



**Political Science and International Relations 2027**

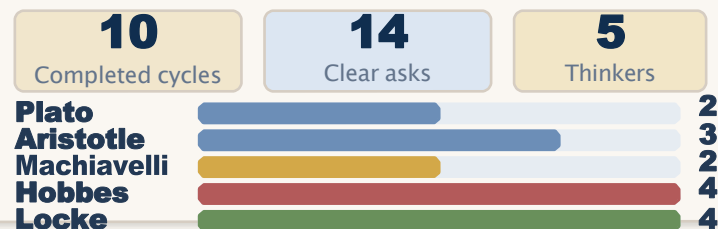
**Content Blueprint**

**[ Dawt #1 ]**

First Test Topics: Plato | Aristotle | Machiavelli | Hobbes | Locke

## How many times these thinkers were asked

Clear asks only from official UPSC papers



## Asked recently, so the same angle is less likely

- Plato – Forms / idealism
- Aristotle – Broad politics already covered
- Machiavelli – Religion / secularism
- Hobbes – State of nature / state of war
- Locke – Revolution / property / constitutionalism

## Which thinkers need first attention now

- 1 Machiavelli
- 2 Aristotle
- 3 Plato
- 4 Hobbes
- 5 Locke

## What to prepare first now

Use this page to decide which thinkers and areas need first revision.

Thinker	Prepare these chapter areas first	Areas from which 2026-2027 questions can be made	Priority
<b>Plato</b>	Justice; ideal state; philosopher king; education; democracy; communism	Justice as harmony; philosopher king; education and censorship; critique of democracy; Laws / second-best state	<b>High</b>
<b>Aristotle</b>	Political animal; polis; citizenship; constitutions; polity; rule of law; justice	Citizenship; best practicable state; rule of law; justice; property and family; revolution	<b>High</b>
<b>Machiavelli</b>	Virtu and fortuna; morality and politics; The Prince; statecraft; fear and love; republicanism	Virtu-fortuna; fox and lion; necessity; state preservation; republican liberty; corruption / militia	<b>Very High</b>
<b>Hobbes</b>	Sovereignty; Leviathan; social contract; law; liberty; self-preservation; religion and state	Sovereignty and indivisibility; covenant; liberty under sovereign; law and authority; religion and state; representation	<b>High</b>
<b>Locke</b>	Natural law; consent; limited government; legislature; property; law and liberty; toleration	Consent; legislative supremacy; trust / fiduciary government; natural rights; toleration; limits on government	<b>Medium</b>

**Best open areas right now: Machiavelli - statecraft | Aristotle - citizenship/polity | Plato - justice/ideal state | Hobbes - sovereignty/liberty | Locke - consent/toleration**

## Detailed PYQ trend table

This page shows what UPSC has already asked and what that means for the next one or two cycles

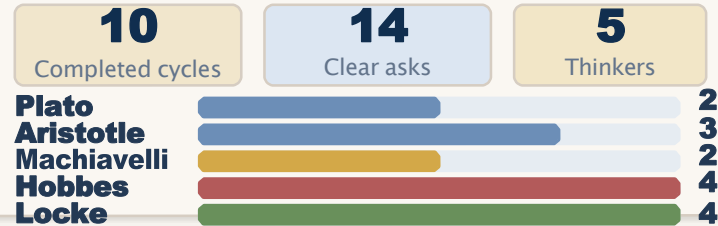
Thinker	What UPSC has already asked	What this means for the next one or two cycles	Priority
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<b>Aristotle</b>	2017 – inequality and revolution 2019 – critique of Plato 2021 – view of politics	Broad politics has already been asked. Citizenship, polity, rule of law and justice still look open.	<b>High</b>
<b>Machiavelli</b>	2018 – religion and politics 2020 – secularism	Religion–secularism has already been used. Core statecraft themes are still open.	<b>Very High</b>
<b>Hobbes</b>	2016 – state of nature 2017 – political obligation 2022 – individualism in absolutism 2023 – state of war	State–of–nature themes have been asked a lot. Sovereignty, law, liberty and representation remain better bets.	<b>High</b>
<b>Locke</b>	2018 – liberalism 2022 – social contract 2024 – revolution 2025 – constitutionalism, freedom, property	Asked heavily in recent years, so the same property/revolution angle should not be over–bet on.	<b>Medium</b>

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# Plato

## Introduction

- Father of Political Philosophy; founder of Political Idealism; politics ↔ ethics, justice ↔ soul, government ↔ knowledge.
- Disciple of Socrates; founder of Academy; first major thinker to place political ideas under the higher idea of the Good.
- Concern: virtue, justice, human perfection, right order of soul and polis.
- **Voltaire/Friedrich Nietzsche**: Platonism as the intellectual side of Christianity; **John Ruskin/William Morris** drawn to his concern for excellence.

## Life and Times

- Born 428/427 BCE, aristocratic Athens; formative years during Peloponnesian War; defeats of 413/404 BCE; Thirty Tyrants; restored but unstable democracy.
- Socrates' execution, 399 BCE -> decisive break; Academy founded, 388 BCE.
- Political background and intellectual outcome — rich-poor conflict; self-interest drove public life; democracy failed to protect wisdom/justice; conclusion: rulers must become philosophers, or rulers must learn philosophy.

## Major Works

- **The Republic** — central political text; metaphysics/ethics/psychology/pedagogy/politics/art integrated; justice, education, communism, ideal state, philosopher king.
- **Apology** — defence of philosophic life; *“an unexamined life is not worth living”*.
- **Crito** — duty, law, moral responsibility, citizen-polis relation.
- **The Statesman** — movement from philosopher king to statesman; constitutions classified.
- **The Laws** — mature turn toward law and second-best state.

## Influences on Plato

- **Pythagoras** — transmigration of soul; geometry; number; cosmic order/harmony; strengthened belief in ideal realm and ordered politics.
- **Heraclitus** — flux in sensory world; *“You cannot step in the same river twice.”*; Logos as governing reason.
- **Parmenides** — distrust of senses; unchanging reality behind appearances.
- **Socrates** — deepest influence: virtue is knowledge; reality/knowledge central; elenchus -> dialectics; politics as soul-craft; **Professor Maxey**: *“In Plato Socrates lived again.”*
- Socratic ethical inheritance — eudaimonism; happiness as end of rational action; virtue = proper functioning; objective goods knowable; wealth/power secondary to virtue.

## Plato and the Sophists

- Free pursuit of truth vs fee-based rhetoric.
- Moral/intellectual absolutism vs relativism.
- Truth over persuasion; distrust of rhetoric detached from truth.

## Methodology

- Dialectics — dialogue; conflict-examination-clarification; ascent toward the Good.
- Deduction — general -> particular; ideal state first, then justice/education/political roles.
- Teleological method — every institution has an end; education exists to produce justice.
- Analogy — Sun, Divided Line, Cave, Myth of Metals.
- Analytical combination — soul split into reason/spirit/appetite; state into rulers/auxiliaries/producers; justice = harmony after differentiation.

## Plato as the Father of Political Philosophy and Political Idealism

- First full statement of ideal state, good political life, ethics of rule.
- Core idealist claims: ideal is real; whole prior to part; state superior to individual; duties above rights; ethics and politics inseparable.
- Material world defective; permanent realm of ideas/forms = true reality.
- Was Plato utopian? — better seen as idealist, not mere dreamer; Swami Vivekananda's "guiding star" logic fits; physician diagnosing civic disease, not prophet promising heaven.

## Theory of Ideas and Forms

### Meaning and Basis

- forms are eternal, perfect, fixed; sensory world visible/material/changing/imperfect. Common names point to one Form. Plato is idealist because reality is ideal; realist because forms are objective/self-existent.

### Opinion and Knowledge

- opinion belongs to world of appearance; knowledge to immutable truth; hence virtue can be taught because knowledge can be attained.

### Analogy of the Sun, Divided Line and Allegory of the Cave

- Analogy of the Sun — as sun makes sight possible, the Good makes knowledge possible.
- Divided Line — visible: imagination/belief; intelligible: thinking/understanding.
- Allegory of the Cave — shadows mistaken for reality; philosopher ascends to truth and returns to guide; "Reality is a shadow of ideas."

### Idea of Good

- highest Form; source of intelligibility/value; justifies philosopher-rule; ruler must know absolute good, beauty, temperance, justice.

