

PDF NOTES
POL SC HELP
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Classical Political Philosophy

Interpretation Of Texts

(Terence Ball)

Approaches of Textual Interpretations

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

Past Year Questions

- Critically evaluate the various approaches to the study of political philosophy.
- Discuss the challenges of interpreting a text according to Terrence Ball.
- Critically analyze different schools of interpretation of texts as proposed by Terrence Ball.

Why to understand different approaches of Textual Interpretation?

- Political science students obtain knowledge about the classic texts from the texts which are interpretations of these texts.
- As a student of political science one should be able to understand from what perspective the text has been interpreted.
- This makes student able to judge the usefulness of the secondary knowledge gained by reading interpretations.
- Only by triangulation – comparing the text and its two or more interpretation truer meanings of the text can be understood.

Challenges in Interpreting Classic Texts/Treaties

- **Language/Linguistic**
 - Loss and distortion in meaning on translation
 - Ex: *Virtù* in Italian vs Virtue in English
- **Passage of Time**
 - Philosopher speaks of his time
 - Vast amount of time difference makes extraction of meaning subjective
- **Different Context**
 - Texts are embedded in the Socio-political and historical contexts of those times
 - Interpretation out of context may distort the meaning and blur the identification of intention of the author
- **Multiple existing interpretation**
 - Existing prevailing interpretation may create an entry barrier for any new interpretation

‘Marxian’ Approach of Textual Interpretation

- Critically examining texts from **the lens of class division**, mode of production and resulting class relation and power structure
- View classic texts as ideologies to further the interests of dominant class of those times- ‘the ideas of the ruling class are the ruling ideas’
- ‘the hermeneutics of suspicion’ and ‘ideology critique’ : to get behind appearances, to uncover the reality these texts obscure, and to expose what Marx calls ‘the illusion of that epoch’
- **Example:** How Plato excluded producer class from politics in the name of Justice ; how Aristotle advocated for Slavery; how Locke promoted private property to further interests of capital classes
- **Key work:** C. B. Macpherson’s ‘*The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism (1962)*’
 - By ‘possessive individualism’ Macpherson means the political theory that serves to support and legitimize capitalism – economic self-interest and the institution of private property.
- Interpreting Locke and Hobbs from Marxian perspective show them as clever propagandist of modern capitalism
- **Proponents:** Marx and Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Lukacs, Gramsci, C. B. Macpherson

Pros and Cons of Marxian Approach

Pluses

- Uncover class relation, power structure and interests of dominant class
- Critical, pro-change, pro-poor, and emancipatory
- Help uncover the ideological masks concealing and justifying the domination of one class by another

Minuses

- Over emphasize class identity
- Undermine other identities such as gender
- Pre-set and prejudiced mindset
- Themselves may be guilty of charges they level to other authors- text as propaganda for a particular class interest

‘Totalitarian’ Approach of Textual Interpretation

- Detect and expose the philosophical ‘origins’ or ‘roots’ of modern totalitarianism by critically examining the old classics such as Plato’s Republic and Rousseau’s social contract
- **Totalitarianism:** ‘Ideology in which society/state is considered organic whole, individual as its parts; state is supreme moral guardian having rights to intervene and control each and every aspect of individual’s life- public or private
- **Example:** strict regimentation, censorship and ‘noble lies’ in Plato’s Republic; Machiavelli’s ruthless prince, Hobbs absolute ruler- Leviathan; Rousseau’s formulation of General Will and positive freedom- all have totalitarian ideologies
- Key Work: Karl Popper – ‘*The Open Society and Its Enemies* (1963)’

Pros and Cons of ‘Totalitarian’ Approach

Pluses

- Uncover totalitarian dimensions of classic texts
- Help modern society not adopting totalitarian prescriptions contained in classic texts
- Help make open, plural, diverse society based on toleration, individual liberty, equality and rights

Minuses

- Misinterpreting texts out their philosophical, socio-cultural contexts
- Pre-set and prejudiced mindset
- Sometimes themselves seems to serve certain interests- excess individualism, capitalism, existing liberal structure

‘Psychoanalytic’ Interpretation

- Trying to decode the motives of the authors by discovering psychoanalyst aspects of his/her ‘unconscious’ that are not evident on normal readings
- Same approach as to decipher meanings of dreams and motive behind particular action by the actor.
- Relating author’s writings to his/her personal life events, psychological influences of men and situations deriving from **Sigmund Freud**
- This approach has been used in interpreting the thoughts of thinkers like Machiavelli, Edmund Burke, Martin Luther and Mahatma Gandhi.
- Example: **Bruce Mazlish’s** psychoanalytic interpretation of themes in the work of John Stuart Mill- *James and John Stuart Mill (1975)*
 - Interpreting his ‘On Liberty’ as expression of freedom from his father’s influence
- **Pluses:** Insightful, discover hidden motives/intentions, investigative, uncover aspects hidden on cursory reading
- **Minuses-** speculative, subjective, impressionistic and non-falsifiable. Takes away attention from the texts to the author and his personal life.

‘Feminist ’ Interpretation

- Dissecting texts from **gender lens** to uncover **misogyny and patriarchal biases** in political thoughts and theories
- ‘*the great tradition of political philosophy consists, generally speaking, of writings by men, for men, and about men*’ this statement by **Susan Okin** reflect **suspicion** of feminist interpretation of classic texts.
- Misogyny, Patriarchy, praising masculine virtues while undermining feminine virtues, keeping women confined to ‘Private’ space unworthy of public life, etc have been discovered in the writings of Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Bentham, Mill, and Marx, amongst many other
- 3 phases/waves of feminism adopted different approaches
 - **Liberal phase:** found liberal male thinkers such as Mills, Bentham, Locke as champions of feminism
 - **Radical phase:** Personal vs political debate; uncovering misogyny in great classic texts; social contract as ‘fraternal’ construct’ and welfare state as a patriarchal institution
 - **3RD phase:** civic virtues of men were turned into vices; praising feminine virtues- nurturing, caring, empathizing- ‘maternal thinking’ ; ‘private’ realm superior to the ‘public’ area of politics, power, aggression, and war
- **Proponents:** Mary Wollstonecraft, Emma Goldman, Susan Okin, Simone de Beauvoir

Pros and Cons of 'Feminist' approach of textual interpretation

Pluses

- Uncover misogynist and patriarchal dimensions of classic texts
- Help modern society not adopting misogynist and patriarchal prescriptions contained in classic texts
- Help make society more just and equitable, honouring feminine virtues and granting equal rights to women

Minuses

- One dimensional interpretation
- Interpreting texts out of their contexts
- Fragmented and differing approaches

'Postmodernist' Approach

- Post modernism rejects 'grand narratives' or 'universal theories'. It also rejects objective nature of truth, which in this view is subjective and hence indeterminate (object cannot be separated from the subject)
- 2 versions: 1st based on **Foucault's view on Normalisation** of individuals as subjects by the dominant power structure- interpreting texts from this perspective reveals texts which contributed to the subjugation (Hobbes and Rousseau) and who resisted it (Sade and Nietzsche).
- 2nd version is based on **Derrida's conception of conflicting and indeterminate nature of meaning of linguistic texts** and process of '**deconstruction**' to interpret the meaning of the text.
- According to Derrida, all attempts to 'represent' reality produce, not knowledge or truth, but only different 'representations', none of which can be proven to be better or truer than any other. After a point reader – not the author – constructs its meaning – 'the death of the author'
- **Example:** William Connolly's Political Theory and Modernity (1988)
- **Proponents:** Mikhail Bakhtin, Paul de Man, Roland Barthes, Jean-François Lyotard and Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Jacques Lacan, Gaston Bachelard, Jean Baudrillard, Richard Rorty, and William E. Connolly

Pros and Cons of 'Postmodernist' Approach

Pluses

- Uncover subjugation of human being by 'normalization' process by the dominant power structure and how classic texts either help or resist that process
- Reveal the conflicting and indeterminate nature of meaning of linguistic texts
- Gives the power of interpretation back to the reader.

Minuses

- Its assumption of "no facts, only interpretation" 'makes it unable to distinguish truth from falsehood and propaganda from fact
- By claiming that meanings are indeterminate and authorial intentions are irrelevant in interpreting texts, adds nothing in our attempt to find meaning of the classic text
- Fragmented and differing approaches

'Cambridge 'New History' Approach

- Interpreting texts by restoring them to their **historical contexts** in which it was written and the question/problems to which it was offered as an answer/solution.
- **Text as political action(Speech-Act)**: Attempt to recover the intention of the author by treating **texts as political actions** to solve specific political problems of those times
- Not to interpret text as belief of the author but to understand underlying purpose, action, his contribution and his response on the ongoing political debate of his times
- **For example**: Machiavelli's work should be interpreted in the context of political situation of fragmented Italy and his attempt to solve it by proposing his texts aimed to make Italy unified and strong Republic
- **Example**: The Political Thought of John Locke (1969) by John Dunn and Machiavelli: A Very Short Introduction by Quentin Skinner
- **Proponents**: R. G. Collingwood, Quentin Skinner, John Dunn, J. G. A. Pocock.

