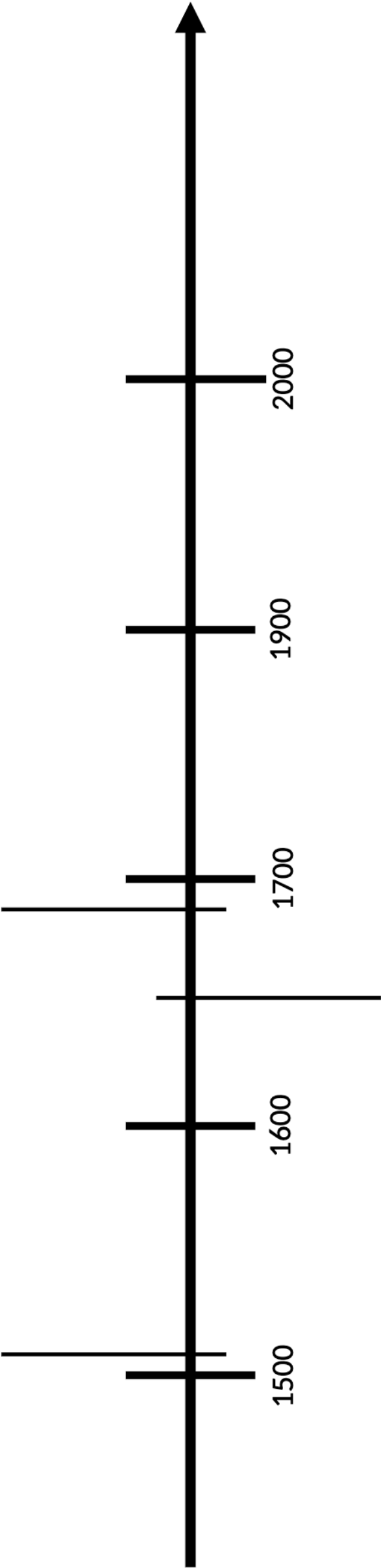


1274: St. Thomas Aquinas finishes
the *Summa Theologica*

1513: Machiavelli writes *The Prince*

1689: Locke publishes *Two Treatises of Government*

1651: Hobbes publishes *Leviathan*



The impact of Locke

- In our previous classes, we touched on how Locke influenced the American Founders and the Declaration of Independence:

- *We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.--That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, --That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government*

The impact of Locke

- Even though Hobbes was an absolutist, he introduces several modern notions: individuals are naturally equal and they naturally have equal rights, the government is not natural and is consented, and the main objective of the government is to protect the individuals' lives
- We will now see how Locke qualifies Hobbes' political theory and removes its absolutist aspects:
 - Individuals have inviolable rights to life, liberty, and property (individual rights)
 - Individuals can break the contract with the sovereign (right to revolt)
 - The power of the government should be limited (limited government) and divided (separation of powers)

The impact of Locke

- Locke is one the fathers of liberalism. What is liberalism?
- In this context: liberalism ≠ the ideology of the US Democratic Party!
- Modern democracies are usually called liberal democracies
- On the one hand, they are “democracies” in the sense that the people rule. This is an old idea from the Greeks. Modern democracies have representatives that rule in the name of the people.
- However, “liberalism” is relatively new and its roots can be traced back to thinkers like Locke:
 - Liberalism is the idea that individuals have inalienable and inviolable rights
 - The power of the government comes from the governed
 - To prevent violations of rights, the power of the government is limited and divided

- Liberalism is an ideology that responds to the aristocratic and monarchical model that dominated the Middle Ages

Monarchists	Liberals
Humans have different rights depending on their class	Humans have the same rights
The king receives his power from God	The king receives his power from the people
The power of the king is not divided	The power of the king is divided (parliament)
The king cannot be overthrown	The king can be overthrown
Justice is different for different classes	Justice is the same for everyone
“ <i>Cuius regio, eius religio</i> ” (“whose realm, their religion”)	Diverse religions are tolerated

- Individual rights
- Popular sovereignty
- Separation of powers
- Right to revolution
- Equality before the law
- Religious toleration

The impact of Locke

- Liberalism has a political and an economic program
- Locke was important both for the political but also for the economic ideas of liberalism (economic liberalism)
 - The idea that individuals have robust property rights and that they should be able to freely exchange goods
 - The government shouldn't tax too much and create too many restrictions on commerce
- In this class, we also pay attention to Locke's idea of property rights since it will be fundamental for the legitimization of capitalism
 - In capitalism, property is privately owned, there is economic competition, and large fortunes are accumulated and reinvested in the economy. Profit is a major goal of capitalism.
 - In socialism, economic production is planned by the government. Redistribution is a major goal of socialism.