### Criticism

- **Aristotle** — rejects separate forms; form exists in the thing itself; hylomorphism; physical world not illusion; Third Man-type objection.
- Other critical lines — **Sheldon Wolin**: detached idealism may become impractical/authoritarian; **Immanuel Kant** reworks idealism through cognition; **Bertrand Russell/A. J. Ayer** question unverifiable metaphysics; **Julia Annas** stresses ethical side—knowledge of Forms as part of good character.

## Theory of Justice

### Meaning

- justice = righteousness/harmony, not mere legality; not stronger's advantage; protects weaker; virtue + social bond. **John Rawls**: justice is to social system what truth is to thought. **Ernest Barker**: justice makes man good and social. **George H. Sabine**: justice is the bond of society.

### Justice in The Republic

- Against Cephalus and Polemarchus — justice not helping friends/harming enemies.
- Against Thrasymachus — justice not advantage of stronger.
- Against Glaucon and Adeimantus — justice not merely fear-based contract.
- Positive idea of justice — functional specialisation; non-interference; harmony/interdependence. *“Justice means minding your own business and not meddling with other men's concerns.”*

### Tripartite Soul and Myth of Metals

- desire/emotion/knowledge -> appetite/spirit/reason -> producers/auxiliaries/rulers -> temperance/courage/wisdom; gold/silver/copper-iron. Justice exists when reason rules, spirit supports, appetite obeys.

### State is Individual Writ Large

- state = enlarged soul; ethics and politics one; just soul and just state differ only in scale.

### Criticism

- moral, not legal; suited more to small polis; rigid functions, limited mobility, Varna-like differentiation; noble lie/myth of metals criticised by **Friedrich Nietzsche** and **Karl Popper**; philosopher class may become autocratic.

## Theory of Education

### Meaning and Purpose

- public, compulsory, state-controlled; for men and women; censorship included; mental-moral-physical-spiritual formation; aim = ideal state and philosopher-rulers.

### Athenian and Spartan Influences

- Spartan discipline/state control/military rigour/gender inclusion + Athenian reason/intellectual culture.

### Scheme of Education

- 0–6: stories, manners, moral formation.
- 7–18: poetry, music, literature, science, gymnastics.
- 18–20: compulsory military training; first filtration -> failures to producer class.
- 20–30: higher mathematics/science/astronomy/geography/public service.
- 30–35: second filtration; dialectics/advanced study for successful few.
- 35–50: practical training in affairs.
- 50+: philosopher-rule; contemplation + governance.

### Education and Justice

- machinery that discovers aptitude and fixes right function; **Richard Lewis Nettleship**: division of work + harmonious cooperation; **George Klosko**: moulding of souls; **G. R. F. Ferrari**: justice = doing one's part; Plato: education turns the whole soul toward truth; **Ernest Barker**: ideal state is consequence of educational system.

### Merits

- systematic; state-funded; holistic; aptitude-based specialisation; gender-neutral in principle; links character and politics.

### Criticism

- expensive; anti-democratic in neglect of producers; over-mathematical; abstract; philosopher more than man of action; limited mobility; weak on practical administration.

## Communism of Property and Family

### Meaning and Purpose

- communism supplementary to education; additional safeguard against corruption; motive political, not economic; preserves guardian purity and civic unity.

### Features

- Communism of property — only for guardians/auxiliaries; no private property for ruling class; property seen as appetite’s channel.
- Communism of family — no permanent monogamous family among guardians; wives/children held in common; marriage for procreation; state-regulated breeding; children raised by state; women relieved of exclusive domestic burden; **George H. Sabine**: two forms—no private property, no permanent family life among rulers.

### Plato and Marx

Plato	Karl Marx
aristocratic/guardian-specific/idealist/state-strengthening/peaceful	proletarian/universal/materialist/classless-stateless/revolutionary

- Similarities superficial; differences fundamental.

### Criticism

- **Aristotle**: property motivates effort/charity/stability; family gives emotional order; communal ownership breeds neglect/confusion; common wives/children unnatural. **Karl Popper**: utopian/authoritarian tendency. **G. M. A. Grube/A. E. Taylor**: abhorrent because deep human bonds ignored.

## Ideal State and Philosopher King

### Basis of the Ideal State

- justice made visible in larger canvas of state; three classes mirror three soul-elements; three “waves”: philosopher rulers, women guardians, guardian communism.

### Philosopher King

- lover of wisdom; knower of Good; 50 years of training; no property/family; reluctant ruler; rule = knowledge + sacrifice. *“Those states are best governed where rulers are reluctant to govern.”*

### Knowledge and Law

- *“For, no law or ordinance is mightier than knowledge.”* Law general/rigid; living knowledge flexible; politics must be guided by wisdom, not convention. *“Until philosophers are kings... cities will never have rest from evil.”*

### Criticism

- concentrated unchecked power; thin institutional restraint; danger of authoritarian/total extension of rule; unrealistic to expect one class/one person to embody wisdom fully; Syracuse shows practical failure; **Friedrich Nietzsche/George H. Sabine/Karl Popper** attack elitism.

## The Statesman and The Laws

### Classification of Constitutions

- In **The Statesman** — law-abiding: monarchy/aristocracy/moderate democracy; lawless: tyranny/oligarchy/extreme democracy.
- Five regimes in the degenerative sequence — aristocracy -> timocracy -> oligarchy -> democracy -> tyranny.
- Statesman — later ideal ruler; more grounded in tradition, custom, law.

### Plato's Second-Best State

- in **The Laws**, law replaces philosopher's direct wisdom; detailed laws; private property with limits; controlled population; nomination + election; education still central.

### Dual purpose of laws

- education + deterrence.

### Plato and Democracy

- democracy ignores knowledge; freedom becomes excess; law weakens; unnecessary desires dominate; anarchy invites tyranny.

### Relevance

- demagogues/populism/social-media doxa revive his anxieties; **Fareed Zakaria/Giovanni Sartori/Yascha Mounk** often used for this line.

### Limits of Plato's critique

- modern constitutionalism, rights, judicial review, separation of powers, welfare achievements challenge his dismissal; **Lech Wałęsa/Nelson Mandela** show democratic moral leadership; **Winston Churchill**: democracy *"the least bad among all alternatives."*

### Plato and Women

- women included in guardian class, education, military, even philosopher-ruler; virtue not male monopoly; communism partly releases women from private domestic burden.

### Limits

- equality argued largely for state utility, not individual autonomy; **Julia Annas**: case for equality incomplete; **Susan M. Okin**: feminist, but inadequate one.

## Aristotle's Critique of Plato's Idealism

### Main Points of Critique

- Theory of ideas — no separate forms; form + matter inseparable.
- State — best practicable state, not ideal state.
- Philosopher king and law — rule of law preferable to personal wisdom; combined judgement safer.
- Property and family — private property/common use; family natural; unity in diversity, not excessive fusion.
- Method and spirit — empirical/moderate/functional; Plato deductive/radical/perfectionist.

### Plato and Aristotle: Fundamental Differences

Plato	Aristotle
philosophy/idealism/ideal state/philosopher king/uniformity/deduction	political science/realism/best practicable state/polity/law/unity in diversity/induction

- **Will Durant**: *"Dear is Plato, but dearer still is truth."* **William Ebenstein**: *"Plato found the corrective to his thinking in his own student."*

## Criticism and Assessment

- **Karl Popper** and the Open Society — Plato read as enemy of open society: fixed hierarchy, myth of metals, class closure, suppression of criticism, subordination of individual to collective; three charges—essentialism, holism, historicism.
- Popper's defence of the open society — freedom, criticism, tolerance, limited government, constitutionalism, civic equality; no final orthodoxy; persuasion over coercion; transparency, correction of error, piecemeal social engineering. Warnings: *"The attempt to make heaven on earth invariably produces hell."*
- Other Criticisms — **John Jay Chapman**: *"prince of conjurers"*; **Warner Fite**: adolescent vacillation; **R. H. S. Crossman**: wrong for his age and ours; **Isaiah Berlin/Bertrand Russell** note authoritarian implications; **Hannah Arendt** opposes his distrust of plurality/action.
- Defence of Plato — context: civil conflict, oligarchic terror, execution of Socrates; rulers denied luxury/property/family; aptitude over mere birth; no modern terror apparatus; whole scheme moral-educational, not naked repression. **Sidney Hook/Rajiv Bhargava/Levenson** caution against literalist, ahistorical reading.