Pros and Cons of 'Cambridge 'New History' Approach

Pluses

- By restoring texts to their historical context, more meaningful interpretations carried out
- Reveal authors intention (not mental but as inscribed in the texts as linguistic actions)
- Holistic, contextual, and triangulated attempt to interpret the text

Minuses

- Claim to reveal intention of the authors questionable
- Restricting the texts to its context limit its importance
- **Conceptual Relativism**-beliefs of authors true in the context of those time...fit in the overall belief system of those societies

'Straussian' Approach

- Derives from the work of Leo Strauss, a Jewish refugee to USA from Nazi Germany
- **Go back to the past:** It claims that classic texts by Plato, Aristotle and a handful of other authors of ancient Greece and Roman Republic contains the 'Whole Truth' about politics, a truth which is eternal, unchanging, and accessible only to the fortunate few.
- Consider modern liberal political thoughts as degenerate spineless relativism, lacking any solid foundation.
- The ancient 'philosophical' quest for the good life(based on transcendental moral principles) was degenerated into the modern 'scientific' search for safety, security, and the accommodation of competing interests.
- By understanding the truth of political life from the eternal ancient normative classics, maladies of liberalism, relativism, historicism and scientism can be found and solved.
- The authors hid the real intention in their texts for fear of persecution and ridicule
- Gaining access to this truth requires a special way of reading and of interpreting what one reads. **involves reading between the lines of the written text, so as to reveal its 'real', albeit hidden, meaning** which is communicated, as it were, in a kind of invisible ink
- Attempt to decode eternal/universal normative doctrine (esoteric doctrine) by going deeper into the text beyond its 'on the face of it' simple meaning (exoteric doctrine) meant for general public.
- Decoding esoteric doctrine requires some sort of insider's and special knowledge possessed by only lucky few
- Example: *The Political Philosophy of Hobbes: Its Basis and Its Genesis* by Leo Strauss

Pros and Cons of 'Straussian' approach of textual interpretation

Pluses

- By restoring texts to their historical context, more meaningful interpretations carried out
- Reveal authors intention (not mental but as inscribed in the texts as linguistic actions)
- Holistic, contextual, and triangulated attempt to interpret the text

Minuses

- Rely on 'insider's knowledge' that is available only to those who have been initiated into the mysteries of Straussian interpretation
- assume, without argument or evidence, that the 'real' text does not correspond, point for point, to the written and publicly available 'exoteric' text
- Dichotomy of esoteric and exoteric text

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PLATO

(Part 1)

Introduction, Theory of Forms, Justice

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

Past year questions

Q1: Critically examine Plato's theory of communism of Wives and Property as propounded in the Republic.

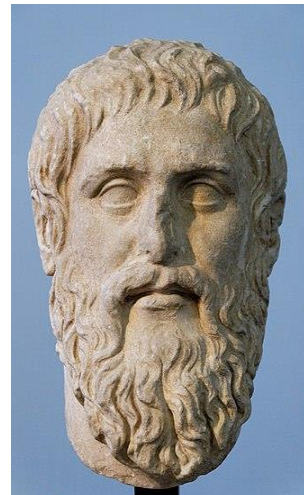
Q2 : Critically examine Plato's theory of Justice.

Q3 : Discuss the rationalist vision of Plato as brought out in his theory of Philosopher King.

Q4: Discuss the theory of Forms of Plato

Life and Time of Plato

- **Plato** (428 –348 BC)- born in **Athens in Greece** in a Aristocratic family
- **Plato**, his mentor **Socrates**, and his Student **Aristotle** are considered are founders of western classical philosophy
- Time of The **Peloponnesian War** between Athens and Sparta.
- Athens had direct **Democracy**, individualism, open and somewhat chaotic society
- **Death sentence to Socrates**, defeat by Sparta, and fragmented and opiniated nature of social life affected his thinking
- He founded the **Academy**, -the first European University.
- **His main creations- wrote 36 books** (35 dialogues and 13 letters)
 - 386 BC: **Republic**- concerning Justice
 - 360 BC: Statesman
 - 347 BC: *Laws*



Crux of his Thoughts

- Virtue is knowledge through which objective truth can be known
- The visible world of our senses carry the copy/shadow of essence of true forms which is of intelligible world – can only be seen by reason/knowledge
- Justice is harmony and balance of individual soul as well as of the society
- Justice is just order, doing what one is best in doing and supposed to do for having good (fulfilled) life
- Ideal state is just, harmonious, unified- help individual live good life.

Theory of Forms

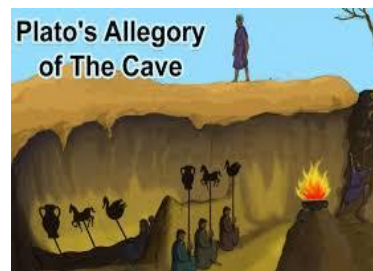
- Forms or ideas are **essence** and **reality** of every observable object by our senses
- Forms are the **eternal** and **unchangeable, absolutely true** definitions of concepts- nature of **being** anything
- What objects we see in observable world are **copy or shadow** of their Form- **becoming** something
- Example:
 - Beauty, Goodness, Equality, Justice, triangle, circle, Humanity, etc are forms and Beautiful thing, Good, equal, Just, triangle/circle we draw, man, etc are observable objects of these forms
 - Carpenter making table- need substance(wood, equipment) and form/idea of being table
- Forms or ideas belong to **intelligible world**; objects/things which we sense are of **visible** or observable **world**
- **Forms** represent **true/real knowledge** , can be known by **reason**; thoughts in visible world is **belief, opinion**, imagining
- Idealism, Essentialism, Metaphysics

Idea of the Good

- 'Good' is the supreme form, all other 'Forms' subordinate to it
- Idea of the Good is the end/goal or fulfillment or purpose for which all things exist, and thus it alone gives intelligibility, truth, and goodness to all the other forms
- Idea of Good is like Sun, in whose light all other things made visible
- Idea of the Good that it is "The universal author of all things beautiful and right, parent of light and of the lord of light in this world, and the source of truth and reason in the other."
- "The Good is not essence but far exceeds essence in dignity and power"
- End/Goal purpose of human life is to lead Good Life, purpose of community/state to help individual lead good life
- Individual is duty bound to work for 'Common Good' of the Society/state

PLATO'S ANALOGY OF DIVIDED LINE AND THE CAVE

Intelligible world	Visible world
Knowledge: Reason, understanding	Opinion: Belief, perception,
Forms or ideas	Observable things/objects
Hidden from our senses	Known by our senses
True, Real, eternal, unchangeable	Shadow, copy, changing, transient
World of 'being' - essence	World of 'becoming' - carrying essence
Known to wise man-philosophers	Known to all
World of sunlight outside the cave	World in the cave, in chains, in shadow of fire



Theory of Justice

- Justice denote right conduct, morality, duty, harmony- doing what brings happiness, fulfilment in both individual and social life
- Justice is prime virtue which guide other virtues- Wisdom, courage, temperance(self-control)
- A bond which holds a society together- makes man harmonious, good, and social
- Justice is natural, universal, NOT artificial, remedial, legal or conventional
- **What is NOT Justice:** legal rights, giving each man his due, speaking truth, being honest, doing right things- *good to friends and harm to enemies; it is neither in the interest of stronger or weaker*

Justice : Private as well as Public Virtue

- **Just Individual:**
 - **Justice of the soul:** Reason governing the **Spirited** element and the bodily **Appetites**; needs of 3 elements of the soul are fulfilled harmoniously
 - **balance or harmony** in the soul is the justice of the soul, the soul's morality or virtue and its product is happiness/fulfillment, good life
 - *Individual who perform social duty what is best suited to him for common Good*
- **Just Society/State:**
 - Specialization (Ruler, auxiliary, producer class), division of labour, excellence of self and the State
 - each one should perform social duty for which one is best fitted by nature
 - Society as unified whole, each individual help achieve fulfilled self-life as well as common Good
 - Justice as bond between individual and society, help achieve highest good of the individual (private), and of the whole society (public)

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PLATO

(Part 2)

Theory of Ideal state, Community of Wives & Property, Scheme of Education, Pros & Cons

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WHAT IS
IN
STORE?

