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General Principles of Antique Political Discourse

The emerge of the Political Philosophy has its concrete origine in the history of mankind. It was originated and established in the ancient Greece in V-IV centuries B.C. This unique achievement of Greeks had its own reason. On the present Greek territory, Greeks for the beginning of classical era (VI-V B.C.) had developed the peculiar form of Political and State organization City-State ("Police" in Greek). There were established various polices. The political structure in these policies included vastly different, but still the forms having a number of essential common signs: reign - in the form of monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, oligarchy, tyranny, replaced each other sometimes via peacefully and sometimes in bloody ways.

The City-State wasn’t the first form of community organization that passed Greeks through their development ways. In Homer's time they still lived in tribes, which were ruled by the leaders called "Kings". Greeks interest in the political process isn’t caused only due to their curiosity. Policy leaders or chiefs always worried about the future, what kind should be the state to protect citizens, justice, etc.? This kind of vivid political process contributed to the Greeks political development.

In the ancient Greece one of the most important factor that gave birth to Greek political philosophy was common scientific direction of Greeks thought and culture of scientific thinking that was developed in classical era. In the field of politics as well as other fields of science, the Greeks observed the objects and explained the events without methodological and/ or religious perceptions; that is why they had to look for the reason of the events in themselves. Thus, one of the reasons of appearing political philosophy was the scientifically organized direction. The freedom of citizens in the City-State was also very important, it gave an opportunity to them to face the state and social life in any event, the citizen knew that he was taking part in process of governing.

The Greek City-State has an important, crucial, monopole role in regulation and managing of human’s inner life, creation and observing system of values. Aristotle in his “Politics” describes Hellenics as “Golden Middle” between the Northern and Asian peoples – “Free and best managed people from the beginning, which were able to manage the world”. (2.11)

In those Greek City-States, where the political philosophy had been born, i.e. in Athens “Leuisure” i.e. free time had been considered as the eccential condition for thinking on the
higher things. Athens was a city of craftsmen, merchants and farming. Greeks freedom and equality, from the today’s view, are presented as democracy. One of the major meaning, which today we imply in this word, is citizen’s participation in decision making processes of state. In Athens existed the so called original democracy, according to the present terminology: the government wasn’t in the hand of representatives i.e. deputies, but - in the hand of the whole people. The major decision was made by the general assembly of the citizens of Athens i.e. the “Church”.

In the classical period of antiquity there can be outlined three various political types, which clearly show the dilemmas of political discuss in the antiquity. These types are: Socratic-Platonic ideal state, Diogenesian barrel-state and Aristotelian model of state based on a definition of human as” Zoon politicon” as a foundation of policy life.

We may say that, Greek political philosophy is a philosophy of police. Politics doesn’t means more than knowledge about “police”. As Aristotle explained, policy is a community of equals and it potentially exists for achieving the best way of life.

We constantly hear a word “politics”. It is a part of a world we live in. The phenomenon, which was tried to be clarified for years and still now it is a matter of discussing, seems to be elusive. Politics is a multi-lined and unsustainable practice; this is a feature, which is attributed to a variety of things.

Most often people are talking about politics; they debate, argue how to live, how much belongs to whom. We criticize rulers and their activities. We think that if we had power we could rule better. We criticize everything and we believe this is politics, We are talking about injustice, power of government nearly about everything with anxiety, but if we put Socratesian question: what is politics? What is justice? What is government? What is state? Most likely, we will give correct or controversial answer, but we couldn't analyze or determine the concepts. Then what are we talking about? What are we arguing over, when we do not know the essence of the subject?

If we observe the phenomenon of policy, we will see that it is very difficult to explain. It includes many areas of human activity. The representatives of the antiquity political philosophy could to form classical answer on these issues.

In the scientific classification of Aristotle by the “politics” is marked one of the most essential field of knowledge, which subjects other sciences and after the first philosophy is considered as the most important knowledge, the object of study of which is virtue.

