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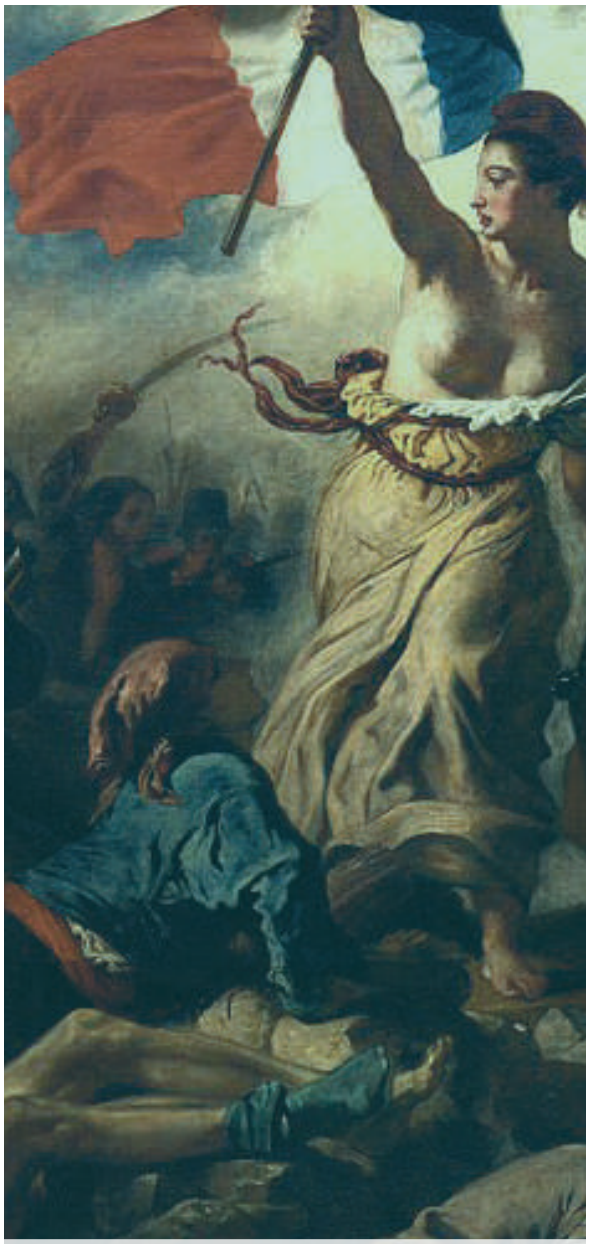





ANADOLU UNIVERSITY

Political Thought

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T.C. ANADOLU UNIVERSITY PUBLICATION NO: 3740

OPEN EDUCATION FACULTY PUBLICATION NO: 2555

POLITICAL THOUGHT

ISBN: **978-975-06-2338-7**

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1. Edition

Printed at ANADOLU UNIVERSITY 1.000 Printing House

ESKİŞEHİR, Ağustos 2018

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Preface

Dear Students,

Disciplines of politics and philosophy are historically and theoretically intertwined with each other. Looking at the institutional configuration of contemporary societies and everyday life of individuals, we also observe the fact that both politics and philosophy are practically and socially connected with wide ranges of ideals and thoughts such as liberty, equality, justice, freedom, rights, democracy, and good as well as fair governance. In this regard, the overarching aim of this textbook is to assess main themes and approaches of political philosophy and present a range of ideas, perspectives as well as ideologies within a historical and political context without ignoring the significance of gaining readers a basic familiarity on the universal meanings of its foundational concepts. In other words, we aim to provide readers a historical and political understanding of the state-society relationship and enable them to grasp fundamentals of political philosophy in traditional, modern and contemporary eras. This book starts with a focus on the fundamental concepts of political thoughts; and then turns to elaborate how political ideas developed in Ancient Greece and Roma. Following this, it moves on to discuss how those ideas transformed into the Medieval World. Different from various existing textbooks of political philosophy in the relevant literature, this work does not, however, overlook great contributions of the Islamic political philosophy and looks at how both Christian and Islamic political thoughts dominated the Medieval era. Then, the book explores a wide range of changes and transformations such as Renaissance and Reformation movements of 15th and the 16th century that paved the way for a new political thought at the dawn of the Enlightenment. After elaborating and discussing on the enlightenment movement in Europe, this book discusses radical political thoughts of the 19th century in Europe. In addition to this, the book gives a great weight to cover the political and philosophical debates on the birth of modern society and elaborates various leading scholars' views shaping the vivid ideals of politics in contemporary era such as justice, equality, liberty, and good life.

We would like to thank to Burcu Semiz, Burak Arslan, Gülşah Sokum, Selin Çakır, Yasin Narin, Elif Erken, Sinem Yüksel, Murat Uzun, Arzu Ercanlar, Gül Akar and Burcu Vurucu from the Anadolu University Type Setting Unit. We also thank to the Foreign Language School of Anadolu University for their suggestions to provide a clearer presentation of themes and discussions in this book. We are, obviously, also grateful to all of our authors whose dedicated works led to emergence of this work.

We hope you will find the content of this book sufficiently comprehensive and inspiring in getting a basic familiarity to the fundamentals of the political thought. We also hope that this book is going to be a first step in helping you to develop your own authentic understandings and interpretations concerning the ongoing political and philosophical questions of our era.

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Chapter 1

Fundamentals of Political Thought

After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

Learning Outcomes

1. Explain the differences among contextual, Straussian, and post-modern approaches with regard to the political thought.
2. Describe the concepts of power and authority.
3. Define the concepts of legitimacy, sovereignty, state, separation of powers, and rule of law.
4. Identify the concepts of left/right wing politics and ideology.
5. Identify the concepts of policy, common good, and civil society.
6. Explain certain concepts of justice like liberty, equality, rights and desert.

Chapter Outline

Introduction

How to Approach Political Thoughts?

Fundamental Concepts I: Power and Authority

Fundamental Concepts II: Ruling, Legitimacy and Government

Fundamental Concepts III: Politics and Ideology

Fundamental Concepts IV: Public Policy and Civil Society

Fundamental Concepts V: The Ideals of Political Thought

Key Terms

Authority
Legitimacy
Government
Justice
Equality
Common Good
Liberty
Rights
State



INTRODUCTION

Political thoughts are not descriptive, but normative perspectives; meaning that they do not aim to find out how things are, but attempt to convince us how things ought to be. In such attempts, concepts and methods constitute the unique pillars of political thoughts and theories. In fact, they are the primary underpinnings, and sometimes sources of persuasiveness, of all thoughts and theories in social sciences. They provide an essential informational basis to give meaning to thoughts that usually contend and conflict with each other and theories that systematically advocate a particular way of approaching political issues. Therefore, both thoughts and theories cannot sufficiently be grasped without being adequately informed about their conceptual and methodological frameworks.

Considering the vital significancy of resting upon a particular conceptual framework and methodological perspective in researching any issue in social sciences, the overarching aim of this chapter is twofold. First, it aims to provide an essential background knowledge concerning the fundamental approaches every one of which proposes and advocates a particular way of interpreting and adequately reflecting on theories and ideas in the existing literature of the political thought. Although there are quite a number of complementary approaches in political thought, this chapter will particularly focus on three comprehensive approaches in line with Bevir (2013), Zuckert (2013) and Foa Dienstag's (2013) recent discussions on the contextual approach, the Straussian approach and the postmodern approach, respectively. Second, the chapter turns to elucidating the fundamental concepts that frequently appear in various discussions, normative proposals, and analyses of political philosophers. In this regard, the chapter will also shed a light on various concepts such as authority, legitimacy, government, state and separation of powers, rule of law, right, liberty, equality, common good, justice, and so forth. However, due to the complexity of these concepts, the chapter will pursue a way in which every concept is discussed in relation to other concepts in order to guarantee a form of presentation that does not overlook contextual and relational meanings of them.

HOW TO APPROACH POLITICAL THOUGHTS

Since the formation of the first social groups, human beings have always been in need to reflect upon three issues concerning the politics: Power and authority, the way rulers should act/decide and how the system of ruling should be formed, revised or challenged. First systematic reflections on both how to govern and organize the society and the effects of particular policies can be traced back to the Ancient Greece. This is not to underestimate the contributions of the Ancient Chinese political thought, which was based on multi-layered aphorisms on ethical conduct, or Hindu political speculation, which produced influential expressions of commitment to the political order in a rather didactic form.

A Eurocentric perspective on the history of political thought may not always be the most adequate perspective, especially in terms of being able to grasp the whole picture. In order to achieve a precise conception of political thought, we also need to be aware of that there are quite a number of different perspectives originated in the eastern and Islamic societies as well. However, it would not be wrong to argue for that Eurocentric political thoughts have been dominant for a while.

Political theory, however, is based on argumentation and reasoned reflection. It is subject to systematic critical reflection, which has mostly been affected by the stamp of Ancient Greek thought. Ancient Greek tradition of political thinking produced a canon in both senses of the term: the first is a collection of works and ways of approaching to the "political", deemed as inspiring sources of reference, and the second is pieces of melodies (regarded as themes) which are reproduced and imitated in other parts of the musical compositions (regarded as works of political theory). The canon of political thought, in other words, relied on a series of thinkers and their ideas on the state (back then the city-state, i.e. *polis*), society, power, history, justice and the forms of government to evaluate and understand political developments and transformations

(see Coleman, 2000; Abramson, 2010). Since the time of great philosophers of ancient times, political scholars have voiced their ideas, and their ways of thinking had considerably impacted upon the organization of social life. Political thinking produced various traditions concerning the organization of the power in society, the formation and functioning of various government systems and particular policies associated with the political ideals. Political thinking itself and how to approach the history of political thought have also become elements of discussion.

Important

Various views of the Ancient Greek philosophers have been the ground for modern political thinking for a long time. They have double effect on political thinking: First, their ways of approaching the concepts and issues provided the tools for succeeding philosophers, who attempted to handle pervasive problems of politics. Second, the Ancient Greek philosophers drew the dominant framework and determined the themes of political thinking to a great extent.

We delineate three major approaches with regard to the political thought in the present introductory chapter as follows: These are the contextual approach, the Straussian approach and the postmodern approach, respectively.

The Contextual Approach

Political thought can be studied in many ways. Throughout the consolidation of academic boundaries between different disciplines of social sciences, empiricism has gained strength, particularly during the Cold War in quite a number of respected universities of Western world. Analysing the political behaviour *via* observation and empirical studies started to define the boundaries of political research. Since scientific endeavour was strictly referred to the analysis of "what is", any debate on "what ought to be" was labelled as political speculation. Natural sciences ruled supreme, and social sciences were expected to follow similar methods to reveal laws of history and society.

Despite the dominance of empiricism in political science, there occurred significant contributions to the study of political ideas and history of political thought in the post-war era. Contextual approach was one of these contributions. In broad terms, the contextual approach stresses the need to historicize the works of political theory in order to understand the particular historical moment and its impact upon the political thinking. According to such an approach to the political thought, the way great philosophers grasp society and the spirit of their own times, the others who address their works, and their sources of influence carry significance only within a contextualized perspective towards the political ideas. It claims that the political target of the philosophers and their wish to change or preserve the social and political order in which they live should be taken into consideration for a better analysis of political thinking.

Important

The contextual approach is one of the important responds against to the perspectives that ignore the contextual dynamics leading to the emergence of particular ideologies and political aspects.

Studies that explicitly underline the need for contextualization to understand the history of ideologies and elaborate the political milieu of the philosophers can be categorised under the heading of the contextual approach. If, however, such a perspective is extended to a position arguing that ideas cannot transcend the historical era in which they emerge, the contextual approach ends up in historicism. This broad category of contextual approach first and foremost acknowledges that the social problems of the age in which the political thinkers live set the horizon and content of their thinking. These were also among the major principles set forth by the Cambridge School that was closely affiliated with contextualisation regarding the study of political thought. Among the major figures of this line of approaching to the political ideas, Quentin Skinner and J.G.A. Pocock can be pointed out as the major figures.

Important

The contextual approach emphasizes the necessity of placing political thoughts emerged in a particular time and milieu in their own social and historical context in order to be capable of properly understanding authentic conceptions of philosophers.

Two major criticisms were directed to the contextual approach in the narrow sense: One line of critique stemmed from the earlier historical materialist tradition which shared the view on the importance of the social history of ideas. Rather than accepting ideas as constitutive in the historicist sense of the Cambridge School, renewed attempts to enrich historical materialism started with acknowledging that those questions confronting political thinkers acquired specific historical forms. Therefore, a better understanding of political theory should dwell on the social background of ideas and the human interactions on the societal level to explore the historical forms assumed by the apparently long-lasting political questions such as justice, social order, human development and the best form of government to provide these elements (see Wood, 2008). Such a way of historicising political ideas benefited from the materialist perspectives regarding the study of history. These perspectives presented material and social circumstances as the ground on which particular political ideas flourished. In such close historical scrutiny, people's access to the material conditions of life sets the background of political debate. Expressing this through a famous statement, a well-known historical materialist, namely Karl Marx, claimed that "mankind always takes up only such problems as it can solve; since looking at the matter more closely, we will always find that the problem itself arises only when the material conditions necessary for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation" (Marx, 1904 [1859], pp. 12-3). From a general perspective, followers of historical materialist tradition perceived the social circumstances as putting their stamp on the way people formulate their problems regarding social justice, equality, social order and good government. Not the ideas that derive out from historical conditions and intellectual context, but the material conditions and the inherent contradictions within material circumstances were constitutive with regards to the history of mankind and history of political ideas. The contextual approach to the history of political thought, in a broader sense, shares the contextual emphasis of the historical materialism. However, it also attributes ideas a more notable role in the historical development.

The other criticism was related to the Straussian approach, which we will elaborate later on in this chapter. According to many social scientists and political thinkers, contextualizing great classics and canonical texts of philosophy has led to ignoring the significance of these works and their time-transcending nature. In other words, as it denies significance beyond the time in which these texts had been written, the contextual approach is criticised with closing eyes of the reader to the nature of human beings and perennial questions such as order and justice that are supposed to be independent of time and social circumstances.

Important

One of the important critics of the contextual approach includes a sceptic view on the undisputed admission of the universal approaches in political thought.

The major works of political philosophy should not be seen as independent of context in which they arise. One of the major problems faced by contextual approach is the method of evaluating social, political, and intellectual conditions of a particular time. Yet, a particularly difficult question comes up at this point: Is it sufficient to elaborate the political ideas with reference to other political texts, or should a proper social history be provided for such an evaluation? The second option seems to eliminate the danger of a limited perspective on the history of political ideas, but it may also yield subordinating political thinking to the historical conditions, defeating the original purpose of contextualization.

The contextual approach helps students of political thoughts to grasp the trajectories of political ideologies and benefit from the dialogue over the course of thousands of years. A researcher, reader or student can formulate her/his own answers to the

recurring themes of public good, social order, equality justice and so forth. At the same time, however, s/he should bear in mind that these themes and political ideas are discussed and explained by each thinker in time-bounded and contextual frame. Through a contextual reading of the problems that philosophers face and their striving to overcome political dilemmas, it may also be possible to locate development of political ideas in historical context and avoid the pitfalls of positivistic empiricism of the social science. To give an example about approaching political ideas within a contextual perspective, we may refer to the oft-quoted speech of Pericles celebrating and defending Athenian democracy. During a public funeral to commemorate a dead, Pericles was trying to arouse the commitment of Athenian citizens by praising the achievement of Athens:

> *Our constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole people. When it is a question of settling private disputes, everyone is equal before the law; when it is a question of putting one person before another in positions of public responsibility, what counts is not membership of a particular class, but the actual ability which the man possesses. No one, so long as he has it in him to be of service to the state, is kept in political obscurity because of poverty. And, just as our political life is free and open, so is our day-to-day life in our relations with each other. We do not get into a state with our next-door neighbour if he enjoys himself in his own way, nor do we give him the kind of black looks which, though they do no real harm, still do hurt people's feelings. We are free and tolerant in our private lives; but in public affairs we keep to the law (Thucydides in Ranke, 2014, p. 73).*

A contextual approach would locate this speech in the historical formation of Athenian democracy, which empowered the citizens and attributed responsibilities to them in the meantime. Historicising the text would also require a discussion on the Peloponnesian Wars (431-404 BC) as well as the Greek city-state, i.e. polis. It was clarified in this context Pericles was appealing to his fellow citizens in order to save both the state and the social organization which he helped to build.

The Straussian Approach

Renowned scholar Leo Strauss had a considerable level of impact upon the interpretation of political classics in the post-war era. Explicitly criticising historicism and positivism, he recommended reading between the lines and unorthodox ways of interpretation according to the standards of his own time. For Strauss, studying political thought is "primarily and in a way chiefly... listening to conversations between the great philosophers... the greatest minds, and therefore... studying the great books." (Strauss, 1995, p. 7). It consists of a desire to have wisdom and rests on an inquiry to answer questions regarding what the good life is and how a good social order can be built up.



Figure 1.1 Leo Strauss (1899-1973)

Source: https://winstonchurchill.hillsdale.edu/leo-strauss-on-churchill/

Leo Strauss

Leo Strauss was one of the most prominent philosophers of modern political thought. He interpreted the classical texts of Greek philosophers through the Islamic and Jewish religious passages. Although he was born in Germany, during the Nazi regime he had to move to US due to his Jewish roots. He became a famous professor by his career at the University of Chicago. His primary interests were on metaphysics, epistemology, history of philosophy, philosophy of religion, and political philosophy. He was known by his criticism of moral relativism. According to Strauss, the birth of political philosophy is the trial and the death of Socrates. He published dozens of work and among them Natural Right and History, Persecution and the Art of Writing, The Concept of the Political, and The Political Philosophy of Hobbes: Its Basis and Its Genesis are considered as his seminal works

Any endeavour to put great minds of political philosophy into historical context would mean, according to Strauss, limiting their significance and undermining the potential political implications of their thought that transcended historical boundaries. For this reason, refurbishing anti-historicism, followers of Leo Strauss emphasized that many political ideas were expressed in rather esoteric terms to avoid political pressure. Grasping the meaning in these political texts required detailed reading which aimed to reach a political wisdom independent from time and place; and this was possible because of the fact that there were commonalities in human experience irrespective of time and place. In other words, caging an idea in social circumstances which formed the ground of that particular idea denies the significance of the idea beyond those circumstances. By denigrating the contextualization of political ideas, the Straussian approach points out the need to conceive universal human condition in an abstract form that aims to evaluate it independently from time and place. Arguing that study of political thought should be focused on the way universal rational arguments are drawn on and presented, it aims to provide a refreshed approach to the history of political ideas. This stance underlines that, what is at stake here is to understand the timeless and placeless logical coherence of certain political ideas, not the belief and particular arguments of past thinkers or their time and place-bounded prescriptions. Arguments that lack universal logical coherence or those which derive from particular religions, belief systems and premises cannot be subject to the logical criteria. Therefore, according to the Straussian approach, these will not be meaningful to be portrayed as the subject of a study of the political philosophy.



Important

According to the Straussian approach regarding with the political thought, universal human condition must be evaluated autonomously. According to this approach, various elements in political thought such as time and place are degenerating accompaniments for the abstract and clear form.

Apart from this quite straightforward version of the Straussian approach, a more moderate version of it would be then examining the persuasive relevance of political ideas whilst reminding the platform of thinking that shaped the minds of political philosophers. Still, historicising the political texts produced by the great minds of the past would undermine their strength and disserve the purpose of highlighting the universal human condition, which should be seen as the basis for the success of the political classics. It will also reduce the canonical texts of political philosophy to the *doxa* documents which are similar to the texts targeting the domination of public opinion rather than a search for truth and wisdom.

Considering it from the Straussian perspective, Aristotle's study of 158 constitutions of his time, for example, should rather be taken by its spirit and the reader should focus on his conception of human condition and human nature in the abstract, rather than drowning in the minute details of the constitutions themselves. Similarly, students of the Straussian approach should not approach Machiavelli's *Prince* as a political guide book for Florentine rulers, but rather as an interpretation of human nature and the ways human behaviour can be manipulated by the rulers for the sake of maintaining social order and a strong state. Considering the Machiavelli's *Prince* as a medieval guide books written for the rulers of the middle ages such as kings, princes or sultans deny the opportunity to reach his precious political wisdom on various political ideas.

Such a perspective, in fact, demonstrates that the Straussian researchers are frustrated by the fact that rather than universal principles of social order, moral relativity prevails in the modern times. Their works remain open to criticism since their approach can enclose the ideas into texts and limit dialogue between different perspectives on political ideas. Their approach that proposes to move beyond the historical context of political ideas, however may be used to present a deep reading of the political classics. Consider the example of the funeral oration of Pericles, which we have quoted above. Followers of the Straussian approach would underline the importance of constitutional democracy and the mechanisms that reflect people's interest and to constrain popular will for the sake of social order. They would also point out the need for formation of responsible citizens as the bedrock of Athenian democracy, and infer that democracy requires most adults having wisdom and being virtuous. By showing the material and moral

preconditions of democracy and the way of handling of these notions in Greek political thought, the Straussian approach would highlight the quest for wisdom in ancient philosophy and how it applies to contemporary times.

Important

According to the Straussian approach in modern times moral relativity surpasses the universal principles.

Postmodern Reading of the Political Thought

The last quarter of the 20th century witnessed the rise of a de-constructive theory that is named as the postmodern theory. The postmodern approach to the political ideologies and thinking is an outcome of the critique of both contextualization and the Straussian understanding of political ideas. Therefore, the postmodern theorists questioned the notion of representation and the identification of social reality with the elements that supposedly represent the social world itself. From such a point of view, the social life can be understood with reference to the discourses and the discursive frameworks.

Important

The postmodern theory can be considered as a critical methodological perspective against both the contextual and Straussian approaches in terms of how to approaches political thoughts and developments. Emphasizing the multi-dimensional characteristic of social reality that changes from person to person and from time to time, it highlights the importance of looking at the political thoughts in relation to discourses and discursive frameworks of the narrator.

In aesthetics and art, postmodern movement was characterized with eclecticism. In a similar fashion, with respect to literature, postmodern critiques questioned the style and the discourse of modernity associated with functionality and the apparently unshakable belief in social progress and development (Seidman, 1998). The constitutive role of the discourse in the postmodern approach implies that the idea of historical determination should be replaced with the notion of contingency. Postmodern researchers reject the grand narratives that portray the humankind as moving towards a particular goal. Enlightenment ideals and the notion of social progress are heavily criticised from postmodern stand point. They are labelled as the source of meta-narratives, which provide historical meaning while legitimate the notions such as progress and emancipation.

The commonality between politics and political philosophy rests upon the concept of argument, as mentioned by Harvey Mansfield (2001). Two statements derive from the fact that we constantly argue on what is better or worse for the society in which we strive for sustaining our lives. The first one is that we need political awareness and valid information about the political ideologies and their implications to have better judgements and to put forward better arguments. The second one is much trickier given the need of ordinary people for simple recipes, solid and short-cut explanations. We need to be aware of the fact that what is deemed better for our society and the political system is indeed based on someone's or some group's arguments and their way of approaching things as well as social order. Their way of putting things (i.e. their discourse) actually constitutes, determines and shapes the social reality more than it seems at first sight. Such a critical stance against the common sense conception of what the good is resulted in what sociologists would like to call "postmodern turn" in social and political thought. Since the very nature of the good, and the answer we give to the question of "what is good?" changes from one person to another, the way great minds of political philosophy formulate the good and transmit their perspective can be shed in critical light.

Important

The critical perspective against to the established institutional conceptions of the political thoughts is called as the "postmodern turn".

The discourse of early modern political philosophers such as Hobbes and Montesquieu, for example, were part of the modernity as their thinking reflected the attempts to construct institutions and re-order the political sphere as well as the social world. Early modern philosophers contemplated upon the techniques to deal with the unprecedented social transformations and the emergent modern discourse bore the stamps of an endeavour to devise mechanisms of the social control.

Postmodernism should not be discarded on the grounds of denying social reality, since the postmodern critique of the social reality asserts the need of reconfiguring society. Identifying scientific achievements with human progress and conceptualizing history in linear terms are what postmodernists mainly object to. Their objection underlines the intertwining of power with the knowledge and the infusion of power and control to the everyday activities of human beings.

Such a perspective is against an approach that highlights the use of the works of great philosophers for justifying grand narratives of history and social progress. According to the postmodern way of thinking, foundational theories of knowledge are being used for the justification of social order or what is normatively identified as good from their own perspectives in modern societies, whilst these theories face the risk of losing their authority because of the loss of certainty in both the social world and the field of knowledge in our contemporary era. Depending on this view, postmodern turn, according to Lyotard (1984), who was one of its major proponents, means the questioning of universally valid knowledge and unifying grounds for order and progress.

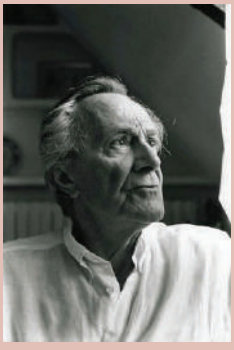


Figure 1.2 Jean-François Lyotard (1924-1998)

Source: *https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jean-Francois_Lyotard.jpg*

Jean-François Lyotard

Jean-François Lyotard is a French philosopher and sociologist. He also worked on the literary theory. He is accepted as one of the major proponents of the postmodern turn. The distinctive feature of postmodern theory is rejecting the universals, meta-narratives, and generality. Thus the reality is considered as a fragmented structure. His main work on post-modernity is The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge, which was first published in 1979. In The Postmodern Condition Lyotard, argues that the reason of scepticism about universality was the cultural postmodern condition. Postmodern condition was a result of advancements of techniques and technologies. Given theories were inadequate to respond the new circumstances. The lost of trust in given theories and grand-narratives caused a search for new understanding about knowledge and science. This perspective pays a special attention to way of expressing an idea, aspiration, belief, or desire more than the content. Thus the society is described around the concept of "language game", a term derived from Ludwig Wittgenstein.

Denouncing meta-narratives that legitimate the conception of science as knowledge and society as a body moving towards a goal, postmodern approach to the history of political thought revolves around efforts to show how the prevailing discourses ignore social differentiation, gender differences and multi-layered information of the reality for the sake of establishing universal standards of truth. The idea highlighted by the postmodern understanding is that the standard and assumed correspondence between the political text and the political reality should be critically approached and evaluated. Political philosophers transmit ideas in historically specific discursive practices. Studying political thought requires an analysis of discursive constructions and the framework in which the political philosopher acts. Such a critical gaze enables to lift the veil above multiple meanings of the political texts. It also provides translating the foreign and unknown aspects of the past thinking into contemporary times, without sacrificing the multi-faceted nature of political ideas for the sake of certainty and universal truth.

A particular way of understanding and interpretation offered by the postmodern approach to judge political projects of the modernity form a normative dimension in which a universally-defined "ought to be" situation or a universally-defined good/better/beautiful/desired is sceptically evaluated. Its way of denigration of grand narratives places the postmodern approach at odds with the normative aspects of the modern political philosophy. As prescribing a set of reforms and particular steps to reach to the modernity's "ought to be" situation would pave the way for consolidating a grand narrative, the postmodern approach rather emphasizes the constitutive role of the discourse and its formation. However, in contrast to pejorative and prejudiced conception of the postmodernist thought, the set of thoughts affiliated with the postmodern critique of modernity cannot be reduced to the idea that all narratives are equally important.

Important

Instead of sticking to an "ought to be" situation of modernity, postmodern perspective constitutes its theory on discourse and its formation.

Looking at the Pericles' narrative mentioned above to understand the distinction of the postmodern approach to the political thoughts, we can note that the postmodern critique would underline that the concept of citizenship in Athens excluded women, slaves and the foreigners. While the discourse of Pericles was referred to the rule of many, Athens was indeed ruled by a minority in its golden age. The way Pericles presents Athens as a meritocratic political establishment should also be criticised as it hides the social differentiation and conflicts between Athenians. The fact that Pericles' oration was recorded and transmitted by Thucydides can also be noted within a postmodern approach since we are reading the interpretation of Thucydides, but not the original speech of Pericles. The critiques can be deepened by pointing out that every reader actually reads a further interpretation of the original speech, since we all have a translation, which implants the speech to a new framework of language.

Powerful ideas of the political philosophy do not stand on their own. It is only clarified by the thinkers, researchers, and students who acquire and re-interpret these ideas, because the political thoughts of the past have an impact upon the present lives. They have been re-interpreted by many of us, and the fact that we have different approaches to study political ideas should not be considered as a disadvantage, but an opportunity for creative and refreshing thinking while standing firmly on the logical ground paved by great thinkers of the previous eras. Now, we can turn to look at the fundamental concepts of political philosophy through such a glance and briefly touch upon the major concepts categorised under the main headings of power, ruling, politics, public, and ideals.

Learning Outcomes

1 Explain the differences among contextual, Straussian, and post-modern approaches with regard to the political thought.

Self Review 1	Relate	Tell/Share
What are the critics of the contextual approach?	Relate the socio-economical shift of 1990s with several political approaches.	Tell the concept of the "postmodern turn".

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS I: POWER AND AUTHORITY

Employing some fundamental concepts, one way or another, political thought deals with the relations between the ruled and the rulers. These concepts themselves serve as the means to transmit the political ideals of the philosopher or researcher while they do also serve as subjects of contemplation and reflection. This part of the chapter will summarize the fundamental concepts of political thought and point out the main themes for discussion regarding the concept at hand.

The pursuit of power is a fundamental topic in the history of political thought. Human beings pursue for having more capacity to achieve things in line with their normative conceptions of the good. On the other hand, contending and conflicting conceptions of the good that different people hold lead them to compete with each other. This, in one way or another, also led them to aspire for more power and authority in society. In a social order some people, behaving as dominant forces, may achieve to turn others to behave in a way of accepting their own way of good life or convince them to accept their decisions and rules through power and authority. In such direct impact upon decision making processes, power is usually exercised over people to change their behaviour. In such cases, power is defined as a form of such relation which results in compliance of some to some others. In Steven Lukes' (1974) well-known classification, this approach to power is criticized because of being limited by its sole focus on decision making and behaviour. Lukes has also criticized another point of view focusing on the context in which the decisions are made, and the way the political agenda is shaped. However, such conception also remained limited as there was a third dimension through which power worked. For Lukes, his third dimension explained the insidious exercise of power, by which people believed in the political system or the social order. Their belief is further used for manipulating the preferences of people.

Important

The notion of power takes quite different forms in different contexts where social and political relations between individual and institutional actors are directly or indirectly influenced by various entities such as norms, values, culture, economic structure and so forth.

Relying on aforementioned background information, we can notice that **power** inevitably refers to the use of force in relational terms. It cannot be limited to political affairs and can even be observed within small groups, between two people as well as between institutions and organizations. The term power actually derived from *potestas,* which can be translated today as *power over.* When people refer to the capacity to do something, they might also refer to power, but this time it is rather a specific form and based on *potentia* that can be considered as potential.

In ancient Rome, the elderly and the prominent members of the society, most of who were actual members of the Senate were thought to have *auctoritas.* The term implied that their words were to be trusted and they should be respected. The word authority comes from **auctoritas** and can be defined as legitimate power. A political figure who has authority is someone whose ways of framing political struggle are accepted by her followers and who is seen as fit to rule. Yet again, authority should not be seen as limited to political affairs (Vergin, 2007). An executive of a transnational corporation, a religious figure or even a mafia leader can all be deemed to have authority, in one way or another, over some others. The followers of a Protestant church, for example, shape their behaviour and way of thinking according to the church leader's sermons, messages, books, TV performances and so on. Looking at the relationship between imams or Islamic scholars and common people who are willing to be dependent on their theological knowledge, a similar point can also be made. They believe the church leader or imam has the power and authority to identify what the right thing to do is in some particular conditions and to propose them to behave in accordance with what the right thing is. The authority of the leader, in this particular case, can be translated as the legitimate use of power, legitimate in the eyes of believers.

The concept of authority comes from auctoritas and can be defined as a form of power that is legitimate.

Max Weber, in its ideal typical classification delineated three sources of legitimacy. Ideal type approach here does not refer to a "preferred mode" categorisation but rather classification in thought – in abstract. For Weber (1978) charismatic authority is the type in which the authority is believed to have unnatural superiorities or exceptional characteristics. People, according to Weber follow the charismatic figure "by virtue of his mission" and charisma sets its own limits. Nevertheless, it has a temporary character as charisma will wane into an institution, eventually being routinized. Traditional authority, on the other hand, feeds upon customs and convention. Being a source of conservatism, this type of authority also rests on identification with owner of the authority. Occupying the foreground is not, however, the transformative capacity of the rule or the organization, but rather provision of stability and preservation of social order. Legal-rational authority, as the third type of Weber's classification, provides a source of legitimacy on a de-personalized and formal basis. The authority of the organization or the political figure rests upon legality and bureaucratic organization acting in legal-rational terms. The legal-rational authority is mostly identified with the modern nation state by social scientists.



Figure 1.3 Maximilian Karl Emil □Max□ Weber □864-1920□

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Max_Weber_1917.jpg

Max Weber

Weber is considered as one of the founders of sociology, with Emile Durkheim and Karl Marx. Among his other contributions, his way of classifying ideal types of authorities under three categories, as charismatic, traditional, and legal, was a seminal work. His way of investigating social action was interpretive rather than being empiricist or positivist. Rationalization and secularization of the society along with the rise of capitalism and modernity were his main theoretical field of interest. Related to this in his Protestant Ethic he examines various beliefs from all over the world and associates these beliefs with economic and social structure.



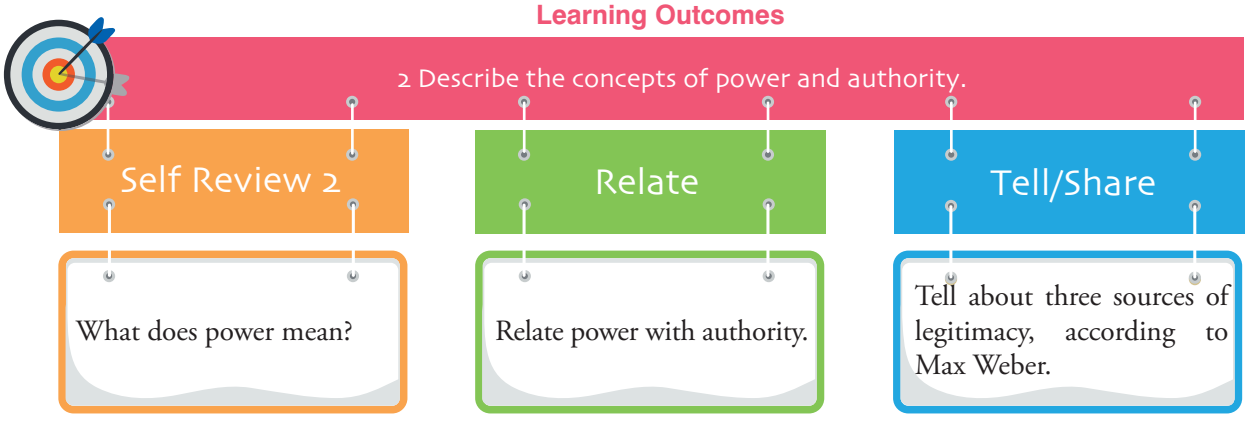
Reading Text

Politics as a Vocation by Max Weber

"What do we understand by politics? The concept is extremely broad and comprises any kind of independent leadership in action. One speaks of the currency policy of the banks, of the discounting policy of the Reichsbank, of the strike policy of a trade union; one may speak of the educational policy of a municipality or a township, of the policy of the president of a voluntary association, and, finally, even of the policy of a prudent wife who seeks to guide her husband. Tonight, our reflections are, of course, not based upon such a broad concept. We wish to understand by politics only the leadership, or the influencing of the leadership, of a political association, hence today, of a state. But what is a 'political' association from the sociological point of view? What is a 'state'? Sociologically, the state cannot be defined in terms of its ends. There is scarcely any task that some political association has not taken in hand, and there is no task that one could say has always been exclusive and peculiar to those associations which are designated as political ones: today the state, or historically, those associations which have been the predecessors of the modern state. Ultimately, one can define the modern state sociologically only in terms of the specific means peculiar to it, as to every political association, namely, the use of physical force. 'Every state is founded on force,' said Trotsky at Brest-Litovsk. That is indeed right. If no social institutions existed which knew the use of violence, then the concept of 'state' would be eliminated, and a condition would emerge that could be designated as 'anarchy,' in the specific sense of this word. Of course, force is certainly not the normal or the only means of the state--nobody

says that--but force is a means specific to the state. Today the relation between the state and violence is an especially intimate one. In the past, the most varied institutions--beginning with the sib--have known the use of physical force as quite normal. Today, however, we have to say that a state is a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory. Note that 'territory' is one of the characteristics of the state. Specifically, at the present time, the right to use physical force is ascribed to other institutions or to individuals only to the extent to which the state permits it. The state is considered the sole source of the 'right' to use violence. Hence, 'politics' for us means striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state. This corresponds essentially to ordinary usage. When a question is said to be a 'political' question, when a cabinet minister or an official is said to be a 'political' official, or when a decision is said to be 'politically' determined, what is always meant is that interests in the distribution, maintenance, or transfer of power are decisive for answering the questions and determining the decision or the official's sphere of activity. He who is active in politics strives for power either as a means in serving other aims, ideal or egoistic, or as 'power for power's sake,' that is, in order to enjoy the prestige-feeling that power gives. Like the political institutions historically preceding it, the state is a relation of men dominating men, a relation supported by means of legitimate (i.e. considered to be legitimate) violence. If the state is to exist, the dominated must obey the authority claimed by the powers that be. When and why do men obey? Upon what inner justifications and upon what external means does this domination rest?"

Source: http://anthropos-lab.net/wp/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/Weber-Politics-as-a-Vocation.pdf



FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS II: RULING, LEGITIMACY AND GOVERNMENT

As we talk on one's power to have authority over others, we in fact point out her/his power to rule the others; and when a political scholar discusses on one's power to rule the others, s/he inevitably draws on certain concepts that frequently appear in not only scholarly politics but also everyday politics such as legitimacy, sovereignty, state, government/governance, the rule of law and separation of powers.

Legitimacy can be defined as rightfulness. It should not be limited to being legal, or in accordance with the laws, despite rightfulness to a great extent stems from the legal framework. To clarify, let's take a look at the case of Presidential elections, setting strict rules for being elected President. A political leader who received less than half of the popular vote in the elections may be elected as President according to the election law and the Constitution (as seen in the United States in 2016). S/he will nevertheless be expected to rule for gaining more support and appeal to large segments of the society, since the electoral victory may

be won in accordance with the law but such a win does not always guarantee legitimacy. In political terms, and in our case, legitimacy requires people's positive perception of the political system and leader. In relational terms, legitimacy requires the people's approval and conceiving the government as rightful to govern.

One of the most frequent and broad definitions of the concept of legitimacy underlines its characteristic of rightfulness.

For a long time in human history, the source of political legitimacy rested in the religious sphere. The right to rule, in other words, came from the God and the ruler was considered as a responsible body in front of the God. Secularization is an overarching term that demarcates the religious and mundane, and a process that stripped the latter from the effects of the former increasingly. In political terms, it was affiliated with the processes by which the source of legitimacy shifted to the people/nation. It ended up in theories of popular **sovereignty,** defining the supreme force of rule and source of legitimacy as the people. In medieval empires as well as religious theocracies the sovereignty belonged to the God, whereas the form of nation-state rested on the ideas that the supreme power within the territory is the people as a nation, and the branches of the state as well as the representatives of the state act on behalf of the people.

Important

The source of political legitimacy is one of the distinctive subjects of political philosophy. Although for a long time the legitimacy of ruling had been sought in religion, modernity has led the way to re-define the popular sovereignty as the supreme force of rule.

Political philosophers and researchers prefer to define the **state** in their own terms, according to their perspective and methodology. For quite a number of scholars who are from the liberal tradition of the political philosophy, the state is perceived as an evil and is merely necessary to provide order while at the same time ensuring the implementation of the contracts between individuals and actors such as formal institutions or civic organisations. Further intervention into the social sphere is conceived as an intervention to human freedoms. For intuitionalist observers, relying on Weber and historical analysts, the state is first and foremost defined with reference to the claim of monopoly of force within a given territory. Either a set of institutions or a human community, or even a political leader may assume this monopoly, which remains as the defining feature of being a state. From a critical and materialist point of view, the state is the outcome of class struggle and a form assumed by the social struggles and the relations of production. Therefore, each mode of production generates different state structures/norms and accompanying legal-political frameworks. Capitalist states are different from patrimonial or feudal states and their governing structures as well as the contours of political struggle reveal fundamentally different characteristics.

These differences regarding the definition of the state stem from different epistemological and ontological answers by political thinkers. Not all terms reveal similar characteristics. For example, the term **government** comes from the Latin *gubernare* and Greek *kubernan*. It means steering a ship and implies that the path taken by the society and the state is determined by those who govern. In modern terminological usage of the political philosophy, government refers to the group of people who has the authority to steer the state. Though government action is limited with law and subject to judicial review, government implies a top-down and linear relationship in which the elected committee determine the faith of those governed. Complementing the notion of government is a more contemporary term of **governance,** which is a broader concept underlining the interaction between civil society organizations and state institutions. Governance is used by many political analysts as well as commentators to signify predictable political atmosphere and healthy negotiations between different groups and institutions for a desirable policy outcome. For proponents of the perspective of governance, stronger civil society will ensure transparent policy making and empower democratic institutions by boosting their legitimacy as a result.

The term government comes from the Latin gubernare and Greek kubernan. It means steering a ship and implies that the path taken by the society and the state is determined by those who govern.

It is traditional in many Western democracies that the popular sovereignty and the supremacy of parliament remained at the core of democratic theory. On the road to the universal suffrage by the 19th century, parliaments in Western Europe started to truly assume the identity of the representative of all people in the whole political realm. The judiciary lost its ground during this transformation, while the parliaments gained more power. In France, to illustrate, members of judiciary were seen for quite some time after the French Revolution as the servants of the despotic *ancien régime*. In late twentieth century however, judicial institutions became more effective than ever with the growing concern for human rights and the rise of detailed international law. To serve as one of the main pillars of stability in a society, judicial institutions must keep their integrity and their institutional legitimacy. This statement is also valid for the legislatures and executive branches. Despite the country specific differences of political regimes and the various trajectories, the essential feature of a modern democracy is usually considered as **the separation of powers,** which means that the judiciary, executive, and legislature will have the ability to check each other's functions and provide a balancing mechanism against functional overreaching and breaching of the rules. A system of checks and balances ensures that the government's decisions as well as the laws promulgated by the legislative organs and judicial reviews are seen legitimate. Significant safeguards in modern democracies are therefore the separation of powers and the principle of **the rule of law** through which we imply that institutions of the government will abide by the legal boundaries. Thus, it prescribes that "citizens are better off when the political system establishes rules for all to follow, rather than subjecting citizens either to arbitrary rule or to anarchy" (Ferejohn et al., 2009, p. 727).

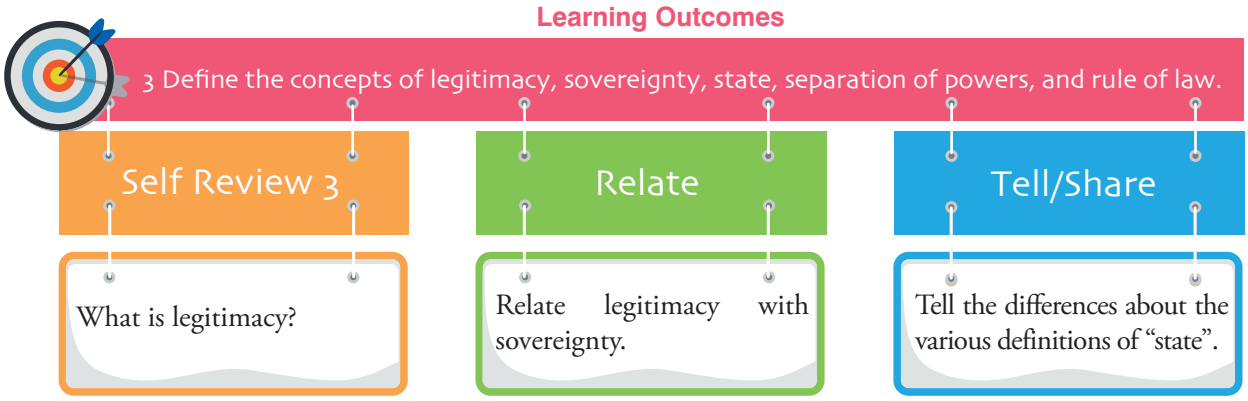
Important

Concepts such as the separation of powers, the rule of law, and so forth were enormously important contributions to the political thought during the modernisation period and they aimed to limit the power of the state and rulers against the individual citizens.

Rule of law forms the basic principle of a functioning democracy. Putting the principle of separation of powers and checks and balances as such may lead to the question of that "are democratic procedures sufficient to call an order democratic?". From a minimal-procedural perspective, democracy relies on basic procedures and principles, which also form the foundations of the system. The existence of these procedures is found sufficient to say that the regime or the order is democratic. The problem with a minimalist perspective is that these procedures can be used to suppress alternative demands and result in disempowerment for social groups. Rather than assuming fixed features for the democratic process, it appears much more fruitful to provide larger spaces of discussion and grasp the democratic process as in a permanent reconstruction. In other words, **democracy** may be seen as a system in which the participants learn from the democratic process itself to reflect on their circumstances and devise solutions. These mechanisms and the solutions are reshaped and revised over time. "Democracy enjoins constant, permanent motion –a gentle kind of permanent revolution, a movable feast that affords each generation room for new appetites and new tastes, and thus allows political and spiritual migration to new territory" (Barber, 1996, p. 352).

Democracy may be seen as a system in which the participants learn from the democratic process itself to reflect on their circumstances and devise solutions.

From such a point of view, the rule of law serves as the guarantor of constant renewal and discussion in society. The politics itself can be understood as an open-ended process and the political order turns into a ground that does not have fixed mechanisms and eternal truths. Although a critical and anti-foundationalist perspective of politics may enlarge our perspective for politics, it should be kept in mind that political and social order is portrayed in general in a way quite contrary to a liberal and critical perspective in the contemporary world.



FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS III: POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY

Grasping politics as an open-ended process may be helpful to explain the dynamic nature of political field and the struggle ongoing between political actors. However, at the same time, the way we evaluate, analyse and reflect on the world can be transmitted to the next generations with very few changes. World views of people and social groups can preserve themselves for generations with little or no change. A popular form of explanation given for the long lives of ideas and people's interpretation of the world is to refer to the concept of ideology. In abstract terms, **ideology** refers to the production of meanings, symbols, and ideas to be drawn on whilst interpreting various dimensions of the social reality. The interpretation of social reality rests on forms of thought that are not necessarily compatible with each other. Yet again, the apparent incompatibility is not an obstacle against the use of contradictory meanings and symbols by a particular ideology.

Important

The term ideology refers to various meanings as well as negative and positive connotations in different ways of use. One of these ways concerning the use of the concept of ideology can be pointed out as the production of meanings, symbols, and ideals.

Ideology can also be defined as the imaginary relation that we have with the actual life conditions. In this critical definition, political philosophers refer to the use of bodies of ideas for legitimating political power or the political preferences of particular groups. Individuals who form up social groups make sense of the world in particular manners, and the way they interpret the social world may rest upon the place they occupy within a particular group or class and their social interests. This is one of the reasons why in popular uses of the term as well as in critical literature, ideology is located against science and scientific ways of thinking. In that sense, it is an irony that the term originally refers to the scientific study of ideas.

From a general point of view, ideology is used both to refer to the material production of ideas, and the ideas that not only signify the social conditions and experiences but also promote the interests of social groups (Eagleton, 1991). Disregarding ideology as false belief or false consciousness will be a grave mistake since for politics as well as a political scientist, not just the rightness of a particular idea, but the way this idea is used for political purposes carries great significance.

Modern ideologies such as liberalism, socialism, and conservatism can be traced back to the Enlightenment and rapid economic growth in the aftermath of the first industrial revolution in late 18th century. Despite the fact that some core elements

of the modern ideologies can be found in ancient times, it is only in the last three hundred years that these ideas have constituted bodies of thought and came to be associated with particular social groups.

In discussing politics and political preferences, people also tend to use the terms left and right frequently. Indeed, these are the terms that still determine the way we think about politics in our everyday life and practices. The origin of the terms left and right that refer to particular political perspectives and stances can be found in the French Revolution, in which *Tiers état* (the third estate referring to the people in general, who were neither aristocrat nor members of clergy) overthrew the monarchy and paved the ground for the First French Republic. Representatives of the third estate named Jacobins generally sat to the left side of the Estates General during the National Convention Period (1792-1795), while those who were supportive of the traditional institutions of the *ancien régime,* i.e. Girondins, sat to the right, and representatives from various streams sat at the centre (*Plaine*) (Ağaoğulları et al, 2015, p. 605). In the 19th century France, the terms left and right were used to delineate the supporters of the Republic *vis-á-vis* the supporters of the monarchy. Traditionally, the left came to be associated with social change and progress, while the right came to be associated with order and preservation of the prevailing and dominant social values.

In the 19th Century France, the terms of left and right were used to delineate the supporters of the Republic vis-á-vis the supporters of the monarchy.

We should keep in mind that using the terms change versus conservation/preservation or progress versus order may not be sufficient to elaborate the complexity of politics of our modern left-wing and right-wing politics. In the late 20th century Europe, neoliberal right symbolised radical change and the destruction of the welfare state, while traditional left was identified with the protection of social benefits and welfare systems. In the early 21st century, the reactionary far-right groups politically open a war against the institutions of the European Union's establishment and demand radical change, which implies separation from the union and more protectionist economic policies together with anti-immigrant regulations.

Important

The origins of the terms of right and left lie in certain historical events such as the French Revolution and their meanings have transformed to a certain extent in relation to the social political contexts in which they are drawn upon to make distinctions between the political actors.

Learning Outcomes

4 Identify the concepts of left/right wing politics and ideology.

Self Review 4	Relate	Tell/Share
What is ideology?	Relate the terms of the left and right-wing politics within the French Revolution.	Tell about the main features of terms "left" and "right".

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS IV: PUBLIC POLICY AND CIVIL SOCIETY

As social movements and political groups campaign and struggle according to their ideological orientations, political parties deal with the task of formulating interests and particular preferences into acceptable public positions. Policy making derives from the attempt to address societal issues and the term **policy** mainly refers to the outcome of the struggle over resource distribution and the way governments address the social-political problems to achieve their goals in political thought. It cannot be limited to immediate responses to crises or temporary solutions to expand electoral base. One element in defining public policy is, for this reason, consistency, and duration. The logical consequence of grasping policy in this particular way requires defining policy change in concrete terms.

The term of policy in political thought mainly refers to the outcome of the struggle over resource distribution and the way governments address the social-political problems to achieve their goals.

Despite the political rhetoric to expand welfare regimes and regulate the labour markets to the benefit of people at large, many social democrat parties in Europe have continued with and maintained the previous active labour market policies when they assumed to have power or formed coalition governments in the early 21st century. In this particular policy area, then, there occurred no policy change despite the breach between the left-wing and the right-wing parties in many other societal issues. Indeed, many analysts counted the inability of social democrats to differentiate themselves from neoliberal or the right-wing parties among the reasons of the narrowing base of social democrats.

While formulating policies, political parties and policy makers usually analyse the societal needs from a particular glance. How their priorities are shaped and how the policies are formulated ultimately depend upon the social pressure and demands of non-governmental organizations in modern day democracies. On the one hand, the rhetoric as well as the electoral power of interest groups impact upon the policy-making process and shape policy space. On the other hand, different visions of the common good came to the fore as social groups of different scale and the status advance their shared vision of good as the **common good,** i.e. the answer given to the question what the benefit of the society is.

Indeed, the conception of common good addresses a central topic in political thought. This is the question of how to synthesize the common good and self-interest. From a liberal perspective, aptly formulating the inter-dependence of human beings as forming a regulatory but invisible hand, the self-interest seeking individuals attempt to achieve their goals, and while doing so, they contribute to the state of being of the society positively. In this perspective, any endeavour to synthesize self-interest with an assumed common good is seen as an obstacle against the human freedom. It is not only opposed to the human freedom, but also detrimental for the advancement of the society. **Civil society,** from such point of view, is the sphere in which the self-interest seeking individuals interact and enter into exchange relations. The role of the state should be limited to the provision of security for its citizens and enforcement of the property rights as well as the contracts between individuals and market agents.

Civil society is the sphere in which the self-interest seeking individuals interact and enter into exchange relations.

As it can be seen clearly, the liberal understanding of society narrows the role of the state and prescribes limited intervention. Indeed, the logical implication of a methodologically individualist understanding would be ignoring the common good. On the other hand, a republican or statist understanding in which the state is burdened with dealing with the ills of the society, the scope of state intervention is much larger. Since civil society is regarded as the sphere in which different social classes and groups advance their interests, it is only through the transcendence of particular

interests that the general interest of the people will be achieved. The agent to do this is portrayed as the state, however, we should not study the state as the overarching actor repressing freedoms and particular interests. In republican thought the state intervention is legitimate to the extent that it secures the individual autonomy and common good at the same time.

One of the main elements differentiating the republicanism from the liberal perspectives is therefore found in their ways of approaching the human nature. Human nature is not conceived in *ahistorical* and fixed terms for the republicans, rather the individual interests can be compatible or made compatible with the common good of the people. It depends upon the policies that will be implemented for the benefit of people themselves, regardless if people politically and actively support or are against such policies. In such an approach human beings are conceived as social beings making sense of the society and who can perceive a balance between their narrow interests and the advancement of the society. Such a formation of political and ruling authority has been criticised by liberals in line with the claim that it paves the ground to the authoritarian and totalitarian regimes in which the human beings are called to sacrifice their interests and freedoms for an ultimate goal of masses' interests.

Important

Republicanism and liberal perspectives differ from each other in many aspects including their ways of approaching the human nature.

Learning Outcomes

5 Identify the concepts of policy, common good, and civil society.

Self Review 5	Relate	Tell/Share
What is the civil society?	Relate the civil society with the concept of the common good.	Explain the term of "common good".

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS V: THE IDEALS OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

A mirror image of the liberal – republican debate regarding the limits of the state intervention and human freedom can be found in the conception state – market relations as well. Various schools of political economy contemplated upon the formula to achieve what we name as prosperity. Classical political economists feeding upon the classical **liberal** conceptions proposed an *ought to be* situation in which the state and markets were clearly demarcated. Their thoughts were not necessarily in accordance with the social reality. What these political economists argued was about what the rulers and policy-makers ought to do for making their countries more prosperous. Even if the absolutist emperors of the 17th and 18th centuries and the leaders of the newly emerging nation states in 19th and 20th centuries did not fully agree with the principles of free-trade and market at their own time, for neo-classical thinking the way to achieve prosperity passes through the security of the autonomous markets, that would, according to them, eventually regulate themselves. In contrast, statist and developmentalist politicians and economists devised **protectionist** policies that will protect the economy from harsh competition or particular sectors from foreign competitors in order to speed up the development and increase the pace of the economic growth.

Protectionist policies aim to preserve the economy from harsh competition or particular sectors from foreign competitors in order to speed up the development and increase the pace of the economic growth.

In today's world, this debate still continues as the president of the United States of America, the champion of free trade and liberal economic policies in the aftermath of the Second World War declared his plans by early 2018 to impose high tariffs to protect the U.S. steel and aluminium industries. Such a policy change, if it happens, will be responded by similar tariffs and protectionist policies elsewhere in the world. For free market proponents, the result will be high protection and inefficient sectors, eventually dragging the world economic growth. A similar line of debate that is more explicit since the 2008 – 2009 financial crisis revolves around the global financial flows on whether to control these flows or not for the economic growth and how to do so for protecting the social equality.

Both sides of these debates rest on different economic theories regarding the functioning of the markets. Despite the variation in these economic approaches, the answers provided are closely related to the political conceptions regarding whether and how to intervene into the markets and what will serve the decline of global inequalities, as well as national and regional disparities. The mounting problems of the global trade and value chains inform us about the collective action problems in many occasions.

On a societal or group level, the collective action problem refers to the situation in which individuals would benefit from an action, but the individuals would not want to share the burden of that particular action and their self-interests avoid a cooperative solution. Each actor pursuing his/her self-interest may result in not only the inefficient use of the resources leading to scarcity but also environmental disasters as well as ensuing social conflicts. In this particular sense, the enjoyment of "life, liberty and property" as in liberal-individualist understanding creates a dilemma which needs attention: Liberty, as being free from constraint should bring about respect to the fundamental freedoms of other human beings, i.e. their life, freedom from constraints, and property. To achieve and protect liberty of all requires a frame of mind in which consciousness and cognition of the human beings are shaped to respect the other's freedoms. Such line of thinking goes in accord with the ideal of political equality through which people enjoy civic and political rights and **equality** in the face of law. Under conditions of social inequality, however, human consciousness may potentially be narrowed further to pursuing short-term interests and gaining advantage over others. The idea that one's welfare is dependent upon the well-being of others loses ground. None wants to share the burden of beneficial societal action with others and since social problems concerning everyone in that society remains unsolved, social discontent brews. To avoid discontent and overcome deep inequality, regulatory action may be needed. Unfortunately, interventions to mitigate inequality may necessitate imposing constraints upon particular actions, and restrictive intervention by the state or political authorities.

One of the definitions of liberty is being free from constraint that should bring about respect to the fundamental freedoms of other human beings.

Such an apparent dilemma is not easy to overcome. A particular set of actions of a government to avoid the deepening of inequality may not lead to the loss of the legitimacy if the **justice** prevails. This issue also relates to the conceptions of **desert** and **right.** Desert mainly refers to deserving or aspiring something, either good or bad. In line with the term's definition, the desert-centred conception of justice can be roughly considered as a conception of system in which people are entitled only to get what they deserve to. In such an approach to justice, however, what they deserve can be something undesired or desired as an outcome of their action. For a just society, however, better status and better opportunities should not be naturalized as the outcomes of natural endowments. Therefore, right-centred approaches

in justice appeared in the political thought as entitlements given to the everyone under the certain conditions, such as citizenship, regardless of their economic or social status vis-à-vis others. According to John Rawls (1972), who is one of the greatest philosophers of the political philosophy of the 20th century, people should collect the yields of their efforts, but it would not serve justice to conceive well-being of people as the outcome of their natural gifts. Logical outcome of this stance is that the governments should provide the material basis on which people feel, they can collect the fruits of their labour, which at the end illustrates a meritocratic liberal egalitarian political conception of justice. This would not only imply the foundation of a just society, but also boost the legitimacy of the government action.

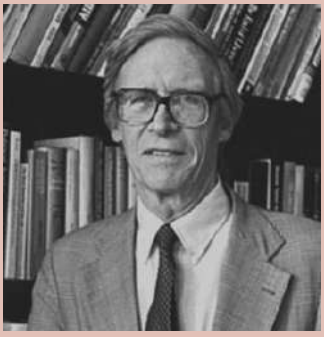


Figure 1.4 John Bordley Rawls (1921-2002)

Source: http://www.philosophers.co.uk/john-rawls.html

John Rawls

It is said that "the recent re-birth of normative political philosophy began with the publication of John Rawls' A Theory of Justice in 1971". Rawls is one of the greatest philosophers of the political philosophy in the 20th Century. Rawls's theory takes justice as fairness, a similar concept used instead of justice sometimes, but slightly different. Justice is a general principle, while fairness refers to concrete attitudes within a given case. Rawls is accepted as a social contractualist due to his presupposition of the "original position", which is the starting point of his legal theory. According to Rawls, while people were living in the "original position" they decide upon which kind of society they would like to have. As described within the text above, his theory recommends equal basic rights, equality of opportunity, and promoting the interests of the least advantaged members of society. His main works are A Theory of Justice, Political Liberalism, and The Law of Peoples.

Consider for example the Sustainable Development Agenda of 2030 promoted by the United Nations. One of the slogans of the development agenda can be paraphrased as "no one should suffer from poverty and hunger". By the resolution stating explicitly to end poverty and hunger by 2030 as a goal, the UN states that people deserve to be free from poverty since they are human beings. The question in the UN's formula is not about who deserve decent lives and who do not, it is rather about the means and mechanisms to provide people with what they deserve. In political terms, the UN calls for the nation states to respond the problem of poverty and hunger but the debate ensues as any action by the states and governments in that case, such as taxing wealth to redistribute and devising social benefit programmes to avoid poverty may imply restrictions on people's autonomous choices and actions. From the viewpoint of the free market proponents, policies for redistribution may even lead to a fiscal punishment undeserved by the responsible and hard-working individual members of a society. Hence, there cannot be a single answer to the questions of what the just action is. The inquiry itself however pushes the researchers as well as the policy makers further towards a just society.

Learning Outcomes

6 Explain certain concepts of justice like liberty, equality, rights and desert.

Self Review 6	Relate	Tell/Share
What does the term "desert" mean?	Relate the concept of justice with equality.	Tell about the concept of liberty.

Conclusion

Political thought revolves around the questions regarding political systems, state and society relations, rule of law and ideals for a better way of life for citizens. Drawing on a vast variety of concepts that we discussed above in detail, scholars who do research in political philosophy aim to help us to grasp the various dynamics of politics as well as the fundamentals of political institutions. They, however, also primarily aim to ease the human beings' endeavour to develop an understanding towards a more just and prosperous societal configuration.

As an introductory chapter of the book, this chapter primarily aimed to gain students a certain extent of familiarity about fundamentals of the political thought. While doing this, it first of all focused upon three comprehensive approaches, the contextual approach, the Straussian approach and the postmodern approach for highlighting the systematic modes of thinking about political concepts. The contextual approach underlines the need to historicize political theory. It also points out that the social circumstances and the political order are of utmost importance for a healthy discussion of ideologies and political thinking. The Straussian approach, on the other hand, emphasizes the commonalities in human experience irrespective of time and place. By way of doing so, political thought can elucidate in detail the questions and answers regarding the human nature. Postmodern political thinking, however, mainly questions the notion of representation and the belief in social progress. In this regard, postmodern scholars highlight the ways that the political power infuses knowledge and the modes of thinking by elaborating discursive frameworks.

Following a portrayal of the fundamental approaches, this chapter pointed out the main themes of discussion in political thought in relation to the fundamental concepts that have been drawn on for a quite a long time to make sense about the basics of both everyday politics and transcendental philosophical discussions. Concepts such as power, authority, ideology, rule of law as well as liberty, equality, common good are stressed, formulated and interpreted over and over again by political scientists who transmit their ideas and contemplate on fundamental issues of their societies as well as on various doings and beings of human beings in social and political arenas. To grasp all of dynamics of political thoughts and to be informed about its quite a number of dimensions, studying these concepts is not sufficient on its own, but a good departure point. In fact, it is a good starting point for not only the students of political science but also the students from all other disciplines of social sciences. There is no single universal definition and approach to the concepts summarised and discussed in this chapter. We have to face the mounting political problems of the 21st century by doing best out of an elaboration of the tradition in political philosophy that we have, which can be traced back to at least 2500 years before from the present day. The search for better conceptions and interpretation of each concept in relation to the others is a stepping stone to overcome the strict positivist academic boundaries that usually constraint a scholar to be stuck in one field of social sciences. The search for a better conception and interpretation of each concept in relation to others can also be considered as a valuable endeavour to engage in a more efficient and advanced thinking concerning the backdrop of everyday political troubles and global political conflicts that we frequently observe in our contemporary world.

LO 1 Explain the differences among contextual, Straussian, and post-modern approaches with regard to the political thought.

Since the formation of the first social groups, human beings have always been in need to reflect upon three issues concerning the politics: Power and authority, the way rulers should act/decide and how the system of ruling should be formed, revised or challenged. Political theory, however, is based on argumentation and reasoned reflection. It is subject to systematic critical reflection, which has mostly been affected by the stamp of Ancient Greek thought. We delineated three major approaches to the political thought in this introductory chapter. These are the contextual approach, the Straussian approach and the postmodern approach, respectively.

In broad terms, contextual approach stresses the need to historicize the works of political theory in order to understand the particular historical moment and its impact upon the political thinking. According to such an approach to the political thought, the way great philosophers grasp society and the spirit of their own times, the others who address their works, and their sources of influence carry significance only within a contextualized perspective towards the political ideas. It claims that the political target of the philosophers and their wish to change or preserve the social and political order in which they live should be taken into consideration for a better analysis of political thinking. The contextual approach helps students of political thoughts to grasp the trajectories of political ideologies and benefit from the dialogue over the course of thousands of years. Still, according to Strauss, any endeavour to put great minds of political philosophy into historical context would mean limiting their significance and undermining the potential political implications of their thought that transcended historical boundaries. For this reason, refurbishing anti-historicism, followers of Leo Strauss emphasized that many political ideas were expressed in rather esoteric terms to avoid political pressure. The last quarter of the 20th century witnessed the rise of a de-constructive theory that is named as the postmodern theory. The postmodern approach to the political ideologies and thinking is an outcome of the critique of both contextualization and the Straussian understanding of political ideas. The postmodern theorists questioned the notion of representation and the identification of social reality with the elements that supposedly represent the social world itself. From such a point of view, the social life can be understood with reference to the discourses and the discursive frameworks. Postmodernism should not be discarded on the grounds of denying social reality, since the postmodern critique of the social reality asserts the need of reconfiguring society. Identifying scientific achievements with human progress and conceptualizing history in linear terms are what postmodernists mainly object to. Their objection underlines the intertwining of power with the knowledge and the infusion of power and control to the everyday activities of human beings.

Summary

LO 2 Describe the concepts of power and authority.

Employing some fundamental concepts, political thought one way or another deals with the relations between the ruled and the rulers. These concepts themselves serve as the means to transmit the political ideals of the philosopher or researcher while they do also serve as subjects of contemplation and reflection. The pursuit of power is a fundamental topic in the history of political thought. Human beings pursue for having more capacity to achieve things in line with their normative conceptions of the good. On the other hand, contending and conflicting conceptions of the good that different people hold lead them to compete with each other. Power inevitably refers to the use of force in relational terms. It cannot be limited to political affairs and can even be observed within small groups, between two people as well as between institutions and organizations. The term power actually derived from *potestas*, which can be translated today as power over. When people refer to the capacity to do something, they might also refer to power, but this time it is rather a specific form and based on *potentia* that can be considered as potential. Max Weber, in its ideal typical classification delineated three sources of legitimacy.

LO 3 Define the concepts of legitimacy, sovereignty, state, separation of powers, and rule of law.

As we talk on one's power to have authority over others, we in fact point out her/his power to rule the others; and when a political scholar discusses on one's power to rule the others, s/he inevitably draws on certain concepts that frequently appear in not only scholarly politics but also everyday politics such as legitimacy, sovereignty, state, government/governance, the rule of law and separation of powers. For a long time in human history, the source of political legitimacy rested in the religious sphere. Secularization is an overarching term that demarcates the religious and mundane, and a process that stripped the latter from the effects of the former increasingly. In political terms, it was affiliated with the processes by which the source of legitimacy shifted to the people/nation. It ended up in theories of popular sovereignty.

For quite a number of scholars who are from the liberal tradition of the political philosophy, the state is perceived as an evil and is merely necessary to provide order while at the same time ensuring the implementation of the contracts between individuals and actors such as formal institutions or civic organisations. It is traditional in many Western democracies that the popular sovereignty and the supremacy of parliament remained at the core of democratic theory. Despite the country specific differences of political regimes and the various trajectories, the essential feature of a modern democracy is usually considered as the separation of powers. Grasping politics as an open-ended process may be helpful to explain the dynamic nature of political field and the struggle ongoing between political actors.

LO 4 Identify the concepts of left/right wing politics and ideology.

From a general point of view, ideology is used both to refer to the material production of ideas, and the ideas that not only signify the social conditions and experiences but also promote the interests of social groups (Eagleton, 1991). Disregarding ideology as false belief or false consciousness will be a grave mistake since for politics as well as a political scientist, not just the rightness of a particular idea, but the way this idea is used for political purposes carries great significance. A popular form of explanation given for the long lives of ideas and people's interpretation of the world is to refer to the concept of ideology. In abstract terms, ideology refers to the production of meanings, symbols, and ideas to be drawn on whilst interpreting various dimensions of the social reality. From a general point of view, ideology is used both to refer to the material production of ideas, and the ideas that not only signify the social conditions and experiences but also promote the interests of social groups. As social movements and political groups campaign and struggle according to their ideological orientations, political parties deal with the task of formulating interests and particular preferences into acceptable public positions.

LO 5 Define the concepts of policy, common good, and civil society.

While formulating policies, political parties and policy makers usually analyse the societal needs from a particular glance. How their priorities are shaped and how the policies are formulated ultimately depend upon the social pressure and demands of non-governmental organizations in modern day democracies. On the one hand, the rhetoric as well as the electoral power of interest groups impact upon the policy-making process and shape policy space. On the other hand, different visions of the **common good** came to the fore as social groups of different scale and the status advance their shared vision of good as the common good, i.e. the answer given to the question what benefit of the society is. Indeed, the conception of common good addresses a central topic in political thought. This is the question of how to synthesize the common good and self-interest. The liberal understanding of society narrows the role of the state and prescribes limited intervention. Indeed, the logical implication of a methodologically individualist understanding would be ignoring the common good.

Summary

LO 6 Explain certain concepts of justice like liberty, equality, rights and desert.

A republican or statist understanding in which the state is burdened with dealing with the ills of the society, the scope of state intervention is much larger. A mirror image of the liberal – republican debate regarding the limits of the state intervention and human freedom can be found in the conception state – market relations as well. Classical political economists feeding upon the classical **liberal** conceptions proposed an ought to be situation in which the state and markets were clearly demarcated. Their thoughts were not necessarily in accordance with the social reality. What these political economists argued was about what the rulers and policy-makers ought to do for making their countries more prosperous. Even if the absolutist emperors of the 17th and 18th centuries and the leaders of the newly emerging nation states in 19th and 20th centuries did not fully agree with the principles of free-trade and market at their own time, for neo-classical thinking the way to achieve prosperity passes through the security of the autonomous markets, that would, according to them, eventually regulate themselves. In contrast, statist and developmentalist politicians and economists devised **protectionist** policies that will protect the economy from harsh competition or particular sectors from foreign competitors in order to speed up the development and increase the pace of the economic growth.

1 Which of the following options is not true about the political thoughts?

a. Political thoughts are merely descriptive approaches to the social and political facts.
b. Political thoughts are normative perspectives.
c. Political thoughts do not aim to find out how things are.
d. Political thoughts attempt to convince us how things ought to be.
e. Concepts and methods constitute the unique pillars of political thoughts.

2 I. Power and authority,

II. The way rulers should act/decide

III. How the system of ruling should be formed, revised or challenged

Which of the followings includes truly issues concerning the politics?

a. Only I
b. I, II, and III
c. II and III
d. I and III
e. Only II

3 Which of the following options is not correct regarding the approaches to the political thoughts?

a. First systematic reflections on both how to govern and organize the society and the effects of particular policies can be traced back to the Ancient Greece.
b. The contributions of the Ancient Chinese political thought shall not to be underestimated.
c. Chinese political thought was based on single-layered absolute legal norms.
d. Political theory depends on the argumentation and reasoned reflection.
e. Hindu political speculation produced influential expressions of commitment to the political order in a rather didactic form.

4 Which of the following cannot be said about the contextual approach?

a. Contextual approach was one of contributions to the study of political ideas and history of political thought in the post-war era.
b. Contextual approach stresses the need to historicize the works of political theory in order to understand the particular historical moment and its impact upon the political thinking.
c. According to the contextual approach the way great philosophers grasp society and the spirit of their own times, the others who address their works, and their sources of influence carry significance only within a contextualized perspective towards the political ideas.
d. Historicism was a strong critic of the contextual approach.
e. According to the contextual approach political target of the philosophers and their wish to change or preserve the social and political order in which they live should be taken into consideration for a better analysis of political thinking.

5 "According to many social scientists and political thinkers, contextualizing great classics and canonical texts of philosophy has led to ignoring the significance of these works and their time-transcending nature. In other words, as it denies significance beyond the time in which these texts had been written, the contextual approach is criticised with closing eyes of the reader to the nature of human beings and perennial questions such as order and justice that are supposed to be independent of time and social circumstances."

Which of the following options expresses the paragraph given above with the purpose of criticising the contextual approach?

a. Empiricists
b. Quentin Skinner
c. Cambridge School
d. Karl Marx
e. Leo Strauss

Test yourself

6 Which of the following options is a concept used for "a critical stance against the common sense conception of 'what the good is' "?

a. Postmodern turn
b. Meta-narrative
c. Discourse
d. Empiricism
e. Historicism

7 Which of the following theorists can be accepted as one of the major proponents of postmodernism?

a. Karl Marx
b. Jean-François Lyotard
c. Leo Strauss
d. Thomas Hobbes
e. Max Weber

8 "In his ideal typical classification delineated three sources of legitimacy. Ideal type approach here does not refer to a "preferred mode" categorisation but rather classification in thought – in abstract."

Which of the following theorists is mentioned in the paragraph above?

a. Karl Marx
b. Jean-François Lyotard
c. Max Weber
d. Thomas Hobbes
e. Leo Strauss

9 Which of the following statements is not true about democracy?

a. Democracy is one of the results of the theories of popular sovereignty.
b. Supremacy of parliament remained at the core of democratic theory.
c. The essential feature of a modern democracy is usually considered as the separation of powers.
d. Democracy is dependent on the charismatic authority.
e. Rule of law forms the basic principle of a functioning democracy.

10 "The term mainly refers to the outcome of the struggle over resource distribution and the way governments address the social-political problems to achieve their goals in political thought. It cannot be limited to immediate responses to crises or temporary solutions to expand electoral base."

Which of the following terms is defined above?

a. Legitimacy
b. State
c. Liberty
d. Justice
e. Policy

1. a	If your answer is incorrect, review "Introduction".	6. a	If your answer is incorrect, review "Postmodern Reading of Political Thought".
2. b	If your answer is incorrect, review "How to Approach to Political Thoughts?"	7. b	If your answer is incorrect, review "Postmodern Reading of Political Thought".
3. c	If your answer is incorrect, review "How to Approach to Political Thoughts?"	8. c	If your answer is incorrect, review "Fundamental Concepts I: Power and Authority".
4. d	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Contextual Approach".	9. d	If your answer is incorrect, review "Fundamental Concepts II: Concepts Concerning Ruling".
5. e	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Contextual Approach".	10. e	If your answer is incorrect, review "Fundamental Concepts IV: Concepts Concerning Public Policy and Civil Society".

Self Review 1

What are the critics of the contextual approach?

Two major criticisms were directed to the contextual approach in narrow sense: One line of critique stemmed from the earlier historical materialist tradition which shared the view on the importance of the social history of ideas. The other criticism was related to the Straussian approach. According to many social scientists and political thinkers, contextualizing great classics and canonical texts of philosophy has led to ignoring the significance of these works and their time-transcending nature. In other words, as it denies significance beyond the time in which these texts had been written, the contextual approach is criticised with closing eyes of the reader to the nature of human beings and perennial questions such as order and justice that are supposed to be independent of time and social circumstances.

Self Review 2

What does the term "power" mean?

Power inevitably refers to the use of force in relational terms. It cannot be limited to political affairs and can even be observed within small groups, between two people as well as between institutions and organizations. The term power actually derived from potestas, which can be translated today as *power over.* When people refer to the capacity to do something, they might also refer to power, but this time it is rather a specific form and based on potentia that can be considered as potential.

Suggested Answers for "Self Review"

What is legitimacy?