Idea of Good

Theory of the Ideal State

Community of Wives & Property

Scheme of Education

Pros & Cons of Plato's Political Philosophy

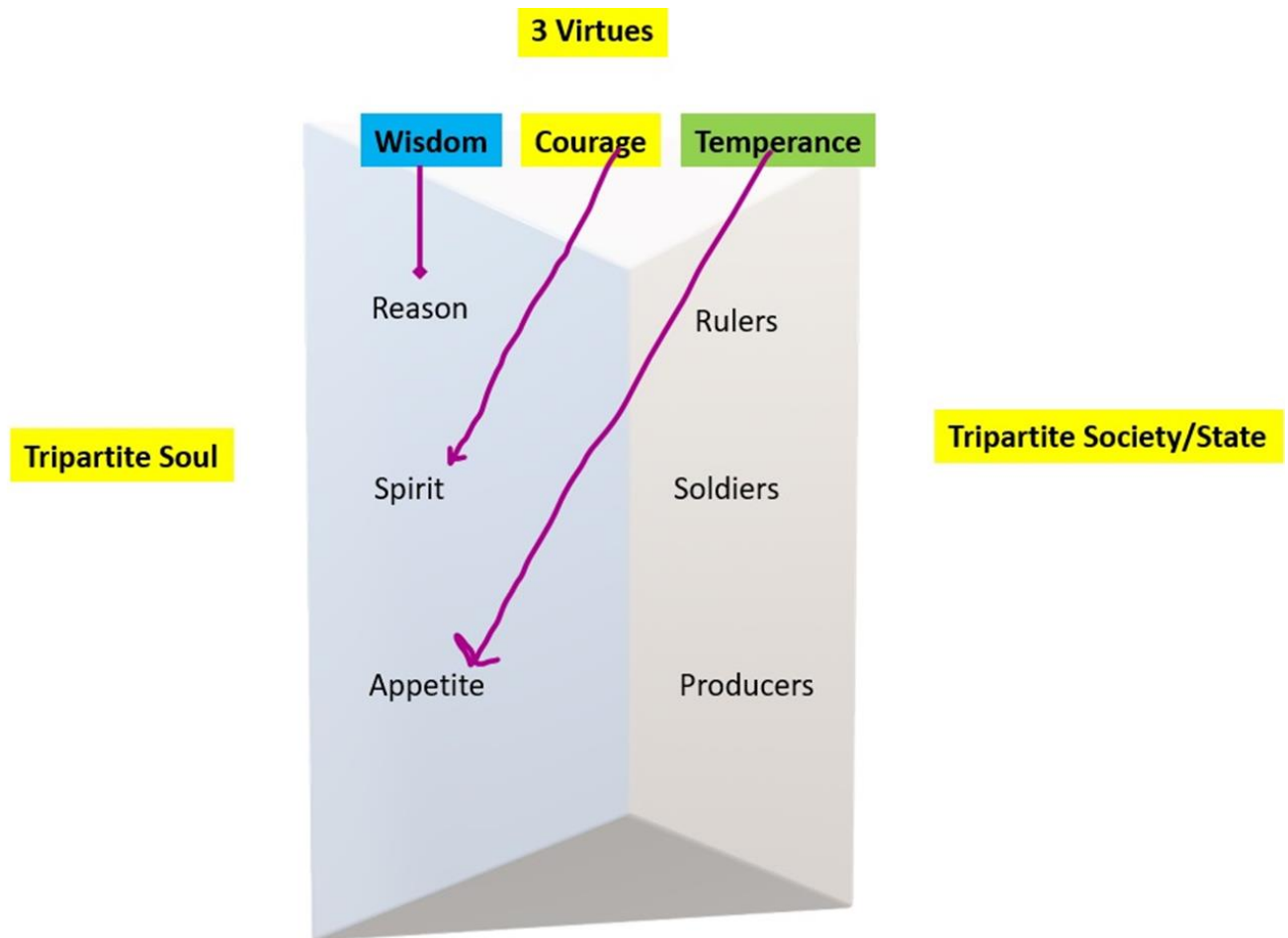
Idea of the Good

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- Idea of Good is like Sun, in whose light all other things made visible
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- "The Good is not essence but far exceeds essence in dignity and power"
- End/goal purpose of human life is to lead Good Life, purpose of community/state to help individual lead good life
- Individual is duty bound to work for Common Good of the Society/state

Theory of Ideal State

- Unity of individual and community/state
 - Just individual making just State- to have good (happy, fulfilled) life- both private and social
- Statecraft is soul-craft: Tripartite individual Soul- reason, spirit, appetite reflects in Tripartite State-Ruler, Auxiliary, producer class
 - **Ruler: Philosopher**- Reason, the dominant element in their soul
 - They are wise, courageous, temperate and just; like the shepherd, the physician statesman, the pilot statesman- knowledgeable, knows the art of statecraft/politics
 - They accept ruler job NOT for personal glory/benefit but true desire to guide members of community lead a good/happy/fulfilled life
 - They will get special rigorous training for 15 years
 - **Auxiliary**: Protectors/soldiers: Spirit, the dominant element in their soul
 - Ruler and Auxiliary : **Guardian** having communal life- no private property, no family, no permanent marriage, no affiliation to children
 - **Producers**: rest of citizen, producing for all: Appetite, the dominant element in their soul
 - Producer will lead normal life- family, children, property but will not participate in politics
 - **Noble Lie** by Philosopher king- Ruler made of Gold, Auxiliary- Silver, Producer-bronze
- **Duties of Philosopher kings**- 1.territorial integrity of the State 2.prevent extreme inequality 3. provide prescribed system of education 4. frame just law for furtherance of 'Common Good'
- Political idealism- Meritocracy, division of labour, excellence, morality, justice, harmony-unity

3 Virtues



Community of Wives and Property

- Rulers and Auxiliaries : **Guardian** having communal life- no private property, no family, no permanent marriage, no affiliation to children
- To prevent nepotism and corruption in ruling class, to have unity of the state, and just society/state
- Guardians will live together in Barracks, eat together on common table
- Temporary marriage to produce best offspring who are taken away for education and training
- Producers to provide for all material comforts to Guardians
- **Radical**: eugenics, emancipation of women, nationalisation of the family
- **Criticism**: utopic, regimented, confusing(polygamy, polyandry?), common children?

Scheme of Education

- Since virtue is knowledge and only by acquiring knowledge intelligible world(world of Forms/ideas) can be seen, education is essential for development of human soul and bedrock of the ideal state
- Free and compulsory education by State to all 3 classes
- Education as basis for choosing citizen for specific tasks in the ideal state; also the basis for social mobility among 3 classes
- 3 phases of education
 - Elementary Education: upto age of 20 years
 - Gymnastics for training the body, and Music for training the mind.
 - Higher Education: next 15 years- 20 to 35 years
 - Only to selected persons of both sexes of Guardian classes
 - mathematics, Geometry, Astronomy, Arithmetic, Philosophy and Logic; higher doses of Gymnastics & Music
 - Practical Training to ruling class- next 15 years- 35 to 50 years
 - Practical training of administration, managing public affairs
- **Pluses:** Same for both sexes, free, linked to aptitude and natural abilities, moral/ethical , civic virtues
- **Minuses:** Utopic, regimented, undermining individuality, abstract, expensive

Pros and Cons of Plato's Political Philosophy

Pluses

- Father of western political Philosophy
- Father of idealist tradition- inspired later idealists- Kant and Hegel
- Unifying individual to Society/State
- Ethical, moral, exalted vision of State and Government
- State sponsored free & universal education
- **His admirers:** R.L. Nettleship (*Lectures on the Republic of Plato*), A.E. Taylor (*The Man and His Work*), Ernest Barker (*Greek Political Theory*)

Minuses

- Promoted closed rigid socio-political system
 - 3 classes, status quo
- Utopic and radical idea of ideal State, Philosopher Kings, community of wives & property
- Censorship on arts, culture, and music
- Anti Democracy
- Inspired totalitarian and fascist ideologies
- **His Critics:** Karl Popper (*The Open Society and its Enemies*), R.H.S. Crossman (*Plato Today*), W. Fite (*The Platonic Legend*)

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ARISTOTLE

(Part 1)

Theory of Forms, Causes, Justice

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Past year questions

Q2 : compare and contrast Plato's theory of justice with that of Aristotle

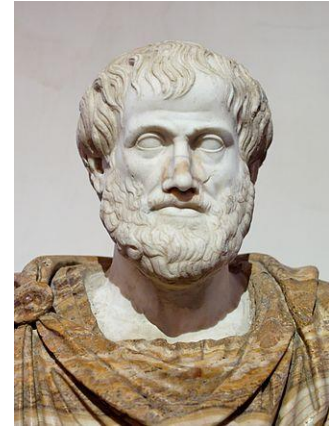
Q3 : Discuss Aristotle classification of Govt.