## Contribution and Influence

- Place in Western Thought — Father of Political Philosophy; founder of Political Idealism; first full theory of ideal state; justice-education-ethics-governance fused; functional specialisation; organic state; women's education. **Alfred North Whitehead**: European philosophy as footnotes to Plato. **Ralph Waldo Emerson**: *"Plato is Philosophy and Philosophy is Plato."* **Karl Popper**: Western thought mostly platonic or anti-platonic, hardly non-platonic.
- Wider lines of influence — **Augustine of Hippo**, Christian thought, rationalist traditions; anti-Platonic/critical lines in Aristotle, **Desiderius Erasmus**, **Friedrich Nietzsche**, **Martin Heidegger**, **Jean-Paul Sartre**, **Jacques Derrida**, **Julia Kristeva**; **Hans-Georg Gadamer**, **Alain Badiou** revive/rework him.
- Contemporary Importance — ethical leadership, justice, civic education, expertise vs public rule, common good vs private interest, demagoguery and democratic decline.
- Examples of contemporary resonance in the material — social justice movements, civic education, expert guidance in crisis, concern over populism.
- Conclusion — Plato set the permanent questions: what is justice, who should rule, how should rulers be educated, can politics be separated from ethics? His institutions may be severe; his standards remain unavoidable.

# Aristotle

## Introduction

- Father of Political Science; major realist of Greek thought; turns political thought from ideal construction to constitutions, citizenship, law, class balance, stability.
- Politics = master science/master-art; concerns ends of human life.
- Empirical, analytical, constitutional temper; law needed because human beings are rational passion-prone.
- **Samuel Taylor Coleridge**: “One is either Platonic (idealism) or Aristotelian (realist).” / “Everyone is born either a Platonist or an Aristotelian.”
- “Dear is Plato, but dearer is truth.”

## Life and Intellectual Background

- Early Life — 384–322 BCE; son of Nicomachus, physician; habit of causes/classification/diagnosis/cure shaped political method.
- Major Works — **Politics, Nicomachean Ethics, Rhetoric**; over 150 treatises; around 158 constitutions studied.
- Influences on Aristotle — Plato central influence; **Will Durant** stresses depth of influence; **Michael B. Foster**: “Aristotle is the greatest of all the Platonists.” Shared Platonic beliefs: man social by nature, state for moral perfection, democracy not best, virtue central; still independent—“Dear is Plato, but dearer is truth.”

## Methodology

- Scientific and Empirical Method — data, facts, evidence, observation; **Ernest Barker**: scientific/systematic/analytical; hence “*scientist of politics*”.
- Inductive Method — particular -> general; Plato moves general -> particular. Plato gives ideal state; Aristotle searches best possible state.
- Historical, Comparative and Teleological Method — constitutions studied in development/comparison; telos/end/purpose central; “*Nature does nothing in vain.*” Statesman likened to physician/artist.
- Rhetoric and Persuasion — ethos/logos/pathos; politics not only institutional but communicative.

## Aristotle and Plato

- Similarities — ethics-politics linked; state for good life; distrust unregulated democracy; education central; polis essential to fulfilment.
- Differences — Plato idealist/deductive/ideal state/philosopher king/unity; Aristotle realist/inductive/best possible state/rule of law/unity in diversity. Plato communism of wives/property; Aristotle family/private property. Plato ideas above matter; Aristotle form in matter. Golden Mean becomes political rule.
- Was Aristotle a Platonist? — surface attack on communism and philosopher king; deeper agreement on virtue, good life, moral-spiritual state, Ethics and Politics as one science. **Eric Voegelin**: Platonic-Socratic mode of life formed Aristotle’s soul.

## Theory of State

- State as a Natural Community — not artificial contract; family -> village -> community -> state; association of associations; self-sufficing; highest community aiming at highest good; unity in diversity; moral school cultivating courage, self-control, fairness.
- State is Prior to the Individual — prior teleologically, not temporally; whole before part; individual outside polis incomplete; “*The state is by nature clearly prior...*”; self-sufficiency means outside polis one is god or beast. **William Ebenstein**: state = moral sovereignty more than legal sovereignty.
- Man is by Nature a Political Animal — deeper than sociality; logos/speech/reason enables judgement of just/unjust, good/bad, common purposes; counters Sophists; politics rooted in reasoned speech.
- Best Possible State and Features of the Polis — compact, self-sufficient, defensible, not aggressive, not too rich or poor, no excessive trade/territory, common trust/memory/language of justice; rejects cosmopolis; freedom = life under reason/law/civic responsibility.
- Authority of Statesman and Authority of Master — state not large family but family of families; master’s household authority ≠ statesman’s political authority; political rule must be constitutional/deliberative/limited.

## Theory of Citizenship

- Meaning of Citizenship — not residence/descent/legal tag alone; citizen shares deliberative and judicial office.
- Qualifications of a Citizen — active participation, leisure, property, education, experience; ability to rule and be ruled. Excluded: women, children, elderly, slaves, workers, aliens.
- Good Citizen — virtue + harmony with constitution + intelligence to rule/obey + civic education.
- Assessment — property crucial because leisure and contemplation support citizenship. **William Ebenstein**: citizen as economically independent gentleman. Narrow/exclusionary; lasting insight—citizenship is duty, not mere formal status.

## Theory of Slavery

- Basis of Slavery — natural inequality; slave as “*animate instrument*”; some fitted to rule, some to be ruled. “*For that some should rule and others be ruled...*”
- Natural and Conventional Slaves — natural slave lacks full self-rule, fit for bodily labour; conventional slave may be free by nature but enslaved through war.
- Slavery and Freedom — true freedom = self-rule, restraint, virtue; master gains leisure for contemplation; Aristotle even recommends humane treatment/possible emancipation.
- Criticism — **Karl Popper**, **Immanuel Kant**, **Alasdair MacIntyre**, **Martha Nussbaum**, **Charles Taylor**, **Bernard Williams** reject natural slavery. **Michael B. Foster**: expediency. **Ernest Barker**: justification of necessity, not disinterested fact. Morally indefensible by modern standards.

## Ideas on Family and Women

- Family/oikos natural first unit; basis of polis; socialisation, emotional support, continuity, transmission of virtue; “*Spousal philia*” central.
- Rejects Plato’s family communism: what belongs to all gets least care.
- Women viewed as inferior in deliberative capacity; domestic confinement; patriarchal lines—“*infertile male*”, “*half male*”, “*incomplete*”. One of weakest parts; **John Stuart Mill** later exposes the limit.

## Ideas on Property

- Meaning and Basis — criticism of Plato's communism; property necessary if honestly acquired; supports household, generosity, liberality, leisure, citizenship. Animate property/slaves; inanimate/material goods. **Chester C. Maxey**: property natural necessity. Aristotle: wealth is store of things necessary/useful for life.
- Arrangements of Ownership and Use — four possibilities considered; best = individual ownership + common use. Common ownership breeds neglect/quarrels/reduced productivity.
- Assessment — against unfair acquisition such as interest; warns against excessive wealth; private property justified for virtue/household stability/contemplation/common use, not greed.

## Theory of Justice

- Meaning and Importance — heart of politics. *“The good in the sphere of politics is justice..”* / *“Justice is the bond of men in states..”* / without law and justice, man worst of animals. Justice = perfect virtue in action + institutional fairness.
- General Justice and Particular Justice — general justice = law-abiding complete goodness toward others; particular justice splits into distributive and rectificatory. **William David Ross**: just can mean lawful or fair/equal.
- Distributive Justice — honours/offices/wealth/public goods by geometric/proportionate equality; according to merit, worth, contribution, desert; just = proportional. **Michael Sandel**: justice is teleological—rights require grasp of telos.
- Rectificatory Justice — fraud/violence/injury/theft/wrongful gain; arithmetic equality; judge restores balance.
- Equality and Proportionate Justice — numerical equality vs proportional equality vs political equality among freemen; Aristotle prefers proportional. *“It is unjust to treat equals unequally. It is equally unjust to treat unequals, equally.”* Real/imagined inequality -> grievance -> revolution. **John Rawls** more egalitarian; **Michael Walzer** echoes sphere-sensitive distribution.
- Plato and Aristotle on Justice — Plato: duty-oriented, moral/spiritual, inner harmony. Aristotle: practical, external, institutional, proportionate.
- Rule of Law — law less arbitrary than personal rule; *“Law is a reason without passion.”* Collective wisdom better than even wisest ruler; key foundation of constitutionalism.