If we want to answer a question what is politics? One shall study a human at first, because namely man, by Aristotlian definition is a political creature. Therefore he offered us a new definition of human “Zoon politicon”. Researcher of politics and essence of human can never avoid his definition. Politics is determined as a definition of human essencial existence. But it doesn't apply to all men because a human (same as herd living in crowds) isn’t the simial being of human.
Oswald Spengler notes that “politics is the art of possibilities”... to say most generally, the politics is a process within which people make, refine and maintain standards of living together. (6.13).

Let us recall Robinson Crusoe, whom was isolated from society, he was alone, in loneliness he was able only to carry out simple agricultural activities, but not politics. The lonely person can’t get involved in politics, he needs another person. The politics begins when “Frieday” - another person, came forth. Where there is society is there is politics.

For Plato politics is means for ruling one person by another. Its basics, at the same time, are the superior knowledge and art. The politics by its nature is the combination of rational and individual elements. Aristotle says, because the aim of each science and art is kindness, then the aim of the most important and biggest spheres among them, should be the same. Such field is politics; and in politics the kindness is justice, and justice is beneficial for the whole society. (2. 17)

As we can see, in the antiquity political means makes it possible to improve life and to establish decent society.

In accordance with the classic sense, politics means everything “which refers to police”, “which refers to state”, which refers to unity of public interests.

Therefore Max Weber noted that “politics is nothing more than a commitment to the participation in power, or acquisition the impact on its distribution. It does not matter, whether this power will be shared between different States or inside one state, between the different groups of people.”(5.33)

Greeks view about their City-State is quite successive and doesn’t contains internal disharmony, they are convinced that the policy, except the fact that serves to the defense of current practical interests of citizens, interests of the current practice, in addition in itself, embodies the moral goodness and wisdom as well. Therefore, its role is to oversee the education of citizens, from early ages brought them the atmosphere of personal and civic morality. They always believed that there would be an ideal form and laws of ruling a state, which is not jet available for the mind.

In antiquity, on the initial state of philosophy, at the first-period, man's attempt was to explain the universe in which he lives; to explain the mystery of nature of cosmos.

the second period may be called practical (ethical and political), this is the important period when there was going statement of human as microcosms, defining his/her place, his/her attitude toward other persons. The new thinking concepts come in the foreground.

Socrates was the first who tried to turn the mind, which was looking towards “φύσις “to the person himself. His major question was “who I am and who is human?”

Plato also continues Socrates line. He, in the IV book of “Respublic”, analysed the three distinct elements of the soul: The appetites, which includes all our myriad desires for various pleasures,
comforts, physical satisfactions, and bodily ease. The spirited, or hot-blooded, part, i.e., the part that gets angry when it perceives (for example) an injustice being done. This is the part of us that loves to face and overcome great challenges, the part that can steel itself to adversity, and that loves victory, winning, challenge, and honor and the mind (nous), our conscious awareness. The famous researcher of philosophy William Guthrie responds Plato and gives us their analysis. Unlike animal, man has *nous*, the ability to anticipate his thinking and actions in advance. On the other hand, it is also capable of manly behavior, when he sees inappropriate behavior the same spiritual source arouses the abiding sense of fair anger. Greeks call this “*thymos*”, which we can defined as element of excitement in human nature. The third feature of a human is aspiration toward prominence of material properties and physical satisfaction. (9.77).

“Thymos” grants to man enough courage actually follow mind advice, as the better way of behaviour.

As for Fukuyama, “thymos” is a driving force of history. As soon as disagreement between me and other begins, it requires to take an appropriate place in the society, to expand its authority over others. Fukuyama calls this phenomenon- Megalothymia. (8.193) Megalothymia is a new name of Greek origin, which means “the will to be accepted more than others”.

More precisely the Megalothymia is a hunger for fame, desire to dominate others. It emerges in each field of existence, in politics, art, science. When tyrant occupies other’s territories he isn’t driven only by the interest in territory, his will is to obtain fame in other’s territory. It is the form of power expression.

Plato tried to explore the limits of human perfection; he tried not only to describe the best political system, but also wanted to shed light on the problems which might be followed by an attempt to implement such political structure.

