**MODERN POLITICAL THOUGHT**

**(IR/POL 210)**

**COURSE NOTES**

**Dr. İlksoy ASLIM**

MILTON

Catholic England

Protestanism + Anglicanism replaced Catholicism as the official state church of England following Henry VIII’s split with Rome

Presbyterianism: The largest grouping of Puritanism

* It worked to have their church replace Anglicanism as official state church of England and Scotland.

**Milton:**

Greek-Roman – Mixture of classicism and Puritanism.

* stable and prosperous family in England (merchant)
* writing poetry (poet)

-The struggles between parliamentarians and the Catholic monarchy

**Milton:**

- believed that the radical Protestant revolt against Catholicism is general and the Anglican monarchy in England represented the beginnings of God’s order on the earth

- fired his radicalism

- showed fierce anti-monarchist stance in the public sphere

- was a strong supporter of the new parliamentarian cause

**In February 1649**

- published “the Tenure of Kings and Magistrates” (a strong defense of the execution of Charles I)

- two weeks later “Secretary for Foreign Tongues”

* **the collapse of Protestant Cause**
* replacement of Parliament by Cromwell’s military dictatorship
* shake his belief; i.e. The beginning of God’s new order.
* He was imprisoned and faced possible execution
* Poet until his death.

**For Milton**

* the ultimate and universal criteria for judgment are those of God.
* These criteria are not “good” and “bad” but “Good” and “Evil”.
* All judgment is measured out in moral not technical terms.
* Milton’s work exemplifying how Puritanism gives a solid set of theological reference points from which to make frighteningly certain judgments in social and political areas of life.

MILTON

* Periods of society: Slavery, Feudal, Capitalist, Socialist
* Milton is very important because he saw both feudalism and capitalism

England:

What happened in England

How the events happened

What were their effect

Shaping the views of the political theorists.

* Structure of the state changed
* Religion changed; Catholic Church-Pope
* The balance of power changed
* The ownership of property changed

United Kingdom: England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales

Flag- Union Jack Empire: Great Britain

* 1215: First constitutional document between king and parliament that shared power between them
* Power struggle in England: Between Parliament and King. This struggle can be called “religion struggle”.

The transformation from one stile of society to another; Feudal Society converted to Capitalist Society in time

This was the period that nations and nation-states emerged.

* John Milton analyzed the transformation of the societies and religion, i.e. catholic to protestant church
* Puritans, Anglicans
* split between Catholics and Protestants

Christianity:

Catholic Church: Pope in Rome: Dominant power of the Church, West side of the Roman Empire

Orthodox Church: East part of Roman Empire

Second Split: The Catholic Church challenged by Protestants

Protestants: Anglicans

Puritans was the most influential and powerful sect of Anglicanism

Puritans and Anglicans tried to get power in England. After the success of Anglicans Puritans left England and moved to Europe and then to American Continent

Max Weber claimed that Protestantism is the motor development of Capitalism

Anglican Church replaced Catholic Church in the reign of Henry VIII.

* In Feudal period the “glue”-cohesion of people was religion
* In Capitalist period it was nationalism.

In this transition period took place the mix of many things of feudal and capitalistic periods.

Milton had lived in the period of an interwar period: a religious war and political power struggle

* Milton believed the Protestant revolt which was against Catholicism and the Anglican monarchy in England
* He believed that this was represented the beginnings of the establishment of God’s order on earth

System in England consisted of two central powers: The King and the Parliament. After 1215 the power of Parliament began to increase and the power of the king began to decline

* Until that period it was assumed that King got the power (right) to rule from the God
* Now, Milton, as a political thinker of transition period, challenged this right of the king and claimed that the parliament was acting in the permission of the God. In the following years this claim would be. “Parliament is acting because of the will of the **people**.”
* The establishment of dictatorship of Cromwell was shaken Milton’s belief on rulers.

**THOMAS HOBBES (1588-1679)**

England:

* From tratitional community, based on agriculture, to trade and early industrial community
* The rise of modernization

Modern state and modern community

* Traditional life: Community is important
* Modern life: individual is important
* **Power of the Catholic church**
* “If you were born into a Catholic community you were a member of that Church.”
* **Protestant challenge**
* The emergence of Protestant sects argued that “serving God was an act of will or individual choice.