## Theory of Constitution

- Meaning of Constitution — not mere rules; way of life shaping moral character of state.
- Classification of Governments — by number and purpose. One: monarchy/tyranny. Few: aristocracy/oligarchy. Many: polity/democracy. Also law-abiding vs lawless.
- Polity as the Best Practicable Government — golden mean between oligarchy and democracy; moderate constitutional government rooted in middle class; rich arrogant, poor embittered, middle class stable/moderate. *“The people... are collectively as good.”*
- Cycle of Constitutional Change — monarchy -> tyranny -> aristocracy -> oligarchy -> polity -> democracy -> monarchy; often read as cycle of governments, not states.

## Theory of Revolution

- Meaning of Revolution — any constitutional/political change, big or small; change in rulers or constitution; usually linked by Aristotle with violence/bloodshed.
- Causes of Revolution — three-fold chain: state of mind, objective sought, occasion. Deepest cause: injustice and inequality. *“Everywhere inequality is a cause of revolution.”* Real or imagined inequality matters. General causes: greed, concentration of power, fear, class conflict, racial conflict, corruption, maladministration, family feuds, weak middle class. Regime-specific causes differ by democracy/oligarchy/aristocracy/polity/monarchy-tyranny.
- Prevention of Revolution — remove injustice; obedience to law; civic education; watch small changes; prevent concentration; short offices; fair distribution of wealth/honour; allow opinion; mixed regime; civic friendship; strong middle class.
- Aristotle and Marx on Revolution — Aristotle conservative, political, preventive; Karl Marx radical, socio-economic, transformative. Aristotle sees instability; Marx sees locomotive toward communism.
- Criticism of the Theory of Revolution — narrow, political, status-quoist, overly tied to violence; underestimates non-bloody/social-intellectual change. Lasting truth: perceived injustice is politically explosive.

## *Aristotle in the Evolution of Western Political Thought*

- Ancient Greek line: Socrates ethics-politics; Plato idealism; Aristotle realism + constitutional science.
- Medieval phase: religion/Church dominance; **Dante Alighieri** and later **G. W. F. Hegel**-like exaltation of state.
- Renaissance/modernity: **Niccolò Machiavelli** secularises politics.
- Social contract/liberal turn: **Thomas Hobbes**, **John Locke**, **Jean-Jacques Rousseau**.
- Scientific-rational turn: **Thomas Hobbes**, **René Descartes**.
- Utilitarian/liberal development: **Jeremy Bentham**, representative government, rule of law.
- Socialist critique: **Karl Marx**.
- Contemporary revival/expansion: **John Rawls**, **Michel Foucault**, **Hannah Arendt**, **Edward Said**.
- **J. S. McClelland** traces the long movement; **Andrew Hacker** sees political theory as never-ending debate.

## *Influence and Legacy*

- Contribution to Modern Constitutional Democracy — rule of law; constitutional government; mixed government; middle-class moderation; citizenship as public duty; distributive justice; common good; groundwork for checks/balances and later Montesquieu/American constitutionalism.
- Contemporary Importance — conservatives: **Hannah Arendt**, **Leo Strauss**, **Eric Voegelin**; communitarians: **Alasdair MacIntyre**, **Michael Sandel**; liberals: **William Galston**, **Martha C. Nussbaum**; libertarians: **Tibor R. Machan**, **Douglas B. Rasmussen**, **Douglas J. Den Uyl**; democratic theorists: **Jill Frank**, **Gerald M. Mara**. Living themes: citizenship, inequality, justice, constitutionalism, mixed government, common good.
- Important Scholarly Assessments — **Samuel Taylor Coleridge**'s Platonic/Aristotelian contrast; **Michael B. Foster** "*greatest of all the Platonists*"; **Chester C. Maxey** on science vs utopia; **Ernest Barker** on scientific method; **William David Ross** on lawful/fair senses of justice; **Raymond G. Gettell** on *Politics* as art of government; **William Ebenstein** on moral sovereignty and gentleman-citizen; **Professor Bowels**, **Eduard Zeller**, **Will Durant**, **Eric Voegelin**.
- Criticism — small homogeneous polis unsuited to large plural societies; state prior to individual may threaten rights; exclusionary citizenship; slavery; patriarchy; merit-property nexus may harden hierarchy; limited equality; constitution/state confusion; narrow revolution theory.
- Conclusion — joins ethics to institutions, justice to law, citizenship to virtue, design to stability; searches not utopia but best possible order for living well.



## WESTERN POLITICAL THOUGHT: MACHIAVELLI (1469-1527)

### SPACE AND TIME:

- Florence; diplomat; civic republican; practical politician more than abstract philosopher.
- Italy fragmented into rival city-states; internal disorder + foreign interference -> unification impulse.
- Renaissance break from medieval order; glory, fame, self-determination, human agency.
- **Harold Laski**: “the whole of the Renaissance is in Machiavelli.”
- **William Archibald Dunning**: Machiavelli stood on the borderline between medieval and modern ages.

### Questioning the Monolithic Order of Christianity:

- New age/new man; ambition, fame, self-realisation, worldly life.
- Monolithic Christian order questioned; politics gains worldly autonomy.

### Renaissance Context:

- Commerce, money economy, banking, printing press, explorations/discoveries.
- Church’s monopoly over knowledge weakens; centralized states emerge.

### INFLUENCES:

- Renaissance; Reformation; rise of nation-state; early capitalism.
- Human nature at centre; Italy as strong unified nation-state.
- Individualism + humanism foregrounded.

### New Thoughts:

- Politics separated from religious tutelage.
- Patriotism central; concern for common good through strong state.

### ITALY OF THAT TIME:

- Florence, Milan, Venice, Naples; plus France and Spain.
- Intrigue, blackmail, shifting alliances, war -> realism, nationalism, statecraft.

### METHODOLOGY

#### Historical Method:

- Past explains present; human nature/problems recur across time.
- Like Aristotle, uses history; unlike Aristotle, studies actual working of government, not abstract classification.
- **William Archibald Dunning**: study of the art of government, not theory of the state.

#### Empirical Method:

- Actual observation + historical facts + common sense + political insight.

#### School of Thought: Realism

- Effectual truth of politics; necessity knows no law; might is right; ends justify means.
- Rejects scholastic/juridical idealism; foundation of political realism.

#### Works of Machiavelli:

- **The Prince**: realist advice on statecraft and power.
- **Discourses**: republicanism; Roman model; criticism of feudal order/nobility.
- **The Art of War**: relation of war and politics.
- **History of Florence**: Florentine political forces/history.

## FUNDAMENTAL PREMISES OF MACHIAVELLI'S THOUGHT

### MORAL INDIFFERENCE:

- Amoral/non-moral, not moralist; politics cannot be judged by ordinary moral categories.
- Facts of political life ≠ values of moral judgement.
- “Galileo of politics” line conveys this fact-value separation.

### UNIVERSAL EGOISM:

- Men selfish, ungrateful, disloyal, insecure, deceitful, timid of danger, avid for profit.
- Love breaks; fear holds through dread of punishment.
- Unlimited desire -> perpetual acquisition/conflict.

### AUTONOMY OF POLITICS:

- Politics autonomous sphere; father of modern political science.
- Break from Aristotelian virtue-politics.
- **Leo Strauss:** “teacher of evil”; core issue = political necessity over conventional morality.

### SECULARISM:

- Religion useful, not foundational.
- Religion should not guide commonwealth policy; Church must not dominate state.
- Religion can serve discipline/order; prince should appear religious in public.
- Observance of religious ordinances aids greatness of commonwealth; neglect aids devastation.
- European secularism begins here: religion below state in worldly affairs.

## ADVICE TO THE PRINCE

### Pragmatism in Governance:

- “how we live is far different from how we ought to live.”
- Ruler ruined if he clings to goodness among men who are not good.

### Characteristics of a Prince:

- Realist; rational + brutal when needed.
- Fox + lion; cunning + force.
- “The lion cannot protect himself from traps, and the fox cannot defend himself from wolves.”
- State above sentiment; dual morality/raison d'état.
- Justice/injustice, mercy/cruelty, honour/dishonour judged politically, not morally.

### Expansion and Preservation:

- State must expand or perish.
- Neighbours natural enemies; acquisition/expansion central to survival.
- “There is no avoiding war, it can only be postponed to the advantage of your enemy.”

### Preservation of the State:

- Preservation of state = supreme purpose.
- Nationalized standing army/citizen army; no mercenaries.
- Prince may use necessary evil for security and unity.

### Classical Realism:

- Human self-interest, insecurity, struggle, force -> later classical realism in international relations.

