a second past me!

The facts of nature are not so easy to understand, and the fact of the experiment was so obviously counter to common-sense, that there are some people who still do not believe the result! But time after time experiments indicated that the speed is 186,000 miles a second no matter how fast you are moving. The question now is how that could be. Einstein

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realized, and Poincaré* too, that the only possible way in which a person moving and a person standing still could measure the speed to be the same was that their sense of time and their sense of space are not the same, that the clocks inside the space ship are ticking at a different speed from those on the ground, and so forth. You might say, 'Ah, but if the clock is ticking and I look at the clock in the space ship, then I can see that it is going slow'. No, your brain is going slow too! So by making sure that everything went just so inside the space ship, it was possible to cook up a system by which in the space ship it would look like 186,000 space-ship miles per space-ship second, whereas here it would look like 186,000 my miles per my second. That is a very ingenious thing to be able to do, and it turns out, remarkably enough, to be possible.

I have mentioned already one of the consequences of this principle of relativity, that you cannot tell how fast you are moving in a straight line; you remember in the last lecture the case in which we had two cars, A and B (fig. 24). There was an event, which happened at each end of car B. A man


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was standing in the middle of the car, and the events (x and y) happened at each end of his car at a certain instant, which he claimed was the same time for each event, because, standing in the middle of the car, he saw the light from both of these things at the same time. But the man in car A, who happened to be moving with a constant velocity relative to B, saw the same two events, not at the same time, but in fact he saw x first, because the light reached him before the light from y, because he was moving forward. You see that one of the consequences of the principle of symmetry for uniform velocity in a straight line – that word symmetry means that you cannot tell who's view is correct – is that when I talk about everything that is happening in the world 'now', that does not mean anything. If you are moving along at a uniform velocity in a straight line, then the things that happen that appear to you as simultaneous are not the same events as appear simultaneous to me, even though we are passing each other on the instant when I consider the simultaneous event to have happened. We cannot agree what 'now' means at a distance. This means a profound transformation of our ideas of space and time, in order to maintain this principle that uniform velocity in a straight line cannot be detected. Actually what is happening here is that two things which appear from one point of view to be simultaneous, seem from another point of view to be not at the same time, provided they are not at the same place, but are far apart in distance.

You can see that this is very much like the x and y business in space. If I stand facing an audience, then the two sides of the stage on which I stand are on a level with me. They have the same x, but different y. But if I turn round through 90°, and look at the same pair of walls, but from a different point of view, then one is in front of me and one is behind, they have different x'. So it is that the two events which from one point of view seem to be at the same time (same t), from another point of view can seem to be at different times (different t'). A generalization of the two-dimensional rotation that I spoke about was therefore made into space and
time, so that time was added to space to make a four-dimensional world. It is not merely an artificial addition, like the explanation given in most of the popular books, which say 'We add time to space, because you cannot only locate a point, you also have to say when'. That is true, but that would not make it real four-dimensional space-time; that just puts the two things together. Real space has, in a sense, the characteristic that its existence is independent of the particular point of view, and that looked at from different points of view a certain amount of 'forward-backward' can get mixed up with 'left-right'. In an analogous way a certain amount of time 'future-past' can get mixed up with a certain amount of space. Space and time must be completely interlocked; after this discovery Minkowski said that 'Space of itself and time of itself shall sink into mere shadows, and only a kind of union between them shall survive'.

I bring this particular example up in such detail because it is really the beginning of the study of symmetries in physical laws. It was Poincaré's suggestion to make this analysis of what you can do to the equations and leave them alone. It was Poincaré's attitude to pay attention to the symmetries of physical laws. The symmetries of translation in space, delay in time, and so on, were not very deep; but the symmetry of uniform velocity in a straight line is very interesting, and has all kinds of consequences. Furthermore, these consequences are extendable into laws that we do not know. For example, by guessing that this principle is true for the disintegration of a mu meson, we can state that we cannot use mu mesons to tell how fast we are going in a space ship either; and thus we know something at least about mu meson disintegration, even though we do not know why the mu meson disintegrates in the first place.

There are many other symmetries, some of them of a very different kind. I will just mention a few. One is that you can replace one atom by another of the same kind and it makes no difference to any phenomenon. Now you may ask 'What do you mean by the same kind?' I can only answer that I
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the apparatus ten billion times smaller I would only have five atoms in it, and I cannot make, for instance, a machine tool out of only five atoms. It is perfectly obvious if we go that far that we cannot change the scale, but even before the complete awareness of the atomic picture was developed it became apparent that this law is not right. You have probably seen in the newspapers from time to time that somebody has made a cathedral with matchsticks — several floors, and everything more Gothic than any Gothic cathedral has ever been, and more delicate. Why do we never build big cathedrals like that, with great logs, with the same degree of 'ginger cake', the same enormous degree of detail? The answer is that if we did build one it would be so high and so heavy that it would collapse. Ah! But you forgot that when you are comparing two things you must change everything that is in the system. The little cathedral made with matchsticks is attracted to the earth, so to make a comparison the big cathedral should be attracted to an even bigger earth. Too bad. A bigger earth would attract it even more, and the sticks would break even more surely!