- Religion as an individual relation with God.

- No intermediary between God and individual.

Constitutional conflict in 1640s

* Civil war

- A shift from traditional to modern society.

- Conflict between supporters of absolute monarchy and supporters of parliamentary liberties.

**Hobbes**

* He was a lawyer
* According to him human nature is selfish
* Like Milton, he also lived in the transition period
* According to Hobbes, you can’t be dependent on others. You should be (have to be) self sufficient.
* His education had been a classical one
* Judico-Christian tradition
* Secularized
* The influence of Renaissance
* Classic + renaissance

Transition period:

From traditional society to modern society

In traditional society community is important - extended family

In modern society individual important – nuclear family

* Model of the economy

From agriculture to primitive industry

**Nominalism:** In philosophy it was a theory of the relation between universals and the particulars: It ought to be contrasted with the medieval philosophical of realism. (Ironic; Hobbes associated with as being one of the founders of modern realism)

In the Middle Ages

* The philosophers were using the faith and reason together in their writings.
* It was in the course of applying reason to faith that medieval thinkers developed and thought important philosophical ideas not related to theology.
* Hobbes’s secularism stems from this point;

But while the scholastic tradition of human experience, it was still tied in some way to theology.

* Hobbes was between the medieval scholastic tradition and modern scientific revolution.

**Human Nature**

* For Hobbes, man is a creature of sense.
* Human nature: “Made up of passions, forces and motives.” Here the accent is on desires
* Those things which man desires he loves and calls “good” if he hates he calls “evil”.
* As different men love and hate different things there can be no objective good or evil. During the life hood, Hobbes feared of losing his security. **He wanted that the power would be in the hands of few. He wanted the country would direct from one center.**
* According to Hobbes, **“felicity**” is the end product (result, outcome) of human emotions. For him happiness is equal to security
* The means of acquiring felicity is power, which becomes a desire in itself to ensure future security.
* Hobbes describes felicity only in terms of the individual will. There cannot be any communal “felicity”. (The founding moment of Hobbes’ assumption that the individual is the basis of society.)
* Nobody will help you; you are own, yourself
* You cannot trust anybody; to the foreigners and also the others because of the security issue.
* Ourselves, our families, our nation is important. The continuation of their life and existence is important.
* In the medieval times lords were acting independently, there was sharing of power –

**Decentralization** - **Centralization**

* With coming of united (common) market the internal borders were not necessary
* The united nation-state firstly was formed in England. **Centralization** of power was the result of the development of capitalism
* There was need of **concentration** of power in the centre, the capital.
* For this reason he wanted a centralized power and centralized state. For him if you have power you can be secured.
* **Individuality** is the centerof his political thought. However, individuals are the main part of the community. The importance of the individuals is because their task in forming a good community.

For Hobbes, man is full of desires and there is no rationality in him.

* He acts according to his passions. Those things which he desires and loves he calls as “good”. Those things which man hate he calls as “evil”.
* Gaining felicity is a mean to have security today and future. There cannot be communal felicity.

**Hobbes and Human Ethics**

* Hobbes makes no moral judgment. (One of the most important issue today).
* Hobbes takes the human condition as separate from the kingdom of God and argues that man acts in accordance with the existence that he finds on earth.
* For Hobbes “Human Beings” are just trying to survive.
* He did not make any moral judgment about man’s nature. He “takes the human condition as separate from the kingdom of God and argues that man acts in accordance with experience that he finds on earth.

**State of Nature**

* In the state of nature everybody acts as he wish without any authority
* Leviathan is a powerful monster that fears people but it is the authority that means the state. The centralized power.
* State of Nature is a realm in which man is governed solely by natural passions.
* Inthe state of nature individuals, regardless of their physical capabilities, posses a roughly equivalent strength and cunning, so no one can be secure.
* Men in a state of nature exchanged a life that was “poor, nasty, brutish, and short” for a political order made possible by the Leviathan.
* As the individual are in “free motion” conflict in the state of nature is inevitable. Conflict in the state of nature is inevitable.
* Hobbes is maintaining that fear (death), insecurity and self-preservation has a overwhelming effect on man in the state of nature. Accordingly, fundamental is the struggle of power.
* Hobbes’ view of human nature is quite sophisticated in the sense that human beings are portrayed as having many great potentialities (including being violent, selfish and other negative attributes) which different circumstances will contrive to bring out.
* Hobbes maintains that what humankind will be is dependent upon their external circumstances.