## MACHIAVELLI ON RELIGION

### Utilitarian Approach to Religion:

- Religion = tool/disciplinary force for order, obedience, stability.
- Not anti-religion; anti-Church supremacy.
- Religion must serve politics, not master it.
- One-way separation logic: religion cannot dictate state.

## REPUTATION IN PUBLIC AND STATE AFFAIRS

### *Fear Over Love:*

- Better feared than loved; fear more reliable for order.
- Strong personality; command authority.

### *Projecting Power:*

- Strict/severe, not wild.
- Keep people busy with large enterprises.

### *Grandeur and Restraint:*

- Surround action with grandeur.
- Avoid heavy taxation.
- Keep hands off subjects' property and women.

## MACHIAVELLI ON VIRTUE, POWER, AND FORTUNA

### *Virtue:*

- Virtù = qualities needed to achieve great things and preserve state.
- Directly tied to power; mastery in applying power situationally.
- **Quentin Skinner:** ability to shape circumstances rather than be shaped by them.

### *Comparison with Aristotle and Socrates:*

- No equivalence with conventional/Aristotelian virtue.
- Aristotle/Socrates: complete goodness, moral integrity.
- Machiavelli: adaptive, situational, state-preserving virtue.

### *MACHIAVELLI'S VIEW OF VIRTUE:*

- Highest virtue = capacity to shift from good to evil as circumstances demand.
- Politics as battlefield; prince as general; strategy > fixed morality.

### *FORTUNA:*

- Blind, destructive, capricious force; source of misery/disaster.
- Compared to a woman; must be mastered by boldness.
- Impetuous better than cautious.
- Virtù confronts fortuna through forceful adaptation.

### *VIRTUE AS PREPARATION TO FIGHT FORTUNA:*

- Virtù equips prince/people to respond to changing circumstance and preserve state.

## DISCOURSES ON LIVY

### HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND MACHIAVELLI'S INFLUENCE:

- Based on Titus Livy's Rome.
- Rome great when Grandi allowed Popolo political role; unity under external threat.

### ADVOCACY FOR REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT:

- Strong case for republicanism; people's participation essential.
- Humanism links government to welfare of people.
- **J. G. A. Pocock**: republican collective virtù against corruption.

### TWO SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT:

The Prince	Discourses
monarchy in crisis.	republic as ideal stable order.

- **George H. Sabine** saw two admirations—monarchy and self-governing people.
- Rebuttal: no contradiction; princely force may found/restore order, republic remains higher form.

### HUMANISM AS A UNIFYING PRINCIPLE:

- Monarchy + republic united by common good/human welfare.
- **Maurizio Viroli**: patriot of common liberty.

### MACHIAVELLIANISM:

- Mere *"merciless pursuit of ends by any means"* = distortion.
- Human agency central; politics built on men as they are, not as they ought to be.

### CONFLICT BETWEEN GRANDI AND POPOLO:

- Two classes; incompatible interests.
- Core problem = prevent perpetual conflict.
- Prince should restrain nobles; if forced to choose, side with the masses.

### THE ROMAN MODEL:

- Ancient Rome = model republic.
- Conflict channelled into strength, expansion, civic greatness.
- *"Experience shows that cities have never increased in dominion or riches except while they have been at liberty."*

## EVALUATION OF MACHIAVELLI'S POLITICAL THEORIES

### CRITICISM AND LIMITATIONS:

- **George H. Sabine**: *"narrowly local and narrowly dated"*; shaped by Italy's crisis.
- Blind to religion's later political role; one-sided on human nature.
- **Leo Strauss**: *"teacher of evil."*
- **Benedetto Croce**: realist/pragmatist.
- **George H. Sabine**: better non-moral than immoral.
- **Mahatma Gandhi**: politics without ethics/religion a *"death trap"*; purity of means critique.

### PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR:

- Sharp dark-side realism; but no systematic psychology like Thomas Hobbes later.

### COMPARISON OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN STATES:

Medieval	Modern
decentralized, no sovereignty, revolutionary disturbance.	sovereignty, centralisation, unified authority.

### MACHIAVELLI'S CONTRIBUTIONS:

- Anticipates sovereign modern state.
- Nationalized army; secularization and amoralisation of politics.
- Politics, revolution, morality, statecraft recast in modern form.

### INFLUENCE ON LATER POLITICAL THOUGHT:

- State, sovereignty, secularism, realism.
- **George H. Sabine**: modern meaning of *"state"* owes more to Machiavelli than to any other thinker.
- **Isaiah Berlin**: politics separated from ethics; path to secular empirical statecraft.

### PRAGMATISM AND METHODOLOGY:

- Saved political thought from scholastic obscurantism.
- First pragmatic thinker; historical-empirical-common-sense approach.
- Influence visible on Thomas Hobbes and later realist thought.

### REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT AS THE FINAL GOAL:

- Monarchy may be transitional/founding phase.
- Republic best protects citizens' freedom and makes city great.
- Prince may found order, then cede to republican institutions.

# THOMAS HOBBS (1588 – 1679)

*“fear and I were born twins.”*

## Introduction

- Beginning of modern political thought; shifts politics from divine right/teleology to fear, consent, law, sovereignty.
- Politics begins from violent death, not good life.
- Radical individualism + absolute sovereignty.

## Historical Background and Life

- Born 1588; Oxford; tutor to aristocratic family.
- English Civil War, execution of King Charles I, exile in France -> obsession with disorder and divided authority.
- **De Cive** 1642; **Leviathan** 1651.
- Treaty of Westphalia 1648 + Reformation weaken medieval universalism, strengthen sovereign state.
- Peace, order, security, comfortable life; **Karl Marx**: *“the father of all of us.”*
- Father of modern political science; staunch defender of absolute monarchy, though sovereign may be man or assembly.

## Major Works

- English translation of Thucydides’ **History of the Peloponnesian War**, critique of Athenian democracy.
- **The Elements of Law** (1640).
- **De Cive** (1642).
- **Leviathan** (1651): human nature, state of nature, covenant, sovereignty, law, religion, liberty.

## Place in Political Thought

- Central thinker of social contract tradition.
- Break from divine right.
- Absolutist theory of sovereignty; positive theory of law backed by authority.
- **Crawford Brough Macpherson**: ideologue of nascent capitalist market economy.
- Absolutism built on radical individualism.

## Hobbes, Aristotle and Niccolò Machiavelli

Niccolò Machiavelli	Thomas Hobbes	Aristotle	Thomas Hobbes
prince; historical observation; arms/cruelty.	sovereign; scientific-formal method; law/order/institutional power.	virtue, teleology, good life.	fear, conflict, death; politics as life/death, not prudential perfection.

- Closer to Niccolò Machiavelli than Aristotle.

## Hobbes as the First Modern Thinker

- Contest: Niccolò Machiavelli / Jean Bodin / Thomas Hobbes.
- Niccolò Machiavelli grasped nation-state, not complete sovereignty.
- Jean Bodin defined sovereignty, but left divine/natural/religious restraints.
- Thomas Hobbes gives first complete theory: absolute, indivisible, final, extends over religion.
- *“While Jean Bodin was standing on the gate of Modernity, it was Hobbes who jumped inside.”*
- *“When Bodin was standing at the gate of sovereignty, it was Hobbes who made the jump.”*

## Methodology

- Politics studied like science.
- Influences: Johannes Kepler, Galileo Galilei, Francis Bacon, William Harvey, Isaac Newton.
- Resolutive-compositive method; *“everything is best understood by its constitutive causes.”*
- Deductive, mathematical style.
- Psychological egoism; ethical relativism.
- **John Rawls:** Hobbesian state of nature as Prisoner’s Dilemma.

## Human Nature

- Not naturally moral/social/public-spirited.
- Self-regarding beings driven by motion, desire, fear, security.

### Matter, Motion, Appetite and Aversion

- Man = *“matter in motion.”*
- Vital motion / voluntary motion.
- Appetite toward aid; aversion from harm.
- Pleasure sought; pain avoided.
- *“natural man is man considered as if he were simply an animal, not modified in any way by education or discipline.”*
- Materialist, non-teleological human nature.

### Felicity, Fear and Self-Preservation

- Self-preservation fundamental.
- Fear + self-interest deepest motives.
- Felicity = continual success in obtaining desired objects; movement/acquisition, not moral fulfilment.
- *“Fear And I Were Born Twins & Were Ever Thereafter Inseparable.”*

### Power

- *“All mankind has a general inclination towards a perpetual and restless desire for power that ceases only in death.”*
- Power must grow or dissipate; hence permanent struggle.
- Three causes of quarrel: competition, diffidence, glory.
- **Michael Oakeshott:** man as complex of power.
- **Simon Weil:** power compels endless reinforcement.
- Fear, insecurity, pride, vain-glory intensify conflict.