This fact that the laws of physics were not unchanged under change of scale was first discovered by Galileo. In discussing the strength of rods and bones, he argued that if you need a bone for a bigger animal — say an animal twice as high, wide, and thick — you will have eight times the weight, so you need a bone that can hold the strength eight times. But what a bone can hold depends on its cross-section, and if you made the bone twice as big it would only have four times the cross-section and would only be able to support four times the weight. In his book Dialogue on Two New Sciences, you will see pictures of imaginary bones of enormous dogs, way out of proportion. I suppose Galileo felt that the discovery of the fact that the laws of nature are not unchanged under change of scale was as important as his laws of motion, because they are both put together in the tome on Two New Sciences.

Another example of something that is not a symmetry law is the fact that if you are spinning at a uniform angular speed in a space ship, it is not true to say that you cannot tell if you are going around. You can. I might say that you would get dizzy. There are other effects; things get thrown to the walls from the centrifugal force (or however you wish to describe it — I hope there are no teachers of freshman physics in the audience to correct me!). It is possible to tell that the earth is rotating by a pendulum or by a gyroscope, and you are probably aware that various observatories and museums have so-called Foucault* pendulums that prove that the earth is rotating, without looking at the stars. It is possible to tell that we are going around at a uniform angular velocity on the earth without looking outside, because the laws of physics are not unchanged by such a motion.

Many people have proposed that really the earth is rotating relative to the galaxies, and that if we were to turn the galaxies too it would not make any difference. Well, I do not know what would happen if you were to turn the whole universe, and we have at the moment no way to tell. Nor, at the moment, do we have any theory which describes the influence of a galaxy on things here so that it comes out of this theory — in a straightforward way, and not by cheating or forcing — that the inertia for rotation, the effect of rotation, the fact that a spinning bucket of water has a concave surface, is the result of a force from the objects around. It is not known whether this is true. That it should be the case is known as Mach's principle, but that it is the case has not yet been demonstrated. The more direct experimental question is whether, if we are rotating at a uniform velocity relative to the nebulae, we see any effect. The answer is yes. If we are moving in a space ship at a uniform velocity in a straight line relative to the nebulae, do we see any effect? The answer is no. Two different things. We cannot say that all motion is relative. That is not the content of relativity. Relativity says that uniform velocity in a straight line relative to the nebulae is undetectable.

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The concentration of sugar in water by putting polarized light through the water. If you put a piece of polaroid that lets light through at a certain axis in the water, you find that when you watch the light as it goes through deeper and deeper sugar water you have to turn another piece of polaroid at the other end of the water more and more to the right to let the light through. If you put the light through the solution in the other direction it is still to the right. Here, then, is a difference between right and left. We could use sugar-water and light in the clocks. Suppose we have a tank of water and make light go through and turn our second piece of polaroid so that the light just gets through; then suppose we make the corresponding arrangement in our second clock, hoping the light will turn to the left. It will not; it will still turn to the right and will not get through. By using sugar water our two clocks can be made different! This is a most remarkable fact, and it seems at first sight to prove that the physical laws are not symmetric for reflection. However, the sugar that we used that time may have been from sugar beet; but sugar is a fairly simple molecule, and it is possible to make it in the laboratory out of carbon dioxide and water, going through lots of stages in between. If you try artificial sugar, which chemically seems to be the same in every way, it does not turn the light. Bacteria eat sugar; if you put bacteria in the artificial sugar water it turns out that they only eat half the sugar, and when the bacteria are finished and you pass polarized light through the remaining sugar water you find it turns to the left. The explanation of this is as follows. Sugar is a complicated molecule, a set of atoms in a complicated arrangement. If you make exactly the same arrangement, but with left as right, then every distance between every pair of atoms is the same in one as in the other, the energy of the molecules is exactly the same, and for all chemical phenomena not involving life they are the same. But living creatures find a difference. Bacteria eat one kind and not the other. The sugar that comes from sugar beet is all one kind, all right-hand molecules, and so it turns the light one way. The