He tried to go out the boundaries of human exposure, to establish the ideal model of state. He knew that that kind of policy was not possible, but if one has an ability to achieve justice, freedom and insight, the matter of things might be improved.

Exactly in police Plato’s goal was to reign Greek politics not only in Athens, but in the entire Hellenic world managed not so wisely. Plato thought that there were only two ways to achieve wise management should: or philosophers had to govern the state, or to the governors had to obtain philosophical knowledge.

Attaining old age Plato proved that the governor equipped with the features of philosopher is the unattainable luxury for a mankind. He concluded that the only thing that can underpin justice is the well-being of citizens.

In political philosophy of Plato one of the most profound sense, surely, is that there is a close connection between the laying of a state and its citizens’ spiritual and intellectual order i.e. the mentality. These two characteristics presuppose one another: they are caused by the formation of evolution of human spirit in a certain direction, it is the spirit, which in its turn leads to a pile of change.
Plato's four cardinal virtues are prudence, justice, temperance and courage. These virtues are also often translated as wisdom, fairness, restraint (also called moderation) and fortitude. Plato explains all four virtues in his works "Republic" and "Protagoras." Prudence is a person's ability to judge his own actions as appropriate or inappropriate. Justice is the ability to act with fairness and without bias toward others. Temperance is the ability to act with moderation and self-control. Courage refers to emotional strength and a person's ability to confront his fears.

Plato identified the four cardinal virtues with the classes of the city described in The Republic and with the faculties of man. Plato narrates a discussion of the character of a good city where the following is agreed upon. “Clearly, then, it will be wise, brave, temperate [literally: healthy-minded], and just.” (427e; see also 435b) Temperance was common to all classes, but primarily associated with the producing classes, the farmers and craftsmen, and with the animal appetites, to whom no special virtue was assigned; fortitude was assigned to the warrior class and to the spirited element in man; prudence to the rulers and to reason. Justice stands outside the class system and divisions of man, and rules the proper relationship among the three of them. (1.144, 159)

By Plato the state ruling is the affair of philosophers and we can't obtain ideal state until philosophers become rulers or the rulers become philosophers. (1.274). Books V through VII focus on the rulers as the philosopher kings. In a series of three analogies—the allegories of the sun, the line, and the cave—Plato explains who these individuals are while hammering out his theory of the Forms. Plato explains that the world is divided into two realms, the visible (which we grasp with our senses) and the intelligible (which we only grasp with our mind). The visible world is the universe we see around us. The intelligible world is comprised of the Forms—abstract, changeless absolutes such as Goodness, Beauty, Redness, and Sweetness that exist in permanent relation to the visible realm and make it possible. (An apple is red and sweet, the theory goes, because it participates in the Forms of Redness and Sweetness.) Only the Forms are objects of knowledge, because only they possess the eternal unchanging truth that the mind—not the senses—must apprehend.

Only those whose minds are trained to grasp the Forms—the philosophers—can know anything at all. In particular, what the philosophers must know in order to become able rulers is the Form of the Good—the source of all other Forms, and of knowledge, truth, and beauty. Plato cannot describe this Form directly, but he claims that it is to the intelligible realm what the sun is to the visible realm. Using the allegory of the cave, Plato paints an evocative portrait of the philosopher's soul moving through various stages of cognition (represented by the line) through the visible realm into the intelligible, and finally grasping the Form of the Good. The aim of education is not to put knowledge into the soul, but to put the right desires into the soul—to fill the soul with a lust for truth, so that it desires to move past the visible world, into the intelligible, ultimately to the Form of the Good.