Self Review 3

Legitimacy can be defined as rightfulness. It should not be limited to being legal, or in accordance with the laws, despite rightfulness to a great extent stems from the legal framework. In political terms, and in our case, legitimacy requires people's positive perception of the political system and leader. In relational terms, legitimacy requires the people's approval and conceiving the government as rightful to govern.

What is ideology?

Self Review 4

Ideology refers to the production of meanings, symbols, and ideas to be drawn on whilst interpreting various dimensions of the social reality. The interpretation of social reality rests on forms of thought that are not necessarily compatible with each other. Yet again, the apparent incompatibility is not an obstacle against the use of contradictory meanings and symbols by a particular ideology.

What is the civil society?

Self Review 5

Civil society is the sphere in which the self-interest seeking individuals interact and enter into exchange relations. The role of the state should be limited to the provision of security for its citizens and enforcement of the property rights as well as the contracts between individuals and market agents.

What does the term "desert" mean?

Self Review 6

Desert mainly refers to deserving or aspiring something, either good or bad. In line with the term's definition, the desert-centred conception of justice can be roughly considered as a conception of system in which people are entitled only to get what they deserve to. In such an approach to justice, however, what they deserve can be something undesired or desired as an outcome of their action. For a just society, however, better status and better opportunities should not be naturalized as the outcomes of natural endowments.

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Chapter 2

Political Thought in Ancient Greece and Rome

After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

Learning Outcomes

1. Explain the differences of political developments in Sparta and Athens.
2. Explain Plato's political philosophy.
3. Explain the relationship between the general and political philosophy of Aristotle.
4. Analyze the philosophical origins of contractarianism and cosmopolitanism.
5. Analyze the practical contributions of Polybius and Cicero.
6. Explain the political problems and solutions of an imperial state.

Chapter Outline

Introduction

Birth of Political Thought in Polis: Sophists, Socrates, and Cynics

State as A Result of Social Life: Political Thought in Plato

State as The Only Ethical Form of Life: Political Thought in Aristotle

Intermediate Rings Between Greek and Roman Politics

Political Thought of Roman Res Publica: Polybius and Cicero

Imperial Rome

Key Terms

Egalitarianism
Non-Egalitarianism
Contractarianism
Polis
Citizenship
Ethics
Res Publica
Free Will



INTRODUCTION

The rise of the political thought is related to the birth of society and thus the state. This is perhaps one of the least controversial asseverations in the field of political thought due to, not the simply endorsable characteristic of that claim for any social scientist, but the inevitable derivation of what we call as politics from what we call as societal relations. In spite of the fact that early examples of a civilised society and political thought can be observed in Mesopotamia, Egypt as well as India; the birth of the western political thought, which is the most influential one in contemporary era, is usually dated back to the ancient Greece and Rome. In this regard, Greek and Roman philosophers have particular significance for their effects on the modern western political philosophy.

A comprehensive understanding of the western political thought requires a careful reading of the early Greek and Roman tradition in this field. Political institutions in ancient Greece started with the birth of *polis* that is today literally known as *city*. However, *the polis*, beyond various concrete structures, represented a particular social organization where a vivid and secure atmosphere for social, political, and cultural opportunities as well as discussions about them were being provided to residents. In polis, Sophists, Socrates, and Cynics were the early scholars, who theorized their ages. Plato and Aristotle, whose names frequently appear in many branches of social sciences, were also influential figures of early political thought of the western tradition. They developed their political understanding in a fluctuant society where ideas and contending discussions are quite vibrant. Although ancient democracy was seen as a role model for modern democracies, Greek "democracy" was not a fully-desirable regime for such early philosophers. They expressed their discontent in many different sources and discussed how a better society and governing method can possibly flourish. In doing so, Plato developed a state theory that arose from the social life of *polis* whereas Aristotle offered an ethical form of life.

One of the most influential and well-known discussions of political thought, namely the social contractarian philosophy, became very famous at the beginning of the modernity, hundreds of years later than ancient times. The origin of the social contraction philosophy, however, can be found in ancient Greece. To illustrate, Epicurus, an influential figure of the political thought in ancient times, offered a contractarian state theory. Following this, Stoicist, a branch of Hellenistic school in ancient political philosophy, came in sight and developed a theory of state as empire.

Roman history has several phases. Among these phases, the most important ones in terms of the development of the political thought are the republican Rome and the imperial Rome. Although the actual theoretical contributions of scholars of these eras are limited, practical implementations and solutions of their contributions can be seen as another step in political thought. Contributions of Polybius and Cicero, for example, underpinned the idea of republican Rome, while Seneca's contributions maintained the idea of the empire. Last but not least, the ring that connects the antiquity to Christianity is also important for a comprehensive understanding of the development in political thought. Saint Augustine can be recognized as the last caesura before the *allegedly* dark mediaeval ages.

Political thought illustrates a long journey of humanity. Now, at the beginning of this part of the book, we are on the first phase of this journey without which there is no possibility to reach a comprehensive understanding of the existing dominant political ideas of nowadays.

BIRTH OF POLITICAL THOUGHT IN POLIS: SOPHISTS, SOCRATES, AND CYNICS

Ancient Greek civilization is well-known for its specific political, social, economic, and cultural habitat that is known as "polis". *Polis* is both the name of a social milieu and its political institution. This in fact underlines an important initial point that political administration is not something detached from the social life. On the contrary, it is an indispensable part of it in ancient Greece.

The members of the *Polis*, in other words city-state, consist of *polites*, namely the citizens; and the citizens of the *polis* consist of free Greek men among which foreigners, women, and slaves are not included (Eco, 2017, p. 61).

Important

The citizenship status was not given to those who were foreigners, women, and slaves in ancient polis of Greece.

Considering existing archival information, it is not possible to specify a precise date for the birth of the *polis*. We already know that there were settlements on the Greek geography starting from the 2nd Millennium B.C. On the other hand, *polis*, as a social settlement with its ideological and political institutions, appears at the 5th Century B.C., at the middle of the classical age. The very early discussions on *polis* can be traced back to the *Odysseus* and *Iliad* of Homer. In Iliad, -indeed it is a story, which appears in the 8th Century B.C.- *Troia* is described as a classical Greek city-state. It has city walls, *portcullis* and *agora* that is public square or market-place. But, of course, the city-state was something beyond these concrete elements. When the primitive agricultural economy started to transform from collective ownership to the individual ownership of lands by the chiefs of small tribes, stratification of the society between the *aristocrats* and others was an inevitable outcome. Farmers, who lost their lands, started to gather around the centres that have specific market-places. These were counted as the core of cities. Thus, *polis* was an output of economic and social division of labour and stratification within the society.

Homer

Homer is the name ascribed by the ancient Greeks to the legendary author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* that are two epic poems which are the central works of ancient Greek literature. The Iliad is set during the Trojan War, the ten-year siege of the city of Troy by a coalition of Greek Kingdoms. It focuses on a quarrel between King Agamemnon and the warrior Achilles lasting a few weeks during the last year of the war. The Odyssey focuses on the journey to home of Odysseus, the King of Ithaca, after the fall of Troy.

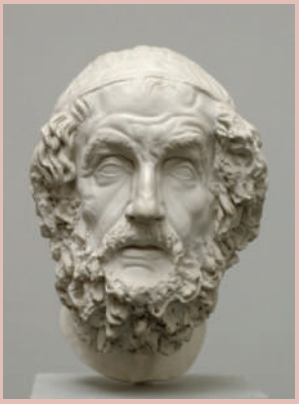


Figure 2.1 Homer

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Homeros_Naples_5113_copy_MFA_Munich.jpg

Polis was a stratified organization of the society around an *agora* included a *gymnasium*, an institute for education, and an *amphitheatre*, also an institute for education but also for ideological and cultural re-production of the society. *Agora*, *gymnasium*, and *theatre* all together were institutions of ideological re-production of the society since they served for helping people to realise that they lived in a *society*. Indeed, the ancient Greek was described by its *oikos* that is a household. *Oikos* was the smallest unit of the society. Even the beliefs of the people were shaped according to their *oikos*. They all had their own Gods. Religion, like the society itself, was not institutionalised at that time. Economy, through several social institutions, contributed to the institutionalisation of the society. The Gods of *oikos* constitute of a tribe of Gods, living on the top of the mount of *Olympus*, and presenting the similar features with the people and their society. The stories about the "social life" of the Gods are called *myths*. Therefore, *mythology* is the collection of these *myths* and associated with the beliefs of society. As can be understood, there was an organized society in *polis* which arose form of a structured economy and with its own institutions, such as education, religion, family, and so forth.

Important

Resemblances of the mythological Greek Gods to the human-being is a commonly portrayed issue of popular culture today. Terminologically, this resemblance is given the name of anthropomorphism.

Institutionalisation of the politics arose upon social and political struggles within the *polis*. Indeed, the term *politics* originally means "related to the *polis*". Since there was an organized society, the process of decision-making for the sake of this organization was called as *politics*. So, the purpose of politics was about the questions such as "how the decisions related to the common good of the society must be taken?", "who decides what common good for the society is and how people shall behave within a society?", "how these decision-makers take these decisions?" Thus, we see that although modern politics seems to be determined as a separate professional field of knowledge and occupation, for the ancient Greeks, the questions above were the common ones that had to be engaged in by each citizen.

Political and Social Developments in Ancient Polis of Sparta and Athens

As we look at the institutionalisation of politics within ancient Greece, we notice that there were two stereotypes that illustrated the institutionalisation, namely *Sparta* and *Athens*. *Sparta* was a city on the south of Peloponnesus peninsula and consists of few villages. Since the *Laconia* region, where Sparta settled in, had very productive lands but no seaport access, main economical facility was based on farming. The ownership of the land was collective. The warrior *Doric* tribes appropriated not only the lands but also the people living on these lands as they occupied a village or settlement. Thus, slavery was one of the main features of the economy in Sparta. Political system of the Sparta was based on a simple arrangement. Chiefs of the two main tribes of the Sparta were the kings known as *arghagetes* of the *polis*. They were honourable, *albeit* lack of power. During the peacetime, they were only entitled to the power of settling down disagreements, taking part in the meetings of *Gerousia*, a council of the elders, and fulfilling certain religious duties. But, during the war time and outside of the Sparta, they were accepted as the commander of the army and entitled with almost a limitless power. In addition to the *arghagetes* and *Gerousia*, another political institution was *Apella*, something similar to the popular assembly. The drafts, prepared by *Gerousia* were approved by *Apella*. The members of the *Apella* were Spartans who were over thirty-years old and they were not allowed to debate about the drafts. But, they were exclusively entitled to approve or deny the drafts discussed. The last political institution was *ephoros* who were controllers of the five villages of the Sparta (Ağaoğulları, 2011, p. 31).

Social stratification was based on three strata; Spartans or *spartiats*, *perioikos*, and *helots* (Ağaoğulları, 2011, p. 31). Spartans were the dominant class. They were the only social group, who can be a member of *Apella*. They were soldiers and did not take part in the productive activities of the society. Since the community was based on collective ownership, they were not named as "landlords". But, they were given lands (*Kleros*) for which they had right of disposition. The people living on these lands were also given to Spartans. The stratum of *Perioikos* was more crowded than the stratum composed by Spartans. They were living at the outside lands of Sparta. They were entitled to hold their own lands but had to pay a fee for that. They did not have a political right for joining in administrative duties of the state. They were sometimes used as soldiers, but as a separate unit of army from the Spartans. Lastly, *helots* were the most crowded stratum of the population. They were tied to the land on which they were living in. Therefore, they were the productive groups for the society and responsible with producing the goods for the consumption of Sparta. The conditions in which they lived were harsh, and sometimes unbearable, and they were often oppressed by the Spartans who were the most privileged stratum as mentioned above. An important point to make is that a sequence of uprisings of the *helots* influenced the administrative and social structure of the Spartan community to a certain extent. Certain regulations were applied in order to protect the main structure

of Spartan society. The *polis* of Sparta became more closed and martial in time thanks to the various regulations in order to prevent uprisings of *helots*.

Against to the closed, disciplined society and agricultural economy of Sparta, the *polis* of Athens, on the other hand, represented a trade-based economy and a developed cultural-political social life. The *Attika* peninsula was an infertile region, but had a seaport access. Thus, the civilisation of the region was bound on the sea and commerce.

> **Important**
>
> There were three strata in Sparta: spartiats, perioikos, and helots.

Free population of Athens had four strata: *Eupatrides*, *geomores*, *demiurgus*, and *thetes* – the nobles, small farmers, craftsmen, and poor peasants, respectively (Ağaoğulları, 2011, p. 36). Both inter-class and intra-class struggles between these groups had led to different types of administrations such as *Aristocracy*, *oligarchy*, *plutocracy*, and *democracy*. Contrary to the Sparta, political debates and competition were very vivid in Athens and participants were also large in numbers. The reason behind the prosperous philosophical and political tradition of the ancient Greece is demonstrated in association with this background that someway illustrates a form of what we call today as democracy.

The term democracy comes from the words *deme* and *demos*. Deme was the term that referred to a particular location similar to a neighbourhood. Organization and political representation of the citizens were based on demes. According to Ağaoğulları,

> *"Tribes were divided into sub-districts called deme or demos. There were supposed to be at most 174 demes that were indeed local units of the administration, and they formed the foundation of Athens' political society. Citizens were organised in demes; each deme had its own assembly and judiciary. The lists of the citizens were recorded by the president of deme known as demarkhos. Citizenship of the polis of Athens was related to citizenship rights that were decided in the demes. Thus citizens used the name of their demes, instead of old tribes, clans, or families, as their surnames" (Ağaoğulları, 2009, p. 38).*

Deriving from this historical background, democracy can be specified as a term that emphasizes the power of *demos*. In democracy, *demos*, such as the people, has the power of governing the state. Greek democracy was shaped through the internal and external conflicts. Internal conflicts were results of class relations of the Greek society. We already discussed about the class positions of several sects in society. It can be noticed that the Greek society was very conscious about the social affairs. Even the members of the lowest social stratum were aware of their rights. Thus, when oppression was felt by one of the sects and the sect claimed upon its rights against to the others, enormous political consequences were usually witnessed. The Greek society was very fluctuant in terms of these kinds of internal conflicts. External conflicts were mostly results of the Persian attacks. The Persian Empire was actually the greatest rivalry of Greece during the ancient times. In the 5th Century B.C., there were two great attacks of the Persians toward Greek peninsula. Both attacks were repelled by Greeks through solidarity with Spartans. Although Greek society had internal conflicts (between and within several *polis*es), they found a way to unite and had a chance for resisting against to the Persian occupation.

Persian wars had important positive and negative effects on the development of the Greek democracy. Surprisingly, while a minor group deepened its ruling powers, the lower classes had a chance for participating in political life. The war demonstrated the necessity of powerful and talented governors. But also, the need of citizens' participation in defending the country had a consequence of including them in political issues of the polis.

From the Order of the Cosmos to the Order of the Social: Sophists

The early philosophy of the ancient Greece was called as "philosophy of nature". These philosophers were considered as early "scientists" who were attempting to deal with the laws and the order of the nature. The first philosophers were those who speculated on natural events. They aimed to explain the principles of the order of *cosmos* and to understand the order of society. Thus, while some philosophers, such as Pythagoras from the *Elea* school, sought the order in mathematical

principles, some others, such as the material monist like Thales, Anaximenes, Anaximender, found it in some material elements, such as earth, water, air, or fire. Although the latter group of philosophers was materialist rather than idealist, they were called as "abstract materialists". Finally, there were also some philosophers, such as Democritus and Epicurus, who tried to understand the transformation of the universe and the movement of *cosmos*. These early investigations only partly aimed to deal with the social life.

Important

The transformation from the "philosophy of nature" to "philosophy of society" started with Sophists who were (A brief identification of who the sophists were should be given here)

The first *social philosophical* school of the ancient Greece was *Sophists*. Since the term sophist also meant "quibbler", it has been said that philosophers of nature underestimated the sophists due to their name and philosophy. Indeed, they were laying the foundations of social sciences. By them, the main theme of Greek thoughts, rather than being the order of universe, began to be problematic for humanity and society. While the Persian wars caused the participation of masses in social affairs, new ideas were required in order to explain and describe the new socio-political order. But also, for the first time in history we know, masses were interested in philosophical thoughts in order to be an active participant of politics. Thus, sophists became active in mainly Athens where daily political life was quite vivacious. The reasons for the birth of sophist thought in Athens, then, can be associated with three factors:

1. A relatively liberal atmosphere, which was the result of development of democracy
2. An interest in explaining the transformation of society
3. The need of mass for social knowledge in order to take an active role in politics.

When an interest for politics emerges, it can never be limited only with politics. Following the politics; economy, education, arts, and ethics became attractive issues of public debates in ancient Greek life. This was a search for the rules of all aspects of social life. Once the rules were discovered, the form of the application of the rules in society was another main theme. Before such understanding, behaviours of people in social life were mostly derived from the traditional customary rules called *thesmoi*. But then, the man-made rules, *nomoi*, became prevalent. During the period of philosophers of nature, the main subject was the rules of the nature or *cosmos*, that is to say *physis*; but then, main subject turned to the rules of society or *polis*, that is to say *nomos*.

Not only the object and the content, but also methods of investigation changed with *Sophists*. Previously, methodological understanding of philosophers of nature was based on the method of deduction. When a philosopher decided on the founder principle of the *cosmos*, henceforth, he was searching for the particular phenomenon which was in accordance with the abstract principle. *Sophists* started to collect particular observations and phenomena. They were accepted as the early *Encyclopaedists* and so-called "walking libraries" (Copleston, 2009, s. 76). They achieved to reach some factual and practical conclusions through these particular observations. Thus, the methodology of the Sophists was inductive.

One of the main separations of *Sophists* from the traditional Greek philosophy was the aim of their investigation. Till to *Sophists*, the Greek philosophy was a search for the objective reality. However, the aim of the *Sophists* was not contemplative, but practical. Hence, they became an educational movement in Greek *polis*. They were teaching the art of life and how to control it to the youth. Lectures given by several sophists included grammar, commentaries of poets, mythology, philosophy of religion, and rhetoric. These were also the themes that an ordinary Greek citizen needed to participate in the socio-political life.

Important

The aim of the Sophist investigation was to foresee the needs of Greek citizens and additionally to educate the youth about the art of life, practically.

In summary, it can be said that *Sophists* were lecturers, who earned their life through teaching rhetoric or politics and "the trappings of culture".

Serving also to the youth of nobles in Athens, Sophists provided them a significant advantage to be successful in politics and social life. However, they were criticised for giving lecture for earning and inciting the youth against to the conventional rules of society.

The Founder of the Non-Egalitarian Philosophy, Socrates and His Egalitarian Successors, Cynics

The first celebrity of Greek philosophers, obviously, is *Socrates* who gained his fame through help of his students, namely through Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle. Unfortunately, each of these philosophers presents a different picture of Socrates. According to Xenophon, Socrates was seeking nothing more than being a good human as well as a citizen. He was not interested in dealing with logic or metaphysics. On the other hand, the portrait of Socrates, as presented by Plato, was a high-level metaphysician and founder of the transcendental philosophy. Aristotle also presented Socrates as a philosopher dealing with theoretical issues, but not in a manner that Plato offers.

Socrates was an admirer of knowledge and wisdom. According to him, everyday life of society should not be governed by ordinary citizens, who do not have adequate wisdom and knowledge. Related to this view, he was an opponent to the idea of democracy and the government of people. After meeting with Pythagorasists, he cleared his mind for the government of wise men.

His way of sharing his own knowledge is known as the "Socratic method" that was, briefly saying, launching a dialogue with someone and only asking questions to that person. He was demonstrating various contradictions of them just by steering them to answer his questions. Those dialogues were entertaining activities; thus he gained a number of audiences and followers. These followers were usually children and youths of the nobles. His popularity within the youth disturbed the powerful rulers who were counterpart of the Socratic dialogues. In 399 B.C. due to the accusation of perverting the youth, turning them into persons unrespectable to the Gods of Athens, and fabricating new Gods, he was sentenced to death by the People's Court. His defence in the court is today known as the beginning of the legal philosophy.

Socrates was also known for his modest life style. His way of appearing in public and his personality were miles away from being noble. But still, his political views were against to the idea of democracy and thus to the Sophists who were accepted as the supporters of democratic politicians. Instead of the idea of democracy, Socrates believed in the governance of a wise minority.

According to him, the harm of the democracy was resulting from the people's personalities. People were pursuing their individual interests and those who govern could lead the system of democracy to become a way of allowing them to pursue their own interests instead of that of the public. Not only their personalities but also their abilities and skills to govern could be absent. The main problem with the Athens' society was lack of "virtue" that was identified as the ability of distinguishing the good from the bad and the right from the wrong. Thus, virtue was a form of knowledge. Since it was a form of knowledge, then it could be achieved by everybody. But, this was not the conclusion that Socrates arrived. He defended that some people were apt to have virtue and some not. According to Socrates, those who are given the power of ruling must have been the most virtuous citizens. However, in Athenian democracy, many officers were elected only by ballots. This was unacceptable for Socrates since in searching for an experienced master, even for the least important daily issues, it was not right to be ruled by those who got their office only by chance. However, a detail should be pointed out here that the difference between an aristocratic fashion of governing and Socratic view of eligibility of governing is about "virtue". While in the former one, right to govern others is given by birth, it is gained by virtue in the Socratic view. Some of his followers, namely Plato, took these views further, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Looking at the successors of Socrates, we can see an important ancient school of political thought that is usually pointed out

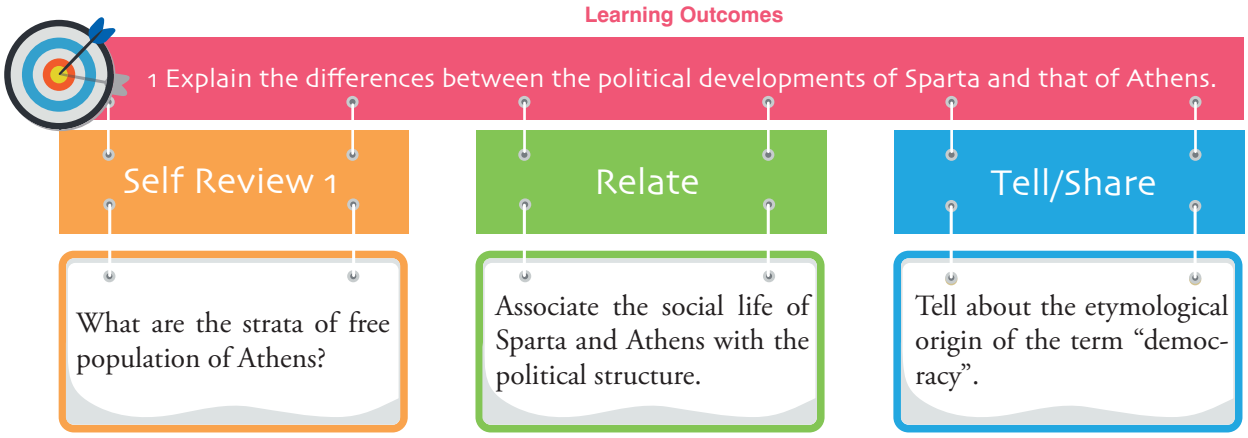
Important

According to Socrates, virtue was a form of knowledge and thus something that could be taught to people. Only the virtues citizens should hold is the power of ruling.

as one of the oldest versions of egalitarianism: Cynicism. The word cynic, in fact, is from an ancient word used to imply dog. Cynics' primitive life style was resembled to life of a dog and, therefore, the name of "cynic" was given them by their political opponents. Cynicism was a reactive movement against to the highly non-egalitarian society. The members of the movement were the lowest part of the society who was supported by the foreigners and exiles who were not given a right to citizenship. However, their egalitarian reaction to stratified society was not considerably successful in spreading among the poor.

Cynics were a group that pursued happiness and, according to them, only virtuous people could be happy. Socrates was a good example for that. He was living simply and only trying to be virtuous, nothing else. Beauty, wisdom, glory, fame, richness, and so forth would not bring happiness. The only thing that would bring happiness and open the door for virtue for human beings was being away from passions, complicated needs, fame, and richness. Thus, a free and happy person could achieve to stay away from politics (Copleston, 2009, p. 110).

It can be noticed that this philosophy had nothing to do with society. It was a kind of internal transcendentalism and a form of monkhood. However, it is still a crucial cornerstone in terms of development of the modern egalitarian political thoughts. This is because of the fact that human beings first time in the course of human history demonstrated a collective uprising with the Cynics achievement of raising awareness against to the non-egalitarian life style.



STATE AS A RESULT OF SOCIAL LIFE: POLITICAL THOUGHT IN PLATO

Plato was one of the followers of Socrates. Plato systematized Socrates' view of the rule of virtuous wise man. He broadened his political understanding to the general philosophy. "The political theory was, for Plato, the major consequence of that central human activity -the contemplation of the foundations of the ethical life- to be carried out by the philosopher" (Coleman, 2000, p. 68).

Plato was from an aristocratic family whose roots were believed to lie down to the God Poseidon. He was a successful Olympic sports player and also a poet. When he met with Socrates, he gave up sports and poem. He devoted his entire career to pursue of a good governance for Greece. But instead of going into politics, in 390 B.C. –when he was thirty-seven-, went to a trip for South Italy and Egypt. He also went to Syracuse based on the invitation of the King.

He was the founder of *Academia* -the first academic institution of Europe-, where he taught his philosophy and political views. The institution was sponsored by some rich friends of Plato himself. He had two options for the salvation of Greece: Either the philosopher should be the king or the king should be a philosopher. It has been said that he was waiting for an invitation for the governance of Athens. It is supposed that Plato had at least thirty dialogues, in which mostly Socrates appeared as the main character. Among these we can point out Apology, Charmides, Crito, Euthydemus, Euthyphro, Gorgias, Hippias Major, Hippias Minor, Ion, Laches, Lysis, Protagoras, Republic Bk. I., Cratylus, Menexenus,

Meno Phaedo, Republic Bks. II-X, Symposium, Parmenides, Theaetetus, Phaedrus Sophist, Statesman, Philebus, Timaeus, Critias, and Laws. Republic (*Politeia*), Statesman (*Politikos*), and Laws (*Nomoi*) were his most important dialogues to understand his legacy in the political philosophy.

Plato's general philosophy can be considered as an introduction for his political thoughts. It always should be kept in mind that the Platonic philosophy is based on a non-egalitarian belief. His philosophy usually starts with underlining the importance of reason (*logos*). Therefore, he splits the being into object (material) and idea (thought). The human being has material and ideal sides. The ideal side should govern the material side, namely the body. However, since some has little *logos*, the body tries to govern everything and the result would be a disaster. These people shall not govern the society, since they cannot even govern themselves. Thus, the society should be ruled by wisdoms, philosophers. As being parallel to splitting the being into two sides, Plato also accepts two universes: The universe of objects, which is perceived through senses; and the universe of ideas, which is comprehended through the reason. The real universe is the universe of ideas; the former one is only a copy or shadow of it. Thus, the real knowledge is about the ideas. Each being has only one idea in the universe of ideas; and not only ideas that are conceptions of objects, but also the ideas that have no objects, such as justice, love, and the good take place in the universe of ideas.

Plato's conception seems *dualist* and *idealist*. It distinguishes material and spiritual worlds, so it is dualist; and considers the spiritual world as superior, so it is in this sense idealist. The human spirit achieves the knowledge of the ideas when it is living in the universe of ideas. When it is materialized in a human body, human beings sometimes remember the knowledge from the universe of ideas. Thus, knowledge turns into the action of remembering. The true knowledge of universe of ideas, which is achieved through reason, is *episteme*; and the knowledge of universe of objects, which is achieved through sense, is *doxa*. We, human beings, are required to establish the order of the universe of ideas within the universe of objects. This is the main aim of Plato's political philosophy. Indeed, according to him, the republic, good society, good human or good citizen have no differences from each other. A good human is only a good citizen; and a good citizen is the consequence of good society, which is the result of the good state (republic). There is not any difference between the individual and public lives of the humans.

For Plato, republic (state) was not something that the Sophists defended; it was not contractual or artificial. Republic was natural, as the public itself. Since human beings were incapable of living by themselves, society and the state were natural beings. But, forms of societies and states were up to wills and conditions of humans. On the other hand, social life requires a division of labour. This division of labour does not mean a completely segregated society. Indeed, the society is portrayed as an *organism*. Thus, each elements of this organism, according to Plato, has their own functions. Upon this organisational understanding, an ideal state is based on a stratified society, which has three occupational sections. These sections are production, protection, and administration. These are also three different classes of the society, namely producers, protectors, and administrators. They all have different features and virtues. Accordingly, the first one, namely the producers, is the lowest part of the society. They look for material satisfaction. The virtue that corresponds to them would be moderation. They would be accepted as virtuous, if they are sufficiently moderate. The second main group, namely the protectors, has noble wills. They pursue fame, admiration, and honour. The virtue that corresponds to them would be bravery. The last group, namely the administrators, is hierarchically on the top of the society. They represent the logic and reasoning. Thus, they pursue for knowledge and wisdom. Their virtue is wisdom. They are philosophers identified as the one who loves knowledge. So, there are not only three occupational classes but also three virtues for an ideal society: Moderation, bravery, and wisdom. But Plato adds a fourth one, which influences the relationship of these three classes; this is justice. A state is just as long as all classes fulfil their duties. Justice occurs if all other three virtues occur simultaneously in a society.

Important

According to Plato, public and republic were both natural beings, rather than being artificial or contractual. But their forms were depended on people's will.

The scheme presented by Plato portrays a static societal structure. Indeed, he was aware of the fact that ordinary states cannot achieve all these virtues and thus turn into a just organisation. It has to be kept in mind that this is a scheme for the ideal state. Thus, a state would be classified according to its distance to this ideal type. In addition to this, Plato draws a very detailed picture of educational system, in which protectors or the soldiers are educated and trained. This is a very authoritarian type of education. Even the games and songs of children are determined by the state in this form of education.

Interestingly, Plato was an egalitarian on gender issue. Indeed, he was against to the marriage. He argued that especially the top two classes of the society would be negatively affected by the family issues. Thus, except the producers, members of the top two classes of the society shall not be married. Plato prescribes an equal education for the boys and girls of protector class. According to him, the women of the protector class could also be warriors. The life of protector class, as described by Plato, was communitarian. They were not allowed to have private property. They were supposed to live in common houses and have their dinner altogether. Plato believed that there were two disturbances for wise men: Richness and poorness. Thus, protectors were not allowed to become rich or poor.

Administrators were culled among the youth of protectors. They were educated in philosophy as well as other social arts and examined several times. At the end, only the very best of this group would become the philosopher-administrators and the top would be the philosopher-king/queen. They were considered as semi-Gods by Plato. They were usually supposed to have a noble or aristocratic family.

As it is understood, equality was not a virtue for the society. But of course, for Plato, it was hard to confess that inequality was virtuous. Indeed, he distinguished two types of equality: General equality and proportional equality. General equality accepts no difference between the citizens. Since they are citizens they are supposed to be equal. The true equality, however, is the proportional that stipulates the ability for the equality. Thus, each citizen has rights and duties according to his abilities.

As mentioned before, there was a state idea at the world of ideas. The actual state was only degenerated images. Historically, all states were non-ideal states. Each has advantages and disadvantages. But as a general rule, it can be said that types of governments reflect a kind of circuit, from good to bad and from happiness to unhappiness. It starts from *patriarchy*, which is mentioned only once by Plato and due to conditions, it is impossible to return to the patriarchal period. In patriarchy, the power belongs to the leader of the tribe or clan. Since it has a very high ethical level, patriarchy is the closest for the ideal state. Then, *monarchy* and *aristocracy* come to the agenda. The tribes have different traditions, and morality. When they unite and construct a new society, they need to have new rules or law. The leaders of the tribes form an administrative committee. Thus, society is governed by a group of leaders. Both monarchy and aristocracy are legitimized by Plato. The degenerated types start with *timocracy*. Instead of prioritizing wisdom of monarch or aristocrats, if an inutile fame and celebrity are minded, a group of warriors can capture the power. Since only fame is prioritised, this group would only pursue for more and more fame and richness; and when the richness start to rule, the *oligarchy* occurs. These two were degenerated forms of aristocracy in Plato's thought. On the other hand, when the poor population triumphs over rich, it is called as *democracy*. Democracy is the rule of majority and since aristocracy is the minority in society, the ordinary people compose the majority against to them. Democracy, however, is a chaotic atmosphere, for Plato; rather than being an order. Although it can represent generally equal ones, the proportional democracy is a regime of inequality. Excessiveness ends with a strong reaction. The rule of majority disturbs the aristocracy and in order to re-establish aristocratic regime they elect a strong and rigid member who cruelly penalise oppositional behaviours. The rule of this unmerciful man is called tyranny. According to circular understanding of Plato, *tyranny* is supposed to be followed by monarchy or aristocracy.

It has to be kept in mind that ideal state of Plato is not a historical one. It has not become concrete



Plato was not favourable for democracy. He accepted democracy as a degenerated form and chaotic way of rule.

in any period of history. It is timeless. Four elements affect the degeneration of the states: disappearance of internal harmony of society, violation of division of labour within the society, emergence of economical class conflicts, and finally, moral corruption and destruction of unity of the rulers.

Learning Outcomes

2 Explain Plato's political philosophy.

Self Review 2	Relate	Tell/Share
What is the difference of Sophists' and Plato's conceptions of state?	Associate political philosophy of Plato with that of Socrates.	Tell about the types of equality in Plato's thought.

STATE AS THE ONLY ETHICAL FORM OF LIFE: POLITICAL THOUGHT IN ARISTOTLE

Aristotle was a follower and student of Plato. However, he followed a different methodological path. Instead of emphasizing a dualist world order, idealism and *episteme*; he rather preferred to follow an empiricist methodology (Coleman, 2000, pp. 120-1). He constructed his philosophy on experimental and observational conclusions. Still, politically, he followed Socrates and Plato. According to him, politics was a supreme activity, related to virtue, and the good of polis, general interest, was the supreme aim of individual life.

Aristotle was interested in natural sciences from early period of his youth. When he was seventeen he travelled to Athens in order to attend to the *Academia* of Plato. Since he was not a son of citizen of Athens, his statue was *metoikos*. After the death of Plato, Aristotle left the *Academia* and Athens to move to the place known today as Assos. He stayed there till the end of kingdom of his fellow friend. Following this, he turned to live in Mytilene for a while. By the invitation of the Macedonian King Philip II, he went to Macedonia and trained the young Alexander the Great. This brings to mind the influence of Aristotle on the politics of Alexander. After the death of Philip II, he returned to Athens and established a new educational institution, known as *Lyceum*.

Alexander the Great

Alexander III of Macedon, known as *Alexander the Great*, was a king (*basileus*) of the ancient Greek Kingdom of Macedon and a member of the *Argead* dynasty. He was born in Pella and succeeded his father Philip II to the throne at the age of twenty. He spent most of his ruling years on an unprecedented military campaign through Asia and northeast Africa, and he created one of the largest empires of the ancient world by the age of thirty, stretching from Greece to Northwest India. He was undefeated in battle and widely considered one of the most successful military commanders of history.



Figure 2.2 Alexander the Great (356 B.C. - 323 B.C.)

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_the_Great

Aristotle reversed the order of ideal and material worlds of Plato. It was difficult for Plato to explain the objective world just by referring to ideas and considering the objects as the shadows of ideas. Aristotle tried to find out a way of explaining facts about the objective world. This is what we call today as *logic*. In fact, the word *logica* was used by Roman philosophers. Aristotle called this part of his philosophy as *Analytics*. Instead of separating the idea and the object -or the *form* and the substance, by his conception-, he insisted on the view that included the form in the substance of an object. That is to say that the form –or *idea*- was not a conception of another world or external to the object, but was covered by the object; even the form was the substance of the object (Coleman, 2000, p. 128, ff).

Aristotle classified the sciences under three categories: Productive, practical, and theoretical sciences. Productive sciences are similar to agricultural science and engineering that are not, nevertheless, sufficiently explained by Aristotle. Theoretical sciences are ones aiming to achieve only knowledge. Physics, natural sciences, mathematics, metaphysics, or theoretical philosophy are examples of this form of science. Practical sciences are normative disciplines by which people know how to behave. Politics or ethics are practical sciences. *Logic* is not classified under one of the categories mentioned by Aristotle since, according to him, logic is not a form of science but it provides rules for argumentation. Thus, *logic* is a tool for scientific inquiry. Parallel to this view of him, Aristotle's works were collected under the title of *Organon* (tool, instrument) by his students.

The true knowledge is achieved through deducing the knowledge of the particular from the universal. This deduction is conducted by observation and follows as: All humans are mortal. Socrates is human. Therefore, Socrates is mortal.

According to Aristotle, the structure of the being cannot be understood just by considering the external appearance. Rather, internal relations and connections should be revealed and the substance or cause of the being must be comprehended metaphysically. True being is the substance that developed in the phenomenon. In other words, each phenomenon is the formation in which the substance reveals itself. Formation is the relationship between the material (*hyle*) and form (*eidos*). These are the two elements of being: material and form. *Here* form refers to more than a shape. Indeed, it is a non-material or spiritual element for Aristotle. It is like the idea of Plato. But contrary to *idea*, *form* has to appear with a material (with two exceptions of God and the human reason –these two appear only as forms, they are beings without materials).

Since the formation can be understood as a material form gaining process, we can comprehend a formation through influencing factors: material causes, formal causes, effective causes, and target-oriented causes. Aristotle said that target-oriented (teleological) causes were the ones that provide a competent form to the formation. Thus, if we reveal the targets of formations, then we can achieve a true comprehension. That is to say, in order to understand the things, one should consider the form, rather than the material. For instance, target of an acorn is to be an oak tree.

It is observable that Aristotle's investigation was twofold: The true knowledge is produced through deduction but at the same time a scientific research must be inductive.

Politics and ethics were classified under practical sciences, above. According to Aristotle, politics was on the top of the other sciences and it was very inclusive; because in a city-state, the "final decision" was given through politics. The aim of the politics was to achieve the best for humans. The best for citizens is the best for the city-state. The aim of the ethics was to determine what is good for humans and society. Thus, politics and ethics were interrelated.

Important

According to Aristotle, politics was a practical science and its aim was to achieve the best for humans.

What can be the supreme target for human being? The answer was obvious for Aristotle: Happiness. But what was happiness then? The cause of happiness was neither pleasure nor pride. Again, Aristotle returns to the conception of good. Happiness was described as "being good", by Aristotle. Here the conception of good includes two pre-requirements:

a. the good should be an end in itself, it is not a mean to do and be something else,

b. the good should be self-contained, if pursued, it must be the thing which makes life worth living.

Ethics is a practical science, for Aristotle. This emphasises one of the deviations of Aristotle from the Socratic philosophy. According to Socrates -and to Plato, also- knowledge was the wisdom. But for Aristotle, knowledge was not adequate for wisdom. One does not only need to know what is good, right, or true; but also must imply it or behave accordingly. So, being virtuous means, to know what is good and to do what is revealed as good. One can prefer to behave in a bad manner; even he knows what is good. Now with Aristotle we know that virtue is a practical, ethical issue.

The initial precondition of ethical life, that is to say being happy, is acting virtuously. A virtuous act can be comprehended by reason. The reason looks for the moderate action. Thus, acting moderately or temperately, where moderate and temperate are revealed by the reason, leads to ethical life.

Human behaviours, a good life, and happiness of the citizens form the subjects of politics or political science. As mentioned before, political science is the most comprehensive one, because politics is related to all other activities within a *polis*. The end of political society –or the state- is the supreme common good or the biggest happiness of biggest number of people. Than state was an ethical apparatus for Aristotle.

State is independent from the individuals, families, or groups that form it. State is a natural and living entity. Let's think about the relationship between the acorn and oak tree. The target of the acorn was to give birth to the oak tree. Thus the form –the concept, or idea, or substance- of the oak tree was to predate the acorn. The relationship between the individuals and society or state was the same. Human is a political animal. And human is the only animal that constructs *polis* because within the animals only human beings can share their ideas about common good and values. Thus ethics and politics were interlaced. State was an ethical organism.

According to Aristotle, there were three domination-submission relationships within a family: Between the father and the son, between the husband and the wife, and between the master and the slave. These kinds coincide to different governmental types. Thus all of them were accepted as natural.

Contrary to Plato, Aristotle does not foresee an ideal state type, unique for every time and population. Since the common good could change for different societies, the governmental type could also be changed. The distribution of the powers within a society determines these types. Aristotle argues that there are three powers or factors for the political society: 1) Is the society handling the problems collectively? 2) What are the entitlements, limitations, and numbers of several duties or authorities? 3) How can they achieve a judicial decision? The answers of these questions, in fact, point out the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the modern states.



Important

Aristotle was not a universalist. According to him, as the common good changes the governmental type changes too.

Aristotle classified the governmental types on two dimensions: The first dimension was the rightness and aim of the states. According to this measure, states were classified as being right or wrong. The second dimension was the number of people who possesses the power. There can be only one single person, there can be a minority, or there can be a majority. Thus there occur six different types: The *right* single person, or minority, or majority regimes and the *wrong* single person, or minority, or majority regimes. These types can be listed as follows (Coleman, 2000, p. 214):

- The government of a single person who aims the common good: *Monarchy*
- The government of a minority group who aims the common good: *Aristocracy*
- The government of the majority of the people which aims the common good: *Politeia*
- The government of a single person who targets the interests of single person: *Tyranny*
- The government of a minority group who aims the interests of the rich: *Oligarchy*
- The government of the majority of the people aiming the interests of the poor: *Democracy*

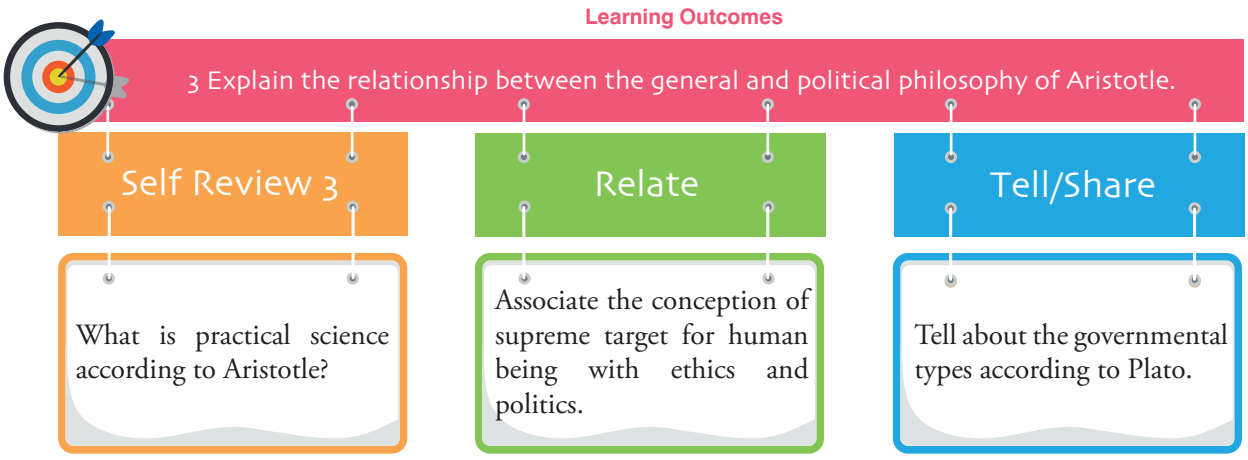
Aristotle explicitly sided with monarchy and aristocracy. In his book, *Nicomachean Ethics*, he accepted monarchy as the best regime. But then in *Politics* he said aristocracy was more preferable than the monarchy. According to Aristotle, the worst regime was tyranny. Free people would not accept tyranny, thus a tyrant must only bear on physical vulgar power.

For Aristotle, stability of the regimes should be ensured. He was against to the revolutionary movements. He considered revolutions as a disease. Then, the disease should be cured. There were several reasons for revolutions:

- Inequalities
- Drives for profit and dignity
- Cruelty, excessive force application of the ruler
- Improvidence of rulers
- Conflicts of different races or nations, who did not learn how to live together
- Minor issues, such as personal disagreements and etc.
- Empowerment of the ruler
- Lack of middle-classes; that is to say, economically a highly polarized society
- External interventions

The cure for the revolutions becomes obvious within this framework for Aristotle: Ensuring equality, educating people in order to act within the constitutional limits, sharing the power if possible, alarming the good citizens about the threads against to the constitution, establishing a moderate socio-political structure, relying on the middle-classes, and making rule of law sovereign.

It is said that the ideal state projection of Aristotle denies not only the freedom of ruled but also the rulers. Thus it has a totalitarian characteristics. The supreme goal of this regime is to minimize the individual and aggrandise the state.



INTERMEDIATE RINGS BETWEEN GREEK AND ROMAN POLITICS

The destruction of *polis* started during the age of Plato. Yet, *polis* had a chance for surviving. While Plato was portraying a strong ideal of city-state, he was considering this opportunity. When Aristotle took the turn, it was too late for a city-state to survive. Even though Aristotle sided with monarchy and aristocracy, as he noticed that *polis* was arriving to the end, he opted for *politeia*, which was a moderate regime. His try was not adequate enough. Philip II conquered the Greek peninsula at 339 B.C. and a new period, called *Hellenistic* Age, started. Son of Philip II, Alexander the Great, captured all Mediterranean geography and established a Hellenic Empire (Coleman, 2000, p. 229). It was consisting of western and eastern cultures. The legacy of this empire continued during the Roman Empire and ended up with Christianity.

General understanding for political philosophy changed as the empire met with new populations. There was a certain differentiation between civilized and barbarian groups, during the ancient Greece period. When they became the citizens of the same Hellenic Empire, the scheme had to change. It was noticed that the individual human was same everywhere. Beliefs, scares, hopes and expectations, senses of individuals were similar to each other. Thus a new kind of understanding about *humanity* arose. Political organization of this new period was

in fact enormous. Thus the connection between the political organization and individual became loose. The individual was not identified according to his citizenship but rather to his abilities, personal features and so forth. Now he needed a new normativity for the explanation of the social orientation. Society was not a natural entity anymore. It was consisting of individuals, who prefer to live together, living in a new normative order. We will deal with two important Hellenic schools: Epicurean school and Stoicism.

Important

The change of political understanding was a result of change in social combination.

Origin of Social Contractarian Political Thought: Epicurus

Epicurus developed his philosophy based on four different sources: Platonic lecturers of Athens, atomist doctrine of Democritus, septic views of Pyrrhus, and hedonist philosophy of Aristippus. Even though he was affected by all these philosophers, he was a strong critic of them. Unfortunately, he taught his ideas like dogmas and his school gained almost a semi-religious character. Thus, while the further contributions were restrained by this feature, the Epicurean philosophy became easy to be studied. Investigating only Epicurus' personal philosophy is adequate for understanding the general conception of Epicurean school indeed.

Epicurus was a materialist philosopher, who followed Democritus. He developed an ethical philosophy, consistent with the materialist philosophy of nature. Contrary to idealist philosophies of Plato and Aristotle, a materialist contribution to social philosophy was important.

According to Epicurus, the cosmos was consisting of material and space. The smallest parts of the material, *atoms*, while falling down within this space, crashed to each other and thus came together or separated. Happenings or changes occur as a result of the movements of materials. Thus, the fate of the cosmos was not a priori described. The movement of material is not end-oriented. All materials have an entity. Even the spirit was a material. Atoms of the spirit were so small that we cannot notice them (Şenel, 1982, p. 228).

Epicurus held an evolutionary historical view. Within his historical philosophy, he developed a contract based theory of the state. According to his theory, people made a contract when they noticed their common interests. Thus, they prevented the threads all together, worked together, and established a happy life. This was a very primitive type of the social contract conception. It emphasises the unnatural characteristic of the society. It must be constructed and the main instrument for its construction was a contract. The contract presupposes the freedom of will of the people. It also accepts the individual as a reasonable subject, who can pursue her/his own interests.

Justice does not occur independently. Also natural law was rejected by Epicurus. Legal system was established by a social contract, which is accurate for a definite place and period. Unless a contract was established, it was not possible to decide what right or wrong was, what just and unjust was. Behaving in accordance with the provisions of the contract ensures a secure life for everyone. Thus obeying to the law –or to the contact- was for everyone's profit.

Epicurus argued that justice was the equality for everyone. Although this reflects a democratic view, since he was an individualist for his ethical philosophy, it is hard to classify him within the vein of democratic scholar. He was against to the non-egalitarian regimes but since he was defending a happy individual life external to the politics, when he -and his followers- forced to prefer a political regime, they opted for the monarchy. He was a philosopher of the chaotic period. The need for an order seems to be prevailed to all other expectations of him and his followers. The need for security and peace led Epicureans to live in a friendly environment and be respectful to the nature. They tried to apply the principle of austerity. Instead of pursuing money and richness, they recommended to content with oneself.

As it can be understood, main aim of Epicurus was ethical, not political. He did not have social targets or social solutions. Thus, Epicureanism could not be successful against to the Stoicism and Christianity, which also emphasised a transcendental power.

Important

The aim of Epicurus was not political. He was trying to establish an internal ethical philosophy for individuals.

Cosmopolitanism of Early Periods: Stoicism

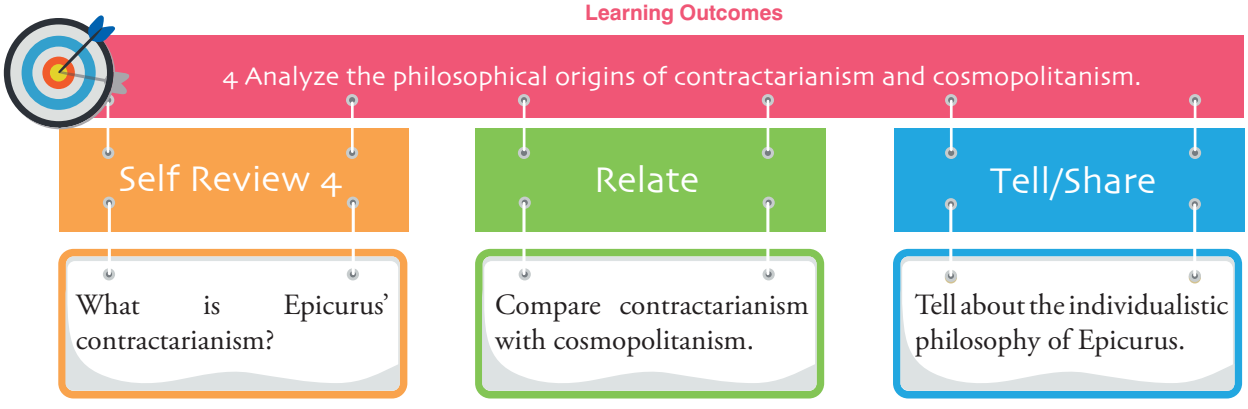
The representative philosophical understanding of Hellenic period was said to be Stoicism. Unlike Epicureanism, Stoicism was not established by several philosophers. Thus, it is hard to investigate Stoicism. Stoicism always found a way to adapt itself for each socio-political condition. It became one of the prominent philosophies of the Roman Empire. Due to this fact, Stoicism can be investigated under three different periods: Early Stoicism (3rd Century B.C.), middle Stoicism (2nd and 1st Centuries B.C.), and New Stoicism or Roman Stoicism. Roman Stoicism will be investigated below under the title of "Stoicism of Imperial Rome: Seneca". Here we will only deal with early Stoicism.

The founders of early Stoicism are Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus. Zeno was born in *Citium* at Cyprus. He moved to Athens when he was twenty. He was an admirer of Socrates and followed the Cynical school for a while. But then he reached to different conclusions from that of the Cynics. In 300 B.C. he founded his own school. The name Stoicism was given due to the porches or *stoa* of this school. Zeno was very reputable among the Athenians. He always behaved in accordance with his thoughts (Douzinas, 2017, p. 161).

Like Epicureanism, Stoicism was an ethical philosophy. According to Zeno, philosophy had three parts: Logic, physics, and ethics. But the first two parts were related to ethics somehow. In Stoicism, the sources of the knowledge were senses. But for an accurate knowledge the intellectual design of the impressions achieved by senses must be trustable. The imagination, which accurately accords with the objective fact, was called *catalepsis*. According to Stoicist, the only principle of cosmos was the God. Stoicists were monotheists. For them, different Gods of Greeks were representing the several features of the one God. God might be the reason, cosmos, nature, fate, creative fire or something else. As the spirit spreads in the body, the only principle of the cosmos, the God, spreads among everything. This God particle, which exists in everything, was the reason. Thus to behave by reason means to be in accordance with divinity. This was the basics of ethics of Stoicism.

Stoicism was also a fatalistic philosophy. It was always hard to develop an ethical perspective through a fatalistic philosophy because of that ethics requires making independent choices through free will. But the concept of free will contradicts with fatalism. The solution of Stoicism was simple: According to Stoicism, the ethical behaviour was complying with the fate. Thus, humans need to reveal their destiny. Although the solution was inadequate to convince the opponents, it revealed a new understanding about humanity. The reason was the common feature of all humans. Being reasonable was the natural fact of humans. Thus, reason was the only and common law of humanity. This opens the road for *cosmopolitanism*. A wise man could not be citizen of a particular state. He was the citizen of the entire world. If we were members of the humanity, even the slaves or enemies would be a part of this huge family. There must be only one state in the world. All the humans would be equal citizens of this state. Cosmopolitanism of the Stoicism reflects the political conjuncture of its period. Empires were a rising political organization of the age and they collect different identities as their citizens under their rule.

In summary, Stoics provided a unified account of the world, consisting of formal logic, monistic physics and naturalistic ethics. Although their logical theories were of more interest for later philosophers, among these, according to them, the main focus of human knowledge was ethics.



POLITICAL THOUGHT OF ROMAN RES PUBLICA: POLYBIUS AND CICERO

Roman political thought was a simple follower of the Greek political ideas. Theoretically saying, their contribution was limited. But still practical implication and political organizations were detailed and very well developed than that of Greek equivalents.

Roman history was divided into different phases: pre-Regal Period, Regal Period, Republican Rome, and Roman Empire. Some writers call these periods as rise of Rome, the Roman Republic, and Roman Empire. These are also called as Latin, Republican and Imperial phases.

Latin aristocrats, *patricia*, captured the government after defeating the Etruscan king. Instead of the rule of a single person, they established a council. The word "republic", which is today used as a specific type of political organization, comes from the term res publica that gained its meaning of governing through a council. *Res publica* means "for the public". *Patricia* was the ruling class of the Roman population. The 90 per cent of population, *Plebs*, was governed by *patricia*. There were three categories within the Roman population: Slaves, metics, and citizens. Citizens were consisting of patricia and *plebs*. Again, *plebs* had two categories among themselves. Rich *plebs*es were *bourgeois* and poor *plebs*es were *proletariat*. During the empire period, some *plebs* attended to army by their horses and constituted the *chevalier*.

At the beginning the marriage between *patricia* and *plebs* was forbidden. But when rich parts of plebs started to gain more influence, this rule was annihilated. The marriage introduced a new class, called *optimates*, means "goods". All other poor classes were named as *populares*. The republican period witnessed the class struggles between *patricia* and *plebs*. While the class struggles were ongoing, externally Roman state was conquering new lands and enlarging both its power and borders. The peace between the classes brings the opportunity of being an empire. Economic accumulation was adequate enough to continue as an empire.

Greek political thought linked to Roman politics through Polybius. He was a Greek, educated in Greece and thus tried to explain the Roman institutions and political developments by the conceptions of Greek political thinking. It seems that Polybius was not a follower of a particular philosophical school. He used conceptions of several Greek schools. His main argument was that there were undulant periods in the history of political societies. According to Polybius, Roman Empire owed its success to its constitution. The organizational types of governments are classified according to the thoughts of Greek philosophers by Polybius. Polybius described the political history as highs and lows. According to the *anacyclosis* theory each governmental structure transforms to another one through degeneration. According to that; expansion, maturity, and corrosion were inevitable processes. Kingdom turns to tyranny, annihilation of tyranny brings aristocracy, then comes oligarchy and as a reaction against the injustices of oligarchy democracy occurs. This was a natural rule. Polybius tried to apply the same to the Roman constitutions and thus predicted the next stage and took the necessary actions. Although he accepted internal and external factors of degeneration, he only dealt with internal factors.

The originality of Polybius' theory depended on his conception about the power relations of politics behind the scene. His claim for a mixed constitution, foresaw a check and balance system for the conflicting powers. According to him, the success of Roman constitution was to ensure this check and balance system. Polybius built his constitutional understanding on not the social classes but political forces and institutional balance. It can be said that he pointed out the way for the modern constitutional separation of powers system.

Important

Polybius was a pioneer for the idea of separation of powers.

For Polybius, the success of the Roman constitution could be interpreted according to its consequences. And according to the obvious results, Roman constitution was successful. Roman constitution had three sovereign powers: Consuls, senate, and the public. Polybius emphasized on the separation of powers but at the same time the unity of the system. According to him, senate was the key power among others. When he compared Carthage and Rome, he argued that the superiority of Rome

was coming from the power of the senate within the political system. Another reason was that the army of Rome was composed of soldiers who were not paid for combating. Contrary, Carthage army was composed of legionnaire.

In order to prevent the degeneration of success of the Rome, the aristocrats required to be temperance, the passion of the public should have been restrained, and religious should have been used as an ideological instrument. Uprisings of the slaves, particularly the one led by Spartacus at 73 B.C., shook the political foundation of Rome. A land reform was performed by the first reformists of Rome, namely Tiberius and Gaius Sempronius Gracchuss. According to the reform programme the public properties were distributed to citizens. This caused wide range of developments and political turbulence. Political institutions of the republic lost their social roots and till to a new balance was ensured political philosophers of Rome tried to instigate the republic.

Marcus Tullius Cicero

Most influential philosopher of the time, Marcus Tullius Cicero, put the ideological foundations of a monarchy, while he was trying to save the republic. Cicero was a lawyer and due to his excellent ability of speech, he was very favoured. He was the first senator for his family –this was not usual for Roman politics. He became a quaestor, a senator, an aedilis, and a praetor. In 63 B.C. he nominated for consular in the name of the optimates against to Catilina and won the election. Cicero defended the right for private property and traditional customs of Rome, thus gained the support of riches and nobles.



Figure 2.3 Marcus Tullius Cicero (B.C. 106-B.C. 43)

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cicero.PNG

The main problem of Cicero was conserving Rome despite all its social contradictions. In order to achieve this, collaboration of all institutions and unity of faithful supporters of the republic were needed. Aristocrats started to turn away from politics. The democratic developments scared them of huge masses of people. Cicero tried to provoke them for politics again. He wrote that politics was a virtuous activity. Against the Epicurean views, which recommend giving up with social issues and searching for individual happiness, Cicero argued that egoism was against nature. The nobility of the spirit had to be shown by entering to the politics. Cicero's main aim was to turn back to old aristocratic days. According to Cicero, public and republic –state- were the same. When people united within a stable order, a need for administration occurred. Society was a result of sense of community and state was a result of political differentiation. State was a unity, in which people were united with a common objective and connected to each other with legal bonds.

Cicero was strongly opposing the rule of majority. According to him, in democracy the security of the individuals was in the people's hands. If all powers are collected in the hands of people, we cannot talk about a state. Cicero searched for a mixed political structure. Singular political structures had both advantages and disadvantages. Thus, if all advantages of the different types of political regimes could be collected, then an ideal state would be achieved. This would be a mixed constitutional structure. Cicero argued that governing by the Roman administration would be better for the citizens of Roman provincial states. And if it would be better for them, then it must also be just. Roman administration would ensure the security of all these provinces. What he offered through this conception can be accepted as the beginning of *pax-Romana*.

Learning Outcomes

5 Analyze the practical contributions of Polybius and Cicero.

Self Review 5	Relate	Tell/Share
What was the originality of Polybius' theory?	Compare Cicero with Epicurian views.	Tell about pax-Romana.

IMPERIAL ROME

Republican Rome fel down between 55-31 B.C. There was an ongoing civil war in Rome, almost from 90 B.C. *Octavius*, successor of Caesar, won the war and neutralized the army against the political affairs. Thus *pax-Romana*, which would take two hundred years, officially started. Octavius was called as the *imperator*, a title given to the victorious commanders. He based on the power of *imperium* during his ruling and then gained the title of *Augustus*, which meant the supreme or the magnificent. It can be noticed that even the senate still existed; the regime was transformed to a monarchy.

Political question of this new era changed: Who would be the next emperor? The emperors were successors of important families. Although the senate kept its entity and the political regime was called as a *diarchy*, the emperors were holding the full power. Emperorship was combined with religious features and the emperor started to symbolize the unity of Rome. The politics of empire was not problematized around *res publica* anymore. The fate of the empire was a universal issue. Emperor Caracalla accepted all free people of the Empire as citizens. Thus the citizenship expanded. Infinity, divinity, universality were the main conceptions of empire.

Stoicism in Imperial Rome: Seneca

As mentioned earlier, Stoicism had several representations in different ages. Stoicism of the Imperial Rome was represented by Lucius Annaeus Seneca (4 B.C.- 65 A.D.). The main problem of the age was balancing the order of a great empire and freedom. The main instrument was ethics. But this would be an ethics founded on the reason.

Self-sufficiency and happiness were the main aims within the Stoic thought. Stoicists were fatalists. The role of an individual on the world had already been described. Humans were required to prefer obeying the rule of nature and their fate by their reason. God itself was a rule of nature. The problem of contradiction between the freedom and obligatory rule of nature was solved by Roman Stoicist through dividing freedom into two parts. They said there were two types of freedom; internal freedom and external freedom. Human was internally free and nothing from external world can change this. But in order to externally be free, he must obey the rules of the order. The order must be reasonable. Thus, human can only obey to a reasonable order.

Seneca tried to establish a set of ethical rules. According to him, humans were social animals born for the common good. He referred to state of nature, in which people lived freely, equally, peacefully, and happily. But now, they had been left this state of nature and the only thing to be done was, rather than removing slavery, to adapt these institutions to a right life.

Seneca advocated for monarchy, as the best political regime. He was an advisor for the emperor Nero. In his books written as an advice for the emperor, he asked from the monarch to be merciful. Being merciful was different from commiserating or forgiving. It holds reason in itself. A monarch should be merciful to his subjects. Otherwise his kingdom might be short. This was the difference between tyranny and monarchy. Seneca classifies the governments according to the personal features

of the emperor. Thus he did not deal with the process of holding power or the legitimacy of his emperorship. The elements of good governance were not the form of constitution or legal regulations. According to him, if we are looking for good governance, we have to educate the emperor adequately; and this education must also include ethical affairs.

Important

In Seneca's works classification of the governments was based on the personal features of the emperor.

Roman Stoicists contributed to idea of the Roman law since they argued the importance of reason for the norms of human behaviours. Roman history had always seen as an early prolog to modern political philosophy and Stoicism was one of the components of this history. Seneca personally affected Christian scholars. Thus, he had been seen as a symbol of transforming to Christian political thought.

Negation of the Will in the Christian Rome: Augustine

Saint Augustine (354-430 A.D.) was the last stop before the *so-called* darkness of mediaeval ages. He was the prominent philosopher who tried to systemize Christian thought on religion, world order, and society. He tried to set up the Christianity on philosophical underpinings. Since he wrote before the Teuton invasions, he found opportunity to transfer the antique Greek philosophy to the Christianity. He adapted antique thought to the Christianity. He used the thoughts of Plato and Stoicist in order to achieve this.

Augustine believed that the universe was created by the God from nothing. According to him, the God created everything from nothing only in six days. His motto was "God and spirit. That is all I would like to know. Nothing else is needed". This was a strong negation of reason and philosophy. He thought knowledge was impossible for human being. Human beings were deficient and transgressor. The only way of reaching knowledge would be faith and the scare of God. This was the starting point for wisdom. The first step of knowing himself was believing in God. Thus the only thing to know was the God. The God of Augustine was different from the antique portraits. The God, according to his belief, did not only create the universe but also regulated it. This God is known today as the "Old Testament".

God created human and gave him freedom and free will. But human used his free will for sin. Thus, his free will is taken from him. The salvation of human through free will is impossible. He will be freed only by the blessing of the God. Thus everything loses its independence against to the God. So did the state. State was also dependent on the God. The state was established by the God in order to let people to rule each other. Thus the state was a punishment for the people. The laws of a state were possible only under the protection of a timeless and supreme will. The product of the divine reason, eternal law or God's will, commands to obey the natural order. Human beings can only notice the degenerated form of this eternal law, natural law. Then the laws of the state, positive law came. Thus the laws were classified and they were all related with the God. The lowest law should be obeyed since it is the first step of obeying the supreme law.

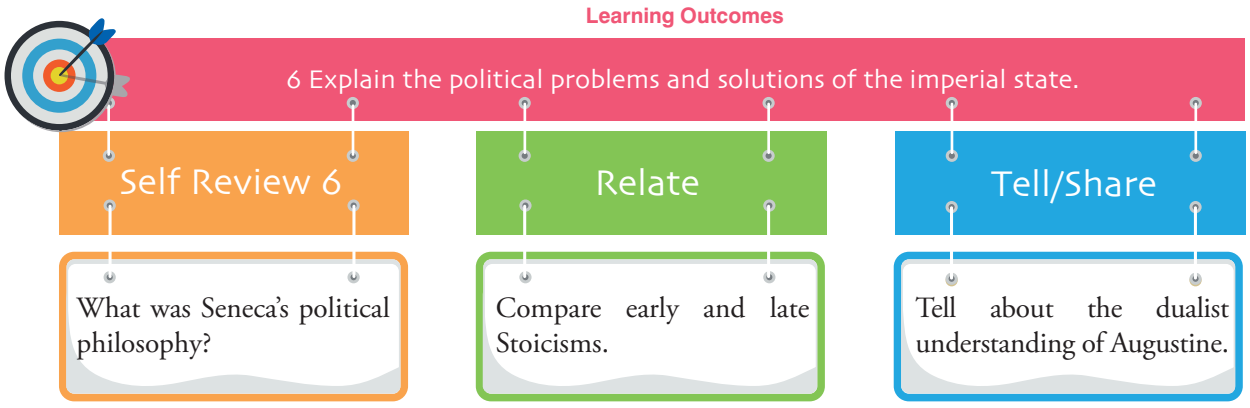
This scheme reminds us a dualist legislative will, dualist "state": State of the earth (*civitas terrana*) and the state of God (*civitas dei*). *Civitas dei* was above the *civitas terrana*. The Church was above the state. The Church was the representative of civitas dei within the civitas terrana. The true state was of course *civitas dei*. State was based on justice and true justice could only occur in the divine order.

Important

According to Augustine, justice was a relationship between the God and people.

It has to be kept in mind that, being a Christian or accepting the Church cannot automatically guarante the love of God. It is obvious that Augustine made a distinction between the Christians and non-Christians. Non-Christians were sinners and thus would never been accepted by the God. But for the Christians, we can only say that they have a chance to be accepted by God.

Augustine was the scholar who located the universality of Christianity instead of universality of the Roman Empire. Although he seemed to be pointing to the sovereignty of the Church, indeed it was only an abstraction made by him. Church was representing the love of God. Superiority of Church meant superiority of love of God.



Conclusion

Political thought started with the invention of society. Living in a society is a requirement for the human kind. But society has its own difficulties. There are fractions, individuals, different expectations in a society. The way of responding to the requirements of society gave birth to the politics and political thought.

What is to be derived from this part of the book? Thoughts can change. All those brilliant philosophers had distinct views about the society. We cannot talk about absolute true in social sciences and especially in political thoughts.

It is still too early for concluding about the importance of ancient Greek and Roman political thought. Reform and renaissance movement of the 15th Century is based on the scholars of ancient era. During these movements, approximately after 1500 years, humanity reinvented the importance of those philosophers. We noticed the inadequacies or personal deficiencies of ancient scholars. But still they are enlightening the way of humanity for the future.

Summary

LO 1 Explain the differences between political developments of Sparta and those of Athens.

There were two stereotypes that illustrated the institutionalisation, namely Sparta and Athens. Sparta was a city on the south of Peloponnesus peninsula and consisted of a few villages. Since the Laconia region, where Sparta settled in, had very productive lands but no seaport access, main economical facility was based on farming. The ownership of the land was collective. The warrior Doric tribes appropriated not only the lands but also the people living on these lands as they occupied a village or settlement. Thus, slavery was one of the main features of Spartan economy. Social stratification was based on three strata; Spartans or spartiats, perioikos, and helots. Contrary to the closed, disciplined society and agricultural economy of Sparta, the polis of Athens, on the other hand, represented a trade-based economy and a developed cultural-political social life. The Attika peninsula was an infertile region, but had a seaport access. Thus, the civilisation of the region was bound on the sea and commerce. Free population of Athens had four strata: Eupatrides, geomores, demiurgus, and thetes –the nobles, small farmers, craftsmen, and poor peasants, respectively. Class struggles between and within these groups led to different types of administrations such as Aristocracy, oligarchy, plutocracy, and democracy. Contrary to Sparta, political debates and competition were very vivid in Athens and participants were also large in numbers. The reason behind the prosperous philosophical and political tradition of the ancient Greece was demonstrated in association with this background.

LO 2 Explain Plato's political philosophy.

For Plato, republic (state) was not something that the Sophists defended; it was not contractual or artificial. Republic was natural, as the public itself. Since human beings were incapable of living by themselves, society and the state were natural beings. But, forms of societies and states were up to wills and conditions of humans. The scheme presented by Plato portrays a static societal structure though. Indeed, he was aware of the fact that ordinary states cannot achieve all these virtues and thus turn into a just organisation. It has to be kept in mind that this is a scheme for the ideal state. Thus, a state would be classified according to its distance to this ideal type. Administrators were culled among the youth of protectors. They were educated in philosophy as well as other social arts and examined several times. At the end, only the very best of this group would become the philosopher-administrators and the top would be the philosopher-king/queen. They were considered as semi-Gods by Plato. They were usually supposed to have a noble or aristocratic family. As mentioned before, there was a state idea at the world of ideas. The actual state was only degenerated images. Historically, all states were non-ideal states. Each has advantages and disadvantages. But as a general rule, it can be said that types of governments reflect a kind of circuit, from good to bad and from happiness to unhappiness.

Summary

LO 3 Explain the relationship between the general and political philosophy of Aristotle.

According to Aristotle, the structure of the being cannot be understood just by considering the external appearance. Rather, internal relations and connections should be revealed and the substance or cause of the being must be comprehended metaphysically. True being is the substance that developed in the phenomenon. In other words, each phenomenon is the formation in which the substance reveals itself. Since the formation can be understood as a material's form gaining process, we can comprehend a formation through influencing factors: material causes, formal causes, effective causes, and target-oriented causes. Aristotle said that target-oriented (teleological) causes were the ones that provide a competent form. According to Aristotle, politics was on the top of the other sciences and it was very inclusive; because in a city-state, the "final decision" was given through politics. The aim of the politics was to achieve the best for humans. The best for citizens is the best for the city-state. The aim of the ethics was to determine what is good for humans and society. Human behaviours, a good life, and happiness of the citizens form the subjects of politics or political science. As mentioned before, political science is the most comprehensive one, because politics is related with all other activities within a polis. The end of a political society –or the state- is the supreme common good or the biggest happiness for the biggest number of people. Therefore, the state was an ethical apparatus for Aristotle.

LO 4 Analyse the philosophical origins of contractarianism and cosmopolitanism.

Epicurus had an evolutionary historical view. Within his historical philosophy, he developed a contract-based theory of state. According to his theory, people made a contract when they noticed their common interests. Thus, they prevented the threats all together, worked together, and established a happy life. This was a very primitive type of social contract conception. It emphasises the unnatural characteristic of the society. It must be constructed and the main instrument for its construction was a contract. The contract presupposes the freedom of will of the people. It also accepts the individual as a reasonable subject, who can pursue his/her own interests. According to Stoicism, the ethical behaviour was complying with fate. Thus, humans need to reveal their destiny. Although the solution was inadequate to convince the opponents, it revealed a new understanding about humanity. The reason was the common feature of all humans. Being reasonable was the natural fact of humans. Thus, reason was the only and common law of humanity. This opens the road for cosmopolitanism. A wise man could not be citizen of a particular state. He was the citizen of the universal world. If we were members of the universal humanity, even the slaves or enemies would be part of this huge family. There must be only one state on the world. All humans would be equal citizens of this state. Cosmopolitanism of the Stoicism reflects political conjuncture of its period. Empires were the rising political organizations of the age and they collect different identities as their citizens under their rule.

LO 5 Analyse the practical contributions of Polybius and Cicero.

Greek political thought linked to Roman politics through Polybius. He was a Greek, educated in Greece and thus tried to explain the Roman institutions and political developments by the conceptions of the Greek political thinking. It seems that Polybius was not a follower of a particular philosophical school. He used conceptions of several Greek schools. His main argument was that there were undulant periods in the history of political societies. According to Polybius, the Roman Empire owed its success to its constitution. The organizational types of governments are classified according to the thoughts of Greek philosophers by Polybius. According to him, the success of Roman constitution was ensuring this check and balance system. Polybius built his constitutional understanding not on the social classes but on political forces and institutional balance. It can be said that he pointed out the way for the modern constitutional separation of powers as a system of governing. The main problem of Cicero was to preserve the Rome despite all its social contradictions. In order to achieve this, collaboration of all institutions and unity of faithful supporters of the republic were needed. Aristocrats started to turn away from politics. The democratic developments scared them of huge masses of people. Cicero tried to provoke them for politics again. He wrote that politics was a virtuous activity. Contrary to the Epicurean views, which recommend giving up with social issues and searching for individual happiness, Cicero argued that egoism was against the nature. The nobility of the spirit had to be shown by entering to the politics. Cicero's main aim was to turn back to old aristocratic days. According to Cicero, public and republic –state- were the same. When people were united within a stable order, a need for administration occurred. Society was a result of sense of community and state was a result of political differentiation. State was a unity, in which people were united with a common objective and connected to each other with legal bonds.

LO 6 Explain the political problems and solutions of an imperial state.

Political question of the imperial era was "who would be the next emperor?" The emperors were successors of important families. Although the senate kept its entity and the political regime was called as a *diarchy*, the emperors were holding the full power. Emperorship was combined with religious features and the emperor started to symbolize unity of the Rome. The politics of empire was not problematized around *res publica* anymore. The fate of the empire was a universal issue. Emperor Caracalla accepted all free people of the Empire as citizens. Thus the citizenship expanded. Infinity, divinity, universality were the main conceptions of empire.