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The next symmetry law that I would like to discuss is an interesting one and has an interesting history. That is the question of reflection in space. I build a piece of apparatus, let us say a clock, and then a short distance away I build another clock, a mirror image of the first. They match each other like two gloves, right and left; each spring which is wound one way in one clock is wound in the opposite way in the other, and so on. I wind up the two clocks, set them in corresponding positions, and then let them tick. The question is, will they always agree with each other? Will all the machinery of one clock go in the mirror image of the other? I do not know what you would guess about that. You would probably guess it is true; most people did. Of course we are not talking about geography. We can distinguish right and left by geography. We can say that if we stand in Florida and look at New York the ocean is on the right. That distinguishes right and left, and if the clock involved the water of the sea then it would not work if we built it the other way because its ticker would not get in the water. In that case what we would have to imagine is that the geography of the earth was turned round too on the other clock; anything that is involved must be turned round. Nor are we interested in history. If you pick up a screw in a machine shop, the chances are it has a right-hand thread; you might argue that the other clock would not be the same because it would be harder to get the screws. But that is just a question of what kind of things we make. Altogether the first guess is likely to be that nothing makes any difference. It turns out that the laws of gravitation are such that it would not make any difference if the clock worked by gravity. The laws of electricity and magnetism are such that if in addition it had electric and magnetic guts, currents and wires and what-not, the corresponding clock would still work. If the clock involved ordinary nuclear reactions to make it run, it would not make any difference either. But there is something that can make a difference, and I will come to it in a moment.

You may know that it is possible to measure the con-
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bacteria can only eat that kind of molecule. When we manufacture the sugar from substances which are not themselves asymmetrical, simple gases, we make both kinds in equal numbers. Then if we introduce the bacteria, they will remove the kind they can eat and the other is left. That is why the light goes through the other way. It is possible to separate the two types by looking through magnifying glasses at the crystals, as Pasteur* discovered. We can definitely show that all this makes sense, and we can separate the sugar ourselves without waiting for the bacteria if we wish to. But the interesting thing is that the bacteria can do this. Does this mean that the living processes do not obey the same laws? Apparently not. It seems that in the living creatures there are many, many complicated molecules, and they all have a kind of thread to them. Some of the most characteristic molecules in living creatures are proteins. They have a cork-screw property, and they go to the right. As far as we can tell, if we could make the same things chemically, but to the left rather than to the right, they would not function biologically because when they met the other proteins they would not fit in the same way. A left-hand thread will fit a left-hand thread, but left and right do not fit. The bacteria having a right-hand thread in their chemical insides can distinguish the right and left sugar.

How did they get that way? Physics and chemistry cannot distinguish the molecules, and can only make both kinds. But biology can. It is easy to believe that the explanation is that long ago, when the life processes first began, some accidental molecule got started and propagated itself by reproducing itself, and so on, until after many many years these funny looking blobs, with knobs sticking out with prongs on, stand and yak at each other... But we are nothing but the offspring of the first few molecules, and it was an accident of the first few molecules that they happened to form one way instead of the other. It had to be either one or the other, either left or right, and then it reproduced itself, and still propagates on and on. It is much like the screws in the machine shop. You use right-hand thread screws to make new right-hand thread screws, and so on. This fact, that all the molecules in living things have exactly the same kind of thread, is probably one of the deepest demonstrations of the uniformity of the ancestry of life, right back to the completely molecular level.

In order to test better this question about whether the laws of physics are the same, right and left, we can put the problem to ourselves this way. Suppose that we were in telephone conversation with a Martian, or an Arcturian, and we wished to describe things on earth to him. First of all, how is he going to understand our words? That question has been studied intensively by Professor Morrison* at Cornell, and he has pointed out that one way would be to start by saying ‘tick, one: tick, tick, two: tick, tick, tick, three:’ and so on. Pretty soon the guy would catch on to the numbers. Once he understood your number system, you could write a whole sequence of numbers that represent the weights, the proportional weights, of the different atoms in succession, and then say ‘hydrogen, 1-008’, then deuterium, helium, and so on. After he had sat down with these numbers for a while he would discover that the mathematical ratios were the same as the ratios for the weights of the elements, and that therefore those names must be the names of the elements. Gradually in this way you could build up a common language. Now comes the problem. Suppose, after you get familiar with him, he says, ‘You fellows, you’re very nice. I’d like to know what you look like’. You start, ‘We’re about six feet tall’, and he says, ‘Six feet – how big is a foot?’ That is very easy: ‘Six feet tall is seventeen thousand million hydrogen atoms high’. That is not a joke – it is a possible way of describing six feet to someone who has no measure – assuming that we cannot send him any samples, nor can we both look at the same objects. If we wish to tell

*Louis Pasteur, 1822–95. French bacteriologist.