Q4: Discuss Aristotle's justification of Slavery

Q1: Discuss Aristotle view on household and State

Life and Time of Aristotle

- **Aristotle** (384–322 BC)- born in Stagira(near Macedonia) in Greece in a middle class family (father was doctor)
- Was student of Plato in his Academy; taught young Alexander the Great of Macedonia
- Time of fall of democracy in Athens, rise of Macedonia which conquered Athens
- His कर्मभूमि was Athens, but had to leave it for fear of life
- He founded **Lyceum**, -his own Academy.
- **His main creations- 30 books** (mostly lecture notes)
 - *Nicomachean Ethics*
 - *Politics*
 - *Metaphysics, Rhetoric, On the Soul*
- Master writer on Biology, Mechanics, Astronomy, Logic, Economics, Politics, Theology, rhetoric, Poetics
- Considered as true Scientist, 'THE Philosopher', 'First Teacher', 'The Master of Them That Know'



Aristotle (384–322 BC)

Father of Political Science, Political Realism, founder of Historical and Comparative methods, Constitutionalism, and formal Logic

Theory of Form and Causes

- **Materialism & Realism:** world of being (ideas) and world of becoming (material world of our senses) are one and same
- We perceive the Form or Essence of anything(tree, horse, table) from our senses, learnings, and experience- **reality can be understood from our senses, no need for imagining any other(intelligible) world**
- Everything is made up on matter and form/substance/essence
- **4 Causes- explanation** of being anything- **why** anything is what it is?
 - **Formal Cause-** form/essence which makes it what it is
 - **Material Cause-** matter from which it is made
 - **Efficient Cause-** what caused it to be; what happened from which it came into being
 - **Final Cause:** what is its purpose of being

Theory of Justice-1/2

- Aristotle outlines his theory of justice in book 5 of the **Nicomachean Ethics**; he also outlines conception of political justice in '**Politics**'
- justice is not simply a state of mind, or a moral virtue, but also has to do with the rightness and wrongness of our actions
- In Ethical sense-justice is virtue, a complete virtue, morality personified and all that is **Good**
- Justice is virtue, it is virtue in action, i.e. virtue in practice
 - Reason is, for example, a virtue, but the reasonable/rational conduct is justice; truth is a virtue, but to be truthful is justice.
 - "The good in the sphere of politics is justice, and justice contains what tends to promote the common interest."
- General-complete goodness (Ethical/moral) Vs Particular Justice-(political) one aspect of general justice
- In **ethical sense** justice can be thought of as righteousness, or with doing the right thing, that is to say with lawfulness and with obedience to law;
- In **political sense**, justice as 'fairness' in distribution of income, wealth, rewards, honours, political offices, punishments etc , based on the principle of equity- proportional and arithmetic equality
- **Ethical conception of Justice**- abstract or formal principles of justice
- **Political conception of Justice**: deals with the concrete realization of these principles in the historical circumstances of particular **Polis** and with the differences which exist between polis in this respect.

Theory of Justice- Political Justice -2/2

- Justice as the very virtue of the state/Polis
- 'Just'-what is lawful and fair and equal.
- In his **Politics**, tile view about justice is distributive and Corrective and linked to the notion of equity- proportionate and arithmetic equality respectively
- **Distributive and Corrective Justice**
 - **Distributive**- distributive justice hands out honours and rewards according to the merits of the recipients-equals to be treated equally and unequal, unequally- reward in proportion to what one contributes and as per his merit- **proportionate equality**
 - **Corrective or rectifactory**: regulating the social or ethical relationships between the citizens of a particular polis- **Arithmetic Equality**- simple reciprocity- *do with others what you would do with yourself*
- Legal and Right based conception of Justice

Plato's Vs Aristotle's Conception of Justice

Plato's theory of Justice

- Abstract, philosophical, radical
- Perfectness of individual soul and the Polis
- In Polis, performance of one's duties to the best of one's abilities and capacities
- Duty based
- Moral, spiritual and philosophical

Aristotle's theory of Justice

- Formal as well as practical, political justice
- Right, moral/ethical actions, virtue in action, and fairness
- Distributive and corrective Justice based on the principle of equity
- Right based
- Moral, practical and Legal

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 - https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/71969/15/15_chapter%2013.pdf

THANKS FOR WATCHING!

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GOOD WISHES !

ARISTOTLE

(Part 2)

Types of Govt, Family, Property,
Slavery

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

Past year questions

Q2 : compare and contrast Plato's theory of justice with that of Aristotle

Q3 : Discuss Aristotle classification of Govt.

Q4: Discuss Aristotle's justification of Slavery

Q1: Discuss Aristotle view on household and State

Conception of State(Polis)

- Unity of Politics and Ethics
- Like Plato, he believed State(Polis) represent supreme moral and ethical virtue of a political community, Law contain moral goodness
- Individual-family-village- Polis
- State is a natural entity, prior to individual- State- whole, individual –its part ; one who don't need state is not human, either God or Beast
- Only living in Polis, individual can attain **Eudemonia**- fulfilment & happiness- final cause/purpose/end/goal of being human
- Polis has 3 classes- very rich, very poor, middle class
- Best possible state- Small size, homogeneous population, moderate richness, ruled by middle class, rule of law(constitutionalism), justice-equity- principle of equality is standard for distribution of political power/offices

Types of Constitution/Government-1/2

He applied his theory of Justice – who should rule in the ideal state(polis)? And in whose interest?

Distributive Justice- on what basis(standard) political power/offices be distributed? Wealth? Citizenship? Moral virtue?

For him nobility, merit, or excellence- moral goodness or virtue should be the basis of distributing political power

Constitution- 2 elements- 1. Ethical- define end/goal/purpose, and identity 2. Political-structure of political institutions and distribution of powers/offices

		one	few	many
Rule in the interests of	the whole community (just constitutions)	kingship	aristocracy	polity
	the ruler(s) (unjust constitutions)	tyranny	oligarchy	democracy

These 6 types of Govt/constitution are pure, ideal

Types of Constitution/Government-2/2

Best possible or practicable Govt/constitution shall be combination of Polity and Aristocracy

Best or Ideal constitution is one in which political power is distributed, not simply in accordance with the principle of equity or proportional equality but also in accordance with the correct standard of virtue or goodness

Polity- rule by many, equity among citizen, rule in the interest of 'common good'

Aristocracy- minority who are meritorious, virtuous, and wise people counteract the 'the people' who may not be virtuous or wise

there is only one constitution which is 'naturally the best everywhere'

Cycle of change- Monarchy- tyranny-aristocracy-oligarchy- polity-democracy-monarchy

Household- Family

- Primary and essential unit of the Polis, help build society and maintain it
- **Household** -Husband, wife, children, slave, property
- **Hierarchical relation to maintain order & harmony**
 - Reflect natural inequality based on sex, age, ability
 - Master-slave; Husband-Wife; Father-child- All 3 are different kinds of hierarchical relation
 - Harmonious family- all member work according to their assigned role/responsibilities for the common good of the family
- **Private vs Public:** Family is in private realm, world of particular; to be separate/secluded from affairs of the Polis-public-world of universal
- **Status and Role of Women**
 - Women- inferior to men, a incomplete defective male!
 - Has reason, but without authority; hence, she has to be under command of male!
 - Important role to manage household- domestic affairs, keep & store property
 - Women are free being, half of free-men of the Polis, hence their education, well being must be ensured
 - Women should be kept away from Public Realm because their deliberative capabilities were inconclusive and

Property & Wealth

- Unlike Plato, he supported private property & wealth but with conditions
- His **Reasons** for supporting private property :
 - Property & wealth means to achieve purpose of human life- good & fulfilled life
 - Property- essential part of the family/household
 - property provides psychological satisfaction by fulfilling the human instinct for possession and ownership
 - Property & wealth enable citizen leisure & comforts to use his reasons/rationality/virtue for participating in affairs of the Polis
 - Best possible Polis is one having moderate wealth; middle class best suited to rule
- **Conditions**
 - Property should be acquired through just and honest means
 - Property should have use value; hence primary occupation- farming, fishing, cattle/sheep rearing, hunting/gathering- are good/just
 - Exchange/barter to acquire utility items is also allowed. But trading for profit not good; profiting from money lent on interest is worst way to generate wealth
 - Too much wealth is not good. Virtue, not mere wealth, should be criteria for political offices