Test Yourself

1 Which one of the followings includes all ideological institutions of polis?

a. agora-gymnasium-amphitheatre
b. oikos-mythology
c. gymnasium-mythology
d. amphitheatre
e. agora- oikos

2 Which one of the followings is not one of the social strata of Athens?

a. eupatrides
b. helots
c. thetes
d. demiurgus
e. geomores

3 Which one of the followings can be considered as the first social philosophical school of the ancient Greece?

a. Elea school
b. Epicurists
c. Sophists
d. Cynics
e. Stoics

4 "He was a true admirer of knowledge and wisdom. According to him, daily life of society should not be governed by ordinary citizens, who do not have adequate wisdom and knowledge. Related to this view, he was an opponent to the idea of democracy and the government of people." Which one of the followings is described by the paragraph?

a. Aristotle
b. Plato
c. Homer
d. Socrates
e. Epicurus

5 "Although they were followers of Socrates, they adopted an egalitarian understanding. The members of the movement were the lowest part of the society that was supported by the foreigners and exiles who were not given a right to citizenship. However, their egalitarian reaction to stratified society was not considerably successful in spreading among the poor." Which one of the followings is described by the paragraph?

a. Elea school
b. Epicurists
c. Sophists
d. Stoics
e. Cynics

6 Which one of the followings truly includes the separation of legitimate and degenerated political regimes according to Plato?

a. patriarchy- monarchy- aristocracy/ timocracy- oligarchy- democracy
b. patriarchy- aristocracy- oligarchy/ monarchy- timocracy- democracy
c. aristocracy- timocracy- oligarchy/ democracy- patriarchy- monarchy
d. oligarchy- democracy- patriarchy/ monarchy- aristocracy- timocracy
e. monarchy- timocracy- democracy/ patriarchy- aristocracy- oligarchy

7 Which one of the followings is defined as "the government of a minority group who aims the interests of the rich" by Aristotle?

a. Monarchy
b. Oligarchy
c. Aristocracy
d. Tyranny
e. Democracy

8 Which one of the followings cannot be counted as one of the intellectual sources of Epicurus?

a. Platonic lecturers of Athens
b. Atomist doctrine of Democritus
c. Non-egalitarian views of Socrates
d. Septic views of Pyrrhus
e. Hedonist philosophy of Aristippus

9 Which one of the followings was the ruling class during Republican Rome?

a. Plebs
b. Bourgeois
c. Proletariat
d. Patricia
e. Chevalier

10 "He believed that the universe was created by the God from nothing. God created everything from nothing only in six days. His motto was 'God and spirit. That is all I would like to know. Nothing else is needed'. This was a strong negation of reason and philosophy. He thought knowledge was impossible for human being. Human beings were deficient and transgressor. The only way of reaching knowledge would be faith and the scare of God. This was the starting point for wisdom." Which one of the followings is described by the paragraph?

a. Socrates
b. Epicurus
c. Aristotle
d. Seneca
e. Augustine

1. a	If your answer is incorrect, review "Birth of Political Thought in Polis: Sophists, Socrates, and Cynics".	6. a	If your answer is incorrect, review "State as a Result of Social Life: Political Thought in Plato".
2. b	If your answer is incorrect, review "Political and Social Developments in Ancient Polis of Sparta and Athens".	7. b	If your answer is incorrect, review "State as the Only Ethical Form of Life: Political Thought in Aristotle".
3. c	If your answer is incorrect, review "From Thinking about the Order of the Cosmos to the Order of Social: Sophists".	8. c	If your answer is incorrect, review "Origin of Social Contractarian Political Thought: Epicurus".
4. d	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Founder of the Non-Egalitarian Philosophy, Socrates and His Egalitarian Successors, Cynics".	9. d	If your answer is incorrect, review "Political Thought of Roman Res Publica: Polybius and Cicero".
5. e	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Founder of the Non-Egalitarian Philosophy, Socrates and His Egalitarian Successors, Cynics".	10. e	If your answer is incorrect, review "Negation of the Will in Christian Rome: Augustine".

Self Review 1

What are the strata of free population of Athens?

Free population of Athens had four strata: Eupatrides, geomores, demiurgus, and thetes –the nobles, small farmers, craftsmen, and poor peasants, respectively. Class struggles between and within these groups led to different types of administrations such as Aristocracy, oligarchy, plutocracy, and democracy. Contrary to Sparta, political debates and competition were very vivid in Athens and participants were also large in numbers. The reason behind the prosperous philosophical and political tradition of the ancient Greece is demonstrated in association with this background.

Self Review 2

What is the difference of Sophists' and Plato's conception of state?

For Plato, republic (state) was not something that the Sophists defended; it was not contractual or artificial. Republic was natural, as the public itself. Since human beings were incapable of living by themselves, society and the state were natural beings. But, forms of societies and states were up to wills and conditions of humans. On the other hand, social life requires a division of labour. This division of labour does not mean a completely segregated society. Indeed, the society is portrayed as an organism. Thus, each elements of this organism, according to Plato, has their own functions. Upon this organisational understanding, an ideal state is based on a stratified society, which has three occupational sections.

Suggested Answers for "Self Review"

What is the practical science according to Aristotle?

Self Review 3

Aristotle classified the sciences under three categories: Productive, practical, and theoretical sciences. Practical sciences are normative disciplines by which people know how to behave. Politics or ethics are practical sciences. According to Aristotle, politics was on the top of the other sciences and it was very inclusive; because in a city-state, the "final decision" was given through politics. The aim of the politics was to achieve the best for humans. The best for citizens is the best for the city-state. The aim of the ethics was to determine what good is for humans and society. Thus, politics and ethics were interrelated.

What is Epicurus' contractarianism?

Self Review 4

Epicurus had an evolutionary historical view. Within his historical philosophy, he developed a contract-based theory of state. According to his theory, people made a contract when they noticed their common interests. Thus, they prevented the threats all together, worked together, and established a happy life. This was a very primitive type of social contract conception. It emphasises the natural characteristic of society. The contract presupposes the freedom of will of the people. It also accepts the individual as a reasonable subject, who can pursue his/her own interests.

What was the originality of Polybius' theory?

Self Review 5

The originality of Polybius' theory was based on his conception about the power relations of politics behind the scene. His claim for a mixed constitution, foresaw a check and balance system for the conflicting powers. According to him, the success of Roman constitution was ensuring this check and balance system. Polybius built his constitutional understanding not on the social classes but on political forces and institutional balance. It can be said that he pointed out the way for the modern constitutional separation of powers system.

What was Seneca's political philosophy?

Self Review 6

Seneca tried to establish a set of ethical rules. According to him, humans were social animals born for the common good. He referred to the state of nature, in which people lived freely, equally, peacefully, and happily. But now, they had been left this state of nature and the only thing to be done was, rather than removing slavery or private property, to adapt these institutions to a right life. He advocated for monarchy, as the best political regime. He was an advisor for the emperor Nero. In his books written as an advice for the emperor, he asked from the monarch to be merciful. Being merciful was different from commiserating or forgiving. It holds reason in itself. A monarch should be merciful to his subjects. Otherwise his kingdom might be short. This was the difference between the tyranny and the monarchy. Seneca classifies the governments according to the personal features of the emperor. Thus, he did not deal with the process of holding power or the legitimacy of his emperorship. The elements of good governance were not the form of constitution or legal regulations. According to him, if we are looking for good governance, we have to educate the emperor adequately; and this education must also include ethical affairs.

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Chapter 3

Medieval Political Thought in the Islamic World

Learning Outcomes

After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

1. Illustrate the impact of Ancient Greek legacy on the Islamic political thought through Al-Fârâbî and Avicenna
2. Analyse the relation of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) with political thought with regard to Al-Mawardi
3. Analyse the relation of ethics and politics as well as of philosophy and religion through Averroës
4. Evaluate Ibn Khaldûn's contributions to political thought within the context of *The Muqaddimah*

Chapter Outline

Introduction

The Influence of Ancient Greek Political Philosophy: Al-Fârâbî and Avicenna

The Relation of Islamic Jurisprudence (Fiqh) With Politics

The Relation of Ethics With Politics

Sociological and Philosophical Analysis of Politics and Civilizations

Key Terms

Caliphate
Shari'ah
Medinah Al-Fadilah
Siyasah Al-Medeniyyah
Ahkâm As-Sultaniyah
Asabiyyah
Mulk
'Umrân



INTRODUCTION

Islam, as a religion based on the *Quran* (a revelation from God to the prophet Muhammad) and supplemented by the *sunnah* (a set of traditions about Muhammad's words and deeds), recognized Judaism and Christianity as revelations from God, but advocated for the thesis that the revelation made to Muhammad completed earlier revelations and stood as the final point in the legacy of the history of prophets.

Christian Arabs (about 800's A.D.) had translated the works of Plato and Aristotle into Arabic. Later in the history of thought, specifically, in the 12th century, Arabic-speaking Jews translated Greek and Arabic works of science and philosophy from Arabic into Latin. The Aristotelian literature, i.e., a variety of Aristotle's major works had become known in Europe fthrough the translations from Greek into Arabic (though translations were soon made direct into Latin from Greek); and had been accompanied by translations of Muslim philosophers' works in Spain (Al-Andalus). Abu Nasr Muhammad al-Farabi, Abu 'Ali Husayn Ibn Abdullah Ibn Sina and Abu'l-Walid Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Rushd (of Cordoba) were well known in the universities of medieval Europe under the Latin forms of their names, namely, Alfarabi/Alfaribius, Avicenna and Averroës.

Plato seems to have an influence on Islamic philosophers and on their works through his *Republic*; but influence had also come from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. However, Aristotle's *Politics* was not as widely known as his other works. Greek Neo-Platonists (Plotinus, Porphyry, Proclus and others) had tried to combine-and in some respects, to reconcile- the philosophical perspectives of Plato and Aristotle; under the presupposition that these philosophies were fundamentally in harmony. This view had many impacts on the Islamic philosophers, who expounded a more or less Platonized form of Aristotelianism-especially on problems of theology (Gutas, 2016: 6).

This chapter aims to help you in a better appraisal of the medieval Islamic tradition in the history of political thought; via a discussion on the major concepts, problems and influential philosophers of the period.

THE INFLUENCE OF ANCIENT GREEK POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY: AL-FÂRÂBÎ AND AVICENNA

It could be argued that a majority of the literature on political philosophy in the Islamic world is based on the relations between ethics and politics, as well as idealized criteria for rulers-e.g. philosopher and/or prophet-kings (modelled on the personality of Muhammad the prophet). Especially, in the early middle ages, Al-Fârâbî and Avicenna-both from Transoxiana-supported the ideal of philosopher/prophet-king, an ethically perfect individual, as the head of virtuous polity (Bowering, 2015: 8). Although Al-Fârâbî's political philosophy takes some inspiration from Plato, it transforms the legacy in important and interesting ways to reflect a very different world and adapt it to this world. In other words, instead of a monolingual and monoethnic city state, Al-Fârâbî's vision suggests a vast multicultural, multilingual, and multi-religious empire; despite the fact that city (*madinah*)-adapted from Plato's *polis*- is a dominant term in his political philosophy (Druart, 2016: 6). Now, we will pay attention to how this ideal was developed in the political thought of Al-Fârâbî, and, illustrate the Ancient Greek legacy via his thought.

Ebu Nasr Al-Fârâbî and Doctrine of the Ideal State

Al-Fârâbî's written works on politics-as well as his other works on philosophy- appear to have a familiarity with Plato and Aristotle. However, when political philosophy is the case, his direct resources of inspiration are as follows: 1. Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*; 2. Plato's *Republic*; and, 3. Aristotle's *Politics*, which was only partially available in Arabic (Gutas 1998). However, his major works *The Perfect State, The Political Regime* or *The Principles of Beings* begin with a metaphysical part presented as a descendant of Neo-Platonic legacy followed by a second part dealing with the organization of the city or state and do not treat of being and unity as the most universal notions. The hierarchical structure of the ideal state reflects purely the hierarchical emanationist structure presented in the first part (Druart, 2016: 4).



Picture 3.1 Al- F□□b□ oil on canvas

Source: http://e-history.kz/en/publications/view/3654

Al-Fârâbî argues directly that true philosophy "was handed down to us from the Greeks from Plato and Aristotle alone" (*Attainment of Happiness*: 49). According to Al-Fârâbî, human beings collaborate as societies "in order to preserve [themselves] and to attain [their] highest perfections" (*Perfect State* V, 15, 1: 229). Without this, he emphasizes, "man cannot attain the perfection, for the sake of which his inborn nature [*fitra*] has been given to him" (ibid.). In function of their size, associations can or cannot furnish the basis for a "perfect [*kâmil*] society" (*Perfect State* V, 15, 2: 229–31).

This way of perfection attributes a goal to society, namely, true felicity (*sa'âdah*). On Al-Fârâbî's view, a city "… in which people aim through association at cooperating for the things by which felicity in its real and true sense can be attained, is the virtuous city [*madina fâdıla*], and the society in which there is a cooperation to acquire felicity is the virtuous society [*ijtima' fâdıl*]" (*Perfect State* V, 15, 3: 231). Considering this line of thought, he might be claimed to be under the influence of Aristotle's *Politics* (Germann, 2016: 2).

Al-Fârâbî also shares with Aristotle the claim that attaining the highest possible degree of perfection entails happiness; moreover, happiness is one of the key concepts of his thought. Al-Fârâbî's conception of happiness is rather different from that of Aristotle's notion of *eudaimonia*, because ultimate happiness, for Al-Fârâbî, is a state associated with the afterlife, when, the soul has separated from the body-regarding his conception of the soul (ibid). But how is ultimate happiness attained? Al-Fârâbî proposes an answer in line with the Ancient Greek thought; pointing out to a faculty which provides human beings with provision on one hand, and, basically formats reason on the other:

"… [the active intellect] gives the human being a faculty and a principle by which to strive, or by which the human being is able to strive on his own for the rest of the perfections that remain for him. That principle is the primary sciences and the primary ineligibles attained in the rational part of the soul…" (*Political Regime* B, 1, 68: 62).

So, the *telos*-i.e. the ultimate goal-of human beings is attained through the realisation of this activity, i.e., thinking, and its perfection-ideally, the attainment of its most sublime level, i.e., science(s) (Germann, 2016: 3). Following this line of thought, Al-Fârâbî envisages a rather high standard, concerning the requirements of common knowledge among the members of the perfect state: "…1. In the first place to know the First Cause and all its qualities; 2. The immaterial existents-including the active intellect …; 3. The celestial substances …; 4. The natural bodies which are beneath these celestial substances, as well as how they are born and dead…; 5. The generation of man; 6. The first ruler …; (7) The rulers who have to take the place of the first ruler …; 8. The excellent city and its people and the felicity which their souls ultimately reach …" (*Perfect State* V, 17, 1: 277-279; Germann, 2016: 4). These criteria remind us of Plato and his ideal city state discussed in his *Republic*.

Philosophy of society/politics (*falsafa medeniyyah*) as a legacy of Al-Fârâbî's thought, in line with Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, comprises an intrinsically anthropological and ethical element; and thus, *falsafa madaniyya* is the part of philosophy dedicated to an inquiry into the *kamal al-insan*, the perfection of man, as an individual. Just like Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics*, it moreover deals with the *madina*, the *polis*, as a whole, taking into account how it is built and is administrated (Germann, 2016: 1). Since virtues are regarded as fundamental in the formation of a virtuous city and/or ideal/perfect state, the ruler of such a city/state should bear high personal qualities, like that of a prophet. So, the Platonic ideal "philosopher-king" turns into

"prophet-king" in the hands of Al-Fârâbî (and even, in the works of Avicenna, such as *Kitab-al Shifa*); and this directs us to thinking further on the relationship of religion with social and political order.

Religion is suited to direct the members of society towards human perfection and thus to contribute simultaneously to the attainment of individual happiness and the well-being of the city: "… the first ruler of the excellent city must already have thorough cognizance of theoretical philosophy; for he cannot understand anything pertaining to God's, may He be exalted, governance of the world so as to follow it except from that source. It is clear, in addition, that all of this is impossible unless there is a common religion in the cities that brings together their opinions, beliefs, and actions; that renders their divisions harmonious, linked together, and well ordered; and at that point they will support one another in their actions and assist one another to reach the purpose that is sought after, namely, ultimate happiness…" (*Book of Religion* 27: 113).

As a consequence, on Al-Fârâbî's account, religion is essentially an instrument or a craft intended for social practice; when his views on the first ruler and the relations he set between religion, philosophy and society are taken into account. These relations bear a metaphysical character in Avicenna, too, whose thoughts largely are in compliance with Al-Fârâbî.

Ebu Ali Husayn Ibn Abdullah Ibn Sînâ (Avicenna) and "Prophet-King"

Avicenna is considered to be a descendant of Al-farabi as he continued the Neoplatoic emanationist scheme of existence. In contrast with the classical Muslim theologians, he rejected creation *ex nihilo* and argued that cosmos has no beginning but is a natural logical product of the divine One; which would later be attacked by Al-Ghazâlî. The super-abundant, pure Good- i.e. the One cannot fail to produce an ordered and good cosmos that does not succeed him in time. The cosmos succeeds God merely in logical order and in existence (Rizvi, n.d.). As Dimitri Gutas suggested, Avicenna's system of thought, "…In its integral and comprehensive articulation of science and philosophy, it represents the culmination of the Hellenic tradition, defunct in Greek after the sixth century, reborn in Arabic in the 9th" (Gutas, 2016).

Emanation, a word deriving from the Latin infinitive emanare which means "to flow from", "to pour out of", refers to the process which all entities derived from the first cause/ being/principle. Emanationism is the line of thought defending that existence of all things are due to this process. For instance, Neoplatonism has an emanationist character.

Important

The One (to hen, in Greek) is the term used by Plotinus in his Enneads. The Islamic Aristotelians, especially Al-Fârâbî and Avicenna, had used this term in their metaphysics to refer to "Allah".



Picture 3.2 Avicenna; oil on canvas

Source: https://islambilimtarihi.wordpress.com/ 2013/04/17/ ibn-i-sina/

In the Latin West, his metaphysics and theory of the soul had a profound influence on scholastic arguments. In the Islamic East, too, he was the basis for considerable debate and argument. Even the philosopher-theologian Al-Ghazâlî, in his attack (*The Incoherence of the Philosophers*), admitted that no serious Muslim thinker could ignore him. In general, Avicenna could be claimed to be the principal representative of philosophy in Islam (Rizvi, n.d.).

In political thought, as well as in metaphysics, Avicenna followed the path built by his predecessor, Al-Fârâbî. For Al-Fârâbî, the conditions for ideal rule are mostly related with the functions of the soul and the intellect. Avicenna thoroughly studied the soul in its totality and in all its functions, whether rational, animal, or vegetative. He charted the operations of all the senses in detail, including the five external senses and especially the five internal senses located in the brain-namely, common sense, imagery (where the forms of things are stored), imagination, estimation (judging/guessing the imperceptible significance or connotations for us of sensed objects, like friendship and enmity, which also includes instinctive sensing), and memory-and how they could help or prevent or slow down the intellect in finding out the middle term and perceiving intelligibles more generally (Gutas, 2016).

The intelligibles are permanently available to human intellects who search for a middle term or other intelligibles at the end of a thinking process, via abstraction and syllogisms. Avicenna is quite explicit about the need for the human intellect to be prepared and to demand to find out a middle term, or actively to seek an intelligible, in order to receive the middle term (ibid). Bearing these capacities in mind, let us now see how and why the prophet deserves to be the leader, or the king, upon ordinary human beings: The prophet, as Avicenna argues, acquires all the intelligibles building up knowledge, complete with middle terms as has recently been mentioned, because the intellectual capacity of his rational soul to find out the middle terms and acquire the intelligibles is at an extraordinary level; moreover, an equally highly developed internal sense of imagination accompanies this capacity-simultaneously providing the prophet with the skill of translating knowledge of intelligibles into ordinary language and images (in the form of a revealed book) that the vast majority of humans can easily understand (ibid).



Important

Avicenna classified all issues in relation to the cognitive side of religion under the traditional contents of *metaphysics*; and the issues related with the social aspects under the practical sciences.

Related with the social side of religion, Avicenna added a fourth tract to practical philosophy (in addition to ethics, household management, and politics), which he called "the discipline of legislating" (*al-sina 'a al-shari 'a,* Kaya 2012; Kaya 2014; Gutas 2016). As mentioned above, the prophet, through his supremely developed ability to find out the middle terms of syllogisms, is able to possess all knowledge (all the intelligibles actually thought by the active intellect) "either at once or nearly so". This acquisition "is not an uncritical reception [of this knowledge] merely on authority, but rather occurs in an order which includes the middle terms: for beliefs accepted on authority concerning those things which are known only through their causes possess no intellectual certainty" (Gutas, 2016). With this secure and syllogistically verified knowledge, the prophet then is in a position to legislate and regulate social life as well as have a legitimate ground for gaining consent. The subjects of all parts of practical philosophy are covered briefly also at the very end of *The Cure (*Book X*)*, as follows: Chapter 2 deals with the proof of prophecy on the basis of the need for laws, to be enacted by the prophet legislator, in order to regulate social life which is necessary for human survival. Chapter 3 covers the acts of worship as reminders of the afterlife and as exercises predisposing the rational soul to engage in intellection. Chapter 4 is a discussion on household management, or, economics, as we conceive it today. And chapter 5 deals with the politics-especially issues concerning the caliphate and legislation, as well as ethics (ibid).

The imperative to know, and to know rationally- for which the prophet is an extreme model- is based on Aristotle's concept of happiness as the activity

which differentiates humans from all other organic life: "the activity of the intellect is thought to be distinguished by hard work (*spoudê, ijtihâd*), since it employs theory, and it does not desire to have any other end at all except itself; and it has its proper pleasure …. Complete happiness (*eudaimonia, sa 'âda*) is this (*Nicomachean Ethics*, 1177b19–25)". According to Gutas, Avicenna once again had followed the path of the Aristotelian view of divine happiness as the identity of thinker, thinking, and thought, when he interpreted the goal of human life in this manner (*Metaphysics* XII.7, 1072b18–26; Gutas, 2016). So, along with Al-Fârâbî, Avicenna also points to an ideal with regard to the standards of intelligible knowledge.

The function of religion in social and political life, elaborated by both Al-Fârâbî and Avicenna, has its foundations in the Islamic system of law and jurisprudence (*fiqh*)-as well as the study of these (*'ilm al-fiqh*); and some political thinkers emphasized this relation between politics and law; without any further deepening in philosophical and/or speculative issues, unlike we've recently seen.

Learning Outcomes

1 Illustrate the impact of Ancient Greek legacy on the Islamic political thought through Al-F□r□b□ and Avicenna.

Self Review 1

What do you think on the impact of Ancient Greek legacy on the early Islamic thought? Would Islamic civilization still cultivate a philosophical tradition in the absence of such a tradition preceding itself? Discuss.

Relate

Relate the theory of emanation to the early Islamic metaphysics, especially with proofs of God.

Tell/Share

Visit http://classics.mit.edu/Plotinus/enneads.html for Plotinus' Enneads and tell about the aspects of mysticism in his overall thought.

THE RELATION OF ISLAMIC JURISPRUDENCE (*FIQH*) WITH POLITICS

When Islamic civilization is the case, political issues are largely based on the *Quran* and *sunnah* (see Introduction, above). The possible ways of inferring and judging what must be done are shown through the traditional science of law (*ilm al-fiqh*); and the executers of the law-i.e. the rulers/imams/caliphs-should have substantive knowledge and a strong will so that they judge with justice. So, unlike the West where the realms of state and religion are departed these two realms are intertwined in Islam; even today (Bowering, 2015: 4). Even this fact alone suffices to convince us that the traditional system of law and jurisprudence is a *sine qua non* condition to a better appraisal of the political issues in Islam. In the middle ages, this strong relation between jurisprudence and politics was much emphasized by Abu'l-Hassan al-Mâwardi, who could be claimed to be the first Islamic political scientist.

Conditio sine qua non is a Latin term most frequently used in logic; and it means the condition in the absence of which something cannot be: So, politics cannot be understood without any reference to *fiqh*.

Al-Mâwardi

Al-Mâwardi, unlike Al-Fârâbî and Avicenna, had not dealt much with speculative issues. He did not pay much attention to relating politics to theories of knowledge, intellect, being, and the like, either. Thus, his thought might be evaluated as the preliminaries of Islamic political science- rather than political philosophy.

The political writings of Al-Mâwardi may be seen as the sum of two distinct styles: 1. The format focusing on the individual ruler as a social figure, as well as his ideal characteristics and lessons learned from the preceding generations, the "Mirrors for Princes" format, which has an important role in the advising tradition in Islam (*nasîhatnâmah*); 2. The format in which the theory of the caliphate (*imâmah*) is put forward, which is more complicated in structure and focused on issues of government. Within the context of the first style, it is convenient to count The Advice to Kings (*Nasîhat Al-Muluk*); and within the second, *Al-Ahkâm As-Sultâniyyah*.

Al- Mawardi's main political thought is embodied in his *Al-Ahkam As-Sultâniyyah*. Only a small part of the work seems to be on political theory, while the rest is a discussion on the details of public administration and rules of government (Sharif, n.d.). But his small portion is extremely important because it is the first attempt in Muslim history to evolve a comprehensive theory of the State and because it has left an enduring influence on the course of Muslim political thought up to our own day (ibid).

In the foreword of *Al-Ahkâm As-Sultâniyyah*, Al- Mâwardi refers to the caliph-the descendant of the Prophet Muhammad-in the following way:

"…Thus in response to the person to whom my obedience is due in this affair, I have made known to him the *madhhabs* of the *fuqaha*' so that he sees both that his rights are respected and that his duties are fulfilled and that he honors the dictates of justice in their execution and aspires to equity in establishing his claims and in the fulfilment of others' claims…" (Al-Mâwardi, 1996: 1-2).

And in the subsequent pages, he gives justification for writing this work:

"…As the laws of governance are more applicable to those in authority but because these latter, being occupied with politics and management, are prevented from examining theses laws as they are mixed with all the other laws, I have devoted a special book to them…" (ibid: 7).

The second quotation provides us with the possibility of arguing that the political theory of Al-Mâwardi takes *fiqh* into account severely.

Nasîhatnâme is a type of guidance letter for Ottoman sultans, similar to mirrors for princes in the Islamic tradition. They draw on a variety of historical and religious sources, and were influenced by the governance of previous empires such as the Seljuk Turks or the Mongols, as well as by early Muslim history and by contemporary events (See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nas%C3%AEhat).

Madhhab derives from the verb *zehâb*, meaning "to go"; and the literal meaning of the term is "the path to follow/the place to go to". However, in Islamic terminology, *madhahab* is used to refer to the totality of the views on human relations-including forms of worship, and, views concerning the fundamentals of religious belief; mostly put forward by the authorities of the subject.

Fuqaha is the plural form of faqih. Faqih is the person who either is specialized in the Islamic science of law *(ilm al-fiqh)* or the execution of law.

The chapter in *Al-Ahkâm As-Sultâniyyah* dealing with the theory of the caliphate is started with the presupposition that the caliph substitutes for the authority of the prophet Muhammad, but not for the power of God (Rosenthal, 1958). This view was largely in contrast with the general presuppositions of the rulers of his time, i.e. the 11th century (ibid: 31).



Picture 3.3 Al M□wardi; oil on canvas

Source: http://www.suaramuhammadiyah.id/ 2016/01/29/ al-mawardi-peletak-dasar-ilmu-politik-syaifullah/

For the appointment of the caliph, Al Mâwardi claimed requirements both for the electors and the candidates, which will be listed respectively. The requirements for the electors are: 1. The ability to be just, 2. Good knowledge of the *shari'ah*, in order to evaluate the religious education of the caliph, 3. Full of "insight and wisdom" to choose a leader who would best fulfill the needs of the community (*ummah*) (Al-Mâwardi, 1996: 11).

Now, we will list Al-Mâwardi's requirements for being a caliph. The caliph, on his view, must be: 1. Just, 2. Possessing full knowledge of the *shari'ah* to be skilled in independent interpretation (*ijtihâd*), 3. Good in overall health-especially in terms of sight, hearing and speech, 4. Physically sound and not disabled from movement, 5. Good in administration, 6. Brave and courageous enough to declare war and fight against enemies, 7. In relation with (a descendant of) the family of Quraish (ibid).

Shari'ah is God's eternal and immutable will for humanity, as expressed in the *Qur'an* and Muhammad's example (Sunnah), considered binding for all believers; ideal Islamic Law. The *Qur'an* contains only about ninety verses directly and specifically addressing questions of law (See: http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e2168).

Ijtihâd is the Islamic legal term meaning "independent reasoning," as opposed to *taqlid* (imitation). Along with The *Quran*, Sunnah and *ijmâ* (social consensus), it is one of the four sources of Sunni law (See: http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e990).

In sum, *Al-Ahkâm As-Sultâniyyah* is a work in which Al-Mâwardi theoretically and legally positioned the *imâmah* and the status of the caliph again within the boundaries of the *shari'ah* (Wan Mansor, 2015: 7). It had set limits for the power of the caliph, too, via strict requirements and demands for religious and secular accountability; and this really had been extraordinary given the circumstances of the place and time Al-Mâwardi had lived (ibid).

Al-Mâwardi's theory of *imâmah* and his positioning of the powers of the caliph had impacts on Ibn Khaldûn's theory of state (Al-Baghdadi, 1981). But before Ibn Khaldûn, we will take up the relation of ethics and politics in Ibn Rushd (Averroës), whose views and commentary on Aristotle had been influential in the West.

Learning Outcomes

2 Analyze the relation of Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) political thought with regard to Al-Mawardi

Self Review 2

Why had *ijtihâd* been considered as one of the fundamental sources of the Sunni law; is it still that influential now? Think.

Relate

Relate Al-Mâwardi's theory of *imâmah* with Ibn Khaldûn's theory of state.

Tell/Share

Tell the main difference between *Nasîhat Al-Muluk* and *Al-Ahkâm As-Sultâniyyah*, as two works on politics.

THE RELATION OF ETHICS WITH POLITICS

The foundations of politics had largely been seen as ethical, especially under the code of Islamic Law (*shari'ah*), since the Ancient Greek legacy were being transferred to the Islamic intellectual background. However, the uprise of theology in the 11th century, and major attacks on the philosophical legacy of Al-Fârâbî and Avicenna as "Philosophers" and accusations of heresy by the Ash'arite theologians-especially by Abu Hamid Muhammad Al-Ghazâlî, had the strongest reaction from Ibn Rushd (Averroës) of Cordoba, Andalus in the 12th century.

Known much widely in the Christian world through his commentaries on Aristotle, Averroës once again emphasized the relation between ethics and politics with illustration from his own history on what would be the case in the absence of ideal characteristics, which rulers should possess. His thoughts, as will be seen, are much in compliance with those of Plato, Aristotle and Al-Fârâbî, on the ethics-politics relation. Nevertheless, we shall not leave aside his original contributions, and start to think first on the relations of philosophical thinking with religion-especially the Law (*shari'ah*).

Ibn Rushd (Averroës)

The philosophy of Ibn Rushd (or Averroës, as he was known in Latin) could be argued to share with Al-Fârâbî's motivations in some respects: attaining happiness and human perfection while safeguarding the continuity of the transmission of philosophy (Fraenkel, 2008: 118). Averroës had begun with the contention that the study of philosophy was commanded by *shari'ah*. Many Quranic verses, such as "Reflect, you have a vision" (59: 2) and "they give thought to the creation of heaven and earth" (3: 191), command human intellectual reflection upon God and his creation. This is best done by demonstration, drawing inferences from accepted premises, as performed by both lawyers and philosophers. Since such obligation is a part of the religion, then a person who has the capacity of "natural intelligence" and "religious integrity" must begin to study philosophy (Hillier, n.d.). The fundamental assumption of Averroës on the relation between philosophy and religion is expressed in *Fasl al-Maqâl* as follows:

"…Since this Law (*shari'ah*) is true and calls to the reflection leading to cognition of the truth, we, the Muslim community, know firmly that demonstrative reflection cannot lead to something differing with what is set down in the Law. For the truth does not contradict the truth [*al-khaqq lâ yuddâd* al-khaqq]; rather, it agrees with and bears witness to it" (Averroës, 1961: 8-9).

Averroës was conscious of the fact that what he just said would be impossible when *shari'ah* is understood fully literally (Fraenkel, 2008: 119). He-following the line of thought in Plato and Al-Fârâbî- had drawn attention to the significance of the "difference in human nature"-i.e., difference between philosophers and non-philosophers, but was aware that *shari'ah* was addressed to all Muslims, and not only to the philosophers of the community (Averroës, 1961: 10). For Averroës, the public attack on the literal sense of the *shari'ah* and any disclosure for the allegorical sense would be harmful for the intention of the prophet; because he concealed the allegorical interpretation due to the mentioned difference in human nature (Fraenkel, 2008: 119).



Important

The full name for *Fasl al-Maqâl* is *Fasl al-Maqâl wa-taqrîr ma bayn al-sharî 'a wa-al-hikma min al-ittisâl;* which means *Decisive Treatise and Determination of the Relationship between the Divine Law and Philosophy.* It is one of the most impactful and original works of Averroës, other than commentaries on Plato and Aristotle.

Relating what has been said on the relation between religion and philosophy so far with Averroës' commentaries on Aristotle, and remaining within the spirit of Averroës' own thought, we can make the following remark: as long as one establishes true philosophical doctrines through demonstration out of his (Aristotle's) works, these works could be approved to coincide with the allegorical content of the *shari'ah* (ibid).

Important

The Quranic surahs are 114 in number, and each has a name. Âyah/âyet-the Arabic/Turkish for "verse", is of 6666 in *Quran*. So, when you see 3: 191 referring to Quran, you should read this as the 191st verse of the surah 'Âl-i İmrân, or 59: 2, the 2nd verse of the surah Hashr.



Picture 3.4 Statue of Averro□s in Cordoba, Spain

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Averro□s

Important

Averroës, different from Al-Fârâbî, evaluates the relationship between philosophers and non-philosophers as static.

Coming to the relation between ethics and politics, Averroës evaluates these two as two parts of the same science (Fakhry, 2001: 106). The state, on his view, was the ground which provided the necessary conditions for pursuing a good life (ibid). In order to make room for the good of everyone, the ruler had to inculcate virtue in the souls of citizens; and for performing this duty, according to Averroës, the ruler has two choices-as he had thoroughly elaborated in *Fasl al-Maqâl*: 1. Persuasion, 2. Coercion. The three methods of persuasion are, demonstrative, dialectical and rhetorical-applying to different groups in the society: the first, to philosophers, the second, to theologians, and, the third, to large masses (Averroës, 1961; Fakhry, 2001). Averroës saw coercion justifiable, in the case of dealing with enemies and non-virtuous citizens (ibid).

The characteristics that should be possessed by the ruler/Imam/Caliph, or by the philosopher-king, on Averroës' view, are as follows: 1. Love of knowledge and the aptitude to acquire theoretical sciences and teach them, 2. Good retention-as a prerequisite for learning, 3. Love of learning, 4. Love of truth and hatred of falsehood, 5. Contempt for sensual pleasures, 6. Aversion to amassing wealth (as well as desire for wealth), 7. Magnanimity, 8. Courage, 9. Resolve to pursue on his own for what is good or beautiful, 10. Eloquence/facility in expressing thoughts, 11. Ability to light quickly on the middle term (Fakhry, 2001: 111). These criteria, according to Averroës, are both in compliance with the ethical standards of Plato and Aristotle on one hand, and, with the ethical code of *shari'ah* on the other (ibid).

Apart from reconciling the Ancient Greek legacy with the allegorical interpretation of the *shari'ah*, Averroës is worthy of attention in his analysis of the degeneration of state (as he idealized) (ibid: 112). While doing so, he was most commonly in line with the Platonic thought; but he didn't neglect adding examples from his own history either, as later would be done by Ibn Khaldûn.

For the degeneration of the perfect state into a timocracy-as Plato argued-Averroës refers to the earliest caliphate, i.e., the Upright Caliphs (*al-Râshidûn*) 632-661 AD; succeeded by the Umayyad state (f. 661 AD), founded by Mu'âwiyyah: the Umayyad state is compared to the governance existing in Andalus, the land of Averroës (Fakhry, 2001: 113).

The further step taken by Averroës, after giving examples through his own history, is that he applied some genetic principles in detail to the political situation in Andalus in his lifetime, and shortly before (ibid: 114). Democracy degenerated into tyranny in Cordoba under the rule of the grandson of 'Ali Ibn Yusuf (1106-1145)-the founder of Almoravids (ibid). The Almoravids had

been overthrown by 'Abd Al-Mu'min, the founder of the Almohades, i.e., the successor of Berber dynasty, under the rule of which Averroës himself had conducted his studies (ibid).

Now, let's turn our attention to politics and the course of civilizations, analysed sociologically, philosophically and historically by the North African born Ibn Khaldûn (1332-1406).

Learning Outcomes

3 Analyze the relation of ethics and politics as well as of philosophy and religion through Averroës

Self Review 3	Relate	Tell/Share
Read *The Incoherence of the Philosophers (Tehâfut Al-Falâsifah)* by Al-Ghazâlî and *The Incoherence of The Incoherence (Tehâfut At-Tehâfut (Al-Falâsifah))* by Ibn Rushd comparatively. Why is the former interpreted as the decline of the philosophical debate in the East, whereas the latter is considered as one of the precursors of Renaissance in the West? Think, and discuss among groups.	Relate Ibn Rushd's vision of the characteristics of the ideal Caliph/Imam with Plato's philosopher-king.	Tell about the possible interpretations of the following view: "they give thought to the creation of heaven and earth" (3: 191).

SOCIOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS OF POLITICS AND CIVILIZATIONS

When we quickly look through the history of thought in the Islamic world after the death of Averroës (1198), we see that the Islamic civilization, in terms of flourishing philosophical thought and/or originality/productivity, has started to vanish. This applies to the time period of Ibn Khaldûn's lifetime as well, as regards Andalus and North Africa, along with the political and civil life (De Boer, 2004: 239). De Boer argues that, this vanishing is due to the fact that philosophy had gradually been swept aside and left as a study which had no influence in culture and in other affairs in life long before the battles lost against the Christians in Andalus (ibid). Consequently, continues De Boer, both the material existence-i.e. the sovereignty, and cultural aspects of the Islamic civilization were in decline; and, during Ibn Khaldûn's early childhood and youth, the Islamic civilization in the West suffered a severe instability (ibid: 239-240). According to Marshal Hodgson, it is possible to talk about a period of collapse in the Islamic societies after the Mongolian conquests in 1259, under the circumstances of very little renovation or progress in culture (Hodgson, 1993: 408).

The reason we give such clues is because the foundations of Ibn Khaldûn's thought, which reflects a deep sociological, philosophical and historical analysis of the patterns of social and political life owe much to the circumstances of his lifetime including his personal experiences in political life, and, how he problematized these experiences. Now let's take a quick look through how Ibn Khaldûn's thought was organized in his magnum opus, namely, *The Muqaddimah*.



Picture 3.5 Picture of the original version of Ibn Khald□n statue, in Tunis

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ibn_Khaldun_Statue.jpg

Ibn Khaldûn and the Muqaddimah

It is known to us through his *Muqaddimah* and his autobiography-namely *Et-Tâ'rîf (bî-Ibn Khaldun Wa* Rıhl*etûhu Garban ve Sharkan)* that Ibn Khaldûn's level of education, motivation for further learning, as well as his intellectual capabilities, are really high. When his experience as a diplomat, jurist, advisor and vizier for more than 40 years is added to the equation, the sum is a multidirectional analysis of utmost significance, which transcends his lifetime and gives rise to a philosophical evaluation of history-both as a discipline, and as a realm of existence.

Walter Joseph Fischel argued that Ibn Khaldûn had not given up any contacts with Maghrib even after settling down in Egypt, and that he had served as a useful advisor in the diplomatic affairs between Egypt and Northwest Africa in exchange of goods and presents, and in welcoming and hosting of important political figures on their visit to Egypt (Fischel, 1951: 115-117). According to his own recording, Ibn Khaldûn spent four years between 1374 and 1378 in the castle of Ibn Sallâmah, away from all political affairs, and dealing only with research and writing. The preliminary lines of *Kitâba'l-Ibar*- his work on universal history, and *The Muqaddimah*, which were intended as the introduction and the first book of this work, are products of these four years (Ibn Khaldûn, 2004: 135-136). In Franz Rosenthal's view, Ibn Khaldûn's conception of himself as belonging to the Andalusian Civilization had resulted in his assessment that the political/bureaucratical positions he was appointed in North Africa were 'office duties' or simply an 'occupation', and the rulers/sultans he served were 'employers' (Rosenthal, 1958: xxxvi). Such an assessment, argued Rosenthal, provided Ibn Khaldûn with the ability to stay impartial to the historical and social facts he experienced, even when he was highly engaged in political affairs; or, in short, with the analyses he expounded in *The Muqaddimah* (ibid).

The term 'Maghrib' in *Muqaddimah* refers to the following regions in North Africa: *Ifrikiyyah*, or Maghrib *Al-Ednâ*, to Tunis, *El-Magribu'l-Ewsât*, to Algeria; and, *el-Maghribu'l-Aksâ,* to Morocco [See Ibn Khaldûn, 2004: 26].



Picture 3.6 Maghrib in the 14th century

Source: https://www.britannica.com/place/North-Africa/From-the-Arab-conquest-to-1830

The Muqaddimah is the sum of the Foreword, the Introduction and the First Book of *Kitâba'l-Ibar*, which Ibn Khaldûn intended as a comprehensive history of world civilizations. However, the analyses and the visionary thoughts on politics, civilization and history have overshadowed what were written in the remaining of *Kitâba'l-Ibar*; moreover, the studies on Ibn Khaldûn's thought after his death (1406) have focused more on *The Muqaddimah*. In the Introduction of *The Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldûn started with setting forth his evaluation on the science of history; and in the First Book, with elaborating the following subjects and the reasons underlying them in general: the nature of 'umrân in the world, and the rural life without the nomadic-settled distinction (*bedâwah*), sedentary culture and urban life (*khadârah*), *taghallub* (sovereignty over winning wars/battles), income, making a living, sciences and education, crafts, etc. (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 71-84). This general content was separated into six chapters afterwards; and each subject, was elaborated and discussed in 'encyclopedical' details, so to speak.

The first chapter consists of a description-in general framework- of the human civilization, its classes and the places occupied by those civilizations on earth (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 83, 87-246). In the second chapter, the rural societies and their civilizations, i.e. the lives of the societies making a living on agriculture and stockbreeding in rather primitive ways, regardless of the fact that they are nomads or settled as villages, are taken up (In Ibn Khaldûn's words, '*badawî 'umrân*') (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 83, 247-310). The third chapter-which also could be read as Ibn Khaldûn's political theory/philosophy- is an analysis of the idea(s) of state, dynasties, caliphate, rulership and the stages in the organization of state as well as positions in bureaucracy and their duties (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 83, 311-481; 1958-II: 3-232). The fourth chapter reflects Ibn Khaldûn's elaboration of the urban societies and their civilizations –i.e. '*khadarî 'umrân*', as well as cities and sedentary cultures (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 83; 1958-II: 235-308). The fifth chapter briefly outlines Ibn Khaldûn's theory of economics; and the majority of the chapter consists of the ways of making a living, in both stages of *'umrân* (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 83; 1958-II: 311-408). The sixth and the last chapter covers an analysis of the sciences, how they are acquired, and transferred to posterity through education (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 83; 1958-II: 411-463; 1958-III: 3-480).

Fundamental Concepts

The impact of *The Muqaddimah* on later thought owes much to the highly sophisticated conceptual framework involved in the investigation of the patterns of social life and their implications in history and politics. When it comes to political thought and civilization, we should pay some attention to both what asabiyyah, mulk, and 'umrân refer to, and, how they are mutually related in Ibn Khaldûn's thought.

Asabiyyah

The fundamental aspect which makes room for the existence of the organization of state-or *mulk*, according to Ibn Khaldûn- is *asabiyyah*. The following signify the determining role of *asabiyyah* on *'umrân*: 1. States-especially the great ones- depend upon ruling through lineage and/or alliance; 2. The great state is the one in which rulers succeed one another in a long period of time; this is the fundamental rule in sovereignty and applies until the decay; 3. The rightful ownership is taken from the hands of those who lost it through the asabiyyah possessed (Ibn Khaldûn, 2004: 200). Furthermore, justice cannot be the case fully in the absence of *asabiyyah*; because *asabiyyah* paves the way for the realization of human activities which are agreed to be useful for the society, as well as for supplying the demands remaining outside the scope of mutual protection and maintenance, which also contributes to the development of crafts; hence, economy (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 264, 284).

Francesco Gabrieli holds that Ibn Khaldûn makes use of the concept *asabiyyah* when he is commenting on history and justifying his model of state. In Gabrieli's interpretation of Ibn Khaldûn, *asabiyyah* is the motive force of history, and the fundamental relation of human society. The translation of *asabiyyah* as 'esprit de corps' (De Slane) into French, or as 'Gemeinsinn' or 'Nationalitätsidee' into German (Von Kremer) is, on Gabrieli's view, nothing but an attempt to modernize Ibn Khaldûn on weak grounds (Gabrieli, 1960: 681). When *asabiyyah* is the case, its quality as the motive force of history is emphasized more by Ibn Khaldûn than blood lineage, and this motive force is a fundamental factor which puts human beings into wars against one another for sovereignty, and for founding dynasties and states (Gabrieli, 1960: 681).

Important

Other than Rosenthal's suggestion, there are also terms suggested such as 'group solidarity' (by M.Halpern), and 'social solidarity' (by M.Mahdî) (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 261). Gabrieli's attitude would be the same against those suggestions; because what this concept refers to-within the framework of his interpretation-cannot find its match in any translation. Therefore, *asabiyyah*, just like mulk and *'umrân*, is left as it is.

Asabiyyah may be seen as a concept on which contemporary political philosophy is based, too, along with equality, autonomy, liberty, virtue, rights, justice, power, legitimacy; and, even more sophisticated than the mentioned concepts with regard to its explanatory potentials. Lenn E. Goodman, in "Ibn Khaldûn and Thucydides", argues that the scope and the limitations of *asabiyyah* determine the scope and limitation of political change, and, even more, the laws of asabiyyah are laws of history (Goodman, 1972: 257).

Now, let's examine *mulk*, and try to understand the role of *asabiyyah* and how it is related with *mulk*.

Mulk (Sovereignty/Organisation of State)

The building of towns and cities owe much to a great cooperation among people, and this requires the existence of a forceful authority; therefore, *mulk*-i.e. the organization of state-is the necessary condition for establishment of social lives in towns and cities (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-II: 235). Once the urban life is constructed with regard to the vision of the founding state and in accordance with the climate of the region, the life span of the city depends on the life span of the *mulk* (ibid: 236).

Important

Ibn Khaldûn, in the beginning of the fourth chapter of The Muqaddimah, uses dynasty, 'mulk' and 'state' as standing for one another.

In order for the institutionalization of religion and for the execution of the *shari'ah,* caliphate/imamah, i.e. representation for the prophet as the vice ruler of the religious state, is of specifical significance. The caliphs, in Ibn Khaldûn's view, act only in accordance with the *shari'ah* when religion is the case. They are appointed in order to make the fundamentals of Law known to the public and to rule and lead them in compliance with the Law (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 448). However, the caliph is responsible for the worldly affairs, too; so, *mulk*-as a power based on secular politics, is within the boundaries of the caliphate as well, says Ibn Khaldûn, when Islâm is the case (ibid). The duties of the caliph are classified under two titles as religious and political duties. That is, the caliph is both a Sh'ari and a ruler; in other words, both malik and sultan; performing the obligations of the caliph and holding the institutional/organizational structure with regard to the obligations mentioned above (ibid). In short, the state/*mulk*, according to Ibn Khaldûn, is a necessary being for providing the comfort for human societies, who by nature tend towards welfare and comfort. The ground for this, in other words, what enables *mulk* to do what it is supposed to do, is found in *'umrân*.

'Umrân

When Ibn Khaldûn took *'umrân* together with aspects like 'human civilization' and 'social organization', he equipped this concept with a specifical and technical meaning, and, used it in a way to refer to basic events arising from human beings' lives and organization as societies, but more than that, to institutions (Ibn Khaldûn 1958-I: 69, 71). In *The Muqaddimah*, *'umrân* bears the following meanings: 1. To settle down/live at a given place, 2. Visiting a location, 3. Building up a construction (*'imar'*), 4. To be settled with, as humans and animals with regard to the place itself, to be frequently visited, be held in good condition, 5. To take care of a given place, cultivate. This last one enables us to interpret 'umrân with regard to progress as well. For Ibn Khaldûn, using *'umrân* within this context also paves the way to justify that development and progress in civilizations is good (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-II: 109; 270, 276). However, Ibn Khaldûn did not conceive of progress in connection with a single aspect; rather, he argued that progress should be supplied with aspects like morals, state, society, population and should be sustainable.

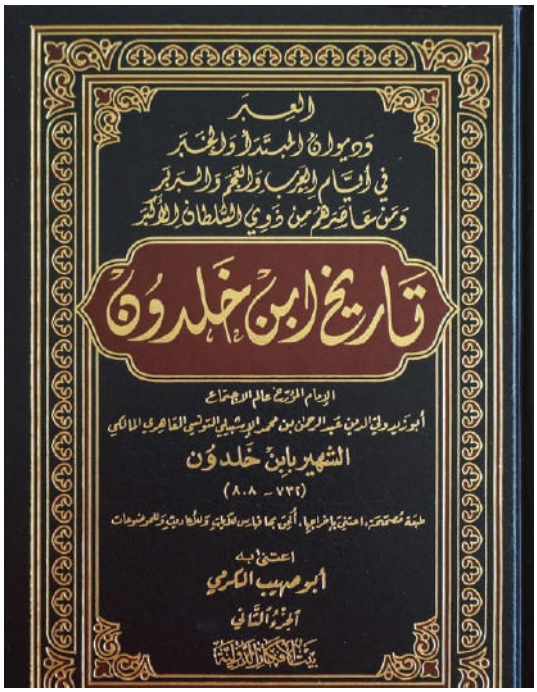
When we talk about *'ilm al-'umrân*, as the supplementary discipline founded by Ibn Khaldûn for history, we see that this discipline is of a descriptive character, rather than normative. The historical-sociological framework provided by *'ilm al-'umrân* is a result of Ibn Khaldûn's effort of impartiality (Rosenthal, 1958: xxxvi).

It could be argued that Ibn Khaldûn took the following as standpoint, while classifying the stages of *'umrân* as *badawî* and *khadarî*, and starting from the *badawî*: There is a gradation from simple to complex in human needs and this gradation is the reason underlying the distance *'umrân* traverses from *badâwah* to *khadârah*. After identifying *badâwah* as the beginning of *'umrân* and the origin of *khadarî 'umrân*, Ibn Khaldûn compared and contrasted the patterns of life in both stages of *'umrân*, and showed that the human life undergoes change within this process. For instance, human beings tend to do favor and be happy about this at the first stage- i.e.*badâwah*, much more than the second (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 253-257). This is because in the second stage, humans tend toward benefits, due to the habits acquired through welfare in *khadârah*, and to the pleasures; the multitude and variety of these passions, as well as their impact on the self (*nafs*) results in bad character, and spoils human personality (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 254).

Important

Nafs is a concept referring to human soul most commonly; but sometimes it refers to ego- as love of self-which is the lowest part of our inner existence; hence leading humans to evil.

When *The Muqaddimah* is not read carefully, it seems that *asabiyyah* results in *mulk*, and *badawî 'umrân* results in *khadarî*, which is the beginning of the process of destruction for *asabiyyah* and *'umrân*; in other words, *asabiyyah* and *'umrân*-which have life spans just as human beings do- complete the cycle and die, when they reach their goal (*telos*) (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-II: 291). But this judgment is based on a literal and careless reading: What Ibn Khaldûn aims to explain is that what is subject to life span is the sedentary culture as the product of *'umrân*, rather than *'umrân* itself; and this life span manifests itself in the form of transforming in accordance with the changing circumstances, rather than vanishing.



Picture 3.7 The Muqaddimah in two volumes, in Arabic

Source: https://www.sifatusafwa.com/en/islamic-history/1484-tarikh-ibn-khaldun-kitab-al-ibar-the-muqaddima-2-volumes-9789957211585.html

Circularity of the Stages of Sovereignty

Are states and civilizations born and are they subject to death, just like human beings? This is a question causing controversies, because there are passages in *The Muqaddimah* which could be interpreted in either way. However, degeneration being a prominent stage in the process of diminishing and/or vanishing is beyond any debate. The clues given in *The Muqaddimah* enable us for the interpretation that corruption, and more than that, degeneration is the result of a process beginning with the indulgence of human beings-by nature- for worldly pleasures upon reaching welfare which gives rise to the loss of morality/moral values. Hence, there is still hope for postponing/stopping corruption and degeneration; but first, let's pay some attention to passages highlighting that *'umrân* and *mulk* have life spans.

The goal of *'umrân* is sedentary culture/civilization and economical wealth. Just like in the life cycles of the living beings in nature, *'umrân*, too, starts to get old and deteriorates after reaching its goal (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-II: 295). According to Ibn Khaldûn, who holds that " morality consisting of *khadârah*

and welfare is nothing but directly the degeneration of morality", the essence of human being lies in the potential to pursue a virtuous and sustainable character in order to fight against negative aspects while acquiring benefits (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-II: 295). However, as a being in need of someone else for everything, human beings have alienated their essence in both natural and moral regards; moreover, indulgence for the luxury coming along with the sedentary culture has corrupted their religion; excesses disregarding temperateness corrupt human personality and this reaches a point where modesty and satisfaction with the less-as religion sets forth- is annihilated (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-II: 295-296).

Coming to the relation of the state and civilization, we can assert that the current situation of the sultan and the state is the form of *'umrân*, whereas *'umrân* is the matter of state; in other words, *'umrân* sets the necessary ground for the existence of state authority, and state is necessary so that we are able to conceive the existence of an *'umrân* in a given place (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-II: 300).

In Ibn Khaldûn's account, the caliphate existed prior to *mulk*. Then there has been an intertwining in the meaning of the two; and since *asabiyyah* related with mulk is different from *asabiyyah* related with caliphate, *mulk* existed independently, on its own afterwards (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 418). As the 'umrân proceeds from *badâwah* to *khadârah*, the state inclines towards *mulk*-or sultanate, from chieftancy (*riyâsah*). *Mulk,* for the Islamic society, is nothing but "a way of rule adopted by the heretics and enemies of religion" (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 415). The ordering by Ibn Khaldûn grounds for the thought that economical benefits are influential on the progression from caliphate to sultanate/*mulk* (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 416).

In Erwin Rosenthal's view, the observations and investigations by Ibn Khaldûn on the problem of state has reached a level that he could set the general principles guiding the rule of state beyond Islamic civilization; even more, Ibn Khaldûn also properly placed the Islamic states within this general framework of principles (Rosenthal, 1968: 3). However, especially the third chapter of *The Muqaddimah* focuses more on *mulk*. According to E. Rosenthal, the progression from caliphate to *mulk*-i.e. to power-oriented state- is a natural and an inevitable fact (Rosenthal, 1968: 84-109).

Every stage that the state passes through or the form it shows itself paves the way for the acquirement of different habits by the rulers and to set forth these habits in the specified stage. The names of these stages, as classified by Ibn Khaldûn, give the necessary clues for: 1. Establishment, 2. Monopolizing power, 3. Luxury, comfort and leisure, 4. Contentment, satiation and complacency, 5. Prodigality, waste and collapse. Each stage of the state is characterized at most by the level of *asabiyyah*, because if *asabiyyah* starts to weaken, it is inevitable to talk about the beginning of the end for the state- or *mulk*- embodied by that *asabiyyah*. Sovereignty through sultanate, as one of the products of human beings, is destined to change and/or disappear-just like human beings themselves; because everything that is created changes and disappears.

Precautions for the Sustainability of the State (and Sovereignty)

Despite the fact that every human creation is subject to a certain life span, like the humans themselves, there is still some hope for prolonging the life of state and civilization. Now, we are going to look at the other side of the coin and evaluate the scripts in *The Muqaddimah,* which will enable us to infer that some methods might be followed for the sustainability of state/sovereignty and the civilization grounding it.

If we were to list the facts which would lead us to infer such a judgment, we could refer to *The Muqaddimah* and say the following: 1. The power of the *mulk* is materialized only through the execution of law; and law could only be executed by a powerful government/*mulk*; 2. *Mulk* (as *ric*âl) could increase its power only through support of the people; 3. People could not survive without acquiring wealth; 4. Wealth cannot be acquired in the absence of development (*el- 'imâre*/*'umrân*); 5. Development could not be provided without justice; 6. The major criterion (*mîzân*) on which Allah will evaluate humans is justice and it is the duty of the ruler/sovereign to provide justice (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-II: 105-106). The responsibility of the ruler(s), for the materialization of justice, is making ethical codes set forth through *fiqh* applicable in public space, via incentive and deterrent executions of law (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 262-263).

Ricâl refers to high officials, dignitaries, i.e. to men of importance/high bureaucracy in the Islamic tradition (including the Ottoman Empire).

Mîzân literally means a device used for weighing something, like scale. In Islamic terms, it is a spiritual scale which will be used to weigh one's good deeds and sins in the Hereafter (See http://www.nasirislam.com/Articles/MIZAN-SCALE.html).

On the basis of what has been said so far, state appears as the most fundamental and comprehensive institution for the solution of arising problems in the *khadarî 'umrân*, whose surface area and population increase along with the diversification of needs. The state has to follow policies for fulfilling such a duty. If the legislation is due to *ric*âl, who are wise, successful and experienced in government affairs, then "rational policy" is being followed, if we adopt Ibn Khaldûn's terms (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 385). If, on the other hand, the legislation is due to Allah and is mediated to us through his Prophet, to whom we owe the first executions, then "religious policy" is the case, which we would benefit from both in this world and hereafter (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 385). To be the head of a religious state is suitable for the Prophet, who extended the invitation to society for the religion in his lifetime, and, after his death, for the person elected to rule in accordance with the *shari'ah*, namely the *caliph* (or *imam*) (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 387).

Ibn Khaldûn, at this stage, insists that the caliph must be appointed on the consent of the Muslim community (*ummah*), and not on succession and sultanate (ibid). The realization of this norm had first been seen in the election of Caliph Uthman, after Caliph Umar (ibid). The principle had been followed by the last Upright Caliph 'Ali, too: having avoided to address a candidate to succeed him, he left the ultimate choice to his *ummah* (ibid).

Important

Caliphate and *imamah* are synonymous for Ibn Khaldûn, and used instead of one another (Ibn Khaldûn 1958-I: 388).

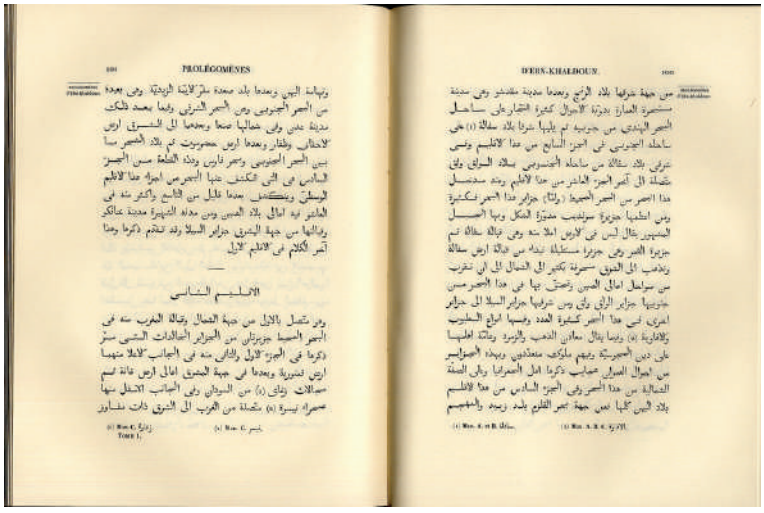
The basic difference between caliphate and *mulk* is seen in the mentality of rule: Caliphate envisages a model which tends to solve the actual and/or potential problems on the basis of the fundamental judgments of religion-i.e. taking Quran, sunnah and hadith as reference. *Mulk,* on the other hand, highlights the secular/worldly aspects when approaching to political problems and the primary or the secondary constituents of the institution of state are not held responsible for the execution of religious duties as in the caliphate. Ibn Khaldûn's political theory could be argued to be grounded on an observation of the Islamic states in his lifetime and in the past. That's why Ibn Khaldûn, assessed caliphate as superior to *mulk*-talking ideally; because the former was based on *shari'ah*, and the latter, on army power (ibid).

But, is it not possible to reconcile caliphate and *mulk*? Ibn Khaldûn seems optimistic, as regards the answer to the question: If the abuse of power/rule, luxury and extravagance could be prevented, then the religious rule with the divine source-i.e. caliphate and the worldly rule with a human source- could be accorded. So, remaining within the spirit of *The Muqaddimah*, we could say that if the *mulk*-as worldly authority- provides for the rule of law as well as rational government, then a long-lasting civilization could be the case, and, such a state and civilization are related with each other like form and matter, as stated above (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-II: 300).

The only way for this is, on Ibn Khaldûn's view, is morality based on religion; because religion is the only influential power which could not only unite different people tending toward a variety of pleasures around a single purpose, but also make these people sacrifice their lives for that purpose (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 319). This makes room for the emergence of religious politics, too; because the benefits to be considered by the human beings are not limited with this world, but also contain life after death (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 385). As Nigel Lawson rightly argues, no political and economic order could be stable in the absence of moral values (Lawson, 1995: 35).

Finally, state and civilization will exist as long as human beings live as societies; because state and civilization are necessary qualities found in human nature. As *'umrân* proceeds from *badâwah* to *khadârah*, perhaps to *badâwah* again, and then

to *khadârah* once more, the state and the founders/rulers, as well as the duties of the institutions which are due to the interests of the rulers undergo a continuous transformation. Therefore, it is possible to assert that institutions, just like states and civilizations, will survive in the presence of social organizations, as a mechanism for the solution to the problems arising under the circumstances determined by the growing and varying needs.



Picture 3.8 One of the manuscripts of The Muqaddimah; first published by Etienne Quatremere, in France

Source: https://www.library.yale.edu/neareast/exhibitions/ IbnKhaldun.html

Conclusion

The discussion given so far leads to the following general judgments concerning the social and political thought in the medieval Islamic world: 1. The Islamic civilization, as based on a religious foundation and on the values set forth by religion, had provided the Arabs and the other adopters of this religion with a new paradigm of life and social organization, 2. The mentioned paradigm had been tried to be enrooted in the organizations of the state starting from caliphate and proceeding with sultanate and in the institutions for executing certain duties of state.

When Ibn Khaldûn's thought is the case, it might be argued that it still invites some questions on philosophy of history today, which would give rise to fruitful and useful discussions-for example: how, and to what extent might the contemporary global civilization be transformed? If the global civilization collapses, what type of a civilization might be expected to succeed? What could be the contribution of the Islamic civilization to humanity, as an alternative for global civilization? Reflecting on such questions, as well as trying to see how philosophers of history such as Ibn Khaldûn and Vico may contribute to this process would broaden our intellectual horizons, both on historical and political issues.

Learning Outcomes

4 Evaluate Ibn Khaldûn's contributions to political thought within the context of his Muqaddimah.

Self Review 4

It is worth our attention that Ibn Khaldûn limited his inquiry with monarchic state types, leaving aside oligarchy, aristocracy or democracy. Is this omission due to the lack of knowledge, or a conscious choice? Discuss.

Relate

Relate the form-matter relation established by Ibn Khaldûn between state and civilization with that of Aristotle (See Metaphysics, 1036a-).

Tell/Share

Explain the term badawî (Ibn Khaldûn, 1958-I: 249). Tell about the distinction of badawî and khadarî as comparable to the distinction of rural and urban societies, rather than to the distinction of nomadic and the settled.

Ibn Khaldûn envisaged the religious state as ideal; but argued that such a state only existed in the lifetime of Prophet Muhammad and continued for a while in the time of upright Caliphs; and, that the Islamic states had turned into dynastic monarchies based on conquests and the power of armies (See Rosenthal, 1968). Share this as an analysis that provides us with a perspective from which history of Islamic civilizations could be read.

LO 1 Illustrate the impact of Ancient Greek legacy on the Islamic political thought through Al-F□r□b□ and Avicenna.

The Ancient Greek philosophy had impacts on the Islamic political thought most through Plato, Aristotle and the Neoplatonists. The ideal of the prophet-king resembles much with the Platonic ideal of the philosopher-king; and the consideration of the ethical values in the appointment of rulers owe much to Aristotelian thought.

However, this should not lead us to the conclusion that Al-Fârâbî and Avicenna had no contributions to any part of Ancient Greek thought. On the contrary, the elaboration of the function of religion in social and political life had given rise to further discussions on jurisprudence.

LO 2 Analyze the relation of Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) with political thought with regard to Al-M□wardi.

The Islamic law (fiqh) and the science of law (usul al-fiqh) are important preconditions to talk about political affairs in the Islamic civilization. Al-Mâwardi, the first political scientist in the Islamic world, was not concerned much with speculative and metaphysical issues, like his predecessors. Rather, he emphasized the standards of being appointed as a Caliph/Imam, and the standards for being the electors of the Caliph/Imam, which were rather high. In addition, his thoughts were considered revolutionary in the 11th century, when he admitted the caliph as representing the authority of the Prophet, rather than of God (Allah). Al-Mâwardi's theoretical and legal treatise in Al-Ahkâm As-Sultâniyyah had its impacts on Ibn Khaldûn, too, which could be seen in his comparative analysis of caliphate and sultanate.

LO 3 Analyze the relation of ethics and politics as well as of philosophy and religion through Averro□s.

Concerning the relation between philosophy and religion, Averroës' point of view was that studying philosophy was a command of the *shari'ah*; when we adopt an allegorical interpretation of it. So, *shari'ah* is not-and should not be seen-an obstacle for philosophy, from his perspective.

Averroës' thoughts on the ethics-politics relation were much in compliance with those of Plato, Aristotle and Al-Fârâbî. He evaluated ethics and politics as two parts of the same science, and saw state as the necessary ground for the attainment of ethical perfection. Averroës disagreed with Al-Fârâbî on the relationship between philosophers and non-philosophers, and he agreed with Plato on the degeneration of ideal rule, illustrating his point of view from his own history-which is said to inspire Ibn Khaldûn.

LO 4 Evaluate Ibn Khaldûn's contributions to political thought within the context of The Muqaddimah.

The assumption in this chapter has been that *The Muqaddimah* is the major work giving clues for the contribution of Ibn Khaldûn to political thought: Analyzing the three fundamental concepts, namely *asabiyyah, mulk* and *'umrân*, and how they are related in *The Muqaddimah,* provide us with the ability to evaluate the patterns of social and political life envisaged by Ibn Khaldûn.

The most striking relations and judgments to be drawn out of *The Muqaddimah* might be stated as follows: 1. *Asabiyyah* is the precondition for the existence of social life, as well as political authority-hence both for *'umrân* and *mulk*, 2. Mulk/state authority and *'umran* are related just like form and matter, 3. Sovereignties/dynasties and the sedentary cultures have life spans-just like human beings, 4. It is possible to prolong/postpone the death of sovereignties and urban civilizations through justice.

Test Yourself

1 I. Nicomachean Ethics
II. Republic
III. Politics

Which of the above may be argued to have the least influence on Al-Fârâbî's political thought?

a. I and II
b. Only I
c. Only II
d. Only III
e. I, II and III

2 Which of the following could *madinah* best be paired with; as regards political philosophy?

a. Politeia
b. Kratia
c. Demos
d. Polis
e. Telos

3 "_____is the line of thought defending that existence of all things are due to the process of flowing from/pouring out of" Which of the following rightly fills in the blank?

a. Essentialism
b. Existentialism
c. Aristotelianism
d. Platonism
e. Emanationism

4 "_____, in contrast to Al-Fârâbî and Avicenna, had not dealt much with issues of philosophy; " Which of the following fills the blank correctly?

a. Al-Kindî
b. Al-Ghazâlî
c. Al-Mâwardi
d. Averroës
e. Ibn Khaldûn

5 Which of the following **can not be** counted among the four sources of the Sunni law?

a. Quran
b. Taqlid
c. Sunnah
d. Ijtihâd
e. Ijmâ

6 Which of the following philosophers drew attention to the distinction between literal and allegorical interpretation of the *shari'ah*?

a. Averroës
b. Al-Ghazâlî
c. Ibn Khaldûn
d. Al-Mâwardi
e. Al-Fârâbî

7 Which of the following matches is correct, as regards Averroës' thought?

Method of persuasion	Group Applied
a. Demonstrative	Philosophers
b. Dialectical	Philosophers
c. Demonstrative	Theologians
d. Rhetorical	Theologians
e. Rhetorical	Large masses

8 Which of the following is considered as the autobiography of Ibn Khaldûn?

a. The Muqaddimah
b. Kitâba'l-Ibar
c. Et-Tâ'rîf
d. Shifa As-Sâ'îl
e. Lubâbu'l-Muhassâl

9 Which of the following interpreted Ibn Khaldûn's asabiyyah as motive force of history?

a. Von Kremer
b. Gabrieli
c. Schacht
d. De Slane
e. Halpern

10 "As the culture and civilization proceeds from rural to urban, the state inclines towards mulk, from_____." Which of the following fills the blank correctly?

a. Asabiyyah
b. Badâwah
c. Khadârah
d. Imâmah
e. Riyâsah

1. d	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Influence of Ancient Greek Political Philosophy: Al-Fârâbî and Avicenna".
2. d	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Influence of Ancient Greek Political Philosophy: Al-Fârâbî and Avicenna".
3. e	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Influence of Ancient Greek Political Philosophy: Al-Fârâbî and Avicenna".
4. c	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Relation of Islamic Jurisprudence (Fiqh) With Politics".
5. b	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Relation of Islamic Jurisprudence (Fiqh) With Politics".
6. a	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Relation of Ethics With Politics".
7. a	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Relation of Ethics With Politics".
8. c	If your answer is incorrect, review "Sociological and Philosophical Analysis of Politics and Civilizations".
9. b	If your answer is incorrect, review "Sociological and Philosophical Analysis of Politics and Civilizations".
10. e	If your answer is incorrect, review "Sociological and Philosophical Analysis of Politics and Civilizations".

Suggested Answers for "Self Review"

What is your opinion on the impact of Ancient Greek legacy on the early Islamic thought? Would Islamic civilization still cultivate a philosophical tradition in the absence of such a tradition preceding itself? Discuss.

Self Review 1

To claim that the early Islamic thought, or the intellectual tradition in the Islamic civilization in general-from the beginning to the current-had no original contribution to civilization in general but is a mere copy/transfer of the Ancient Greek philosophical tradition, is to evaluate the impact mentioned from an *orientalist* point of view.

Despite the fact that Ancient Greek thought and the major representatives of this tradition-through translations, interpretations and/or commentaries-had impacts on the development of intellectual tradition in the Islamic civilization, the philosophers and other thinkers of this tradition had their own contributions, too, especially when reconciling thoughts of a polytheistic culture with the fundamental values of a monotheistic culture; in this case, *Quran, Sunnah*, and *hadith*. In short, it is difficult to answer the question both in an affirmative and a negative way; because each attitude has its own merits (points of justification) and flaws (possible counter-examples).

Why had ijtihâd been considered as one of the fundamental sources of the Sunni law; is it still that influential now? Think.

Self Review 2

In its literal meaning, *ijtihâd* refers to 'effort', physical or mental, expended in a particular activity. Even from the literal meaning, one can infer that Islam invites a specific attention to putting one's effort into deeper thinking and/or reasoning, to be fair and just in human relations. In its technical sense, *ijtihad* could be defined as a "process of legal reasoning and hermeneutics through which the jurist *(mujtahid)* derives or rationalizes law on the basis of the *Quran* and *Sunnah*. To be a good *mujtahid*, one has to have good command/expertise of Arabic language, as well as theology (*kalâm*), *Quran, Sunnah,* principles of jurisprudence (*usul al-fiqh*).

In early 1600's, Sunni Muslim reformers had begun to criticize taqlid (imitation of the precedents without thinking), and promoted greater use of ijtihad in legal issues. Their claim was that instead of looking solely to previous generations for practices developed by religious scholars, there should be an established doctrine and rule of behavior through the interpretation of original foundational texts of Islam-the *Quran* and *Sunnah*. Public debates in the Muslim world concerning *ijtihad* still continue. Defending *ijtihad* has been associated with Islamic modernists and purist Salafi thinkers. Among contemporary Muslims in the West, a new vision of *ijtihad* has emerged, which emphasises substantive moral values (of the current world) over traditional methodology of jurisprudence.

Read The Incoherence of the Philosophers (Tehâfut Al-Falâsifah) by Al-Ghazâlî and The Incoherence of The Incoherence (Tehâfut At-Tehâfut (Al-Falâsifah)) by Ibn Rushd comparatively. Why is the former interpreted as the decline of the philosophical debate in the East, whereas the latter, one of the precursors of Renaissance in the West? Think, and discuss among groups.

Self Review 3

Tehâfut Al-Falâsifah (The Incoherence of the Philosophers) by Al-Ghazâlî had been an attack on the Neoplatonistic interpretation of Islamic theology and metaphysics- especially by those performed by Al-Fârâbî and Avicenna, and tried to show that the efforts in giving rational proof(s) for the existence of God is at odds with the Islamic theology; and results in incoherences, and themselves irrational. However, Al-Ghazâlî's main agenda could have been interpreted as a concern to make a distinction between reason and revelation/pure belief-more than that, an effort to purify belief from worldly faculties; as he was also a Sufi. This agenda, when interpreted in a way to get rid of a rival theological school-namely Mu'tazilah-could have been subject to abuse in the hands of theological authorities, who engaged much in political affairs as well, in the 11th century. The distinction between reason and belief had taken the Western civilization to Renaissance and Reform.

On the other hand, Averroës' *Tehâfut At-Tehâfut (The Incoherence of The Incoherence)* attacks Al-Ghazâlî's work, in that claiming for the insufficiency of reason for knowledge on one hand, and using logic to refute the earlier thinking on the other is nothing but incoherence itself. Despite the fact that Averroës tried to harmonise reason with revelation-just like many other medieval thinkers of his time-his impact had been more of a progressive kind than that of Al-Ghazâlî's; but why it happened that way requires an explanation which is not limited to these two works on incoherence.

Averroës, through his Latin followers, had been influential on Europe-both on Christians and the Jews: Within the walls of the University of Paris, a group of philosophers came to identify themselves with the Aristotelian philosophy presented by Averroës, particularly certain elements of its relation to religion. Later known as the "Latin Averroists", some Christian philosophers drew attention to a controversy within the Roman Catholic Church, about the relation of philosophy and theology. His thoughts on Aristotle and the relationship between philosophy and religion, particularly revelation, inspired a renewed interest in the interpretation of sacred writings and the Jewish religion, too: Key Jewish philosophers- such as Moses Narboni, Abraham ibn Ezra and Maimonides-became associated with Averroës in the West, even though they had taken his doctrines into new directions.

It is worthy of attention that Ibn Khaldûn limited his inquiry with monarchic state types, leaving aside oligarchy, aristocracy or democracy. Is this omission due to lack of knowledge, or a conscious choice? Discuss.

Self Review 4

When we recall once more that the political theory of Ibn Khaldûn is based more on his observations, and that, he considered himself more a part of Andalusian civilization rather than North African (Berber), it will be easier to infer that he remained impartial in his observations of the patterns of social and political life in the places he served.

Therefore, his limitation of himself with the types of state, of which he had good command and enough data for evaluation seems to be his own choice, regarding his standards of objectivity set forth in *The Muqaddimah*, while talking about ilm al-'umrân and its use for the science of history. This limitation might also be due to lack of knowledge; because we know both from *The Muqaddimah* and *Et-Tâ'rîf* that he had not served for either democratic, or aristocratic or oligarchic rule, but the only type of government he worked for had been monarchy/sultanate. However, even in the case of lack of knowledge, we could argue for the fact that it had been Ibn Khaldûn's own choice not to talk about, analyze or evaluate a type of government which he had no data for.

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Chapter 4

Political Thought in the Medieval Europe

After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

Learning Outcomes

1. Analyse medieval political thought with regard to the Bible (The New Testament) and its teachings
2. Relate medieval political thought with the teaching of The Church, specifically, with that of Augustine
3. Explain and illustrate the major concepts and problems in medieval political thought
4. Evaluate the medieval political tradition through its resources and impacts

Chapter Outline

Introduction

The Bible and Its Political Legacy

The Ecclesiastic Influence

Major Problems, Concepts and Philosophers in the Medieval Political Thought

The Philosophical Foundations of the "Modern" State

Key Terms

Bible
The New Testament
City of God
Civil law
Canon law
Natural law
Magna Carta
Secularism



INTRODUCTION

Medieval political philosophy is a part of the intellectual legacy of Western Europe in the middle ages. "Middle ages" might be started with the decline of the Western Roman Empire (476 AD) and ended up with the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans (1453 AD) when general history of civilisation is the case. However, as regards the history of philosophy and/or history of thought in general, even the specalists of medival thought disagree on the beginning and the end of the middle ages. Concerning Western European medieval thought, it will be used to note that "scholasticism" or the "scholastic age" are widely known and common names to refer to this tradition. It is a presuppositon without any further discussion, too, that the medieval thought includes the "pre-scholastic", "scholastic" and "late scholastic" periods.