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him how big we are we can do it. That is because the laws of physics are not unchanged under a scale change, so we can use that fact to determine the scale. We can go on describing ourselves - we are six feet tall, and we are so-and-so bi-lateral on the outside, and we look like this, and there are these prongs sticking out, etc. Then he says, "That's very interesting, but what do you look like on the inside?" So we describe the heart and so on, and we say, 'Now put the heart in on the left side'. The question is, how can we tell him which side is the left side? 'Oh', you say, 'We take beet sugar, and put it in water, and it turns...’ only the trouble is that he has no beets up there. Also we have no way of knowing whether the accidents of evolution on Mars, even if they had produced corresponding proteins to those here, would have started with the oppositely-handed threads. There is no way to tell. After much thought you see that you cannot do it, and so you conclude it is impossible.

About five years ago, however, certain experiments produced all kinds of puzzles. I will not go into detail, but we found ourselves in tighter and tighter difficulties, more and more paradoxical situations, until finally Lee and Yang* proposed that maybe the principle of right and left symmetry - that nature is the same for right and left - is not correct, and that this would help to explain a number of mysteries. Lee and Yang proposed some more direct experiments to demonstrate this, and I will just mention the most direct of all the experiments done.

We take a radioactive disintegration in which, for instance, an electron and a neutrino are emitted - an example, which we have talked about before, is the disintegration of a neutron into a proton, an electron and an anti-neutrino, and there are many radioactivities in which the charge of the nucleus increases by one and an electron comes out. The thing that is interesting is that if you measure the spin - electrons are spinning as they come out - you find out that

*Tsung-Dao Lee and Chen Ning Yang, Chinese physicists, joint Nobel Prize 1957.

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they are spinning to the left (as seen from behind - i.e. if they are going south, they turn in the same direction as does the earth). It has a definite significance, that the electron when it comes out of the disintegration is always turning one way, it has a left-hand thread. It is as though in the beta-decay the gun that was shooting out the electron were a rifled gun. There are two ways to rifle a gun; there is the direction 'out', and you have the choice whether you turn it left or right as you go out. The experiment shows that the electron comes from a rifled gun, rifled to the left. Using this fact, therefore, we could ring up our Martian and say, 'Listen, take a radioactive stuff, a neutron, and look at the electron which comes from such a beta-decay. If the electron is going up as it comes out, the direction of its spin is into the body from the back on the left side. That defines left. That is where the heart goes'. Therefore it is possible to tell right from left, and thus the law that the world is symmetrical for left and right has collapsed.

The next thing I would like to talk about is the relationship of conservation laws to symmetry laws. In the last lecture we talked about conservation principles, conservation of energy, momentum, angular momentum, and so on. It is extremely interesting that there seems to be a deep connection between the conservation laws and the symmetry laws. This connection has its proper interpretation, at least as we understand it today, only in the knowledge of quantum mechanics. Nevertheless I will show you one demonstration of this.

If we assume that the laws of physics are describable by a minimum principle, then we can show that if a law is such that you can move all the equipment to one side, in other words if it is translatable in space, then there must be conservation of momentum. There is a deep connection between the symmetry principles and the conservation laws, but that connection requires that the minimum principle be assumed. In the second lecture we discussed one way of describing physical laws by saying that a particle goes from one place to another in a given length of time by trying
different paths. There is a certain quantity which, perhaps misleadingly, happens to be called the action. When you calculate the action on the various paths you will find that for the actual path taken this quantity is always smaller than for any other. That way of describing the laws of nature is to say that the action of certain mathematical formulae is least for the actual path of all the possible paths. Another way of saying a thing is least is to say that if you move the path a little bit at first it does not make any difference. Suppose you were walking around on hills — but smooth hills, since the mathematical things involved correspond to smooth things — and you come to a place where you are lowest, then I say that if you take a small step forward you will not change your height. When you are at the lowest or at the highest point, a step does not make any difference in the altitude in first approximation, whereas if you are on a slope you can walk down the slope with a step and then if you take the step in the opposite direction you walk up. That is the key to the reason why, when you are at the lowest place, taking a step does not make much difference, because if it did make any difference then if you took a step in the opposite direction you would go down. Since this is the lowest point and you cannot go down, your first approximation is that the step does not make any difference. We therefore know that if we move a path a little bit it does not make any difference to the action on a first approximation.