Slavery

- Considered Slave as part of household and like any other possession/property
- Supported Slavery with following reasons and conditions
- **Reasons:**
 - **Natural:**
 - Slaves lack reason/rationality and self-control which are necessary for self-governing hence, they are to be ruled by virtuous & rational master
 - By nature some are servile and some dominant
 - inequality and relation of subordination and ruler are natural
 - **Social requirements(expediency)**
 - Slave & master is mutually beneficial relation- slave make master free to participate in Polis and master help slave lead somewhat virtuous life
 - Division of labour: Slave- strong body fit for physical tough job; Master- strong in reason/rationality- fit for political, economic, and higher pursuits
- **Conditions:**
 - Enslavement justified only if slave lack virtue/reason; winning war, and paying debt shouldn't be cause for slavery
 - Master must be more virtuous than the slave
 - Slave should be treated well, and should be made free for their good service
- He realized and anticipated no need for slavery with technological advancements

Plato Vs Aristotle

Issues	Plato's Thought	Aristotle's Thought
Theory of Forms	Forms/ideas are part of intelligible world beyond our senses	Only one world- world of our senses-Forms/essence are part of sensory world
Justice	Harmony of soul and the Polis- each class/individual performing their duties best to their abilities	Virtue in action, embodiment of goodness Justice as fair distribution and just rectification
Ideal State	Philosopher kings, Guardian class living communally on goods/services provided by producer class	No Ideal State- best possible state- mix of Polity and Aristocracy; majority rule by people balanced by wise/virtuous minority
Family & Property	Communal living for Guardian class; allowed for Producer class	Family basic and essential building block of the Polis Property- necessary means to lead virtuous life
Status & role of Women	Equality of women in all affairs- private/public Emancipation of women from bondage of marriage & family	Women subordinate to men Women's role confined to management of household

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Machiavelli

(Part 1)

The Prince: Lesson in Statecraft, Nature of Man

Analysis of Past Year Questions

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

Past Year's paper

- 2018: Machiavelli's is considered as first modern political thinker; comment
- 2017: examine the art of politics as described by Machiavelli
 - Notes: Machiavelli on republicanism
- 2015: discuss Machiavelli as first modern thinker
 - Notes: Machiavelli on religion
- 2013: Evaluate the main features of statecraft detailed in Machiavelli's 'Prince'.
 - Notes: Machiavelli's views on Human nature

Life and Time of Machiavelli

- Niccolò Machiavelli (1469 –1527)- was born in Florence, then a City-state
- He served as senior diplomat in **Florence Republic** after fall of **Medici** Monarchist rule
- Time of disunity, constant warfare, church vs State, insecurity in Italian City States
- He **represents Italian Renaissance**- humanism, secularism, scientific reasoning
- 1512: Florence Republic fell, Medici Monarchist rule was re-established- he was, jailed, released, banished
- His main creations- written during forced retirement
 - 1532: **The Prince**
 - 1531: **Discourse on Livy**
- Founder of modern political science, modern conception of State, and Republic



Nature of Man

- Men are ungrateful, fickle, liars, and deceitful, coward, selfish and greedy
- Selfishness and egoism are the chief motive/forces of human conduct
- Fear dominate men's life more than the Love. Men want security-preservation of life
- Because of boundless desire, insatiable pride, and inevitable scarcity, men are in a constant state of competition and conflict.
- All the deceit in the world, however, will not obviate the need for force, because men will 'use the malignity of their spirit whenever they have a free opportunity for it'
- Political life is, at bottom, a battlefield where the strong subdue the weak and obtain preferential access to the limited number of goods.
- Men are reluctant, though, to accept this harsh truth, and try to soften it by creating an illusory world of ideals that give a bogus moral justification to our predatory instincts.
- Machiavelli's view of the human nature rivals that of Thomas Hobbes.

'The Prince': Lessons in Statecraft

- Written for new, non-hereditary ruler of newly acquired Monarchies
- **Supreme goal**- maintenance of the State. Why? Security, order, welfare for people possible only in secured/maintained state
- No separate bases of **Authority** and **Legitimacy** apart from the **Power/force**
- **State**- non-ethical amoral entity, not bound by conventional morality
- No good or bad state; just or unjust ruler
- Political actions are to be judged only by its outcome- '**end justifies means**'
- **Law & Arms**- protectors of state; but without force, law is useless
 - the justice of state is in the interest of the sovereign and the safety of state is the supreme law
- To maintain himself and his state a prince must learn how not to be good and act as situation demands- last best option to secure common good
 - Problem of dirty hands; politics as काजल की कोठरी
- **Separation** of religion, ethics, and morality from political decision making

Virtù : पौरुष , उद्यमशीलता

- *Virtù* : Requirements of power politics; range of personal qualities that the prince needs to acquire to "maintain his state" and to "achieve great things- glory,"
 - "**Flexible Disposition**": "as fate and circumstances demand"
 - **Pragmatism** (political expediency) rather than conventional morality and goodness- learn how not be Good!
 - **Effectiveness** rather than praiseworthy actions
 - Ruthlessness, Cunningness, Deceitfulness, Boldness, courage, and Shrewdness , and Will power
 - **Loyn & Fox**: combined qualities of strength/force and Shrewdness
 - Shrewd analysis of human behaviour and motives
 - **Mastery in power politics**- acquiring power, destroying enemy's power, using power
 - *Virtù* is to power politics as conventional virtue is to moral goodness of legitimate ruler in classical sense
 - **Judicious use of violence/cruelty** and benevolence; violence fast, reward/genrosity slowly- in installments
 - Rely on support of people than nobles/aristocrats
 - Rely on own army than hired mercenaries; better to arm people
 - **Fear rather than Love** for political obligation; caution fear shouldn't convert into hate
 - **Pretentions**: should wear mask: appear to be just, virtuous, moral, trustworthy, honest temperate but act opposite if situation demand so.

Fortuna: Fate, Destiny, भाग्य, प्रारब्ध

- as with *Virtù*, Fortuna is employed by him in a distinctive way.
- Where conventional representations treated Fortuna as a mostly benign, if fickle, goddess, who is the source of human goods as well as evils, Machiavelli's fortuna is a malevolent and uncompromising surce of human misery, pain, and disaster.
- Fortuna is enemy of political order, the ultimate threat to the safety and security of the state
- Compared Fortuna as furious river destroying everything in its flood
- She shows her power where *Virtù* and wisdom do not prepare to resist her, and directs her fury where she knows that no dykes or embankments are ready to hold her"
- *Virtù* provides the Prince the ability to respond to fortuna at any time and in any way that is necessary

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Machiavelli

(Part 2)

Republicanism, Religion, Interpretation & Evaluation

Analysis of Past Year Questions

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

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 - Notes: Machiavelli's views on Human nature

'The Discourses on Livy': Republicanism of Machiavelli

- Written in 1517, 4 years after 'The Prince' with very different theme, purpose, and audience.
- Preferred Republic to Monarchy; gave following reasoning for this:
 - **Republics more flexible**: better able to adapt to changing situations(why?)- rigid nature/habit of individual(prince) vs diversity among citizens in republic (someone else may be chosen to lead)
 - **vox populi, vox dei** : People wiser, more stable, and of better judgment than a prince
 - Only in Republic, with some conditions, freedom of the community (*vivere libero*) may be achieved
 - **Public spiritedness**: People's participation, public discourse, **rule of law, Institutionalism** and contention between the people & nobility keep Republic secure, free, un corrupted and vibrant
 - Republic is **ruled by public speech** (public discourse/deliberation) vs force/coercion and deception in Monarchy
 - **Republic is better able to achieve common good** of its citizens; in Monarchy, the common good is often confused with the private good of the prince

His Recommendations for the Republic

- His ideal was Ancient Roman Republic
- Good Laws & good Institution: required for security, liberty, and prosperity of the people
 - A minimal constitutional -subjects live securely (*vivere sicuro*)
 - A fully constitutional regime, - freedom of the community (*vivere libero*)
- Flexible Institutions: changing with changed situation
- Mixed Constitution: Monarchy +Aristocracy+ Democracy
- Multitude/people are guided by virtuous/wise men
- Public Discourse: Deliberation through public speech
- Active contention(conflict) between the people and nobility- both take an active role in self-government
- Armed people: capable of securing themselves and the State
- Encouraging Immigration, to have more free citizen, more strength
- Territorial expansion, subjugation of neighbouring states, useful alliances
- Inculcating Public spiritedness, Civic Virtue and Civic Religion among the citizen
- Renewal or re-invention of the Republic every 10 year

Religion

- Criticized the Roman Catholic church and Christian values and morality itself.; to him, Christianity glorifies suffering and makes the people meek, passive, merciful, effeminate
- For Machiavelli the church was the cause of Italy's disunity
- For him, Politics should be separated from Religion
 - Values and Morality Vs facts and Science
- **Instrumental view on religion**- in disciplining people and help ruler manipulate people's emotions
 - Religion as coercive force
 - Religion help inculcate civic virtue, part of public spirit along with liberty
- He praised the pagan civic religions of ancient societies such as Rome, which he regarded to be more suitable for a city endowed with *virtù*
- But Machiavelli leaves it unclear whether he prefers atheism, paganism, or a reformed Christianity
- He also kept silence on his views on after life, eternity of soul, salvation, etc