## State of Nature

### Meaning

- Hypothetical pre-political/pre-social condition.
- No civil law, state, political power, common judge, enforceable authority.
- Utter anarchy.

### Natural Equality, Scarcity and Conflict

- Equality of vulnerability: even weak can kill strong.
- **Sharon A. Lloyd:** equality in ability to conquer/kill one another.
- Scarcity + unlimited desire + equality -> rivalry, distrust, insecurity.
- **Tom Sorell:** equality under scarcity becomes enmity.

### State of War

- “war of every man against every man.”
- War = known disposition thereto, not only actual fighting.
- No justice/injustice/industry/arts/letters/commerce/society/civilisation.
- Force + fraud cardinal virtues.
- “the nature of war consists not in actual fighting, but in the known disposition thereto during all the time there is no assurance to the contrary.”
- “No arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent deaths: and the life of man, Solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.”
- “man is wolf-man.”
- **John Charvet:** war-proneness lies in inherent tendencies restrained only by commonwealth.

### Natural Rights

- Right of nature = liberty to use one’s own power for preserving one’s own life.
- In state of nature, right to everything, even another’s life.
- Rights = absence of obligation; laws = obligation.
- Rights precede law.
- Paradox: all possess rights; none enjoy secure rights.
- Self-preservation = most basic, inalienable right; remains after commonwealth.

### Laws of Nature

- Rational “articles of peace”; reason prefers peace over war.

## Social Contract, Covenant and Commonwealth

- Laws of nature show peace; covenant creates power that secures it.

### Covenant and Contract

- Contract = general agreement.
- Covenant = pledge for future action; durable/perpetual.
- Political order rests on covenant.

### Nature of the Contract

- Single contract: society + state founded together.
- Made “each with all and all with each.”
- **William Ebenstein:** “The sovereign is not a party to the contract, but its creation.”
- Sovereign = product/beneficiary/outside the covenant.
- “I authorize and give up my right of governing myself to this man/to this assembly of men...”
- Justice begins after covenant; injustice = “not performance of a covenant.”
- “Covenants, without the sword, are but words...”
- “The bonds of words are too weak...”
- No general right of rebellion/revolution; collapse returns men to state of nature.

### Forms of Sovereignty

- Monarchy / aristocracy / democracy; form secondary, absoluteness primary.
- Leviathan = artificial authority / “Artificial Person.”
- Sovereignty by institution / by acquisition.
- Fear as valid basis of obligation as consent.
- Conqueror gets dominion only when conquered tacitly promise obedience.

## Theory of Sovereignty

### Meaning

- Highest, final, effective authority in state.
- Leviathan = ultimate, lone authority.

### Types

- Legal sovereign.
- Political sovereign.
- External sovereign.
- Internal sovereign.

### Characteristics

- Absolute; indivisible; inalienable; perpetual; legally unconstrained.
- Sovereign alone interprets natural law in civil society.
- No sovereign action unjust in contractual sense.
- One subject-side limit: inalienable self-preservation.
- Obligation lasts while protection lasts.

### Why Absolute Sovereignty?

- Single focus of allegiance necessary.
- Multiple centres of power -> civil war.
- **Robert Caponigri**: limited sovereign becomes only another contender among interests.
- Stark choice: anarchy or absolutism.
- *“to divide the power of a common-wealth... is to dissolve it.”*
- **Jean Bodin, Thomas Hobbes, John Austin**: sovereignty must reside in determinate body.

### Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes

Jean Bodin	Thomas Hobbes
<i>“that absolute and perpetual power vested in a common-wealth”; “Supreme power over citizens and subjects, unrestrained by law.”; still restrained by divine law, natural law, property.</i>	sovereignty = monopoly of coercive power; grounded in covenant, fear, artifice.

- **George H. Sabine**: Hobbes removed disabilities Jean Bodin left standing.
- **Quentin Skinner**: *“the political covenant... shows that the powers of the crown have no limits at all”*

## Theory of Law

- Command theory, but after covenant-created normative relation.
- Individuals authorise lawgiver; sovereign’s reason becomes public reason; private judgement surrendered.
- Civil law = only functioning law once state exists.
- Natural law survives only through sovereign adoption/civil enforcement.
- **John Plamenatz**: civil law and natural law *“contain each other”*; sovereign interpretation alone binding.
- Stands between natural law and legal positivism.
- *“It is not wisdom but Authority that makes a law.”*

## Religion and State

- Religion arises from anxiety/uncertainty; unchecked religion breeds disorder.
- One state-regulated religion; no independent ecclesiastical sovereignty.
- Theology/philosophy separated; public reason/science central.
- Belief cannot simply be forced; public worship/propagation are public matters.
- Church = *“nothing more than a corporation governed by the commonwealth.”*
- No lawful faith-profession without sovereign sanction.

## Liberty and Self-Preservation

- Security above unregulated liberty.
- Liberty = absence of external impediments.
- *“Liberty is where law is silent.”*
- Freedom in area not prohibited: property dealings, trade, diet, education of children, private opinions, conscience.
- Liberty ≠ ability.
- Early negative liberty; **Isaiah Berlin** comparison fits.
- Crucial exception: no duty to kill oneself or embrace certain death; self-defence survives.
- If sovereign cannot protect life, subject may resist.
- Laws are like hedges: *“not to stop travelers, but to keep them in the right way.”*

## Political Obligation

- Duty to acknowledge state authority and obey law; near-unlimited.
- Basis: fear of punishment; duty to keep bargain; authorisation; overlap of civil and natural law.
- Consent-based, but final and irrevocable in normal conditions.
- Rebellion risks return to war of all against all.
- *“a conqueror acquires dominion only if his vassals tacitly promise obedience.”*
- Obligation lasts while protection lasts; self-preservation inalienable; no duty to obey self-destruction.

## Important Scholarly Assessments

- **Alfred Edward Taylor**: central question—why be good citizen if self-interest rules?
- **Howard Warrender**: civic duty grounded in antecedent natural law/divine-command structure.
- Obligation = prudence + reciprocity + fear + representation + moral element.

## Individualism, Absolutism and Liberalism

- Methodological individualist: society explained from separate persons’ passions/fears/calculations.
- Normative individualist: sovereign should preserve life of people.
- Self-interested, utilitarian, materialistic, possessive individual.
- **Michael Oakeshott**: *“morality of individuality.”*
- **Michael Oakeshott, Ferdinand Tönnies, Crawford Brough Macpherson** recognise individualist core.
- **Crawford Brough Macpherson**: Hobbes and John Locke = *“a father of possessive individualism”*; scholar of bourgeois/capitalist class.
- **George H. Sabine**: *“the greatest of all individualists.”*
- Absolute sovereignty protects individual from destructive natural liberty.
- **Crawford Brough Macpherson**: *“Hobbes starts as an individualist but ends as an absolutist.”* | *“Hobbes is an individualist in his assumptions, but an absolutist in his conclusions.”*
- **George H. Sabine**: absolutism derivative of individualism.
- Retained self-preservation proves individual never vanishes under Leviathan.

## Hobbes and Liberalism

- Rights narrower than later liberalism; still gives starting points: consent, natural rights, self-preservation, negative liberty, protective government.
- Politics exists to secure life and aid safety/happiness.
- Representative sovereignty meant to ensure safety, not moral tutelage.
- **Judith Shklar** reading: founding father of liberalism/liberal view of politics.

## Women and the Gender Question

- Basic human equality accepted.
- Woman with children = both mother and lord.
- Female subordination formed with civil society, not strictly natural.
- but no equal political authority; women denied participation.
- Patriarchy retained; father dominant in home.
- Equality language + patriarchal social structure coexist.

