The Relationship between Ethics and Politics in the Political Philosophy of Thomas Hobbes with an emphasis on Human Nature

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Abstract:

Hobbes's tendency to connect the two fields of ethics and politics has a historical background. Historical analysis shows that upon entering the modern era, with Machiavelli and Hobbes and their contemporaries, politics and ethics find a realistic, relativistic, utilitarian and anti-ultra centric nature. Hobbes's systematic explanation of human nature, ethics and politics begins with the fundamental characteristics of humans. He proposes a political system based on two scenarios of the natural state and the government (commonwealth). According to him, if the unruly nature of man is not limited by an absolute ruler with full power, the return to the natural state or the war of all against all will be inevitable. Hobbes belonged to his own time and his concern was order, peace and security, and therefore, by combining moral philosophy (natural laws) and political philosophy (civil laws), and presenting an ethical view of human self-preservation, he builds a system consisting of do's and don'ts based on the description of the characteristics of human nature to form a peaceful government based on the social contract theory to lead everyone towards a society with security. Hobbes's moral philosophy originates from his theory about natural law, and natural law also includes his theory about natural rights. Natural law and natural rights are the two foundations on which Hobbes based his theory of ethics and politics, respectively.

Keywords: Ethics, Politics, Political philosophy, Thomas Hobbes, Human nature

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Introduction

This article tries to analyze the important and problematic issue of relations between the two long-standing fields of ethics and politics in the political philosophy of Thomas Hobbes. According to Leo Strauss, "Political philosophy is an effort to replace genuine knowledge about political principles with opinions and speculations about it. These principles include two categories of topics: 1) the nature of political categories, i.e. the nature of laws, institutions, power, authority, duties and rights, conditions, behaviors, decisions, plans, hopes and dreams, and people as active agents or agents of political behavior, and 2) the best and fairest political order" (2002, p.73). The political philosopher wants to understand the deepest layers, foundations of governments and their moral justification. Therefore, "Political philosophy is an effort to obtain good living knowledge and establish a desirable society" (Strauss, 1959, p.10).

From John Skropsky's point of view, "Ethical philosophy is a normative theory of behavior that deals with personality through the relationship with action and the reasons for action, as far as it affects the action and the reasons for action, and through the relationship with personality, it deals with questions about what is the reason for feeling and how the reasons for feeling are related to the reasons for action. The three basic emotions that moral philosophy deals with are: condemnation, praise and desire" (2001, p.139). In clearer words, "Ethical knowledge is the knowledge that talks about good and bad (= good and evil) and also about the meaning that doing good deeds leads to happiness and good deeds, and doing bad deeds leads to misery and unhappiness. Good deeds are rooted in good dispositions, and bad deeds are rooted in bad dispositions, and

morality is the plural of the word virtue, and virtue means disposition; Good qualities (virtues) and bad qualities (vices) take place in human nature and become the source of good and bad deeds and cause human happiness or misery" (Dadbeh, 1995, p.137). Since moral philosophy has a close relationship with human nature, various theories have been presented by researchers regarding human nature and its inherent tendencies towards good and evil. From Mustafa Malekian's point of view, throughout history, three opinions (inductively limited) have been presented about human nature, "1) Human nature only tends to good, and evil acts are caused by ignorance (Socratic theory); 2) Human nature tends towards good; But his tendency towards good also faces an obstacle (Aristotelian theory) 3) human nature tends to evil and does not do good except in cases of emergency (Hobbesian theory)" (Malekian, 1998, pp.148-149). This article tries to clarify the hidden angles hidden in the third theory (the tendency of human nature to evil: Hobbesian theory).

According to Richard Tuck, "The correct division of philosophy was a matter of widespread interest in the ancient world, and the dominant opinion in the ancient era was that of Plato (and, in particular, his student Xenocrates); According to that opinion, all philosophy is divided into three parts: physics, ethics and logic. According to this outline, ethics included politics; The clearest example of this claim relies on the fact that Aristotle's ethics and politics were practically two parts of a single work" (Tuck, 2006, p.175). According to this tradition, one of Hobbes's constant concerns was the correct way to divide philosophy as a whole, and in this regard, the book he worked on for twenty years was the book Elements of Philosophy in Latin, which is divided

into three volumes with titles Because natural philosophy (about the body), anthropology (about man) (1658) and de Sioux (about the citizen) (1642) were published, and in them a new and complex division of human knowledge has been presented.