This chapter aims to focus on the major problems of the medieval political thought from a philosophical perspective at most, but will do this on a chronological basis. So, we will start with the Bible and its political legacy, carry on with the influences of Aristotelian thought and of The Church, Augustine's philosophy of history-politics, and walk towards the path paved for modernity through an analysis of the major concepts and problems of political thought in the medieval era.

THE BIBLE AND ITS POLITICAL LEGACY

Western European thought in the middle ages, as is well known to most of you, is characterised by the teachings of Christianity. Because Christianity is too deep an ocean to dive in, we will limit ourselves with the political implications of some major concepts in The Holy Bible, which will provide us with the necessary material to relate Christian teaching with the medieval political thought.



Important

The Bible consists of two major parts/books: *The Old Testament* and *The New Testament.* In general, The Bible is used to refer to the whole legacy, The Old Testament refers uniquely to Judaism and the New Testament to Christianity. Therefore, references to each book will be made through verses and numbers.

Obedience and Pacifism

Political ideas in the Bible concerning obedience might be summarised as follows:

1. The human beings are usually ruled by kings or emperors. There are very few traces of republican institutions in the Bible (There is one exception: 1 Machabees 8: 14–16 is an admiring description of Roman republican government.)
2. Kings are quite often evil; and are tyrants and enemies of God. The ruled often share the bad deeds of the rulers.
3. The kingship of King David is a model (although David also often sinned).
4. Subjects must obey rulers, even the wicked. It is wrong to disobey, and especially to make any attack on the person of the ruler (2 Samuel 1:14–16).
5. But obedience to rulers is always limited by obedience to the commands of God. That means, the supremacy and the sovereignty of God is thought as superior to any worldly rule or ruler.

The *New Testament* also includes and underlines the advice that Christians must obey their rulers:

"…Let every soul be subject to higher powers: for there is no power but from God: and those that are, are ordained of God…" (Romans 13: 1–5).

"…Be ye subject therefore to every human creature for God's sake: whether it be to the king as excelling; or to governors as sent by him … For so is the will of God" (1 Peter 2:13–15).

Along with obedience, *The New Testament* also includes texts that forbid Christians to use terms of force:

"…But I say to you not to resist evil: but if one strike thee on thy right cheek, turn to him also the other…Love your enemies: do good to them that hate you: and pray for them that persecute and calumniate you…" (Matthew 5: 39–44).

Refusing to use any way of physical resistance against enemies and obeying even the worst worldly ruler by the early Christians makes room for the following question: Is slavery legitimate; or, is it possible to legitimise having slaves on the basis of the teaching of *The New Testament?*



Picture 4.1 An image of The Holy Bible

Source: https://creativemarket.com/Natis/378517-Holy-bible-icon

Slavery

Christianity is agreed to be indifferent to matters of slavery; which is also compatible with the Ancient Greek thought. The following quotations from the different parts of *The New Testament* show that slavery is not considered a big social problem in the eyes of Christianity. Moreover, Christianity advises slaves to be obedient to their masters, regardless of whether they are good or evil:

"…Let every man abide in the same calling in which he was called. Wast thou called, being a bondman? care not for it … For he that is called in the Lord, being a bondman, is the freeman of the Lord. Likewise he that is called, being free, is the bondman of Christ…" (Corinthians 7: 20–22).

However, there are also verses that refer to the equality and unity of all human beings-around the personality of Jesus Christ, which leads us to thinking that the social order making room for slavery is only a worldly illusion.

"…There is neither Jew nor Greek: there is neither bond nor free: there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus…" (Galatians 3: 28).

When we look at the other side of the coin, this reference to the unity and equality of humanity in the person of Jesus might also be appraised as a consolation for the unfair social and economical circumstances. Some other verses in The New Testament that advise slaves to be obedient to their masters as if they are obeying Jesus Christ go thus:

"…Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward…" (Peter 2: 18).

"…Servants, be obedient to them that are your lords according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in the simplicity of your heart, as to Christ…" (Ephesians 6: 5; cf. Colossians 3: 22).

On the basis of these quotations from the primary source of Christianity, it is possible to argue that even religions-including the monotheistic-were inadequate in changing the socio-economic circumstances of the time they emerged. So, even the apostles of Jesus Christ did not have enough courage and confidence to forbid and/or to stand against slavery although Christianity is quite often advertised as "the religion of free will/freedom". It is possible to agree more with the mentioned point of view when the issue of property is taken up.

Property

It is a good idea to start our elaboration of property with saying that Christianity-as the New Testament of The Bible-continued the ethical codes of Judaism, especially the ultimate ten commandments revealed to Moses, one of which is "thou shalt not steal" (Exodus 20: 15).

Despite the fact that Christianity did not condemn any property holding, and that medieval political writers had seen property as natural and right and demanded respect for it, Christianity seemed to suggest a type of voluntary poverty, and a type of sharing goods which might be related with communism. The early Christian community in Jerusalem seemed to be united towards this as a social ideal, which made them share a single heart and a soul (Kilcullen-Robinson 2017: 5).

The following quotation from *The New Testament* illustrates what recently has been said about the social ideals of the early Christians:

"…Jesus saith to him: If thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast, and give to the poor…Then Jesus said to his disciples: Amen, I say to you, that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again I say to you: It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven…" (Matthew 19: 21-24; cf. Luke 18: 22).

Following the ideals of early Christianity on voluntary poverty, the leading institutions of medieval Europe included monasticism and other forms of religious life, which praise poverty and communal living, instead of saving and claiming property (Kilcullen-Robinson 2017: 5).

Monasticism or *monkhood* is a religious way of life in which one renounces worldly pursuits to devote oneself fully to spiritual work.

Kingdom of Christ

It is a common belief among the Medieval Christians that Jesus Christ was a king. However, Jesus himself is believed to have said: "My kingdom is not of this world" (John 18: 36), and he seemed to recommend obedience to the Roman Emperor: "Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God, the things that are God's" (Matthew 22: 21).

These all lead us to thinking that none of Christ's followers would have power over the others:

"…You know that the princes of the Gentiles lord it over them; and they that are the greater, exercise power upon them. It shall not be so among you…" (Matthew 20: 25-26).

"…Be not you called rabbi. For one is your master, and all you are brethren. And call none your father upon earth: for one is your father, who is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters: for one is your master, Christ…" (Matthew 23: 8-10).

Despite these texts, the clergy accepted titles of honour and claimed authority and power. Worse than that, the Church saw itself as Christ's kingdom on earth, and claimed a share in Christ's power. Paul's writings, in some sense, might be claimed to serve as a justification for the Church to do so: "…For what have I to do to judge them that are without? Do not you judge them that are within? For them that are without, God will judge, … (1 Corinthians 5: 12-13)", was usually taken to imply that the Church has no jurisdiction over non-Christians ("them that are without" means *outside* the Church).

However, the general history of civilisations is full of counter examples whereas the history of thought provides us with the opportunity to observe the gradual increase in the reference to the fullness of Papal power in the later medieval political writings. Therefore, it is possible to argue that The Church-as the fundamental institution-had characterised Christianity in a way that Jesus himself was unable to foresee.

Learning Outcomes

1 Analyse medieval political thought with regard to the Bible (The New Testament) and its teachings

Self Review 1

What kind of philosophical question(s) do religions claim to answer; ontological, epistemological, ethical, or all? Why? Discuss.

Relate

Watch Se7en (Seven) and track the misinterpretations and abuses of the Christian teachings/beliefs (Screen play: Andrew Kevin Walker; Director: David Fincher; Starring: Brad Pitt, Morgan Freeman, Kevin Spacey…; 1995).

Tell/Share

Visit https://drbo.org/drl/chapter/(10000-99999 five digit number).htm, for references to The Bible (both to The Old and to The New Testaments), and tell about the political implications of the early Christian social ideals.

THE ECCLESIASTIC INFLUENCE

The Christian theologians of late antiquity are referred to as the Fathers of the Church (Kilcullen-Robinson 2017: 6). The most influential of them in medieval Europe was Augustine; others included Ambrose, Cyprian, and Gregory (ibid). Many of the Fathers were influenced by the Platonism and Stoicism, as every educated person became acquainted with in the ancient world. Augustine, who was particularly influenced by Neoplatonism, especially by Plotinus, could be seen as a milestone on the path from The Fathers of the Church to early scholastics (ibid). Augustine's major work, *The City of God (De Civitate Dei)* will be the object of focus under this title because it is a work whose influence is not limited to that of medieval political thought.



Picture 4.2 A photograph of the Catholic Church in Vatican City, the centre of Catholic Christian authority

Source: http://danbrown.wikia.com/wiki/Vatican_City

State as The Sovereignty of God

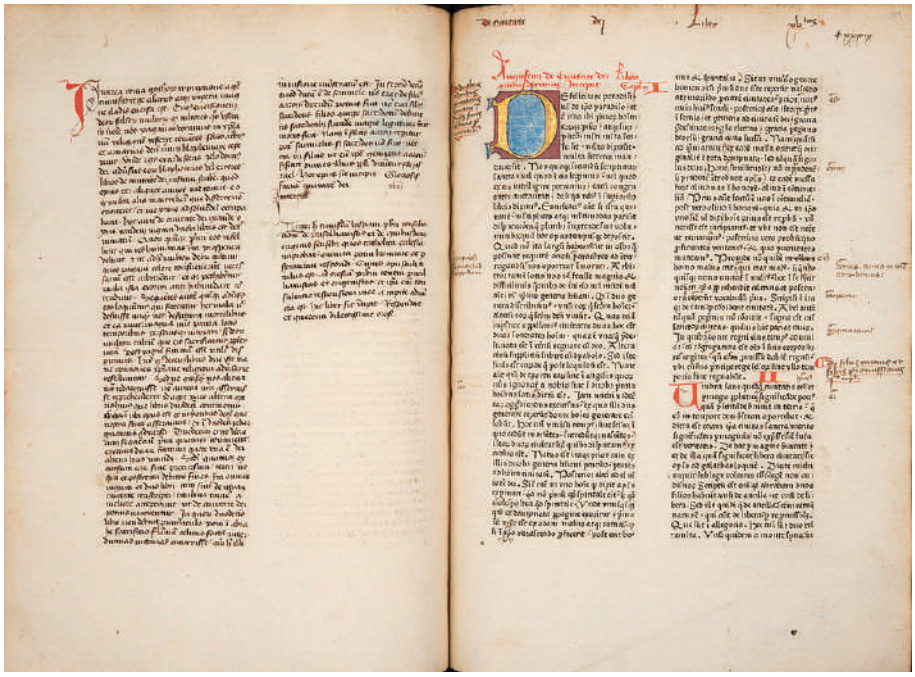
Before moving on with *The City of God,* it is useful to remind that Augustine, as a Church Father, had strongly related authority and power with Divinity; hence it is inevitable to infer from his work that the State he envisages is much different from what we conceive of the idea of state today. Under the influence of Plato's doctrine of the 'Ideal State'-and its Neoplatonistic interpretation which had been a part of Christian literature through his writings, Augustine evaluates State as a divine kingdom, which is ruled by God Himself-the owner of absolute justice and the ultimate judge at the Eschaton.

Eschaton is a theological term, meaning the final event in the divine plan; the end of the world. It stems from the Greek word eskhatos, meaning "the last" (see https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/eschaton)

Augustine and The City of God

The work of Augustine's most likely to be known to modern students of political thought is *The City of God.* Although this work was often copied in the middle ages (382 manuscripts are said to survive), a reading of the whole work was never part of the university curriculum; nevertheless, extracts from it were included in influential anthologies (Kilcullen-Robinson 2017: 7).

Two cities, the city of God and the earthly city, are distinguished by two loves, love of God and (misdirected) love of self, which are destined to end up in heaven and hell, respectively (ibid). Augustine's most famous contribution to theology had been the doctrine of predestination, a position that only became pronounced later in life (ibid). God has decreed from all eternity that to some he will give the grace (special help) needed to attain eternal salvation, while the rest of mankind (the majority) will go to eternal damnation-the *massa damnata* (*The City of God,* XXI.12: 1070).



Picture 4.3 A visual image of the manuscript of De Civitate Dei, by St. Augustine

Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/uofglibrary/17494144744)

Important

Speaking on the basis of Augustine's work; the city of God can not be identified with The Church because all members of the Church will not be saved. The earthly city (civitas diaboli/terrana) is not identical with any particular state since some members of a state may be predestined to salvation. A particular state may include citizens of both cities.

Civitas terrana means "the earthly/worldly state", which is quite often identified with *civitas diaboli*-which means "diabolic state", i.e., "the state of satan and his followers".

Civitas Dei means "the state of God", which is a divine, infinite and a just state.

Massa damnata means "mass of perdition, condemned crowd"; Augustine uses this to remind us of the original sin (Adam's sin), which is transmitted by concupiscence, or "hurtful desire", resulting in humanity becoming massa damnata, with much restricted-but not fully destroyed freedom of will. When Adam sinned, human nature was transformed accordingly (see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Original_sin).

Although the members of the two cities have different ultimate values, they may have intermediate ends in common-for instance, they all desire peace on earth. Insofar as any particular state serves such common ends it will have the cooperation of members of the city of God (*City of God,* XIX.17: 945-947; Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 8). As a Neoplatonist, Augustine thought in terms of a hierarchy of levels of reality, in which lower levels imitate or reflect the higher levels. Within such a perspective, then, it would be misleading to attribute an absoluteness for evil; because according to Augustine the evil something/someone consists in disorder or misdirection, in its failing to attain all the goodness appropriate to it (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 8).

Important

We shouldn't see Augustine's thought as a philosophy of "black and white", of a sharp and clear opposition between the forces of light and the forces of darkness-like the Manichean philosophy.

In Augustine's philosophy, it is also possible to point out that the peace of all things lies in the tranquillity of order, and order is the disposition of equal and unequal things in such a way as to give to each its proper place (*City of God,* XIX.13, p. 938; Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 8).

There are many orderings and sub-orderings, and there are therefore different kinds or levels of peace, and (for beings capable of moral choice) different kinds or levels of virtue, justice and happiness (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 8).

True virtue presupposes obedience to the true God. But something like true virtue, namely love of honour, may lead to something like justice and peace, as it did in the Roman Republic (*City of God,* V.12). Earlier, Augustine had offered to prove that by Cicero's definition, the Romans never had a republic: "I shall attempt to show that no such commonwealth ever existed, because true justice was never present in it" (*City of God* II.21, p. 80), since the Romans did not obey the true God (ibid, XIX.21). But this is only an *argumentum ad hominem.* As Augustine says, "There was, of course, according to a more practicable definition, a commonwealth of a sort" (ibid, II.21: 80). To claim that non-Christians cannot form a commonwealth could only be possible through an inappropriate and narrow definition (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 8). Motivated by love of honour, the Romans were able to live together in an approximation to peace, justice and happiness, though not in "true" peace, justice and happiness. Justice in some measure is essential to anything that deserves to be called a commonwealth (ibid).

Argumentum ad hominem means argument toward human; and used when the ciriticism/objection is directed against a certain individual/society in person, rather than against the opponent's thoughts/ideas.

Important

Although it is not rational to infer that Augustine believed only good Christians can be rulers, he believes that Christian virtue, if observed, makes for better government (*City of God,* V.24: 232).

The goods and evils of government stated by Augustine in *The City of God* might be summarised as follows:

1. Government may be, and must be, rule by the ideal Christian ruler; such a ruler would lead his people in obedience to God.
2. Government may simply be a tyranny-as a realisation of evil and/or love of self, which is an expression of the "earthly city" (*civitas terrana/diaboli*).
3. Government exists to organise the cooperation of "men of good will" (speaking in *modern* terms), i.e., citizens of the two cities united by an interest in earthly peace and other earthly goods, valued by both Christians and non- Christians (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 9).

Concerning the teachings of The New Testament stated above, Augustine points out a different interpretation on obedience and slavery: On Augustine's view, God may treat his creatures as He pleases, and the Israelites accordingly didn't do any wrong in carrying out God's commands (As medieval authors often expressed, God is the "lord of life and death"). On the other hand, the *New Testament's prima facie* pacifist advices are seen in relation to the inner attitude of individuals, rather than to the outward act of societies (ibid).

Private individuals may not make war, but rulers, including Christians, may do so; in addition, Christian soldiers may serve in such wars in obedience to a ruler, even a pagan. Augustine emphasises that both rulers and those who do military service in obedience to rulers must avoid greed, hatred, and other dispositions which are not compatible with love (ibid).

Prima facie means "at the first glance"; and it is used when things have a deeper/different meaning than what they seem to refer.

Augustine's viewpoint concerning property is that whoever possesses property possesses it only by virtue of human laws made by kings and emperors. Therefore, if the ruler decides to confiscate the property of-say-'heretics', he has the right to do so (ibid).

What has so far been said about Augustine's political thought is seen influential by most scholars of medieval thought on the later debates on civil and canon law, natural law, natural rights, and the like, which are to be taken up in the next section.

Learning Outcomes

2 Relate medieval political thought with the teaching of The Church, specifically, with that of Augustine

Self Review 2	Relate	Tell/Share
Is it possible to talk about an ideal state as envisaged by Augustine? Why/why not? Think, and debate among yourselves.	Relate Augustine's political thought with Neoplanonist thought and with the teachings of Christianity.	Tell about civitas diaboli/ terrana and civitas dei.

MAJOR PROBLEMS, CONCEPTS AND PHILOSOPHERS IN THE MEDIEVAL POLITICAL THOUGHT

Despite the fact that there is a disagreement among the scholars of medieval thought on the beginning and the end of the middle ages, a great majority shares the view that we are talking about approximately a thousand years, when we refer to the middle ages. Moreover, as far as Western European civilisation is concerned, we also find ourselves in connection with the Christian tradition and thought. This section will be an attempt to shed light on the major concepts and problems of the medieval political thought-for instance civil and canon laws, natural law and natural rights, etc., by applying to the major representative thinkers of the era such as Aquinas, John of Salisbury, John of Paris, William of Ockham, and the like.

Civil and Canon Law

The revival in the study of civil law, i.e., the Roman law as codified and digested by Justinian and his officials (the *Corpus iuris civilis,* 533/4), and the stimulation and influence of this on the study of canon law (*ius canonicum*), beginning with Gratian's *Decretum* might be pointed out as "the renaissance of the twelfth century" (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 11).

Ideas taken by the medieval thinkers from the law texts might be listed thus:

1. A distinction among kinds of laws, namely natural law (*ius naturale*), law of nations (*ius gentium*), and civil law (i.e., the law of a particular community).
2. A notion of rights, including natural rights (currently, "human rights"), which may be attributed to individuals. It is noteworthy that the language of rights, without which many people these days would not know how to talk about politics, did not fully enter political philosophy until the fourteenth century as a borrowing from the law,
3. "The one liberty of all men", i.e., the idea that human beings are basically equal and that slavery is contrary to natural law, though in accordance with the law of nations,
4. The origin of property: according to some Roman law texts, property originated by natural law; according to others by the law of nations. According to canon law, property exists by human law (which includes the law of nations and the civil law); compare Augustine's statement that property exists by the laws of the emperors,
5. The doctrine that the source of political authority is the people, who have, however, entrusted their power to the emperor or some other ruler,
6. The doctrine that either the pope or emperor (or both) has a "fullness of power",
7. The doctrine that natural law permits an individual to resist force by force; which would provide a premise for arguments for the right to disobey a tyrannical government, used later by John Locke (1632-1704),
8. A distinction between Church and State-more exactly, between the priesthood and the power of the emperor, each independent in its own sphere, though the priesthood has the higher function (ibid: 11-12).

Civil law (ius civile) was used in ancient Rome to distinguish the law found exclusively in the city of Rome from the ius gentium, the law of all nations, found throughout the empire. Generally, in the philosophy of law, it is used as a term standing for positive law, that is, law made and legitimised by the approval of the members of a community/society (see https://www.britannica.com/topic/civil-law-Romano-Germanic).

Canon law (ius canonicum) refers to the body of laws made within certain Christian churches (Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, independent churches of Eastern Christianity, and the Anglican Communion) by lawful ecclesiastical authority for the government of both the whole church and parts thereof and of the behaviour and actions of individuals. In a wider sense, the term includes precepts of divine law, natural or positive, incorporated in the canonical collections and codes (see https://www.britannica.com/topic/canon-law).



Picture 4.4 Ius Canonicum (Latin) 3960 fol. 1r-Liber extra, book 1, opening illumination and illuminated initials

Source: http://picssr.com/tags/opening illumination

Natural Law and Natural Rights

Complex reflections on natural law were prompted by a text of Isidore of Seville. According to Isidore, natural law includes the common possession of all things, the one liberty of all, and the acquisition of what is taken from air, land and sea; also, the restitution of a thing or money left for safekeeping (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 12).

The "one liberty of all men" and "common possession of all things" belong to the "indications". Since the indications do not impose strict obligations, human laws can for good reasons set them aside. To do so, they may even serve the recommended ideals, under some circumstances (ibid).

One of the founders of Franciscan theology, Alexander of Hales, suggested a way of resolving the inconsistency in Isidore's list, based on Augustine's explanation of how the same God can be the author of the Old Law and of the New: the same principles may require different particular rules for different circumstances (ibid: 13).

Natural law prescribes community for the state of innocence and respect for property for the fallen state. The leading Franciscan theologian of the next generation, Bonaventure, adopted a similar position (ibid).

Building on these ideas, Ockham developed a distinction between three kinds of natural law, according to which some principles of natural law apply everywhere and always, some applied only in the state of innocence, and some apply only "on supposition", i.e., on the supposition of some voluntary act (for example, an agreement or an act of legislation), unless those concerned agree on something else (ibid).

Besides natural law, scholastic thinkers developed a notion of natural rights, borrowing the notion of a "right" from the canon lawyers. A natural right may be simply something that natural law requires or permits. But according to some, natural rights to certain freedoms belong to natural law "positively", in the sense that there is a presumption in their favour, so that they cannot be abolished, at least not for all circumstances, or cannot be abolished except for good reasons. It seems, after all, that the medieval conception of natural rights might be appraised as the intellectual antecedent of the modern "human rights" (ibid).

However, the way to modernity will rather be long, and full of struggle with the authority of the Church, and the popes-as the major representatives of sacred/religious rule.

Natural law (ius naturale) is a system of right or justice held to be common to all human beings and derived from nature, rather than from the rules of society, i.e., positive law (see https://www.britannica.com/topic/natural-law).

Important

You must be careful about the usages and the definitons of different types of law in medieval political thought. In other words, you should strictly avoid confusing civil law with natural law, or natural law with canon law.

The Fullness of Papal Power

The papal claim to "fullness of power" had been a point of controversy among the medieval political thinkers. Originally, the claim meant that the pope-holding the highest position and representing the authority of the Church-could intervene by full right in any Church affair (Rivière 1925; Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 15). Besides the historical arguments, there are theological or philosophical arguments, too. If "there is no power but from God" (Romans 13: 1) and the pope is God's representative on earth, then it seems that power comes to Christian kings through the pope (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 16).

The popes in general claimed that, while ruling was normally the business of secular rulers, the pope could intervene in governmental matters as well, whenever he saw any good reason. Canon lawyers had been busy with drawing up lists of circumstances in which the pope might intervene (for examples, see Tierney 1980: 153-154), but some items in the list were so comprehensive, which paved the path for the popes to intervene

any time. For example, intervention *ratione peccati,* "by reason of sin", meant that if a secular ruler commits an injustice (which is a sin) ,then the pope might intervene.

Ratione peccati means "due to sins", and refers to the situation when popes intervene in political affairs because of the injustice of the secular rulers-which they consider a "sin".

However, most of the political writers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were involved in controversy about the extent and limits (or absence of limits) of papal authority; and, this situation made room for the distinction between secular and sacred authorities as well as for the quest for a secular order; the examples of which are to be found in the texts of Marsilius of Padua and William of Ockham.

Major Medieval Political Thinkers

The medieval political literature is due to the contributions of scholastic thinkers. When Augustine is taken as a starting point for the medieval political thought, and the literature that is related with Christian theology is also included, it could be argued that there is a vast amount of thinkers and works to be evaluated within the scope of medieval thought. However, since this would exceed the limits of a textbook (leave aside a chapter or section of that book), we will focus on a selected number of thinkers whose works have been influential on later political thought.

Thomas Aquinas

Thomas Aquinas wrote *On Kingship, to the King of Cyprus;* but otherwise his political writing is a part of his general academic work-spread in parts, and cannot be considered as an intent to influence contemporary events. The *Summa Theologiae*-his magnum opus- includes discussions of dominion in the state of innocence, natural law and other kinds of law, property, the best form of government, the duty of obedience, war, coercion of heretics and infidels, and other political matters (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 16).



Picture 4.5 A Picture of At Thomas Aquinas on canvas, 1476, by Carlo Crivelli [1435-1495]

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:St-thomas-aquinas.jpg

Magnum opus means "great work/masterpiece"; and is generally used to refer to the best known and most impacting work/masterpiece by a thinker, writer, composer, etc.

Dominium, as a legal term in Latin, means ownership or right to possess a property, or, to have control over a certain property, i.e., the right to use it.

Aquinas says that there would have been *dominium* [lordship] in the state of innocence (*Summa,* 1, q. 96, a. 4). This has sometimes been taken as a rejection of Augustine in favour of Aristotle's doctrine that politics is natural (ibid).

On natural law and other kinds of law Aquinas again follows the tradition of civil and canon law going back to the Roman Stoics, instead of Aristotle. He distinguishes divine law (eternal and positive) from human law, and among human laws he distinguishes natural law from the law of nations and civil law (see *Summa,* 1–2, q. 95, a. 4). Law is concerned with direction to the common good, which belongs to the whole people (*Summa,* 1–2, q. 90, a. 3; Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 17).

Natural law is in effect morality, and in Aquinas' thought, the human mind, reflecting on and analysing human experience, can see the truth of various fundamental moral principles, which are "self-evident", that is, not requiring any proof, and/or too fundamental to be capable of proof (*Summa,* 1–2, q. 91, a. 3, and q. 94, a. 2; Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 17). Natural law permits us to use things (*Summa,* 2–2, q. 66, a. 1), but property goes beyond power to use: it includes a power to exclude others from use, and this power is conferred by human positive law (*Summa,* 2–2, q. 66, a. 2). Property rights give way to extreme need, so in time of extreme need using another's property without permission is not theft (*Summa,* 2–2, q. 66, a. 7).

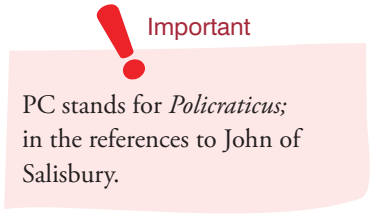
Thomas Aquinas cliams that the best form of government is a mixed government combining elements of democracy, aristocracy and kingship (*Summa,* 1–2, q. 105, a. 1). This claim of Aquinas can be argued to be under the influence of Aristotle (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 17).

On Aquinas' view, though there is a general duty to obey the law and the government, an unjust law is not a law (*Summa,* 1–2, q. 96, a. 4; see also 2–2, q. 104, a. 5). Furthermore, following Aquinas, on the rules for making a war; one could argue as follows: for a war to be just, it must be commanded by someone in authority, there must be a just cause, and it must not be carried on through a disproportionate violence. Moreover, in Aquinas' thought, lying to an enemy is by no means justifiable, because lying would severely harm the trust required to restore peace after war (see *Summa,* 2–2, q. 40, a. 1, a. 3).

John of Salisbury

It is a good idea to start with the fact that the challenging philosophical task John of Salisbury had undertaken was the role played by nature in the foundations of social and political order (Bollermann-Nederman, 2016: 12). John of Salisbury's view that the good government of the king, typified by rule in accordance with the virtuous mean (the midpoint between excess and deficiency, as Aristotle once had put it), is regarded by the *Policraticus* to be the sole guarantee of freedom necessary to exercise moral goodness in a society is another preliminary step to take (ibid: 10).

In the *Policraticus,* John of Salisbury argues that what nature provides as foundation for human capabilities are only potentialities. "The beginning of each thing is from nature", says John of salisbury, but people may (and should) develop their natural capacities by means of practice until they master their art, a principle that "obtains in liberal and mechanical occupations" alike (PC: 125). While nature offers a model for human conduct and association, the natural scheme for living well may only be realised via the cooperation of people who partake in it (Bollermann-Nederman, 2016: 13-14). In short, John of Salisbury is aware of the difference between potentiality and actuality, and pushes forward voluntariness as the precondition for a potential provided by nature to become actual, as regards the social issues.



Another issue that signifies John of Salisbury's thought as worthy of attention is the analogy he sets between the different offices of political society and the distinct parts of the human body. Like all bodies, the commonwealth is guided by a soul, which John assigns to "those who direct the practice of religion" (PC: 67). Because the political creature is essentially a secular entity, the body politic is ruled by the prince, who "occupies the place of the head" (PC: 69).

Each part of the organism, according to the *Policraticus,* has its own definite function, fixed by its location within the overall scheme of the

body. None of the members may be excluded or removed unless a serious damage to the whole is intended (Bollermann-Nederman, 2016: 14). However, this should not be taken as an intent to justify hierarchy and division within society by John of Salisbury; on the contrary, the body politic found in the *Policraticus* seems to be the expression of a principle of cooperative harmony through which otherwise disparate individuals and interests are reconciled and bound together (ibid). In the *Policraticus,* John of Salisbury emphasises that "there can be no faithful and firm coherence where there is not a tenacious unity of wills and a virtual joining together of souls themselves" (PC: 77); addressing to the harmony mentioned. The ruler and magistrates are advised to attend "to the utility of all", the feet are counseled "to concentrate on the public utility in all matters", and in general "all the members" are expected to "keep watch over the public advantage" (PC: 136, 126, 135).

When this view of analogy is adapted on the issues of justice, we find that every organ and limb, on John's view, must conduct itself according to the dictates of justice if the polity is to exist as a corporate whole (Bollermann-Nederman, 2016: 15). John of Salisbury's conception of justice is based on a duality of negative obligation and positive duty (ibid). As he says in the *Policraticus:* "Justice consists chiefly in this: do not do harm and prevent the doing of harm out of duty to humanity. When you do harm, you assent to injury. When you do not impede the doing of harm, you are a servant of injustice…" (PC: 62).

Finally, in proposing the political ideas of the *Policraticus,* John of Salisbury sought to illustrate the principle that philosophy is helpful in achieving the good life of both the individual and the entire community. John's thought is of vital importance; because it primarily confronts with the tensions between the demands of everyday life-whether in the classroom or at court, and the requirements of living well in a moral and religious sense. Much of John's career proves a testament to his conviction that the value of philosophy is measured through how much it shapes our choices and actions. The task of philosophical discourse is to provide help in discerning the good from the evil, the true from the false, and so to illuminate the path toward happiness by navigating the tricky by-ways of public life (Bollermann-Nederman, 2016: 17) .



Picture 4.6 An image of Policraticus, by John of Salisbury

Source: http://www.livres-anciens-rares.com/jean-de-salisbury/policraticus-sive-de-nugis-curialiumet-vestigiis-philosophorum-libri-octo

John of Paris

John of Paris brings the traditional distinction between ownership and rulership (dominium) to the agenda again. The fact that a ruler having right to judge on how to use property disputes does not make him the supreme owner of the property, on his view. A community (a state, or the Church, or particular communities) acquires property only from individuals, and the head of the community is the administrator of the community's property, not its owner.

Important

There is no necessary connection between being administratively or legally responsible for a given property and being the owner of that property; on the contrary, these two situations mutually exclude each other.

John of Paris' assumption that original appropriation is by individuals, and his idea that individuals acquire property by "labour and industry" (86, 103), seem to have a lot in common with Locke's theory of property. However, John of Paris indicates that individuals acquire property under human law (148, 154, 225–6), which is the traditional view among medieval theologians, following Augustine. Though property is acquired under human law, it is acquired by individuals, not directly by rulers (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 19).

The numbers in brackets (86, 103, etc.) refer to the following translation of John of Paris' work: John of Paris (1971). On Royal and Papal Power, Trans. John Watt, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

In John of Paris' thought, the basis of the distinction between the two powers is not subject matter or ends, but only a means: Each power is limited to its own appropriate means of action; the secular power uses natural means, the Church uses supernatural means (142-161). This reminds us of Thomas Aquinas's picture of two powers leading mankind toward the goals of human life in an ordered hierarchy, one using supernatural means while the other natural.

Last but not least, John of Paris is strictly in opposition with Aquinas' inference that the pope ought to direct the secular ruler, from the fact that the Church is concerned with the highest end. (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 20).

Marsilius of Padua

Marsilius of Padua was one of Pope John XXII's (r. 1316-1334) opponents; another, was William of Ockham. Pope John rejected the Franciscan doctrine that those who practice the highest form of religious poverty, like Christ and the Apostles, will own nothing whatever, either as individuals or as a body (ibid).

Marsilius of Padua's *Defensor Pacis*-which first appeared in 1324-may be considered an attempt to refute the doctrine of papal fullness of power and, in some respect, to prove that the pope is not-and should not be- the source of government power (ibid).

Marsilius of Padua is the first exponent of the doctrine of sovereignty later put forward by Hobbes and many others, i.e., the doctrine that there must be ultimately just one coercive power in a state. The supreme ruler cannot be a cleric, since Christ has forbidden the clergy to become involved in temporal affairs (113-140). And the supreme ruler does not enforce divine law as such, since God wills that divine law should be enforced by sanctions only in the next world, to give the subjects every opportunity for regretting and repenting before death (164, 175-179). The supreme ruler is therefore not an enforcer of religion and his rule is not subject to direction by the clergy (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 20).

Important

The numbers in brackets (113, 140, etc.) refer to the following translation of Marsilius of Padua's work: Marsilius [Marsiglio] of Padua (1951-1956). *The Defensor Pacis,* Trans. Alan Gewirth, 2 vols., New York: Columbia University of Press.

Rather than secular government being subordinated to the Church, the Church is subordinated to the secular government in all that concerns coercive power (ibid: 21). These thoughts of Marsilius might also be seen in relation with Macchiavelli's political thought as well.

William of Ockham

In the *Work of Ninety Days,* William of Ockham advocates for the thesis that the highest form of religious poverty is to live without property or any other right enforceable by a human court (ibid). However, Pope John XXII held that no one can justly consume something without owning it. Even Marsilius of Padua, an opponent of Pope John XXII, defended that we can justly consume things we don't own if we have the owner's permission. Ockham's reply to these views had been by means of a distinction between natural rights and legal rights: In the state of innocence ownership would have been contrary to natural law because everyone had a natural right to use any thing (27.80–3, 313),

but after the Fall natural law gave (or God gave) to human communities the right to enact human law assigning property, i.e., assigning to individuals or groups the right to exclude others from using certain things (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 21). This law is morally binding since everyone must respect agreements. Thus the institution of property morally "ties" or gets in the way of the natural right to use things, so that in ordinary circumstances we cannot justly use another's things. However, the original natural right is not altogether abolished; on some occasions we can still exercise it (ibid).

The Franciscans can therefore justly use and consume things that belong to others without having any legal rights, relying on the natural right to use untied by the owner's permission (ibid).

William of Ockham defended the traditional belief that Christ appointed Peter as head of the Church, and he held that the pope, as Peter's successor, has supreme power in the Church. The pope and other clergy must not become involved in secular affairs, regularly, but only in exceptional circumstances, says Ockham: when no lay person is able or willing to take the lead in some matter necessary to the welfare of the Christian community, the pope may intervene in secular matters. This is an application of Aristotle's notion of *epieikeia* (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 22).

Besides his disagreement with Marsilius over the status of Peter and the extent of the pope's power, Ockham rejected Marsilius of Padua's thesis that a community cannot be well governed unless all coercive power is concentrated in a single sovereign authority (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 22)

Ockham argues for limitations on the power of the secular ruler as well as of the religious authority. He gives an estensive and explanatory interpretation of the famous absolutist texts of the Roman law (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 22). That the emperor is "released from the laws" (*legibus solutus*) is not true, because he is bound not only by natural and divine law but also by the law of nations (a branch of human positive law), according to which some are not slaves but free.



Picture 4.7 An image of William of Ockham on stained glass

Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/41621108@N00/15357861862

Legibus solutus means solved/released from laws; and used to denote the situation when the ruler is not subject to the sanctions of laws, or, when the ruler- a tyrant, or a dictator in this case- sees himself as "above the laws" (see http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195369380.001.0001/acref9780195369380-e-1209).

"Civil law is the law proper to itself that each people or city establishes, for divine and human reason" (the canon of *Ius Civile,* D.1, c.8). Ockham took this as a statement of a natural right belonging to each "free" community, i.e., one not already under government, to establish its own law and its own government. After the Fall natural law gave (or God gave) the human race the power to establish both property and government; God gave these powers not only to believers but also to unbelievers.

Important

The term "Fall" refers in Ockham-in common with the Christian tradition-to the situation of human beings sent to earth by God due to the original sin (that of Adam's).

A particular community exercises the power to establish government by choosing a ruler and a form of government; the ruler's power therefore comes from God, but also "from the people", i.e. from the community. But although power comes to the ruler by the community's agreement, disagreement is not enough to remove it: the ruler has a right to the power the community has conferred as long as he exercises it properly, and he cannot normally be corrected or removed. But in exceptional circumstances, if the ruler becomes a tyrant, or if there is some other pressing reason in terms of the common good, the community can depose its ruler or change its form of government (*Breviloquium* 6.2; trans. *Short Discourse:* 158-163; *Octo questiones* 3.3, in *Letter,* 310-311; Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 23).

Learning Outcomes

3 Explain and illustrate the major concepts and problems in medieval political thought

Self Review 3

Is it possible to find a necessary connection between theological and philosophical thinking, as regards the Western European medieval thought? What might be the implications of presupposing such a connection in political affairs? Discuss.

Relate

Watch *Amen* and relate religion with the authority and power-determinedness, within the framework the secular state(s) (Screen play: Costa-Gavras, Jean-Claude Grumberg; Director: Costa-Gavras; Starring: Matthieu Kassovitz, Ulrich Tukur, Marcel Iures…; 2002).

Consult http://www.newadvent.org/summa.1000-xxxx (four digit number).htm#article1- xx for reaching *Summa Theologiae* online and track the influences of Aquinas on Christian political thought, as well as onChristian thought in general.

Tell/Share

Share your views on the different conceptions of *ius* (law) in medieval Christian political thought.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE "MODERN" STATE

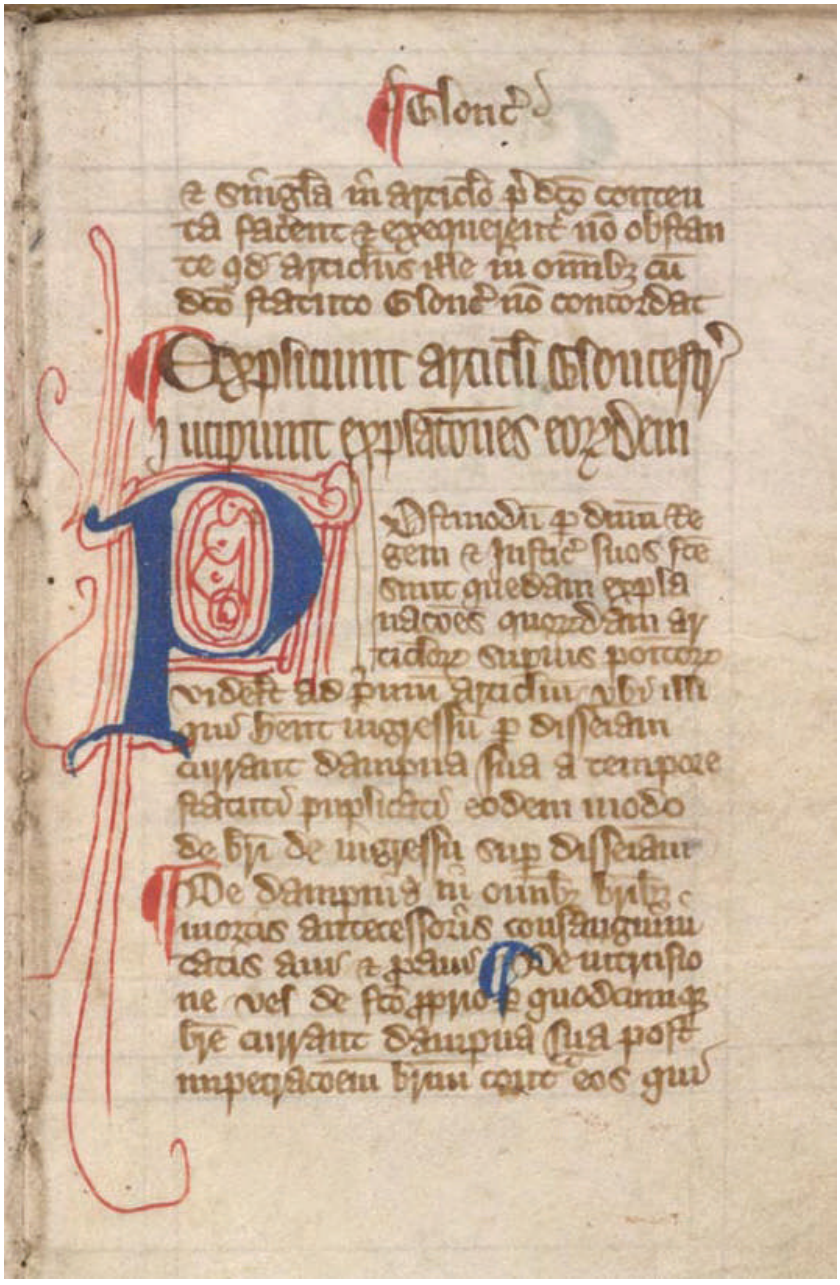
The so called renaissance of the twelfth century, the time when Aristotle's works started to be translated into Latin, might be taken as a milestone if we want to set a link between European medieval political thought and modern political thought. The above mentioned thinkers and their line of thoughts are in some way the solid expressions of such a link. That's why, what follows is more comprehensible. Now, let us rewind the tape (or, the film, if you like) and pay more attention to the influential thoughts of Aristotle; a majority of which focuses on the idea of human nature.

A Theory of Political Order With Regard to Human Nature: The Aristotelian Legacy

Aristotle's *Politics* was translated into Latin for the first time in the mid-1260s. Although the *Politics* did not become part of the core curriculum, it was closely studied by many of the leading philosophers of the scholastic period. Notable commentaries on the *Politics* were written by Thomas Aquinas and Peter of Auvergne (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 14). William of Ockham gave a concise and profound summary and interpretation of Arsitotle's political theory, too (ibid).

Ideas which medieval political thinkers owe to Aristotle (or which could be claimed to be reinforced by Aristotle) might be summarised as the following list:

1. It is natural for human beings to form cities. "Political" [i.e., city] life is natural to human kind.
2. The city or state exists not just for security and trade, but to foster the "good life", the life according to virtue (*Politics* III.9, 1280 a32–b35).
3. Women should, in general, be ruled by men (*Politics* I.5, 1254 b13). The inferiority of women was already the general opinion, but Aristotle reinforced it, not only by what he said in the *Politics* but also by his biological theories.
4. The good forms seek "the common good", i.e., the good of both ruler and ruled. The best is kingship, the worst tyranny. "The common good" became a basic conception in medieval political philosophy.
5. The "ideal polity" was not a topic of pre-Aristotelian medieval thought, but it became a common theme.
6. "The rule of law" is better than "the rule of men", i.e., it is better to have rules impartially applied than to leave every decision to the unfettered discretion of the rulers. This accorded with the earlier medieval idea that the difference between a king and a tyrant is that the king observes the law.
7. Since no legislator can foresee every case that may arise, the rule of law must be tempered by *epieikeia,* "equity", the making of exceptions to general rules when exceptional cases arise (*Nicomachean Ethics* V.10, and *Politics* III.16, 1287 a23–28, 1287 b15–27).
8. A good form of government must be stable, not liable to revolution (Politics V, and VI. 5). Medieval Aristotelians thought deeply on the precautions against the degeneration of kingship into tyranny. Marsilius of Padua presented *Defensor pacis* as a supplement to Aristotle's discussion of the causes of revolution.
9. Although Aristotle regarded kingship as ideally best (and medieval writers agreed), Aristotle also gives an argument for democracy—or, more exactly, an argument that in good government there is a role for ordinary people. If ordinary people deliberate as a body they may make sound decisions (*Politics* III.11). Marsilius (and others) used Aristotle's remarks to support the proposition that the people are the ultimate political authority, an idea also found in the Roman law.
10. All of Aristotle's works supported one of the central institutions of medieval university life, disputation, in which the master states opposing positions and supports them with strong arguments, then evaluates the arguments by criticism (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 14-15).



Picture 4.8 Magna Carta cum Statutis Angliae (Great Charter with English Statutes), a miniature manuscript book of English statutes on vellum with capitals in red and blue. It is bound in a pigskin wrapper with a flap

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/ wiki/ File: Magna_charta_cum_statutis_angliae_p1.jpg.

Conclusion

For the history of medieval political thought in general, it is possible to argue that the development of political liberalism, the ideals of constitutionalism, civic humanism, and republicanism-though not directly-might be traced back to a variety of medieval authors. For example, early modern writers such as Hugo Grotius, Niccolo Macchiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, etc. could easily find the works of some medieval writers who had written on political issues or would have an idea about the main themes of such works at least through hearsay. The influence of the Roman Law and Aristotle, and of the culture of late antiquity having impacts on the Fathers of the Church, could be interpreted in a

way that would enable us to state that ideas originating outside the framework of the Christian religion had an impact on religious thinking (Kilcullen-Robinson, 2017: 25).

There was a recognition of the duty to reason/justification and persuasion ("A man cannot believe unless he is willing"); which had its impacts on the demands for a deliberative democratic rule. In social relations, there was a belief in an underlying liberty and equality, and a belief that originally government and slavery did not exist; an idea that government, law, and property arose by contract or custom, and an idea that originally government belonged to "the people" and was laid in the hands of the rulers by the consent of the people. These beliefs served as the bridge to the modern liberal presumption in favour of personal liberty. There was a belief in the "rule of law", in a distinction between good government and tyranny, and in "natural rights"; which set the grounds for further discussion of the fundamentality and universality of human rights. There was a belief in limited government and in a distinction (not yet a clear and distinct separation) between Church and State; which gave rise to secularise the mechanism of the state.

Learning Outcomes

4 Evaluate the medieval political tradition through its resources and impacts.

Self Review 4	Relate	Tell/Share
The middle ages are most commonly referred to as "the dark ages". However, it is clear for you, after reading this chapter, that the medieval political tradition had paved a path for the modern political thought, as regards the Western European civilisation. Could there be something wrong with the generalisation that Christianity is an obstacle for the development of thought? Discuss.	The preliminaries of British liberal thought might be found in the great charter of liberties, or with its widely known name, *Magna Carta Libertatum.* This was a document signed by King John, Pope Innocent III and the English barons, signifying that the king recognised the rule of law as limitation to his authority. This charter is still considered a milestone on the path to liberal democracy, and the recognition of fundamental human liberties and rights, as well as the legislative mechanism limiting royal authority. Here are some articles taken from Magna Carta:	Tell about the intellectual bridges one can build between early modern political thought and medieval Christian political thought.



Reading Text

[…] [1] In the first place we grant to God and confirm by this our present charter for ourselves and our heirs in perpetuity that the English Church is to be free and to have all its rights fully and its liberties entirely. We furthermore grant and give to all the freemen of our realm for ourselves and our heirs in perpetuity the liberties written below to have and to hold to them and their heirs from us and our heirs in perpetuity.

[2] If any of our earls or barons, or anyone else holding from us in chief by military service should die, and should his heir be of full age and owe relief, the heir is to have his inheritance for the ancient relief, namely the heir or heirs of an earl for a whole county £100, the heir or heirs of a baron for a whole barony 100 marks, the heir or heirs of a knight for a whole knight's fee 100 shillings at most, and he who owes less will give less, according to the ancient custom of (knights') fees. […]

[…][8] Neither we nor our bailiffs will seize any land or rent for any debt, as long as the existing chattels of the debtor suffice for the payment of the debt and as long as the debtor is ready to pay the debt, nor will the debtor's guarantors be distrained for so long as the principal debtor is able to pay the debt; and should the principal debtor default in his payment of the debt, not having the means to repay it, or should he refuse to pay it despite being able to do so, the guarantors will answer for the debt and, if they wish, they are to have the lands and rents of the debtor until they are repaid the debt that previously they paid on behalf of the debtor, unless the principal debtor can show that he is quit in respect to these guarantors.

[9] The city of London is to have all its ancient liberties and customs. Moreover we wish and grant that all other cities and boroughs and vills and the barons of the Cinque Ports and all ports are to have all their liberties and free customs.

[10] No-one is to be distrained to do more service for a knight's fee or for any other free tenement than is due from it.

[11] Common pleas are not to follow our court but are to be held in a certain fixed place […]

[…][29] No freeman is to be taken or imprisoned or disseised of his free tenement or of his liberties or free customs, or outlawed or exiled or in any way ruined, nor will we go against such a man or send against him save by lawful judgement of his peers or by the law of the land. To no-one will we sell or deny of delay right or justice.

[30] All merchants, unless they have been previously and publicly forbidden, are to have safe and secure conduct in leaving and coming to England and in staying and going through England both by land and by water to buy and to sell, without any evil exactions, according to the ancient and right customs, save in time of war, and if they should be from a land at war against us and be found in our land at the beginning of the war, they are to be attached without damage to their bodies or goods until it is established by us or our chief justiciar in what way the merchants of our land are treated who at such a time are found in the land that is at war with us, and if our merchants are safe there, the other merchants are to be safe in our land […]

Source: Transcript from the National Archives Online Portal

(http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured_documents/magna_carta/translation.html)

Summary

LO 1 Analyse medieval political thought with regard to the Bible (The New Testament) and its teachings.

The Bible, but especially The New Testament may be regarded as the ultimate source of influence for the medieval thought, of which political thought constitutes a specific dimension. Through the teachings on obedience and pacifism, slavery, property, and the eternal kingdom of Christ, The New Testament gave rise to ideals of a just everlasting state which complies with the ideals of the early Christians. However, the Church had been successful in degenereating and in some ways undermining those ideals in a way that Jesus himself along with his apostles and first followers could not imagine; which led the later historiographers to characterise the middle ages as "dark".

LO 2 Relate medieval political thought with the teaching of The Church, specifically, with that of Augustine.

Christian theologians of late antiquity are called the Fathers of the Church. Ambrose, Cyprian, Gregory are some examples to Church Fathers. The most influential among them, Augustine, particularly inspired by Neoplatonism, especially by Plotinus, could be seen as a milestone on the path from The Fathers of the Church to early scholastics. He is a milestone, too, in the course of Western philosophy of history. Augustine's major work, namely *The City of God (De Civitate Dei)* envisages, through the strong relation set between authority and power on one hand and Divinity on the other, an ideal and everlasting state which is reigned by God. The meaning of living in this world is fulfilled through an examination of love: Love of oneself versus the love of God. Evil, in his thought, appears as a form of imperfection for attaining the good one is supposed to attain, but not as an independent and absolute existence.

The structure of Augustine's work is such that the winner of the game and those who will be saved are determined from the beginning-only known to the God himself. But, he also defends that tyrannical governments belong to the category of civitas terrana/diaboli, due to the rulers' love of self-rather than love of God.

LO 3 Explain and illustrate the major concepts and problems in medieval political thought.

The major concepts used in the medieval political literature are mostly in Latin; for instance *ius civile, ius naturale, legibus solutus, ratione peccati,* etc. Many of them are related with the legal issues, though they are subjects of political matters as well, due to their relations with individual liberties and public rights. These concepts are used much within the context of problems such as civil law, canon law, natural law and rights, the fullness of papal power, the limitations to sacred and secular rule, which set the speling agenda of the medieval political tradition. These problems were topics of debate among medieval thinkers such as Thomas Aquinas, John of Salisbury, John of Paris, Marsilius of Padua, and William of Ockham. The path to modern political thought had been paved through their works and elaborations of the mentioned problems.

LO 4 Evaluate the medieval political tradition through its resources and impacts.

Though The New Testament might be seen as the fundamental source of inspiration for medieval political thought, the influences of the Roman law, of The Church Fathers-especially, that of Augustine, and, of Aristotle's ethics and politics can not be underemphasised.

Regarding the impacts of the medieval political tradition on later-i.e. early modern and modern-political thought, the ideals of constitutionalism, political liberalism, republicanism, and civic humanism could be argued to to be rooted in the debates among medieval thinkers. In other words, it is plausible to say that medieval political thought-in some respects-paved the path for modern political thought.

Test Yourself

1 "The kingship of ____ is a model; though he also often sinned"

Which of the following fills the blank correctly, as far as The Bible is concerned?

a. Noah
b. Solomon
c. David
d. Moses
e. Jesus

2 Which of the following can be related with Christian political thought concerning matters of slavery?

a. Roman Stoicism
b. Neoplatonism
c. Anti-gnosticism
d. Ancient Greek thought
e. The Gnostic tradition

3 Which of the following can not be counted among The Fathers of the Church?

a. Augustine
b. Ambrose
c. Gregory
d. Cyprian
e. Anselm

4 Which of the following does Augustine use to remind us of the original sin?

a. Massa damnata
b. Civitas terrana
c. Eschaton
d. Civitas diaboli
e. Civitas Dei

5 "Evil is not something absolute; since according to Augustine, the evil someone bears is only a disorder or misdirection in the failure to attain all the goodness appropriate to it." Which of the following might have inspired Augustine in his given thoughts?

a. Aristotelianism
b. Neoplatonism
c. The Gnostic tradition
d. Stoicism
e. Scholasticism

6 "_____is a system of right or justice held to be common to all human beings, and, be due to nature instead of the rules of society" Which of the following fills the blank correctly?

a. Ius positivum
b. Iustus Dei
c. Ius canonicum
d. Ius civile
e. Ius naturale

7 To which of the following thinkers do we owe the analogy between political society and bodily organism?

a. William of Ockham
b. Thomas Aquinas
c. Marsilius of Padua
d. John of Salisbury
e. John of Paris

8 Which of the following refers to the situation of a certain ruler who is released from the sanctions of laws?

a. Legibus solutus
b. Ratione peccati
c. Dominium
d. Legibus condendis
e. Legibus et armis

9 Who is the source of the thought that "Political life is natural to human kind"?

a. Plotinus
b. Aristotle
c. Seneca
d. Augustine
e. Clemens of Alexandria

10 Which of the following modern political ideals/thoughts can not be traced back to medieval thinkers?

a. Political liberalism
b. Constitutionalism
c. Racism
d. Republicanism
e. Civic humanism

1. c	If your answer is incorrect, review The Bible and Its Political Legacy.	6. e	If your answer is incorrect, review Major Problems, Concepts and Philosophers in the Medieval Political Thought.
2. d	If your answer is incorrect, review The Bible and Its Political Legacy.	7. d	If your answer is incorrect, review Major Problems, Concepts and Philosophers in the Medieval Political Thought.
3. e	If your answer is incorrect, review The Ecclesiastic Influence.	8. a	If your answer is incorrect, review Major Problems, Concepts and Philosophers in the Medieval Political Thought.
4. a	If your answer is incorrect, review The Ecclesiastic Influence.	9. b	If your answer is incorrect, review The Philosophical Foundations of the "Modern" State.
5. b	If your answer is incorrect, review The Ecclesiastic Influence.	10. c	If your answer is incorrect, review The Philosophical Foundations of the "Modern" State.

What kind of philosophical question(s) do religions claim to answer; ontological, epistemological, ethical, or all? Why? Discuss.

Self Review 1

Religions claim to answer the questions of individual believers/ candidate believers in all aspects of life. The ontological questions could be exemplified thus: Where do I come from-what am I?; Are we bodies, souls, or both?; How is God the reason of all things?; Is the universe a creation of God, or do things exist eternally?; etc. Questions which bear an epistemological character are those related with the scope, the source of and limits to the claims of knowledge-e.g.: What is knowledge?; What is the extent to which we may know?; Do we know only through reason, or sensual experience, or through both?; How can we be certain about what we claim to know?; etc. Ethical questions-which religions prima facie are mostly interested in-are those which shape our lives through private and public relations concerning behavioural manners, in short, moral values like good and bad. The list of dos and donts due to religions appear within the ethical context. So, the ethical questions could be argued to guide us in our public and private relations with the intent to a good life. Here are some examples for ethical questions: What is good?; Is there a highest good which everybody must try to reach?; Are moral values such as good and bad universal, or, are they relative to local/particular cultures?; etc.

The way religions answer these questions, however, are due to certain line of thoughts justified through verses in the holy books, the words and deeds of the prophets (and sometimes, of their initial followers), which are of dogmatic character, i.e., closed to further spelling, critical thinking or debate. That's why, even though one can find answers to many types of philosophical questions in the religious texts, these answers can not be considered

Suggested Answers for "Self Review"

Is it possible to talk about an ideal state as envisaged by Augustine? Why/why not? Think, and debate among yourselves.

Self Review 2

The ideal state envisaged by Augustine is of a divine character, and related with Christian ideals. Moreover, there is a presumed progress in history in Augustine's thought; history being a limited amount of time on earth which is destined to end up with the Eschaton and which is made up of events that occur only once (also bear in mind that this line of thought reappears in the texts of German Idealists through secular concepts such as reason, freedom, and so on). Eschaton is when God will judge us all and make the final decision on who will be saved and be a citizen in the City of God. Those who will be saved are to live in this world as good Christians who turn their back on worldly goods, on pride, in short, on the love of self. Staying within the context of Christianity, and within the context of monotheistic religions in general, one can surely talk about such ideal situations, and/or they themselves may envisage ideal states/ future scenarios such as that of Augustine.

However, in current circumstances, the existence, or furthermore, realisation of such religious ideals is too hard and is subject to many challenges, though not totally impossible.

Is it possible to find a necessary connection between theological and philosophical thinking as regards the Western European medieval thought? What might be the implications of presupposing such a connection in political affairs? Discuss.

Self Review 3

Regarding Western European medieval thought, it is possible without any doubt to assert that there is a connection between theological and philosophical thought. But the necessity of such a connection is subject to discussion. If the necessity of a connection between-say p and q (both are propositions, i.e., statements with a truth value)- is the case, then we are talking about both parts implying each other. So, whenever philosophy is talked about, we should bear in mind theological ideas, and, vice versa.

If such a necessary connection between theological and philosophical thinking is presupposed when we talk about political issues, then, we find ourselves in an effort to justify political ideals, and/or suggested solutions to problems in political philosophy through sacred literature, or, looking at the other side of the coin, whenever we are talking about problems in theology, we will have to justify ourselves through the tools of philosophical thinking.

Despite the fact that there is strong evidence in the medieval literature affirming the necessity of the connection in question, claiming the necessity of a connection between two things or propositions demands for a deeper questioning, and, a more thorough philosophical argumentation, when we spelling the scope of European medieval thought.

The middle ages are most commonly referred to as "the dark ages". However, it is clear for you, after reading this chapter, that the medieval political tradition had paved a path for the modern political thought as regards the Western European civilisation. Could there be something wrong with the generalisation that Christianity is an obstacle for the development of thought? Discuss.

Self Review 4

Holding any religion or any spelling belief responsible for declination of intellectual activity, leave aside Christianity or monotheistic religions in general, is much too demanding: Anyone blaming Christianity for all the evil that took place in a certain period of time-middle ages, in our case-should take time to think on the following facts: 1. Philosophy of history based on progress, and on a linear course of time rather than circular-where particular events are supposed not to take place again, and, revives in the written works of German Idealists such as Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, is something we owe to medieval thought-more than that, to Christian conception of history; 2. Universities, and the curriculum of liberal arts (septem artes liberales) are original to the middle ages, 3. Magna Carta Libertatum, as the first document signifying the superiority of law/legislation over the individual ruler, is a product/result of the political discussions carried out in the texts of theologians and philosophers, and, of the political actions by earls/barons-local rulers in the feudal order.

It is unfair, of course, to limit the facts with only those that are mentioned. Moreover, those who would refer to the disastrous and pernicious effects of some popes and the Church in general on the development of thought and freedom will not be totally wrong. Nevertheless, if we bear in mind the following distinction, we can avoid vulnerable generalisations concerning religions: to talk about the wrong doings of certain representatives/institutions (e.g. pope, bishops, clergy, cardinal, Church) of a religion, and, to talk about the religion itself and/or the ideals envisaged by the religion in case two are different things. Confusing these two with each other-as we usually tend to do-is a big intellectual mistake; and insisting on that mistake will take us nowhere but towards conflicts.

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Chapter 5

Political Thought of the New Age

After completing this chapter, you will be able to;

Learning Outcomes

1. Explain the political, social and economic developments that paved the way for political thought environment of the New Age
2. Explain Machiavelli's sense of politics
3. Explain the social developments that paved the way for Protestant Reformation
4. Explain Jean Bodin's sense of sovereignty
5. Explain the world, which Thomas More defined in his work Utopia
6. Summarize Hobbes' concept of state
7. Summarize Locke's views on property
8. Define Hume's views on the state
9. Define Spinoza's concept of democracy

Chapter Outline

Introduction
At The Dawn of the New Age
Machiavelli and Politics
The Protestant Reformation and Martin Luther
Sovereignty and Jean Bodin
Thomas More and Utopia
Thomas Hobbes and the State
John Locke and the Right of Property
David Hume
Benedict (Baruch) Spinoza

Key Terms

Sovereignty
Social Contract
State
Democracy



INTRODUCTION

In order to understand the political thought of Europe in the New Age, it is important to examine backgrounds of the political, economic and social changes in the 15th and 16th centuries. In the first part of this chapter, the social and political conditions laying the groundwork for the New Age will be discussed. In the second part, an attempt will be made to examine the ideas of Machiavelli, Martin Luther, Jean Calvin, Jean Bodin, Thomas More, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, David Hume and Benedict (Baruch) Spinoza who were intellectually the most prominent figures in the 15th and 16th centuries in Europe.

AT THE DAWN OF THE NEW AGE

By 1500 the population in most areas of Europe was increasing after two centuries of decline or stagnation. The bonds of commerce within Europe tightened, and the "wheels of commerce" (in the phrase of the 20th-century French historian Fernand Braudel) spun ever faster. The great geographic discoveries then in process were integrating Europe into a world economic system. New commodities, many of them imported from recently discovered lands, enriched material life. Not only trade but also the production of goods increased as a result of new ways of organizing production. Merchants, entrepreneurs, and bankers accumulated and manipulated capital in unprecedented volume. Most historians locate in the 16th century the beginning, or at least the maturing, of Western capitalism. Capital assumed a major role not only in economic organization but also in political life and international relations. Culturally, new values—many of them associated with the Renaissance and Reformation—diffused through Europe and changed the ways in which people acted and the perspectives by which they viewed themselves and the world (https://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-Europe/The-emergence-of-modern-Europe-1500-1648).

With the end of the 15th century, the consequences caused by economic and political changes that were ongoing for years gave rise to radical transformations in the medieval organizations. Despite of the discourse of the universal church and aim of the foundation of ever-greatest empire, these organizations depended on the idea that both economic and political organization in the medieval society needed to be totally local (Sabine, 1969:1). That was a period where means of communication were very limited and largely controlled by the church and aristocracy. In addition to this, trade and commerce were somewhat restricted for merchants. Nonetheless, the development of communication tools and techniques such as compass, advanced binoculars and astrolabe, advent of new trade routes across the globe considerably shifted the economic superiority from feudal intuitions to the newly emerging capitalist class. This gradually freed the commerce trade and liberalized economic relations at the local, regional and global level. A new type of adventurous traders and merchants emerged and they were able to successfully position themselves outside the authority of a city and a guild. Regulating the standardization of goods and growth of trade required a new form of governance larger than medieval cities. All of the European kingdoms initiated such kinds of regulations. In the 16th century, all kingdoms deliberately adopted the policy of running national sources, promoting trade both at home and abroad, and developing national power (Sabine, 1969:2). At this very point, in order to name 16th century capitalism as commercial capitalism, it is necessary to get into the further stages leading to industrial capitalism(Beaud, 2003:31). The issue that Smith and Marx named as exchange value increasingly gained importance in the 15th century. Money in the 16th century was yet away from going beyond a thing that met humans' needs. It became a value for exchange of goods for new capitalist class and a means of making a living for masses (Harman, 2009:184). Cities were in the front line of a new economic growth as in printing and shipping in the middle of the 15th century (Harman, 2009).

The effect of technical change and new market relations within feudalism led to a duality in economic and political relations, in which ways of capitalist and feudal behaviors and thoughts embraced as well as conflicted with each other (Harman, 2009).

Thus, absolute monarchy already became a widespread form of government in the Western Europe in the early years of the 16th century. The absolute monarchy was a combination of blood and iron depending clearly on force to a great

extend (Sabine 1969:3). Church, which was one of the most important institutions of the Middle Age, became the victim of social forces, on which the absolute monarchy depended. Church administrators increasingly came under the rule of the kingdoms, and in the end the legal authority of the church disappeared. These changes that appeared in the entire Europe were gathered around Machiavelli's personality, which was hard to understand and which was full of contrasts. As Sabine states no one else was fully more aware than him of moral and political corruption that was parallel with the corruption of commitment and religiousness to the institutions that prevailed for a long time (Sabine, 1969: 5).

Important

The development of capitalism has also introduced the political thought in the West into a diverse and productive debate.

Learning Outcomes

1 Explain the political, social and economic developments that paved the way for political thought environment of the New Age

Self Review 1	Relate	Tell/Share
What are the political changes of the New Age?	Relate the socio-economic conditions with politics of Europe.	Tell the concept of the "western capitalism" in the 16th century.

MACHIAVELLI AND POLITICS

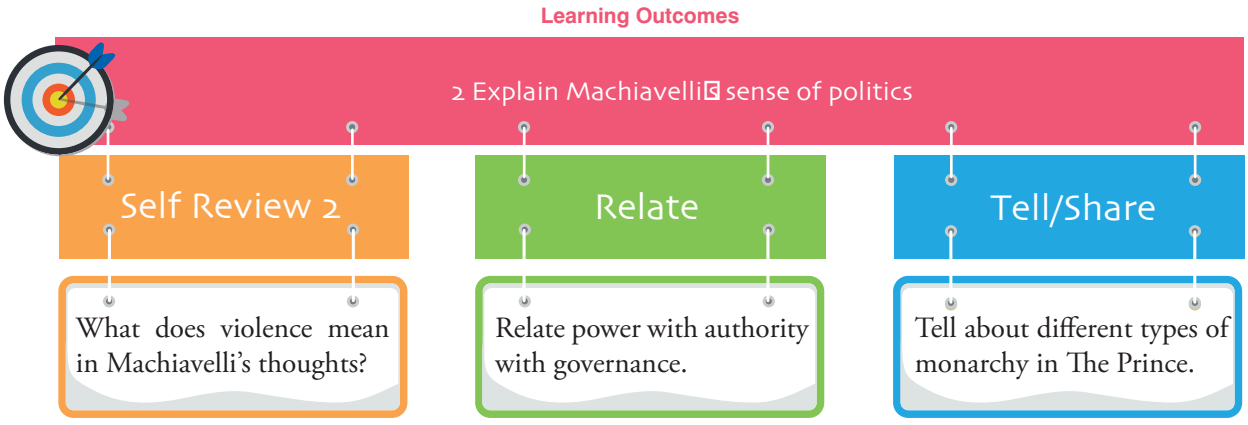
Nicola Machiavelli was born on May 3, 1469 in the city of Florence in Italy. During his lifetime, Italy suffered from an economic collapse due to its ever-growing political weakness, dissolution of feudal structures and disunity on capitalism, which was about to emerge. There was also an endless fight for power between the bourgeoisie and nobility in cities where the middle class had reached a certain level of power. Machiavelli's city, Florence, was one of the most typical scenes of the fight for power between these classes (Ağaoğulları et al., 2016: 320). Machiavelli had two different but interrelated objectives. His personal objective was to return to his active duty in the state. His second objective arose from rejection of the past. According to Machiavelli, the Italian city states, including Florence, often had instability for that reason and they obviously tended to decline. As a result, they were dominated by external powers such as Spain, France or the Papacy. Machiavelli's second objective was of political: to ensure stability and to free entire Italy from any kind of secular or religious external control. Therefore, The Prince goes on these two lines that overlap at the same time (Tannenbaum, 2017: 182).

The group that Machiavelli mainly addresses in The Prince is the one who seizes and maintains power by force of arms and their skills. Machiavelli says very little in his work titled The Prince about for which reason or for which purpose princes wish to come to power, but the work is full of advice about the means that can be used in policy (Abramson, 2014:188).

According to Machiavelli, the main means of The Prince is violence. A prince who wants to hold power should not have any other purpose or thought than war. Machiavelli distinguishes between the violence that is applied rightly and cruelties that are applied wrongly when a prince is coming to the power. However, this definition is not based entirely on a moral basis, and for him, it is an appropriate behavior for a prince to resort to violence intensely at a time in order to secure himself against threads. Once he defeats his enemies, a prince may leave aside ruling by means of violence and begin to take the most useful precautions for his subjects (Abramson, 2014, 191). In addition to this, the ruler should never stay away from the idea of war. He must struggle with this thought in peace more than in war. It can be in two forms: the first one is theoretical; and the other is practical. The practical

works he can do are maintaining the order of the armies, fulfilling their instruction and education, and always going hunting as well (Machiavelli, 2017:57).

According to Machiavelli, violence may be a necessary means in politics, but it is rarely sufficient. The Machiavelist ruler must be both a lion and a fox at the same time: he must know in which case cunning and trick yield better results than directly using violence (Abramson, 2014: 195). Machiavelli often expressed that there is evil in man's nature. However, this conceptualization of evil is not of religious but of earthly. According to Machiavelli, the instinct that lies at the bottom of human behavior is the instinct of ownership. Because the human greed does not have a limit, individual desires and interests constantly conflict. For him, while some people would like to obtain something, the others are scared of losing what they already have. According to Machiavelli, who has a sense of power with zero sum, the amount of power does not change. An increase in one's power means a decrease and even destruction in power of the others (Ağaoğulları et al., 2009: 328). Machiavelli mentions different types of monarchy in The Prince and argues that a prince must have a centralized structure that can allow him to dominate. Moreover, Machiavelli insists that legitimate remedies be found against official misconduct in order to prevent violence against the law. Machiavelli was in favour of having a moderate governing wherever possible but of using violence provided that it is moderate (Sabine, 1969: 18). Machiavelli did not write on any subject other than politics, the state, and the art of war. However, he was one of the philosophers who had the the widest view in pure and simple politics among all of his contemporaries and the clearest understanding with regards to general tendency of the evolution of Europe (Sabine, 1969). The views of Protestant reformers and Martin Luther are explained in the next section.



THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION AND MARTIN LUTHER

As a religious faction, the reformation movement took place in the early 1500s in Europe. It emerged as a political, intellectual and religious reaction to the established religious tradition of Catholicism of the Medieval era and demanded a return to the basic principles of Christianity. As the movement, became popular and had a great deal of support from the public particularly in Germany during the 1520s, it was able to establish its own church. These reformation movements regarded themselves as the ones serving for "the action of the gospel" and reconstructing, restoring and reforming the original religion. In other words, what they aimed was a return to the uncontaminated core source of spiritual Christianity without adding anything in an undegenerated situation (Balckwell's Encyclopedia of Political Thought, 222).

The development of cities in the 16th century turned these places into centers where new relations, new classes, new demands, new expectations, new political struggles, and new nerves of energy were connected and redistributed (Ağaoğulları et al., 2016: 289-290). Especially the bourgeoisie using the money from the trade made the cities the main places of the conflict between old and new the social classes. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie and the emerging urban middle class would be one of the main supporting forces

behind the Renaissance and the Reformation. Those who politicized the reformation movement on another level would be the peasants. It was evident that as the Renaissance was spreading all over Europe, its content inevitably began to change. Increasing numbers of translations were made from Greek and Latin languages. There was an increasing desire not only to read the ancient masterpieces but also to challenge their findings. The best examples of this situation are the scientific developments of Copernicus, Kepler and Galileo (Harman, 2009: 180).

In one of the axes of conflict created by the development of trade in the cities stood against the church. The church continued not to abandon its traditional habits and regarded interest unethical. On the other hand, the church tried hard to centralize economic and political power in its hands. The fact that the church tried to centralize and protect its status quo led to the questioning of the Catholic universalism represented by the Roman Church. This religious universality would be dissolved with Renaissance and Reformation. The technological development that laid the groundwork for this new social formation was that the printing technology had been renewed. At such a time, Martin Luther lit the fuse of the Reformation movement. On October 31, 1517, he posted The Ninety-Five Theses to the door of the church of Wittenberg Palace. These theses had social and political demands as much as theological ones. These demands had three main consequences.

1. Catholic world was divided
2. The churches were brought under the control of the states.
3. The bourgeoisie used these these demands as a weapon against its opponents such as aristocracy and the Roman Catholic Church. (Ağaoğulları et al., 2016).

Born in 1483, Martin Luther was the son of a father who was of peasant origin, but who later went to Germany and engaged in mining, which was one of the most important economic sectors at that time. Luther, who went to Erfurt University to study law in 1501, studied Aristotle through the teachings of William of Ockham. Here he came to the conclusion that people could reach the divine salvation with their willpowers against original sin, the founding thought of Christianity (Ağaoğulları et al., 2016).

For Luther, the essence of religion lies in an inner life that is essentially mystical and non-transferable. On the other hand, the forms of religious exclusion and the services of the clergy were nothing but an aid or an obstacle to achieving this purpose (Sabine, 1969: 30). In his essay on the essence of Christianity, Martin Luther says: "A Christian is the most independent master and is not dependent on anyone; a Christian is the most obedient servant of all and is dependent on everybody (Luther, 2010: 548).

One of the issues that Luther emphasized was using force. Luther does not mention the state as a union of institutions operated systematically but as a political power (the princes), who uses force in order to maintain the order and its being legitimacy is in the presence of God (Ağaoğulları, 2016: 303). Luther, who expresses that the first and the last action of human will is nothing but devotion, states that the only thing to be done is to obey the governors. On the contrary, Luther's followers did not refrain from heading for a complete elimination of the church order without paying attention to obedience approach and this appeared especially in the Peasants' Revolt. (Ağaoğulları et al., 2016).

Jean Calvin

French theologian and reformist Calvin became a citizen of Geneva in 1559. His reformist and polemical work on church, theology and biblical interpretations made him one of the most prominent figures of reformist church in France, Holland, England and Central Europe (Blackwell's Encyclopedia of Political Thought, 1994: 104). Calvin claims that earthly power is responsible to fulfill religious and divine duties, and in this he differs from Luther. The limits of obedience are the limits of earthly power fulfilling the religious duties. When the earthly power is far from fulfilling these duties, the prior responsibility of the citizen is obedience to God. However, it is not so clear in Calvin's thought how disobedience may occur. The governed, according to Calvin, must be in a full submission to the governors (Ağaoğulları, et. al., 2016: 314). Here, Calvin addresses his remarks to the, who can prevent the main governors from becoming tyrants. Calvin claims that social order organized in accord with the true religion is composed of three elements:

1. The Governors, the source of duty is God.
2. Laws, as the products of natural justice imprinted in all minds by God.
3. The Governed, who are responsible to obey the governors as much as the laws of God (Ağaoğulları, et. al., 2016).