Philosophers form the only class of men to possess knowledge and are also the most just men. Their souls, more than others, aim to fulfill the desires of the rational part. After comparing the philosopher king to the most unjust type of man—represented by the tyrant, who is ruled entirely by his non-rational appetites—Plato claims that justice is worthwhile for its own sake. In Book IX he presents three arguments for the conclusion that it is desirable to be just. By sketching a psychological portrait of the tyrant, he attempts to prove that injustice tortures a man's psyche, whereas a just soul is a healthy, happy one, untroubled and calm. Next he argues that, though each of
the three main character types—money-loving, honor-loving, and truth-loving—have their own conceptions of pleasure and of the corresponding good life—each choosing his own life as the most pleasant—only the philosopher can judge because only he has experienced all three types of pleasure. The others should accept the philosopher’s judgement and conclude that the pleasures associated with the philosophical are most pleasant and thus that the just life is also most pleasant. He tries to demonstrate that only philosophical pleasure is really pleasure at all; all other pleasure is nothing more than cessation of pain.

Nearly contemporary of Plato, elusive philosopher Diogenes Laertius began “Policy Life” from barrel. Diogenes established a new face of human via “reassessments of values” that doesn’t recognizes items, he considers them as needless. Namely, for him the only item bowl is useless and he threw it away. The item-bowl has certain purpose, by the terminology of M. Heidegger device (Zeuge) thrown away by him had been removed by the natural creation. However handful—“two hands lying at each other bent in the form of dish for putting and pouring something into it” - will not be considered not needede thing, nor a perfect device, it is still the human part, the creation (4.43) The hadnfull human creation hasn’t right of independent existence. It as a part of human which exists periodically and then disappears, it is devoid to be item, to be considered as artifact. By this it returns to itself and wants to establish new ethos. The barrel is the “new state” established by him, he wants to create material state by natural environment, which in its sense contradicts to phenomenology of state; it is as if to escape from the power...

This is a utopian model which is often applied by philosophers, Diogenes managed by his way of life and anarchist ideas to gain a great influence. One day in the central square of Athens he began shouting: “Hey people, People?” Due to this fact many people gathers around Diogenes. He attacked him with walking stick and with desperate voice screamed: „Get away from me, Get away from me! I am calling to people and not to the ugly beings like you” (3). Diogenes’ behavior leaves sense of mysteries. What did he want, was he Fool for Christ? Was he an anarchist or did he intend to establish new understanding of power? (This issues will be objects of future research).

Aristotle comprehended the thought of his predecessors and teachers and tried to see people completely in a new way. He as we already mentioned gave the definition of human - „Zoon politicon” (2.12). Greek term „Zoon politicon means both: political animal and social animal”. The words “social” and “political” are certain synonyms.

Unlike all other creatures, only human is engaged in policy life, state rule, since he can live in political and civil society. This is a totally new definition of human which is given by Aristotle and on which was founded future political and philosophical discourse.

The humans have many different relations with each others. The important from these relations is political relations. In accordance to Aristotle the state is the relation with political
unity. The aspiration to the state life is put only into human. Politics it is the highest human activity, by it in the human relations is introduced justice and common kindness.

By his opinion: "Each state represents a certain union. And each union aims some kind of kindness, because everyone makes everything for one reason, he considers it as a kindness”. Thus it is obviously, that everyone aspires toward kindness. The best relation strives toward the most important kindness, that covers everything and it is so called state and state union.”

(2.10). A man can “decent life” only in the society where there is politics. The politics to Aristotle is presented as predominantly ethnical aspect: the politic is the aspect what is related to the “fair society”. Thus, the policy is the activity for the common goodness. Except the human exists the animals, which are also social but among them there is no one that lives in the political life. The Political life is not available anywhere else, other than the human species.

It is true the animals live in groups, flocks, teams. There are the signs of a social life, but they can’t form cities, you can’t judge the goodness, justice, and equality, they cannot.

Animal is a part of the nature, it is completely creation of nature and the nature specially cares after it. Unseparation from the nature, it dictates to animal on every step how to behavior. A human is expelled from the nature and its activity isn’t determined by nature. The universe is divided into two parts: human and nature. A human remained alone with himself, who has to determined his behavior himself. A humane became independent creature i.e. “owner of himself. “Ownership” means to find the ways and means for satisfaction of his demand. To investigate this human has consciousness. By this continuousness human has to overcome all difficulties. Thus for human the cognition is a vital necessity. Without cognition it isn’t possible to satisfy vital needs (he will not be able to be a human).