## Evaluation and Criticism

### Assessment

- Both individualist and absolutist; no contradiction within his own logic.
- Absolutism not mere despotism; state exists for safety/well-being of individuals.
- **William Ebenstein: *Leviathan*** “*is not an apology for the Stuart monarchy nor a grammar of despotic government but the first general theory of politics in the English language.*”
- **Michael Oakshott:** “*The Leviathan is the greatest, perhaps the sole, masterpiece of political philosophy in the English language.*”
- Break with divine right/teleology/medieval theology -> “*Father of Revolutionary Philosophy.*”

### Main Criticisms

- Vests absolute power in ruler; ruler should be law-bound.
- **Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon**, and Whitehall critics: artificial theorem, no practical politics.
- **Charles Edward Vaughan:** “*Leviathan is useless as a book of history and fruitless as a book of politics.*” Also “*pernicious and impossible.*”
- State of nature too pessimistic; wrongly taken as literal history.
- **John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Immanuel Kant** major critics.
- **Karl Popper:** enemy of open society.
- Also accused of anticipating fascism, communism, totalitarian politics.

### Replies in Hobbes's Defence

- **William Ebenstein** rejects totalitarian reading: covenant-based state; order/security for human well-being; equality before law; sovereign may be assembly; no glorification of war.
- Not factual anthropology; logical demonstration of why authority is necessary.
- Liberty survives under Leviathan.
- “*All that the sovereign can legitimately demand is the conformity of men's behavior to his laws. Intellect and conscience are beyond his reach.*”
- **Kenneth Minogue:** politics as universal dilemma of freedom and security.

### Hostile Reception

- Called devil; “*the monster of Malmesbury.*”

## Influence and Legacy

- Maker of modern political science.
- First complete modern sovereignty theory; sovereign state as highest authority in territory.
- Legitimacy shifts from divine right to covenant/consent.
- Strong influence on legal positivism/command theory; **Jeremy Bentham, John Austin.**
- Shapes debates on statehood, law, obligation, liberty, rights, realism.

### Influence on Liberal and Contract Thought

- Founds social contract tradition.
- **John Locke** reworks state of nature, consent, political society as instrument of needs/property.
- **Peter Laslett** debate shows Hobbes's imprint on John Locke.
- Introduces language of natural rights and consent.
- Later echoes: John Locke “*Where there is no law, there is no freedom.*”; **John Stuart Mill** harm principle; **Jean-Jacques Rousseau** “*Man is born free...*”; rights tradition “*Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person.*”

### Influence on Realism and State Theory

- Fear, power, insecurity -> modern realism.
- **Hans Morgenthau:** “*International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power.*”
- **Max Weber's** monopoly of legitimate force closely echoes Hobbesian state.

### Contemporary Importance

- Security vs liberty; emergency powers, executive authority, lockdown/curfew logic.
- Sovereign independence still central in international relations.
- Self-interest and fear illuminate market behaviour and competition.
- Authoritarian regimes justify concentrated power through order/security.
- Liberal democracies answer with constitutionalism, rights, federalism, checks and balances.

### Conclusion

- Re-founded politics on fear, self-preservation, covenant, sovereignty.
- State as human artifice and condition of peace.

- **Leviathan** called lewd, poisonous; prohibited by Church; burnt twice.
- 1657 Parliamentary committee: *“the most poisonous piece of atheism.”*

Central modern problem stated sharply: securing order without losing the individual.

# JOHN LOCKE (1632-1704)

“No law, no liberty.”

## Introduction

- Centre of modern liberal political thought.
- Moral state of nature; rights-based politics; limited government.
- Key themes: natural law, life, liberty, property, consent, toleration, constitutional government, resistance to tyranny.
- Social contract turned from defence of absolute sovereignty into defence of limited government under law.

## Historical Background and Life

- English Civil War, Commonwealth, Restoration, Glorious Revolution 1688.
- Anti-absolutism shaped by move from monarchy to parliamentary democracy.
- Enlightenment, Renaissance, Reformation background.
- Westminster; “King’s Scholar”; Oxford; dissatisfaction with scholastic Aristotle; turn to science.
- Medicine; Royal Society; Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury; trade, colonies, opposition politics.
- Ideas supplied intellectual defence of Glorious Revolution settlement.

## Major Works

- **Two Treatises of Government:**
  - **First Treatise:** attack on Sir Robert Filmer’s *Patriarcha* and divine right.
  - **Second Treatise:** positive political theory; “*An Essay Concerning the True Original Extent and End of Civil Government.*”
- **An Essay Concerning Human Understanding:** rejects innate ideas; tabula rasa; sensation + reflection; empiricism; David Hume influence.
- **A Letter Concerning Toleration:** religious toleration; church-state separation in coercive sphere.
- **Some Thoughts Concerning Education.**

## Intellectual Position

- Founder of liberal political philosophy; major Enlightenment thinker.
- “Father of Classical Liberalism.”
- Empiricist after Francis Bacon; major contractual thinker after Thomas Hobbes.
- Uses contract device of Thomas Hobbes, rejects Hobbesian bleak anthropology.
- Moves secular political reasoning toward constitutional government, parliamentary authority, rule of law.
- **Peter Laslett:** Sir Robert Filmer primary antagonist.
- **John Dunn:** not merely constitutional theorist; essentially Calvinist natural theologian.

## Criticism of Robert Filmer

- Sir Robert Filmer: state created by God; Adamic authority; hereditary transmission; king rules “*by the Grace of God*”; king-subject = father-children; no contract.
- John Locke: no proof of Adamic grant, transfer, or identifiable heir.
- State not family; at most family of families.
- Political authority ≠ paternal authority.
- Aristotle: “*The authority of masters differs from the authority of statesman.*”
- Authority rests on consent, not divine right, heredity, patriarchy.

## State of Nature

### Meaning

- Perfect freedom; equality; no natural subordination.
- Pre-political, not pre-social; pre-political, not pre-moral.

### Features

- Rational, cooperative beings.
- State of “*peace, goodwill, mutual assistance and self-preservation.*”
- Governed by law of nature.
- No harm to “*life, health, liberty, or possessions.*”
- “*reason in man guides him not to harm the life, liberty, health and property of the other.*”
- Freedom not licence.
- Preserve self; preserve others as far as possible.
- Rejects psychological egoism of Thomas Hobbes.
- Risky condition, but not inevitable war.
- Mayflower Compact 1620 as consent illustration.

### Inconveniences

- Different interpretations of natural law.
- No settled public authority.
- No impartial judge.
- Each judge in own case.
- Weak enforcement.
- Property insecure.
- Hence move to civil society.

## Natural Law and Natural Rights

### Basis of Natural Law

- Prior to civil law; universal; discoverable by reason.
- Rooted in God's reason and will.
- "eternal rule" governing all human action, rulers included.
- Moral core: preserve self/others; do not harm life, liberty, property.
- Government created to uphold natural law, not replace it.

### Natural Rights

- Life, liberty, property.
- Natural, inalienable, inviolable, prior to state.
- Property often broad: life + liberty + estate.
- Contrast with Thomas Hobbes: positive law valid only if conforming to natural law.

### Natural Law and Empiricism

- **Essay** rejects innate ideas; mind blank slate; knowledge from sensation/reflection.
- Moral truth still demonstrable through "the creative participation of mind."
- **Raymond Polin**: nearer critical method than "atomistic sensationalism."
- "Utility ... is not the basis of the law or the ground of obligation, but the consequence of obedience to it."
- **John Dunn**: reason "bound to the divine order of the world."
- Debate: **Charles Edwin Vaughan** + **George Holland Sabine** saw contradiction; **Peter Laslett** + **Hans Aarsleff** + **Richard Ashcraft** rejected it.
- Core: empiricism = method; natural law = moral standard.

## Social Contract and Consent

### Need of Contract

- Exit from inconveniences; need settled law, impartial judgment, effective enforcement, secure rights.
- "great and chief end" of entering civil society = preservation of property.
- Property here = life, liberty, estate.

### Two Stages of Contract

- First stage: social contract -> community/commonwealth; unanimity; body politic.
- Second stage: governmental contract -> society creates government.
- Society prior to government.
- Government = fiduciary trust; delegated power only.
- Bad government removable without dissolving society.
- Only limited powers surrendered: legislate, execute, judge.
- Rights retained: life, liberty, property.

### Express and Tacit Consent

- Express: explicit founding consent.
- Tacit: residence, travel, inherited property, resident alien status imply obedience.
- Majority rule after community formation.
- Taxes require consent directly or via representatives.
- **Jeremy Waldron**: three stages—community, institutions, taxation consent.
- **Jeremy Waldron's** anti-absolutist line: people cannot transfer life/liberty to arbitrary power; property cannot be taken/redistributed without consent.

## Nature of Civil Society and Government

### Features of the State

- Human creation; no mystical end beyond people.
- For welfare of community; protects life, liberty, property.
- Legitimate only by consent.
- Constitutional framework; standing laws, not arbitrary decrees.
- Limited/negative/night-watchman state.
- Government power held on trust.
- Purpose: preserve and enlarge freedom.