Calvinist reformism dignifies work and personal success, and this constitutes the basis for capitalist development. Advanced capitalism, in turn, resolved the Calvinist limits of true religion around the believers of personal skills, industriousness and success (Ağaoğulları, 2016: 317). Calvinism exercised an apparently strong effect also in Germany, in the Wuppertal region as well as elsewhere, and the "reformed" faiths seem to have promoted the development of the capitalist spirit, as became especially clear in comparison to other faiths (Weber, 2012: 10). Max Weber's famous account Protestantism and the Spirit of Capitalism (1904/5), in which he interpreted the Calvinism of the seventeenth-century as an important source of modern economic practice. The broad outlines of the argument are familiar, though more often than not crudely caricatured. Weber was a subtle and perceptive student of history, theology, and economics. He never argued for a simple causal relationship between Protestantism and capitalism. Rather he identified the ways in which Calvinism contained a "spirit" or "ethic" that made possible the rise of capitalism and granted it legitimacy (Gordon, 2010).

Learning Outcomes

3 Explain the social developments that paved the way for Protestant Reformation

Self Review 3	Relate	Tell/Share
What does the Reformation mean?	Relate the Reformation with socio-economic progress in the 16th century.	Tell about three main consequences of Martin Luther's demands.

SOVEREIGNTY AND JEAN BODIN

Bodin, who was a French philosopher and a political writer from Angers, was born in 1529. After studying law at the University of Angers, he went to Toulose to study history, metaphysics, mathematics and astronomy. As a result of a career design in the legal field, he entered politics, took a place in the palace and entered Henry III's brother Duke d'Alençon's service. Since Bodin objected to the alienation of sovereignty and to the war waged against the Huguenots, he retired in 1577 after winning the king's affection (Blackwell's Political Thought Encyclopedia, 1994: 79).

Bodin defines the state as the administration of various family members and their common properties stem from the dominant power. Bodin does not discuss the state only at the level of political events like Machiavelli, but the state is a legitimate institution in accordance with the law and is not a stranger to values such as goodness, happiness, and order. The state's sovereignty that ensures the unity and integrity of the political society is the foundation that makes the state as it is. Sovereignty is an absolute and continuous power (Göze, 2017: 141) 1)

Here are three principles of sovereignty for Bodin as given below.

1. Sovereignty is continuous because beyond the changing governments, the society remains the same. The continuity of sovereignty results from the idea of continuity of political society.
2. The continuous power makes law for the subjects, changes the law, makes the new one. The sovereign governor is not subject to the law.
3. Sovereignty, above all, is the power to make laws for everyone generally, and specifically and to change laws (Göze, 2017: 141).

For Bodin, the sovereign power is a sign that distinguishes the state from all other groupings. Bodin describes citizenship as being the subject of the sovereign. According to Bodin, besides being subjects of a common sovereign, citizens may have countless other connections among one another, but what makes them citizens is their being subjects. In relation to this, Bodin defined sovereignty as the supreme form of power which was not restricted by law over citizens and subjects, and he analyzed this power. Unlike Machiavelli, Bodin says that the fact that power of sovereign is not absolute, does not mean it's being unlimited. The limitations Bodin mentions are of three kinds.

The first limitation related to divine and natural laws: The absolute power of the princes and the sovereign senators certainly does not extend to the laws of the nature and God.

As Bodin says, the basic laws or supreme laws of the kingdom constitute the second limitation imposed on the sovereign. Although the sovereign is defined as the direct source of the law, he is subjected to the basic laws (ie. The Constitution), which he has not made and even he does not have a conversion right on.

Finally, the sovereign is confronted with limitations that might come from the economic conditions. According to Bodin, since property naturally belongs to a family, it should be beyond the domain of power of sovereignty (Ağaoğulları et al., 2016: 410).

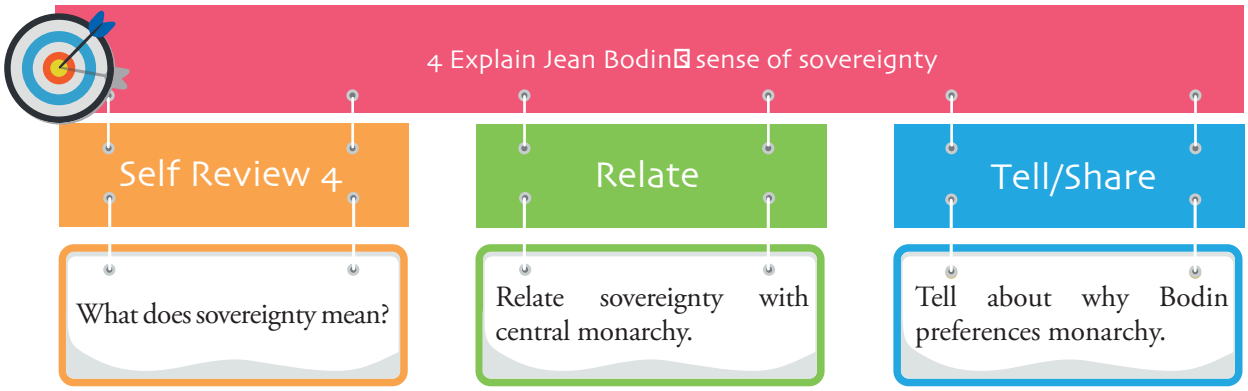
Bodin's preference for the best form of government is monarchy. Bodin bases his preference for monarchy on three basic reasons.

1. By stating that all-natural laws lead us to monarchy, he claims that monarchy is the most appropriate form of state to nature.
2. He expresses that the talented people in the country could come into prominence only in the monarchy.
3. He asserts that the fact that sovereignty that is absolute, indivisible and continuous, can only take place in the form of monarchy (Ağaoğulları et al., 2016).

As Machiavelli wrote about securing national unity in a divided Italy, Bodin wrote his works in France, which secured its national unity but was on the brink of civil war because of religious divisions and feudal political feuds. Therefore, what concerned Bodin was not the stage of the constitutive power-violence but the stage of maintaining legitimacy and acceptance.

Thus, Bodin is a philosopher who represents the transition from the feudal system to the period of absolute central monarchies. He is also the founder of the understanding of a state which is absolute and superior inside and absolutely independent against the foreign countries (Göze, 2017: 144).

Learning Outcomes



THOMAS MORE AND UTOPIA

Thomas More, who was the most progressivist and the most fanatic thinker of the English Renaissance, was born in London on February 7, 1478, and was beheaded on July 6, 1535 (Tunçay, 2016: 3). More is mostly known as the author of the book titled Utopia (1516). He is also known to have been a lawyer, a politician, a diplomat, one of the leading figures of the Northern European Renaissance and later one of the advocates of the established belief in his age. He took education in London and Oxford. In 1499, he

was accepted to one of the internship associations of the High Court of Justice. In 1502, he was called to the bar. He reached the peak of his career when he became a high councilor. With the rise of Protestantism, he devoted most of his energy to overcome heresy in the church. This role of advocacy of faith did not let him support the supremacy law that granted Henry the supreme head of the Church. This situation let to his execution (Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Thought, 1994: 148).



Picture 5.1 Thomas More □478-1535□
Source: gorselarsiv.anadolu.edu.tr

As in all parts of Europe, the problems arising from Protestant Reformation in the 16th century overshadowed all of the other considerations in England as well. The political demand of various churches concealed the serious economic disorders that emerged parallel to the rise of modern trade and the collapse of the old economy (Sabine, 1969: 114). Utopia, which was written under these conditions, is a satire. The origin of the word utopia, which was created by Thomas More, is Greek. More used the prefix "ou"meaning "not" in front of the word "topos" meaning "place" and created this term which means nowhere, no place, anywhere, or placeless. He called his book Utopia, which he published in Latin in 1516. Since that date, the term has been generally used for a place that is outside the known boundaries of geographical world and human experience world (Ağaoğulları et al., 2016).

The model of society that More represents in Utopia is authoritarian, patriarchal, and hierarchical. There is a total economic equality. The elderly, husbands and fathers have respect and authority. Property is collective, there is no competition, and everyone works towards common interests (Blackwell Political Thought Encyclopedia, 1994). Utopia takes the Republic of Plato as an example in some ways. There is a longing for the past in this satire where there is an intense criticism of the economy of the business life. More's understanding related to socially right depended on Plato's analysis of society. According to this analysis, society is a system of classes that cooperate. According to Sabine (1969), this understanding of More was based on the validity accepted in many of the social theories in the Middle Ages. According to this view, which attracted attention after St. Thomas, the community is composed of classes, each of which undertakes a required task for the common interest, fulfills its regular function and receives a recompense for this function without violating the equal rights of the others. In such a society design, there is almost no place for individual enterprise (Sabine, 1969: 115). What Utopia is mainly concerned with is the happiness of people. According to More, happiness is not a singular thing. Happiness has a collective characteristic. The way to reach happiness is through implementing the equality principle. According to More, equality cannot be ensured in a state where property is monopolized and absolute. Thus, eliminating the ownership of property is the only way to distribute the wealth of the country equally and fairly and to make people happy (Ağaoğulları et al., 2016).

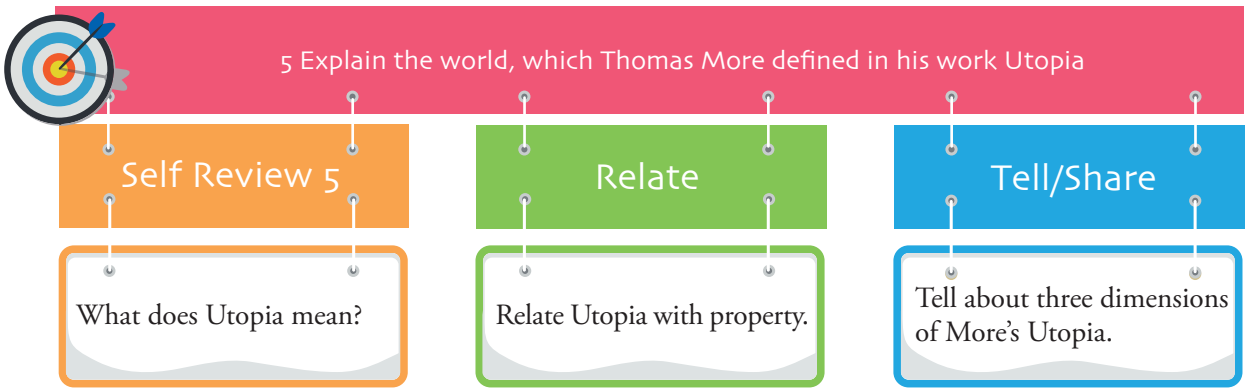
The following passage from More's Utopia clearly shows his ideas about wealth:

"The rich reduce daily wages of the poor every day. They not only play tricks but they also enact laws. You will say that it is obviously unfair to treat the most useful people of the state so, but the rich disguise this monstrosity as a justice through laws. That is why, when I look at today's glamorous states, the only thing I see among them as far as I can say is that: the rich are digging a pit for the poor under bright words like republic and popular sovereignty. They try to kill two birds with one stone through various tricks and unimagined ways.

The first thing they want to obtain is to convert the wealth which have been gained more or less unfairly to an intangible property for ever and ever, and the second is to take advantage of the poor's poverty and their bodies and to make them work at a loss.

That's why the tricks that the rich have played in the name of the state ; and thus, in the name of the poor have become laws. However, those bad and unscrupulous people who have shared among themselves with an insatiable greed the blessings which are enough to make a whole society happy are very far from reaching Utopians' happiness (More, 2016: 39).

Learning Outcomes



THOMAS HOBBES AND THE STATE

Hobbes was born on 5th April 1588 in Malmesbury. His family came from middle class. Her mother was the daughter of a farmer; whereas his father was a low-level church man, and he abandoned the family. Hobbes was raised by his uncle. At an early age, he tended to classical languages, so he went to Oxford. Here, he was recommended to the earl of Devonshire. He tutored the Earl's son. He spent the next part of his life in Cavendish's mansion (Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Thought, 1994: 357).

One of the reasons for the civil war that started in England in the 1640 was that the implementation of the Crown in Parliament, which was not written but constituted the essence of the British constitutional system, started to gradually dissolve. Class antagonisms underlie this dissolution. The gradual deterioration of the agreement reached between the group in the parliamentary, where the bourgeoisie dominated, and the nobility and the monarchy was one of the causes that triggered the civil war. Especially the fact that the king wanted to limit the powers such as raising tax and seizing the personal property in order to protect the property rights of the enriched new classes was one of the factors that triggered this class antagonism. Another factor that triggered the civil war was that the sects increased and they conflicted with the Anglican Church and the king in order to perform their own religious ceremonies. The last factor that led to the civil war was that the Stuarts, who inherited the throne after the Tudor dynasty, were in favor of a harsh politics.

Hobbes was in exile in Paris in the years when the civil war lasted violently. During 11 years he spent in exile, Hobbes wrote his political masterpiece titled Leviathan or the Matter, the Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil. The word Leviathan mentioned in the book expresses a giant sea monster knocking down people with its appearance and becoming the king over the children of pride (Ağaoğulları et al., 2016: 429).

Hobbes, transferred Copernicus and Galileo's scientific discoveries into his own political method. Hobbes' method reduced the society to its simplest movements and then explained political behavior through the movements that activated these simple elements. When simple structures were known, complex political structures could be understood (Tannenbaum, 2017: 205). Hobbes tried to keep his system of thought wide enough to explain all-natural phenomena including individual and social human behavior through scientific principles.

Hobbes succeeds in making a stringent transition from organic metaphors to mechanical metaphors

to describe politics. For him, the state is not a biological but mechanical body. This emphasis on mechanical body takes Hobbes' thoughts to a different level:

1. A stance against religious authority and the scholastic philosophy that feeds it: According to Hobbes, theologians never know the reasons for coming to this world. However, we can know the purpose of these machines, these artificial animals we have made for ourselves. The aim of politics, in the proper meaning of the word, is to create a state power that is sufficient to protect and defend the lives of the state people.
2. Hobbes' mechanical metaphor removes the political arena from the dominant religious notions about the divine right of the kings and of those who are blessed by God. Politics becomes a human creation made for human purposes. With Hobbist point of view, the state is purified from its sensory properties. The state is treated separately as a simple mechanism to protect our homes and families ; and thus, it ceases to be a place related to belonging.
3. Unlike Machiavelli, Hobbes thinks that performing permanent acts with regard to political creation ceases to be a job of great people, so a red-blooded prince is replaced with a bodiless system that can create stability without the help of charismatic leaders (Abramson, 2014:216).

Hobbes wants to show in which conditions people will live in the absence of a certain political power to organize people with the state of nature, that is, in a situation where there is no sovereignty. According to Hobbes, the state of nature is not historical. When people are in the state of nature, they experience a constant uncertainty, conflict and violence. The state of nature is a state of war, which Hobbes has formulated as "a man is a wolf to another man". Hobbes lists the chain of causes that creates the state of war as follows:

1. People are equal in the state of nature: The main reason causing war in the state of nature is the fact that people are equal in terms of their physical and mental abilities.
2. Inequality causes insecurity: Natural equality brings forth equality of the hope of achieving goals. Because every human being has equal chances with respect to achieving their goals, they have equal hopes. If they both want the same thing, the problem arises there.
3. The result of insecurity is war: Individuals want to rule others and to dominate them to get rid of the state of insecurity. The state of equality requires to constantly cope with dangers to survive and to dominate others.

Thus, Hobbes says that there are three basic characteristics belonging to human nature that lead to conflict in the state of nature: competition, insecurity and honor (Ağaoğulları et al., 2016: 435). Abandoning the state of nature, that is, abandoning one's natural right to defend himself in return for peace under a government is a rational step towards attaining power because peace will provide everybody with a future that they can best follow their personal gains in a nonviolent environment.

The first and the most basic law of nature is the pursuit of peace as far as it is attainable by everyone. When it is not attainable, anyone may start a war, which leads to the second law of nature (Arnhart, 2017: 165).

The second natural law that Hobbes mentions includes the following idea: If a person wants to have peace and to protect himself when everybody else thinks in the same way, he has to leave his right on everything and content himself with the freedom that he will give them against himself (Hobbes, 2018: 104).

Hobbes adds seventeen more to these two basic laws of nature and reaches to nineteen natural laws. Security, according to Hobbes, cannot be attained by natural law. "For the laws of nature – enjoining justice, fairness, modesty, mercy, and (in short) treating others as we want them to treat us – are in themselves contrary to our natural passions, unless some power frightens us into observing them. In the absence of such power, our natural passions carry us to partiality, pride, revenge, and the like. And covenants without the sword are merely words, with no strength to secure a man at all" (Hobbes, 2018:133).

Hobbes claims that certain living creatures live sociably with one another since they lack reason to have the notion of being insulted or wronged as distinct from being physically damaged. "The

agreement of these creatures is natural, whereas men's agreement is by covenant only, which is artificial; so it is no wonder if something besides the covenant is needed to make their agreement constant and lasting, namely a common power to keep them in awe and direct their actions to the common benefit" (Hobbes, 2018).

The common benefit can be attained by an artificial consensus, socialization by a covenant, and men establish the state by their own will (Ağaoğulları, et. al., 2016: 441). Men have to surrender their individual powers to establish a common power overarching all of them.

"This is more than a mere agreement or harmony; it is a real unity of them all. They are unified in that they constitute one single person, created through a covenant of every man with every other man, as though each man were to say to each of the others: I authorize and give up my right of governing myself to this man, or to this assembly of men, on condition that you surrender to him your right of governing yourself, and authorize all his actions in the same way" (Hobbes, 2018: 136). When this is done, the multitude so united in one person is called a COMMONWEALTH, in Latin CIVITAS. This is the method of creation of that great LEVIATHAN, or rather (to speak more reverently) of that mortal god to which we owe, under the immortal God, our peace and defence (Ağaoğulları, et. al., 2016: 441).

According to Hobbes, a state is either established by the mutual agreement of free individuals, or is obtained, i.e. by the conquest of a present sovereignty (Monk, 2004: 58).

The Characteristics of the Covenant

Sovereignty rights are identical whether it is established by a covenant or by subjugation. Some of the characteristics of the covenant are as follows:

1. First of all, as men establish the state by consensus, not by a natural means, state is artificial.
2. What men agree upon is that they surrender their rights to the state in order to be in peace and safe.
3. Each and every man equally surrender their rights to the one and the same entity.
4. The sovereign is not included, only the governed subjects are. The relationship between the sovereign and the citizens is one of inequality.
5. Any individual who agrees, authorizes Leviathan in decisions in his name. The superior government or sovereign power has the right to use all the powers and opportunities of all the people.
6. Only the sovereign power can keep the covenant valid and sustainable. (Ağaoğulları, et. al., 2016).

The realm of freedom, according to Hobbes, seems to depend on the legitimacy of the sovereign, and on the individual. Since all the consenting parties are basically equal, all legitimate actions of the sovereign have to be applied to each and every member of the political community. Covenants, sovereigns or laws cannot negate the natural rights of an individual, i.e. right to self-preservation and right to life. Self-preservation phase becomes relevant when the sovereign cannot preserve peace and apply the covenant. All citizens are free to defend themselves even against the legal authority. In this sense, Hobbes bestows the right of resistance to the state (Tannenbaum, 2017: 213).



Picture 5.2 Freedom

Source: gorselarsiv.anadolu.edu.tr

Abraham (2014) argues against Tannenbaum's stance above. An absolutely enlightened sovereign may well give us special freedoms; however, this does not mean that he would use his personal authority of decision making always in a rational fashion. The sovereign may do anything he wants without being unfair. This perspective shows that justice is not capable to delimit the raw force of Leviathan. The social contract, therefore, besides its function to legitimize state authority, has to limit it. It is John Locke's turn.

Important

The theories of society contract have influenced John Rawls in the last century. He reviewed the concept in accordance with the idea of contracting justice in his work called "A Theory of Justice".

Learning Outcomes



6 Summarize Hobbes' concept of state

Self Review 6	Relate	Tell/Share
What does Leviathan mean?	Relate *Leviathan* with the state.	Tell about six the characteristics of the covenant.

JOHN LOCKE AND THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY

John Locke was born in Somerset in 1632, as the son of a rich family. He began his career as a medicine student in the Church of Christ. Before the revolution, in the period of the first Earl of Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, John Locke's career continued. In the period of King James II, he involved in a counter-regime conspiracy, and he was exiled to Holland. During his years in Oxford, he wrote Essays on the Law of Nature (1660) and An Essay on Toleration (1667). His book Two Treaties of Government brought him enormous reputation. He spent his last fifteen years with a strong political power, as he was assigned to a high rank political position (Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Thought, 1995: 66).

Locke's thought was influenced by the Glorious Revolution in 1688. It was one of the most important phases of the political struggle between the king and the parliament in England. As the Bill of Rights was declared in 1689, absolute monarchy became impossible in England, since included the following: The King would not have the authority to abolish the laws and to collect taxes and recruit soldiers. The bill also stopped the extrajudicial imprisonment practices (Ağaoğulları, et. al. 2016: 481).

Locke's Political Thought

Locke's political thought is based on a basic metaphysical law that explains the political power and the administrative law (Timuçin (2006). His epistemology privileges reason and empirical experience. He claims that human mind is a tabula rasa [blank slate]. All individuals have potential dispositions and capacities. In this context, Locke is a follower of Hobbes: He claims that ideas emerge from individual experiences that influence senses and actions emerge from these rational ideas (Tannenbaum, 2017: 224).

Hobbes' Leviathan confirms the natural equality, however his political thought in general conflicts with liberal democracy. Locke developed the idea of human equality and made it the starting point of liberalism (Arnhart, 2005: 186).

Locke's departs from the characteristics of human being and of the natural life to construct his political thought. In this thought, human individual is not created to live alone: s/he has to live in a society.

The first society is constituted of the relationship between women and men. The society of parents and children follows the former, and the society of masters and slaves comes. These societies, however, differ from political societies in their aims and the responsibilities of their members. Human being, as a social being, is naturally equal and free (Göze, 2017: 175). Locke claims that reason in the natural state teach all individuals that they are equal and free, and that they must not harm each other's freedom, life, welfare and property. Individuals are also a part of God's creation, and God directs them to good. Human beings, differently from any other animals, have reason and conscience. Human nature, therefore, is a virtuous combination of many elements, potentially: Moral, reasonable, egoist, and social elements (Tannenbaum, 2017: 225). Locke posits the natural law in such a way that corresponds to human behavior and moral law. Natural law indicates normative codes of what ought to be. In this sense, it is universal. Natural law corresponds to rational law. Locke's nature is defined by equality, freedom and rationality.

Equality: Locke claims that each and every human individual is free, but he also sets some limits to this. Equality, according to him, is to have the equal rights for everyone to attain their own freedom, without being subject to any other's will and authority.

Freedom: Every individual has the right to make use of himself and his property in the way he wishes; however, he is not free to destroy himself or his property without a higher purpose than of its protection. The limits of freedom are determined by responsibilities derived from the natural law.

Rationalism: Hobbes claims that equality and freedom direct us to rationalism. When human individuals are supposed to be rational, it means that they have the ability to make a contract (Ağaoğulları, 2016: 486).

The State of war

Locke does not depict a fearsome natural state, but he is hesitant in this issue. A harmless natural state may well transform into a state of war in a sudden and unbeknown fashion. This ambivalence makes human individuals leave the natural state. The following step would be to constitute the government to establish peace (Tannenbaum, 2017: 230).

Locke claims that the cause of the state of war is not a superior will that holds the authority to judge and punish, but a will to subjugate the other with an absolute power, and to enslave the other depriving him of his freedoms. The state of war is a requisite for Locke's philosophical thought, since it is the source and the base of constitutional government (Ağaoğulları, 2016). What is significant in Locke's ideas is that he considers all individuals equal in natural state; however, his theses on property contradict such equality.

The Concept of Property

According to Locke, property is a natural right. His initial idea is that everything in the world is the common property of everyone. His basic premise on property is that it is in every individual's self: In its strict sense, property is the labor an individual produce by its own force and skills (Timuçin, 2006: 39).

Locke sets some limits to property:

The limit of needs: We must leave enough, and as good, to those who need it.

The limit of spoilage and destruction: God does not give the world and its possessions to us to spoil or destruct them. These are supplied to meet the need of individuals. Individuals should not possess more than they need.

The limit of labor: Ad individual can only possess what he contributed his labor for (Ağaoğulları, 2016: 490-491).

Locke, introducing money into his theory of property, finds a way to eliminate practical imitations to private property. Money makes it possible for an economy based on wage-labor to flourish, in which individuals may exchange their labor for money.

There is a reason why Locke focuses on property before exploring the establishment of the state by the social contract: As property is a right gained in the natural state, and the limitations to possess money and property disappear in the same state, political power does not have the right to remove this particular right, just as the right to live and right to freedom (Ağaoğulları, et. al., 2016: 492).

At the beginning, what created the property right of individuals on commons was labor force. The concept of need delimited this right,

since individuals did not prefer to possess more properties than they needed that they could make use of with their labor. The circulation of money and trade made individuals capable of possessing more than they need, without spoiling or destroying them. Individuals would possess as much values as they want after that. Locke, with these ideas, defines the property conception of the liberal system (Göze, 2017: 188).

The Social Contract

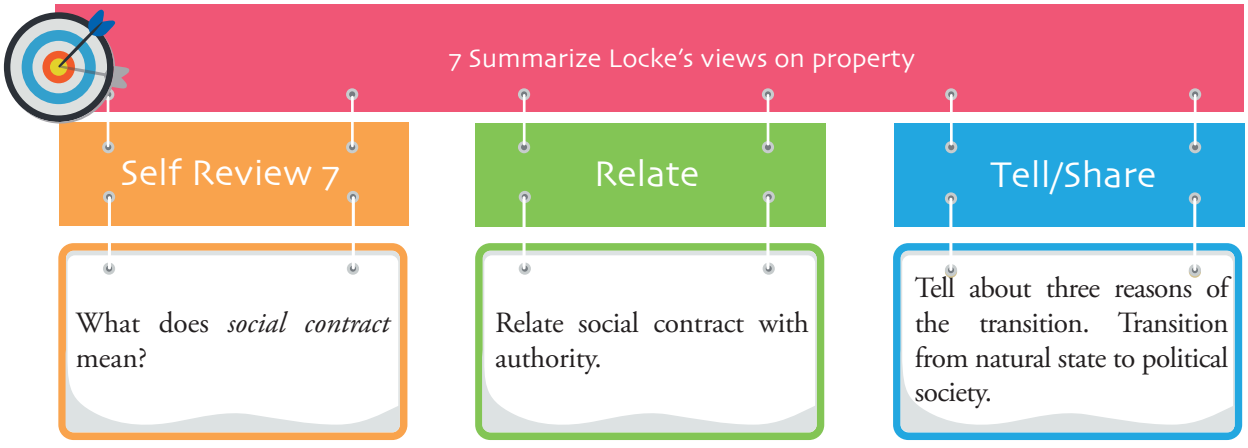
According to Locke's social contract, political power is necessary, with the condition that it should not be absolute. It is necessary because the lack of a common authority would make the society vulnerable to the assault of others. The lack of a common judge with authority leads to a state of war. Locke's social contract has two aspects: In the first, the individual, knowingly and willfully, gets his properties out of their natural states, and agrees on gathering together with others to compose a single community. In the second phase, the individual constitutes and authorizes a government in order to act in the name of the majority (Abramson, 2014: 257).

Individuals in the natural state make a social contract to protect their properties as Locke call their lives, freedoms and possessions, and prefer a society with a political power for their security. According to Locke, the reasons of transition from natural state to political society are as follows:

1. The lack of a situated and commonly recognized law of common consent to refer in case of conflicts.
2. The lack of a common authority which can make decisions based on such a law.
3. The lack of an authority (jurisdiction) to exercise a punishment as a result of a rightful decision (Ağaoğulları, 2016: 493-494).

The importance of Locke's thought stems from the fact that it transcends the accumulation of modern English thought in the political philosophy of 18th century, which emerged from and triumphed in America and France (Sabine, 1969: 226).

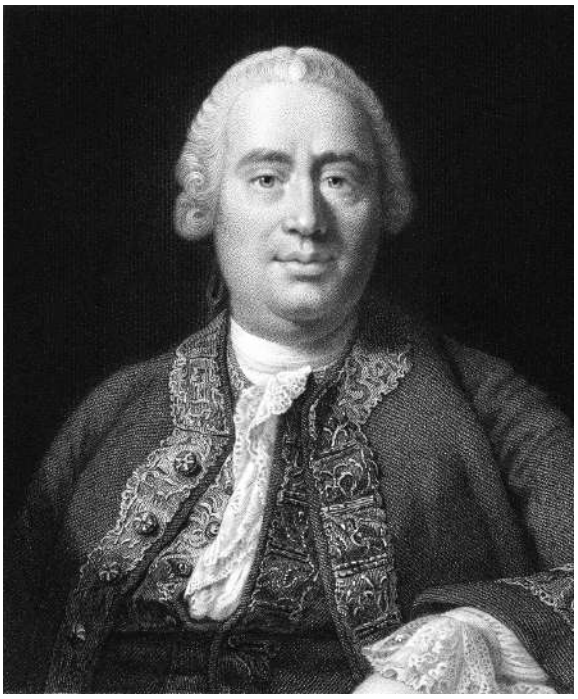
Learning Outcomes



DAVID HUME

Hume wrote an account of 'My Own Life' which is just about as non-confessional as such an account could be. It is Hume as the others saw him, a philosopher and man of the world, exuding common sense, good manners and that moderation which lay at the heart of Enlightenment. How skeptical Hume may have been as a philosopher, it does not appear from his little autobiography that he had any doubts at all about how an enlightened man should live. Hume was born in 1711 into a Lowland Scottish gentry family fond of claiming noble descent from the ancient house of Home. Young David Hume was a youth of 'acumen and parts', as they used to say, fond of his books (especially Virgil and Cicero), and was ambitious for 'literary', that is to say intellectual and philosophical, fame from a very early age. After a gentleman's education—he was a student at Edinburgh—Hume was pushed by his family in the direction of the law, which he had no taste for, and of business, for which he had neither taste nor aptitude. He had a small private fortune which he thought could keep him if he went abroad, and he spent two years in France, returning in 1737 with part of his Treatise of Human Nature

ready for publication in London. Like most of the books Hume was to publish, it was not well or widely received. His two volumes of Essays (1741, 1742) did better, and by this time Hume was on the lookout for a university chair in Edinburgh, but Hume's religious skepticism did not go down well in that northern capital of Calvinism, and he was unsuccessful. Like Hobbes, he tried his hand at tutoring noblemen, but this was not a success, and for a time he served as secretary to a general ('I wore the red coat of an officer') whom he accompanied to Vienna and Turin. It was during the early 1750s that Hume's works were coming to be known abroad, especially in France, but this did not help Hume in his attempt succeed his friend Adam Smith in the chair of Logic at the University of Glasgow. Instead, he was invited to become keeper of their library by the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh, and although the pay (never a matter of indifference to Hume) was not good, the leisure and facilities available were. He produced the first volume of his History of England ('Tory as to persons and Whig as to things') in 1754 (McClelland, 2005:386).



Picture 5.3 David Hume (1711-1776)
Source: gorselarsiv.anadolu.edu.tr

Hume connects Locke and Adam Smith to Bentham. His philosophy springs from empiricism. His ethical ideas stem from the idea of utility, but he also minds sympathy. His political ideas are entirely conservative (Touchard, 2015: 430). His theory of passions attempts to determine the limits of mind, emotions and will of an individual. He attributes importance to passions in order to understand human nature, accepts that passions determine human behavior, and does not take passions in a negative sense. Passions can be observed and explained, according to Hume. Reason is (and should be) the slave of passions. It cannot act independently from passions; it has to obey them. Reason and passions have various functions; they cannot be opposed to each other. Reason, by itself, cannot constitute the means of motivation, but it can help distinguishing between the good and the bad about passions (Hume, as cited in Kırlı, 2013: 111).

What is peculiar to Hume's exploration of morals is his two ways of analyzing reasonable and true propositions. The former belongs to the relationship among ideas, and the latter to that between ideas and phenomena. Hume asserts that reason functions on the relationship among ideas and on those between ideas and phenomena. If reason has the ability to refer to morals, it has to be either one or the other, or the combination of both.

Secondly, according to Hume, reason is (and has to be) the slave of passions. Moreover, he claims that a particular passion cannot be considered as rational or irrational. They might be based on correct or incorrect beliefs, or they may confirm or contradict with other passions (Monk, 2004: 166). Hume's philosophical investigations define moral beliefs as individual experiences and emotions that emerge from the sympathies of the related parties.

The contribution of this treatise to the political thought is that one should directly eliminate any constructs based on rationalism, such as traditional idea of natural law and social contract. Social and political institutions should be considered as tools developed to correspond to the conflict in human condition. According to Hume, human beings live in a place where goods are insufficient comparing to the needs; and thus, the benevolence in human beings is utterly limited. Some rules and laws were generated for the preservation of peace and properties. Hume calls them the rules of justice (Blackwell's Encyclopedia of Political Thought, 1994: 26).

In his text of The Origin of Government, Hume asserts the following:

"All men are sensible of the necessity of justice to maintain peace and order; and all men are sensible of the necessity of peace and order for the maintenance of society. Yet, notwithstanding this strong and obvious necessity, such is the frailty or perverseness of our nature! it is impossible to keep men, faithfully and unerringly, in the paths of justice. Some extraordinary circumstances may happen, in which a man finds his interests to be more promoted by fraud or rapine, than hurt by the breach which his injustice makes in the social union. But much more frequently, he is seduced from his great and important, but distant interests, by the allurement of present, though often very frivolous temptations. This great weakness is incurable in human nature.

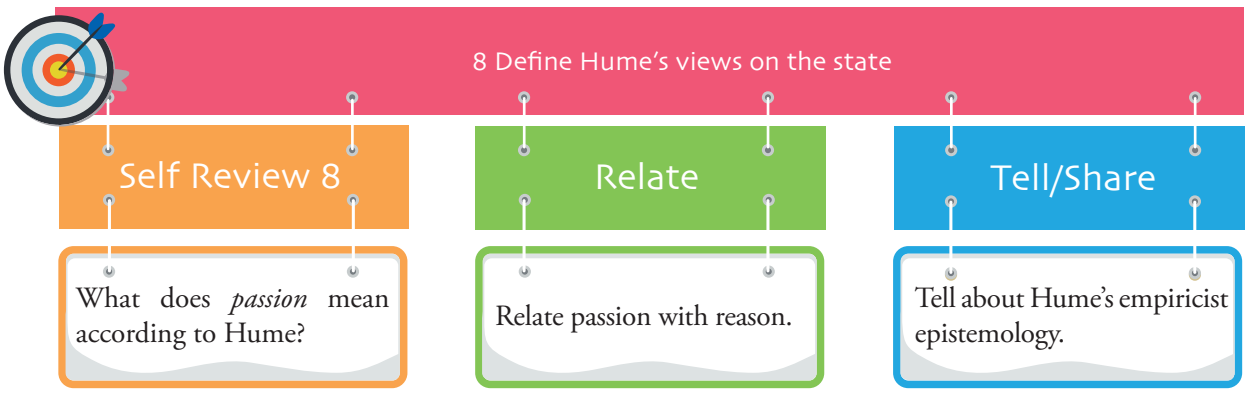
Men must, therefore, endeavor to palliate what they cannot cure. They must institute some persons, under the appellation of magistrates, whose peculiar office it is, to point out the decrees of equity, to punish transgressors, to correct fraud and violence, and to oblige men, however reluctant, to consult their own real and permanent interests. In a word, OBEDIENCE is a new duty which must be invented to support that of JUSTICE; and the ties of equity must be corroborated by those of allegiance" (Hume, 2017: 109-110).

Hume's idea of the obligation of allegiance has a certain similarity with a form of contract theory which had some currency in his time, but which he never mentions at all, namely, implied contract. In fact, in his rejection of tacit contract, he seems to suggest that he did not see any differences between these two theories. Those who did distinguish between tacit and implied contracts saw the former as a voluntary commitment signaled in a non-verbal way, but still as an identifiable behavioral event. On the other hand, an implied contract does not arise from any particular event; there is no act of will. (Haakonssen, 1993:196).

After Hume explains his empiricist epistemology, which can be considered as the key to clear and distinct knowledge of the social order, goes on to explore the elements of actions in our nature appropriate and inappropriate to the social order and their mechanism. With the principles of his epistemology, Hume applies experience as an interior observation, and explains the characteristics of our passions, which motivate us to act, and which may or may not support the social order in various contexts (Yürüşen, 2013: 541). According to Hume, the basic purpose of the existence of the state is not to attain an abstract notion of justice, but to prevent any unjust practices in the society, in order to sustain social collaboration. Injustice emerges from the violations of property rights (http://www.acikders.org.tr/course/view.php?id=64).

In sum, there is little or no objective moral content to the political theories of Hobbes and Hume. There is especially no reliance on the morality of keeping promises or contractual agreements. There is only social scientific explanatory content to any such agreement on a form of government or on a sovereign. Again, because Hobbes thinks we are obliged to obey even a government that has come to power over us via conquest, there is no moral claim for our obedience to it. Through its power, however obtained, government merely obliges us. Whereas for Locke, contract makes government right, for Hobbes, at best, it merely makes government happen, and for Hume, the whole apparatus of contracting is a silly idea (Hardin, 2007:121).

Learning Outcomes



BENEDICT (BARUCH) SPINOZA

Spinoza was born in Amsterdam in 1632. His ancestors were Spanish Jews who had to migrate to Holland due to religious oppression in 14th century in Spain. Spinoza spent his entire life in Holland. He wrote on politics, metaphysics and ethics. He had correspondence with many prominent European philosophers. He earned his living by grinding lenses. At first glance, his political thoughts may seem to be a collage of the religious, scientific and political concepts of writers of the classical period, of the middle age and of his own period (Blackwell's Encyclopedia of Political Thought II, 1995: 343-344). He was excluded from the Jewish community due to his critical attitude towards holy books. In 1660, he moved to Rijnburg. He wrote his Treatise on the Emendation of the Intellect here and started to work on his Ethics. He delivered his Tractatus Theologico-Politicus to be published and moved to Hague. This book, which argued for a secular and constitutional order, was published anonymously, due to the political tension in Holland. In 1674, it was legally banned by The Council of the Reformation Church. In 1677, aged 45, Spinoza died (Ağaoğulları et. al., 2016: 458-459). In the period Spinoza lived and wrote, United Netherlands (that is the name of the federal republic Holland) was attempting to be one of the dominant powers in Europe and on the other hand it was shaken by political upheavals and power struggles. There were two politically opposing classes struggling for power in the United Netherlands, which was also struggling for independence and nation state. One of the opposing classes was the Orange family, the leader of smallholder aristocracy, and they held the government and military. The Regent group, consisting of industrialists and tradespeople, representing the new bourgeoisie, were influential in urban administration and public finance (Ağaoğulları, 2016).

Spinoza claims that what seem strange, absurd or bad to us in nature do so since we cannot grasp the elements and their organizing principles in its entirety (Spinoza, 2018: 409). Therefore, it can be considered that the point of departure for Spinoza's political theory is similar to that of Hobbes. They both claim the following propositions to be the basics of their political thoughts:

1. Men are conditioned by the nature in such a way that they realize their own benefits.
2. Political order or the state, although it limits men, is based on rationality.

Like Machiavelli, Spinoza sought to understand relations of political power practically, scientifically, and dispassionately. Like Hobbes, he held that citizens are well-advised to give up their right and power to the state in return for the protection that it can provide to them in their pursuit of self-preservation. Unlike Hobbes, however, Spinoza emphasized the breadth of the practical limitations on the individual's concession of power to the state; and also, unlike Hobbes, he located a human being's highest advantage not in mere continued life and the pursuit of pleasure, but in the achievement of adequate knowledge and its resulting peace of mind (Garret, 1995: 8).

In Spinoza's thought, the theoretical privilege of democracy is expressed through the closely interlinked usage of the concepts of the social covenant and of reason. Every civil society can be considered as the outcome of a pact, whether tacit or explicit. It is rational to try to escape from the poverty and insecurity of the state of nature, in which men are guided exclusively by their particular appetites and desires. Democracy reveals the mechanism that is present in every such pact: Individual powers are either pooled or transferred en bloc, so as to create a structure of civil obedience. And it is through such obedience that reason becomes a practical principle (Balibar, 2004: 39). Spinoza claims that every state institutes reciprocal forms of domination and obedience, through which individuals are made subject to an objective order. "The condition of the subject presupposes citizenship, in the sense of activity. This activity finds its fulfillment in the democratic state where nobody transfers his natural right to another so completely that thereafter he is not to be consulted. He transfers it to the majority of the entire community of which he is a part of" (Spinoza, as cited in Balibar, 2004: 40).

Spinoza aims at leaving a room for democratic participation in monarchic and aristocratic models, since he considers democracy as the most natural organizational model. As democracy entails the right to elect and to be elected for the largest part of people, it is the most rational way to keep the balance of interest between the governors and the governed (Balanuye, 2016: 267).

According to Spinoza there is no difference between transferring the power to all the society or to a sovereign power. The sovereign power is identical to the society itself. As all individuals transfer their rights to the society, the power each obeys would be themselves. As all beings partake God, all individuals partake the superior power, which is constituted by the sum of all their rights. For Spinoza, democracy is the universal union of humans who have the superior right all together. The aim of democracy is to keep people together in peace and consensus. Therefore, the holders of the superior power have the right to command as they wish, in order to preserve the political unity, to take care of common interest and to govern with the principles of reason (Ağaoğulları, et. al., 2016: 469).

Important

The multitude that is the object of the power is the multitude, which is the constituent force.

Learning Outcomes



9 Define Spinoza's concept of democracy

Self Review 9	Relate	Tell/Share
What does *multitude* mean?	Relate democracy with multitude.	Tell about why democracy is the best model for Spinoza.

Summary

LO 1 Explain political, social and economic developments that paved the way for Political Thought environment of the New Age

With the end of the 15th century, the consequences caused by economic changes that have been continuing for years have resulted in revolutionary transformations in the medieval organizations. In spite of the theories of the universal church and the universal empires, these organizations depended on the idea that both economic and political organization in the medieval society should be almost totally local. That was a period when communication opportunities were very limited. The development of communication possibilities shifted the economic superiority from determined ways and monopolized markets to the direction of liberation. This new type of adventurous trader stayed considerably outside the authority of a city and a guild. Regulating the standardization of goods and quality of this type of trader had to be conducted by governments larger than cities. All of the European kingdoms initiated such kinds of regulations. In the 16th century, all kingdoms deliberately adopted the policy of running national sources, promoting trade both at home and abroad, and developing national power.

LO 2 Explain Machiavelli's sense of politics

The group that Machiavelli mainly addresses in The Prince is the one who seizes and maintains power by force of arms and their skills. Machiavelli says very little in his work titled The Prince about for which reason or for which purpose princes wish to come to power, but the work is full of advice about the means that can be used in policy. According to Machiavelli, the main means of The Prince is violence. A prince who wants to hold power should not have any other purpose or thought than war. Machiavelli distinguishes between the violence that is applied rightly and cruelties that are applied wrongly when a prince is coming to the power. However, this definition is not based entirely on a moral basis, and for him, it is an appropriate behavior for a prince to resort to violence intensely at a time in order to secure himself against threads. Once he defeats his enemies, a prince may leave aside ruling by means of violence and begin to take the most useful precautions for his subjects.

LO 3 Explain the social developments that paved way for Protestant Reformation

The development of cities in the 16th century turned these places into centers where new relations, new classes, new demands, new expectations, new political struggles, and new nerves of energy were connected and redistributed. Especially the bourgeoisie using the money from the trade made the cities the main places of the conflict between the social classes. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie and the urban middle class would be one of the main supporting forces behind the Renaissance and the Reformation. Those who politicized the reformation movement on another level would be the peasants. Especially when the Renaissance was spreading to Europe, its content began to change. Increasing numbers of translations were made from Greek and Latin languages. There was an increasing desire not only to read the ancient masterpieces but also to challenge their findings. The best examples of this situation are the scientific developments of Copernicus, Kepler and Galileo.

LO 4 Explain Jean Bodin's sense of sovereignty

For Bodin, the sovereign power is a sign that distinguishes the state from all other groupings. Bodin describes citizenship as being the subject of the sovereign. According to Bodin, besides being subjects of a common sovereign, citizens may have countless other connections among one another; but what makes them citizens is their being subjects. In relation to this, Bodin has defined sovereignty as the supreme form of power which is not restricted by law over citizens and subjects, and he has analyzed this power.

LO 5 Explain the world, which Thomas More defined in his work Utopia

What Utopia is mainly concerned with is the happiness of people. According to More, happiness is not a singular thing. Happiness has a collective characteristic. The way to reach happiness is through implementing the equality principle. According to More, equality cannot be ensured in a state where property is monopolized and absolute. Thus, eliminating the ownership of property is the only way to distribute the wealth of the country equally and fairly and to make people happy.

LO 6 Summarize Hobbes' concept of state

For Hobbes, the state is not a biological but mechanical body. This emphasis on mechanical body takes Hobbes' thoughts to a different level.

1. A stance against religious authority and the scholastic philosophy that feeds it: According to Hobbes, theologians never know the reasons for coming to this world. However, we can know the purpose of these machines, these artificial animals we have made for ourselves. The aim of politics, in the proper meaning of the word, is to create a state power that is sufficient to protect and defend the lives of the state people.
2. Hobbes' mechanical metaphor removes the political arena from the dominant religious notions about the divine right of the kings and of those who are blessed by God. Politics becomes a human creation made for human purposes.
3. With Hobbes' point of view, the state is purified from its sensory properties. The state is treated separately as a simple mechanism to protect our homes and families; and thus, it ceases to be a place related to belonging.
4. Unlike Machiavelli, Hobbes thinks that performing permanent acts with regard to political creation ceases to be a job of great people, so a red-blooded prince is replaced with a bodiless system that can create stability without the help of charismatic leaders.

Summary

LO 7 Summarize Locke's views on property

Locke treats property as a natural right. Locke firstly stated that all the assets in the world were common properties in the beginning. Locke's basic determination related to property is that property is natural for all people. Here, what Locke considers in narrow sense is labour that a person creates with his physical strength and skill. Locke has some limitations on acquiring property:

Sufficiency Limitation: everybody can acquire property in a way that he will leave the others sufficient amount of that thing.

Spoilage Limitation: God does not offer the world and its possessions to humans in order to spoil or destroy them. These are to meet the needs of the human life. For this reason, people should not have more properties than they can use.

Labor Limitation: A person can only own a thing to which he has added his labor.

LO 8 Define Hume's views on the state

According to Hume, the main reason for the existence of the state is not to reach a justice that is defined in abstract form, but to prevent injustice in the society so as to provide the continuity of social co-operation. According to Hume, injustice is mainly caused by the violation of property rights.

LO 9 Define Spinoza's concept of democracy

The theoretical differentiation of democracy in Spinoza manifests itself in the very closely related use of the concepts of social contract and reason. All civil societies can be regarded to have emerged as a result of a closed or open contract; because it is extremely rational for people to escape from the misery and insecurity of the natural state in which they are pursuing solely for their own desires or appetites.

1 Which of the following is not one of the social developments that caused the emergence of Nicola Machiavelli's opinions?

a. Communication possibilities developed.
b. The absolute monarchy became a widespread form of government in the West in the 16th century.
c. The power of the church diminished.
d. Confidence in institutions diminished and moral and political corruption emerged.
e. Violence became the main means in politics.

2 Who was the main power that politicized the reformation movement?

a. Bourgeoisie
b. Aristocracy
c. Tradesmen
d. Peasants
e. Workers

3 Sovereignty is continuous because beyond the changing governments, the society remains the same. The continuity of sovereignty results from the idea of continuity of political society. The continuous power makes law for the subjects, changes the law, makes the new one. The sovereign governor is not subject to the law. Sovereignty, above all, is the power to make laws for everyone generally and specifically and to change laws. Which philosopher do these views belong to?

a. John Locke
b. Thomas Hobbes
c. Jean Bodin
d. Spinoza
e. David Hume

4 Which of the following philosopher wrote Utopia?

a. Thomas More
b. Spinoza
c. Nicola Machiavelli
d. Thomas Hobbes
e. Martin Luther

5 Which of the following philosopher thought the state as a mechanical body?

a. David Hume
b. Thomas Hobbes
c. John Locke
d. Jean Calvin
e. Spinoza

6 Which of the following philosopher added money to property theory and practically found the way of removing the restrictions on private property?

a. Martin Luther
b. David Hume
c. John Locke
d. Spinoza
e. Jean Calvin

7 Which of the following philosopher tried to determine the individual's limitations of reason, passions and will in his studies by the theory of affects?

a. Thomas More
b. Thomas Hobbes
c. Nicola Machiavelli
d. David Hume
e. John Locke

8 The state establishes an authority and thus an obedience and subjects the individuals to an objective ground. A democratic state assumes that being subjects is an activity involving citizenship. Nobody leaves his natural right to another individual whom he cannot control again, but instead leaves it to the majority which he is also a part of the society itself. Which of the following thinkers might these views belong to?

a. David Hume
b. Thomas More
c. Thomas Hobbes
d. Spinoza
e. John Locke

9 Which of the following thinker explains the reasons of passing from the state of nature to political society such as the lack of an established and commonly known law that is constituted by common consent to be applied in disputes among people, the lack of neutral judges who will decide in accordance with such a law in case of disputes, and finally the lack of a power (jurisdiction) who will stand behind and who will impose a justified punishment?

a. Spinoza
b. John Locke
c. Thomas More
d. Thomas Hobbes
e. David Hume

10 Which of the following philosopher applied empirical knowledge theory in his studies?

a. David Hume
b. Spinoza
c. John Locke
d. Thomas More
e. Thomas Hobbes

Answer Key for "Test Yourself"

1. e	If your answer is wrong, review "At The Dawn of The New Age" section.
2. d	If your answer is wrong, review "The Protestant Reformation and Martin Luther" section.
3. c	If your answer is wrong, review "Sovereignty and Jean Bodin" section.
4. a	If your answer is wrong, review "Thomas More and Utopia" section.
5. b	If your answer is wrong, review "Thomas Hobbes and the State" section.
6. c	If your answer is wrong, review "John Locke and the Right of Property" section.
7. d	If your answer is wrong, review "David Hume" section.
8. b	If your answer is wrong, review "Benedict (Baruch) Spinoza" section.
9. b	If your answer is wrong, review "John Locke and the Right of Property" section.
10. a	If your answer is wrong, review "David Hume" section.

What are the political changes of the New Age ?

Self Review 1

By 1500 the population in most areas of Europe was increasing after two centuries of decline or stagnation. The bonds of commerce within Europe tightened, and the "wheels of commerce" (in the phrase of the 20th-century French historian Fernand Braudel) spun ever faster. The great geographic discoveries then in process were integrating Europe into a world economic system. New commodities, many of them imported from recently discovered lands, enriched material life. Not only trade but also the production of goods increased as a result of new ways of organizing production. Merchants, entrepreneurs, and bankers accumulated and manipulated capital in unprecedented volume. Most historians locate in the 16th century the beginning, or at least the maturing, of Western capitalism. Capital assumed a major role not only in economic organization but also in political life and international relations. Culturally, new values—many of them associated with the Renaissance and Reformation—diffused through Europe and changed the ways in which people acted and the perspectives by which they viewed themselves and the world (https://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-Europe/The-emergence-of-modern-Europe-1500-1648

What does violence mean in Machiavelli's thoughts?

Self Review 2

According to Machiavelli, violence may be a necessary means in politics, but it is rarely sufficient. The Machiavelist ruler must be both a lion and a fox at the same time: he must know in which case cunning and trick yield better results than directly using violence (Abramson, 2014: 195).

What does the Reformation mean?

Self Review 3

As a religious faction, the reformation movement took place in the early 1500s in Europe. It emerged as a political, intellectual and religious reaction to the established religious tradition of Catholicism of the Medieval era and demanded a return to the basic principles of Christianity. As the movement, became popular and had a great deal of support from the public particularly in Germany during the 1520s, it was able to establish its own church. These reformation movements regarded themselves as the ones serving for "the action of the gospel" and reconstructing, restoring and reforming the original religion.

Suggested Answer for "Self Review"

What does sovereignty mean?

Self Review 4

The state's sovereignty that ensure the unity and integrity of the political society is the foundation that makes the state as it is. Sovereignty is an absolute and continuous power (Göze, 2017: 141) 1)

Here are three principles of sovereignty for Bodin as given below.

1. Sovereignty is continuous because beyond the changing governments, the society remains the same. The continuity of sovereignty results from the idea of continuity of political society.
2. The continuous power makes law for the subjects, changes the law, makes the new one. The sovereign governor is not subject to the law.
3. Sovereignty, above all, is the power to make laws for everyone generally and specifically, and to change laws (Göze, 2017: 141).

For Bodin, the sovereign power is a sign that distinguishes the state from all other groupings. Bodin describes citizenship as being the subject of the sovereign. According to Bodin, besides being subjects of a common sovereign, citizens may have countless other connections among one another; but what makes them citizens is their being subjects. In relation to this, Bodin defined sovereignty as the supreme form of power which was not restricted by law over citizens and subjects, and he analyzed this power.

What does Utopia mean?

Self Review 5

The origin of the word utopia, which was created by Thomas More, is Greek. More used the prefix "ou"meaning "not" in front of the word "topos" meaning "place" and created this term which means nowhere, no place, anywhere, or placeless.

What does Leviathan mean?

Self Review 6

The word Leviathan mentioned in the book expresses a giant sea monster knocking down people with its appearance and becoming the king over the children of pride (Ağaoğulları et al., 2016: 429).

What does social contract mean?

Self Review 7

According to Locke's social contract, political power is necessary, with the condition that it should not be absolute. It is necessary because the lack of a common authority would make the society vulnerable to the assault of others. The lack of a common judge with authority leads to a state of war. Locke's social contract has two aspects: In the first, the individual, knowingly and willfully, gets his properties out of their natural states, and agrees on gathering together with others to compose a single community. In the second phase, the individual constitutes and authorizes a government in order to act in the name of the majority.

What does passion mean according to Hume?

Self Review 8

Hume connects Locke and Adam Smith to Bentham. His philosophy springs from empiricism. His ethical ideas stem from the idea of utility, but he also minds sympathy. His political ideas are entirely conservative (Touchard, 2015: 430). His theory of passions attempts to determine the limits of mind, emotions and will of an individual. He attributes importance to passions in order to understand human nature, accepts that passions determine human behavior, and does not take passions in a negative sense. Passions can be observed and explained, according to Hume. Reason is (and should be) the slave of passions. It cannot act independently from passions; it has to obey them. Reason and passions have various functions; they cannot be opposed to each other. Reason, by itself, cannot constitute the means of motivation, but it can help distinguishing between the good and the bad about passions (Hume, as cited in Kırlı, 2013: 111).

What does the Reformation mean?

Self Review 9

The multitude that is the object of the power is the multitude, which is the constituent force.

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Chapter 6 A Great Leap in Political Thought: The Age of Enlightenment

After completing this chapter, you will be able to

Learning Outcomes

1. Explain the general characteristic features of political thought in the eighteenth century
2. Explain the origins and basic features of the Enlightenment Thought
3. Define the basic features of French Enlightenment Thought
4. Explain Scottish Enlightenment's approach to economic and political relations
5. Explain the political views of the German Enlightenment and Immanuel Kant
6. Define Montesquieu's theory on the separation of powers
7. Explain about Rousseau's political thought and its effects on the French Revolution
8. Explain the contributions of Alexis de Tocqueville to modern theory of democracy

Chapter Outline

Introduction
Enlightenment Thought
Streams of Enlightment
Montesquieu
Jean Jacques Rousseau
Political Thought in The 19th Century

Key Terms

Enlightenment Thought
French Enlightenment
Scottish Enlightenment
German Enlightenment
General Will
Separation of Powers
Tyranny of Majority



INTRODUCTION

The Eighteenth Century is commonly referred to as the "Age of Enlightenment" in terms of the history of political thought. Indeed, the rational thinking based on the Enlightenment movement portrayed the main characteristic of this century. Enlightenment has brought radical changes to both social and political sphere. By 18th century, the absolute monarchies were demised and paved the way towards establishment of France and America (Im Hof, 2004, s. 7). On the other side, the Enlightenment represents the refusal of "ancient (old) regime". Accordingly, throughout this period, efforts have been made to place new customs and habits instead of traditional values.

In the previous chapter, the first emphasis was about the rise of the absolute monarchies and the newly constituted approaches in order to restraint the state power. As Hobbes said the state was a legitimate device, and this legitimacy was stemmed from the desire of people being ruled. John Locke agreed with Hobbes in his perspective of the legitimacy of the state and its origins in people's favor. However, Locke argued that state power was limited by law which brought forth a decline in the power of the absolute monarchs.

In the eighteenth century the concept of the "limited state" that Locke had foreseen began to gain strength. Different from the Eighteenth Century, the owner of the power had shifted from monarchs to people or a nation. The administrators have not been the owners of power anymore but rather the authorities who use political power in the name of people. Certainly, the intellectual developments of the previous century had a great impact upon the the emergence of this new understanding.

At this point, it is necessary to point out the different phases and characteristics of the Enlightenment idea which had emerged in different geographies. On top of that "enlightenment" refers to a different set of ideas which varies from one thinker to another of his place. In this context, Scottish, French and German Enlightenment schools should be referred. Although these schools were deeply separated from each other in terms of perspectives of the enlightenment idea, they also focused on common themes.

As mentioned above, the common theme of the Enlightenment expressed in three separate categories was the conception of politics and society in which the mind was decisive at all. In addition, with regards to all three Enlightenment schools, the idea of freedom appeared to play a vital role. This approach is closely related to the political developments of the period. The Eighteenth Century can be seen as "the age of revolutions" in overall. The road paved this change basically stemmed from the developments of previous century; the Glorious Revolution in England (1688) that was followed by the American and French Revolutions. The common features of these revolutions are the limitation of the state power and the heading to the national sovereignty. Within this frame, French Revolution has become an important threshold among the state and society relations. In this context, these developments brought the birth of various political ideologies. Conservatism, for example, was born of Edmund Burke's thoughts as a reaction to the French Revolution. Moreover, ideology of nationalism and the rise of this revolution can also be mentioned in this context.

On the other hand, it is obvious that the most important figures in the political thought of the eighteenth century do not directly belong to the school of Enlightenment. Rather, important thinkers such as Montesquieu and Rousseau, who produce consistent and systematic thoughts and philosophies even though they are not directly considered as members of this school, are closely related to the Enlightenment movement. Therefore, these thinkers, who have substantial contributions to the theory of the state, have coped within separate headings. Furthermore, the nineteenth century can be regarded as a continuum where notion of democracy spreads to different geographies. In the same period, especially with the influence of the French Revolution, the "nation-state" model began to gain strength. Starting from on forwards this period, Tocqueville, the French philosopher dealt with the rise and application of democracy, focusing and moving from the values of America.

ENLIGHTENMENT THOUGHT

The Enlightenment Thought, born in the Eighteenth Century, shows a characteristic that places the reason at center. It can be said that the Enlightenment was symbolically a period beginning with the English Revolution of 1688 and reaching the peak by the French Revolution of 1789. In earlier periods, though a "new" politics and society emerged, the thinkers did not take a complete stance against to the "old" one. However, in the process that started with the Enlightenment, almost everything about the old one became clearer. In this respect, the Enlightenment has risen over an anti-tradition. In other words, the thinkers of the Enlightenment have largely opposed traditional values of society, including religion. At the center of the idea of enlightenment is the concept of "reason". According to Enlightenment thinkers, social and political projects must be explained with reason (Çiğdem, 2018, p.16). Any reference source that is not mind-boggling is acceptable. Therefore, the Enlightenment period is also referred to as "Age of Reason".

The faith in power of the reason is based on the criticism of the tradition, religion and authority that all together restrict individuals by the development of the scientific mind which takes the sanctuary. The thinkers of enlightenment have made an effort to establish an order in which the reason can prevail, and thus to realize the freedom of the individual. According to the Enlightenment, the individual should be able to use his or her own free will by getting rid of the constraints that restrict him/herself. Moreover, this is not a specific turn or geography, but a phenomenon unique to all mankind. In this sense, mastery of the reason is universal for all people. Philosophy should examine and criticize natural and social phenomena (Duman, 2016, p. 135). The intellectual products should thus help to reconstruct the existing structure on a rational basis. In this respect, the thinkers of the Enlightenment tried to adapt a similarity of Newton's natural sciences to the social and political spheres.



Important

Enlightenment, defined as "out of darkness" in almost all languages, is a thoughtful current in the center of the mind. Enlightenment refers to the rational and scientific reorganization of political and social relations, in a manner appropriate to the conditions of the new era, as seen by modernity.

Rational thought is supported by a mentality of "progress". According to this, social life is constantly moving forward from the perspective of the possession of reason and the development of scientific knowledge. In this process, past values, institutions and habits must be left behind. However, this process should not neglect the existence of statutory powers aiming at blocking. They work to cut the course of what is seen as a "historical necessity" in order to make their power permanent. According to the Enlightenment, the liberation of man is possible by the liberation of these "reactionary" forces which are obstacles to history. It is rather difficult to talk about the common themes of the Enlightenment apart from the conceived confidence and progress. As mentioned at the beginning, there are basically three separate Enlightenment Schools (French, Scottish and German). (The American Enlightenment, which had a more limited influence, can also be added to it.) The conception of politics and society in all three schools is quite different. In addition, it has been seen that the same scholers of the same group of the Enlightenment differ from each other in many respects.

Another key concept for the enlightenment is freedom. Freedom refers to the liberation of people from self-restraint and becoming a "rational autonomous subject". The man who moves with a reason will take his destiny in his own hand, using an attitude that is called free-will. The last concept that is determinant in terms of the enlightenment is the critique. The critical point of view that has began with the Renaissance manifests itself within the core of critical norm. It is one of the most important features of the idea of the enlightenment to pass through all kinds of rules, institutions and values. For this situation, it is necessary to start by criticizing the values of the traditional society structure. It will not be possible to reach reasoned truths if the situations that people know "right" for centuries are not questioned.

Background of the Enlightenment

Enlightenment is one of the most important parts of the "modernity". In the first period of the modernity, which is considered to have begun with the Renaissance, it was seen that the trade bourgeois emerged and the absolute monarchs ascended. The Scientific Revolution and the Reform movement have provided the least of the influence of the Catholic Church, which dominated politics in the past. Thus, a form called "modern" has emerged in terms of political institutions, theories and lifestyles. The same process brought together the emergence of the "modern state" by rising from the middle of feudalism. In the following period, industrial capitalism was born and the bourgeois class grew stronger. Hance, instead of the absolute monarchs that strengthened in the first period of modernity, a limited understanding of the state rose.

Important

Modernity is a process that has been started in the West since the 16th century and it has undergone a radical transformation of political, social and economic institutions. Modernity is considered to be based on three major cycles. The scientific revolution has changed the ways in which knowledge is achieved, and it brings the reason to the fore. The industrial revolution and economic relations have changed. Political revolutions have ensured that the source of legitimacy of power is the "people".

The background of the idea of enlightenment is primarily the Renaissance and Reform movements. Along with the Renaissance, a new world of fantasy emerged. After the birth of Christianity, the society confirming dogmas without questioning critically appraises the approach of all authorities including the church. Scientific knowledge rises and people begin to resort to knowing the truth about the event. Thus, people foresee that the universe and the world are no place for the church to navigate them. This understanding has caused the church's authority to erode within societies.

A tradition of critical thinking based on reason was born with Renaissance. A humanist attitude has begun to emerge in front of the Christianity, which criticizes its attitude toward social relations on the opposition to the "other", which is predominant in human values. Through the reform movement, the institutional authority of the church has undergone a powerful blow. The church has lost considerable spiritual influence over societies. Parallel to this, the influence of the Pope on the political administrations has also been greatly reduced. This has led to the emergence of a personality approaching the existing structure in a critical and inquisitive manner. Undoubtedly, this is not the case for the ample portion of the society. As a matter of fact, it can be said that only a limited number of people are influenced by this process, which is not yet established by non-formal education institutions. One of the most important turning points in this process can be stressed as invention of the printing press. Simultaneously with the printing press, it has been seen that paper production is beginning to be carried out at a lower cost and in abundance. In this way, the circulation of information has increased considerably when many books have been published and compared with the past. This has led to a rapid increase in literacy rates. Therefore, many people from "new ideas" soon became aware of this, and a comprehensive intellectual transformation took place.

At the same time, the stronger bourgeois class, especially with the industrial revolution, led to the fall of the absolute monarchs, reaching the peak of their power in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this respect, the discussions of the restraint of power along with the developments in the 18th century emerged and expanded. In this period, intellectuals developed a critical attitude towards the state authority as well as events such as religion and tradition.

Learning Outcomes

1 Explain the general characteristic features of political thought in the eighteenth century.
2 Explain the origins and basic features of the Enlightenment Thought

Self Review 1	Relate	Tell/Share
What are the elements in the historical and intellectual foundations of the idea of enlightenment?	Relate political revolutions (Glorius, American and French) and Enlightenment's political and social perceptions.	Tell about Enlightenment's intellectual and philosophical effects on the Western world.

STREAMS OF ENLIGHTMENT

Looking at the Enlightenment movement in Europe, we notice three authentic traditions that differ from each other in terms of certain aspects. These traditions that have their own virtues and emphasises in terms of political developments can be pointed out as French Enlightenment, Scottish Enlightenment and German Enlightenment. In this part of the chapter, we will deal with these streams of Enlightenment movement in detail.

French Enlightenment

The most obvious example of enlightenment is the pattern emerging in France. It can be said that the items related to the determinative properties of enlightenment, which we have listed above, are strongly expressed in the French Enlightenment. For example, the most prominent examples of the understanding of "the opposition to religion and tradition" that places the reason at center of the Enlightenment are encountered among the French Enlightenment thinkers. In addition, the French Enlightenment thinkers stand on the construction of a new political and social structure by opposing the "old (ancient) regime". The change must be comprehensive, changing all social dynamics. For this reason, it can be said that the idea of the French Enlightenment is very close to the idea of "revolution". As a matter of fact, the French Revolution has emerged to a great extent as the product of the idea of Enlightenment. In this context, the French Enlightenment has adopted a very radical approach. The thinkers of enlightenment argue that the liberation of society from the situation it is in cannot be misled by some small reform movements.

The leading names of the French Enlightenment are Condillac, Diderot, D'Alembert, Helvetius, Turgot and Voltaire. As mentioned earlier, thinkers such as Rousseau and Montesquieu also contributed in the Encyclopedia. However, these names with their original theories cannot be attached directly as members of the Enlightenment. It can be said that some of Montesquieu and Rousseau's theses have a certain critique of the Enlightenment.



Picture 6.1 Denis Diderot

Source: https://www.famousauthors.org/denis-diderot

Encyclopedia of the French Enlightenment, prepared by many thinkers, is a work aimed at bringing people together in many subjects with "scientific" and "real" knowledge. In this work, which consists of a large number of volumes, it is aimed to inform the people about different subjects. There are no thematic or intellectual integrity in the

Encyclopedia, as it contributes so many different names. However, all these writers have a common goal: to explain social and political relations in the guiding mind and in scientific ways. Over time, however, many names that initially contributed to Encyclopedia have left this work (Ewald, 2013, p. 95). On the other hand, it was seen that the political administration of the period reacted to Encyclopedia.

Important

Encyclopedia is emerged with the common contributions of thinkers of French Enlightenment. The first two fascicles published in 1751 received great interest from the society. The Encyclopedia, which contains many disciplines of matter ranging from natural sciences to philosophy, lasted until 1765.

It is impossible for the political proletariat envisioned by the Enlightenment to be alive without the support of political power because a large part of people will resist such a comprehensive project that directly concerns their lives. Therefore, it was necessary to pressure the people to accept this change as it was required. Here, the concept of the "enlightened despotism" is encountered. This concept describes the projects of monarchs in different places to change society. According to this approach, some rulers who share the vision of the society envisaged by the Enlightenment undergone a comprehensive change project in their countries. Examples of enlightened despots are rulers such as the Great Prince Frederic of Prussia and Czaria Katerina in Russia. Enlightened despots prepare comprehensive transformation projects that claim to be the good of the whole community. In this process, the Enlightenment is obliged to provide monarchical support for the implementation of this project.

On the other hand, majority is reluctant to accept such an enormous change. According to Enlightenment thinkers, it can be closely related to the ignorance of people and it is necessary to bring a change to the consciousness in the public field. The first way was to focus on education. The prominent Enlightenment thinkers therefore focused on the process of education in order to save people from the darkness they were in and "enlightened" them. Enlightenment's famous work Encyclopedia was intended to have such a function. In this context, the thinkers of the Enlightenment intended the readers of Encyclopedia to meet the universal realities and to get rid of the traditional bonds that prevented those becoming free individuals.

Finally, the basic theses of the French Enlightenment had the opportunity to be misled by the French Revolution. Especially in the period when the Jacobins were in power, the basic approach of the Enlightenment was almost embodied. For example, in this process, compulsory, common education policies starting from early ages have been implemented. In this way, attempts have been made to bring a mass that has internalized certain values since childhood. However, the French Enlightenment is often criticized for being a gate to an authoritarian rule. The ruling elite, who have a project to transform society, could take various steps to complete their projects by putting pressure on people if necessary. The French Enlightenment tradition tended to support such authoritarian inclinations provided that they acted in accordance with their own assumptions.

Scottish Enlightenment

The idea of enlightenment has also been influenced by a different outlook in England. The reason for the so-called Scottish Enlightenment in England is that the most important names in this movement are Scottish. Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson and Thomas Reid are some of the most important figures of the Scottish Enlightenment.

The basis of the Scottish Enlightenment is the new understanding of science with John Newton and John Locke's libertarian ideas. Newton has established a belief that nature is a mechanism that works with certain laws. In this context, it appears that it is possible to solve the mystery of nature if the operating rules of the mechanism in question are present (Çiğdem, 2018, p. 68). The dissolution of the laws behind natural phenomena ensures that humans become dominant in nature. This understanding has been seen to be closely related to the human freedom since the person who understands the real causes behind natural phenomena is supposed to become free from natural constraints and able to use the nature for its own purposes. In the same process, a method based on observation and experiment is developed. It is aimed to use experiments and observations to

understand the processes of nature. The idea that the same method can also be used to make sense of social and political relations is one of the starting points of the Enlightenment.

The Scottish Enlightenment, on the other hand, asserts that the reason alone will not be enough to understand man and society. Even trying to explain everything by reason will lead people to the wrong path. According to Francis Hutcheson, one of the most important names in the Scottish Enlightenment, people present some behavior even though they do not benefit from them. This holds forts other invisible factors besides reason are also effective in human life. The concept encountered here is "moral sense". Hutcheson has argued that people are reconciled to some moral concepts, even though the rules are not written anywhere. This compromise is of human nature, as it has a universal character. Hence, there are some values and principles that cannot be explained by rational arguments in human nature.

John Locke's thoughts was another factor that influenced the Scottish Enlightenment. As mentioned earlier, John Locke emphasizes the limitation of political power to protect individual rights. Locke's first contribution to the Scottish Enlightenment emerges epistemologically. Locke, who said the human learning process is based on experimentation and observation, has opposed the idea of innate ideas. This is closely related to the new understanding of science that emerges with Newton. Locke's other influence on the Scottish Enlightenment arises from the belief that people are equal and free from their birth. As described in the previous section, he asserts that people live in peace in nature of state in which there is no authority where people use their natural rights and live free without harming others. According to Locke, people need a common ground and an all-encompassing authority to protect peace and order.

However, this does not mean that people have given up their freedom. Only those who pass political gatherings in the nature state will transfer the right of punishment to the state. The main function of the state is to ensure the security of people and to distribute justice. Apart from this, Locke argued that people would live their freedom in the widest way, and that the state does not have the authority to intervene. It can set forth that Locke's libertarian attitude shaped Scottish Enlightenment's approach to individual and authority relations. In this respect, the Scottish Enlightenment is far more advanced in terms of individual rights than, for example, the French Enlightenment.

On the other hand, Scottish Enlightenment has some basic assumptions, such as spontaneous order and market economy. This is the most important difference of the Scottish Enlightenment from the French Enlightenment thought. As mentioned above, French Enlightenment thinkers knew that they would resist the change projects of the society. For this reason, they thought that society would have to force change, which means to pressure people for social transformation (Köktaş, 2016, p. 558). They also favored the use of violence and oppression in this direction. The Scottish Enlightenment opposed this understanding, with the idea of spontaneous order. According to this understanding, most social institutions did not appear in the framework of a pre-designed project. Social and political institutions have emerged spontaneously as a result of human needs. Thus, a natural order not previously designed was established. It is also necessary for the social and political rules and institutions to rise from the very beginning. More precisely, institutions and rules will already be drawn from society and politics if they are not needed. Hence, the political power must not intervene in this self-functioning scheme.

It is clear that the sense of self-regulation is quite different from the general approach of the French Enlightenment. The French Enlightenment defends the active intervention of the social life in the name of "progress" of political power. In contrast, the Scottish Enlightenment asserts that the state should refrain from interfering with social life as much as possible. This has allowed the concept of "limited state", which Locke also defended, to come to life. From this point of view it can be said that the Scottish Enlightenment plays a very important role for the liberalization of the process of development. As a matter of fact, this understanding emerged in the same direction in terms of ideas on the economy.

In the Scottish Enlightenment there is a distinct "market economy" thought. Names such as Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson and David Ricardo, who are called "classical economics", are

also representatives of the Scottish Enlightenment. However, these economists' approaches to economics have also had a great impact on Hume. According to these thinkers, apart from the state and civil society, there is a market mechanism operated by its own rules. The functioning of the economy occurs spontaneously in the direction of supply and demand. Adam Smith, in his well-known definition, described this situation with the metaphor of "invisible hand". It determines the processes such as investment, production and distribution, supply and demand. Prices are also in line with the market's own parameters. Smith and the other Scottish Enlightenment argue that the state should not intervene in this area. An intervention will disrupt the self-functioning order. Moreover, they argue that the state, which is basically responsible for ensuring security, is not entitled to such interference. Moving from this, the Scottish Enlightenment approach is one of the most important turning points for the liberal state tradition. Scottish Enlightenment's theses are at the heart of the administrative principles that are particularly influential in the Anglo-Saxon countries.

David Hume

The most important name of the Scottish Enlightenment is David Hume. Epistemologically, Hume, like Locke, argued that knowledge depends on senses. However, according to Hume, information transmission does not take place only through rational means. Psychological factors such as emotions and intuitions also affect the emergence of information. Also the implications and experiences of the relationships we build up with other people also play a role in birth of knowledge. We can illustrate this situation as follows: When we make a decision, we do not just act rationally. In some cases, our feelings also affect our ways of behavior. For example, if a person needs to borrow money from us, we can lend it even if we know that s/he cannot pay it back. This situation cannot be explained by merely with rationality. So, when we decide on any matter, we do not only refer to our logic; but our feelings also play a crucial role in this issue. When we make moral decisions, we move with our feelings, not with our minds. The guiding of our feelings does not apply only to our behavior to the people we love. At the same time, we respect other people's rights. According to Hume, this situation is closely linked to our sense of justice. According to Hume, justice is not a virtue that people have innately.