Historically, political theories are explicitly and implicitly based on a hypothesis (or even a theory) about human nature. According to Hobbes, desire and hatred (constitutive elements of human nature) are basically the main motivation of humans. Along with the coherence of the philosophical foundation, his methodological value in establishing the relationship between science, politics and ethics is to pay attention to realism. Accordingly, his most important criticism of his predecessors was their idealism (idealistic approach) in the field of politics and ethics. The efforts of Hobbes and his contemporaries have been a gateway to return to man and his place in the world; Because before this, humans have been sacrificed in front of ecclesiastical eschatology and idealistic virtue. According to Hobbes in Leviathan (2001, p.542), "futile and meaningless philosophy and theology are sometimes rooted in Aristotle's ideas and sometimes in misunderstandings".

"Hobbes's moral philosophy is the fundamental starting point from which his political philosophy is formed and developed (i.e., human nature). His moral philosophy outlines a general conceptual framework about human nature that is developed in works such as The Elements of Law, De cive, and Leviathan" (Kafka, p.1986).

The fabric of Hobbes's philosophical system is made up of his political philosophy and moral philosophy. Hobbes's moral philosophy and political philosophy are intertwined. His moral thought is based on ideas of human nature, which forms the basis of his political philosophy. The claim of the present research is that there is a meaningful relationship between ethics and politics in Hobbes's political philosophy system; These two categories are connected and complementary to each other in Hobbes's political philosophy and are included in the field of "political ethics" in terms of theoretical classification. According to Hobbes, ethics is an introduction to politics and politics is a part of ethics.

Review of research literature

Hobbes does not use the term moral philosophy directly; But when he criticizes the old tradition of ethics or mentions natural laws, he is referring to the philosophy of ethics. "Hobbes's moral philosophy includes three parts, which are moral psychology; His opinion about virtue; Moral science based on natural laws" (Lemetti, 2012).

Almost every new version of normative ethics is attributed to Hobbes. Traditionalists have considered him a result oriented or utilitarian; The famous hypothesis of Taylor, 1938 - Warrenderl, 1957 has tried to show that Hobbes's moral philosophy is the science of moral duty; and recently Ewin, 1931; booninvail, 1994; Alexandra & Boonin-Vail, 1996 have suggested that Hobbes is a kind of virtue ethicist (according to them, Hobbes called moral philosophy "the science of virtue and vice"). In his works, Taylor tries to show Hobbes's political philosophy as an independent science and far from self-interested psychology, unlike some researchers, and regarding his moral philosophy, while pointing out the prescriptive and judgmental characteristics of Hobbes's moral laws, his moral philosophy is called duty-oriented ethics.

The different dimensions of Hobbes's moral philosophy can be deduced from a paragraph in Leviathan (Hobbes, 2010, Chapter 15, p.79) that clearly speaks of moral philosophy: "And the knowledge of them [natural laws] is true and is the only moral philosophy." Then Hobbes differentiates between the views of his predecessors and his own view by saying that "ethical philosophy is nothing but the science of what is good and evil in conversation and human society."

In general, a range of commentators (including researchers and great Hobbes scholars) believe that Hobbes belongs to the circle of believers in psychological egoism. According to Chung, "Psychological egoism is a theory of human psychology that claims that all human actions are ultimately motivated by self-interest" (Chung, 2016, p.197). In simpler words, all our actions are personal and based on individual profits and interests and to satisfy these inner wishes and desires.

The theoretical framework of the research

The method of this research is descriptive-analytical and its purpose is to discover the logical relationships between the variables of the research, that is, the thought of ethics and politics in Hobbes's intellectual system. To achieve the goal of the research, the theoretical framework is divided into three parts: 1) political philosophy; 2) Moral philosophy and 3) The concept of human nature from Hobbes' point of view is divided and their important components are discussed.

Hobbes's political philosophy

The outstanding position of Thomas Hobbes in the history of political thought is such that some great researchers like Strauss called him "the father of modern political philosophy"

(Strauss, 1952). As a political philosopher, Hobbes's name is linked to two theories: 1) the theory of authoritarianism. He has been regarded as the first philosopher who has achieved a clear understanding of the theory of sovereignty and the principles of rule and its various characteristics that define the coordinates of the state (political society/commonwealth). Political rule is at the center of political thought's studied topics; 2) The theory of the pre-political state (natural state) which consists of the anti-social natural state as the conditions of endless war and unlimited natural rights and the expansion of the principles of the covenant and social contract, and consent as the necessary prerequisites for the establishment of social order, ruling power and political obligation.