- English philosopher who writes at the end of the Civil

War

- He publishes *Two Treatises of Government* in 1689, one year after the Glorious Revolution of 1688

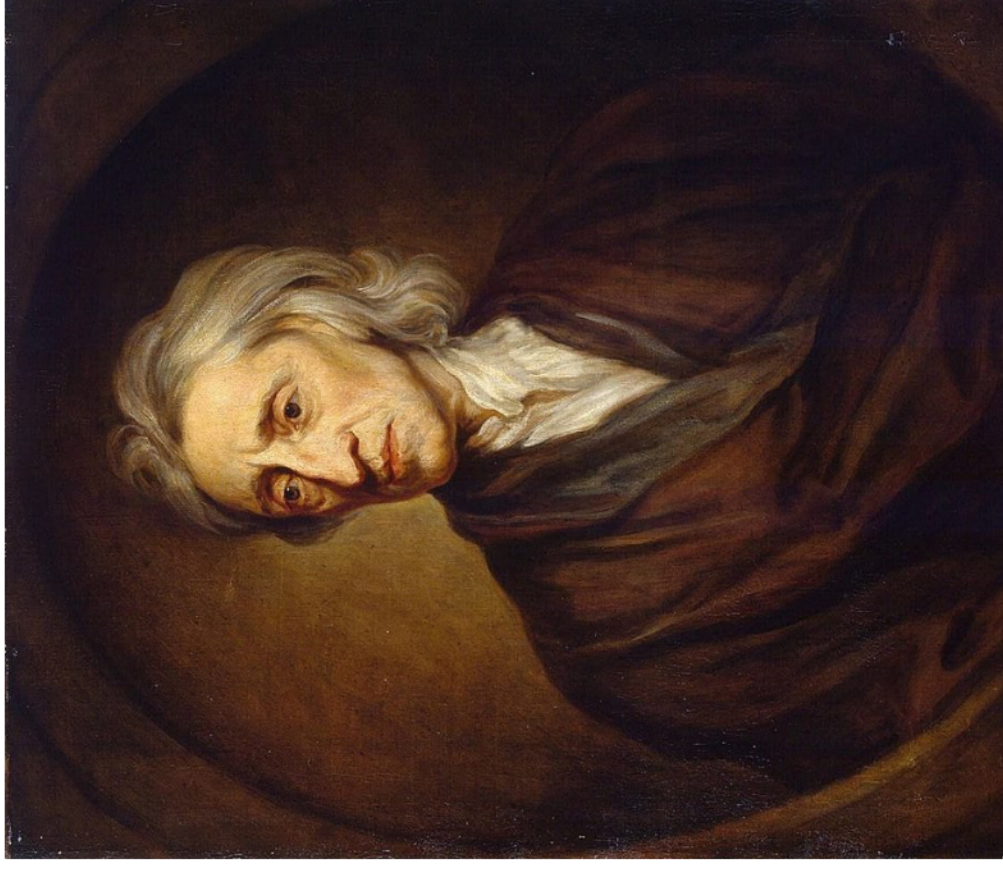
- The Revolution marks the end of the Civil War:

- The previous king is exiled (he was too absolutist)
- The new king, William of Orange, has powers strictly limited by the parliament

- Locke is in favor of parliamentarism

- He writes the *Two Treatises* in an uncertain but hopeful

climate



- William of Orange isn't a hereditary prince. He comes from Holland and he was chosen by the "people," i.e., by the English parliament.
 - Absolute monarchists loved to point out that, not only is he illegitimate because he was chosen by the people, but he is not even an English monarch
- Locke's *Two Treatises* tries to justify why that's not a big deal
 - For absolutists like Hobbes, heredity is important: only the sovereign can choose who is going to be the next sovereign
 - For Locke, heredity isn't important: the people choose their sovereign. If they don't like the current one, they can choose another.
- How many times does Locke reference Hobbes in the readings?
 - Locke never references Hobbes (even though it's clear that he read him)
 - Hobbes was considered an atheist and, therefore, Locke avoided referencing him

- How similar are Locke's and Hobbes' political theories? Let's look at p. 2 of the readings (up to "right to dominion and sovereignty.") You don't need to read that first paragraph. What are some similarities here?