The birth of the idea of justice is closely linked to the emergence of society. In other words, people make behavior that they "naturally" exhibit for their loved ones as a social rule for others. This situation is closely linked to the understanding of "social benefit". If everyone in the community lives in the same way, respecting the rights of others, social order is to be achieved. For example, a person knows that it is the right behavior to not steal someone else's belongings. But when others know that s/he is not up for stealing her/his possessions, s/he feels safe. Otherwise, everyone turns to be ready to fight in the interests of their own and their loved ones and does not respect the rights of others.



Picture 6.2 David Hume

Source: https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/2775/david-hume-1711-1776-historian-and-philosopher

David Hume: Born in Edinburgh in 1715, Hume went to France following his education at Edinburgh University. In France he produced one of his early works titled "Treatise of Human Nature" which advocates the use of Newtonian methods to understand people and society. His other work is "Essays, Moral and Political", which deals with some philosophical and political problems. The Inquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals was published in 1751. His masterpiece, History of England, has included many works in epistemology, politics, philosophy and history. Hume died in Edinburgh in 1776.

Against to the strict rationalist conception of the French Enlightenment, Hume's theses were an empiricist. There is also a clear skepticism in Hume's approach. He argued that society, including religion, should approach skeptical issues in what they know to be true (Farago, 2010, p. 89). Hume also carried epistemological suspicion and political thesis of empiricism. According to Hume, political institutions, theories and behaviors are shaped by the needs of people in a particular social structure (Çiğdem, 2018, p. 78). People have created justice rules to meet their needs. According to Hume, the state serves to the purpose of ensuring the application of these justice rules. In this context, the state is a tool for the regular operation of social life. There is no such thing as ideal government. Thus, every form of state has emerged in response to a need in its own circumstances. Besides, the state cannot impose a certain sense of morality on people. In other words, it cannot force society to act in accordance with its own good and correct understanding. Hume, like other thinkers of the Scottish Enlightenment, opposed to the "enlightened despotism" concept of the French Enlightenment. It is clear that contain quite different from the French Enlightenment.

Important

Empiricism is a philosophical movement advocating that the only source of knowledge is experimentation and observation. Empiricism finds its best explanation in John Locke's "tabula rasa" statement. According to him, when born, the human mind is like a "blank state"

According to Hume, there is a close link between economic and political freedoms. He argued that the development of capitalism is effective in decentralization in power. Individuals who made independent decisions in economic terms also showed these free attitudes in political decision-making processes. The rise of the state's intervention in the economic field has brought the narrowing of the field of domination over people's lives (Ruby, 2012, p. 84). This has been influential in the expansion of individual freedoms. Moving from this, Hume has stood on free trade and opposed mercantilism, which began to rise during its time. On the contrary, he argued that free trade would generally increase the prosperity of the communities.

Hume, Hobbes and Locke's concept of social contract has been opposed in terms of state theory. Hume has argued that there is no historical evidence of contract theory. According to him, the obligation of obedience to the executives arises from a "utilitarian" understanding. People know that it is beneficial for the managers to assert their authority because the protection of social order is possible by everyone's compliance with common rules. Failure to maintain order will cause people's safety concerns to continue. Therefore, people with rationality give the rule of lawful obedience, which ensures maintenance of the social order. In this context, these rules are subject to obligation to obey the authority of the state to which they apply. According to Hume, the absence of the state would create a climate of uncertainty in terms of people's lives and safety. It is therefore in the interests of the people to be subject to an authority which will encompass all and enforce the same rules for all. In this context, Hume has put forward a "utilitarian" theory of the state.

Important

In the utilitarian view, the causes of human behavior are evaluated in terms of the benefits to the current philosophy of man himself. Utilitarianism treats behavior on the axis of happiness it provides for people. Accordingly, as rational beings, people use their minds and tend to behaviors that will make them happy.

Obligation to the executives stems from this concrete fact, not a theory which cannot be proved historically like a social contract. The emergence of political power comes from the fact that different interest groups act together. One of these groups, over time, succeeds in seizing power. Ruling obedience is largely due to people's habits. So in Hume's view, the question of how the government is seized is not a fundamental problem. What really

matters is that political power has an approach that allows people to be happy. Hume said that if the state was not useful, it would never emerge. On the other hand, Hume likewise Locke about having certain limits of the state. The aim of political administration is to provide the happiness of the people. It is unexpected that non-free people are happy. Therefore, the reason for the existence of a state that is not for the benefit of the people will come to an end.

Hume is one of the most important names in liberal political theory. It can also be said that Hume has opened a new perspective within liberalism in terms of the state of the state. In Locke's approach, the state's reason for existence is explained by a hypothetical situation like "social contract". Hume, however, has developed a more "utilitarian" understanding of reason and concreteness more appropriately in terms of the legitimacy of the state. As a matter of fact, in liberal theory, this approach has been adopted more and more for many years.

The German Enlightenment

We have already mentioned that each Enlightenment tradition has developed in line with its internal conditions and that they have different aspects. The German Enlightenment, despite some common themes, has been significantly differentiated from the French and Scottish ones. The first reason for this is the socio-economic and cultural conditions of Germany. Compared to countries such as Germany, France and England, it made its national unity quite late. In addition, Germany is relatively behind in terms of the emergence of capitalism and the bourgeoisie. This has caused the political influences of the idea of Enlightenment to be felt more strongly in Germany. In this regard, the German Enlightenment thinkers have been the major advocators of the "enlightened despotism" in relation to their argument that social change, including the concept of progress, is necessary. However, they argued that it cannot be left to a spontaneous flow and should be directed by the political authority. Indeed, Frederick the Great, the Prussian king mentioned earlier among the "enlightened despots", became one of the most important supporters of the German Enlightenment.

One of the elements that allow the administrators to adopt the thesis of the German Enlightenment is that a thoughtful movement called "cameralism" is born in Germany before the Enlightenment. Cameralism has underpinned the richness of the state. For the state to be prosperous, a strong and authoritarian administration should be established. Cameralism also includes an understanding that the state intervenes in lives of its citizens to achieve its aims (Outram, 2007, p. 53). That is, Enlightenment's understanding of enlightened despotism is historically not a foreign phenomenon to the German state tradition. This makes it easier for the thinkers of the Enlightenment to imagine the ideal of society as they have designed it.

On the other hand, Germany is the country where Protestantism was born through Martin Luther. Therefore, the most comprehensive and most serious opposition to the institutional authority of the Catholic Church has emerged in this country. This, however, should not be construed as the rise of the German Enlightenment tradition over religion opposition. On the contrary, the German Enlightenment, varying from the French Enlightenment, emphasized religion's social importance. In this respect, the German Enlightenment constituted a combination of the new understanding of science with the principles of Protestant faith (Çiğdem, 2018, p. 91). Indeed, the German Enlightenment was closely associated with a line of Protestantism called "pietism". Thus, the German Enlightenment adopts an aim to reconcile spiritual principles with religious subjects, rather than using an anti-religious discourse. In this way, it can be said that the German Enlightenment can be regarded as a deviation from the Enlightenment in general.

The most important figures of the German Enlightenment are thinkers like Leibniz, Thomasius, Christian Wolff. These thinkers generally participate in the rationality of the Enlightenment and the discourse of freedom. However, reason should be used in consideration of social benefits. Freedom has no limit. The boundaries of the freedom of man will draw certain principles of common life. In the same way, human freedom should be used within a certain responsibility. A behavior that others will suffer is not covered by human freedom. Human beings must remain within the framework of law when using their freedoms. This is beacuse the laws are prepared by a common mind in order to

provide public good. Strong managers are needed to identify social rules and ensure their effective implementation. Otherwise, it will not be possible for a management understanding to serve the interests of the whole society.

On the other hand, it can be said that the process called "modernization" started with the German Enlightenment. As mentioned earlier, the Enlightenment is one of the historical sections of the modernity spontaneously developed in the West. Modernization means that societies that do not live in the process of modernity are often directed to this process under the influence of political power. In the Eighteenth Century, Germany, which cannot integrate capitalism and provide its national unity, did not overlook a process of modernity. This has led to the search for a quick closure of the difference that has occasionally occurred. In this context, a project of social and political change was tried to be made by using the thesis of Enlightenment to close the gap. As a matter of fact, many other countries followed the same principles.

Important

In many western countries, modernity is a spontaneous process. Modernization, on the other hand, is a project that is tried to be passed on by some political powers to non-Western societies, like Germany.

As you can see, the German Enlightenment is quite amenable to accepting existing power relations, unlike the French and Scottish Enlightenment traditions. On the other hand, Immanuel Kant is the most famous representative of the German Enlightenment.

Immanuel Kant

Immanuel Kant is the most important name of the German Enlightenment idea. He has also provided one of the best-known definitions of Enlightenment: "Enlightenment is man's emergence from his self-imposed immaturity." Here, the expression "immaturity" is particularly important. As it is well known, becoming an adult means that an individual can make a decision by using his own will in terms of law. The fact that a person is not a mature person refers to the need for others to make decisions. According to Kant, this is the direct human guilt since those who do not use the mind will always be open to the guidance of others. In other words, a person cannot be free and will be under the guardianship of others. Enlightenment has provided an opportunity for man to use his own mind and in this way to emancipate him. In contrast, Enlightenment is not a completed process. In this respect, Enlightenment does not have a definite social and political project for "progress". On the contrary, Enlightenment is a process involving contradictions and uncertainties (Outram, 2007, p. 18).

Kant, however, opposed the idea that the reason was the only way to bring humanity to reality. On the contrary, the reason is not exempt from critical thinking. In this respect, one of the most important contributions of Kant to the idea of Enlightenment is encountered. Kant has argued that one of the most prominent features of Enlightenment is the "age of criticism". According to him, a man must adopt a critical understanding to be free from boundaries restricting him in using his free-will.

Kant has tried to reach a compromise between religion and science. In this respect he has firmly criticized the approach of the French Enlightenment to the antinomy. Likewise, he has also opposed large scale social transformation projects. In this context, Kant is not against to social change. But change must take place through reform, not by a radical method like the revolution. The change must take place gradually and without destroying social institutions. The change of social habits cannot be passed on with an imperative understanding. Kant argues that a state cannot legitimately impose any particular conception of happiness upon its citizens. The ability of people to use their will as free individuals will determine the general direction of change. Public authority alone cannot decide on a topic that concerns the whole society with a decision that would be made using a divine logic. All of these can be considered within the French Revolution, which Kant respects. Indeed, Kant was thrilled by the French Revolution and supported this great political event that the owner of the government changed (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000, p. 475).



Picture 6.3 Immanuel Kant

Source: http://www.philosimply.com/philosopher/kant-immanuel

On the other hand, according to Kant, the individual does not have an area of unlimited freedom. The individual has a certain moral obligation and must use his freedoms in this frame. Freedom has two different meanings as "private" and "public". People can use their freedom as they wish. On the other hand, the unlimited freedom of people in private sphere cannot be mentioned. According to Kant, the private sphere represents the obligations of people to other constituents of society and to political power. In this regard, an officer cannot criticize his superior or oppose a military commander. Otherwise, there may be a possibility that the order will deteriorate and turmoil will occur. Kant, however, opposed initiatives that would completely dismantle a certain change, although this is inevitable. According to him, every legitimate state is better than a statelessness. But here is a warning: the process that Kant uses in his "public" expression, we call it today "private life". So what Kant really wants to say is that people can freely express their thoughts in their own personal lives. If the same person, for example, has undertaken a task in the administration of the state, he must stay within certain limits. From here we can say that Kant attaches importance to the preservation of its political structure. In other words, there must be a balance between freedom and necessity.

Kant's approach to the state was largely influenced by Rousseau's social contract theory. Kant attaches importance to the contract in terms of giving up some of his freedoms to get people into society. According to this approach, people are obliged to obey political power to preserve the social order. However, political power does not have an infinite power of domination. Power should be formed in the direction of the will of people, and its actions must be done in the direction of people. According to Kant, the state is a mandatory institution for the protection of individual rights. The state established by a social contract is obliged to protect rights of people who constitute it. The authority of the state ends where the private life of the citizens begins (Ben-Amittay, 1983, p. 208). The state cannot interfere with citizens' freedom of thought, expression, religion and belief. However, as we have mentioned above, the freedoms of the individual are not limitless. People should use their freedom on a legal ground.

Learning Outcomes

3 Define the basic features of French Enlightenment Thought
4 Explain Scottish Enlightenment's approach to economic and political relations
5 Explain the political views of the German Enlightenment and Immanuel Kant

Self Review 2	Relate	Tell/Share
Try to explain similar and different aspects of the Scottish and French Enlightenments.	Explain the relationship between the idea of Enlightenment and the expansion of political freedoms.	Tell about importance of reason in the Enlightenment thought.

MONTESQUIEU

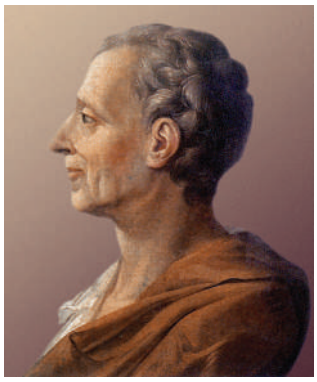
Montesquieu, born of a child of an aristocratic family, has been interested in academic work since his youth. He lived in a time when the logic of enlightenment was strong. He was closely related to the French Enlightenment thoughts. However, Montesquieu cannot be directly considered as an Enlightenment thinker. He has developed much broader theories about them, though he does not have the same understanding as the Enlightenment on the subject of reason and scientific knowledge.

Montesquieu: The French philosopher, whose full name is Charles Louis Secondat Baron de la Bréde et de Montesquieu, was born on January 18, 1689 as a child of an aristocratic family in La Bréde Château near Bordeaux. He lost his mother at an early age and then was taught by his father in boarding schools. After studying law at Bordeaux University, he started living in Paris. He took over the aristocratic titles of his father and uncle and, at the young age, assumed the post of the Presidency of the Bordeaux Parliament. However, Montesquieu, who broke up shortly after politics, sold this task and gave all his interest to academic studies. His masterpiece, the "The Spirit of the Laws", that gained quite a strong reputition, and he died in Paris in 1755.

In the modern world, Montesquieu is perhaps the first thinker to analyze politics and sociology in a scientific way (Althusser, 2005, p. 15; Durkheim, 1965, p. 1; Aron, 1994, p. 22). In this respect, it can be said that Montesquieu is an important contributor to the emergence of "social sciences" as a discipline. He tried to make comprehensive and systematic scientific analyzes to understand the emergence of different social phenomena. Of course, it is not possible to say that Montesquieu's solution is correct. Here, the most important point is the scientific method that he drew upon. Montesquieu tried to explain historical events and current developments with concrete movements rather than abstract analyzes like community contracts. In other words, he argued that the laws of social change can be found by the action from the events. According to him, the institutions and laws that the societies possess have not spontaneously emerged. They were born in a certain period of history to correspond to a concrete need in a particular country. Therefore, identifying each institution and the social dynamics that make up the rule will enable them to understand their connections to each other. In this way, it will be possible to find cause-effect relationships between events and phenomena. As long as there is a binding link between events, that is, deterministic relations are established with "laws". According to him, after these laws are established, the dynamics of social change can be discovered.

Montesquieu has made a major contribution to the shaping of our present understanding of social science, by determining that the links between events must be determined to understand social and political relations. Let us try to explain this situation as follows: In a certain period of history, a large number of social institutions can be established or political arrangements can be passed. If we do not realize that they may be linked to each other, we may see each as an independent development. But if we solve these relations in a real sense, we can truly understand the political and social conditions of the period in which they were born. Theories in this regard can be a guide. In contrast, theories such as social contracts opposed to his act from a completely fictional understanding. Montesquieu tried to use empirical examples to prove his theses.

Montesquieu's first published work is headed by *Persian Letters.* In this work, he criticized the traditions and customs of his country in sarcastic way, in so-called mouths of two Iranians who visited France. This approach is quite harmonious with the critical point of view of all of Enlightenment. The purpose of the work is to show them how absurd the customs and habits that people correctly accept without being questioned. Persian Letters has received great interest since its release and has printed a large number. This work, however, also drew the reaction of the political authority and the Catholic Church. Since Montesquieu already knew that he could draw such a reaction, he did not put his name on the first edition of the book.



Picture 6.4 Montesquieu

Source: http://www.bookofdaystales.com/montesquieu/

Later on, Montesquieu began to write The Spirit of the Laws, which is considered to be his masterpiece. Montesquieu published his book entitled "Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness and Decline of the Romans". In this work, which can be regarded as a book of history of philosophy, Montesquieu made an analysis of the dynamics of change of history by acting from the example of the Roman Empire. "On the Spirit of the Laws" is the book from which the basic political ideas of Montesquieu emerged, particularly the separation of forces. This book received a great deal of reaction, especially from the status quo advocates. On top of that, he responded to criticism of himself in the last years of his life by taking another book entitled "The Defense of the Spirit of the Laws".

Climate Theory

Montesquieu has said that many political administrations in history have established their own rules. In the same way, he expressed that there are different forms of governance that are different in every part of the world (Beriş, 2016, p. 510). There are reasons for this differentiation, as it cannot be said that the conception of management came about by chance. He has benefited from the theory of climates to find these reasons. According to Montesquieu, climate and land determine the general characteristics of societies. Social characteristics are also reflected in the forms of management. In the same way, the emergence of social rules has the effect of these variables. In the northern countries where cold climate prevails, people are more laborious and disciplined. They can adapt more easily to the rules of life together because climate conditions force people to do this. These people have high self-esteem because they are able to survive despite difficult conditions. This situation also reflects positively on social relations. In this respect, the person who trusts himself also trusts others. So the states in the northern countries become stronger. People living here also tend to be more easily adapted to social rules. They are also fond of their freedom. Therefore, it is almost impossible to occupy and enslave their countries.

According to Montesquieu, in the southern countries, warm climate pushes people to be lazy. They do not like working and being disciplined. People living in these regions have problems with authority. For this reason, people living in the South cannot develop a regular and strong union. This includes political structures they build. They build weaker states. It is therefore much easier for states established in the South to be invaded. Similarly, it may be possible to enslave people living in the southern regions.

The same applies to the structure and breadth of the state land. Seizing the mountainous states is difficult. But it is easier to keep them. It is much easier to conquer states that are spread over large plains. The administrative form of the state varies according to the geographical characteristics of the country. As it is understood from this, people are natural and their needs are developing in the light of these differences (Ağaoğulları, 2011, p. 549). The characteristic aspects of people living in the same geography have common characteristics. Montesquieu describes this as an expression of "general soul".

With these theses, Montesquieu had to demonstrate reasons for changing the laws from country to country. The legislator has to act in all its activities, taking into account these differences. In other words, when laws are enacted, they should be acted in the direction of general spiritual characteristics. If the legislator tries to set a rule without considering social facts, he will not succeed in the management process. For this reason, he opposes the revolutions. Revolutions try to change society in challenging ways. This situation ignores the influence of geography on human beings.

On the other hand, it can be said that these theses have a western-centered viewpoint.

Montesquieu argues that an attitude of conscience and freedom of conscience is unique to Western societies. However, if this approach is left aside, it is clear that Montesquieu's emphasis on the different characteristics of societies is an important contribution to the theory of politics.

Montesquieu's most important contribution to the theory of politics is to raise the notion of "separation of powers". The concept of separation of powers became one of the most important means of limiting power after it emerged. As is known, the "modern state" has the exclusive use of legitimate means of violence in the presence of Max Weber. The theory of sovereignty prevents the state from sharing power with other powers. However, there is a serious problem here. The protection of the rights of the individual and the society in the face of the state which collects all the power in itself becomes a serious problem. To put it more clearly, the owners of political power have a very important jurisdiction over society and the individual. It is clear that this would make it very difficult to protect individual rights. But here a paradox emerges. It is not possible for law and politics to transfer some of the functions of the state to an organ outside itself. Therefore, Montesquieu emphasized the idea of "limiting the state to the state". The formula he finds in this regard is the understanding of the separation of powers.

In contrast, the separation of powers theory was not an abstract formula that Montesquieu has came up with. Already mentioned, he said that social facts could not be explained by abstract theories. Montesquieu has put forward the theory of separation of powers after examining the British governmental system. From the theoretical point of view, the forces of separation of powers are based on John Locke. Locke argued that the state had three main bodies, legislative, executive and confederative. Legislation, as it is today, makes law. So it puts out the common rules that everybody will connect. The executive does the job of marching into social life. Confederative power is related to the foreign policy of the state. Locke did not show the judgment as a separate power; the competent authorities of the jurisdiction between the legislature and the executive. However, Montesquieu has laid the foundations of today's understanding by saying that the three key elements of the state are legislative, executive and judicial.

As we have pointed out, Montesquieu took advantage of his observations of the British political system when he proposed the theory of separation of powers. He stayed in England for two years and studied the political system of this country. The system that emerged in England after 1688 rested on the limitation of the political system for the protection of individual rights. The king, the aristocrats and the people shared power, and the political system of England evolved into the understanding of the "constitutional monarchy".

Montesquieu summarized the outline of the British political system in his book "The Spirit of the Laws". According to Montesquieu, Britain belongs to the unique system that provides political stability and guarantees freedom within the country. He argued that Britain has created a management model in which the aristocrats participate in the governance processes of the people, without excluding them. Moreover, the king continues to be at the center of management understanding. Hence, the system is built on a broad consensus.

According to Montesquieu, the state has three basic powers. Legislation is a force that has the power to make common legal arrangements that apply to the whole community. This authority is used by the king or by parliamentarians temporarily authorized for this work. According to Montesquieu, the legislature also determines the duties and powers of the executive and judiciary. Therefore, legislation is a step ahead of other powers of the state. The main function of the executive organ is to ensure the internal and external security of the state. It is also up to the people to exercise war or to make peace with other states. The jurisdiction is aimed at to punishing the criminals and resolving the disputes among the people. If all three powers are gathered in different organs, the will of freedom will coherently be preserved. Montesquieu, in the union of these three powers, emphasizes that "everything is done". In this case, there is no securitization mechanism for the protection of freedoms.



You can click on https://plato.stanford.edu/ for ideas and streams of thought of 18th and 19th centuries.

Montesquieu opposed, in particular, the accumulation of legislative and executive powers in one hand since the legislature makes laws whilst the executive body applies them. If the legislator and the practitioner are the same person or institution, they will be able to act regarding to in their own interests. To put it more clearly, the executive organ will aim to enact severe laws to make the social order easier. This may harm freedom. The judicial rate should be organized in a completely different area from the legislative and executive level. Montesquieu said that the combination of judicial power with legislative or executive action would do much harm to freedom.

As can be understood, Montesquieu attaches special importance to legislative power. At this point, the question of who will use the legislative authority arises. In the absolute monarchies, the king used his authority alone. However, it is understood that this regime is not a good model for human freedoms. Therefore, Montesquieu argued that the legislative authority should be used by the legitimate representatives of the people. In other words, the organ to exercise legislative power must be parliament. The French thinker, however, argued that the legislature should have formed two chambers. It is clear, for example, that the British political system he showed here. It is natural that a wing of parliament consists of representatives of the people. However, he argued that there is a need for a second parliament, which will consist of aristocrats beside the house of camphor. The second parliament will represent the "sovereign" principle in political administration. More precisely, the aristocracy parliament will prevent the popular assembly from escaping extremism. However, the legislation is mainly based on parliament created by representatives of the people. The parliament, where the aristocrats are located, should have the power to veto the most current legislation.

On the other hand, Montesquieu argued that the legislature had no authority to interfere with the conduct of the executive. This is the natural consequence of the principle of separation of forces. In addition, he opposed the legislative determination of the representatives of the executive organ. That is to say that parliamentary democracy, in its present sense, is incompatible with Montesquieu's approach. Ideal for Montesquieu, executive power is given to one person. Having the executor in the hands of one person will enable the government to proceed faster. In addition, this person will be more impartial in the affairs of the state because he is not appointed by the legislature. Montesquieu, however, has said that the executive power should be audited by the legislature if necessary. If the state is headed by a king, the legislature will be able to use this authority in limited ways. Although the legislature can judge other officials in the executive branch, the king is exempt from this situation.

The judicial body will be commissioned when an unusual situation is encountered. In this context, it can be said that Montesquieu does not stand on a judicial organ which is constantly in charge. According to him, those who make judgments must be elected from among the people for a certain period. Montesquieu preferred the jury system in the Anglo-Saxon countries because Montesquieu states that judges will remain in the state to receive salaries from the state (in fact, from the government); in this case, the judges have argued that it would prevent them from acting independently. In addition, he argued that it would not be appropriate for the aristocracy to be tried by ordinary people. Therefore, a separate judicial mechanism should be established to judge the aristocrats from within themselves.

Montesquieu's system is now called strong type of separation of powers. It is quite difficult to pass such a strict distinction between the organs of the state and reality in practice. In particular, there is no such clear distinction between the legislative and executive bodies. This is almost impossible, especially in terms of the parliamentary system since the legislative and executive bodies in the parliamentary system are almost inward. Moreover, the judicial power in Montesquieu's theory is almost ignored (Akal, 1991, p. 124). In spite of all the deficiencies, on the other hand, the forces seem to be one of the most important tools for the protection of individual freedoms.

Learning Outcomes

6 Define Montesquieu's theory on the separation of powers

Self Review 3	Relate	Tell/Share
To what extent can principle of "separation of powers" be applied as described by Montesquieu? Search and Discuss.	Explain the connection between separation of power and political freedoms.	Tell about the Climate Theory of Montesquieu.

JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU

Jean Jacques Rousseau: Born as a citizen of Geneva, Rousseau has not gone through a formal education process, contrary to many contemporary contemporaries. In his youth, he worked with his father, who was a watchmaker. Later, Rousseau, who left his family, went to Paris from the period's intellectual and intellectual centers. Rousseau, who earned his life through music in Paris, soon became acquainted with the thinkers of the Enlightenment and became a recognized feature in the intellectual community. Rousseau, who originally composed various operas and wrote music for the Encyclopaedia, then took on the current political problems of the period and became an active figure in the field of political theory through *Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality Among Men.* Rousseau died in 1778 without seeing the French Revolution, which was influenced from his thoughts.; In 1794 he was transported to Pantheon, where his bones were laid by the pioneers of the Revolution.

State of Nature and Social Contract

Like other thinkers of the period, Rousseau's point of departure is the natural state hypothesis. Indeed, both in the work of the *Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality Among Men and in the Social Contract,* he speaks of a fictional period in which people live in exactly the same way (Haddock, 2008, p. 131). When Rousseau put forward his own thesis, he was first in criticizing the approaches of other theories of nature. In Hobbes and Locke's theories there is no anthropological difference between the state of the person in nature and the person who lives after the political collective passage (Rousseau, 2011, p. 91). However, when the problem is treated as "overcoming" the state of nature, it will be necessary to assume that the previous person from the civilized collecting passage is in a more primitive state. Rousseau thus negated the nature and refused to regard the person living in this process as a zoon politic. Rousseau, on the other hand, has not neglected the fact that the state of nature is not a historical reality, but a fiction. Rousseau assumed full equality between people in their nature. Therefore, it also excluded private property from sources of inequality (Rousseau, 2002, p. 83-84). According to Rousseau, inequality between people is two kinds. The first is "natural or physical inequalities" that occur outside the wills such as age, health, body. The other is defined as "spiritual or political inequalities" based on a kind of reconciliation and on people's acceptance or at least acceptance. Developments that lead to unequal conditions, such as power and property, that are not found in nature, fall into this second strand.

Rousseau, in his book entitled "Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality Among Men"

mentions the fictional nature of all people living in equal and free form. According to him, people live in an environment of freedom that they can equally and routinely do. Equals, because the most important reason for the deterioration of equality among people is to be connected to different angles. In the state of nature, no human being is dependent on another. They are free in their acts because there is no authority to determine what people should do and what not to do. Therefore, people can behave as they wish. In this period, the real problem that all people face is that they fulfill their basic vital needs. Nature provides a convenient base for meeting their needs. Therefore, people do not have any greed in them, but act to meet their individual needs. Besides, people have a sense of compassion in their nature. Therefore, people try to harm others while meeting their needs. Even in this process they do not refrain from helping other people who have needs to survive like themselves. Since nature has already allowed people to meet the full needs of their limited needs, people have enough time to walk around "idle" and spend most of their time sleeping. This shows that people actually have the chance to act free from restrictions that constraint themselves.

On the other hand, according to Rousseau, people have inherent potential for development and progress. Therefore, unlike animals, people are not the only ones that meet their needs with the most primitive methods. If new methods need to be used to meet the needs, people can research them. In other words, people are constantly developing and progressing. In this cycle of progress, new needs arise in the face of man, and people comfortably meet their new needs, which are nourished by their passions, with the possibilities that nature offers them.

According to him, a person's intellectual development has led to need for interacting with others. In this way, the process of socialization has emerged. In other words, it is the socialization of people by getting rid of their loneliness together with the increase of their requirements. However, the same process will inevitably bring about a transition from "natural equality" to "inequality gathering". The most important turning point in terms of the birth of inequality for Rousseau is the idea of private property. According to the idea, in the absence of property in the state of nature, that is to say, everyone has the same thing, everyone who has come out of them has turned a particular piece of land and claimed that it belongs to himself. Instead of opposing people itself, after accepting this assertion, a sense of ownership was born. Here, Rousseau criticized John Locke, a similar account of the birth of property, with a sarcasm. Rousseau argued that it led to the inequality of the silence of the person who claimed to be the possession of the lands that nature's people had possessed.

With the discovery of term private property, laws have been enacted to protect the property right. This is followed by the administration of the community's administrations to enforce laws that emerge from the idea of protecting property. The process has resulted in the focus of the relationship on protecting the interests of property owners (Göze, 1986, p. 201). Hierarchical and material inequalities are the result of this situation, everyone entering the war with everyone. Thus, all individuals have come to a point where their life and property security is threatened. In the case of nature, all the problems that people encounter will be shaped by chance, while socialization will be exposed to the dangers created by human beings. Therefore, the process of socialization has brought together physiological and mental differences between humans that do not make any sense in nature. It is no longer powerful or powerless, rich or poor, causing differences between people, moreover they cause hostility to each other based on the difference. In this process, the family authority, the first authority in society, has also been established.

People who have not faced any restriction of freedom with the emergence of the family have had to comply with the rules others have set for themselves. In the same period, power relations have gradually expanded and some people have had the opportunity to dominate others because they are from different angles (stronger, richer, cunning or brutal). With the birth of ownership, people have passed into slavery to their fellowmen. The understanding of ownership has gained strength through the mining and agrarian revolutions experienced in the same period because land has begun to be processed, ownership has really made sense for people and some people have become slaves to property owners. In this way, people's freedoms are increasingly being restricted. The political authority, which is the most restricted of human freedoms, which is the way of the first administration, has thus emerged.

According to Rousseau, there are three basic forms of government. One of them is the monarchy, which means that one person will take other people in society under his or her own dominion. If a single person does not have such an authority, aristocracy arises in a sense that powerful people in society take power as a group. If no person or group can demonstrate this skill, then the majority of the administration will be in the hands of the majority and take the name of democracy. However, it does not mean that these forms of management have emerged spontaneously. According to Rousseau (1999, p. 49), the force does not create a right. Previously, Machiavelli was described as having the opposite view. Rousseau is in the pursuit of a legitimate power structure and has argued that it can only happen through social contracts. Therefore, for Rousseau, the way in which the executives have acquired this right beyond their ownership of power now appears to be the real problem.

The fact that people are subject to a certain authority is covered by Rousseau in the context of the concept of "social contract". Since all the individuals are equally natural in the natural situation, it is the rational solution in terms of Rousseau to seek the basis of the relations of power based on inequality behind an agreement reached between people. Through such a constitutional agreement, people first convert themselves to the people, and then they form political power to carry out administrative tasks. All of the individuals in the natural state come together and sign the contract under which they will turn into a society. According to Rousseau, there is no reason for people not to consent to such a contract that would secure their freedom. If they reject it in the beginning, they must be forced to liberate. However, if they refuse to be part of the contract, they will not have citizenship rights in the community to be released after the contract and they will be referred to as nationals.

According to Rousseau, because everyone is subject to the same agreement provisions, the individual will not have been tied to anybody, and thus has not lost his freedom (Rousseau, 1989, p. 18). In the same way each individual will gain as much power as he has lost because he has the same rights as another, so he will gain more power to protect his hand. In this way, Rousseau has also differentiated from Locke's approach that post-contract revolutions carry the same individual rights as nature, from Hobbes' theory that individuals are subject to the state completely (Ebenstein, 2001, p. 252). In this respect, Rousseau argues that, contrary to Locke, people do not have individual rights in the post-contract society. As it becomes necessary to be a part of society, it turns to necessary for the individual to sacrifice for the whole that he has left. People no longer have the chance to act in their own right. For this reason, Rousseau speaks of collective rights, yet not individual ones.

Rousseau has stated that independence and freedom are often confused with each other. Independence is that a person must do everything that comes from within, and in this respect there is no power that restricts itself. Such behaviors may not be welcomed by other people and may even prevent them from exercising their freedoms. Freedom is limited to the freedom of others. In this context, Rousseau says that no one has the right to do things that are not right by others. In other words, freedom does not belong to individual individuals but to the whole that they create. Also, where there is no justice, freedom cannot be mentioned and justice can be provided through common law rules.

Emergence of General Will

Rousseau summarizes *The Social Contract* in terms of the individuals involved in the contract as follows: "Each of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will; and we as a body receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole (Rousseau, 1999, p. 55). Here, Rousseau is encountered with "general will" which is one of the vital concepts in his thought. The general will consist of the sum of the will of all individuals who accept the contract; but this is not a "stack" consisting of an ordinary arithmetic sum. It is a moral and collective public personality that has its own unique life, a common political identity and will. This situation means the birth of the ruling unit that will govern the society. Rousseau formed as a political community by the rule of the dominant society (Ebenstein, 2001, p. 253). Thus, Rousseau defines a legitimate community that will use the administrative force. The first problem that will arise in these concrete conditions is quite obvious: If the general will is the product of the declaration of all the individuals making up society, that is to say, if

everybody forms a part of it, the distinction between ruler and people that will determine the nature of political power relations will not make sense. Rousseau will try to overcome this problem with an abstraction. According to this, the individual has two different roles in terms of social relations. The role is set out in the identity of the "citizen" who contributed to the formation of the general will. The other role of the individual is the nationality which has the obligation to obey the law born of the will of everybody. Citizenship is a tool that is functional in the use of sovereignty. Accordingly, citizens are regarded as essential elements of the state as a part of the general arena. Citizens, on the other hand, deny citizenship rights because they refuse to sign the social contract.

According to Rousseau, the composition of the will of the individual signing the contract is the "general will" (Bayram, 2016, p. 595). The general will consists of the sum of the will of all the individuals who accept the contract; but this is not a "stack" consisting of an ordinary arithmetic sum. It is a moral and collective public personality that has its own unique life, a common political identity and will. This means the birth of the ruling unit that will govern society. In this regard, Rousseau stated that he exercised his sovereignty over general will. In other words, the dominant element for Rousseau is the state that has emerged as a political community through the social contract. Thus, Rousseau defines a legitimate community that will use the administrative force. The first problem that will arise in these concrete conditions is quite evident: If the general will is the product of the declaration of all the individuals making up the society that is, if everyone is a part of it, the ruling-directed division that will reveal the nature of political power relations will not make sense. Rousseau will try to overcome this problem with an abstraction. According to this, the individual has two different roles in terms of social relations. The role is set out in the identity of the "citizen" contributing to the formation of the general will. The other role of the individual is the nationality which has the obligation to obey the law born of the will of everybody. As you can see, Rousseau considers "people" as the only source of political power to be both the source of laws and the power of the executive power. His views draw the outline of a democratic theory where people dominate their own destiny.

Rousseau, in his masterpiece entitled "The Social Contract", argued that the election of the people to represent him would mean enslaving himself, thus changing the nature of citizenship and the democratic process (Dahl, 1996, p. 275). Therefore, he tried to update the "direct democracy" model of Ancient Greece, where the legislative authority was used by citizens themselves. Rousseau, however, was aware of the difficulties that could arise in implementing it in states that have reached a certain diameter. Therefore, the representative democracy has given a green light, saying that direct democracy cannot be applied in big countries like Poland in the constitution draft which is received for Poland. Also, Rousseau did not object to transferring the "executive" function to representatives. In this respect, according to Rousseau, direct democracy cannot be applied in the context of concrete political realities, so the way of administration should be determined by considering the facts of the societies and countries. The executive power uses the authority by the general will and loses legitimacy if it crosses this domain.

On the other hand, Rousseau's concept of "general will" is referred to understanding of unity of powers. In this respect, sovereignty is not transferable, indivisible and cannot be represented. Therefore, the general will that is the sovereignty the people actually own must use their own hands without resorting to the mechanism. As we have already mentioned, Locke first sees the concept of the separation of powers in terms of the restriction of Montesquieu state power and thus securing individual rights in this way. On the other hand, the gathering of state power in different hands in terms of Rousseau will create a weakness. A limitation to this power is that since the state is directly emanating from it, Rousseau thinks that people in the society can cause everyone to act contrary to the presumed rule that comes from his will. In this respect, Rousseau argues that people need a strong state structure to be able to truly feel secure.

The Classification of Governments

According to Rousseau, each three basic forms of government, namely the monarchy, the aristocracy and the democracy, can be meaningful to the extent that they conform to the geographical and demographic situation of the country from which

they emerge. From this point of view, as briefly mentioned above, the less the population in a country and the smaller the geography is, the more likely it is to reach democracy. On the other hand, aristocracy argues that in medium-sized states, it can be a powerful model. In very large-scale states, the monarchy will appear as the most appropriate form of government. One of the most important reasons for this is that the state is a "consumer". Therefore, the state will grow in proportion to the expenses will also increase. Therefore, reducing the number of managers will enable you to make effective and quick decisions with low costs.

For Rousseau, it is the whole of the sovereign, citizens who make up the general will. Thus, Rousseau identifies the sovereign with the people; from there, to the theory of popular sovereignty. Rousseau, by showing the people as the address of the sovereign, exhibited a theoretically stronger approach and a "moral" attitude, unlike its predecessors, who could not or did not show the address of sovereignty at the level of abstraction and presumed monarchical representation of sovereignty. As a matter of fact, Rousseau repeats the theses, which were supposed before him, that the sovereignty is absolute, cannot be transferred, is continuous and indivisible; but adds a new one to them: sovereignty cannot be represented (Rousseau, 1999, pp. 63-66).

Rousseau said, "In my mind, sovereignty can never be abandoned to another because it is nothing but the conduct of the general will; sovereign entity, which is a collective entity, can only represent itself. Power may pass to someone else, but the will cannot pass. "The idea is that this approach is a moral stance that the representation of sovereignty actually serves no purpose other than the continuation of the monarchy. The theory of the general will has greatly reduced the importance of political power. Political power is now a device that can be taken back or changed according to the will of the people (Sabine, 1969, p. 283). As we have mentioned above, here, Rousseau's covenant, the executive organ in its present sense, is the government.

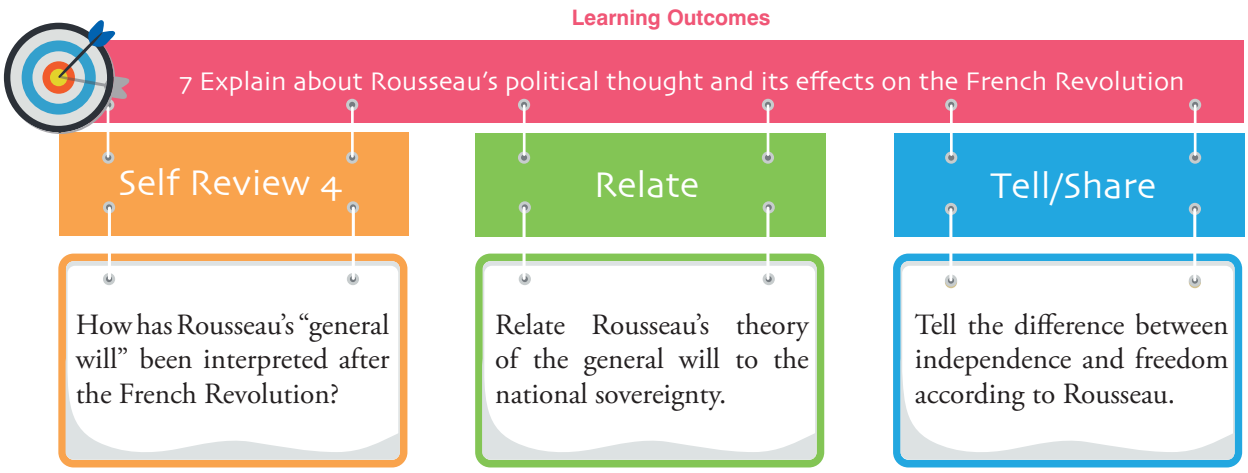
On the other hand, like other theoreticians of the sovereignty, Rousseau emphasized the role and significance of the laws to use power. Similar to other sovereign theoreticians, the reflection of the sovereign's will comes through the laws in Rousseau, and the laws connect all nationalities. The goal of the laws is put forward as doing good to everyone and this basically refers to freedom and equality (Göze, 1986, p. 207) Having the concepts of freedom and equality as starting concepts for the people who make society will require the legislation which is dangerous to restrict freedoms to be done by the people themselves. Rousseau's famous "law-abiding people must be the makers of laws" shows the two-way relationship between the law and the people. There is, however, an organ which receives legislation in the name of society; but it does not remove the necessity of obtaining the approval or approval of the people so that these laws can be put into effect. Justice in general and justice in the preparation of the laws, the act of realizing the public interest is the basic element that will enable the individual to live freely in the political society (Uygun, 2003, p. 143). Perhaps more prominently, however, is the provision of unconditional obedience to the laws that people would accept as a citizenry in consciousness. Rousseau therefore stands on the subject of civic consciousness and says that virtuous people will never forget that they are part of a whole. In this respect, the most important point in terms of citizens is the homeland love. All citizens, if necessary, should make sacrifices for their country and should not place their personal interests on the domestics in any way. The "virtue" that Rousseau constantly underlines is based on such a sacrifice and a measure of altruism.

The last question to be answered here is how to use your sovereignty. The thinker who advocates that the sovereignty is a combination of the wills of all the individuals making up society will defend a democratic administration, unlike its predecessors, who try to place the monarchy on rational and legitimate premises. Rousseau, however, focuses primarily on the difficulty of finding a political system that would be equally beneficial for every society, under the influence of Montesquieu's geographical theory (Ben-Amittay, 1983, p. 196). Rousseau argued that in the Community Convention, the election of the people to represent him would mean enslaving himself, and thus, changing the nature of citizenship, and thus the democratic process (Dahl, 1996, p. 275). Therefore, the thinker tries to update the "direct democracy" model of Ancient Greece, where the legislative authority is used by citizens themselves. As sovereignty in general will not be represented, inevitably direct democracy will be the most appropriate form of governance for Rousseau's fiction. Rousseau, however, has argued that direct

democracy can be solely achieved through "order" from the "Gods." If democracy is to work, citizens must show their sacrifice to put their private interests in the second plan against public interests. That is, no one should think differently from general will. However, with all the missing, flaws and weaknesses, people remain far away from this understanding. Therefore, Rousseau has left the door open for different forms of government.

According to Rousseau, The Social Contract shall be adopted by unanimity, and at least in the case of other legislation, if this is not possible. If a law affects the general public and the future of the society, it will have to be accepted by a larger majority in the same place. Rousseau, however, is aware of the difficulties that will arise in implementing it in states that have reached a certain diameter. Therefore, the representative democracy gives a green light by saying that direct democracy method cannot be applied in big countries like Poland in the draft constitution which is received for Poland. But again, this is not a very favored situation by Rousseau, it is a necessity imposed by concrete conditions.

Rousseau went beyond his time with his political ideas and in a sense opened the way to a "democratic revolution". (Thomson, 1997, p. 121). As a matter of fact, as we have already mentioned, the French Revolution, on the whole, rested upon the thoughts of Rousseau. He argued that the goal of the administration should not only be the protection of freedom but also the provision of equality. Rousseau, with these views, perhaps tried to reconstruct the political-moral link with Machiavelli. With all these features, Rousseau was the thinker who influenced the French Revolution, which happened only nine years after his death.



POLITICAL THOUGHT IN THE 19th CENTURY

The Nineteenth Century is a time of radical changes in the political arena. Under the influence of the revolutions of the previous century, a new state formation called "nation-state" began to rise in different parts of the world. The nation-state model that takes its legitimacy from governing of people has spread to different parts of the world after the French Revolution. Thus, the concept of "national sovereignty" emerged. It is also seen that democracies have also increased in the same period. Especially in the Western world, democratic governance has begun to spread rapidly.

On the other hand, in the nineteenth century, ideologies have also risen. The dominant ideology of the period was directly influenced by liberalism, especially in Western countries. However, within the same century, socialism, which has been driven by the claim of defending the rights of the working class, has also gained momentum. Socialist thinkers, especially Karl Marx, have begun to address a serious mass. This has led the liberal-capitalist states to go through serious reforms within themselves. The "wild capitalism" concept, which was more influential in the early days, left a new mode of human improvement in place. In addition, democracy has also been reformed and the right to vote has been expanded. In this context, broad social segments have gained the right to vote. Likewise, in many parts of the world, women's political rights were also given in

this period. In the same period, slavery was abolished and people's understanding of equality was deepened. In this process of increasing democracy, the first comprehensive theory of modern democracy came from the French philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville.

Alexis de Tocqueville

The greatest contribution to the theory of democracy in the nineteenth century was made by the French thinker Alexis de Tocqueville. John Stuart Mill described Tocqueville's work as "the first philosophical book ever written on Democracy, as it manifests itself in modern society; a book, the essential doctrines of which it is not likely that any future speculations will subvert, to whatever degree they may modify them; while its spirit, and the general mode in which it treats its subject, constitute the beginning of a new era in the scientific study of politics." (Epstein, 2006, p. 101). Tocqueville, the historical conditions that have emerged in the past prepare the infrastructure of a democratic order. In this respect, he said that democracy was the most realistic model in the period of his life. In addition, Tocqueville predicted that democracy will spread in different parts of the world in the future. According to Tocqueville, democracy is the most important form of government both in the time of its existence and in the future. However, Tocqueville has also found that there are some problems with respect to the application of democracy (Duman, 2016, p. 757). He has made some suggestions for democracy to be able to find life in real sense.

Alexis de Tocqueville: He came to Paris in 1805. After completing his law education in 1827, he began to work as a judge. Through a scholarship he earned from the Royal, he went to America to study the system of punishment and execution. During the years he was in America, he studied the political system and institutions of the country. After his return, he published his book titled "Democracy in America". Following this, he resigned from his work as a judge and started to work as a lawyer. He has been working in the parliament for a while. In 1851, he left the parliment since he did not approve of Napoleon's coup d'état. He published the book "The Old Regime and the Revolution" in 1856, in which he examined the causes and consequences of the French Revolution. In 1859, he died in Cannes.

Tocqueville lived in a period when the effects of the revolution was still being felt in France. Even if he himself did not, his family felt the effects of the "revolutionary terror" (reign of terror). So much so that his mother and father were saved from the last death. In this respect, Tocqueville did not approach the French Revolution with sympathy. On the one hand, he was aware of the value of the "equality" attitude of the French Revolution. On the other hand, he saw the problems that a radical revolutionary approach could produce. In this context, Tocqueville has come to the idea that democracy must be based on the political structure of America, not the French Revolution, in terms of its development.



Revolutionary terror (Reign of terror): After the French Revolution, a struggle for power has begun to take place among the revolutionary groups. The "radical revolutionary" Jacobins, who took power in 1793, put great pressure on society. During the rule of the Jacobins, a great many people who were regarded as "enemies of the people" were executed. Wide societal transformation policies have been tried to be implemented. Because of the violence policies implemented in this period, the process in which the Jacobins are in power is called the "revolutionary terror".

Tocqueville, who spent two years between 1831-1832 in America, examined the political system of this country. The democratic government established after the American Revolution has taken on the special interest of Tocqueville. He wrote his observations of this country in a two volume book entitled "Democracy in America". Tocqueville has argued that political developments in America represent the future of democracy. According to Tocqueville, the western world has entered an important process of change in the last few centuries. The old regimes have quickly begun to leave their places to democratic governments. Tocqueville has said that this changing process is rooted in the process. That is, living developments are not temporary workers, emerging by chance. These serve to establish the order of the future. So, it is necessary to properly evaluate how democracy will produce results in terms of "freedom" and "equality". In this

context, it can be said that Tocqueville attaches great importance to the ideal of freedom. According to Tocqueville, freedom is the greatest achievement and the greatest achievement of mankind in this world (Kahan, 2010, p. 24). The only way to use freedom is by limiting political power. Tocqueville argued that the form of government in which freedom can be used is democracy.



Picture 6.5 Alexis de Tocqueville

Source: http://www.harvardichthus.org/2010/12/de-tocqueville-pursuit-of-happiness/

Tocqueville's own country, France, has turned to a negative point in the development of democracy. The French Revolution, at the beginning, came out with the ideals of equality and freedom. But, democratic governance, over time, has had despotic tendencies. The revolutionaries, who set out with the ideals of freedom and equality, in time, entered into quarrels of power and abolished these two concepts. However, America, a newly established state, has a moderate and libertarian sense of democracy. Tocqueville did not seek the answer to the question of why the process of development is different, although democratic governance appears at about the same time in both countries.

Dynamics of Democracy in America

According to Tocqueville, the first reason for a stronger democracy in America is the importance given to local governments (Duman, 2016, p. 763). In this country, central power has not worked to sum up all the power itself. On the other hand, France tried to establish a strong central government after the revolution. Rather, a strong sense of central government that existed at the time of the kingdom continued in the same way. In America, administrative authority has been distributed to local government units since its foundation. Tocqueville argued that, starting from the townships in America, local government units had the right to make their own regulations. According to him, democracy in America begins in local units. From here, it stands out through different political units. So, the democratic model of the country, like a network, is spread from top to bottom. The dissemination of democracy to the broader societies ensures that the concept of "people's sovereignty" passes through the real sense of life.

Tocqueville, as another reason for the strong democracy in America, has shown the development of civil society. According to Tocqueville, in America there are strong intermediate institutions between the individual and the state. These institutions point to the fact that the "freedom of association" in America is at an advanced level. So, there is a look, there are many civic associations in America that advocate the interests of different groups. In contrast, civil society institutions have not developed in Europe. Tocqueville attributed this to the fact that social organizations in Europe are generally in an effort to seize power. Non-governmental organizations in the United States, on the other hand, preferred negotiating with the state to defend their members' rights and interests (Tocqueville, 2016, p. 35). The state, at the widest level, does not recognize freedom of association since he did not see civil society organizations as competitors. This has also allowed development of democracy in the country.

Tocqueville argued that religion is also an important factor in determining democracy in a strong way. According to him, religious belief is one of the most important parts of human life. Even if the laws were changed throughout history, people's religious beliefs remained largely the same. Religion has been the most important of the values that hold society together. In the case of the French Enlightenment, it denies the influence of religion on social life. This is reflected in the spirit of the French Revolution. The revolutionaries tried to remove the influence of religion on the society altogether. However, in America the development of democracy has been an important influence of religious beliefs. Behind the founding spirit of America is a Protestant sect called puritanism. Tocqueville has argued that puritanism is dominated by democratic and republicanism.

Important

Puritanism is a religious understanding that emerged during the time when Elizabeth the First was on the throne and opposed to the quest of the British monarch to establish a national church. After the discovery of the United States, Britain is the purest group of people who go to this continent most intensely.

The French thinker has also seen "freedom of the press" as a critical point in the development of democracy in America. Tocqueville has argued that the freedom of the press is more important than the good that it reveals due to the evils that it prevents. Freedom of the press ensures the mistakes of the politicians. Politicians also have to act more carefully, fearing that the wrong applications will take place. In this context, the press organs are one of the ways of controlling publicity and management. In addition, freedom of the press allows different opinions to be heard by the public. This will bring about the emergence of a more democratic and pluralistic society.

The Problem of Tyranny of Majority

One of the most important debates about the theory of democracy today is that the groups that are not included in the majority in democratic governments can suffer. It can be said that Tocqueville was the first name that started this debate in the modern era. Tocqueville has a concern that democratic governance may shift to the "tyranny of the majority". In democratic governments, it is necessary to establish a "check and balance" mechanism between different state powers. However, this is not enough to protect the freedom of individuals because the legislature may consider it to be the supreme power in society and to make any kind of decision. Legislative power may be moving in the direction of the desire of the majority represented. However, this may cause the rights and freedoms of the non-majority segments to be damaged. Moreover, a minority can feel a reaction against it, feeling the oppression of the majority. This may cause minorities to cut off their hopes for democratic government. Same segments, this time will be violent. Thus, the social order will be damaged and the democratic regime will cease to exist.

Democracy should also ensure the protection of minority rights while giving power to the majority. Otherwise, it will become impossible to express different opinions in society. Those who have mostly different ideas will feel under pressure. In democratic governments, everyone must feel safe in terms of protecting rights and freedoms. According to Tocqueville, it is not possible to think that the majority is right in every case. Some decisions of the majority may be contrary to the principle of justice. First, the principle to be protected here is justice. Throughout history, people have opposed tyranny, the unjust administration of one person. In the modern era, the same problem arises in terms of the majority of the population. In this respect, a road to the tyranny of the majority must be cut off.

Learning Outcomes

8 Explain the contributions of Alexis de Tocqueville to modern theory of democracy

Self Review 5

Why was Tocqueville concerned about that the democratic system would turn into "the tyranny of the majority"?

Relate

Relate, the concepts of freedom and equality with Tocqueville's democracy theory.

Tell/Share

Discuss with your friends and share your ideas. What is Tocqueville's opinions on the "check and balance mechanisms" in democratic countries?



Further Reading

Jean Jacques Rousseau: The Social Contract, 1763

(…)

Origin and Terms of the Social Contract

Man was born free, but everywhere he is in chains. This man believes that he is the master of others, and still he is more of a slave than they are. How did that transformation take place? I don't know. How may the restraints on man become legitimate? I do believe I can answer that question....

At a point in the state of nature when the obstacles to human preservation have become greater than each individual with his own strength can cope with an adequate combination of forces must be the result of men coming together. Still, each man's power and freedom are his main means of self-preservation. How is he to put them under the control of others without damaging himself . . . ?

This question might be rephrased: "How is a method of associating to be found which will defend and protect-using the power of all-the person and property of each member and still enable each member of the group to obey only himself and to remain as free as before?" This is the fundamental problem; the social contract offers a solution to it.

The very scope of the action dictates the terms of this contract and renders the least modification of them inadmissible, something making them null and void. Thus, although perhaps they have never been stated in so man) words, they are the same everywhere and tacitly conceded and recognized everywhere. And so, it follows that each individual immediately recovers his basic rights and natural liberties whenever any violation of the social contract occurs and thereby loses the contractual freedom for which he renounced them.

The social contract's terms, when they are well understood, can be reduced to a single stipulation: the individual member alienates himself totally to the whole community together with all his rights. This is first because conditions will be the same for everyone when each individual gives himself totally, and secondly, because no one will be tempted to make that condition of shared equality worse for other men....

Once this multitude is united this way into a body, an offense against one of its members is an offense against the body politic. It would be even less possible to injure the body without its members feeling it. Duty and interest thus equally require the two contracting parties to aid each other mutually. The individual people should be motivated from their double roles as individuals and members of the body, to combine all the advantages which mutual aid offers them....

Individual Wills and the General Will

In reality, each individual may have one particular will as a man that is different from-or contrary to-the general will which he has as a citizen. His own particular interest may suggest other things to him than the common interest does. His separate, naturally independent existence may make him imagine that what he owes to the common cause is an incidental contribution -a contribution which will cost him more to give than their failure to receive it would harm the others. He may also regard the moral person of the State as an imaginary being since it is not a man, and wish to enjoy the rights of a citizen without performing the duties of a subject. This unjust attitude could cause the ruin of the body politic if it became widespread enough.

So that the social pact will not become meaningless words, it tacitly includes this commitment, which alone gives power to the others: Whoever refuses to obey the general will shall be forced to obey it by the whole body politic, which means nothing else but that he will be forced to be free. This condition is indeed the one which by dedicating each citizen to the fatherland gives him a guarantee against being personally dependent on other individuals. It is the condition which all political machinery depends on and which alone makes political undertakings legitimate. Without it, political actions become absurd, tyrannical, and subject to the most outrageous abuses.

Whatever benefits he had in the state of nature but lost in the civil state, a man gains more than enough new ones to make up for them. His capabilities are put to good use and developed; his ideas are enriched, his sentiments made more noble, and his soul elevated to the extent that-if the abuses in this new condition did not often degrade him to a condition lower than the one he left behind-he would have to keep blessing this happy moment which snatched him away from his previous state and which made an intelligent being and a man out of a stupid and very limited animal....

(…)

From Jean Jacques Rousseau, Contrat social ou Principes du droit politique (Paris: Garnier Frères 1800), pp. 240-332, passim. Translated by Henry A. Myers.

Source: https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/rousseau-soccon.asp

Summary

LO 1 Explain the general characteristic features of political thought in the eighteenth century.

The Eighteenth Century is called the Age of Enlightenment. In this period, a new political understanding, called "the Enlightenment", has begun to rise in different parts of the world. The notion of the Enlighenment has a reason-based understanding. In this period, a consensus on that all problems that mankind faces can be solved by positive reason has emerged. In contrast, there are differences between French, Scottish and German Enlightenment traditions. In this context, it can be said that Enlightenment does not represent a unified thought. The different Enlightenment associations have serious differences in perspective towards political and social schools.

LO 2 Explain the origins and basic features of the Enlightenment Thought

The first root of the idea of enlightenment can be found in the Renaissance and Reform movements. Through Renaissance, a new understanding based on a positive mind has begun to emerge. At the same time, the idea of an independent "individual" was born. With reform, the Catholic Church's dominion over societies has been lifted. This understanding led to the emergence of "the tradition of critical thinking". This has led to a critical approach towards existing political and social institutions.

LO 3 Define the basic features of the French Enlightenment Thought

The French Enlightenment thinkers wanted to build a political and social structure in which an intelligent role was assumed. They have rejected all sources of information that are beyond reason. "Scientific knowledge" is the only reference to them. Therefore, in this opinion, the "anti-religion and tradition" is seen clearly. They are intended to completely eradicate the influence of religion and tradition on society. The French Enlightenment wanted to remove all institutions belonging to "the ancien (old) regime".

LO 4 Explain Scottish Enlightenment approach to economic and political relations

The Scottish Enlightenment, as well as political freedoms, gave importance to economic freedoms. David Hume argued that the emergence of capitalism was a very important factor in the development of political freedoms. According to him, individuals who make independent decisions in economic terms also want to show the same situation in terms of political decisions. As the state's intervention in the economic field diminished, it began to interfere with people's freedom. Thus, the Scottish Enlightenment said that the market economy should be strengthened.

LO 5 Explain the political views of German Enlightenment and Immanuel Kant

The German Enlightenment thinkers were opposed to the revolutionary change of the present political order. German enlightenment, especially Kant, believed that social changes could take place under the leadership of political power. Therefore, the German Enlightenment thinkers were the most important representatives of the "enlightened despotism" mentality. In other words, they thought that political power, if necessary, had to implement a transforming project of society through oppression.

LO 6 Define Montesquieu's theory of separation of power

Montesquieu emphasized the limitation of political power to protect freedoms. He argued that the state had three separate functions: legislative, executive and judicial. It is not possible for these powers of the state to be transferred to a structure outside the state. Therefore, it is necessary to "limit the state to the state". According to Montesquieu, legislative, executive and judicial functions must be gathered in different hands. This will prevent the use of a single person or a single institution, all the powers of the state, on its own. According to Montesquieu, the principle of separation of powers is essential for the protection of political freedoms.

Summary

LO 7 Explain about Rousseau's political thought and its effects on the French Revolution

Rousseau emphasized the emergence of society and political power in the work of the The Social Contract. Besides, he is he focused on establishing a political structure that protects freedoms. According to him, legitimate power is the outcome of the Social Contract. Rousseau is the person who influences the French Revolution with his considerations the most. He said that the sovereignty belongs to the people by the expression of "general will". This understanding was influential in the birth of the idea of "national sovereignty".

LO 8 Explain the contributions of Alexis de Tocqueville to the theory of modern democracy

Tocqueville is one of the first thinkers to contribute to the theory of modern democracy. He argued that democracy is the most effective form of government, both for its own time and for the future. Tocqueville has created his theses on democracy with his observations in America. According to Tocqueville, in a real democratic system, local governments must be strong. There should also be civil society institutions. In addition, religious freedoms should be recognized. Tocqueville also pointed out that freedom of the press is important in democracies.

1 Which of the following concepts is a concept used to describe the Enlightenment?

a. Age of Truth
b. Age of Revolution
c. Age of Reason
d. Age of Empire
e. Age of Reformation

2 Which of the followings is the most important concept for the idea of enlightenment?

a. Reason
b. Belief
c. Sense
d, Authority
e. Religion

3 If a ruler influenced by the idea of enlightenment shows an authoritarian rule to transform society, which of the following attributes will be given to him?

a. Brave monarch
b. Liberator ruler
c. Enlightened despot
d. Reformist
e. Lawful king

4 Which of the followings is the most prominent feature of the French Enlightenment?

a. Criticism of religion and tradition
b. Market economy
c. Advocacy of the political authority
d. Emphasis on senses
e. Age of Reformation

5 Which of the following books is written by the French Enlightenment thinkers together?

a. Leviathan
b. The Wealth of Nations
c. Democracy In America
d, Encyclopedia
e. The Social Contract

6 Who is not one of scholers of the Scottish Enlightenment?

a. David Hume
b. Denis Diderot
c. Adam Smith
d. Thomas Reid
e. Adam Ferguson

7 What is the followings is the most important contribution of Montesquieu to political theory?

a. Separation of powers
b. Social Contract
c. Limited State
d. Natural Rights
e. Sovereignty

8 According to Rousseau, which of the following case occurs when "each of us puts his person and all his power in common"?

a. War
b. Property
c. Civil Society
d. Political Authority
e. General Will

9 Which of the following concepts emerged during the years following the French Revolution?

a. National sovereignty
b. Direct democracy
c. Bureaucracy
d. Constitutional Monarchy
e. Parliamentary System

10 According to Tocqueville, which is not of the followings is not one of the factors that turn the democratic system in America into a stronger one than that of Europe?

a. Civil society
b. Freedom of press
c. Religious toleration
d. Local governments
e. Revolutionary spirit

Answer Key for "Test Yourself"

1. c	If your answer is incorrect, review "Introduction".	6. b	If your answer is incorrect, review "Scottish Enlightenment"
2. a	If your answer is incorrect, review "Enlightenment Thought".	7. a	If your answer is incorrect, review "Montesquieu".
3. c	If your answer is incorrect, review "French Enlightenment".	8. e	If your answer is incorrect, review "Jean Jacques Rousseau".
4. a	If your answer is incorrect, review "French Enlightenment".	9. a	If your answer is incorrect, review "Political Thought in the 19th Century".
5. d	If your answer is incorrect, review "French Enlightenment".	10. e	If your answer is incorrect, review "Alexis de Tocqueville".

Suggested Answers for "Self Review"

Try to explain similar and different aspects of the Scottish and French Enlightenments.

Self Review 1

Both the French Enlightenment and the Scottish Enlightenment gave importance to scientific knowledge and the positive thinking. However, the Scottish Enlightenment argued that while people were making decisions, they resorted to other sources of reference, including feelings as well as the mind. Moreover, the French Enlightenment is against religion and tradition. However, the Scottish Enlightenment, due to its social function, especially religion, approached more positively.

To what extent can the "separation of powers" principle be applied as described by Montesquieu? Search and discuss.

Self Review 2

Montesquieu's understanding of "separation of powers" is based on the rigid separation of state functions. In practice, however, it is difficult to make a clear distinction between legislative and executive functions. Furthermore, Montesquieu has not made much comment on the functioning of the judicial organ. Therefore, the understanding of Montesquieu's "separation of powers" is different from current political practices.

How is Rousseau's "general will" interpreted after the French Revolution?

Self Review 3

Rousseau has spoken of the "general will" who has sovereignty authority. The general will is a collective entity of all people in society. The authority to take all political decisions belongs to the general will. After the French Revolution, it was accepted that your sovereignty belongs to the nation. In this context, it can be said that the idea of "nation" is closely related to the concept of "general will". The idea of "national sovereignty" also emerged when the sovereignty that belonged to general will was transmitted to the nation as Rousseau had mentioned before.

Why did Tocqueville worry that the democratic system would turn into "the tyranny of the majority"?

Self Review 4

According to Tocqueville, in democracies, majority decisions must be followed. However, at any time and in any case, the majority's decision may cause minority rights to be damaged. For this reason, when decisions are made in the democratic system, "justice" must always be considered.

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Chapter 7 Radicals of Political Thought in the 19th Century

After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

Learning Outcomes

1. Explain the concepts of alienation and surplus value
2. Explain dialectical materialism
3. Explain the concepts of superstructure and substructure
4. Explain social classes, class struggle, Proletarian Revolution, the state and ideology
5. Define the concept of anarchy
6. Summarize the similarities and differences between Marxism and Anarchy
7. Summarize the similarities and differences among the prominent anarchists in the 19th Century

Chapter Outline

Introduction

The Economic Theory of Marx: Alienation and Surplus Value

The Historical Theory of Marx: Dialectical Materialism

The Sociological Theory of Marx: Economic Determinism, Society's Structure

The Political Theory of Marx: the State, Ideology, Class Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution

Anarchism in the 19th Century

Similarities and Differences Between Marxism and Anarchism

The Prominent Anarchists in the 19th Century

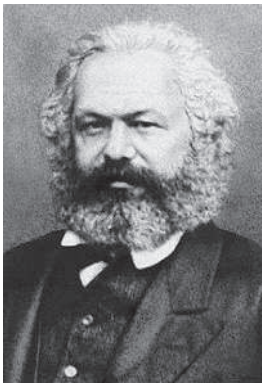
Key Terms

Social Class
Exploitation
State
Revolution
Anarchy

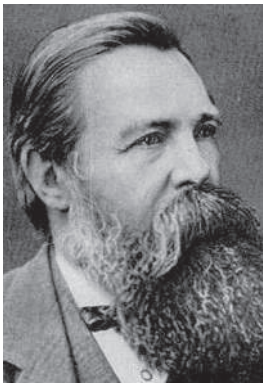


INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on two main thought traditions, Marxism and Anarchism in the 19th century. Marxism refers to an organized body of thought which has been developed after Marx's death, and aimed to condense the ideas of Marx into a systematic and inclusive world view that suited the needs of the growing socialist movement (Heywood, 2003, p.101). Marxism is a quite broad concept due to complexity and extensity of Marx's writings. In addition, there are distinctions between his earlier and later works, because of which is often referred as works of "Young Marx" and "Mature Marx". There are a number of Marxisms, including Classical Marxism, Orthodox Communism and Modern Marxism. In this chapter, Marx's ideas and theories will be discussed only in the frame of Classical Marxism and with an emphasis on politics.



Karl Heinrich Marx
(1818-1883)



Friedrich Engels
(1820-1895)

In general, the intellectual life of Marx was shaped by a unique mixture of Hegelianism (I. Kant, G. W. F. Hegel, L. Feuerbach), French socialism (J. J. Rousseau, H. Saint-Simon, P.J. Proudhon) and British political economy (Adam Smith and David Ricardo). In addition to these, he was also influenced by many philosophers and thinkers including but not limited to Epicurus, Young Hegelians, Robert Owen, Max Stirner and Charles Darwin.

Important

The intellectual life of Marx was mainly shaped by a unique combination of Hegelianism, French socialism and British political economy.

In this chapter, thoughts of Marx will be presented mainly under the classification of Baradat (1991) as economic, historical, sociological and political theories of Marx. However, it is important to remember that these constitute a whole theory.

THE ECONOMIC THEORY OF MARX: ALIENATION AND SURPLUS VALUE

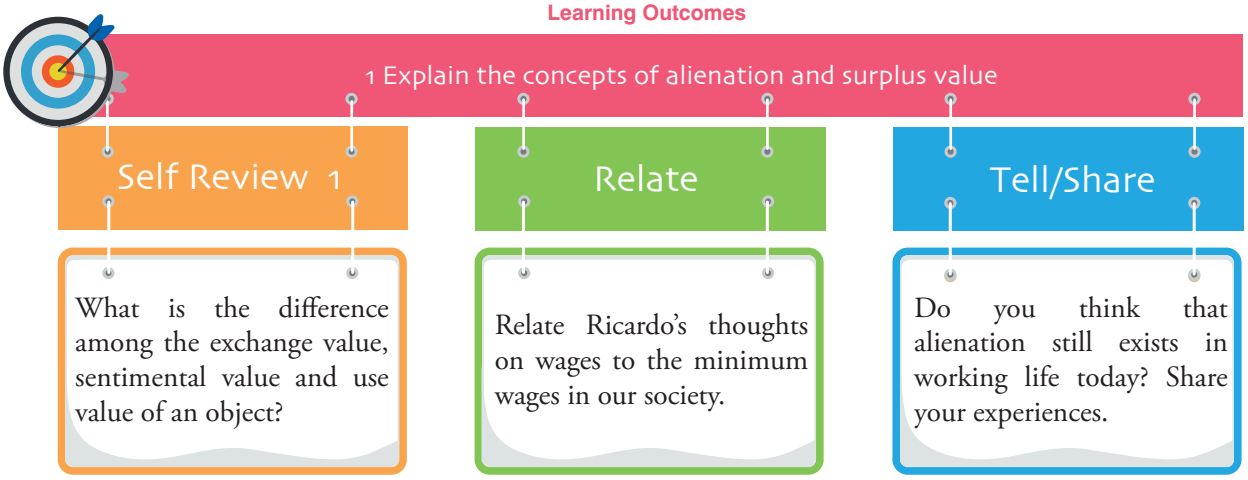
Marx believed that humans express their creativity, develop their humanity, and fulfill themselves through work. Work, in other words, is a form of self-creation. However, work under capitalism causes alienation. The three aspects of alienation can be summarized as followings (Cuff et al, 2013, p. 24-6; Baradat, 1991, p. 157-8; Swingewood, 1998, p. 86-97):

Alienation is the process through which the workers become foreign to their labor, species, and themselves.

- First, the working conditions were very heavy in the 19th Century and work itself became a form of persecution for workers rather than a joyful process of the self-creation. Work under these conditions was physically disturbing and did not provide mental satisfaction. But, they had to work to earn their livings. Therefore, they became alienated from their own selves.
- Second, workers became a part, a gear of the machine they operate. They worked even without knowing what exactly they were producing, because they were deprived of the information about the whole process of production. The labor of the worker was taken away from him/her and was transformed to an external entity. The physical, objectified form of their labor was the product, and these products were used to exploit them further by capitalists. Workers did not work to produce for their needs; they worked to produce commodities which will be sold for profit of the capitalist. Therefore, they became alienated to their labor and to the products they produced.

- Third, working under these conditions, workers were also alienated to their species, their population, and their fellows. They only felt free in their spare time and were encouraged to be interested in their selves. In addition, the population of the industrial society was divided into two groups, one of which lived in physical comfort and was able to participate in creative actions freely whilst the other was degraded to a lower category who had to work under poor, dirty and severe conditions of the 19th Century factories.

In his surplus value theory, Marx adopts Ricardo's iron law of wages. Ricardo asserted that the fundamental motivation of capitalists is to make profit and accumulate capital. Therefore, they would pay wages just enough for the survival of the workers, because this wage is enough for the workers to come back to work the next day. The function of this subsistence wage is to prevent workers from accumulating enough capital to gain independence from the production process. Marx considers that capitalism enslaves workers because they have to work in order to survive, and the means of productions are owned by a small group of capitalists. In short, workers are wage slaves in capitalism, and "their masters pay them only the most meager wages" (Baradat, 1991, p. 159). Under Ricardo's iron law of wages, the workers' intrinsic value is the money just enough to feed themselves and their families. However, workers are forced to produce value which is greater than their intrinsic value. The value that workers produce above their wages, which is at the survival level, is called surplus value that is appropriated by capitalists as their profit. For instance, if a worker has to work five hours to produce the supplies for the survival of him/herself and his/her family, and s/he is forced to work 12 hours, yet paid only subsistence wage, it means that the capitalist seize seven hours of surplus value. Marx asserts that any profit that the capitalists make from the labor of their workers is exploitative, because the surplus value can be produced only by the worker and it belongs to the laborer. Marx did not condemn profit itself, but he argued that the profit should not become a private property of capitalists. He thought that capital, which was produced by all, should be owned by all. In other word, private citizens should not be allowed to monopolize the means of production and seize the surplus value. In capitalism, however, capitalist is "a villain, a parasite who lives by sucking the economic lifeblood of the proletariat, and must be erased from society" (Baradat, 1991, p. 160).



THE HISTORICAL THEORY OF MARX: DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

Dialectical materialism is the scientific foundation of Marx's theory. The roots of dialectical materialism lie in the dialectic method of Hegel, who developed a theory of history focusing on change. According to Hegel, the world moves toward a goal, which is predetermined by God. He called this goal as "idea" and believed that people could not understand, change or escape from it. The history for Hegel is the process of change brought on by a struggle that only ends when the idea is fulfilled. Until then, the existing state

of affairs, or any "thesis" is to be challenged by a new idea that is known as the "antithesis" in his perspective. Then, a conflict occurs between the thesis and antithesis, which is called the "dialectic process", and results in a "synthesis" that consists of all the good parts of both. The synthesis then becomes a new thesis, and the dialectic process continues as such. In short, history for Hegel was unavoidably progressive, today's reality would become a part of a better tomorrow, and each new era would exceed and improve the former one.

Marx accepted and adopted the dialectic as the essential logic of history. But, he did not accept the metaphysical assumptions of Hegel. Like Hegel, Marx also considered the dialectic as a means of accomplishing historical progress through struggle; yet he changed it since, for Marx, it was materialism which inspired the dialectic, not spiritualism. Marx claimed that the dialectic was a conflict among worldly interests, and ideas were the results of such conflict (Baradat, 1991, p. 152-4).

According to Marx, class differences caused conflict among human beings. What ended a historical era and caused the rise of a new era so far has been the struggle between opposing social classes. Humans have passed through four historical stages, all of which had particular economic (the foundation) and political (superstructure) systems. These stages are the primitive communism, slavery (empire), feudalism and capitalism. The antithesis of every stage emerged within that stage itself. For example, private property emerged in the era of primitive communism and created social classes. With private property, some groups developed prejudices against others, dominated them and forced them into slavery. This in return created the next era, the Empire. Likewise, the barbarian hordes were the antithesis of the Empire, causing Feudalism to emerge. The antithesis of Feudalism emerged from the tradesmen in Feudal era, the bourgeoisie, who initiated capitalism through political revolutions (French and American Revolutions at the first place). And the antithesis of capitalism is predicted to emerge within capitalism itself. Factory workers, in other words the proletariat, has already emerged as a social class in capitalism and they would act as the antithesis of capitalism. The pressure between the two classes is to transform to a final conflict, a final dialectic struggle. The exploited class would gain a victory over the exploiters and a new society would emerge. The society in this stage would be a classless society, in which there would be no private property of means of production. When a classless society emerges, there would be no more conflict or struggle. Therefore, this will be the last stage of history. The class struggle in the capitalist society will be addressed in detail later in this chapter.

Capitalism is an economic mode of production depending on the private property in which the means of production are owned by a small group of individuals.