Hobbes writes in the preface of Philosophical Foundations, which was first published under the title Citizen in 1642; "The goal of civil science is thorough research on the rights of governments and the duties of citizens" (De Cive, ch.10, p.14 quoted by Skinner, 2018, volume II, p.533). According to Hobbes, in the complex modern world, the nature of government should not be explained in the traditional way. The philosophical argument of this point of view is found in the 16th chapter of Leviathan (Hobbes, 2001, p.185), in which the term "representative person and agent of a multitude of people" is used, which is the first use of the term "Representative Will" in the history of political philosophy.

Nation state

In Leviathan, more than any other work, Hobbes tries to justify the relationship between ethics and politics in order to establish peace and political stability in the society. First of all, he calculated the superstructure

elements of the society using his "detailed-composite" method and tried to create a logical scenario in which he would draw a primitive society without a trace of civilization and its manifestations. Hobbes uses the natural state as a logical scenario to achieve a genuine vision of human nature. Hobbes uses this scenario for the origin of ethics; In such a way that creates a discussion about the origin of ethics from the place where it did not exist before to the place where a certain understanding of the political authoritative authority is based; That is why some researchers like (Dennett, 1996) call him "the first bio-sociologist" and believe that Hobbes provides a detailed explanation of the formation and development of political society from the pre-political era to the political era.

The situation that prevails in such a society is the state of anarchy or the "natural state". The natural state is a mental action in which the human nature appears pure. This situation shows the fundamental nature of man in the absence of natural law (morality) and in the absence of a powerful political ruler. Hobbes enumerates two stable characteristics for man in a natural state that makes him move; One is rationality and the other is survival instinct. The result of such assumptions is the acceptance of the social contract, as a result of which citizens "lend the right to govern themselves to a person or a group of persons; on the condition that others do so" (Hobbes, 1968, p.227). Based on this, "a powerful government is formed that protects security" (Tavana and Elahdadi, 2017, p.2). In Leviathan, Hobbes argues that the natural state is a state of war of all against all: "In such a state, there is no possibility of work and activity and above all [there is] constant fear and danger of violent death, and the life of man is broken,

burdensome, violent, ugly and short" (Hobbs, 2001, p.158).

In the natural state, humans face their basic desires and wishes; That is, the situation that is the breeding ground for acting the most basic human desires and wishes. Humans in their natural state put themselves in the center of things (Egocentrism). Therefore, self-preservation and strength are the two main concerns of humans in a natural state. In the natural state, there is no need or obligation, but "it is human nature to act based on self-interest. Humans prefer to be active without any external obstacles" (Hobbs, 2001, p.160) and "if they are given the right to lead their lives according to their judgment and reason, they will not refuse this opportunity. (Tuck, 1993, p.306). In the natural state, good and bad and other moral categories are all based on personal likes and dislikes; Therefore, relativism and personal experience, in other words, individualism, are prominent. Also, according to Hobbes, in that situation, moral concepts will be neutral and invalid; He writes: "The concept of right and wrong, justice and injustice has no meaning in that situation" (Hobbs, 2001, p.160).

Natural rights
The correlation of natural rights and natural law forms the foundation of the entire structure of Hobbes's political and moral philosophy. "By taking the concept of natural rights and using it on the field that Machiavelli had prepared, Hobbes undoubtedly created an entirely new type of political theory" (Strauss, 1994). Some researchers have considered natural rights in Hobbes's political and moral theory as liberty rights and a type of personal rights (for example, Gauthier, 1969; Kafka, 1986; Hampton, 1986; Warrenderl, 1957). According to them, freedom includes all the

things that include different aspects of freedom. At the beginning of the 14th chapter of Leviathan (2001, p.160), Hobbes writes about natural right "Natural right, which writers generally call Jus Naturale, is the freedom and authority that every man has to use his own power for Preservation of nature means that he should use his life and accordingly do whatever he thinks is the most suitable means to reach that goal according to his own judgment and reason. Freedom rights do not establish any link with Duties and Obligations and do not provide a foundation for them; Therefore, these rights go beyond the definition and limitation of the rights that are discussed in modern political and moral discourses.

According to Hobbes, people can use a set of rational rules to get out of the state of war. These intellectual rules and regulations are the same natural laws. In Leviathan, natural right is presented in connection with reason. "That which is not contrary to reason is called right." This connection is strengthened in the citizen book by using the intermediate concept of right reason (The Right Reason); Because every person wants what is good for him and avoids everything that is bad. According to Hobbes, there are certain rights that neither the ruler nor the law can limit; Hobbes calls these "true liberties". The most important of real freedoms is the right to self-defense or the right to self-preservation. This right does not disappear despite the conclusion of the agreements.