Why He said so? Contexts and Interpretations

- **'The Prince' Vs 'Discourse': 3 different Interpretations**
 - **His true thoughts are reflected in the Discourse**, not in The Prince, which was written for a specific goal, and contain his partial views
 - **Purpose and subject matter of both books are different**; Prince- how a single ruler maintain the security & unity of newly acquired State; Discourse-how a republic can grow & prosper
 - **Both 'The Prince' and 'Discourse' part of a single political project**- how to secure and unify State from a chaotic situation(prince) and then to have a well functioning strong Republic

Why He said so? Contexts and Interpretations

- **How to Interpret his shocking advises to Prince ?**
- First View: 'Teacher of Evil' (Leo Strauss) ; 'preacher of amorality'. 'advisor to tyrants'; the murderous Machiavelli (Shakespeare)
- Second View: He was not Immoral, merely amoral; separated Politics from conventional morality & Religion
 - Based his prescription on 'how things are' than on 'how things ought to be'
 - Proto political Scientist: separated facts and Science from values and morality
 - politics is the sphere of instrumental rationality not moral judgement
- 3rd View: 'The Prince' does not reflect his true thoughts. It is like a satire; a warning to the people to show how bad a single ruler can be

Pros and Cons of Machiavelli's Political Thoughts

Pluses

- Founder of modern political science-empirical and factual
- Father of political realism
 - Pragmatism, expediency vs morality, goodness
- Modern conception of State and Republic
 - Secular plural independent sovereign State
 - Diverse, strong Republic aiming liberty of the people
- Humanism, Secularism, Civic Virtue, Public Spiritedness, civic religion
- More faith in the people than the nobility/prince
- Public Discourse, deliberation, class conflict to have check & balances
- **His admirers:** Spinoza , Montesquieu , Rousseau, Voltaire and Diderot , **George Sabine** , , Maxey, Skinner , Antonio Gramsci , Hobbs, Burke, Jefferson, Madison, Dam Smith

Minuses

- **Inconsistency:** difficult to reconcile his thoughts in the Prince and Discourse
- Promoted unethical, immoral, cruel, and violent politics and regime
- Negative and unchanging nature of man
- Misogynist view on females
- **Anti Democracy:** his Republic was ruled by single ruler, people needed counsel of wise men
- His propositions based on historical examples, lacked rigorous logical analysis
- Driven by local agenda, failed to develop universal laws of politics
- **His Critics:** Leo Strauss, **Innocent Gentillet**, **William Shakespeare**

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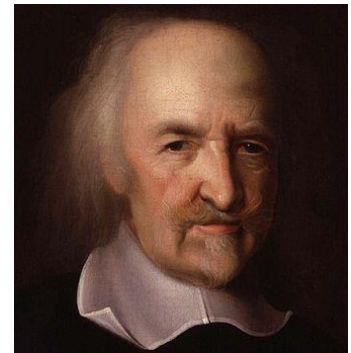
POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF **Thomas Hobbes**

State of Nature, Social Contract, Political Obligation

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

Life and Time of Hobbs

- **Thomas Hobbes** (1588 –1679)- born in **Malmesbury in England**
- Those were turbulent times in England- Civil war (1642–1651), war with Spain, 30 years war in Europe, religious war
- He tutored Royal families- Cavendish- earl of Devonshire, and Charles II- who became king of England
- Studied at Oxford, toured Europe, and came in contact with great scientists Galileo, Kepler, Descartes- was fascinated by laws of mechanics- matter in motion, was himself optical scientist
- His main creations
 - 1642: *De Cive* (On the citizen), *De Corpore* (On the Body) (1655), *De Homine* (1658)
 - *The Elements of Law, Natural and Politic* (1750)
 - 1651: ***Leviathan*** ; his seminal creation
- His moral and political philosophy created uneasiness to the powers of that time from all factions/beliefs



Thomas Hobbes (1588 –1679)

Political Philosophy of Hobbs in a Nutshell

- Entire world is **mechanistic**- matter in motion- every worldly phenomenon, including political, can be explained by natural laws of science
- Human condition without any political authority was of **perpetual fear** and constant **war of all against all**
- Such **poor, nasty, brutish life in state of nature** was due to nature of man and absence of any greater power to maintain peace and security
- Guided by Natural laws as came to man by sense of reason, they came out state of nature by a **contract with one and all** wherein everyone surrendered their rights and power to a 3rd party- **the Leviathan**- the State/Govt, the sovereign, the commonwealth
- The **sovereign** had **absolute**, unlimited, undivided, unalienable **power**
- By the contract the sovereign was **obliged** to secure life and maintain peace and people to obey the laws and dictates of the sovereign

Now, we will try understand Hobbs Political Philosophy by understanding the following

- State of nature
- Social Contract as solution to come out of the state of nature
- Political Obligation: Why should we obey the laws?
- Significance of Hobbs political philosophy
- Critique of Hobbs political philosophy

Nature of Man

- Man is composed of matter in motion, **Vital** vs **Voluntary** motion
- Basic human attribute is **Desire**; 2 types : **Appetite** and **Aversion** for something -driving force for man's behaviour
 - Appetite(liking): external stimulus supporting vital motions;
 - Aversions(dis-liking): external stimulus disturbing vital motions;
- Men's action are not guided by intellect or reason, but mainly by their appetites, desire, and passions
- **Almost equal natural abilities**, no one is invulnerable nor can expect to be able to dominate the others
- **Self-preservation** (will to survive), and **glory** (respect & recognition) are chief appetites/desires
- This is possible only by the acquisition of power. Power is the means to satisfy man's desires.
- Happiness is continuous progress of desire from one object to another, restless and perpetual desire for more power
- Men hold high opinions of themselves, their self-worth, and their sense of judgment
- **Moral relativism**: good : anything which pleases and delightful to them; Evil/bad: which displeases
- **But man posses sense of reason**- understand logical connections of cause & effect
- Man develops competition for power(resources & glory) and fear & suspicion about motives of others

State of Nature

- Human life **without any political order**- No civil society, No State/Govt., No civil law
- No sin, injustice, immorality in state of nature
- Men are at liberty to do anything to preserve their lives -Everyone has right to everything- **no limit to right of natural liberty**
- **Private Judgment**: Each one is judge, jury and executioner in her own case whenever disputes arise
- **Three principal causes of quarrels among men**: competition for power, mistrust which moves them to attack others for fear of being attacked by them, and glory which makes them attack for the sake of reputation.
- **Prisoner's Dilemma of Game theory**: sub-optimal outcome because of non-rational behaviour due to fear and no trust- **better kill than be killed**
- Every man is enemy to every man- **war of 'all against all'**
- **Comfortable, sociable, civilized life Impossible** - no industry, no art/culture, business/trade, knowledge, peace/progress
- Thus in state of nature life of man, **Solitary, Poor, Nasty, Brutish, and Short**

Laws of Nature: Basis of Social Contract

- These laws are neither universal moral values, nor divine commands, they are universal percepts(code) based on reason
- **Self-preservation is prime duty**: Not do anything which is destructive to life, takes away means to preserve life, omit which may preserve his life
- Whatever you require that others do to you, that you do to them
- Every person should **seek peace** : forgoing their rights if all other do the same to have peace.
- **Maintain the Covenants** made. Performing of a covenant is a just, not performing is unjust.

The Social Contract

- Men in state of nature came out of it by following laws of nature to perform agreement/covenant with one and all to form civil society and state/govt
- People surrendered their natural rights and powers in exchange for common peace and security
- They transferred their rights, will, and power to a 3rd party- an artificial man, mortal God, sovereign, commonwealth, the State- the Leviathan
- Duty of the Sovereign: maintain peace and security -protect from one another and from external threat
- Rights of the Sovereign: Do whatsoever to maintain peace and security
- Duty of citizen: to obey the laws and dictates of the Sovereign
- Rights of Citizen: right of self-preservation, and right to do anything as laws says or anything on which law is silent

Features of the Social Contract

- The 3rd party, the sovereign is not party to the contract
- Hence, he is not bound by any law, and answerable to none
- The 3rd party, the sovereign can be a person(monarch) or council, or any other form
- Power of the sovereign is absolute, unlimited, undivided, unalienable
- One step process by which both society and state are created
- Sovereignty by Institution and by Acquisition
- The contract is valid only till the sovereign is able to maintain peace and security

Political obligation: Why should We Obey the Laws?