Learning Outcomes

2 Explain dialectical materialism

Self Review 2	Relate	Tell/Share
What is dialectical thinking? Give an example.	Relate dialectic materialism to the social change in society.	Tell the examples of dialectic from the everyday life in society.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY OF MARX: ECONOMIC DETERMINISM, SOCIETY'S STRUCTURE

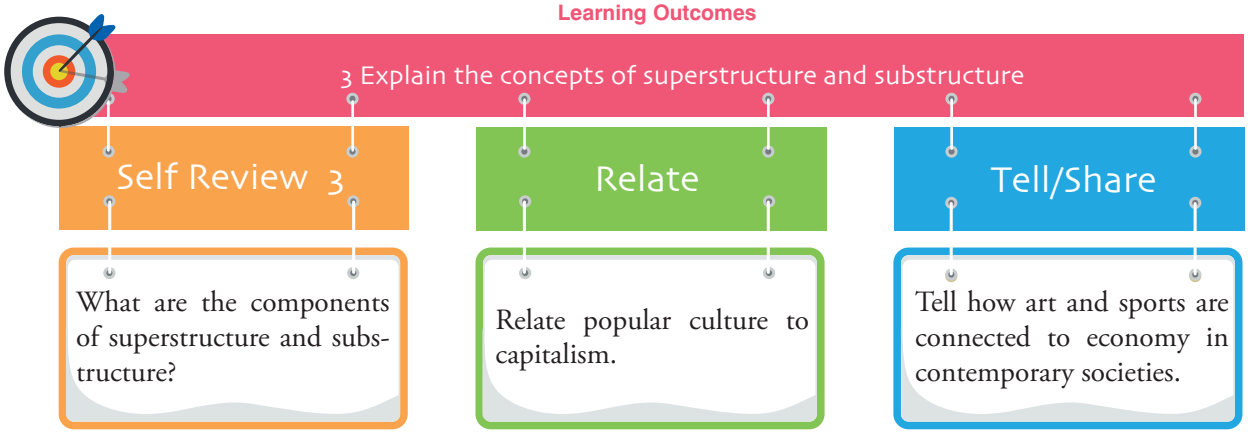
Marx developed his theory on the assumption of the economic determinism that attains to economics a primary role and considers it as a source of motivation in human life. It suggests that all social and political arrangements are formed on the ground of economic relations. When the fundamental character of economy changes, the other institutions in society, such as politics, family or religion, would necessarily adopt in line with the change in economy. Marx argues that the consciousness of human does not determine their existence. What determines their consciousness is their social existence. This means that people's ideas, values and behaviors are shaped by their economic circumstances, therefore, people who share similar economic circumstances would think and behave similarly.

However, this does not mean that people are pupils of economic power or structure. According to Marx, the ideology hinders people to see the fundamental nature of the economic and social relations among themselves. He claims that people have to understand the fact that they are the creators of the economic structure and social institutions. Therefore, they can create them in new and more developed ways. Inw history, the real driving force of change is not only technology or economic systems as isolated institutions. But, it is organized social groups and class conflict (Cuff et al., 2013, p. 36).

The Substructure and the Superstructure

According to Marx, there are two basic parts in every society, these are the substructure and the superstructure. The economic system is the foundation of the society. In other words, it is the substructure, or material base. The substructure is divided into two factors, the means of production and the relations of production. The means of production are the resources and technology that a society makes use of. Means of production include tools, machinery, factories, materials and land; and together with labor power, they constitute productive forces. The relations of production between social classes are determined by the affiliation between humans and the means of production. The ruling class in every society consists of people who own the property of the means of production. Therefore, in a pastoral animal breeding society, the owners of the most of the livestock is ruling class. In an agricultural society, the ruling class consist of people who own most of the land and agricultural implements such as the ploughs. In industrial society, the capitalist class, namely those who own the factories and productive machines, rule the society.

The superstructure of the society is composed of all of the non-material institutions in the society such as religion, government, law, education, art, values, ideology and so forth. It is determined by the foundation of the society; and every institution it includes is arranged to suit the ruling class. In every society, the social institutions in the superstructure justify the economic system as well as the power inequality in society through values and norms. Institutions, such as laws, ideologies, education and religion, create and maintain sympathetic, positive attitudes towards the economic and the political system. In addition, in political regimes such as representative democracy, there is an illusion that masses have control over the governments. However, the governments are in fact led by the leading capitalists. Hence, the superstructure ensures the domination of the ruling class.



THE POLITICAL THEORY OF MARX: THE STATE, IDEOLOGY, CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

Marx tried to reveal a history which explains why capitalism will inevitably come to an end and why socialism is to be replaced with it. However, Marx works were not merely a theory of society, but it was also a socialist political project (Wolff, 2017). In his "Theses on Feuerbach", to illustrate, Marx states that "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to change it" (2010a, p. 8).

Marx considered that politics is a reflection of the underlying nature of the form and relations of production under modern capitalism. As the dominant social class under capitalism is the capitalists, they are also the dominant political force. Likewise, the proletariat, the subordinate class, is politically powerless (Orum, 2001, p. 15).

The State

For Marx, the state is historically inevitable, but it is also a deception. The state both helps and oppresses the proletariat in the meantime. On one side, it teaches them issues such as universal right to vote, individual rights or prospective benefits of communal political action. Thus, it empowers them to get rid of ignorance. On the other side, such rights and opportunities are not provided in order to help workers to gain more freedom. In fact, they create a form of deception. In bourgeoisie democracies, governments seem to serve to the will of the majority, but this is only a tool to persuade masses that they hold the power. The power is indeed held in the hands of an elite minority. The state of capitalist societies consists of the army police, bureaucracy, clergy, judicature and the parliament; and all these organs, according to Marx, aim to maintain the capitalist system. Even though capitalists do not rule the government themselves, the state and government protect the interests of the capitalists and the capitalist system (Tannenbaum and Schultz, 2010, p. 357).

State is a very powerful social institution which gives most of the power and resources to a small group of officers and institutions. The officers and institutions that hold such power can make vital decisions about the people, such as declaring war, and can force the people to obey them. But these decisions are limited by the nature of capitalism, meaning that the decisions of the political leaders should be compatible with the interests of the capitalist system. Two main factors constrain the power of the state: The first is the capitalist system, and the second is the capitalist class. The function of the state in capitalist societies then is to ensure the common benefits of the whole bourgeoisie. Consequently, the state in capitalist societies usually develops politics in capitalists' best interest. For instance, Marx claims that "the British Parliament passed many laws that were principally designed to extend the workday of the laborers and thus to increase the profits, or surplus value of the capitalists" (Marx, 1867; as cited in Orum, 2001, p. 16).



Since the state is a ruling device of the capitalist class, when the classless society emerges and there is no oppressing social class, the state would disappear. The classless society will be the beginning of a truly humane history. The material needs of people will be completely satisfied with an advanced technology; and the security needs will not be a problem anymore. Everyone will reach their wishes and desires because they will be working for themselves as members of society. Observing the benefits of cooperation, members of the society will participate in society according to their abilities, and take from it according to their needs. Therefore, they will live in awareness of their responsibility to the society (Tannenbaum and Schultz, 2010, pp. 357-8).

In the classless society, the state power will transform to a basic management which looks after the real benefits of the society. It will manage the production and distribution of needs and services, such as cleaning the streets or building roads. These sorts of works will be compulsory; however, the nature of work will completely change. The public will teach the members of society to make these work voluntarily and easily. Therefore, people will not need an external force to do these works (Tannenbaum and Schultz, 2010, p. 358). There will be no division of labor. But, even if a work has to be allocated, this will not result in an unequal allocation of the production of this work.

Ideology

Marx (2010b) considers that the material conditions under which people live shape their conscious. With his own words, "life isn't determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life" (Marx, 2010b, pp.36-7). This demonstrates that, for Marx, there is a strict causal relation between ideas and social world. Ideas are the expressions of social class interests. Marx does not explain the society with ideas, but explains the ideas with society (Swingewood, 1998, p. 96). He considers that individuals are not conscious of their actions, but their actions are determined by social factors. The ideas and actions of individuals are distorted in order to keep their conscious ideas away from the true reasons of their actions (Cuff et al., 2013, p. 33).

Ideology is a part of the superstructure of a society; and it functions like the traditions and culture. The dominant ideas of an era are the ideas of the ruling class indeed. These ideas express dominant material relationships which cause a class to rule the other. The goal of ideology is to legitimize the position of the ruling class and to curtain the oppression and exploitation of the subjective class (Marx, 1974). In other words, an ideology is a system of ideas that presents the reality systematically in a wrong way. Ideology hides the unacceptable sides of the reality, dignifies its poor sides, and turns the unnecessary and unnatural things into an appearance of something necessary and natural (Cuff et al. 2013, p. 33).

Since the ideology in the capitalist system legitimizes the existence of social classes, members of the proletariat are unable to recognize that they are exploited and oppressed. Thus, they misunderstand their position and interests. This notion is called false consciousness. Individuals often think that they act according to their free-will and decisions. In fact, they act in a way that the ruling class expect from them, because ideology misleads individuals about what they should do to actualize their best interest. Therefore, people act suitably to the interests of the ruling class and the maintenance of the system. This ideological mystification is not inescapable for Marx. He asserts that ideologies should be revealed in order to encourage the idea that change is rational, possible and necessary.

Class struggle in Capitalist Society

Marx's thoughts on social classes in general include the following notions (Haralambos and Holborn, 1995, p. 33):

- There are two main social classes in all stratified societies, these are a ruling class and a subject class.
- The ruling class owns and controls the means of production such as land, capital, labor, buildings and machinery.
- The ruling class exploits and oppresses the subject class in order to maintain and reinforce its advantages.
- There is a fundamental contradiction, a conflict of interest between the two classes.
- The institutions of superstructure (social institutions such as religion, law, political system etc.) serve to the ruling class and function as tools for the ruling class domination.
- The exploitation and oppression of some people by others would only end when classes disappear, and classes would disappear only when the means of production are commonly owned by the society.

Marx defines social classes according to their property relation to means of production. There were no classes in primitive communist societies, because nobody owned the means of production. Every member of the society was a producer (as hunter or gatherer) and owner, because the production was shared by the society. However, in these societies the production was limited at the subsistent level including only the basic survival needs of the society. When technology was advanced and people became able to produce over the survival needs, some people began to own the means of production and social classes occurred. First time in history, social classes occurred in agricultural societies. In these societies, only some members of the society were required to produce the needs for the survival of all. The rest of the people began to specialize in other assignments, which created specialized occupations. Since then, in every society some people have turned into owners of the means of production and others, who only owned their own labor, have become obliged to work for them (Haralambos and Holborn, 1995, p. 34).

In capitalist societies, there are two major classes. One of them is bourgeoisie who is an owner of the means of production and purchaser of labor of the workers. The other is proletariat who does not own the means of production and sells their labor to capitalists. Besides, there is a middle class, which consists of (a) petit bourgeoisie (who owns means of production but does not purchase any labor), (b) people engaged in the circulation of commodities (marketing, purchasing, sales), (c) mediators (wholesalers, stockers, shop owners), (d) managers, accountants, lawyers, journalists, clergy, army and police officers (Swingewood, 1998, p. 110). Marx thought that the middle class has important roles in reinforcing the existence of the bourgeoisie and creates an oppression on the working class. In addition to these classes, there is another category known as "lumpen-proletariat". It includes the undesirable people at the lowest layer of the society such as tramps and criminals and called by Marx as "the dangerous class" (1974, p.77). As Marx (1974, p.77) defined in the Communist Manifesto, the lumpen-proletariat is "the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of the old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue".

Important

According to Marx, class struggle is the driving force of social change.

Although there is a middle class, Marx considers that capitalism tends to condense the capital in the hands of fewer capitalists, to push the middle class towards being proletariat and transform every kind of labor into paid labor. This process is called the polarization of the classes. There are mainly three steps in this process:

- First, because of the competition in the capitalist market, capitalists will increase the use of machinery in the factories. This will eliminate the skill differences among the workers, because in these factories, the only duty of a worker is to follow the instructions in order to make the machine work. When all workers become unskilled as such, the working class will be a highly homogeneous class.
- Second, as the capital continues to accumulate in the hands of the capitalists, the capitalists will become richer and the workers will become poorer. Even if the wages of workers may rise and their living standards may become better, the gap between these two classes would not shrink because the wealth of the capitalists depends on the exploitation of the surplus value that the proletariat produce. In addition, the increased machine use in the factories would cause many workers to lose their jobs and become a part of the reserve army of the unemployed. Therefore, the poverty of the working class would perpetually intensify. This process is called pauperization.
- Third, because of the extreme competition -a fundamental trait of capitalism- and particularly of the monopolies, petit bourgeoisie (the owners of small businesses) will lose their properties (means of production) and become a part of proletariat.

Through these three ways, the social classes would gather at two sides; and two main classes would remain. This means that capitalism itself creates the masses that would overthrow it.

Marx defined social classes according to their property relation to means of production. However, only a group of people sharing similar positions in production is not enough to constitute a real class. Marx considers that there are two forms of class. The first one is the class in itself that means a group of people who share similar positions in production, albeit unaware of their common interests, and are not politically organized in order to achieve these common interests. The class for itself, on the other side, consists of people with class consciousness. Marx considered that a class only occurs when its members are aware of the relation and conflict among their class and other classes. Without this awareness, which class consciousness provides, a class would only be a class in itself. The class consciousness is a form of replacement with false consciousness by a complete awareness of the true situation, by realization of the nature of the exploitation (Haralambos and Holborn, 1995, p. 35). Class consciousness involves two elements, (a) "the shared awareness among a group of people

that they are on hostile terms with another group of people" and (b) "a shared desire for united action against this group of people" (Orum, 2001, p. 22).

According to Marx, it was the duty of the "vanguard of the proletariat" (Baradat, 1991, p. 161) to educate workers about the social classes and revolution. Their role was not to organize or lead the revolution, rather a passive role including mostly education. When the members of a class gain awareness about their shared interests, they would unite and produce the class solidarity. As a consequence of the class consciousness and the class solidarity, the members of a class finally would recognize that they should take a counter collective action in order to achieve their class interests and overthrow the ruling class.

The Proletarian Revolution

Marx believed that technological change cannot be ceased, when the resources finish, new means of production will evolve and create economic change, which would create social change in return. However, the rulers feel threatened by changes in the means of production and they use their governmental power to resist the change whilst maintaining their positions. In other words, they try to resist to the progress of history (Baradat, 1991, p. 160). Since history is composed of several stages which follow up each other, capitalism's destiny is to be eliminated in the transition to the next stage.

Marx considers that capitalism inevitably would be overthrown by a proletarian revolution. This revolution would not just eliminate the state machine or the ruling elite, it would establish a new mode of production. When the capitalist forces of production reach to the maximum ineffectiveness and alienation, proletariat will attempt making a final revolution to overcome bourgeoisie and establish a classless society. However, proletariat at first is required making itself a nation. Only after, it can eliminate nationalism and countries (Tannenbaum and Schultz, 2010, p. 356).

According to Marx, there are three antecedents or preconditions for the revolution in relation to economic factors, social factors and the creation of class-consciousness for the proletariat. These factors can be summarized as followings (Orum, 2001, p. 18):

- Economic preconditions:
  - First, Marx believed that the capitalists' extreme desire for profit will produce an overabundance of commodities that exceed the purchasing power of the market. Therefore, an economic crisis will occur and profits will fall down.
  - Second economic precondition is the centralization of capital. This means that the capital will accumulate in a few capitalists' hands and a gradually diminishing proportion of owners will control an increasingly greater proportion of the wealth. There are two main results of the centralization of capital. First, it will turn the oppression and its source into more visible form to workers. Second, as mentioned earlier, many former capitalists who loose their property of means of production, will be obliged to join the working class. In other words, centralization of capital will accelerate the polarization of the social classes.
  - The third economic precondition is the deterioration of the heavy burden on the working class, namely the pauperization.
- Social preconditions:
  - First, Marx believes that urbanization will be a promoting factor for the revolution. Workers in urban centers are mainly employed in factories and exposed to the most dehumanizing forms and environments of work. In addition, the extreme density of numbers of workers in urban areas would provide a potential for organization of the revolutionary movements.
  - The second social precondition is the greater communication possibilities in the urban environments. Communication that the modern industry creates would enable workers to recognize the similarities among them and develop common belief and attitudes.
  - The third social precondition is politicization. The politicization process will actualize through the interaction

between workers and trade unions and would be facilitated by the vanguard of the proletariat.

- Class consciousness: As mentioned earlier, class consciousness among the members of the working class is a requirement for the revolution. The working class which gains class consciousness means a group of people who are aware that the capitalists exploit and oppress them and are persuaded that they should take collective action against capitalists.

Among these preconditions of the revolution, the economic and social preconditions are called "objective conditions" of revolution, while class consciousness is called the "subjective condition" of the revolution (Wolff, 2017).

When these preconditions are fulfilled, the society will be sharply divided into two classes. On one side, there will be capitalists. However, due to the centralization of capital, there will be left only few capitalists, who hold the majority of the society's wealth. On the other side, there will be proletariat. As a result of centralization of the capital and the pauperization, proletariat will be much more crowded and their misery will be much deeper than before. Marx considered that when the gap between bourgeoisie and proletariat, at a point workers would stop enduring it, rise spontaneously and then a revolution occurs. The revolution would be a spontaneous act in which the proletariat would guide itself (Wolff, 2017). It is important to remember that the class consciousness is very important on this step. The workers have to gain the class consciousness and become a class for itself in order to make a revolution. With this revolution, the majority of the society (the proletariat) would execute its egalitarian politics on the small force of the remaining capitalists (Baradat, 1991, p. 162).

According to Marx, socialism would be adopted in every society, because it is the consequence of the law of the historical development, namely the dialectic materialism. The timing of the revolution depends on the development level of an existing society. But, for Marx, every society would sooner or later reach to this stage. Nonetheless, he asserts that the revolution will occur earlier in the most industrialized societies, which were England, Germany, France, Belgium and Holland back then.

After the revolution, the proletariat would establish the proletariat dictatorship. Every social class other than proletariat will be eliminated, resulting in a classless society. In this classless society, gradually more people will adopt the socialist ethic. This means more and more people will quit behaving selfishly, redirect their lives towards collective values, wish to work according to their capacity and to share their production with the other members of the society. In this society, people will enjoy their labor and will become more productive than they were in the capitalist society. Problems such as crime, war and disorder will disappear because people would be living happily and contentedly. At this point, the dictatorship of the proletariat will no longer be needed. At the end, when every last human will become a proletariat, the state would disappear and all the individuals in the society will be free to govern themselves responsibly for the common good. In other words, the following anti-capitalist society will be subjected to a transformation to the communism. At this point, the system will evolve into a "democratic utopia", which is similar to the goals of many anarchists (Baradat, 1991, p. 162). Only a small part of the former state will be left due to the administration of the compulsory works needed to be done for the society.



Important

Through the Proletariat Revolution, the division of social classes will come to an end and the class struggle will be exterminated.

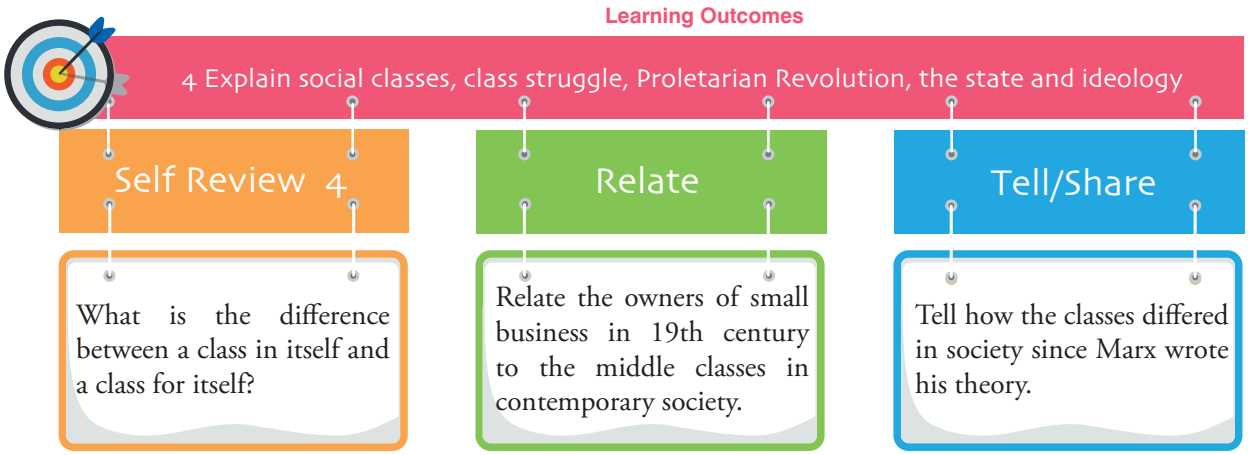
In terms of economy, the future society would benefit from every advantage of the primitive communism without suffering any of its problems. In short, the ultimate goal of history is to return to communism. All the technological advantages of the past, which caused over-production, will now be a part of an industrial capacity that creates economic abundance for all. This illustrates a return to the social and economic equality with the advantage of producing an abundance for all people. Production will be done and the products will be shared by all people, because in communism, there will be no private property which would be used to gain

profit. People will of course own some belongings. However, the property other than the necessities will be ceased. Competition will be replaced by cooperation and the artificial poverty will be replaced by shared abundance (Tannenbaum and Schultz, 2010, p. 357).

In terms of politics, too, the future society is a return to the anarchy in the prehistoric era. In communism, the public power will lose its political character, because the political power is solely an organized power of a particular class that previously has been oppressing the other classes. In the classless society the state would eventually fade, because just like all the other social institutions in history, the bourgeoisie government is a tool of the ruling class too and used in order to maintain the order and exploit proletariat (Tannenbaum and Schultz, 2010, p. 357).

Internationalism

Marx considered that the nation-state system is a part of the capitalist superstructure. National borders and identities are artificial divisions which served to reinforce the capitalist system, because they separate people who indeed share much in common. For Marx, people from the same social class in different nations have more in common than people who are from the same nation but different social classes. This is what Marx (1974, p.98) means with his well-known call "proletarians of all countries, unite!". Believing that "workingmen have no country", Marx thought as different countries become socialist, they will recognize that nations divide the proletariat. Thus, they will eliminate national borders and the whole world will become a single socialist society.



ANARCHISM IN THE 19th CENTURY

Anarchy is typically defined as a society without state. Anarchism aims to eliminate the state and liberate people from political domination and economic exploitation. The roots of anarchism can be found in the thoughts of Taoists in ancient China, Greek philosophers, rioters in Middle Age Europe, and the leftists in the English Revolution. But it has become a clear ideology only after the collapse of feudalism. As an ideology "which combined the Renaissance's growing sense of individualism with the Enlightenment's belief in social progress", anarchism emerged at the end of the 18th century (Marshall, 2008, p. 4).

Important

Roots of Anarchism as a term lie in the Greek word arché, which means ruling power. An-arche (anarchy) is being without a ruling power, ruler or chief.

Anarchism is usually seen as equal to anarchy. Anarchy, a condition of being totally free of any state, being equal on the base of a rational self-interest, cooperation or reciprocity, is the goal of anarchists (Kinna, 2005, p. 5). Although anarchists define anarchy in a number of ways, they all regard anarchy as an ordered way of life. However, the popular conception of equating anarchism to anarchy has important negative effects, because the tag of anarchy evokes noticeably negative conception. Especially in popular

culture, anarchy is superficially understood as chaos, disorder, the collapse of order, confusion due to lack of state, or violent disorder. However, these are not the aims of anarchists. Indeed, anarchists consider the opposite would occur in the absence of state. All of the anarchists advocate that government is an obstacle that hinders human flourishing and progress. They all think that state should be totally or partly eliminated, but they have differences of opinion on the strategies. Yet no anarchist totally defends anarchy, because the most important form of government, that is, individuals' self-governing will remain (Baradat, 1991, p. 127). Some anarchists claim that all institutional governments must be eliminated for individuals to govern themselves. However, some others do not regard local level administration such as villages, communes, syndicates as obstructive structures. For them, abolishment of national states is enough. In short, anarchism is the expression of purest individualism and democracy, because it depends on the self-government of the individuals (Baradat, 1991).



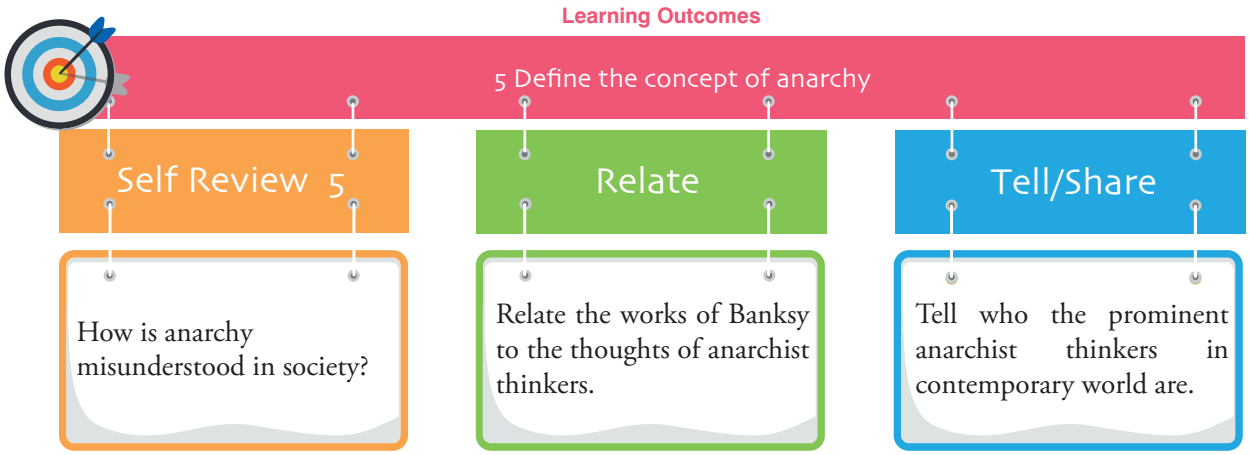
Figure 7.1 The graffiti symbol of Anarchy

The origin of the well-known graffiti, as seen left, the 'A' letter in a circle derives from the slogan 'Anarchy is order; government is civil war', first used by Pierre-Joseph Proudhon in 1848 and symbolized by the revolutionary Anselme Bellegarrigue (Kinna, 2005, p. 5).

Another misinterpretation about anarchism is that it is a leftist and violent ideology. Anarchism, however, does not have to be violent. This depends on which anarchist theory is adopted. Likewise, Anarchism may be at the left or right end of the political spectrum. All anarchists share the aim of elimination or reduction of the state. But considering the reason of this wish, there are important differences among them. These differences become obvious in looking at social (leftist) anarchists and individual (rightist) anarchists. Leftist anarchists, who are also known as social anarchists, consider that the state prevents individuals from contributing to society with their maximum potential. According to them, the ruling class makes use of the state as a tool for oppression, to dominate people and restrict the progress of the governed people. For example, in many stratified societies, laws give the ruling class more economic and political rights than the governed class. These laws are legislated by the ruling class to protect the benefits of themselves. This is why they want the government to be eliminated, so that the individuals would be free to make their greatest contribution to the whole society regardless of their social class. Therefore, if there were no government and its supportive institutions such as social class, humanity would advance further towards its fullest potential (Baradat, 1991, p. 129). Among the social anarchists (leftists) are William Godwin, P. Joseph Proudhon, Mikhail Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin, Leo Tolstoy and Emma Goldman. Some of the social anarchists advocated and some objected to the use violence. Bakunin, Kropotkin and Goldman advocated the use of violence. On the other hand, Godwin, Proudhon and Tolstoy objected to the use of violence on the ground of its immoral and counterproductive nature, namely its detrimental effects on the aim of anarchism (Baradat, 1991, p. 129).

Rightist anarchists advocate a society in which the differences of individuals are minimized. They wish the government to be diminished, so that individuals would achieve the best for their own interests. They claim that the society will advance to the best when each individual tries to achieve the best for his/her own. The notion that the advancement of the society depends on the individual capacity of each individual is a kind of Social Darwinism, a term developed by Herbert Spencer, suggesting that individuals and societies are subject to the Darwinian law of natural selection. According to this theory, the fittest and the most powerful members of the society should survive in order to the optimization and progress of the society. If the state intervenes to social life and supports the weak with policies such as welfare programs, the natural process of social selection would be interrupted and the advance of humanity would have failed to be reached. Likewise,

individual anarchists believe that the policies like welfare programs, affirmative action policies, minimum wage laws or progressive income taxes are harmful because they protect the weak and this protection causes harm to or neglect of the strong (Baradat, 1991, p. 129). Therefore, they think that such policies helping the poor and weak to survive should be eliminated. Among the individual anarchists, Max Stirner, Henry David Thoreu, Josiah Warren, S.E. Parker and Ayn Rand can be pointed out.



SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MARXISM AND ANARCHISM

Keeping in mind that anarchism is not a homogeneous ideology, there are some notions that Anarchism and Marxism share in common. These are:

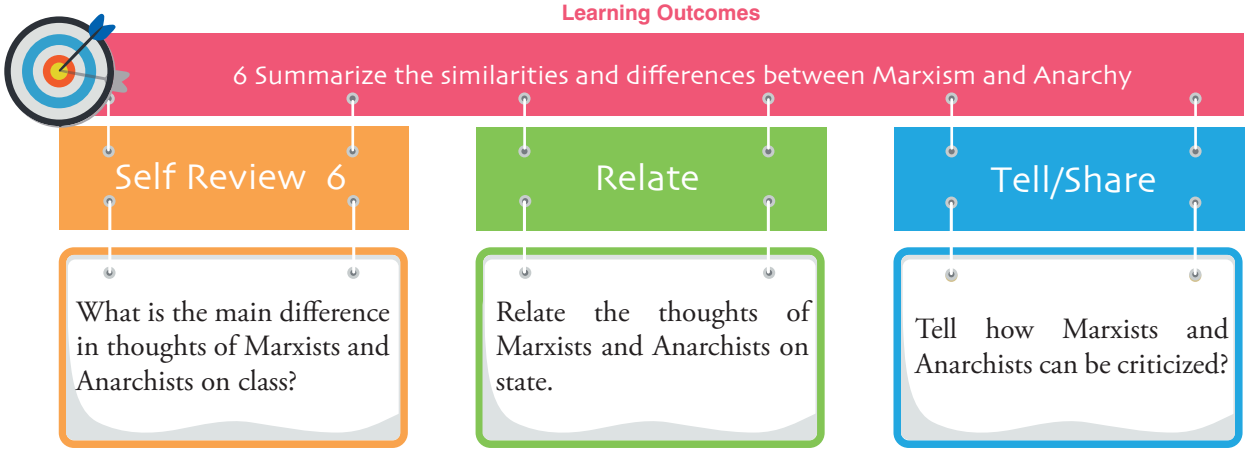
- Both Anarchists and Marxists have their roots in the Industrial Revolution. Both appeared as reactions to the aggravated conditions, and intense oppression during the mid-19th Century. For both, the perfecting of industrialized economics and the reach of their economic organs resulted in an increasing mechanization and quantification of productive activity. Parallel to this development, the whole human life itself and the leisure produced by material progress became an emptiness that is to be filled by mindless distraction and violence (Thomas, 2010, p. 2).
- Both are materialists and believe that people are shaped within the social and economic context of the society they live in.
- They both accept Marx's theory which suggests that labor creates value and much of this value is seized by capitalists during the production process.
- They both believe that due to their role in the production process, working class has potential to destroy capitalism and create a classless society.
- Both believe that the only way to destroy capitalism is revolution that must be international to be successful.

The differences among them are largely related to state and leadership. The main differences may be summarized as following (Heywood 2003; Thomas, 2010):

- For anarchists, the main source of social injustice is the existence of the state. Hence, all kinds of state ideologies should be rejected. State is not necessary. It is indeed harmful and hindering for human progress. According to anarchists, the reason of class existence is the state itself. If there were no state, the society would be a classless one. Thus, if the state is eliminated, the classes would not exist anymore. Therefore, they have no strategy or plan regarding the afterwards of the revolution and consider the elimination of the capitalist state as an end. After this point, the masses would organize themselves in communal institutions that depend on common interests. The main obstacle in front of this commune life is the state itself. Marxists

on the other hand, think that the state is an end-product of the class conflict. They think that the capitalist state must first be overthrown to defeat capitalism. However, after the revolution, the classless society would not be immediately created. The bourgeoisie would try to make a counter-revolution. To prevent this, a proletarian state (dictatorship of the proletariat) will take place and protect the achievements of the proletarian revolution. For anarchists, any revolution that replaces one form of state by another would in return maintain and reinforce oppression. Therefore, there is no difference between a bourgeois state and a proletarian state; any kind of state for them is evil and oppressive, because the state by its nature, a corrupt and corrupting body. In short, the revolution is the overthrown of capitalism for Marxism whilst it is the overthrown of the state for anarchists.

- The ruling class in Marxism is considered rather in narrow economic terms. In anarchism, the ruling class that exploits and oppresses the masses consists of those who have any kind of privilege in society, including but not limited to the wealth and power.
- According to Marxism, political organization and political leadership are necessary for working class. Political leaders function as theoreticians, helpers, spokesmen, directors, and so forth. However, according to anarchists, political leadership is also a source of oppression such as state itself. For Kropotkin, for instance, in a socialist state which is established through political leadership, the intellectual elite who led the revolution would turn into a new ruling elite above the rest of the society. Therefore, a collectivist order involves seeds of inequality and domination. In addition to rejecting the state, anarchists also reject the formation political parties, standing for elections, and seeking for the public office. Therefore, it stays away from political organization and strategic planning while affirming to focus on the mass spontaneity.



THE PROMINENT ANARCHISTS IN THE 19th CENTURY

Anarchists can be classified in a number of ways. Some of them advocated communist societies whilst some others advocated individualist societies. For some anarchists, atheism was a goal, while some others suggested people to be organized as religious unions without a state. Some accused government for hindering human progress, some others accused it because it protected the weak (Baradat, 1991, p. 130). Some advocated the use of violence for social change, and some others condemned the use of violence. It is quite hard to make a classification which includes all of these differences. In this section, we will look at the main thoughts of the prominent anarchists in the 19th century as classified in two groups, namely the pacifists and revolutionaries.

The Pacifist Anarchists

Pacifist anarchists have a lot of differences among themselves, but they share an important notion of pacifism. All of the pacifist anarchists believe that the use of violence is not a viable way for social change, violence and war are unjustifiable, indefensible and all changes should be made with peaceful means. However, they have different ideas about what these ways should be.

William Godwin (1756-1836)



William Godwin
(1756-1836)

Godwin is commonly accepted as the founder of modern anarchism. He was born in a Calvinist family and became a minister like many of his ancestors. However, his familiarity to rationalist ideas in return caused him to leave out of this career. Educated within the non-conformist philosophies of Radical Protestantism, Godwin thought the church and the state were conspiracies which would have a few people benefit in the expense of the many (Baradat, 1991, p. 130).

Godwin developed a critique of authoritarianism and made a full explanation of anarchist beliefs for the first time. He expressed his thoughts on human nature and suggested a society without state would advance better. He also suggested that human beings are rational creatures who may live according to universal moral laws in peace and harmony if it is left to their impulses. For Godwin, what creates injustice, greed and aggression was not human nature itself, or "original sin". But, it was the corrupting influence of government and the institutions which intervened and coerced human impulses. In short, causing an exploitative society, government is the cause of the problem, not the solution to it (Heywood, 2003, p. 156).

In addition to national government, Godwin also attacked to the supportive institutions such as schools, organized religion, and the family. He criticized these institutions because, in general, he objected to most of the laws which were imposed to individuals. In the society Godwin imagined, individuals would govern themselves without rules through mutual respect and compassion and guided by their individual tendencies. Godwin did not advocate the use of violence for social change. His attack on state and other institutions became determinants for the followingw social anarchists.

Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865)



Pierre Joseph Proudhon
(1809-1865)

Proudhon shared Godwin's objection to the state and its supportive institutions. On this ground, he provided economic perspective and philosophical depth to anarchism and transformed it to an applicable political ideology. He defended the claim that property is theft (2011, p. 87). He attacked all unearned property including the rents, interests and profits. He thought these were stolen from the workers who produced them. For him, it is private property that creates despotism, and it is the government creating the oppression.

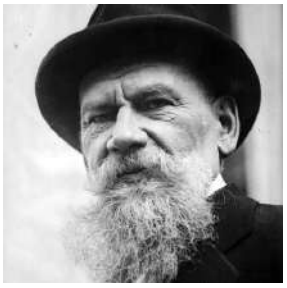
Proudhon thought that the laissez-faire principle of the free market economics is as oppressive as the government itself. This is because it guaranteed the victory of the strong (who own property) over the weak (who own nothing). At the same time, he criticized the state socialism. He thought that the principle of the dictatorial, authoritarian, governmental, communist system is that the individual is subordinate to the collective, and belonged to the state like a child to the family (Marshall, 2008, p. 259).

Proudhon believed that individuals should form voluntary associations of workers, namely syndicates. These associations would provide services that the government has been providing until then. This formed a new idea known as "anarcho-syndicalism". Proudhon believed that syndicalism should liberate the workers from both capitalism and government. For Proudhon, traditional political authority exists only to maintain the order in society, sanctifies "the obedience of citizen to state, subordination of the poor to the rich, of the common people to the upper class, of

the worker to the idler, of the layman to the priest" (Baradat, 1991, p. 131). Hence, he thinks that the political authority should be eliminated and replaced with a new institution which would reflect the economic and political rights of people. Like Godwin, Proudhon also did not advocate the use of violence for eliminating the state. He advocated that if the workers voluntarily ignore traditional authority and become organized in syndicates, the state would collapse and only the associations of workers would remain. Such thoughts of Proudhon in fact have had a long lasting influence on the trade union movements, particularly in France.

Proudhon's ideas are between the lines of individualist and collectivist anarchism. Proudhon made a distinction between the properties and what he called "possessions". He was not opposed to possessions in a way that he was opposed to the property. Influenced by the independence and initiative of the peasants with small farms, craftsmen and artisans, Proudhon tried to establish a property system which would exclude exploitation and encourage social harmony. This system is called mutualism. Mutualism is defined as "a system of fair and equitable exchange, in which individuals or groups can bargain with one another, trading goods and services without profiteering or exploitation" (Heywood, 2003, p. 160). In mutualism, there are no government regulations or interventions. It is based only on voluntary, mutually beneficial and harmonious social interaction of people.

Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910)



Leo Tolstoy
(1828-1910)

Tolstoy is regarded as one of the greatest anarchists, particularly within the Christian Anarchism. He was a devoted Christian and believed that Christianity demanded peace and human justice. However, the state was using force, its armies were turning against their own people as well as those who it was supposed to protect. He believed that the state was a consequence of the execution of the power of the strong over the weak. Thus, he thought that the basis of political power was physical violence. The reasons of the state violence for Tolstoy was to exploit their energy and hinder them from benefiting from their own labor and production. Based on this, he concluded that the state essentially was an illegitimate, evil and invalid apparatus that continued to attack individuals by perpetrating violence and exploiting them (Baradat, 1991,p. 132).

Important

Tolstoy criticized the fraud of government, the immortality of patriotism and the danger of militarism.

Tolstoy indeed accepted that state might have been necessary for the progress of society, because it created an environment in which the social institutions such as religion, education, culture and communication could have developed. However, using violence and exploiting its citizens, the state hindered the progress of the society rather than encouraging it. He thought that modern people are capable of creating and maintaining civilized institutions without the state. In other words, society was not dependent on the state anymore. Therefore, he made a call to Russian people to destroy the state, but not with a violent revolution (Baradat, 1991, p. 132; Marshall, 2008, p. 372).

For Tolstoy, the law of God was superior to the law of men. All laws, governments, armies and property were immoral, according to him. Laws, he suggested, are rules made by people who govern by means of organized violence, in order to protect their interests. If individuals do not comply with these rules, they would be subjected to bows, loss of liberty, or even murder (Marshall, 2008, p. 373). He condemned the Russian Orthodox Church with a claim that it was "the handmaiden of the state". His interpretation of Christianity was quite different than that of the Church. Tolstoy was in a belief that the ceremony, vestments and clergy were not related to true faith, but traps. He thought that people should abandon their commitment to the Russian Orthodox Church in order to destroy the state. In other words, the state should have been destructed; but the way of this destruction was not ought to be a revolution. The way of destructing the state was to leave the church. Tolstoy supposed that true Christians should not obey and be

submissive to the state, because this meant to leave their consciousness and the law of God. Instead, true Christians should recognize only one law, namely the law of God. They should ignore any other mandates while following the law of God. Otherwise, Tolstoy suggested, people would put their immortal souls into danger, because "man cannot serve two masters" (Baradat, 1991, p. 132). As the Church was a tool of the state, when people would have left the institutional Church and disobey the State, it would be removed. What Tolstoy describes as the way of social change is today called passive resistance. His perspective of the passive resistance had great influence on many people, including Mahatma Gandhi.

The Revolutionary Anarchists

Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876)



Mikhail Aleksandrovi Bakunin 814-1876

Bakunin is known as the founder of collectivist anarchism and violent anarchism. He thought that the greatest obstacle in front of human freedom was the state. He advocated terrorism, destruction and revolution for social change. He thought that the social institutions were devices to deprive people of their freedom, dominate and enslave them. He rejected religion and belief in God, because he thought that believing in a superhuman power such as God meant the abandonment of free human spirit, and the enslavement of people to a suggested supreme being. He rejected all forms of institutionalized authority and hierarchy and aimed absolute freedom. He suggested that true freedom can only be realized with the complete destruction of the state.

According to Bakunin, society should be organized in rural communities in which every citizen freely and voluntarily works without any societal restrain. For Bakunin, every individual has a free spirit and should be free to accept or refuse group norms. These autonomous communes would be the basic unit of the society and they would always have the right to separate themselves from the federation. If only individual freedom is maximized in this way, the individuals would be able to make their maximum contribution to society.

However, the question is that without any kind of institution or power, how could people be directed to revolution? Bakunin answers this question with "the secret society". This is an invisible force, a secret society which would strengthen the collective dictatorship. Bakunin's secret societies never functioned as influential organizations, but they have a central importance for Bakunin. He expected that they will "assist the birth of the revolution by sowing seeds corresponding to the instincts of the masses, then to channel the revolutionary energy of the people" (Marshall, 2008, p. 277).

Bakunin disagreed with Marxism in two main areas. First, he regarded collectivism as self-governing communities consisting of free individuals (Heywood, 2003, p. 158). For Bakunin, in place of existing nation states, society should be organized "from the base to the summit -from the circumference to the center- according to the principles of free association and federation". (Heywood, 2003, p. 278). Second, unlike Marx, who thought that the revolution should be done by the workers of the world, Bakunin suggested that a successful revolution would only be possible by arming the underworld, the lumpen-proletariat of the society, namely the vagabonds, pimps, thieves, murderers (Baradat, 1991, p. 133).

Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921)



Peter Kropotkin 842-1921

Kropotkin thought that the government divided individuals against the other individuals, class against class, country against country, and this had destructive effects on human progress. He opposed to the dividing, separating politics of the government. He did not advocate the popular Social Darwinism Theory of Herbert Spencer back then. Kropotkin's theory of anarchism was based on a theory of evolution

and provided an alternative to Spencer's theory. Kropotkin learned that animals and humans are more successful when they act cooperatively rather than aggressively, and concluded that the principal means of both human and animal development is mutual aid. This idea was essentially the scientific base of communism and anarchism. Therefore, Kropotkin attempted to ground anarchism in science and argued that it was in accordance with the existing tendencies within nature and society (Marshall, 2008, p. 310).

For Kropotkin, government is the "personification of injustice, oppression and monopoly". Therefore, it should be eliminated so as to establish an anarchist society. Kropotkin thought that people were social by their nature, but the state oppression caused them to be anti-social. The people may turn back to be social again, to be mutually supportive, helpful and cooperative with each other. But, to achieve this aim, the state should be eliminated. The anarchist society, which would be established after the state was eliminated, would be based on communist principles and voluntary mutual aid among free and social individuals (Baradat, 1991, p. 134). Kropotkin objected egoistic individualism which Max Stirner advocated. He suggested that egoistic individualism led a destructive and selfish form of hedonism. For him, the ideal individuality should achieve the highest individual development through practicing the highest communist sociability (Marshall, 2008, p. 321). Giving anarchist theory a communist direction, Kropotkin provided anarchism a philosophical respectability, at a time "when it was increasingly being associated in the popular press with mindless terrorism" (Marshall, 2008, p. 310).

Kropotkin's attitude towards the revolution changed in time. In his early years, he advocated Bakunin's ideas and participated in revolutionary activities. However, later he questioned the effectiveness and viability of revolution as a strategy to create social change. He did not become a pacifist. However, he had the idea that the human desire to be free would evolve into anarchism (Baradat, 1991, p. 134).

Errico Malatesta (1853-1932)



Errico Malatesta
(1853-1932)

Malatesta advocated a form of communism which involved the common ownership of property and the socialization of production. This communism was based on human solidarity, which would endure the progress and development of humans. The fundamental law of solidarity would be achieved by mutual aid or co-operation. However, the mutual aid comprehension of Malatesta is different from that of Kropotkin. Malatesta described mutual aid as "association for the struggle against all natural factors antagonistic to the existence, the development and well-being of the associates" (Marshall, 2008, p. 349). For Malatesta human progress can only be achieved through a struggle and violence was necessary to destroy the government.

Malatesta advocated Bakunin, even mentioned him as the spiritual father of the anarchists. But while sharing his thoughts on criticism of the principle of authority and of the State, he considered Bakunin's ideas on political economy and history as "too Marxist" (Marshall, 2008, p. 346). Malatesta defined anarchy as a society without government. He believed that only anarchist communism could liberate humanity and bring the destruction of government. For Malatesta, the government should be replaced with spontaneously developed groupings of individuals united by sympathies and interests voluntarily. Therefore, after the revolution, he suggested that society should be divided into communes in which different trades will form associations. On the contrary to Bakunin, who advocated a secret society, Malatesta believed that anarchists should make their activities as public as possible, so that they may reach more people (Marshall, 2008, p. 352).

Malatesta advocated anarchism not because it is a scientific truth and a natural law but because it corresponded better than any other way of social life. Indeed, he argued that science brings forth fatalism, the denial of free will and freedom. According to Malatesta a science based

comprehension of anarchism, such as that of Kropotkin was a mechanical and deterministic interpretation of phenomena and did not involve moral responsibility. Anarchy, for Malatesta, was a human aspiration achieved through the exercise of the human will (Marshall, 2008, p. 359).



Emma Goldman
(1869-1940)

Emma Goldman was one of the leading anarchists particularly in the United States. While she supported violent methods of Bakunin in her early years, later she became an advocator of Kropotkin. Eventually she suggested that the government should be eliminated and be replaced by a "network of communes based on mutual trust and consideration among individuals who remained free to think and act as they choose" (Baradat, 1991, p. 135).

The Individualist Anarchists

The main difference between the social anarchists and the individualist anarchists is related to individual freedom. Social anarchists aspire for the elimination of the government because they were in belief that government limits the freedom of the people. They are not interested in the freedom of the individual in particular. This is because, according to them, individuals are interrelated and are responsible to each other to some degree. On the other hand, individualist anarchists reject any kind of obligation upon the individual, including this kind of a responsibility as a group norm. Indeed, they do not attain much value to the relationships of individuals with each other.

Max Stirner (1806-1856)



Max Stirner
(1806-1856)

For Stirner, the state of nature of humans was not isolation, it was the membership of society. However, he thought that the individual has to get rid of some claims of the society and move from social relationship to egoistic relationship, so that s/he can escape from subjection (Leopold, 2015).

Stirner's comprehension of egoism is beyond the egoism in the sense of individual chase of conventional self-interest. Stirner rejects an egoism in which the individual sacrifices everything in order to reach material resources. He rejects this kind of egoism because the greedy individual in this example becomes enslaved to a single end, and such enslavement is incompatible with egoism. For Stirner, egoism is more related to self-government or autonomy rather than material self-interest. Stirner uses the term "ownness" to define a type of autonomy that excludes any voluntary or forced suspension of individual judgment. He considers that individuals should avoid being subordinated to others and drifted by their own desires. In other words, for Stirner, any subordination of the individual, regardless of the source to be the will of other people or the individual's own appetites, is illegitimate. Stating "I am everything to myself and I do everything on my own account", Stirner values nothing other than individual self-mastery (Leopold, 2015).

Stirner thinks that indeed people do not do things for the greater good or God, they do what they do for their own sake. But they seem as worshipping to God or watching over the greater good, so that they can protect their selfish behaviors

and represent them as unselfish, moral behaviors. For Stirner, the greater good or social good is just a trick that aims to limit the power of the strong (Baradat, 1991, p. 137). Social institutions such as government and religion also compel the strong people in the society to sacrifice in favor of the weak ones. When those who are weak create the society, the society limits the power of the strong and destroys individual freedom. According to Stirner, people should stop deceiving themselves, should abandon their attempts in mutual responsibility and begin to concentrate only on themselves and act in their own interests.

Important

For Stirner, it is not the duty of the individuals to overthrow the state. This is because the state will eventually collapse as a result of the spread of egoism.

For Stirner, the state is an illegitimate institution. A state can never be legitimate, because there is an essential conflict between individual self-mastery and the obligation to come with the terms of the law. Believing that individual self-mastery is more important than any other consequence, Stirner suggests that the demands of the state are not compulsory for the individual. Nonetheless, he does not suggest that the individuals are obliged to oppose and try to eliminate the state within their power. According to Stirner, individuals just should not obey the law if there is a conflict between the autonomy of the egoist and the demands of the state. With this principle, in every case the state has a demand, individuals should decide whether to obey or not. Individuals should also refuse their assumed obligation and responsibility to others, so that they would be free from their artificial chains (Baradat, 1991, p. 137). In short, Stirner thinks that the state will eventually be removed as a result of the spread of egoism, it is not the responsibility of the individuals to eliminate the state.

Learning Outcomes

7 Summarize the similarities and differences between Marxism and Anarchy

Self Review 7	Relate	Tell/Share
Do the roots of anarchism lie in the belief in human goodness?	Relate the movie "V for Vendetta" to the thoughts of Anarchists.	Tell how Anarchists can be criticized?

Summary

LO 1 Explain the concepts of alienation and surplus value

Alienation is the process through which the workers become foreign to their labor, species, and themselves. For Marx, workers first become alienated from their own selves. Then, they become alienated to their labor and to the products they produced. Finally, they become alienated to their species, their population, and their fellows. The workers' intrinsic value is the money just enough to feed themselves and their families. However, workers are forced to produce value which is greater than their intrinsic value. The value that workers produce above their wages, which is at the survival level, is called surplus value that is appropriated by capitalists as their profit.

LO 2 Explain dialectical materialism

Dialectical materialism is the scientific base of the theory of Marx. Grounded on Hegel's ideas, Marx considered the dialectic as a means of accomplishing historical progress through struggle. According to Marx, social class differences cause human conflict. The struggle between opposing social classes closed every historical era and caused a new era to emerge. As anti-thesis emerges within the thesis in Hegel's idea, in every historical stage of societies, a new social class developed to an anti-thesis to the ruling class.

LO 3 Explain the concepts of superstructure and substructure

The substructure and the superstructure are the two basic parts of societies. The substructure is the economic system and the material base of a society. The two components of the substructure are the means of production and the relations of production. The superstructure of the society is composed of all of the non-material institutions in the society (for example religion, government, law, education, art, values and ideology). In every society, the social institutions in the superstructure justify the economic system (the substructure) through values and norms.

LO 4 Explain social classes, class struggle, Proletarian Revolution, the state and ideology

According to Marx, there are two main social classes in all stratified societies, these are a ruling class and a subject class. The ruling class owns and controls the means of production such as land, capital, labor, buildings and machinery. The ruling class exploits and oppresses the subject class in order to maintain and reinforce its advantages. There is a fundamental contradiction, a conflict of interest between the two classes. The exploitation and oppression of some people by others would only end when classes disappear, and classes would disappear only when the means of production are commonly owned by the society. In capitalist societies, when the economic and social preconditions of the revolution are fulfilled and proletariat gains class consciousness, the proletariat will make a spontaneous revolution and the proletarian dictatorship will be established. The state is the device of the ruling class and protects the interests of the capitalists and the capitalist system. The function of the state in capitalist societies is to ensure the common benefits of the whole bourgeoisie. Ideology represent the ideas, conceptions or consciousness of the ruling class and functions as the superstructure of a society. The goal of ideology is to legitimize the position of the ruling class and to curtain the oppression and exploitation of the subjective class.

LO 5 Define the concept of anarchy

Anarchy is typically defined as a society without government, and anarchism as the social philosophy which aims at its realization. The ultimate goal of anarchism is to create a free society which allows all human beings to realize their full potential. All anarchists provide a particular view of human nature, a critique of the existing order, a vision of a free society, and a way to achieve it. It can be said that nearly all of the anarchists reject the legitimacy of external government and of the state, and condemn imposed political authority, hierarchy and domination.

LO 6 Summarize the similarities and differences between Marxism and Anarchy

Marxism and Anarchism both (a) emerged as reaction to the severe oppression during the mid-1850's, (b) are materialists, (c) accept Marx's surplus value theory, (d) believe that working class has the potential to destroy capitalism and create a classless society, (e) believe that the only way to destroy capitalism is revolution. The main differences among them are largely related to state. According to anarchists, the reason of class existence is the state, if there were no state, the society would be a classles one. Thus, if the state is eliminated, the classes would not exist anymore. Marxists on the other hand, considers that the state is the consequence of the class conflict. They consider that the capitalist state must first be overthrown in order to defeat capitalism. However, after the revolution, a proletarian state will take place and protect the achievements of the proletarian revolution.

LO 7 Summarize the similarities and differences among the prominent anarchists in the 19th Century

Elimination or reduction of government is a common wish among anarchists because they aspire for individuals pursuing their own interests. But considering the reason of this wish, there are important differences among them. Leftists (social anarchists) want the government to be diminished. So, individuals would be free to make their greatest contribution to the whole society regardless of their social class. Among the social anarchists (leftists) are William Godwin, P. Joseph Proudhon, Mikhail Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin, Leo Tolstoy and Emma Goldman. Among the social anarchists, some advocated and some objected the use violence. Bakunin, Kropotkin and Goldman advocated the use of violence. On the other hand, Godwin, Proudhon and Tolstoy objected the use of violence on the ground that it is immoral and counterproductive, namely detrimental to the aim of anarchism. Rightist anarchists wish the government to be diminished, so that individuals would achieve the best for their own interests. The notion that the advance of the society depends on the individual capacity of each individual is a kind of Social Darwinism. Among the individual anarchists are Max Stirner, Henry David Thoreu, Josiah Warren, S.E. Parker and Ayn Rand.

Test Yourself

1 According to Marx, which of the following is the source of wealth of the capitalists?

a. Surplus value
b. Exchange value
c. Machinery
d. Capitalist competition
e. Capital

2 According to Marx, which of the following is a part of the foundation of the society?

a. Ideology
b. Means of production
c. Religion
d. Art
e. Political system

3 According to Marx, which of the following is not a function of the ideology?

a. To protect the interests of the ruling class
b. To hide some parts of reality
c. To create class consciousness among workers
d. To mystify workers about capitalist social relations
e. To legitimize the existence of social classes

4 According to Marx, which of the following is one of the social antecedents of the Proletarian Revolution?

a. Deterioration of the conditions of the working class
b. The centralization of capital
c. Economic crisis
d. Communication among workers
e. Class consciousness

5 According to Marx, which of the following is a part of petit bourgeoisie?

a. People who own means of production but do not purchase any labor
b. Owners of the largest factories
c. Workers who earn more than the average wages
d. Burglars and thieves
e. Workers who work voluntarily in public companies

6 Which of the following anarchists advocated to make use of violence?

a. Godwin
b. Kropotkin
c. Tolstoy
d. Proudhon
e. Stirner

7 Which of the following anarchists believed that lumpen-proletariat should be armed in order to make a successful revolution?

a. Tolstoy
b. Marx
c. Bakunin
d. Proudhon
e. Godwin

8 Which of the following anarchists provided a scientific foundation to anarchism?

a. Proudhon
b. Bakunin
c. Godwin
d. Goldman
e. Kropotkin

9 Which of the following is pointed out among the ideas of Max Stirner?

a. It is not the responsibility of individuals to eliminate the state.
b. Egoism is a search for self-interest in terms of only material resources.
c. Individuals have responsibilities to the society.
d. The reason of the actions of individuals is to serve a greater good.
e. The state should be eliminated through violent actions of organized individuals.

10 Which of the following anarchists' ideas were depended on an interpretation of Christianity?

a. Proudhon
b. Godwin
c. Kropotkin
d. Tolstoy
e. Bakunin

1. a	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Economic Theory of Marx: Alienation and Surplus Value"	6. b	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Prominent Anarchists in the 19th Century"
2. b	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Sociological Theory of Marx: Economic Determinism, Society's Structure and Social Stratification"	7. c	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Prominent Anarchists in the 19th Century"
3. c	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Political Theory of Marx: The State, Ideology, Class Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution"	8. e	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Prominent Anarchists in the 19th Century"
4. d	If your answer is incorrect, review "he Political Theory of Marx: The State, Ideology, Class Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution"	9. a	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Prominent Anarchists in the 19th Century"
5. a	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Political Theory of Marx: The State, Ideology, Class Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution"	10. d	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Prominent Anarchists in the 19th Century"

What is the difference among the exchange value, sentimental value and use value of an object?

Self Review 1

There are three values of an object. One of them is the exchange value, which means the amount of money to be paid for this object in the market. The second one is sentimental value, although an an individual can get a high amount of money by selling an object in the market, s/he may prefer not to sell it because the sentimental value is higher than the exchange value. The third one is the use value, which is the meeting of a needed function. The exchange, sentimental and use values may be different for each object. For example, a car may have a low exchange value, however if the owner is attached to it, the sentimental value will be higher, or if there is a need for the car, the use value of it will also be higher.

What is dialectical thinking? Give an example.

Self Review 2

Dialectical thinking includes the interdependence, interpretation and unity of opposite ideas. For example, if you are writing an essay on globalization, you should both not only mention the positive, but also the negative aspects of the issue. Therefore you should handle the issue in a wholistic way, then compare the negative and positive aspects rationally and decide what to support.

What are the components of superstructure and substructure?

Self Review 3

The material base, namely economic system is the substructure. The substructure is divided into the means of production and the relations of production. Being determined by the substructure, the superstructure is composed of all of the non-material institutions in the society such as religion, government, law, education, art, values, ideology and so forth.

What is the difference between a class in itself and a class for itself?

Self Review 4

A class in itself means a group of people who share similar positions in production, but lack class consciousness. In other words, members of a class in itself are unaware of their common interests, and are not politically organized in order to achieve these common interests. The class for itself consists of people with class consciousness. The members of a class for itself are aware of the relation and conflict among their class and other classes.

How is Anarchy misunderstood in society?

Self Review 5

Among ideological concepts, most of them have positive meanings, for instance liberalism is the ideology of freedom; socialism is associated with fellowship; conservatism with the conservation of customary lifestyles. But the concepts of Anarchism and anarchy, especially in popular culture, are superficially understood as chaos, disorder, the collapse of order, confusion due to lack of government, or violent disorder. However, these are not the aims of anarchists. Indeed, anarchists think the opposite would occur in the absence of government.

What is the main difference in thoughts of Marxists and Anarchists on class?

Self Review 6

For Marxists, the state is a result of class conflict. The powerful minority class, which holds the private property of means of production in its hands, establishes the state in order to protect and ensure its interests. According to the anarchists on the other hand, classes exist because of the state. If there were no state, there would not be any classes, because social class divisions are fabricated barriers which facilitate the oppression of the ruling class over governed people.

Do the roots of anarchism lie in the belief in human goodness?

Self Review 7

Anarchism is not based upon the belief in human goodness. Although Godwin believed that human was good by nature, Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin thought human beings could be selfish and competitive as well as sociable and cooperative.

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Chapter 8

A Battleground in Political Thought: The Idea of Justice

After completing this chapter, you will be able to;

Learning Outcomes

1. Explain the origins of contemporary ideas of justice
2. Identify the utilitarian approach to social justice through the works of founding fathers of utilitarianism
3. Clarify the conceptions of libertarian model of justice through the works of classical and contemporary figures of libertarian perspective
4. Discuss the Rawlsian model of social justice known as justice as fairness
5. Define the capability approach to the idea of social justice through the works of Amartya Sen
6. Explain the complementary contributions to the idea of justice such as equality of resources, recognition/redistribution as well as participation to the life of society

Chapter Outline

Introduction
Origins of Contemporary Ideas of Justice: From Plato to Hume
Utilitarianism: Consequentialist, Welfarist, and Aggregative Idea of Justice
Libertarianism: Process-Oriented, Entitlement and Individual-Focused Idea of Justice
Justice as Fairness: Rawlsian Model of Social Justice
The Capability Approach: A Freedom-Based Idea of Social Justice
Complementary Contributions to the Idea of Justice

Key Terms

Utilitarianism
Libertarianism
Justice as fairness
Capability approach
Distribution of resources
Social justice



INTRODUCTION

It is occasionally claimed that the entire literature of political thought is, in essence, an endless journey of humanity in finding out an answer for the question of who gets what, or what justice is. Such a venturous claim is perhaps not always precisely true. Yet, it may vaguely be right that the entire literature of political thought, one way or another, is related to the idea of justice.

Reconsidering the foundational concepts of political thought that the first chapter of this book elaborates in detail and reflecting on their social and political meanings in everyday life of citizens, we can easily notice indispensable relationship between the idea of justice and the core issues of political thought. Any political power cannot sustain its power and influence without attributing a characteristic of being just to itself. Any state authority cannot maintain its legitimacy in long term without convincing the ruled population about that it is a just authority. Any political thought cannot justify its normative political position, including a particular understanding of ethic, without any reference to what the just action or decision should be. Regardless of its political, civic, or administrative characteristic, any legislation or legal arrangement, which is proposed and brought into force by a political actor, cannot be carried out for a long time unless citizens, or right-holders, keep believing the ethically just or pragmatically necessary characteristic of such legislation. Therefore, the claim that the demand for justice is something quite influential and prevalent in both formation and development of almost all core issues of classical and contemporary political thought is not an assertion which we should engage in a herculean effort to be persuaded for.

What does justice really mean? Does it mean something related to individuals' rights in a sense that people's right should not be violated? Does it mean something related to the rule of law? Does it mean something related to the idea of equality in a sense that everyone should be equal to others? Does it mean something related to satisfaction of everyone's basic needs? Does it mean something related to individuals' freedom to do and to be what they value in their life? Or, does it mean something related to what people deserve in a sense that everyone should be entitled to the outcomes of their decisions and choices? Looking at the existing literature in such field, what we call "justice" can be associated with both all of these and none of these. In fact, such differences in the identification of the idea of justice illustrate its contending nature as well as existence of different normative political positions in terms of how to approach it within the realm of political thought.

Justice in everyday life is usually considered in relation to "the workings of police, courts, judiciary and related criminal agencies" (Cook, 2006, p.1). However, it is today commonly agreed that the idea of justice in political philosophy is multi-dimensional idea. This means that there are quite a number of different areas, or dimensions of human life, in every one which the idea of justice ought to be re-framed and re-established. To illustrate, a particular idea of justice in due process of law today requires the equal protection of everyone regardless of their economic and cultural statuses. However, those who do not have sufficient capital of knowledge regarding how the legal frameworks work and those who do not have sufficient economic capital to purchase such knowledge from lawyers are at the risk of being put in a disadvantaged position in case of defending themselves or claiming their rights in a trial. Therefore, the contemporary legal frameworks in most parts of today's world have already been introduced an additional right through which these individuals who are unable to represent themselves are provided a lawyer whose cost of representation is paid by the legal authority itself. In such a case, we observe that to secure the legal right to equal protection of everyone in trial may require in cases of some individual an introduction of additional right to the legal framework, which points out a multi-dimensional approach of most modern countries to secure the justice in the courtroom.



Multi-dimensionality is one of the main features of the contemporary understandings of social justice. It emphasizes the fact that whether a society is just or not cannot be assessed based on one single variable or unit of evaluation.

However, when we look at the multi-dimensionality of the idea of justice, we notice that it has at the top two main dimensions that should not be overlooked. The first is the "justice as criminal" and the second is "justice as social" (Newman and Yeates, 2008, p.13). While the former one usually focuses on juridical arrangements and their implementations, the latter one mostly focuses on issues related to distribution such as distribution of power, resources, rights and/or entitlements, and income as well as ethical justifications of how distribution of these goods ought to be conducted. Therefore, the latter one is frequently referred as "justice beyond the courtroom" (Cochrane and Walters, 2008, p.157). It is usual to observe that the latter one, namely distributional or social justice and its ethical background, plays a prominent role in defining the content and scope of the former one, namely the criminal or judicial justice, although such a hierarchical positioning between these dimensions may not always be as effective as it is claimed. For example, the argument that everyone's private property should be secured and anyone cannot seize other's private property need to be first of all proposed, developed and ethically justified within the dimension of social justice. Following this, necessary legal arrangements to protect individuals' private properties are proposed, developed and introduced. Without its philosophically ethical underpinnings are formed, any issue concerning legal arrangements within the scope criminal justice cannot be maintained. In other words, inviolableness of one's private property in legal arrangements cannot be proposed, developed and socially sustained without an ethical and philosophical justification regarding why one's private property is untouchable. This demonstrates the lexical priority of social or distributional justice over the criminal or judicial justice although such priority is not easily observable in all regulations that are amended by the ruling authority.

Important

"Justice as social" is frequently referred as "justice beyond the courtroom" and emphasizes the insufficiency of judicial justice in assessing if a society is a just one or not.

This chapter briefly focuses on some of the most frequently referred and conflicting political approaches to distributional or social justice. However, before moving on to discuss details of these approaches, the chapter will provide a brief snapshot illustrating how the contending contemporary understandings of justice have been formed in the course of history by referring to works of some prominent figures within the political thought.

ORIGINS OF CONTEMPORARY IDEAS OF JUSTICE: FROM PLATO TO HUME

Both in classical and contemporary ages, the idea of social justice is discussed in relation to various concepts such as rights, desert, merit, rule, covenant, consent, free-will, freedom, fairness, choice, well-being, poverty, inequality and so forth. The idea of justice that can be traced back to the ancient world is seen as a virtue of man and society in ancient Greek philosophy (Adelson, 1995, p. 29; Jackson, 1986, p. 8). Such an understanding of justice can easily be observed in the *Republic*, a well-known work of Plato, in which the central issue is "justice" discussed in relation to the concept of "virtue". In some of the very first dialogues between the fictional characters, justice is considered as a virtue and discussed in relation to actions of individuals in this work of Plato. In the dialogues that are mostly configured in a form of Socratic method of reciprocal talks, justice is granted as one of the most appreciated excellences of human beings and identified as the virtue of individual (Forde, 1997, p. 659; Demos, 1964, p. 396). Plato's attempt is, however, to reach a societal understanding of justice through these dialogues.

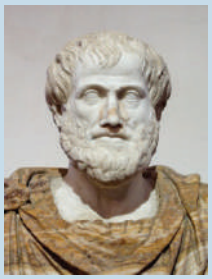
According to Plato, each group and individual play roles to meet the needs of the whole (Campbell, 2010, p. 7) in a well-ordered society that is a perfectly arranged society, where all institutions and groups are organised to perform a particular function. Such an understanding of society, where individuals and societal organisations are given roles to satisfy particular duties and actions can in fact be considered as an early reference to what we call in modern societies as "division of labour". To justify why human beings are in need of living together in a well-ordered society, where every one of them is

assigned with certain responsibilities to perform a particular action in line with their skills, two facts are reminded. The first one is that any individual cannot keep living on her own in a world where quite a number of natural and man-made dangers exist. The second one is that life is less difficult, more comfortable and prosperous by living together as a society. Considering each individual as a person who is in need of living together with others and who seeks for convenience, comfort and prosperity inevitably brings forth an emphasis that underlines the importance of division of labour as well as a well-ordered society. Signifying such a society as a society of justice, Plato considered justice as something situational in which "everyone performs a function suit her own natural abilities" (Brighouse, 2004, p. 1). Such an understanding of just society is expressed in his work through a Socratic fashion of discussion that is sustained between two characters one of whom, at one point, claims that "well, my friend, it somehow happens to have turned out that this business of doing your own job is justice" (Raphael, 2001, p. 42). This definition of justice can easily bring to mind that those who work and live together with others in a harmony and complete their own responsibilities are supposed to be entitled to receive what they deserve in return of doing their job. This means that we can link Plato's understanding of justice to the idea of justice that is associated with the concept of "desert". However, it is difficult to claim that there is an explicitly expressed idea of justice proposing that everyone should be entitled to have what they deserve in Plato's work.



Plato, in his famous opus, namely the *Republic*, focuses on "justice" as a central theme and discusses on the identification of justice through its relation to the concept "virtue". He points out justice in this discussion as a "virtue of individual" that is different from the contemporary understanding of justice as "virtue of institutions".

As briefly pointed out above through the emphasis of multi-dimensional nature of justice, there was no clear distinction between what we call criminal or legal justice and social or distributive justice in Plato's work. However, we observe such a distinction in Aristotle's work where the criminal justice was distinguished from the social justice first time in the history of political thought that we know (Campbell, 2010, p. 18; Miller, 1976, p. 22; Raphael, 2001, p. 44). While Aristotle identifies the criminal justice by drawing on the word of "lawful", he refers to the distribution of various resources such as societal goods, moneys and products with the purpose of identifying what we know today as "social justice". Throughout such conceptualization, it is the first time that we observe the term equality comes into agenda in the history of political thought. With reference to the idea of equality, Aristotle's idea of social justice is formulated as "equal shares to equals, unequal shares to unequals" (Raphael, 2001, p. 44). However, we must note that the notion of equality, in Aristotle's account, refers to something quite different from what we call as equality today. In his approach, equal individuals are considered as those who are equal in terms of their status in the society, meaning that citizens are equal with citizens, non-citizens with non-citizens, slaves with slaves and women with women. Moreover, it should also be pointed out that Aristotle did not consider that justice should include the notion of "equal rights". Instead, he underlined the approach of "right proportion" which does not always mean equality (Russell, 2004, pp. 169) in contemporary meaning of the idea of justice. In this context, we can interpret that Aristotle, in line with ideas of Plato, thought the social justice under the upper heading of the notion of desert or what individuals deserve according to their societal status. Briefly, Aristotle's contribution to the idea of justice can be pointed out as two major ideas as the one that distinguished what we today call "criminal justice" from the "social justice" and the one that extending the idea of justice towards the idea of equality although he used the term of equality to emphasize equality between those who have equal societal status.



Aristotle

Aristotle is considered as one of the founding fathers of the Western Philosophy. He is considered as the preliminary philosopher, who made a distinction between legal justice and social justice that is an idea specified as the beginning of the political philosophy by some scholars. The scope of Aristotle's scientific research is astonishing. He made contributions to logic, metaphysics, mathematics, physics, biology, botany, ethics, politics, agriculture, medicine, dance and theatre. Aristotle does not regard politics as a separate science from ethics, but as the completion, and almost a verification of it.

Figure 8.1 Aristotle (384 BC – 322 BC)
Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/ae/Aristotle_Altemps_Inv8575.jpg

It is important to be aware of that "neither Plato nor Aristotle held that justice was a matter of individual rights" (Ryan, 1993, p. 3). The introduction of the concept "rights" to the issue of justice took seven centuries after Aristotle. In the corpus of Roman Law, it is the first time in the history of political thought that justice was defined in relation to individual's rights. The Roman law includes a dictum that is *"iustitia est constans et perpetua voluntas ius suum cuique tribuendi"*, meaning that "justice is the constant and permanent will to render to each person what is his right". This normative definition is followed by two further principles of the Emperor Justinian's (A.D. 483-565) "Justinian Code" as *"iuris praecepta sunt haec: honeste vivere, alterum non laedere, suum cuique tribuere"*, meaning that "the precepts of what are rights are these: to live uprightly, to do no harm to others, to render to each person what is his right" (Raphael, 2001, p. 56; see also Scott, 2001, p. 211). It is worth to note that although the dictums mentioned above are too ambiguous, they are still remarkably important due to being the first attempts of introducing the concept "rights" to the idea of justice in the history of political thought.

After the Justinian Code was introduced to the idea of justice, any authentic approach had not been developed for a long time. As Adelson (1995, p. 31) notes, "while new ideas of representative government were being developed during the course of Middle Ages, those ideas did not lead to a concept of social justice". Such scarcity initiated to disappear with the development of authentic and comprehensive perspectives concerning to idea of justice within the fruitful political atmosphere of early 17th century. Among others, English philosopher Thomas Hobbes' famous work of *Leviathan* (2009 [1651]) can be pointed out as one of the first fruits of the plenteous ground of 17th century's political thought where new authentic ideas towards the idea of justice and equality found an opportunity to flourish.

In fact, roots of quite a number of contemporary political ideas of political thought can be found out in Hobbes' *Leviathan*. A particular place was also given to a normative idea of justice in Hobbes' work of *Leviathan*, albeit in a bit obscure way that requires us to approach it an interpretive way. According to Hobbes, justice is to obey the rules of covenant. Instead of directly define what justice is, he discusses in the *Leviathan* about injustice, claiming that "injustice is no other than the not performance of covenant. And whatsoever is not unjust is just" (Hobbes, 2009 [1651], p. 124). In Hobbes' account, where there is no commonwealth, there is no propriety either. This is because "all men having right to do all things" in there, which means there is nothing unjust or just (Ibid. 125). Therefore, where there is commonwealth, the only condition to set up the justice is to keep the covenant valid. However, what is just in Hobbes does not mean what is called as fair. This is because of that to obey the rules of a valid covenant can be just; however the covenant itself may be unfair. Therefore, justice is discussed in Hobbes within the realm of contractual order. This can be interpreted as to obey the rules of the authority. Such an emphasis in Hobbes's theory highlights the concept of "responsibility" of either an individual or the commonwealth to obey the rules of contract.

However, absence of moral dimension in Hobbes' justice perception was noticed by Scottish philosopher David Hume who broadened Hobbes' approach to the idea of justice in his book called *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1966 [1751]). Hume claimed that a promise, for example obeying the

rules of contract, which was seen as the basis of justice by Hobbes would be intelligible, and even if it is intelligible, it would not be attended to any moral obligation (Hume, 1966 [1751], p. 219). So, Hume takes the attention to the moral dimension of a covenant, from which it can be inferred that Hume took an attention to the idea of fairness. In fact, such emphasis of Hume was the first of its kind that the idea of fairness was attempted to be introduced to the theory of justice. However, Hume moved beyond criticizing Hobbes in terms of flawed nature of covenant and proposed that aiming to increase the "public utility" is the essence of just action/decision. In this regard, according to Hume, public utility is considered as the primary point of focus for all societies that aim to be just. Hume's emphasis on the public utility as the essence of just society has led to the emergence of one of the most influential perspectives of social justice that is today known as the utilitarian model of social justice.

Learning Outcomes

1 Explain the origins of contemporary ideas of justice

Self Review 1	Relate	Tell/Share
How are the works of Aristotle related to the contemporary understandings of justice?	Relate the concept of justice to the idea of fairness.	Tell about Hobbes' justice perception.