Justice and Injustice

Hobbes' view on the nature of justice and injustice is closely related to his explanation of the natural state and natural laws. According to Hobbes, "nature has made human beings so equal in terms of physical and mental powers that although sometimes one can find someone who is physically stronger and intellectually smarter than another; when all of them are put together, the difference between them is not so significant that he can claim a privilege based on it." (Hobbs, 2001, p.156). This is why humans must establish a government or a political society to establish peace and security (corresponding to the first natural law).

When this society is established (corresponding to the second natural law), people must give up their natural rights and hand it over to an almighty political government with unlimited power. The first and second natural laws are a necessary condition for the creation of a state; But they are not enough. The most important condition (natural law) is that either people try to provide the best possible social and political conditions for themselves, or they follow contracts and agreements and do not break promises (which is the third natural law). In fact, these three natural laws are considered as an explanation and crystallization of the concepts of justice and injustice in the coherent system of Hobbes' political philosophy. These three laws are necessary conditions of justice; Because according to Hobbes, "contracts based on mutual trust in which there is a fear of non-fulfillment of the promise by the parties are not valid; Even though the origin of justice lies in the same contracts. However, as long as such fear does not disappear, injustice will not be imaginable, and this will not be implemented as long as people are in a natural state of war" (Hobbs, 2001, p.171). According to Hobbes, the need for absolute sovereignty means that since human beings are not inherently social and political creatures (unlike Aristotle's opinion) and need contract and agreement for survival, based on that agreement, justice among all subjects, and

even opponents should be implemented and thus, the subordinates need general criteria about rights and wrongs that are agreed upon by everyone in order to regulate their affairs based on those criteria. Therefore, as long as the government is not established; We cannot talk about justice or injustice. Justice and injustice require the existence of a contract; In fact, the definition of injustice is precisely the lack of respect for agreements and contracts, and compliance with agreements can be called justice. According to Hobbes, "the meaning of justice is the fulfillment of valid agreements but the validity of agreements begins only with the establishment of a civil power that can compel people to comply with them, and therefore, ownership also arises from that time" (Hobbes, 2001, p.171).

Hobbes states that "people must keep their promises; Without this rule, treaties will be invalid and only empty words, and the rights of all people will remain intact and as a result, people will continue to be at war" (Hobbs, 2001, p.170). Only now is justice possible; Because no action can be unfair before a contract is made. "But when a contract is made, its violation will be unfair, and injustice in definition is the failure to fulfill a covenant, and whatever is not unfair is fair" (Hobbs, 2001, p.171). "What adds justice to a person's actions is magnanimity and courage (which is rarely found), and because of that, a person is ashamed of being deceived and breaking a covenant for the sake of happiness and contentment in his life" (Hobbs, 2001, p.174). This is the place where justice takes the title of virtue, and Hobbes's intention is to perform moral action.

The freedom

According to Hobbes, freedom is the absence of external obstacles; What is called "negative freedom" today. According to Hobbes, liberty or freedom in its correct sense means the absence of opposition (external obstacles to movement); "Because anything that is so bound or surrounded that it cannot move except within a limited space and that space is limited by the opposition of some external bodies, we say that it does not have freedom of movement" (Hobbes, 2001, pp.217-218).

Hobbes's view of freedom is compatible with his mechanical explanation of the world; Because human beings are also material objects, and as a result, even human nature should be explained based on a material model. For this reason, Hobbes can be considered a determinist and his view on human nature can be considered materialistic and realistic. Therefore, he believes that every event is necessarily the causal result of previous states of the world.

Hobbes's moral philosophy does not consider man as an autonomous being who acts according to his free will. In Leviathan, Hobbes measures the freedom of humans (rulers) in relation to the power of an absolute and powerful ruler. He explains the connection between human freedom and the authority of the ruler with the concept of fear. Fear is vital to Hobbes. According to Martinich, "if freedom is not incompatible with fear; In this case, the sovereign-oriented treaties will not be valid" (Martinich, 1995, p.198). Hobbes assumes that the only possible form of liberty is that which derives from the unrestricted and unconditional liberty of sovereign power. Hobbes believes that personal freedom can be delegated in a society formed based on the agreement of the majority of people. He claims that "Therefore, citizens have freedom only in things that the ruler has allowed them to do in order to regulate their lives; Such as the freedom to buy and sell and the freedom to

enter into any other contract with each other, the freedom to choose housing, type of food, work and profession, and the education and upbringing of children in their own way and the like" (Hobbs, 2001, p.220).