We draw a path, A to B (fig. 25), and now I want you to consider the following possible other path. First we jump immediately over to another place near by, C, then we move on exactly the corresponding path to another point, which we will call D, which is displaced the same amount, of course, because it is the corresponding path. Now we have just discovered that the laws of nature are such that the total amount of action going on the ACDB path is the same in the first approximation to that original path AB — that is from the minimum principle, when it is the real motion. I will tell you something else. The action on the original path, A to B, is the same as the action from C to D if the world is the same when you move everything over, because the difference of these two is only that you have moved everything over. So if the symmetry principle of translation in space is right, then the action on the direct path between A and B is the same as that on the direct path between C and D. However for the true motion the total action on the indirect path ACDB is very nearly the same as on the direct path AB, and therefore the same as just the part C to D. This indirect action is the sum of three parts — the action going A to C, that of C to D, plus that from D to B. So, subtracting equals from equals, you can probably see that the contribution from A to C and that from D to B must add up to zero. But in the motion for one of these sections we are going one way, and for the other the opposite way. If we take the contribution of A to C, thinking of it as an effect of moving one way, and the contribution of D to B as B to D, taking the opposite sign because it is the other way, we see that there is a quantity A to C which has to match the quantity B to D to cancel off. This is the effect on the action of a tiny step in the B to D direction. That quantity, the effect on the action of a small step to the right, is the same at the beginning (A to C) as at the end (B to D). There is a quantity, therefore, that does not change as time goes on, provided the minimum principle works, and the symmetry principle of displacement in space is right. This quantity which does not change (the effect on the action of a small step to one side) is in fact exactly the momentum that we discussed in the last lecture. This shows the relation of symmetry laws to conservation laws, assuming the laws obey a principle of least action. They satisfy a principle of least action, it turns out, because they come from quantum mechanics. That is why I said that in the last analysis the
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connection of symmetry laws to conservation laws comes from quantum mechanics.

The corresponding argument for delay in time comes out as the conservation of energy. The case that rotation in space does not make any difference comes out as the conservation of angular momentum. That we can reflect without any change in effect does not come out to be anything simple in the classical sense. People have called it parity, and they have a conservation law called the conservation of parity, but these are just complicated words. I have to mention the conservation of parity, because you may have read in the papers that the law of the conservation of parity has been proved wrong. It would have been much easier to understand if what had been written was that the principle that you cannot distinguish right from left has been proved wrong.

Whilst I am talking about symmetries, one thing I would like to tell you is that there are a few new problems. For instance, for every particle there is an anti-particle: for an electron this is a positron, for a proton an anti-proton. We can in principle make what we call anti-matter, in which every atom has its corresponding anti-pieces put together. The hydrogen atom is a proton and an electron; if we take an anti-proton, which is electrically negative, and a positron, and put them together, they also will make a kind of hydrogen atom, an anti-hydrogen atom. Anti-hydrogen atoms have never in fact been made, but it has been figured out that in principle it would work, and that we could make all kinds of anti-matter in the same manner. What we would ask now is whether the anti-matter works in the same way as matter, and as far as we know it does. One of the laws of symmetry is that if we made stuff out of anti-matter it would behave in the same way as if we made the corresponding stuff out of matter. Of course if they came together they would annihilate one another and there would be sparks.

It always has been believed that matter and anti-matter have the same laws. However, now we know that the left

and right symmetry appears wrong, an important question comes. If I look at the neutron disintegration, but with anti-matter – an anti-neutron goes into an anti-proton plus an anti-electron (also called a positron), plus a neutrino – the question is, does it behave in the same way, in the sense that the positron will come out with a left-hand thread, or does it behave the other way? Until a few months ago we believed that it behaves the opposite way, and that the anti-matter (positron) goes to the right where matter (electron) goes to the left. In that case we cannot really tell the Martian which is right and left, because if he happens to be made out of anti-matter, when he does his experiment his electrons will be positrons, and they will come up spinning the wrong way and he will put the heart on the wrong side. Suppose you telephone the Martian, and you explain how to make a man; he makes one, and it works. Then you explain to him also all our social conventions. Finally, after he tells us how to build a sufficiently good space ship, you go to meet this man, and you walk up to him and put out your right hand to shake hands. If he puts out his right hand, O.K., but if he puts out his left hand watch out ... the two of you will annihilate with each other!

I wish I could tell you about a few more symmetries, but they become more difficult to explain. There are also some very remarkable things, which are the near-symmetries. For instance, the remarkable feature of the fact that we can distinguish right and left is that we can only do so with a very weak effect, with this beta-disintegration. What this means is that nature is 99.99 per cent indistinguishable right from left, but that there is just one little piece, one little characteristic phenomenon, which is completely different, in the sense that it is absolutely lop-sided. This is a mystery that no one has the slightest idea about yet.