- If the social environment is an “orderer” and rational one, the human potentialities that will be provoked will tend to be more pacific.

**In the Commonwealth** man surrenders nature’s liberty in return for liberties. “To laying down a man’s right to anything, is to divest himself of the liberty, of hindering another of the benefit of his own right to the same.

Hobbes concludes that Leviathan fundamentally partakes of two qualities. (Leviathan of the Bible is a monster which symbolized the power of the evil).

1. The Leviathan is a mortal god. It is embodiment of reason and morality. Where there is no Commonwealth there is no justice or injustice.
2. Where there is no coercive power, there is no Commonwealth. In the absence of government, man is “a condition of mere nature,” and this is descriptive of the relations among states and kings.

* Hobbes maintains that power is bound up with security. Men and nations seek power and organize the instruments of force because they are fearful that others may dominate them.
* Because we are insecure, we seek power to safeguard ourselves, our territory, or our possessions.

**The Social Contract**

* Contract – an agreement (written or unwritten) between two sides
* Hobbes proposed a contract between the state (Leviathan) and people
* People give the right to Leviathan and Leviathan makes promise to secure the people’s rights. Of course, this contract is unwritten and it can be observed by the general will. But in the thought of Hobbes there is no concept of general will.
* Once men have reason enough, fear will compel them to see the absolute necessity of establishing a rational polity under a single sovereign, so that living is assured. But He did not support the bourgeoisie.
* The Social Contract is the vehicle by which Hobbes seeks to explain how man moves from the state of nature to civil society. (Here, Hobbes does not say that there is an actual contract.)
* For Hobbes the contract was national contract, a vehicle for expressing the way in which men mutually consented to leave the state of nature and construct civil society.
* The people agree to transfer their natural rights via civil society to a sovereign authority.
* The sovereign is taken to be representative of the rights of the individual members of the civil society.
* In authorizing the sovereign, individuals become obliged to the ruler’s law and pledge themselves to use all their strength and power on his behalf.
* As humans are full of passions, man’s obligations can only be ensured by an external force and this is the power given to Leviathan.

**Civil Society**

* It is not the God who constitutes (forms) the state. It is constituted as a social sphere only through the existence of the sovereign power.
* Civil law is defined by the will of the sovereign. Leviathan creates distinction between justice and injustice, right and wrong
* One of the sovereign’s most important duties in this respect is to establish laws of property. i.e. men can able to claim ownership.
* The sovereign is authorized to place subjects before a court if they breach his rules. No own punishment of the subject.

Milton’s and Hobbes’ views are different but they are also different with views of philosophers before.

* Big Transformation: The transformation from feudalism to capitalism changed everything: Society, economy, religion and even language of writing was changed.
* Milton’s and Hobbes’ writings are like Bible style. But there are some new things/elements in their writings, in order to stop opposition.
* **Divine Right of Kings**
* Kings/monarchs were ruling the country because of the will of the God. Hobbes opposed this affirmation. “God doesn’t give power to rule to the monarch/king. Power is in the hands of people and they should decide to give this power to a body.
* Hobbes tries to do a division between religion and the state. According to him, religion must be separated from the state.

**Hobbes is a secular philosopher.** According to him, King must not take the right to rule from the God, but from the people (individuals).

**Social Sphere**

Public and state are two different concepts of our day.

* According to Hobbes, social sphere is an area that people can act “relatively” free. It is characterized by less pressure on the state on this area.
* There was no checks and balances system in Hobbesian times. So if you gave power to Leviathan you can’t control it. The only way is to dismiss your given right by the revolution.
* **In the period of rising capitalism,** not community but individual began to become important. England is the example of very long transition period. This period began in 1215 with the establishment of Magna Carta and continued till 1688, the time of Glorious Revolution.
* The new era in England was the era when capitalism start. Capitalism changed everything. It was a new way of economy, politics, social life, religion. Of course new era needed these concept because of the new emerging class, bourgeoisie.
* Clearly, when bourgeoisie realized its power asked more rights from Monarchs, the absolute power centre whose assumed to have the ruling power from the God.