- How similar are Locke's and Hobbes' political theories? Let's look at p. 2 of the readings (up to "right to dominion and sovereignty.") You don't need to read that first paragraph. What are some similarities here?
- They share a lot of similarities:
 - Political power: the right of making laws and penalties to protect the community and its property, to defend it against invasions...
 - Both have a similar notion of the state of nature: individuals are free to act and free to use their possessions; everyone is equal and no one is naturally subject to no one else.

- Now, let's read the next paragraph: "But though this be..."
- Here, we can see Locke breaking out from Hobbes. In what sense?
 - He distinguishes the state of nature from licentiousness: though humans have a right to freely act and use their possession to preserve themselves, they cannot "harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions" (p. 3)
- He says that, in the state of nature, individuals know that they have a natural right to life, liberty, and property, but they also know that they have a natural duty not to harm, steal, kill...
 - In the next paragraphs, he goes farther and really says that, in the state of nature, humans have a natural duty to preserve other people's natural rights
- Uh, weird. Here, these ideas are a bit stated. Why is he saying that? How does he justify this break from Hobbes' state of nature? He is a bit clearer about this in p. 7

- Uh, weird. Here, these ideas are a bit stated. Why is he saying that?
How does he justify this break from Hobbes' state of nature? He is a bit clearer about this in p. 7
- Let's read the last paragraph of page 7
 - “The promises and bargains for truck (...) between a Swiss and an Indian, in the woods of America, are binding to them, though they are perfectly in a state of nature, in reference to one another: for truth and keeping of faith belongs to men, as men, and not as members of society.” (p. 7)

- Locke says that humans naturally respect one another's life, liberty, and possessions because they naturally want to trade with one another
 - Individuals naturally understand the advantages that exist when we respect one another's life, liberty, and property
 - We intuitively know that, as long as I don't harm or steal, there is some degree of mutual trust that enables us to trade and make promises
- Locke had to work for a political body that oversaw the affairs of the state of Carolina when it was still a colony. He was very interested in the relations between colonists and natives in the Americas.
- He realizes that Hobbes was wrong: natives and colonists are not in a constant state of war. They often trade and make alliances, even though they live in a state of nature.

- Locke reintroduces the idea that we are naturally inclined to enter in a society with others. However, how does Locke differs from Aristotle and Aquinas?
- “The laws which have been hitherto mentioned, i.e. the laws of nature, do bind men absolutely, even as they are men, although they have never [had] any settled fellowship (...): but forasmuch as we are not by ourselves sufficient to furnish ourselves with competent store of things, needful for such a life as our nature doth desire, a life fit for the dignity of man; therefore to supply those defects and imperfections which are in us, as living single and solely by ourselves, we are naturally induced to seek communion and fellowship with others: this was the cause of men’s uniting themselves at first in politic societies.” (p. 7)

- Against Hobbes, Locke reintroduces the idea that we are naturally inclined to enter in a society with others. However, how does Locke differs from Aristotle and Aquinas?
- Locke does not say that individuals want to enter society out of love, friendship, or to seek virtue
- He says that it's in our advantage to enter society: we want to trade and we seek goods; it furthers our self-interest to enter a commonwealth.

- Sure, but what happens when one person violates the natural rights of someone else? Is it, as Hobbes said, that a state of war will start and then never cease?
 - No, for Locke, the state of nature is not a permanent state of war
- When someone declares war on someone else, the war (1) is only between the injured parties and it only (2) lasts until the war is settled
 - A state of war is more limited in time and scope for Locke
 - Humans naturally understand the advantages of the state of nature over a state of war, and they are afraid of being considered moral pariahs in the eyes of everybody else
 - In International Relations, a “rogue state” is a state that has gone wild and that the international community cannot trust
- This is an important distinction:
 - For Hobbes, it’s irrational to revolt and return to the state of nature because it’s an horrible state of war
 - For Locke, if the sovereign becomes tyrannical, it’s always possible to return to the state of nature