Government (Commonwealth)

Hobbes's enormous political legacy appears in its most advanced form in Leviathan (1651). He creates a political structure that is called the modern state in today's political literature. According to Hobbes, this state has absolute political sovereignty. Departure from the natural state is the basis for the formation of the state. Hobbes writes about the government in his Citizen journal "The government is a person whose will must be considered as the will of all people to use their power and resources for common peace and defense" (Hobbes, 1998, p.73). According to Hobbes, acute and critical conditions of conflict and war of all against all in the natural state cause people to give up their natural right, especially freedom, and delegate it to an absolute sovereign to bring peace and security. This issue will be the basis of the formation of the Commonwealth. According to Hobbes, the government puts an end to the natural right that all human beings have in the state of nature. Transcending natural rights is considered very important; Because if the citizens do not agree to this, the war of all against all will be inevitable; Even within the government itself. Regarding the emergence of the state, Hobbes writes in Leviathan: "The state, by definition, is a person that a large number of people, by virtue of covenants with each other, have made themselves one by one the source of validity and authorization of his actions, so that he can exercise all the powers and use all of their

facilities as he sees fit to maintain peace, security and public protection" (Hobbs, 2001, p.192).

The creation of the state necessitates the social contract between human beings. Morel Schottlender writes in his work entitled Moral Principles Derived from Reason in Thomas Hobbs's Leviathan: "Hobbes systematically proves, through fear, passions and carnal passives, as well as the absolute ruler, a process in which self-centered individuality, effective moral laws expand" (Schottlender, 2007).

Hobbes's moral philosophy

Hobbes preserves the earlier and more specifically medieval use of moral philosophy, preferring the term to ethics as a branch of science, which is included in Leviathan chapter 9 of the Science sector. According to him, ethics is a part of political philosophy (Hobbes, De Corpore, 1.1.10). "Apparently, Hobbes sees ethics as a bridge between his purely conceptual study of political science and his materialistic physics and psychology" (Sorell, 1986). According to Hobbes, morality is connected with natural rights. Natural rights are the existence or non-existence of common moral standards by which humans should live. Hobbes believed that there is a solution to the moral conflict; His suggestion was that the way to reach moral agreement should lie in politics, and this point is the most significant initiative that Hobbes brought in political theorizing" (Taak, 1991, pp.81-81). Therefore, according to Hobbes, moral philosophy includes ethics and ethics itself includes politics. According to Hobbes, ethics are moral principles.

"Hobbes was the first person to present his views in a reasoned, logical, stable and profound framework. That's why many

researchers, after reading Leviathan, confirmed Hobbes's views on ethics and human existence. They were afraid that Hobbes's views on human nature were true" (Jahanbeglu, 2010, p.29). Hobbes roots the moral obligation and the guarantee of the implementation of moral orders in the government. According to Hobbes, human beings are rational devices motivated by emotions and guided by their reason, which tend towards happiness or continuous success in obtaining the things that humans desire at any time. Hobbes believes that all human beings in their natural state have a desire for their own happiness and make every effort to preserve themselves. According to Hobbes, man's desire for continued happiness leads him to the desire for pleasure and saving it for the future. Therefore, Hobbes considers people as rational egoists and devoid of benevolence, who only care about their interests and desires in the natural state.

Requirement

In general, "the purpose of modern political theorists of political and moral obligation is the moral obligation to obey the law. Hobbes often refers to obligation, he defines obligation as forcing and committing someone to do or not to do something" (Zagorin, 2009, p.106).

"Compulsion is always considered a limitation regarding the freedom of the perpetrators, and people are forced or bound when they agree to give up their right" (Hobbs, 2001, p.162). Hobbs's view is that any type of obligation originates from contracts (Hobbs, 2001, p.162). The only exception is the obligation of humans to obey God, which does not result from covenants or giving up rights; Rather, it is because of the absolute power of God.

Three types of requirements can be classified: 1. Moral 2. legal and 3. political; The first is the obligation to obey the natural law; The second is the obligation to obey the civil law and the third is the obligation to obey the political ruler in everything except the freedoms that cannot be transferred through contracts and agreements and are necessarily preserved as part of the natural rights of individuals (such as self-defense). The moral obligation to obey the natural law includes the desire and internal and conscientious efforts of people even in the natural state to implement it as much as possible. Hence, natural law becomes real law and therefore becomes legally and morally binding on individuals when it becomes civil law; Because it has already been mentioned that natural law is the basis of civil law.