### Classification of Powers

- Legislature: law-making; “supreme power”; people’s will.
- Executive: enforces laws; subordinate; includes what later becomes judicial.
- Federative: foreign affairs, war, peace, diplomacy.
- Mixed constitutions possible.
- Separation of powers safeguards liberty; later developed by Montesquieu.

### Limitations on Government

- Natural law above government, even above legislature.
- Common good; no arbitrary rule.
- Laws established, promulgated, known beforehand.
- Property cannot be taken without consent.
- Legislative power non-transferable.
- Due process central.
- Government valid only while protecting rights.

## Theory of Property

### Basis of Property

- Originally common ownership.
- Private property arises when labour mixed with common resources.
- “every man has a property in his person.”
- Labour belongs to person; product becomes property.
- Property = fruit of labour.
- Linked to personality and freedom.
- Early labour theory of value; later classical economists and Marxist theorists influenced.
- Property sometimes estate alone, sometimes life/liberty/estate together.

### Limitations on Property

- Labour limitation.
- Sufficiency limitation: leave “enough and as good.”
- Spoilage limitation: no waste.
- God created property for good life, not destruction.
- Money weakens spoilage limit; permits larger accumulation.

### Property and Political Consent

- “Sole Purpose for which state is created is protection of property.”
- “great and chief end” = preservation of property.
- “the supreme power cannot take from any man any part of his property without his own consent.”
- “No man can be deprived of his property without his consent.”
- Taxes valid only through consent/representation.
- Prefigures “no taxation without representation.”
- State acts as night-watchman regarding property.
- **Robert Nozick** later echoes just acquisition/transfer/rectification.

### Criticism and Defence

- **Crawford Brough Macpherson**: theorist of “possessive individualism.”
- Problems: labour limitation vague; sufficiency bypassable; spoilage weakens with money; accumulation favoured; even life/liberty absorbed into property.
- **Crawford Brough Macpherson**: “the conception of the individual as essentially the proprietor of his own person or capacities, owing nothing to

## Law and Liberty

- Against Thomas Hobbes's "liberty is where the law is silent," John Locke answers: "No law, no liberty."
- Liberty = not absence of all restraint, but life under just law.
- Law rooted in reason protects freedom.
- In state of nature, liberty exists because natural law exists.
- After state formation, law must protect life, liberty, property.
- Unjust law lacks moral validity.
- Government cannot deprive people of natural rights.
- Due process, fairness, reasonableness central.
- Violation of rights justifies revolt.

## Toleration

- Conscience personal; state should not impose belief.
- State should not punish mere belief.
- Church and state separate in proper spheres.
- "toleration is the substantive heart of liberalism."
- "In matters of God, nobody listens to the magistrate."
- Major source of later secularism/religious freedom.
- Read in material alongside Mahatma Gandhi's peaceful dissent/diversity emphasis.

## Right to Revolution

### Basis

- Consent, trust, natural rights.
- Government delegated/fiduciary, not master.
- Breach of trust destroys legitimacy.
- Arbitrary ruler places himself in state of war with people.
- People may dissolve government and create another.
- Sovereignty ultimately rests with people.
- Intellectual defence of Glorious Revolution.

### Conditions

- Failure to protect natural rights.
- Tyranny; arbitrary will.
- Preventing/blocking legislature.
- Refusal to implement law.
- Foreign domination.
- Seizure of property without consent.

### Nature of Revolution

- Usually resistance/rebellion rather than routine revolution.
- Last resort; remedy for breach of trust.
- Government dissolved; society continues.
- May mean peaceful constitutional change; force justified where no other remedy remains.
- Majority usually treated as entitled to resist.
- **Richard Ashcraft**: resistance to tyranny is everyone's business.
- **John Dunn**: consent necessary for legitimacy, not precise enough as practical test for every act of authority.
- **George Holland Sabine**: John Locke not revolutionary in temperament; apologist of Glorious Revolution.
- **John Plamenatz**: practical right of resistance tilted toward educated/propertied classes.
- American Declaration later echoes right to "alter or abolish" destructive government.
- **Hannah Arendt** admired agency; **Karl Marx** saw bourgeois limit.

## John Locke as Father of Liberalism

### Why John Locke is called the Father of Liberalism

- **Martin Seliger:** “the first political philosopher to elaborate modern liberalism as a comprehensive and influential system of thought.”
- **Crawford Brough Macpherson:** at the fountainhead of English liberalism.
- Liberal grammar: natural rights, consent, limited government, property, rule of law, toleration, resistance, constitutionalism.
- Rights prior to state; consent-derived authority; law-limited government; anti-absolutism; no religious coercion; replaceable government.
- Liberal state: constitutional, accountable, law-based, protective of property and conscience.

### John Locke as an Individualist

- “Locke is an individualist out and out.”
- Natural rights belong to individual and precede state.
- State created for protection and happiness of individual.
- Consent basis of authority.
- Government has no original powers.
- Right to revolt retained.
- Property grounded in labour and personality.
- Division of powers protects liberty.
- **Charles Edwin Vaughan:** “Everything in Locke’s system revolves around the individual.” | “Prince of individualists.”
- Thomas Hobbes begins from individual and ends in absolutism; John Locke remains individualist throughout.

## Criticism

- **Harold Laski:** state reduced to “a negative institution, a kind of gigantic limited liability company.”
- Bourgeois bias: **Crawford Brough Macpherson, Karl Marx.**
- **Charles Edwin Vaughan:** no real theory of sovereignty; true sovereign = individual.
- **Ernest Barker:** no clear settled doctrine of sovereignty.
- **Charles Edwin Vaughan + George Holland Sabine:** tension between empiricism and natural law.
- **John Dunn:** consent central in form, imprecise in application.
- **John Plamenatz:** effective resistance tilted toward educated/propertied classes.
- **Willmoore Kendall:** paradoxical collectivist reading of Jean-Jacques Rousseau type.

## Assessment

- Replaces divine right with consent and constitutional authority.
- Liberty depends on law, not lawlessness.
- Limited, accountable government under higher moral law.
- Social contract avoids Thomas Hobbes’s absolutism by keeping society above government.
- Property theory strongest and most contested element.
- Durable synthesis: rights, law, property, toleration, accountability.

## Important Scholarly Assessments

- **Martin Seliger:** first major philosopher of comprehensive modern liberalism.
- **Crawford Brough Macpherson:** even while critical, still places John Locke at the fountainhead of English liberalism.
- **Charles Edwin Vaughan:** individual-centred system; no real sovereignty theory.
- **George Holland Sabine:** four authority-levels—individual, community, legislature, executive; “*a kind of absoluteness to each*”; also shows John Locke’s awareness of political complexity.
- John Locke as conceptualist; nearer Aristotle than Plato/Protagoras/Sophists; state neither Thomas Hobbes’s fictitious corporation nor Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel’s concrete universal.
- **John Dunn:** religious grounding often missed; “*the rationality of human existence...*” dependent on truths of religion; John Locke as Calvinist natural theologian.
- **A. John Simmons:** middle ground on property.
- **Richard Ashcraft:** resistance is everyone’s business.
- **Ernest Barker:** no clear sovereignty doctrine.
- **Willmoore Kendall:** collectivist reading.

## Influence and Legacy

- Intellectual support to Glorious Revolution; move from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy.
- Legacy: consent of governed, limited government, constitutionalism, rule of law, rights-based politics, representative taxation, accountability.
- American revolutionaries drew heavily on John Locke; Thomas Jefferson echoes rights/consent language.
- United States Declaration of Independence and American Declaration line echo resistance doctrine.
- Influence on French Revolution.
- Voltaire, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Scottish Enlightenment, Thomas Jefferson, David Hume.
- Separation of powers prepares ground for Montesquieu.
- Property theory influences Robert Nozick.
- Economic implications feed liberal capitalism, neoliberalism, laissez-faire.
- Toleration shapes secularism/religious freedom.
- Natural rights language feeds human rights discourse.
- Law protecting liberty remains central to constitutional democracy.
- Wider relevance: electoral accountability, checks on executive, tax consent, distrust of arbitrary power, peaceful dissent.

## Conclusion

- Durable foundations of liberalism: natural rights, consent, limited government, property, toleration, accountability.
- Social contract transformed from defence of absolute sovereignty to defence of constitutional rule.
- Liberty under law; power under trust.