A human is not only a living creature, like a plant. He has not only sole, but he also is rational being. Rationality is ability to forget yourself and to sink in subject by this way, as an ability of transcendence. The brain is the most important thing for the human life. Revealing of intelligence in ethic is conscience. What is conscience? – the “voice of a deity inside me”, “inner judge” “devine will body inside me”. All these are inside human, in me. My conscience is “supreme me”, which shows me right way how to pass my way in socium.

As we already mentioned the sociality is in human nature, as a conscious, aware ability to work. The human sociality differs from the animals’ one, it should be understood as a political sociality.

A human can live in the pre-political community or in a form of organized political society. We are talking about the difference between the people who live in form of “people”, ethnic groups, or those who live in the policy, in the form of political society.

Sociality is common feature, characteristic as for animals also human. But for human it has different meaning due to the fact that the society may be only social of political or civil society, as far as in human nature is life in form of combination, in which the evaluation is carried out in
accordance with the justice or injustice. More precisely the human may have in organized society in form of political society, where there is more chance to be established the justice than in pre-political society.

The ability of speech is obvious sign of political sociality of human. Only human has this ability, because they have not only communication but ability to manipulate by conventional symbols. They can speak, communicate, thinking about freedom, equality. Human nature, his sense can be formed only in special conditions: for example the political association is as chronological also existentially the next stage of family and village and may not be carried out its institutionalism, however at the same time by its sense the family is primacy related to village. The natural sociality of human naturally brings him to the political society. It is natural there isn’t generally accepted definition of understanding of human being. However there are human definitions, in which further are defined epoches. In every epoch we have different definition of human being, as if the human change and gain new existence. New definition of human creates moral model. Buy this is determined person’s respect or attitude toward the other person, socium, society, nature. Aristotelian definition, a human as „Zoon politicon“ in the following epochs defined as Greeks also other western countries understanding of political sense.

No one social reform is capable of true liberation of human i.e. this is sanctification of their forces from passions, the will of power...

The state is imminent evil; its power mustn’t be increased more than it is necessary. Karl Popper calls this principle “Liberal razor”. (an analogy of so called Occam's razor). This excludes homo-homini lupus viewpoint about human that leads us to necessity of state. On the contrary the necessary justification of the state may be in case if we consider that homo-homini felis or homo-homini angelus is kindness and angelic generosity and when due to this generosity no one harms to anybody, in such universe still will be existed weak and strong persons.

Each person should be able to legitimately claim the protection of the strong. That it is need of the state, which will protect the right of everyone. The state is constant danger but necessary.

If the state has to implement its function, it should have more power than an individual citizen or civil society organizations. However we can establish instrument, which will minimize the danger of the use of power.

The feed of utopism attractiveness is the fact that we can’t understand the impossibility of establishment of Paradise on the earth. We must be sure: instead of creation of a paradise, should strive to make each generation life less scary and less unfair.

St. Augustine says that the state is merely a necessary evil, citizens have to overcome violence. The law gives Christians i.e. heavens’ citizens an opportunity to pass their way to the true heavenly city. But Christians, as all people are social by nature, and therefore, they are essential conjunction with other people, i.e. an earthly city resident. Thus, they have divine values, i.e.
“heavenly values "(such as peace and love) in themselves and accordingly introduce them into the public sphere “divine and the earth city members are harmoniously involved in the state body."

The political philosophy of Plato and Aristotle has significant impact on the further political thinking. We may say that the future political and philosophical discourse was founded on their political thinking. Therefore we tried to put forward their most important political thinking concepts.