"Natural law is the source and origin of justice. Natural law reinforces the moral obligation to obey civil laws. Hobbes, by repeatedly emphasizing the obligation to observe and be faithful to treaties (as a basic rule that continued within the tradition of natural law), caused this obligation to be accepted as one of the basic principles of international law" (Grover, 1980, pp.94-177).

Some researchers believe that according to Hobbes's opinion, humans act exclusively on the basis of selfishness and arrogance; Therefore, they have introduced the concept of strict ideological obligation against moralistic obligation to specify the type of obligation proposed in Hobbes's political and moral philosophy.

Natural laws

Hobbes writes that natural laws are the sum of moral philosophy. Research on Hobbes's moral philosophy is related to the

understanding of natural laws. "Natural law exists independently from laws enacted by the state or society and can be applied independently from affirmative or subjective laws" (Finis, 2020). "Natural law is a rule or a general law discovered by reason and which prevents a person from doing the current action that is destructive to his life, or deprives him of the means to preserve his life, or from abandoning the current action that he believes is the best way to preserve it. " (Hobbs, 2001, p.161 and also, On the Citizen, Tuck & Silversthorne, p.91).

The number of natural laws mentioned by Hobbes are different in his works; For example, in the elements, 18; There are 20 in the Citizen treatise and 19 in Leviathan. But, the common value of all of them is that they are tools to seek peace. The purpose of this system is similar to the geometric deductive-obvious system in which all natural laws are reduced to one natural law which is the first and most basic of them; This first law orders humans to seek peace; If such a thing is possible. At the end of his discussion of natural law, Hobbes writes: "Natural laws are immutable and eternal; Because injustice, ingratitude, arrogance, unfairness, discrimination, etc. can never be made legal and legitimate and the knowledge of these laws is the only true moral philosophy that exists" (Hobbes, 2001, p.181).

Virtue

Hobbes writes in Elements of Law: "Virtue is a habit or disposition that tends to protect people, and vice is its opposite; Vice is a habit or temperament that tends to destroy a person. The nature and essence of virtue is to be kind and pleasant to those who will be kind and to be fearful and formidable to those who will not be so. Virtue is the sum total of natural law." (Hobbes, 1969, p.14-15).

According to Hobbes, "ethical philosophy is the science of virtues and vices" (Hobbes, 2001, p.182). "The ways of achieving peace, which include justice, gratitude, humility, fairness, mercy and other natural laws that are desirable, are considered moral virtues; And their opposite meaning vices, are undesirable. Therefore, because the science of virtue and vice is the philosophy of ethics; The theory of correct natural laws is also the correct moral philosophy" (Hobbes, 2001, p.182).

According to Hobbes, "as long as the cause is considered valuable and useful; Courage, even when it involves an act of extraordinary daring; will be considered virtue; And when the threat and possible danger are great, great fear is not considered a vice" (Hobbes, 1969, p.14). Therefore, virtues do not imply the same absolute value; Rather, they depend on crafts and on society's values in general. Clean power, foresight and cunning are forms of natural virtue. In the words of Hobbes: "Intellectual virtues are those mental abilities that men praise and value and wish to possess; These virtues are generally called the verve and joy; Although the same words are also used to distinguish a certain ability from other abilities" (Hobbs, 2001, p.117). "The only acquired verve or virtue – meaning something that is obtained through the application of methods, culture and education - is nothing but reason and reasoning, which is based on the correct use of wording and creates science" (Hobbs, 2001, p.120). Thus, Hobbes's view of virtues in Leviathan is cognitive and intellectual. Virtues are mental abilities that can be developed.

Human nature from the perspective of Hobbes

Human nature is a category related to "anthropology". Human actions occur in a political-social context; This means that basically, a fixed definition of human nature cannot be given. If we consider characteristics such as perception, reasoning, behavior, types of feeling, desire, enthusiasm, tension, motivation, etc. as descriptive components of human nature; In this case, we will find certain theories that claim that human nature is inherently selfish and tends towards immorality; For example, we can refer to Hobbes.

"Hobbes presents an insight into human nature that reminds us of a society with constant internal conflict and chaos. Hobbes's analysis of human civilization indicates that the main benefit of civilizing humans is to establish order and peace, that the dominance of the ruling laws will lead to maintaining order and peace. But, the important point is that Hobbes does not deal with fascism, nor does he consider a place for totalitarianism.