UTILITARIANISM: CONSEQUENTIALIST, WELFARIST, AND AGGREGATIVE IDEA OF JUSTICE

As a philosopher who paved the way heading towards one of the most influential theories of social justice, namely utilitarianism, David Hume is today given a prominent place in not only discussions regarding social justice, but quite a number of different subjects too. According to Hume, justice is a device to ensure the sustainability of social order. In this regard, justice, Hume's account, was first and foremost concerned to the system of property; and injustice in a given society could be associated with the circumstances in which some groups acquire more than others (Campbell, 2010, pp. 14-15). Therefore, Hume considers on the possibility of an egalitarian society into two forms. The first one is the existence of a society without property, meaning that there is no one who holds a property on his own. Setting up such a society, according to Hume, could only be achieved under two conditions: (a) An abundance of goods satisfy to human demands and (b) Unlimited generosity that everyone is freely given what they need. However, because of human selfishness, diverse wishes and aspirations, emergence of new tastes, and human craving for luxuries, Hume believed that the first form of societal organization could not have been achieved. Therefore, he asserted a second system of social order in which he supported the continuity of the private property that was protected by the legal order which was assigned with a duty of distributing the properties based on the overall interest of the public. However, in this system, it would have been impossible to prevent inequalities that quite possibly would emerge because of humans' unequal capacities, talents or conditions. On the other hand, if the private property was prevented, the incentive to work would be lost and society would face with a danger of falling into the extreme poverty (Miller, 1976, p. 168). This second form of societal organization in Hume account would apparently not be egalitarian at all. However, at the very substance of Hume's second system, the idea was that instead of whole society fell into an extreme indigence, some degree of inequality within the system could be acceptable. Therefore, in his famous work, *An*

Enquiry Concerning the Principle of Morals, he defended the idea of public utility, claiming that "public utility is the sole origin of justice" (Hume, 1998 [1751], p. 13). Briefly saying, together with Hume, we started to consider the concept of fairness and public utility as the essence of justice.



David Hume

Scottish philosopher David Hume paved the way toward the idea of utilitarianism. He is also known for his influence on the Western Philosophy, especially through the idea of empiricism, scepticism, and naturalism. He was sceptical to most of the philosophical subjects. He questioned common notions of personality, general beliefs of miraculous events, general understanding of reasoning and so forth. In political theory, Hume has both theoretical discussions on the origins of government and more informal essays on popular political controversies of his day. He was sceptical even in his political philosophy. He criticized two common conceptions of his day: the social contact approach and the instinctive nature of justice regarding the private property.

Figure 8.2 David Hume (1711 – 1776)

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/David_Hume#/media/File:David_Hume.jpg

Hume's emphasis on the public utility as the focal point of justice in a society has led the emergence and spread of the utilitarian perspective in the literature of not only social justice, but also economics, administration, politics, law as well as diplomacy. Influencing political ideas and distributive patterns dramatically in the 17th and 18th centuries, utilitarianism has become one of the most influential perspectives of social sciences. Similarly, the utilitarian account of social justice is also quite important and considered as one of the major perspectives in the literature of social justice today. Pioneers of the classical utilitarian account of social justice are considered as British reformist philosopher Jeremy Bentham and British philosopher and political economist John Stuart Mill, both of whom are pointed out among the most influential scholars of social sciences.

It can be said that Bentham and Mill gained a more systematic form to the initial perspective of Hume who considered the just and good action in relation to its possibility of leading to increase the public utility. The question of how the utility should be assessed is answered through an emphasis on the happiness in the utilitarian account. This means that justness of an action, a decision, or a policy is evaluated to the extent of happiness that it yields for the society. In other words, in utilitarian account of justice, utility is translated into the form of happiness and social justice is evaluated according to the happiness of society. Therefore, it can be said that increasing overall public utility is considered as increasing public happiness in the utilitarian account. In line with such a perspective that considers utility as happiness, utilitarian model of social justice of Bentham and Mill advocates the proposition of "the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people" (Campbell, 2010, p. 116). This demonstrates its majoritarian characteristics. In other words, instead of focusing on every individual's level of happiness, it advocates to focus on overall happiness of society. This, as can be seen as a maximalist approach that claims "rules of justice have to lie in the way that they promote the greatest possible quantity of happiness" (Ryan, 1993, p. 12). Bentham, for example, argues that "approves or disapproves of every action whatsoever, according to the tendency which it appears to have to augment or diminish the happiness of the party whose interest is in question: or, what is the same thing in other words, to promote or to oppose that happiness (Bentham, 2005 [1789], p. 11-12). In this context, utilitarianism considers justice in accordance with the aggregative interest of the society. Hence, it is considered as aggregative theory of justice (Miller, 1976, p. 32).

Important

According to the utilitarian approach to the idea of social justice, a just society is associated with the perspective that the common interest of the society is taken as the prevailing criteria in decision, actions, or policies of the ruling authority.

The modern form of utilitarian logic, in essence, does not much differ from its classical definition that is mostly discussed in line with Bentham and Mill's works. The focal point of justice, in other words, the essence of justice in the contemporary utilitarian perspective is also the aggregate utility. Roughly speaking, it is the total utility or happiness that is taken into account. Civic, political and social rights of individuals, on the other hand, are considered secondary. Briefly looking at the classical and contemporary utilitarian perspective of social justice, we can point out three characteristics to define it: The first is its consequentialist or Machiavellian nature according to which, every choice must be judged with respect to consequences that they generated. The second component is its economic welfarism restricting every potential attempt assessing justice to utility or subjective well-being of people that is happiness, but with no direct attention to the violation of civic, political and social rights of individuals. The third one is its sum-ranking calculus, which requires that the utilities of different people are simply summed together to reach their aggregate merit, but with no attention on the actual distribution of that utility among individuals.

There are quite a number of problems in such perspective of social justice. First, it is consequentialist essence that proposes to advocate focusing on outcome in a sense that if the action, decision or policy yields happiness or not ignores the process in a sense that how this outcome is achieved. This is a sort of Machiavellian perspective that refuses the importance of process passed prior to reach such culmination. Such a consequentialist characteristic of utilitarianism aims to enhance human welfare or happiness in a way that ignores the ethical concern regarding how this outcome is reached. The question such as "is it legitimate to draw on any means to cultivate the aimed ends?" is overlooked or left unanswered in the utilitarian account of social justice. The second problem about utilitarian account of justice is associated with its welfarist characteristic that advocates focusing on a subjective well-being of individual, namely their happiness, to assess if the action, decision or the policy proposed is just or not. However, individuals' happiness can be distorted by structural inequalities. For example, a person who is in destitute can easily be turned into a happy individual with small supports and reliefs while her/his destitution still exists. The third problem is associated with the utilitarian account of justice's aggregative characteristic that advocates focusing on sum-total output instead of focusing on how much each person gets from the total output. This illustrates the blindness of the utilitarian account to intra-group distribution of resources. For example, the utilitarian account of social justice focuses on total output produced within a society, but pays an insufficient attention to how this total output is distributed among the individual members of that society. Thus, such a characteristic of it renders the utilitarian account of social justice into a perspective that is insensitive to the intra-groups inequalities.

Learning Outcomes

2 Identify the utilitarian approach to social justice through the works of founding fathers of utilitarianism

Self Review 2	Relate	Tell/Share
How did Hume consider the egalitarian society?	Relate the utilitarianism to the egalitarian theory of justice.	Tell about the idea of public utility in Hume's philosophy.

LIBERTARIANISM: PROCESS-ORIENTED, ENTITLEMENT AND INDIVIDUAL-FOCUSED IDEA OF JUSTICE

Different from the utilitarian model of social justice that advocates giving priority to the aggregative interests of society, the libertarian model of social justice highlights importance of certain inalienable rights of individual, such as earning and holding the private property. Utilitarian scholar Bentham's proposition that stresses the priority of taking aggregative interests of society in consideration is in fact not only problematic in terms of ignoring the importance of eliminating intra-group inequalities, but also questionable in terms of putting the overall interests of society in front of what is called as "rights of a man". In case of conflicting interest of individual with the overall interest of society, the utilitarian model that is originated in the idea of public utility chooses to take side next to the overall interests of society or public. In such cases, the question of how certain rights of individuals can be protected when they are in conflict with the overall interest of society arises for the utilitarian model of social justice. For example, should we seize the individuals' private property earned through their labour and skill if such an action potentially yields a greater good for the rest of society? If yes, how are we going to justify seizing fruits of individuals' labour and skill? This problematic nature of utilitarianism was noticed by J. S. Mill who was the successor of Bentham. Mill, in fact, can be seen as a philosopher who was a bridge between advocators of classical liberal views and utilitarian scholars who put the overall interest of society ahead. He was well-aware about the fact that some attempts securing just action while aiming to maximize overall interest of the public can easily be in conflict with the liberal rights of individuals and, hence, with the liberal consideration of just action, decision or policy (Ryan, 1987, p. 52).



Important

The difference between the utilitarian and libertarian accounts of social justice is based on the priorities of each conception. Libertarianism highlights the importance of certain inalienable rights of individual whilst utilitarianism attaches priority to the aggregative interests of society with a perspective putting the individuals' rights at the second row.

Mill thought that there was no possibility to increase the sum-total expediency of the public while rights of individuals were ignored. To sort out the potential conflicts between individuals' rights and society's overall interests, he identified six different sets of actions that could, according to him, help to identify what (un)just actions could be. The first set was composed of legal rights that everyone should respect and be equally entitled to. However, justice can not be limited to the the written legal rights given everyone equally due to the fact that different individuals' ability to draw on these rights can vary greatly. Therefore, he moved to identify the second set of actions that were constitutive logic of moral rights which could secure the just action in case of legal rights were insufficient to do so. The third set referred to a vague form of the idea of justice as desert, proposing that each person should obtain whether good or evil what s/he deserved, which was put by Mill as "unjust that he should obtain a good, or be made to undergo an evil, which he does not deserve" (Mill, 2007 [1863], p. 41). The fourth set was more or less the same with what Hobbes had discussed within the *Leviathan* that was, in terms of justice, about keeping the promises in the covenant. In line with Hobbes' view, Mill also agreed that it could be unjust to break the rules of a covenant or to violate an agreement. The fifth set was about the idea of impartiality. Nepotism or giving an unjustified privilege to a person over another is inconsistent with the very essence of the action that is deemed to be as just. The last set was about equal rights accompanied by the fifth set of actions and given to everyone equally. Mill considered the utility as the criterion of just or unjust situation (Ibid. 38) that was, according to him, needed to be assessed within the realms of such sets of action in case of conflict between individual's rights and overall interest of the public. Although, Mill's conceptualization suffered from the absence of no clearly apparent feature shared by all six sets (Raphael, 2001, p. 128), it still allows the interpretation that justice is to treat people in accordance with their rights that society in which they live should protect. Thus, according to him, overall fundamental interest of the public has potential to enhance (Campbell, 2010, p. 30).

Mill's perspective, in some respect, illustrates what we call as liberal utilitarianism today. The liberal utilitarianism shares some resemblances with what Adam Smith had written in his eminent work, *An Inquiry into the Nature and the Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, around the well-quoted concept of "invisible hand". Smith pointed out that by pursuing their own interests, everyone could consistently contribute to the overall utility of the society more effectually than when they only intend to promote that of themselves (see Smith, 2009 [1776], p. 264). Liberal utilitarianism evokes more or less the same content illustrated by Smith's assumption through the concept of invisible hand. It claims that, in a just society, every person has a suitable liberal character which is committed to the quantitative and qualitative judgements associated with the liberal utilitarianism in which every person is a liberal "moral guardian" who correctly judges gains or losses of different kind of utility by respecting libertarian rights of every other person (Riley, 1988, p. 102). Obviously, such assumption consists of an antecedent affirmation of the "enlightened self-interest" (see, Tocqueville, 2004 [1835], pp. 610-3) that refers to the provisory assumption of that if a person acts to enhance others' self-interests, then s/he ultimately serves for her/his own interests, which renders taking the authoritarian measures unnecessary for the sake of majority.

Important

Although the contemporary form of the libertarian view on social justice has been greatly inspired from the works of classical liberals such as Adam Smith, it can also be argued for that the classical utilitarian view has also borrowed from the works of founding fathers' of classical liberalism such as as that of Adam Smith.

Mill and Smith's arguments along with other classical liberals paved the way for the contemporary libertarian idea of justice whose main proponents are pointed out as F. Hayek and R. Nozick. Contemporary libertarian approach to justice primarily focuses on the protection of liberal rights of individual, let alone the perspective of that protecting rights of individual serving for increasing the public utility or not. In this view, the liberal rights that should be protected are in essence identified as rights for the private property, ownership, or holding; and the discussion is mainly maintained in relation to the re-distribution of wealth and value in society through the taxation policies. It would not be, in this regard, a complete mistake to claim that libertarian model of justice does not primarily sustain the discussion in general realm of liberal rights including freedom of speech, equal rights in elections, right to assemble and so forth, but particularly around the rights of individual possessing or owning the private property and her/his command over the properties that they ought to be entitled to hold. Therefore, justice, according to the libertarian scholars, is a term that is mostly associated with the economic liberty, individuals' commands over their property and freedom from taxation regimes.

Libertarians, such as F. von Hayek, deny the prefix of "social" in front of the concept of "social justice" since it, according to him, presupposes regulation, in other words re-distribution of wealth and value through taxation regimes, within the market that is supposed to distribute the value in the most just form on its own; and there is no justice in any re-distributive policy, or regulation, that pre-requisites society's interests primarily. According to him, anything that pre-requisites social concerns in distribution of wealth and value is a form of authority threatening the freedom, or liberty, of individual. The prefix of social in front of the common concept of "social justice", according to the view of Hayek, has been introduced by man to intervene the natural order of the free market that has in fact ability to distribute all wealth and value in a just form. Therefore, he claims that "in a society of a free man, the concept of social justice is strictly empty or meaningless" (Hayek, 1976, p. 68).

The reason behind why Hayek rejects the idea of "social" is in fact associated with that anything that is social evokes the attempt of redistribution that intrinsically pre-supposes intervention of the state, an organised mechanism of man, to the spontaneous order of the market that allocates all resources, benefits and burdens in line with the natural law that is just. Since, under the ideal free market conditions, the market itself allocates all (un)desirable outcomes in the most just form,

human intervention to the market is a patterned attempt that unjustly regulates the working mechanism of the natural market order. This is a view in line with the hypothetical "hidden hand" metaphor of Adam Smith assuming that market regulates itself in a perfect form without any intervention from outside due to its compatibility of the natural law. Affirming that the spontaneous order of the market that distributes all wealth and value in the most just form means that the market distributes everything desirable or undesirable in accordance with the natural justice. In this view, every individual is granted with what s/he deserves. It is assumed, for example, that if a person in the free market is poor, then s/he deserves to be poor due to laziness or being in lack of necessary skill. If a person is rich, then s/he deserves to be rich due to her/his hard-working and his valued skills in the market. This is to say that such a view inevitably sees individuals as fully-responsible for their own actions. In another words, given conditions of poverty and inequality, the poor are responsible of their own decisions, actions and, thus, conditions. If some people are poor, this does not necessarily mean they are "victims" of the social structure. But, they are rational actors who deserve undesirable outcomes of their choices, action or decisions that have turned them into a poor individual.

Even though Hayek denies the term of "social" as a prefix in front of "social justice", this does not mean that all libertarians have kept themselves outside of discussions on what we call social justice. One of these is Robert Nozick who is the leading figure of the contemporary libertarian model of social justice. Nozick's theory of entitlement primarily focuses on individuals' holding of private properties and is established on three principles as follows:

- If a person acquires a holding in accordance with justice, then this person is entitled to this holding.
- If a holding transferred to a person from someone else entitled this holding before and, thus, acquired by this person in accordance with justice, then this person is entitled to this holding.
- Anyone is entitled to a holding unless the implications of principle one and two (Nozick, 1974, p. 151).

The first principle arranges individuals' acquisition of holdings while the second one indicates justice in a voluntary transfer such as inheritance of property from parents to an offspring, together which secure the holding of private property. According to Nozick's theory, securing private property and establishing social justice altogether can be accomplished only giving the precedence to the formula that "from each according to what he chooses to do, to each according to what he makes for himself (...) and what others choose to do for him and choose to give him" (Ibid. p. 160). According to this principle, if a person chooses to do something, the justice is that s/he should be entitled to outcomes of her/his actions, regardless of that if such actions are desirable ort undesirable for him/herself. In this sense, it can be stressed that libertarian model of justice highlights "individual responsibility". For instance, under the condition of poverty, poor are not seen as "victims", rather as "rational actors" who deserve their particular poor conditions as a consequence of their own responsibility (Lister, 2004, pp. 127-8).

Nozick illustrates his view of libertarian model of social justice that is against the redistributive policies through earnings of Wilt Chamberlain, a famous basketball player of 1970s (see Nozick, 1974, pp. 102-3). For instance, if the talented basketball player of 1970s, Wilt Chamberlain, signed a contract in exchange for his skill and labour for a team, and his fans are willing to pay to watch him, for Nozick, this is a just transaction even though "Chamberlain winds up with (…) a much larger sum than the average income and larger even than anyone else has" (ibid. 161-2). Further, according to Nozick, redistributing through taxation of earnings that Chamberlain has acquired by his skill is unjust since re-distributing his earning to those who did not contribute to the production of it actually constitutes a theft. As Buchanan and Mathieu (1986, p. 35) puts it, Nozick claims that "to force anyone to contribute any part of his or her legitimate holdings to the welfare of others is the violation of that person's property rights, whether it is undertaken by private individuals or the state. On this view, coercively backed taxation to raise funds for welfare programs of any kind is literally theft". Nozick stresses that the "taxation of earnings from labour is on a par with forced labour" (ibid. 169) and constitutes a violation of individual's liberty. This is a view that

justifies inequalities in outcome as long as these inequalities occur in a process beginning of which everyone is equally entitled to the same rights. This view is in fact originated in the moral argument of John Locke's self-ownership (see Locke, 1689 [1956], Ch. 5), which claims that everyone should be entitled to the fruits of their own labour and skills. Similar to this, Nozick also argues for that everyone should be entitled to the rights to hold properties that they acquire through their skills and labour, and to exchange the products of their labour and skills in the market.

To sum up, the libertarian view puts forward its own conceptualization on social justice around individual responsibility and entitlement towards acquiring, transferring and holding private property, which all of them illustrate an approach of social justice in terms of individual's merit and desert. It rejects the intervention to the spontaneous order of market that is assumed to work so as to distribute all desired and undesired goods perfectly just on its own. The main characteristic of just society is considered as the one in which everyone is equally entitled to the rights of acquisition, transfer and holding private properties. If a person earns much more than others through drawing on such equal rights, this is a legitimate inequality since all of them were equal at the beginning of the process in being entitled to these rights.



Reading Text

"Taxation of earnings from labour is on a par with forced labour. Some persons find this claim obviously true: taking the earnings of n hours labour is like taking n hours from the person; it is like forcing the person to work n hours for another's purpose. Others find the claim absurd. But even these, if they object to forced labour, would oppose forcing unemployed hippies to work for the benefit of the needy. And they would also object to forcing each person to work five extra hours each week for the benefit of the needy…

The man who chooses to work longer to gain an income more than sufficient for his basic needs prefers some extra goods or services to the leisure and activities he could perform during the possible nonworking hours; whereas the man who chooses not to work the extra time prefers the leisure activities to the extra goods or services he could acquire by working more. Given this, if it would be illegitimate for a tax system to seize some of a man's leisure (forced labour) for the purpose of serving the needy, how can it be legitimate for a tax system to seize some of a man's goods for that purpose? Why should we treat the man whose happiness requires certain material goods or services differently from the man whose preferences and desires make such goods unnecessary for his happiness? Why should the man who prefers seeing a movie (and who has to earn money for a ticket) be open to the required call to aid the needy, while the person who prefers looking at a sunset (and hence need earn no extra money) is not? Indeed, isn't it surprising that redistributionists choose to ignore the man whose pleasures are so easily attainable without extra labour, while adding yet another burden to the poor unfortunate who must work for his pleasures? If anything, one would have expected the reverse. Why is the person with the nonmaterial or non-consumption desire allowed to proceed unimpeded to his most favoured feasible alternative, whereas the man whose pleasures or desires involve material things and who must work for extra money (thereby serving whomever considers his activities valuable enough to pay him) is constrained in what he can realize?" (Quoted from Robert Nozick's famous work of the *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, 1974)

From an egalitarian perspective, three main concerns against the libertarian perspective can be noted. The first one is to give complete priority to liberal rights, especially to those securing private property. Basic and the most crucial human needs, such as being well-nourished, basic health, being literate and escaping from avoidable mortality, cannot be ignored on the grounds of priority of libertarian rights. Secondly, to give libertarian rights an uncompromising priority, as Nozick does in his theory, can be problematic because actual consequences of operationalization of these entitlements can possibly cause inequalities in terms of economic advantage and, in turn, these inequalities have potential in leading to unequal

distribution of political power. The third concern is about libertarian opposition to the redistributive practices by taxation. From an egalitarian perspective, it is claimed that libertarians overlook the social characteristic of taxation since tax is not always paid to support the needy. On the contrary, it is usually paid so as to contribute to the public budget as a social investment that aims to help society to sustain.

Learning Outcomes



3 Clarify the conceptions of libertarian model of justice through the works of classical and contemporary figures of libertarian perspective

Self Review 3	Relate	Tell/Share
What are the different sets of actions that could help to identify (un)just actions according to Mill?	Compare the liberal utilitarianism of Mill with political economy of Adam Smith.	Tell about the contemporary libertarian idea of justice in terms of what it proposes to be drawn on in assessing justice in a society.

JUSTICE AS FAIRNESS: RAWLSIAN MODEL OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

In line with the definition that Michael Young provided in his famous work, namely *The Rise of the Meritocracy* (1958), some define merit as "intelligence and effort". Drawing on a meritocratic perspective, the libertarian model of social justice claims that inequalities are legitimate if they are outcomes of differences based on merit. This means that unequal distribution of wealth, or any type of value, in outcome is legitimate since justice is to give people their due and those dues are different and subject to change according to commitment of people or their endeavour to achieve a particular subject. As discussed above, one of the most striking points of Nozick's approach to social justice is about its meritocratic justification of inequalities. It briefly claims that if a person, for example Wilt Chamberlain, is a talented person and earn money, power or reputation through her/his talent, this is a just earning that anyone cannot seize through, for example, taxation. In such case, if you impose any tax on this person's earning, then you in fact punish her/him due to the skill that the person holds. This is in essence a meritocratic perspective that justifies inequalities in outcome based on merit.



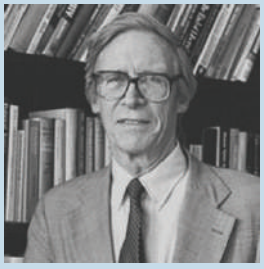
Important

Merit-focused inequalities can be seen as "natural" and fair inequalities. But this perspective is also criticised, due to fact that those merits are gained within a social environment, which is not equal. Thus inequalities that are based on natural distribution of merits cannot be fair.

However, as some egalitarians point out, merit does not occur on its own. But, it is derived from people's class-background. For example, Marshall *et al* (1997) examine social mobility chances of individuals who are from different social backgrounds to move upper positions in the social class structure. By this examination, they indirectly scrutinize the meritocratic defence of class inequalities claiming that the current social class system allows individuals to move upper positions in the class structure if they demonstrate enough commitment. It can be observed that Marshall and his colleagues' aim is to investigate whether current class inequalities and social mobility chances are reflections of a meritocratic characteristic of the system or not. They take educational success of

British people as an independent variable to ask about to what extent the merit of educational attainment has an influence on social mobility of individuals in the social class structure categorized according to the occupations that individuals hold. They found that even though people have the same or proximate merits in terms of educational success and participation, inequalities in outcome still persist due to class origin that has a substantial impact on class destination rather than "intelligence and effort". This finding falsifies the idea that inequalities in occupational types arise due to the differentiated merits of individuals in British context, and illustrates that they primarily take shape in relation to class origin of individual. This finding was in fact theoretically pointed out by famous British sociologist Townsend who claimed that "in general, access to occupational class tends to be a function of class origins and family wealth" (Townsend, 1979, p. 921). In this regard, although meritocracy can be just system of distribution of wealth and value, it can turn into being an unjust model of distribution in classed-societies due to the nature of what we call as merit originated in people's class origin.

John Rawls, who is one of the greatest political scientists of the 20th century, was aware about the fact that meritocracy on its own can lead to maintain the existing class inequalities originated in people's social backgrounds. Developing a comprehensive theory of justice known as "Justice as Fairness", Rawls provided an approach that pays great attention to both liberal and egalitarian concerns embedded in the literature of social justice.



John Bordley Rawls

John Rawls is not only one of the prominent political scientists of the 20th century but also a great moral philosopher within the liberal tradition. His publication, A Theory of Justice, is recognized as the contemporary re-birth of the normative political philosophy. In that opus, he admits utilitarianism as his principal opponent. The utilitarian idea, as Rawls confronts it, is that society is to be arranged so as to maximize (the total or average) aggregate utility or expected well-being. Indeed "justice as fairness" is a formulation of principles of justice against to the utilitarian moral approach. Hereby, Rawls puts two principles and divides the second principle in two parts, as explained above.

Figure 8.3 John Bordley Rawls (1921 – 2002)

Source: http://www.philosophers.co.uk/john-rawls.html

It can be said that Rawlsian model of social justice has dominated discussions on social justice during the last four decades. Different from the utilitarian and the libertarian models that seek for equality in subjective well-being of happiness and entitlements respectively, it seeks for fairness to solve the problems of the wealth distribution. It does so by drawing on some hypothetical devices of impartiality that Rawls terms as the "original position" (Rawls, 2003, pp. 15-9) and the "veil of ignorance" (ibid. 118-23). To decide on the principles of justice that should govern the process of distribution, Rawls invites parties to join a discussion in their "original position". The original position refers to a hypothetical position of primordial equality in which parties stand behind a veil of ignorance where they have no knowledge of their own societal positions (for example, their social class and statue, natural assets and abilities, their life plans and conception of the good, cultural belonging, or generation), except that of "the general facts about human society" (for example, certain degree of knowledge of political affairs and economic theory, the basis of social organization and the laws of human psychology). Rawls' aim in this endeavour is to introduce a hypothetical state of affairs that aligns his theory with the moral principle of political liberalism that does not favour any normative conception of the good. When parties are in an "original position", they do not have any interest to favour any one particular conception of the good or to pursue any type of vested-interests. Therefore, they are unconstrained to specify "rational" and, in Ralwsian sense, "fair" principles of justice. According to Rawls, these would inevitably result in the following principles:

- Each person has an equal right to a fully adequate scheme of equal basic rights and liberties, which scheme is compatible with a similar scheme for all.

- Social and economic inequalities are to satisfy two conditions:
  - First, they must be attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity;
  - Second, they must be to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged members of society" (Rawls, 1985, p. 227).

Rawls assumes that once this schema is asked to parties, all of them are going to agree to lexically introduce these principles. This means that the second principle, for instance, only can into play insofar as the first principle is satisfied. Rawls in here considers the first principle, which guarantees basic political liberties (for example, freedom of speech, right to vote, freedom of association, and so forth) for everyone, having priority over the second principle, which arranges distributions in power and wealth in line with a meritocratic view and some egalitarian concerns. According to Rawls, a just society is one where these principles are applied to the basic institutional structure of the society to fairly distribute the "social primary goods" that are, according to Rawls, "things that every rational man is presumed to want (…) whatever a person's rational plan of life" (2003, p. 54) and as the "all-purpose means that are necessary (…) to pursue their determinate conceptions of the good" (2001, p. 57).

Rawls identifies five categories of primary goods. These are pointed out as basic rights and liberties; freedom of movement and free choice of occupation; powers and prerogatives of offices and positions of authority and responsibility; income and wealth; and the social bases of self-respect (Rawls, 1993, pp. 308-9). The basic political liberties that should be distributed everyone equally according to the first principle are "freedom of thought and of political speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and the right to vote and to hold public office" as political liberties. Liberty of conscience and freedom of association include also freedom of religion. Freedom and integrity of the person refer to "incompatible with slavery and serfdom" and "include freedom from psychological oppression, physical injury and abuse, as well as freedom of movement and right to hold personal property (not including rights to inheritance; right to hold personal property in means of production and natural resources, or rights to share collective control of means of production and natural resources)". Lastly, the rights covered by the rule of law includes "protection from arbitrary arrest and seizure, habeas corpus, the right to a speedy trial, due process and uniform procedures conducted according to publicized rules" (see Pogge, 2007, pp. 82-105).



Important

In Rawlsian perspective of social justice, just action is considered in terms of institutional arrangements of society, which differs from perspectives that point out justice as "virtue of individuals" that is originated in Plato's work as well as libertarian account of justice that emphasizes individual's responsibility in undesired outcomes, such as being poor, and deserved privileges, such as being a rich person.

One of the distinctive characteristics of the Rawlsian approach to social justice is associated with its institutional perspective. In Rawls' approach, justice is considered as a "virtue of institutions" (Rawls, 2005 [1971], p. 586) whilst the libertarian view considers it as "virtue of individuals" with the purpose of defining just action in the realm of individual's rational choice. However, Rawls claims that this view cannot cope with the complexities of modern society. An individualistic approach to just action explains, for instance, deprivation of individual in terms of her morally faulty conduct, while institutional moral analysis focuses on basic social structure of society as a primary force driving people to unjust actions (see Fleurbaey *et al*, 2008, pp. 4-5). Therefore, Rawls' view on justice is not a comprehensive moral doctrine, but a political conception to apply the basic structure of society (see Rawls, 2001, p. 12). Rawls maintains such institutional analysis through borrowing the concept of "well-ordered society" from Aristotle. By the concept of well-ordered society, he emphasizes the necessity of institutional moral analysis. In the well-ordered society, it is assumed that public criteria of justice are accepted by everyone. Its basic structure, main political and social institutions as well as how they are working compatibly with each other are known by public. Besides, its citizens are

assumed to have an effective sense of justice. By this way, people can live compatibly with these basic institutions (Rawls, 2005 [1993], p. 35).

Lastly, it is crucial to point out how the principle of justice that Rawls specifies operates and distributes the social primary goods. In Rawls' well-ordered society, the first two categories of the primary goods are equally guaranteed to everyone due to the first principle having priority over the second principle. Following this, everyone is given an equal chance to access the third category of primary goods based on the first part of the second principle. It is only after these conditions are satisfied that the second part of the second principle, namely "the difference principle", that aims to compensate disadvantages of those who are worse-off by redistributing the fourth category of primary goods, namely income and wealth, can come into play. It is worth noting that the difference principle exclusively aims to compensate economic disadvantages, since "in a well-ordered society where all citizens' equal basic rights and liberties and fair opportunities are secure, the least advantaged are those belonging to the income class with the lowest expectations" (Rawls, 2001, p. 59). In the end, people will have been treated fairly. Hence, secure the fifth group of social primary goods, namely the social bases of self-respect.

Learning Outcomes

4 Discuss the Rawlsian model of social justice known as justice as fairness

Self Review 4	Relate	Tell/Share
What does the concept of the original position mean?	Relate the idea of justice to the institutional perspective of Rawlsian model of social justice	Tell about the "fair" principles of social justice according to Rawls' account of justice

THE CAPABILITY APPROACH: A FREEDOM-BASED IDEA OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

Rawls' idea of justice as fairness is a comprehensive political idea of justice that has taken a great interest from quite a number of political scientists in our era. Among others, Amartya Sen, a Nobel laureate economist and philosopher, also discussed on the Rawlsian idea of justice extensively and pointed out several criticisms.

First of all, Sen criticizes Rawls with giving priority to the liberal rights over the economic ones. Sen asks, "why should we regard hunger, starvation and medical neglect to be invariably less important than the violation of any kind of personal liberty?" (Sen, 2009, p. 65). He continues, "it is indeed possible to accept that liberty must have some kind of priority, but total unrestrained priority is almost certainly an overkill" (Ibid). Second, Sen points out that the Rawlsian model of social justice is a transcendental one (Sen, 2009, pp. 8-10; 2008, pp. 336-7) that makes it difficult to apply on the face of everyday problems of injustice. Third, he also criticizes Rawls' focus on the means of good living instead of on the "actual living that people manage to achieve" (Sen, 1999, p. 73; see also Sen, 1992, p. 84). This criticism is in fact the primary criticism of Sen to Rawls. Sen reminds the distinction between the means and ends of good living. He stresses that "Rawls takes primary goods as the embodiment of advantage" (Sen, 1979, p. 216). In other words, Rawls presupposes that equal holdings of primary goods yield equal advantage in achieving a good life. However, the different social and personal characteristics of people lead to considerable interpersonal variation in their conversion of primary goods and, bring inequalities in the achievement of people's own conception of a good life. As an example, "in the context of inequality

between women and men (…) biological as well as social factors (related to pregnancy, neonatal care, conventional household roles, and so on) can place a woman at a disadvantage even when she has exactly the same bundle of primary goods as a man" (Sen, 1990a, p. 116). Therefore, for Sen, "if the object is to concentrate on the individual's real opportunity to pursue her objectives, then account would have to be taken not only of the primary goods the person holds, but also of the relevant personal characteristics that govern the conversion of primary goods into the person's ability to promote her ends" (Sen, 1997, p. 198). Sen claims that Rawls' model is substantially sensitive to the inter-end variation in line with pluralistic liberal conception of justice, yet it falls short of taking inter-individual variation into account (Sen, 1992, pp. 85-6).

Based on the criticisms above, Sen proposes a different analytical framework to assess social justice. This framework is known as the capability approach in the literature. Suggesting that the individuals' capability, or freedom, should be the basis of assessment regarding justice, Sen provides a promising way to overcome the problem that is related to people's differentiated social and personal characteristics leading to inequalities in achieving a good life. Sen's capability approach to justice claims that the primary objective of social arrangements should be based on the expansion of people's capabilities or their substantive freedoms to achieve valuable beings and doings that they attain value (Alkire and Deneulin, 2009, p. 31; Alkire, 2005, p. 122; Alkire, 2008, p. 28). Focal point of justice in the capability approach is based on that whether a person has a capability to do things or be that s/he has reason to value. For example, Sen expresses this argument as follows: "(…) Individual advantage is judged in the capability approach by a person's capability to do things he or she has reason to value. (…) The focus here is on the freedom that a person actually has to do this or be that –things that he or she may value doing or being" (Sen, 2009, pp. 231-2). Accordingly, in the capability approach, freedom-based judgments of individual's welfare are considered as the focal point of justice (Sen, 1999, p. 74).



Focal point of social justice, in other words the space of evaluation to assess if the society is just or not, in the capability approach is that whether a person has a capability, or freedom, to do things or be that s/he has reason to value.

Considering freedom as the focal point of justice means that the capability level of individuals to convert their possessions (rights, commodities, economic utilities, and so forth) into something they value requires a shift of attention from means-based assessment of justice to the ends-based one. In this regard, the capability-based assessment of justice is an actualization-oriented perspective since possession of certain set of rights or commodities is only means of a decent life and cannot be considered as an end-point of justice, or equality. This is because, according to Sen, "the resources a person has, or primary goods that someone holds, may be very imperfect indicators of the freedom that the person really enjoys to do this or be that. (…) The personal and social characteristic of different persons, which can differ greatly, can lead to substantial interpersonal variations in the conversion of resources and primary goods into achievements" (Sen, 1992, pp. 37-8). Therefore, it is crucial to avoid conceiving commodities as well as rights as an end-point of any assessment in justice and equality. Obviously, this does not mean a rejection of the importance of certain sets of rights and goods, but does involve taking attention on their relative value to allow people to achieve their valuable and reasoned ends.

In such a line of reasoning of the capability approach, one of the distinctive features of justice is associated with considering it in relation with fairness, but not absolute equality. Briefly saying, the idea of fairness is valued in here in terms of two points. Firstly, fairness primarily focuses on outcome, but not on the initial position of individuals. The second point, which is in relation to the first one, is that it gives priority to the basic idea that justice requires an unequal treatment to people who are not equal. In this context, conceptualization of the justice in the capability approach is in line with the Rawlsian model and

values fairness. However, it also differs from Rawls' account in a sense that the capability approach focuses on the actual freedoms of people, not what they possess. Sen points out this as follows: "More positively, I argue that a theory of justice based on fairness must be deeply and directly concerned with the actual freedoms enjoyed by different persons – persons with possibly divergent objectives– to lead different lives that they can have reason to value" (Sen, 1990a, p. 112).

This freedom-based inquiry of justice has in fact roots going back to works of Aristotle, Adam Smith and Karl Marx (see Sen, 1990b, p. 43). In Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, "the basis of a fair distribution of capability to function is given a central place" (Sen, 1993, p. 47) and his inquiry on *eudaimonia*, in other words human flourishing, assesses human life in terms of valuable activities (Ibid. 48). Marx also emphasizes the significance of freedom in social arrangement. According to him, liberation of individual depends on "replacing the domination of circumstances and chance over individuals by the domination of individuals over chance and circumstances" (Sen, 1983, p. 754). Besides that, he also emphasizes the sharp importance of freedom allowing a person to follow her/his own ends: "society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticize after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, shepherd or critic" (Marx and Engels, 2004 [1846], p. 53). The well-known conceptualization of Marx, namely "the commodity fetishism", although it is in a different but related context, illustrates also an attack to commodity-centred assessment of standards of living (see Sen, 1987, p. 16). Similar to Marx, Adam Smith's analysis of "appearing in public without any shame" also goes beyond the commodity-based assessment of the quality of life (see Smith, 2009 [1776], p. 519).



Freedom or capability-based inquiry of social justice, in fact, can be traced back to the works of classical figures of philosophy such as Aristotle as well as more contemporary ones such as Adam Smith, Karl Marx, Isaiah Berlin, and Charles Taylor.

In addition to these classical roots, we can also observe a close convergence of a freedom understanding of the capability approach and some contemporary analysis of the subject. Isaiah Berlin's analytical approach to the identification of liberty is one of them. According to Berlin, the term liberty is analytically divided into two parts. The first one is negative liberty, involving "an answer to the question: What is the area within which the subject –a person or group of persons– is or should be left to do or be what he is able to do or be, without interference by other persons". Positive liberty "is involved in the answer to the question what, or who, is the source of control or interference that determine someone to do, or be, this rather than that" (Berlin, 1975, pp. 121-2). In this analytical definition of liberty, the negative liberty refers to "being free from something (interference or coercion)", while the positive one refers "to be free to do something (internal capability)". There is not any analytical division with regards to freedom in the capability approach. However, it emphasizes that both "being freedom from something" (negative liberty) and "freedom to do something" (positive liberty) are crucial. Such recognition of freedom can be observed through the accentuation of the conversion factors that determines individuals' capability level to benefit from rights or holdings. Conversion factors that the capability approach emphasizes can be roughly classified as personal, social and institutional that leads to variation between people in converting a possession (for example, a right, income, or a commodity) into something that they have reason to value. Personal conversion factors refer to the personal conditions to make use of commodities or rights such as metabolic characteristic, sex, age, and so forth. Social conversion factors refer to opportunities or restrictions surrounding individual such as social norms, cultural features of society, religion, and so forth. Institutional conversion factors can be defined as institutional arrangements such as the constitution, welfare regime of the society, legal system and regulations, and so forth. In one of the more recent works of Sen, five different conversion factors that influence individuals' capability level to convert their possessions into something valuable are classified. These conversion factors can be defined as the entities to help or hinder the translation of commodities into functionings (Grasso, 2002, p.

5). According to Sen, personal heterogeneities, environmental diversities, variations in social climate, differences in relational perspectives and distribution within the family can be seen five primary sources of human diversity which influence people's ability to convert their holdings into something valuable for them (Sen, 1999, pp. 70-1; 2009, pp. 255-7).

In addition to Berlin's conceptualization, some reflections of communitarian philosopher Charles Taylor's emphasis on freedom are also observable in the capability approach. Taylor, like Berlin, divides the concept of freedom into two analytical parts which are complimentary to each other. The first part is the "opportunity part", which illustrates an approach of that "being free is a matter of what we can do". The second part is the "exercise part" that illustrates a perspective that is "one is free only to the extent that one has effectively determined oneself and shape of one's life" (Taylor, 1979, p. 177) and, in this conceptualization, "some degree of exercise is necessary for a man to be thought free" (Ibid). Accordingly, Taylor also emphasizes the significance of being able to actualize what one sees as important to shape his/her own life. This is quite a similar accentuation to which the capability approach takes the attention on: the substantive freedom.

The same point is also seen in the freedom conceptualization of Van Parijs. Van Parijs criticizes libertarian understanding of freedom, claiming that the libertarian view only focuses on negative freedom, in other words "being free from coercion". However, "real freedom is not only a matter of having the right to do what one might want to do, but also a matter of having the means for doing it" (Van Parijs, 1997, p. 5). Obviously, the capability approach goes one step further and says that the means are also not enough on their own to guarantee freedom for all. However, Van Parijs and Sen share the similar perspective on the ground that possessing a certain set of abstract rights is not the end-point of freedom, but the central point is being able to convert these rights into something that matters for the well-being of people.



Phillipe van Parijs' criticism to the libertarian conception of freedom emphasizes the limits of the negative freedom that ignores the fact that individuals do not only need to be free from coercion to be and do that, but also to be supported in various ways to achieve normatively specified dimensions of good life such as being free from hunger/starvation or participation in free election.

As can be seen, it is not difficult to find out some sort of close convergence between the focal point of justice of the capability approach and classical as well as contemporary justice models' emphasis on freedom. However, we can point out two additional reasons for the justification of this normative selection that advocates taking freedom as the primary criteria of assessing justice in a society. The first is inter-end variations, which acknowledges the different perceptions concerning "what good is" among individuals who hold different conception of good life. The second is inter-individual variation, which refers to individuals' varied abilities to benefit from rights and commodities they hold. Rawlsian analysis, for example, demonstrates great respect to the different ends of individuals or diverse objectives that they hold. However, the problem in Rawls' model of social justice, as briefly mentioned above, is about his assumption that the same bundle of social primary goods serves for differentiated ends of those who have different characteristics and objectives. Accordingly, it does not sufficiently focus on the second variation, namely inter-individual differences that lead people to have uneven abilities to turn their holdings into something that they value. In other words, since individuals' actual freedom to pursue their own ends (the first variation) do not depend on only what ends they have, but also their ability to convert what they hold into achievement of those ends (Sen, 1990a, p. 120). In this regard, it is crucial to assess an individual's well-being in relation to a person's ability to achieve what that person considers valuable in terms of her/his own ends.

Lastly, freedom in the capability approach is important both intrinsically and instrumentally. This means that substantive freedom is not only the primary ends of justice but the principle means of it as well. First, freedom is instrumentally important since more real freedom may give us more substantive opportunity to actualize valuable and reasoned ends. Second, freedom is intrinsically important in the normative perspective of the capability approach. More real freedom illustrates being less constrained in term of "self-actualization", "being public without shame", "participating the life of society" or having more capability to realize "domination of individual over circumstances". The claim that the substantive freedom is not only the primary ends of justice but also the principle means of it is expressed by Sen in relation to, not justice, but economic development as well. According to Sen, freedom is not only primary ends of development but it also primary means of it (see, Sen, 1999, p. 36).

Briefly saying, different from the theories of justice discussed above, Sen's capability approach proposes to focus on individuals' freedom, or capability to achieve what they have reason to value in their life. In fact, this normative proposition is not only advocated so as to be used in assessing justice in a society, but also assessing development, well-being of individuals, welfare programs of countries, or particular social policies and programs for disadvantaged groups as well.

Learning Outcomes

5 Define the capability approach to the idea of social justice through the works of Amartya Sen

Self Review 5	Relate	Tell/Share
What are Amartya Sen's criticisms to Rawls' idea of "justice as fairness"?	Compare the classical roots and contemporary analysis of the capability approach.	Tell about the freedom-based inquiry of that if the society is just or not.

COMPLEMENTARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE IDEA OF JUSTICE

Apart from the approaches to social justice discussed above, there are also some other perspectives that are worth to briefly mention here. These perspectives are not comprehensive moral doctrines of justice, but normative approaches exclusively focusing on the question of what the focal point of justice should be. Among these approaches, we can point out Ronald Dworkin's equality of resources, Axel Honneth and Nancy Fraser's recognition and redistribution, and Peter Townsend's contribution of unjust distribution of resources and participation to the life of society.

Dworkin and Equality of Resources

Discussing on the idea of justice from a perspective of resource ownership, Dworkin suggests equality in resources (Dworkin, 1981, p. 290) for the foundational basis of justice. His position can be defined as an intermediate formation, attaching importance to both the libertarian perspective, which assigns responsibility to individual, and the egalitarian perspective, which assigns importance to redistribution.

Dworkin rejects the idea of equality of welfare since it does not attain any responsibility to people in terms of their expensive tastes and, thus, compensates inequalities resulting from different preferences (Dworkin, 2000, pp. 48-9). He in essence claims that impersonal resources, such as financial resources, education opportunities, should be allocated so as to compensate innate inequalities resulted from people's natural resources, such as talent or disability. According to him, inequalities emerging because of innate differences cannot be justified since these differences are not under people's own control. However, if inequalities still exist even after impersonal resources are fairly

distributed, then, these inequalities are justified because they prevail due to individuals' own failures or preferences.

While discussing his perspective of equality in resource ownership, Dworkin simply asks the following question: Should society keep compensating individuals' mistakes emerging due to their own choices? However, there is doubt, since choices people make do not only depend on personal preferences, but are under the influence of social structures as well. Even though innate personal differences are compensated by fair distribution of resources in favour of disadvantageous individuals, this does not secure equal opportunities with respect to making free choices. Gender, cultural norms of society, race, religion and so on are all influential on decision-making process. Further, we can discuss that social order may potentially force disadvantaged people to make choices that at the end of the day lead to disadvantageous outcomes even though they are fairly endowed with impersonal resources. Accordingly, inequalities emanated from individual's choices cannot always be justified since decisions are not only subject to individual preferences but directed by social structure too.



Important

The main question of Dworkin's perspective about the equality in resource ownership is about why society should keep compensating undesired outcomes emerging due to individuals' own choices.

Let us assume that society allocates more financial resources in favour of females to compensate their relatively lower engagement to higher education; and expect that this will resulted in higher level of managerial positions in labour market in long-term. However, only allocating more resources to provide relatively higher opportunities to women cannot be considered as a solution by itself since cultural recognition of women as an equally-able peer participant of labour market are also crucial. Besides, if a decision, let assume, that a female makes takes shape not under the condition of free-will but according to gender roles assigned by society and this decision concludes with a disadvantageous position for this woman, then it is impossible to justify such position even though it seems at first glance as a result of personal choice. This is because of that it is the gender role imposed on her that leads to taking of such decision. In this regard, it can be claimed that Dworkin's theory of justice is blind to the inequalities emerging as a conclusion of compulsion of social norms. Its Achilles' heel lies under the fact that every decision is not taken freely but sometimes as compulsory. Apart from this critic, Dworkin focuses on means of individual welfare, such as resource ownership, instead of ends (Pierik and Robeyns, 2007, p. 135). Impersonal resources can only be means of human welfare, but they are not the ends of it. Therefore, they are limited in compensating inequalities emanated from social and environmental differences.

Fraser and Honneth: Recognition and Redistribution

It may not be wrong to stress that Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth are developers of the one of the most influential ideas towards justice in 21st century even though this is a quite new idea in comparison to other theories of justice discussed above. Fraser and Honneth share the same claim that an adequate understanding of justice should include both redistribution of wealth and recognition of different identities. They consider that the idea of justice focusing on only economic welfare is reductionist since there has been an increasing demand for recognition of different identities such as ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religious groups, and so forth. Although they both agree that recognition and redistribution are indispensable parts of social justice, Honneth gives a fundamental emphasis to recognition and treating redistribution as a derivative subject, while Fraser perceives both recognition and redistribution as co-fundamental subjects which do not have priority over each other (Fraser and Honneth, 2003, p. 3).

Fraser's approach is based on the concept of "bivalent collectivity". Drawing on this concept, she refers to people who suffer from both unjust socio-economic distribution and cultural misrecognition. We can see a sort of Weberian interpretation in Fraser. According to her, as political economy and culture are mutually intertwined in each other, it is

not reasonable to distinguish cultural recognition and economic re-distribution from each other. Injustice for some marginalized groups does not only emerge in the sphere of economic distribution of resources, but we can also observe it as a form of cultural misrecognition of marginalized groups who are dominated by mainstream social values of society. To illustrate, those people who suffer from heterosexism, she says, "are subject to shaming, harassment, discrimination and violence, while being denial legal rights and equal protection – all fundamentally denials of recognition" (Fraser, 1998, p. 26). Besides that, they also suffer from economic injustice: they are denied to benefit from family based social welfare implementations or, are dismissed from work. In this respect, bivalent identities suffer from both economic maldistribution and cultural misrecognition.

Important

"Bivalent collectivity" is the main concept of Fraser's approach through which she points out that those who suffer from injustices in a society experience a form of disadvantage that is not only associated with their economic status but also cultural misrecognition of their identities.

Gender is frequently referred by Fraser to give an explanation for the concept of bivalent collectivity. When she points out that gender is a bivalent collectivity, she means it is also a two-dimensional social differentiation: "Neither simply a class nor simply a status group, gender is hybrid category rooted simultaneously in the economic structure and the status order of society" (Fraser, 2003, p. 19). Hence, gender inequality is associated with economic arrangements of societies. Besides that, these inequalities are accompanied by social roles assigned on women by "androcentric value patterns". Therefore, to develop an approach regarding gender parity "requires a conception of justice as broad and capacious as preceding view of gender. Such conception must accommodate at least two sets of concern. On the one hand, it must encompass the traditional concerns of theories of distributive justice, especially poverty, exploitation, inequality and class differentials. At the same time, it must also encompass concerns recently highlighted in philosophies of recognition, especially disrespect, cultural imperialism and status hierarchy" (Fraser, 2007, pp. 26-7).

On the other hand, Axel Honneth points out an observation of that there is a growing inclination towards recognition as a consequence of increasing moral sensibility emerged due to new social movements (Honneth, 2001, p. 44). Based on this observation, he re-defines central categories of justice as recognition, respect and/or dignity from which redistributive demands are derived (Honneth, 2004, p. 351). In his way of approaching to the idea of justice, redistributive demands become secondary while recognition demands become a matter of priority. In connection with this interpretation, the focal point of justice becomes established on recognition - denial contrast.

Important

Honneth argues that the recognition is the primary element of justice, due to new social movements.

The roots of Honneth's approach, in fact, lie in Hegel's model of identity. Identity is constructed through processes of mutual recognition. To be recognized, subjects need reciprocal relation in which they perceive each other as equal. This means one can only become an independent individual if others recognize him/her as an equal participant. According to Honneth, "state welfare is subject to the requirement that every individual be given the chance to participate in an elementary manner in the cooperative context of society by making his or her own contribution. It is only then, such would be the conclusion, that every individual is in a position to grasp himself or herself as a full member of a society" (Ibid. 352). The state is assigned with the responsibility to provide citizens opportunities by which they contribute to the life of society and this (1) brings about recognition to individual, (2) permits them to gain social esteem and (3) provides them an opportunity for actualization of self, which can be read as a form of Hegelian reciprocal

relation between subjects. This perspective is based on interpretation of "just society" in relation to individuals' ability to flourish as a self. "The justice or well-being of a society is measured according to the degree of its ability to secure conditions of mutual recognition in which personal identity formation, and hence individual self-realization, can proceed sufficiently well" (Ibid. 354).

Important

Honneth constructs his perspective based on the identity model of Hegel.

I could be argued that framing the question of injustice in a narrow sense of identity misrecognition has a potential to become a repressive form of communitarianism. This means that if recognition-based theory of justice is narrowed in a sense of identity question, this may potentially ignore the question of intra-identity injustices among the members sharing an identity. If, for example, the question of recognition is simplified to the question of having a particular identity, then we inevitably omit injustices regarding different statuses of individuals in this identity group. For example, we can point out that an excluded group of a society suffers from misrecognition of their economic and cultural rights. But, if this perspective is not broadened so as to include misrecognition of status variations of individuals in such disadvantaged group, then, this attempt would possibly be stuck with praising certain communitarian values of this minority group and not go beyond certain group inequalities. Secondly, Fraser assumes that enhancing individual autonomy in the fields of economic redistribution and cultural recognition directly outputs societal participation. This seems a reductionist way of developing a justification. In addition to structural obstacles preventing individuals to participate in societal life, an assessment on justice could also need to include a critical perspective on personal inabilities. In other words, enhancing autonomy of different identities by recognition and redistribution does not necessarily guarantee their societal participation. The assessment for social justice can easily need to go beyond mere analysis of structural obstacles and include personal barriers preventing individual to participate in life of society as a peer.

Townsend: Unjust Distribution of Resources and Participation to Life of Society

Peter Townsend is usually pointed out as one of the greatest social scientists of the 20th century. Although most of his works focused on the re-conceptualisation of the issue of poverty, his works, in fact, moved much further than simply re-conceptualising our conventional understanding of poverty. It can be said that Townsend brought a breath of fresh air into the understanding of poverty which is a prevailing outcome of injustice. Therefore, he should be considered as one of the important figures of discussions on justice in our era.

Important

Townsend's works mainly focused on revising the conception of poverty. But his contribution is not only a simple revision of the concept; it is like establishing a new ground for the debate.

According to Townsend, "poverty must be regarded as a general form of relative deprivation which is the effect of mal-distribution of resources. (…) The view put forward is therefore that the description, analysis and explanation of poverty in any country must proceed within the context of a general theory of stratification (…)" (Townsend, 1970, p. 2). Townsend built up this perspective based on the fact that human needs have a dynamic nature in terms of both the context and time in which they live. In this regard, against to the classical poverty definition of Rowntree and Booth, poverty, he claims, is a relative form of deprivation and it should be assessed in terms of not the physical subsistence of individuals but their abilities to participate in the customary life of the society which they belong. He claims that "man is not a Robinson Crusoe living on a desert island" (Townsend, 1962, p. 219) and reminds what Alfred Marshall pointed out: "Differences in climate differences in customs makes things necessary in some places, which are superfluous in others. (…) Every estimate of necessaries must be relative to place and time" (Marshall, 1946, pp. 68-70, quoted from Townsend, 1962, p. 219). This dynamic nature of poverty can be varied from society to society according to not only physical and

climatic environment but also by social structure and culture. Therefore, according to Townsend, "poverty has to be situated through time in relation to social and institutional structure and not simply denoted by relatively low disposable income" (Townsend, 1993, p. 35). This is, in fact, a point emphasized by Adam Smith too. Approximately two centuries before, Smith had pointed out that "by necessaries I understood, not only the commodities which are indispensably necessary for the support of life, but whatever the custom of the country renders it indecent for creditable people, even of the lowest order, to be without" (Smith, 1776, Bk. 5, Chap. 2, Part 1, quoted from Townsend, 1952, p. 22). Townsend takes the attention to the same point by stressing that "a society which becomes more prosperous also becomes more complex and imposes new needs on its members. For example, by legislating for compulsory education or a higher school leaving age a country makes new demands upon parents and their resources. Or again, the types of occupation or styles of living followed in a society will determine the kinds and amounts of nutrients that individuals require" (Townsend, 1970, pp. 18-9).



Important

According to Townsend, wealthy societies tend to upload new demands on their members.

Townsend presents his conceptualization on poverty in his seminal work published in 1979. According to him, "poverty can be defined objectively and applied consistently only in terms of concept of relative deprivation. (…) Individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or are at least widely encouraged or approved, in the societies to which they belong. Their resources are so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are, in effect, excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities" (Townsend, 1979, p. 31). His justification of the context dependent analysis of poverty is commonly accepted as a plausible argument. Besides that, Townsend's accentuation, "being able to participate the life of society", can also be considered as a promising initial point for an assessment on social justice, since the domain of "individual's participation to societal life" refers not only to individuals' basic material needs, but also to their civil and political rights. In this regard, it can be said that Townsend suggests a holistic perspective for the analysis of poverty and, thus, social justice, in which individuals' well-being should be assessed in terms of both distributional and political aspects.

In addition to this, the connection between poverty and inequality is crucial in Townsend. According to him, understanding the relationship between these two phenomena requires a revision on the definition of inequality from income-based estimation to a broader perspective, resource-based perspective (Townsend, 1970, p. 16). Inequality in terms of cash income is inadequate to reflect the real conditions of human beings: "There are some groups in society with considerable income in kind such as farmers and smallholders. There are also people with small cash but considerable assets, which elevate their standards of living. There are people with identical wages or salaries who differ greatly in the extent to which fringe benefits from employers add substantially to their living standards" (Townsend, 1979, p. 54). Therefore, he advocates a position in which inequality is considered in terms of the distribution of resources, but not income. He insists that if a family and/or an individual drops below a certain point in the scale of distribution of resources, they "find it particularly difficult to share in the customs, activities and diets comprising their society's style of living" (Ibid. 60). And, "poverty (…) is the lack of resources necessary to permit participation in the activities, customs and diets commonly approved by society" (Ibid. 88).

However, Townsend's approach can be criticized in a way that is similar to the criticism towards Dworkin's idea of equality in resource ownership discussed above. Townsend claims that mal-distribution of resources prevents individuals to participate prevailing customs and living standards of society. This is a blind approach to personal heterogeneities that may potentially lead to inequalities in outcome. Equal distribution of

resources does not necessarily guarantee equality in outcome since it ignores varied talents and differentiated abilities of individuals to convert resources into personal well-being and, assumes that equal distribution of resources can potentially guarantee equal participation in social life. Such neglect also illustrates a partly relative analysis: Townsend's poverty analysis takes the attention to the relative analysis of individuals' possession of resources, but it does not include relative abilities of individuals to achieve a good life customary to their own society.

Important

One of the criticism against to Townsend can be formulated as "being blind to individual heterogeneities".

Learning Outcomes

6 Explain the complementary contributions to the idea of justice such as equality of resources, recognition/redistribution as well as participation to the life of society

Self Review 6	Relate	Tell/Share
What does Fraser mean when she points out that gender is a bivalent collectivity?	Explain the connection between poverty and inequality according to Townsend's conception of the relative poverty.	Tell about the theory justice that Ronald Dworkin advocates.

Conclusion

Looking to the theories of social justice above, we can see that there is not a common comprehensive understanding of justice, but ideas of what justice should be in terms of various persuasive points that have been developed during centuries since the time of Ancient Greece. As discussed in detail above, the idea of social justice has been mostly associated with rights, desert, merit, or obeying the rules of covenant till the seminal contribution of Scottish philosopher David Hume. Together with Hume, public utility started to emerge as a focal point of social justice. Although this view of Hume has led to emergence of utilitarian view that takes the happiness as a reflection of utility, such perspective has been challenged by liberal philosophers. Various views of classical liberals have led to emergence of Hayek and Nozick's libertarian model of justice in which individuals' entitlements, particularly right to acquiring and holding private property, are taken primary point of focus to assess justice. However, based on some egalitarian concerns, this perspective of libertarians has seriously challenged by many, but particularly by Rawls who developed a normative political conception of the idea of justice known as justice as fairness. Although Rawls' idea of justice as fairness has influenced quite a number of policies and institutional arrangement in our era, some of its shortcomings are noticed and criticized by another influential philosopher of our era, namely Amartya Sen. According to Sen, a just society is the one where individuals have capability to achieve what they have reason to value. In this context, Sen proposed to assess justice in a society based on freedom of individuals. Apart from this, there also multiple propositions of justice some of which are sociological while some others are mostly political and economic such as Dworkin's idea of equality of resources or Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth's ideas on recognition and redistribution. All of these perspectives demonstrate that there is not consensus among philosophers concerning how social justice should be evaluated. Yet, they also illustrate that there is an unavoidable question of social injustice.

LO 1 Explain the origins of contemporary ideas of justice

Both in classical and contemporary ages, the idea of social justice is discussed in relation to various concepts such as rights, desert, merit, rule, covenant, consent, free-will, freedom, fairness, choice, well-being, poverty, inequality and so forth. The idea of justice that can be traced back to the ancient world is seen as a virtue of man and society in ancient Greek philosophy. According to Plato, each group and individual play roles to meet the needs of the whole in a well-ordered society that is a perfectly arranged society, where all institutions and groups are organised to perform a particular function. We can link Plato's understanding of justice to the idea of justice that is associated with the concept of "desert". However, it is difficult to claim that there is an explicitly expressed idea of justice proposing that everyone should be entitled to have what they deserve in Plato's work. Aristotle identifies the criminal justice by drawing on the word of "lawful", he refers to the distribution of various resources such as societal goods, moneys and products with the purpose of identifying what we know today as "social justice". Aristotle's contribution to the idea of justice can be pointed out as two major ideas as the one that distinguished what we today call "criminal justice" from the "social justice" and the one that extending the idea of justice towards the idea of equality although he used the term of equality to emphasize equality between those who have equal societal status. After the Justinian Code was introduced to the idea of justice, any authentic approach had not been developed for a long time. As Adelson notes, the concept of social justice did not occur during the debate on representative government, during Middle Ages. According to Hobbes, justice is to obey the rules of covenant. Instead of directly define what justice is, he discusses in the Leviathan about injustice, claiming that "injustice is no other than the not performance of covenant. And whatsoever is not unjust is just". Absence of moral dimension in Hobbes' justice perception was noticed by Scottish philosopher David Hume who broadened Hobbes' approach to the idea of justice in his book called A Treatise of Human Nature. Hume claimed that a promise, for example obeying the rules of contract, which was seen as the basis of justice by Hobbes would be intelligible, and even if it is intelligible, it would not be attended to any moral obligation. So, Hume takes the attention to the moral dimension of a covenant, from which it can be inferred that Hume took an attention to the idea of fairness.

LO 2 Identify the utilitarian approach to social justice through the works of founding fathers of utilitarianism

Briefly looking at the classical and contemporary utilitarian perspective of social justice, we can point out three characteristic to define it: The first is its consequentialist or Machiavellian nature according to which, every choice must be judged with respect to consequences that they generated. The second component is its economic welfarism restricting every potential attempt assessing justice to utility or subjective well-being of people that is happiness, but with no direct attention to the violation of civic, political and social rights of individuals. The third one is its sum-ranking calculus, which requires that the utilities of different people are simply summed together to reach their aggregate merit, but with no attention on the actual distribution of that utility among individuals. There are quite a number of problems in such a perspective of social justice. First, it is consequentialist essence that proposes to advocate focusing on outcome in a sense that if the action, decision or policy yields happiness or not ignores the process in a sense that how this outcome is achieved. The second problem about utilitarian account of justice is associated with its welfarist characteristic that advocates focusing on a subjective well-being of individual, namely their happiness, to assess if the action, decision or the policy proposed is just or not. The third problem is associated with the utilitarian account of justice's aggregative characteristic that advocates focusing on sum-total output instead of focusing on how much each person gets from total the total output.

Summary

LO 3 Clarify the conceptions of libertarian model of justice through the works of classical and contemporary figures of libertarian perspective

Different from the utilitarian model of social justice that advocates giving priority to the aggregative interests of society, the libertarian model of social justice highlights the importance of certain inalienable rights of individual, such as earning and holding the private property. In case of conflicting interest of individual with the overall interest of society, the utilitarian model that is originated in the idea of public utility chooses to take side next to the overall interests of society or public. Mill thought that there was no possibility to increase the sum-total expediency of the public while rights of individuals were ignored. Mill and Smith's arguments along with other classical liberals paved the way for the contemporary libertarian idea of justice whose main proponents are pointed out as F. Hayek and R. Nozick. Contemporary libertarian approach to justice primarily focuses on the protection of liberal rights of individual, let alone the perspective of that protecting rights of individual serving for increasing the public utility or not. In this view, the liberal rights that should be protected are in essence identified as rights for the private property, ownership, or holding; and the discussion is mainly maintained in relation to the re-distribution of wealth and value in society through the taxation policies. The libertarian view puts forward its own conceptualization on social justice around individual responsibility and entitlement towards acquiring, transferring and holding private property, which all of them illustrate an approach of social justice in terms of individual's merit and desert. It rejects the intervention to the spontaneous order of market that is assumed to work so as to distribute all desired and undesired goods perfectly just on its own. The main characteristic of just society is considered as the one in which everyone is equally entitled to the rights of acquisition, transfer and holding private properties. If a person earns much more than others through drawing on such equal rights, this is a legitimate inequality since all of them were equal at the beginning of the process in being entitled to these rights.

LO 4 Discuss the Rawlsian model of social justice known as justice as fairness

Rawls draws on some hypothetical devices of impartiality that Rawls terms as the "original position" and the "veil of ignorance". To decide on the principles of justice that should govern the process of distribution, Rawls invites parties to join a discussion in their "original position". According to Rawls, these would inevitably result in the following principles: (1) Each person has an equal right to a fully adequate scheme of equal basic rights and liberties, which scheme is compatible with a similar scheme for all. (2) Social and economic inequalities are to satisfy two conditions: a) First, they must be attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity; b) second, they must be to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged members of society". Rawls identifies five categories of primary goods. One of the distinctive characteristics of the Rawlsian approach to social justice is associated with its institutional perspective. In Rawls' approach, justice is considered as a "virtue of institutions". It is crucial to point out how the principle of justice that Rawls specifies operates and distributes the social primary goods. In Rawls' well-ordered society, the first two categories of the primary goods are equally guaranteed to everyone due to the first principle having priority over the second principle. Following this, everyone is given an equal chance to access the third category of primary goods based on the first part of the second principle. It is only after these conditions are satisfied that the second part of the second principle, namely "the difference principle", that aims to compensate disadvantages of those who are worse-off by redistributing the fourth category of primary goods, namely income and wealth, can come into play.

LO 5 Define the capability approach to the idea of social justice through the works of Amartya Sen

Based on the criticisms to Rawls, Sen proposes a different analytical framework to assess social justice. Suggesting that the individuals' capability, or freedom, should be the basis of assessment regarding justice, Sen provides a promising way to overcome the problem that is related to people's differentiated social and personal characteristics leading to inequalities in achieving a good life. Focal point of justice in the capability approach is based on that whether a person has a capability to do things or be that s/he has reason to value. One of the distinctive features of justice is associated with considering it in relation with fairness, but not absolute equality. Idea of fairness is valued in here in terms of two points. Firstly, fairness primarily focuses on outcome, but not on the initial position of individuals. The second point, which is in relation to the first one, is that it gives priority to the basic idea that justice requires an unequal treatment to people who are not equal. Freedom in the capability approach is important both intrinsically and instrumentally. Sen's capability approach proposes to focus on individuals' freedom, or capability to achieve what they have reason to value in their life. In fact, this normative proposition is not only advocated so as to be used in assessing justice in a society, but also assessing development, well-being of individuals, welfare programs of countries, or particular social policies and programs for disadvantaged groups as well.

LO 6 Explain the complementary contributions to the idea of justice such as equality of resources, recognition/ redistribution as well as participation to the life of society

Apart from the approaches to social justice discussed above, there are also some other perspectives that are worth to briefly mention here. These perspectives are not comprehensive moral doctrines of justice, but normative approaches exclusively focusing on the question of what the focal point of justice should be. Among these approaches, we can point out Ronald Dworkin's equality of resources, Axel Honneth and Nancy Fraser's recognition and redistribution, and Peter Townsend's contribution of unjust distribution of resources and participation to the life of society. Dworkin rejects the idea of equality of welfare since it does not attain any responsibility to people in terms of their expensive tastes and, thus, compensates inequalities resulting from different preferences. While discussing his perspective of equality in resource ownership, Dworkin simply asks the following question: Why should society keep compensating individuals' mistakes emerging due to their own choices? Honneth and Fraser consider that the idea of justice focusing on only economic welfare is reductionist since there has been an increasing demand for recognition of different identities such as ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religious groups, and so forth. Although they both agree that recognition and redistribution are indispensable parts of social justice, Honneth gives a fundamental emphasis to recognition and treating redistribution as a derivative subject, while Fraser perceives both recognition and redistribution as co-fundamental subjects which do not have priority over each other. According to Townsend "poverty can be defined objectively and applied consistently only in terms of concept of relative deprivation. (…) Individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or are at least widely encouraged or approved, in the societies to which they belong. Their resources are so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are, in effect, excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities" (Townsend, 1979, p. 31).

Test Yourself

1 Which of the followings is the main conception that Plato relates to the idea of justice?

a. Virtue
b. Society
c. Law
d. Distribution
e. Utility

2 Who was the first of its kind that introduced the idea of fairness to the theory of justice?

a. Aristotle
b. Hobbes
c. Hume
d. Mill
e. Marx

3 Which of the following cannot be said about utilitarian approach?

a. David Hume paved the way heading towards utilitarianism.
b. In utilitarian account of justice, utility is translated into the form of happiness, and social justice is evaluated according to the happiness of society.
c. The focal point of justice in the contemporary utilitarian perspective is not the aggregative interests of society.
d. Utilitarianism considers justice in accordance with the aggregative interest of the society.
e. Hume's emphasis on the public utility as the focal point of justice in a society has led the emergence and spread of the utilitarian perspective in the literature of not only social justice, but also economics, administration, politics, law as well as diplomacy.

4 i) David Hume ii) Jeremy Bentham iii) John Stuart Mill iv) John Rawls v) Robert Nozick

Which one of the followings options given below includes only the utilitarian philosophers?

a. Only v
b. i, iii, and iv
c. ii and v
d. i, ii, and iii
e. i, ii, and v

5 Which of the followings cannot be accepted as a conceptualization around which the libertarian view puts forward its own on social justice view?

a. Individual responsibility
b. Entitlement towards acquiring
c. Transferring and holding private property
d. Individual's merit and desert
e. Public utility

6 "He developed a comprehensive theory of justice known as "Justice as Fairness". Thus, he provided an approach that pays great attention to both liberal and egalitarian concerns embedded in the literature of social justice."

Which one of the following scholars is described by the text given above?

a. John Rawls
b. Ronald Dworkin
c. Peter Townsend
d. John Stuart Mill
e. Jeremy Bentham

7 Which of the followings is not enlisted as the basic political liberties that should be distributed everyone equally according to the first principle in Rawls' conception of social justice?

a. Freedom of thought and expression
b. Rights to inheritance
c. Freedom of the press
d. Freedom of assembly
e. The right to vote

8 Which of the following philosophers cannot be enlisted within the context of freedom-based idea of social justice?

a. Amartya Sen
b. Isaah Berlin
c. John Rawls
d. Charles Taylor
e. P. Van Parijs

9 "The scholar's approach to social justice is based on the concept of "bivalent collectivity". Drawing on this concept, s/he refers to those who suffer from both unjust socio-economic distribution and cultural misrecognition."

Which one of the following scholars is described by the text given above?

a. Amartya Sen
b. Peter Townsend
c. Ronald Dworkin
d. Nancy Fraser
e. Axel Honneth

10 Which of the followings cannot be said according to Peter Townsend's conception?

a. His works focused on the re-conceptualisation of the issue of poverty.
b. According to Townsend, poverty must be regarded as a general form of relative deprivation which is the effect of mal-distribution of resources.
c. Townsend built up this perspective based on the fact that human needs have a dynamic nature in terms of both the context and time in which they live.
d. The connection between poverty and inequality is crucial in Townsend.
e. He considered that "man is a Robinson Crusoe living on a desert island".

Answer Key for "Test Yourself"

1. a	If your answer is incorrect, review "Origins of Contemporary Ideas of Justice: From Plato to Hume".
2. b	If your answer is incorrect, review "Origins of Contemporary Ideas of Justice: From Plato to Hume".
3. c	If your answer is incorrect, review "Utilitarianism: Consequentialist, Welfarist, and Aggregative Idea of Justice".
4. d	If your answer is incorrect, review "Utilitarianism: Consequentialist, Welfarist, and Aggregative Idea of Justice".
5. e	If your answer is incorrect, review "Libertarianism: Process-Oriented, Entitlement and Individual-Focused Idea of Justice".
6. a	If your answer is incorrect, review "Justice as Fairness: Rawlsian Model of Social Justice".
7. b	If your answer is incorrect, review "Justice as Fairness: Rawlsian Model of Social Justice".
8. c	If your answer is incorrect, review "The Capability Approach: A Freedom-Based Idea of Social Justice".
9. d	If your answer is incorrect, review "Fraser and Honneth: Recognition and Redistribution".
10. e	If your answer is incorrect, review "Townsend: Unjust Distribution of Resources and Participation to Life of Society".

How are the works of Aristotle related to the contemporary understandings of justice?

Self Review 1

Aristotle's contribution to the idea of justice can be pointed out as two major ideas as the one that distinguished what we today call "criminal justice" from the "social justice" and the one that extending the idea of justice towards the idea of equality although he used the term of equality to emphasize equality between those who have equal societal status.

How did Hume consider the egalitarian society?

Self Review 2

Hume considers the possibility of an egalitarian society into two forms. The first one is the existence of a society without property, meaning that there is no one who holds a property on his own. Setting up such a society, according to Hume, could only be achieved under two conditions: (a) An abundance of goods satisfy to human demands and (b) Unlimited generosity that everyone is freely given what they need. However, because of human selfishness, diverse wishes and aspirations, emergence of new tastes, and human craving for luxuries, Hume believed that the first form of societal organization could not have been achieved. Therefore, he asserted a second system of social order in which he supported the continuity of the private property that was protected by the legal order which was assigned with a duty of distributing the properties based on the overall interest of the public. However, in this system, it would have been impossible to prevent inequalities that quite possibly would emerge because of humans' unequal capacities, talents or conditions. On the other hand, if the private property was prevented, the incentive to work would be lost and society would face with a danger of falling into the extreme poverty.

What are the different sets of actions that could help to identify (un)just actions according to Mill?

Self Review 3

The first set was composed of legal rights that everyone should respect and be equally entitled to. However, justice cannot be limited to the written legal rights given everyone equally due to the fact that different individuals' ability to draw on these rights can vary greatly. Therefore, he moved to identify the second set of actions that were constitutive logic of moral rights which could secure the just action in case of legal rights were insufficient to do so. The third set referred to a vague form of the idea of justice as desert, proposing that each person should obtain whether good or evil what s/he deserved, which was put by Mill as "unjust that he should obtain a good, or be made to undergo an evil, which he does not deserve" (Mill, 2007 [1863], p. 41). The fourth set was more or less same with what Hobbes had discussed within the Leviathan that was, in terms of justice, about keeping the promises in the covenant. In line with Hobbes' view, Mill also agreed that it could be unjust to break the rules of a covenant or to violate an agreement. The fifth set was about the idea of impartiality. Nepotism or giving an unjustified privilege to a person over another is inconsistent with the very essence of the action that is deemed to be as just. The last set was about equal rights accompanied by the fifth set of actions and given to everyone equally.

Suggested Answer for "Self Review"

What does the concept of the original position mean?

Self Review 4

The original position refers to a hypothetical position of primordial equality in which parties stand behind a veil of ignorance where they have no knowledge of their own societal positions (for example, their social class and statue, natural assets and abilities, their life plans and conception of the good, cultural belonging, or generation), except that of "the general facts about human society" (for example, certain degree of knowledge of political affairs and economic theory, the basis of social organization and the laws of human psychology).

What are Amartya Sen's criticisms to Rawls' idea of "justice as fairness"?

Self Review 5

Sen criticizes Rawls with giving priority to the liberal rights over the economic ones. Second, Sen points out that the Rawlsian model of social justice is a transcendental one that makes it difficult to apply on the face of everyday problems of injustice. Third, he also criticizes Rawls' focus on the means of good living instead of on the "actual living that people manage to achieve". This criticism is in fact the primary criticism of Sen to Rawls. Sen reminds the distinction between the means and ends of good living. He stresses that "Rawls takes primary goods as the embodiment of advantage".

What does Fraser mean when she points out that gender is a bivalent collectivity?

Self Review 6

When Fraser points out that gender is a bivalent collectivity, she means it is also a two-dimensional social differentiation: "Neither simply a class nor simply a status group, gender is hybrid category rooted simultaneously in the economic structure and the status order of society". Hence, gender inequality is associated with economic arrangements of societies and, besides that; these inequalities are accompanied by social roles assigned on women by "androcentric value patterns". Therefore, to develop an approach regarding gender parity "requires a conception of justice as broad and capacious as preceding view of gender.

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