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პირველად სოციალური ცხოველი „ძალაუფლები“-უკან მოთხრობლის გარეშე ადამიანის სტატუსის გამოხატვა. პირველად სოციალურ ცხოველობა ადამიანის სტატუსი გახდა „პოლიტიკური ცხოველი“. მათი ადამიანის სტატუსი დაამთავრა „პოლიტიკური ცხოველი“, რომელიც ადამიანად გახდა. ადამიანი უფრო მონაწილე იქნა, როგორც ადამიანი ჯგუფში, რომლის მიერ შექმნილი კონსტანტში „ადამიანის სისტემა“. მათი ქოთელი ფერები ექსპონირებოდა არა არა მხოლოდ ადამიანთა საზღვრების, საზოგადოების, საბუნებას და სოციუმის მიერ. პლატონმა გამოვლინა ადამიანის სულის რელაციის ორი, რომელიც ამ მხრივ გამოვლინა სულის წინამძღვრობა, ნოუს-თან, რომელიც ადამიანის ჯგუფში გახდა, რომელიც იყო მოქალაქე და მოქალაქი ჰქონდა ჯგუფში. პლატონმა დამოკიდებული იქნა სოციუმში და პოლიტიკურ ცხოველობის შესაფერისში. თუმცა პლატონმა დაადმინისტრირა ადამიანის სტატუსი და ჰქონდა ადმინისტრაციული სრულყოფები. ამით პლატონმა გამოყო საზღვარები, რომელიც ამ მხრივ გამოვლინა სულის რელაციის ორი. პლატონმა დაამთავრა ადამიანის სტატუსი და ჰქონდა ადმინისტრაციული სრულყოფები. ამით პლატონმა გამოყო საზღვარები, რომელიც ამ მხრივ გამოვლინა სულის რელაციის ორი. პლატონმა დაამთავრა ადამიანის სტატუსი და ჰქონდა ადმინისტრაციული სრულყოფები. ამით პლატონმა გამოყო საზღვარები, რომელიც ამ მხრივ გამოვლინა სულის რელაციის ორი.
ყველა სხვა არსებისაგან განსხვავებით, მხოლოდ ადამიანი უწევა ცხოვრების პოლიტიკურ, სახელმწიფოებრივი წესი. ამით მას შეუძლია გამოყოფა სამოქალაქო ან პოლიტიკურ საზოგადოება.

ადამიანი შესაძლებელია უძველოსიდან ადამიანურია უძველოსიდან. მისი საქმიანობა პოლიტიკურ უძველოსიდან. ადამიანური პოლიტიკურ უძველოსიდან კი უძველო ადამიანი უძველო, მთელი სახეობით. ამით უძველოს პოლიტიკურ საზოგადოებაში ვითარდება, მხოლოდ ადამიან „მაღალი”.

პოლიტიკა არ არის ადამიანური საზოგადოების უძველო დარბაზი, არამოგონად საბო მხიდურო ადამიანურ უძველოს უძველო ლაღვავს საქართველოში და საქართველო.

ადამიან „ლომურით ცხოვრობს“ უძველო მხიდურობა მას, რომ უძველო ადამიანი ჯარისკაცობით. პოლიტიკა არის უძველო ადამიან აღმოჩენა უძველო არისტოტელის მიხედვით: პოლიტიკა არის უძველო ადამიან, რომლის უძველო ადამიან მშობლური საზოგადოება.

პოლიტიკა არის საზოგადო საქმის შეწყდების მასზე გამოსახული საზოგადოება. აღმოჩენის გარეშე ადამიანური ქვეყნები არის ადამიან მოხმელობით, რომლის საქმიანობა სახელმწიფო საზოგადოება. მაგრამ ამით პოლიტიკა არის ადამიან შეწყდების გამო აღმოჩენილი პოლიტიკურ ქვეყნები. პოლიტიკური ქვეყნები არ არის უძველო ისტორიი, ამ მაშინ ერთმანეთში მოხმავა.

ყოველი სხვა არსებისაგან განსხვავებით, მხოლოდ ადამიანი ვერტიკალური ქვეყნები ჰაზარები წესები. ქალაქი მას შეუძლია იქომი სამოქალაქო ან პოლიტიკურ საზოგადოება. ეს არის ადამიან ეროვნული დემოკრატია ადამიან, რომელიც ძალიან ლამაზ არის პოლიტიკურ დემოკრატიალური მოთავსება.