Hobbes paints a very negative picture of human nature and conceptualizes the "state of nature" as a "war of all against all" in which people live without being governed by any form of government and, indeed, without forming a community together. According to Hobbes, this natural state will be a state of war in which people will inevitably be in conflict with each other and will fight with each other, and therefore, their lives in this state will be "single, poor, unpleasant, animalistic and short." (Leviathan, 1991, ch.19, p.69) and this means the authenticity of personal, emotional and concrete experience. In this way, in order to maintain order in the government and civil society, politics has always raised the issue of

expanding authority as a criterion for human nature and ethics.

Hobbes's theories provide a deep insight into the relationship between human nature, ethics and politics. Hobbes states that the government is the result of the agreement between the free citizens who are committed to the existing political order. In chapter 13 of Leviathan, Hobbes describes the origin of this war as follows: "In human nature, there are three main reasons for strife and contention: the first reason, man attacks to win; the second reason, for security, and the third reason, for fame. Therefore, Hobbes's solution is to ensure order, strong government and effective laws that control human nature. Hobbes believes that in order to achieve peace, an arbiter is needed who has the power to resolve disputes over anything. That judge is the one he calls "commander" who is a political leader and has the authority to solve any problem and the power to implement any solution in any problem. Therefore, if Hobbes's theory is considered to understand any political situation and establish order and peace in society and politics, it should be focused on the study and control of human nature in the first place. Hobbes portrays a picture of human nature that is basically selfish and unable to convince his subordinates and subjects without general power to realize the collective agreement for the social contract. If this power is not Cairo, people will have conflict with each other. The three reasons that can be given to justify Hobbes's view on human nature are as follows:

1) Governments that have shown painful realities of human tragedies without strong and penetrating power; 2) Hobbes's theory is based on psychological egoism; That is, someone who believes that people can only do any action based on the principle of self-interest and

3) is that if Hobbes's theory is examined in the context of his political theory, it is clear that human nature is considered a model for this theory and not as a perfect description of that which all humans may be alike. Therefore, Hobbes's view on human nature in general is reasonable and fully justified from the point of view of his theory.

Hobbes believes that humans are selfish by nature, and he writes about voluntary actions: "The purpose of action is good and benefit for the individual" (Hobbes, Leviathan, 1994, p.82). Therefore, understanding human nature is very important to create a politic body. Since human needs are so diverse, it is important for the political system to take these needs into account. This is why Hobbes bases his political system on defining the characteristics of human nature. In Leviathan, Hobbes begins his analysis by describing the fundamental characteristics of man. He describes man in two ways; One is the description of a human being living in a natural state and the other is a civil person or citizen living in a society (state/commonwealth). In the natural state, "a natural man is a man who, if he were considered merely an animal, would not be changed in any way by education and science" (Hobbes, Man and Citizen, 1991, p.11).

The main goal of Hobbes is to protect man from himself and live in a safe place without disturbing its order and peace by another man. It is not easy to live in a natural state; Because in this situation, there are no limits for humans except for natural forces. The main motivation in the natural situation is fear, and the ubiquity of fear causes people to gather in one place and concentrate their thoughts and emotions.

Hobbes's view of human nature is based on a mechanical understanding; Because there is a close connection between his understanding of human nature and human conditions in the natural state. Hobbes argues that all events can be explained through their relation to other events. He imagines that if an object is in motion, its motion continues constantly; unless something prevents it; It means that the main obstacle for an object is another object, and the relationship between two events or objects is understood in the form of their confrontation. It can be claimed that human beings in their natural state also have causal relationships with each other, which constantly interact, confront and deal with each other like material objects. In their relationships with each other, the main obstacles and threats to obtain what is beneficial for people is the exercise of people's power towards each other. Hobbes states that nature has made humans equal; However, this equality has caused people to distrust each other. Hobbes believes that human nature leads him to acquire power. He believes that when two or more people want the same thing; They become enemies of each other and try to destroy each other.

Hobbes's view of human nature leads him to develop a view of a desirable government. People surrender their will to the will of their ruler who is certain that he (the ruler) will try to protect their lives. In this way, the ruler will extend his absolute control over the scope of his territory. Hobbes has considered this type of ruler as the absolute political ruler (Sovereign) and his people as citizens and Subjects.