**John Locke (1632-1704)**

* His influence on modern times are on two points

1. His philosophy of knowledge (Essay Concerning Human Understanding) fired the scientific rationalism of the modern age
2. Lockean political theory (second Treaties of Government) remains a foundation of liberal democratic politics

* Locke’s articulation of the concept of private property –revolutionary in its time– is now commonplace, as his conception of a separation of legislative, and executive powers within the state.
* His argument for religious toleration has become the bedrock for the notion of cultural toleration essential to multicultural pluralist societies that make up the modern western world.
* The question on “the purpose of Locke was to justify the English Revolution of 1688

- if he deals with a particular time and place (England in crisis in the 17th Century) is it appropriate to treat Locke’s work as a universal set of principles.

* - YES; Locke’s Second Treaties of Government is clearly a work of political philosophy. It attempts to deal with the universal principles of human condition, focusing on the ethical basis of power in work where humans must do politics to survive.

**Locke and the English Revolution**

* He wrote his great works in the shadow of the struggles for power culminating in the Glorious Revolution of 1688.
* He was born in a family which converted trade into an entrepreneurial business.
* His father was a Puritan left the business to become a lawyer. Then he joint to the Protestant parliamentary army against Charles I’s aristocratic forces.
* **Locke’s Education and life**
* Wesminister School (prestigious)
* Oxford, medical doctor
* met Lord Shaftesbury in 1666
* He was one of the most influential and powerful men in politics. Locke became his close friend and a key adviser to him, which in turn became leader of the parliamentarian defense against Charles II’s attempts to return the state to monarchic absolutism. James II had promoted Catholicism, but the majority was protestant. Events confirmed that they rejected republicanism and a commonwealth (which had led to Cromwell’s military dictatorship) and chose instead a monarchy controlled by Parliament.
* The influence of Lord on Locke was to take him from Hobbesian conservatism to radical liberalism. This was seen in the “Two Treaties of Government” published in 1689. (1690)
* In 1683 a failed coup attempt by Shaftesbury and his associates. Most of them captured and executed.
* Locke escaped in 1683 to Holland for six years. Ay Holland he shaped his views. The combination of over-powerful monarchs and religious fanatics hounding people of their homes clearly affected Locke’s thinking very much. With this issue Locke started to think on controlling the central absolute power and the issue of property.
* Locke as a protestant was very religious, and he attempted to articulate (yaratma) a religious understanding that set out the rightful terms and conditions for the use of power.
* His Protestanism was fueled by scientific rationalism and he was also concerned to establish practical means for establishing a working political order.
* Locke made compromises with logic as he defended individual rights.

**Locke’s Political Theory**

* He presented an argument for an ethical and practical system of government, which is derived from the perception of the uneasy relationship that humans uniquely have their natural environment.
* For him; “we can understand the world and we can change it to our design. God has a purpose in giving humankind this gift. Humans have the ability to think of the principles of how things work. To understand how they work is the basis of being able to make them.”
* “Humans with their reasoning powers, enables humans uniquely […] to act into their environment and restructure it. **Only humans can design and make an artificial environment.” “We must shape our destiny. So God gives us the liberty to create our destiny to some degree.”**

* In Leviathan, **Hobbes** had found political absolutism to be a necessity to assure peace and order.
* **Locke’s “Of Civil Government” was meant to refute Hobbes**. Locke asserted that king and parliament were responsible to the people or the community governed.
* He presented an argument for an ethical and practical system of government, which is derived
* **Power** in such a political order had to be limited

- By the moral law and constitutional tradition as well as the history of realm.

* For Locke community determines government, but for Hobbes a preexisting community was a fiction.
* Hence, for Hobbes ideas like representation and responsibility required the force and sanction of a sovereign power.