- We are obliged to obey law of the sovereign because we consented to have a sovereign, we made a contract/covenant, hence we are obliged to maintain the covenant- law of nature
- Sovereign represent the will of the people, the commonwealth, the body politic of which each one is the creator by his own free will- hence obeying the sovereign is our duty- law of nature
- Obeying law will maintain common peace and security, for which the contract was performed
- Not obeying law would be to break the contract, return to state of nature in which life would be worse than even obeying tough(or even unjust) laws
- Actions done to obey the law cannot be immoral or sin as the act is of the sovereign, and not of the person carrying it
- **When are we not obliged to obey the law?** to protect right of self-preservation, to protect family and honour, if sovereignty is not at stake, and when the sovereign is not able to maintain peace and security

Significance of Hobbs political philosophy

- First to **deny**, scientifically, the notion of **divine right of king** to rule
- First to **legitimize resistance**(revolution) against the ruler if he fails to perform his bounden duties
- First to put Individuals and his rights in the center of political discourse- grand **father of modern Liberalism**
- **First modern social contract** theory of origin of State and political obligation
- **First modern political scientist**: explained political phenomenon according to scientific law of matter in motion, and geometry
- First modern political philosopher to **secularize** the State
- Unique combination of **Realism** (materialism) and **Idealism**

Critique of Hobbs political philosophy

- His pessimistic view of human nature and condition in state of nature
- His idea of absolute rule- bordering to totalitarianism
- Excessive focus on Individuals, undermined the institutions of family, kinship, community, society
- His obsession with materialism and attempt to explain political phenomenon by laws of natural sciences
- Paradoxical : Individualism vs community in social contract; Absolute rule vs right to revolution; materialism vs idealism; reason vs morality

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1: Critically examine the views of Hobbs on state of nature and the State.

Q 2: Analyse Hobbs theory of Social Contract

Q3: Hobbs is both Individualist and absolutist, discuss

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POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF **JOHN LOCKE**

State of Nature, Social Contract, Nature of Govt

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

Life and Time of Locke

- **John Locke** (1632 –1704)- born in **Somerset in England**
- Parents, protestant, trader/landowner sympathetic to Parliamentarians and Whigs party
- Time of **Glorious revolution-1688**- establishment of limited constitutional Monarchy, Parliamentary supremacy, and emergence of representative Democracy
- European settlement in America, Rise of capitalism and Bourgeois class
- Studied literature, medicine, philosophy, chemistry, theology; was active in Whig party, patron/friend of Earl of Shaftsbury, helped framing constitution of Carolina State in USA
- **His main creations**
 - 1689: *A Letter Concerning Toleration*,
 - 1689: *Two Treatises of Government* – his political philosophy
 - 1690: *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*
 - 1693: *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*
- Guiding and spiritual father of 18th century enlightenment, classical liberalism, capitalism and free market economy
- Influenced both French and American revolution and American declaration of Independence



John Locke (1632 –1704))

Political Philosophy of Locke in a Nutshell

- In state of nature men have perfect freedom and equality, reason and rationality to self-govern themselves, acquire property and live socially with peace, goodwill, mutual assistance and preservation.
- But in absence of universally accepted laws, impartial judge, and higher power to settle disputes, peace is fragile, danger loom large of conflict and war
- Hence, to remove the inconvenience of nature of state and to better protect their rights men enter into contract with one and all to set up sovereign community by transferring some of their rights
- Political community, then by majority set up the Govt.- legislative and executive ; legislative is supreme, executive subordinate to legislative
- Govt/sovereign is not absolute, it also is party to the contract and bound by its obligation to act for common good within the parameters of civil laws
- Citizen have rights to resist and change Govt acting arbitrarily, tyrannically, and fails to protect the rights of life, liberty, and property

Now we will discuss

- Nature of men
- State of nature
- The Social Contract
- Theory of property Right
- Nature of Government
- Why Locke is considered Father of Classical Liberalism and capitalism
- Critique to Locke's political Philosophy

Nature of man

- Mainly found in his *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690).
- human beings are naturally endowed with certain basic instincts such as decency, goodness, socially inclination, and capability of ruling themselves by sense of reason
- Man seeks pleasure, avoid pain, is self- interested but is rational due to sense of reason which help him to discover laws of nature and enable him to cooperate with others and live somewhat peacefully with others, recognising one's rights vis-a-vis others
- Men are naturally able to govern themselves and live with harmony with others by the law of nature; reason in them recognizes the natural laws, which are like moral commands of God, consistent with humanly reason
- Men are rational because of innate sense of reason; with the help of reason, human beings learn to control their emotions, anger, love, and so on
- Some men may be selfish, competitive, and aggressive. But this is an exception than rule

State of Nature

- Human life **without any common superior authority to judge between them** - no legitimate political authority to settle disputes, maintain peace and order
- Need not be prehistoric, nor a condition peculiar to primitive men, not pre-social, nor even pre-political- in every era/time people may find themselves in state of nature!
- **Each individual is free, equal and independent; but bound by law of nature** (state of perfect liberty & equality, yet it is not a state of license)
- **Private Judgment:** Each one is judge, jury and executioner in his own case and whenever breaches of natural law committed by others
- Each individual posses natural rights: Perfect freedom and equality ; right to preserve his life, liberty, and property and to be judge and punish breaches of natural law
- But all the rights, power and jurisdiction is reciprocal- only as recognized/accepted by others)
- State of general 'peace, goodwill, mutual assistance and preservation'
- **State of precarious peace:** Inconvenient and danger of war/conflict looming large(why?) because each one is self-interested, want recognition/power/property, was judge in his own and other's case, and violation of some self-interested, aggressive, degenerate men

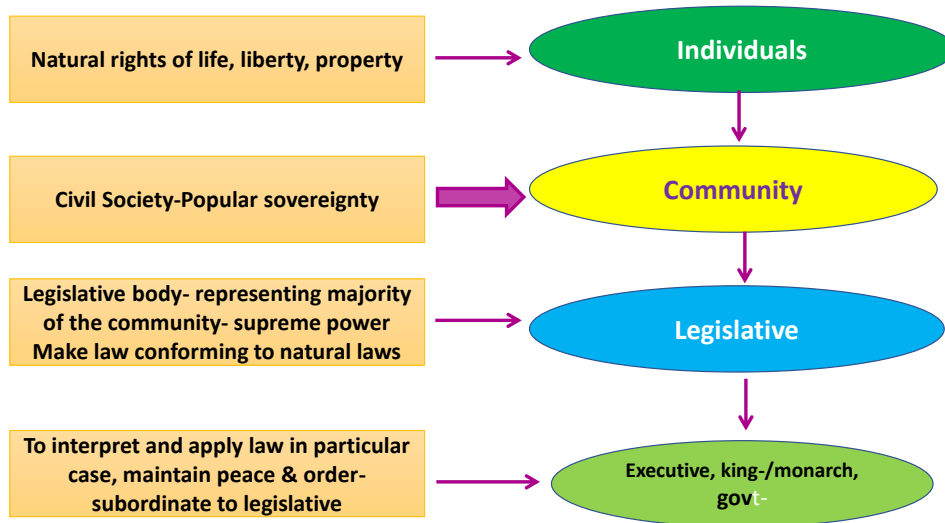
The Social Contract

- People came out of state of nature through mutual agreement by surrendering their rights to be judge in their own case and in case of others to a superior political authority by a way of contract/covenant among themselves
- All agreed to pool their natural power and uphold natural rights (of life, liberty, property) of one another by transferring some of their rights to a sovereign
- Why social contract? **4 problems/inconveniences in the state of nature**
 1. No known, universal, standard Law- private interpretation of natural laws
 2. No impartial judge to settle disputes
 3. No higher accepted power to enforce punishment for breach of law
 4. Licentious, irrational, self-interested behaviours of few aggressive, degenerate men
- **2 step contract**
 - 1st: contract to form political community by pooling their powers and vesting their rights; all consented unanimously to obey laws of the state/govt formed by the contract
 - 2nd stage: political community by majority set up State Institutions/Govt- legislative and Executive(President/PM, King/monarch)
- **Legislatives-** make laws conforming to natural laws, **executive** to interpret and administer law in particular cases; legislative supreme, executive subordinate to it

Features of the Social Contract

- 2 stage contract, 1st stage by express consent of all, 2nd stage by majority vote and tacit consent
- Only partial natural right of being judge in own case and in cases of others is surrendered, natural Right of life, liberty, property NOT surrendered
- Purpose of the contract is to increase the effective natural rights of life, liberty and property of the contracting individuals
- The Government is also party to the contract, hence all provisions of contract are applicable to Govt, too
- Govt. is to follow natural law, is not above law, not absolute
- The community is permanent (1st Contract), not the Govt, which can be dissolved(2nd contract) and changed by the community
- Sovereignty resides in the community, expressed through its majority by the representative legislative- popular sovereignty

Locke's Social Contract: 4 layers of political order-George H Sabine



Nature of Govt

- Govt is formed by 2nd step contract by majority vote by the political community formed by 1st step contract
- 2 part of Govt- Legislative and Executive**
 - Legislative is the supreme power; executive subordinate to legislature,
- Govt as trustee to the community** and its members- bound to act to further public good/common good
- Constitutional govt- govt must govern with the consent of people, govt is created by the will of the people, an artificial device- does not embody superior reasons
- Duties of Govt:**
 - To make know and universal law conforming to natural laws- legislative duties
 - to protect natural rights and to adjudicate disputes(punish one who breaks law), maintain peace and order - executive duties
 - To manage relations with other state/communities and protect from external aggression- federating duties
- Limited Govt:** should take (as tax) just what is needed to maintain order, protect rights, maintain peace & order, protect from external aggression
- People/community have rights to overthrow and change govt if it fails to protect rights of citizen and fails to maintain peace and order, act arbitrarily, and is tyrannical

Why Locke is Considered Father of Classical Liberalism?

- **Bedrock of classical liberalism**- rights of Individuals, limited constitutional govt, consent as base of legitimate govt, tolerance/pluralism emanate for Locke's political philosophy
- **Philosophical bases to capitalism** and free market Economy- unalienable right to property, minimum taxation, Govt to maintain peace, settle dispute
- He combined Individualism, utilitarianism, and capitalism with moral reasoning and theology

Locke's Theory of Property Rights

- God has given the Earth and all its natural resources to **all men in common** and has also gave reason to man to make use of it to the **best advantage of life and convenience**
- **workmanship model** : since persons own their own body and labour, when they mix their labour with that which is unowned it becomes their property. **property as 'fruit of labour'**
- **No consent of others required** to acquire private property
- In the wider sense, **right to property includes the rights to life, liberty, and external possessions.**
- **3 principles of property**- (1) one may only have as much property as one can use before it spoils (**wastage restriction**) (2) one must leave "enough and as good" for others (**sufficiency restriction**) and (3) one may only acquire property through one's own labor (**labour restriction**).
- Also, a **duty of charity** toward those who have no other means of subsistence (first treaties)
- **Taxation rights of Govt:**
 - Property is a natural right derived from natural law, it is therefore prior to the government. It's for the protection of property that men enter into an agreement or contract.
 - Govt has no right to take property to use for the common good without the consent of the property owner. Minimum taxation by the majority vote of the legislative

Critique of Locke's Political Philosophy

- Many feel Locke wrote to provide theoretical bases to emerging capitalist class and constitutional Monarchy in England
 - Natural right to pvt property, limited Govt having minimal taxing rights, representative Govt, decision by majority, voting rights only to propertied male
- His justification of private property drew maximum criticism
 - 3 restrictions (wastage, sufficiency, labour) are meaningless- facade
 - Macpherson-"possessive individualism" ; differential rationality between capitalists and wage-laborers and division of society into distinct classes
 - Waldron, Simmons and Nozick criticized 'workmanship model' and principles of 'mixing labour'
- Basis of natural law- reason? Or universal moral percepts? Divine command?
- Justifying patriarchy, wage-labour, no political rights to atheists, contradictory theory & practice of slavery

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1: Discuss Locke's theory of Social Contract.

Q 2: Why John Lock is considered as father of classical liberalism?

Q3: Discuss Locke's theory of natural Rights, especially property Rights.

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HOBBS Vs LOCKE Vs ROUSSEAU (Hindi)

State of Nature, Social Contract, Nature of Govt

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Nature of Man

Hobbs	Locke	Rousseau
Selfish, self-interested, fearful, driven by desire and passion than reason/rationality, having inflated sense of his self-worth and judgement	Endowed with certain basic instincts such as decency, goodness, socially inclination, and capability of ruling themselves by sense of reason	Innate good nature- self-love and pity, corrupted by modern civilization
Unending desire to acquire power, more power till his death	Enlightened Self-interested Has desire/passions but controlled by laws of nature	Man as ;noble savage'
Bundle of matter in motion	Creation of God, innate sense of reason/rationality	two natural feeling- self love and Pity (compassion) for others
Competition with and fear from others	Peace, cooperation, harmony with others	Neither peace nor enmity

State of Nature

Hobbs	Locke	Rousseau
Imaginary, historical past; human living without any higher power to maintain peace and order	Neither pre-social, pre-political, pre-historic social arrangement without any legitimate higher political authority	'noble savage'- pre-social human living before emergence of civil society
Competition, Conflict, confrontation	Somewhat peace, goodwill, mutual assistance and preservation	frugal, lazy, contended, peaceful isolated living
War of 'all against all' Life is Solitary, Poor, Nasty, Brutish, and Short	Fragile peace, inconvenience, constant danger of confrontation	Asocial, amoral, isolated living
Private judgement- everyone is judge, jury, executioner	Private judgement- everyone is judge, jury, executioner	Everyone was judge only for himself

Role of Religion, God

Hobbs	Locke	Rousseau
Completely separated Religion from body politic	Mixed morality drawn from religion to politics	Advocated civic religion—civic activity which will increase solidarity and moral freedom
Was considered atheist	Was deeply religious-puritan Christian	Abdicated Christianity for civic religion
Man is creation of nature	God created man	Creation of nature
law of nature- voice of reason	Law of nature- discovered by reason but consistent with moral command of God	Nature blessed men with virtuous quality of pity, equality and freedom

Social Contract

Hobbs	Locke	Rousseau
Contract/covenant of one with other and with all to come out of state of nature	Contract/covenant of one to other and with all to come out of state of nature	Contract/covenant of one to other and with all to come out of state of nature
Aim- to have peace and order	To better protect natural rights, peace & order	To reconcile modern life with virtue of 'noble savage'- solution to corrupting influence of civilization
Outcome: to set up higher power, the sovereign	Higher Impartial and legitimate authority-Political community and Govt	Community, the body politic
Single step process to set up society and state- a sovereign, a 3 rd party to which they surrendered all their rights and powers	2 step process , 1 st set up a community by transferring only some of the natural rights, 2 nd step : set up Govt	Not one time but continuous process
The sovereign is not party to the contract	The Govt/sovereign is party to the contract	The community/sovereign is party to the contract
Individuals have no rights, power against the sovereign- very limited right to resist	Individuals retain natural rights of life, liberty, and property and have right to resist, and change the Govt	Individuals subsumed/assimilate their rights, power, identity in the community to become its indivisible part

Law and Freedom

	Hobbs	Locke	Rousseau
Law	Command of the sovereign is law	Legislative make civil laws conforming to natural laws	Law reflect general will of the people/community
Freedom	•Negative freedom •Limited- self-preservation, one is free to do whatever laws says or silent	•Negative freedom •Individuals have better protected freedom of life & property	•Positive freedom •Individual lose natural freedom , gain civil and moral freedom • obeying law- obeying general will- higher self- moral freedom

Nature of Sovereign and Government

	Hobbs	Locke	Rousseau
•Sovereignty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Sovereignty vested in the 3rd party- Absolute, unlimited, indivisible, alienable power •Sovereign is not party to the contract 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Sovereignty vested in the community, exercised by the legislative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Sovereignty is vested in and exercised by the community •Absolute, unlimited, indivisible, alienable power •Each individual hold equal fraction of that sovereignty
•Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Absolute, undivided power, sovereign is the Govt •Govt/sovereign not party to the contract •Artificial creation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Constitutional Limited Govt.; trustee of citizen •Outcome of 2nd step contract, party to the contract •Divided power- Legislative and Executive •Artificial and temporary creation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Legislative function is carried by the community •Executive functions- elected Aristocracy •Community is permanent, organic whole, executive is temporary
Political obligation	Unlimited political obligation- Maintenance of covenant is obligatory as per natural law	Individual consented to enter into contract and set up Govt Explicit and tacit Consent	By obeying law, people are obeying themselves Law reflect general Will of the people

Overall Assessment and Influence

Hobbs	Locke	Rousseau
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Strong but negative character and his ideas were shocking and not so easily palatable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Considered as positive character and his ideas more palatable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Revolutionary utopic ideas •Not easy to implement
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Disliked by both Parliamentarians and Royalists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Firmly on side of Parliamentarians but his theory of consent based Govt angered them •Influenced both American and French revolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Antithetical to the enlightenment era and classical liberalism
Considered grand father of liberalism but less influential in modern liberal ideology	Philosophical father of both classical liberalism and capitalism His ideas are very influential in modern liberal ideology	Very Influential, but controversial. His ideas influenced French revolution, as well as modern totalitarian States

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