**Private Property**

* For Locke, the political condition of human life springs out of our production of private property.
* “Property originates in each individual’s ‘own person’ in their natural possessions. Through labor and work, the human’ (mental and physical) energy is passes into the natural environment. (Tree to furniture)
* The creator and the natural elements are combined in the artificial form of the new objects. Locke puts it this way: “The labor that was mine, having removed them out of common state they were in, hath (have) fixed my property in them”.
* “Making things out of nature makes them the property of their maker and the property marks out their maker’s terrain (arazi-mülk) in the world.
* “**With the means to redesign the environment and to think ahead to what environment we would like to live in, the imagined future becomes a real possibility, a realm of what might be done. It is therefore a realm of choice. We can create and destroy the element of war environment. This requires ethical judgment. We have to make moral choices about what we do and how to act.”**

**The State of Nature**

* For Locke, the power to make property gives us governance over the environment and places us in a moral position with regard to our actions. The third vital element in the relationship of individual humans to each other.
* Locke’s Question: How humans might interact in the state of nature? Individuals would seek to exploit other as they do everything else in nature.
* The question Locke sets himself in whether people in state of nature would seek to rip each other from their natural condition and make them into private property.
* **Locke attacked Hobbes’ “state of nature”.** He saw the “state of nature” as one of “peace, good will, mutual assistance, and preservation”. The only defect of Locke’s state of nature is its lack of organization, courts and magistrates, and written law. Right and wrong in Locke’s state of nature are determined eternally. Positive law provides an apparatus for the enforcement of the existing rights.
* **How can it be that mutual hostility drags people out of a state of nature while the desire to exploit and use one another will characterize human relations in the state of nature?**
* Humans are equally endowed with mental ability to understand the principles that govern how things work, and the physical capacity to work their environment to suit their needs.
* For Locke the state of nature is a ‘state of equality’. In the state of nature the people will see that this equality is their common condition and they will respect each other’s independence. People naturally recognize other’s people ability to reason and act for themselves and so will be inclined to tolerate the different modes of individual expression. Locke asserts that man’s right to his own property and his duty to respect another’s property exist. They are not dependent for their creation on the dictates of the Leviathan.
* In opposing Hobbes’ concept of morality instituted and enforced by the Leviathan. Locke asserts that morality gives law, not law morality.
* Why then is morality binding? Here, Locke draws an analogy with property and natural law. Society exists to protect private property but property is a right society does not create.
* By nature property results when man mixes his labor with land.
* Locke expresses that “in the state of nature the people do not go to war against each other, but instead truck and barter. They are sociable, they trust each other and they recognize the value of each other’s products.
* **The issue of money**: Money enables individuals to extend their ownership of property through other people’s effort. It is not exploitation but an agreement in the form of a contract.
* It is the law of nature that each person is able to think for themselves and to make property. They have a natural right to do so.
* **From the standpoint of international relations theory**, Hobbes’ and Locke’s opposing pictures of state of nature have been important.
* Almost every IR professor makes some reference to the Hobbesian and Lockean perspectives.
* Hobbesian world view; state of nature as “poor, nasty, brutish, and short”
* Lockean world view; state of nature as “peace, good will, mutual assistance, and preservation.”
* While the realists embrace most of Hobbes’ theory, Liberals-Idealists find Locke confirmation of their beliefs about man and international society. Those that maintain that international relations are marked by struggle for power base their thinking in part on Hobbes. By contrast, those who look forward to a world of “peace, goodwill, and mutual assistance” rest their case on Locke.

**Jean Jacques Rousseau (1912-1778)**

* Rousseau is the father of French Revolution.
* Rousseau was born in Geneva. (Continental Europe)
* Rousseau made a distinction between revolution in England and expected revolutions in continental Europe.

Why? Because according to Rousseau, traditions are different, so revolutions in continental Europe would not be similar.

Rousseau told that English Revolution is a conservative one. (English Revolution). English Revolution had a side to be evolutionary.

According to Rousseau:

English Revolution was a conservative revolution. Reason was harmonized with custom and tradition

In France, reason and tradition had confronted each other, as polar extremes and continued in opposition to each other.

Rousseau saw this issue as one of basic points that fueled a anti-clericalism, because religion as a tradition confronted the reason and the church benefited from the system and controlled 1/5 of all property in France.

* For politics, according to Rousseau the most important idea and highest value is the community.
* the concept of “citizens”
* the concept of “general will”
* the concept of “social contract”

The last 3 concepts have a connection with “community”

- A country’s size, geography, culture are important in forming the ruling system (government) Why? Is Rousseau against progress at science? If so why?

- Nation - nationalism

- Family - What it means for Rousseau?

In France, in the times of Rousseau, the ruling class was: the king, land aristocracy and the church. Bourgeoisie was not the ruling class. It had no rights before the French Revolution.

* **The Philosophies**: The name of the group that produced the volumes of **encyclopedia.**
* Rousseau opposed scientific revolution because this process can destroy the good qualities of human beings.

**John Stuart Mill (1806-1873)**

Industrial Revolution started at 1750s in Britain and then spread to the whole world.

John Stuart Mill wrote his works on different topics. His most well known book is “On Liberty” (1859). His major work was on political philosophy. He presented liberal thought in a more modern way.

In England after 1750 began the period of industrialization. Industry started to replace the classical agricultural model. Even in agriculture we see the machines. It was the age of coal and steel. Industry destroyed the traditional mode of life.

When classical agriculture collapsed and industrialization began, the population of capital city London and other industrialized cities began to increase; the problems of health, education; the structure of family changed.

Mill is not founder of classical liberalism (it was Locke) but he was one of the founders of new liberalism in 19th century.

* He was born in the period, when people started to face bad conditions in England. So he gave birth to the ideas, accordingly to his time. Mill didn’t oppose what the classical liberals had proposed.
* the importance of individuals
* minimal state
* freedom of expression

Newly, Mill added something:

He put them into “theory of social progress”. This theory proposed high education: Educational reform, in order to support the industrial revolution

Mill proposed the modern liberalism to solve the problems, the difficulties of people in newly changed world. System must be reorganized, should be changed, so it was necessary to develop new ideas

Mill was a person who had such new ideas suitable for his time and place. So these ideas helped to change many views, formed before. But this was not possible to overcome problems. Mill believed, there should be new, more complicated ideas than ideas of his father and Bentham, whose ideas were very simplistic. Mill was influenced by them very much, but he did not share their ideas fully.

* Educational problem: industry needed more educated people
* Health problem: science should help in resolving this problem
* Education reform was necessary.

Mill tried to develop the way to understanding the way to overcome these problems. Like many other philosophers he referred to Hellenist philosophy. He checked out ancient literature in order to understand the way of ancient thinking and to use it accordingly to modern times.

Mill made a link between these two problems. And this link was the environment, which should be changed in order to provide happiness to every individual. (The happiness is one of the basic points in Mill’s thought)

What is the problem? Hundreds of thousand people had come to the city; they did not have jobs; a great choice of labor; salaries went down; bad relations between individuals. For Mill, humans are not machine. Although people are made up of the same specifically human constituent elements – the particular physical traits unique to the species, plus the capacity for intellectual speculation, rational and ethical judgments.

Mill tried to give answers on the problems of society. But, when he tried to apply the laws of (classical) liberalism he understood that these laws are not enough for his time. So, he tried to change them and to develop in order to make them compatible with modern times.

Hegel said that historical progress is consequence of historical processes. Mill was a person who shared the same views of historical progress of Marx and Hegel. But he was different in one point: He put the individual as the core of the society. Individual is the centre of everything. So Mill was the father of modern liberalism.

In his book on Liberty, Mill claims that every individual must have his own space in order to express his views, thoughts, and sentiments. And secondly, the individual must be intellectual. If you are intellectual you can easily discuss anything, express your views, and share them with others.

* Happiness and virtue

One of the first modern thinkers who developed the concept of happiness was Rousseau. He claimed that in order to be happy, individual should be free and state should not interfere in private sphere. Although, according to Rousseau, State says the last word, it is prior.

Mill maintains the idea of state that has limited functions (minimal state). According to him, state should interfere only limited areas such as constructing school buildings. The education itself however is a sphere, realm of every individual.

For Mill in order to have progress education, space and individuality are important.

For Mill human being is not a machine. He has his own feelings, reason, so the state must not give any instruction to him. State must be minimal. It should not interfere in personal life of individuals, in order to provide them liberty.

The state should give individuals private space, where individuals would act as they want, would express freely their wishes, views, thoughts, feelings. So, there should be free trade, free press, and free spiritual expression.