The relationship between ethics and politics in Hobbes's political philosophy

In the 17th century, Hobbes was looking for a systematic and coherent foundation of the link between ethics and politics based on a special view of human nature. According to the explanations and reports that Hobbes presents about

human nature in his moral and political philosophy; It can be said that he has an empiricist and mechanical view of human nature, and this type of view negates the individual freedom of subordinates and rulers, which theoretically and also the tradition of the predecessors originated from political and moral theories; Because his idea is that man is a part of the material world; The logical result of this view is to believe in determinism. Hobbes believes that all human actions can be explained under a chain of causal effects.

In Hobbes's use of the term Ethics, politics is also examined as a subject. In general, the intention behind Hobbes's philosophy has two parts; These two parts are: 1) determining the final scientific principle of ethics and politics and 2) pacifism; That is, reforming and creating the military that makes people susceptible and receptive to performing their civil duties. It should be said that the first purpose is relatively theoretical; While the second goal is relatively practical.

Hobbes's outline provides a suitable framework for understanding his criticism of his predecessors. In the words of Hobbes: "They built imaginary societies with imaginary laws" (Ibid). According to his belief, this tradition emphasizes that the attraction of moral virtue can be sufficient in itself to guarantee the moral values of man and curb human tendencies towards disobedience and deviations. While from Hobbes's point of view, this opinion is an example of idealism and is not based on realism; Therefore, according to Hobbes, the wisdom of the ancients is more worthy of receiving the title of dream than science.

"For Hobbes, morality is linked to natural rights. Based on the efforts of Hugo Grotius, the right to self-preservation, which is the most fundamental natural right that can never be removed or even transferred, became a moral principle; Therefore, self-preservation is a fundamental right that all known ethics and rules of social behavior should be based on it" (Taak, 1991, pp.81-89).

Hobbes's horrifying picture of human nature rationalized the existence of an absolutist political system. According to him, the dominant desires of passion/desire and hatred/disgust are the root causes of war and conflict in the natural state. All men are moved by the natural impulse of self-preservation to acquire those objects or goods which are useful to his existence; Because these goods are limited and people are also equal in terms of power and strength.

Hobbes's goal is to describe the nature of humans without reference to the possible characteristics of humans, such as inherent rights, and to use these descriptions to establish criteria for guiding the behavior and character of humans. The analysis of the texts shows that Hobbes's thought, based on the common practice, has been presented in the realm of politics, both in written texts and in the virtual world. Political philosophy is connected with moral philosophy at least since it discusses justice. Therefore, the relationship between the two fields of political philosophy and moral philosophy is important for human behavior and action. Both of these areas are linked by principles whose observance shapes our collective life together.

In the analysis of Hobbes's philosophy in relation to the relationship between ethics and politics, two theories can be considered; 1) Hobbes's political philosophy includes his moral philosophy and the society is a purely political society and 2) the moral philosophy includes his political philosophy. Based on this, two groups of theories can be recognized:

a) theories that believe that Hobbes's political thought prevailed over his entire intellectual system, and it is not possible to talk about Hobbes's moral philosophy separately, like the opinion of Martinich (2005) and another theory is that thought His politics is in the heart of moral thought and ethics dominates Hobbes's system of thought. For example, we can mention Leo Strauss. Hiram Caton writes: "Leo Strauss protested four decades ago that the basis of Hobbes's political philosophy is a moral attitude that results from the opposite and equal institution of honor and fear. He claims that this attitude derives from Hobbes's pre-scientific humanistic thinking, which is a reflection on universal and common experience" (Caton, 1974, p.414).

According to Martinich, Hobbes's moral philosophy is the foundation for his political philosophy. In this sense, he also believes that Hobbes's moral philosophy comes from the heart of political philosophy and is not a knowledge independent of politics. He writes in his work: "Hobbes's moral philosophy is designed to be a foundation for his political philosophy; It means that it is an explanation of satisfactory human relationships and a reason and direction for human excellence and dignity. Hobbes does not envision a society independent of the political institution that frees people from brutalizing and killing each other. Accordingly, Hobbes's view is very different from John Locke's; Because according to Hobbes, the nature of society is that it is a mediating element between individual human life and living in civil society. Therefore, no one can live a long moral life; Unless it is synchronized with others to shape the government or ruler" (Martinich, 2005, p.54).

Conclusion

This research examines the relationship between the political philosophy and the moral philosophy of Thomas Hobbes in his entire system of thought based on his special view of human nature by using the descriptive-analytical method with an argumentative-rational approach based on textual evidence that is especially from the first category texts and through The First Leviathan is done.

Hobbes developed and presented what he thought was the science of politics; It means a set of timeless facts based on definitions. He presented two well-timed outlines: 1) an attempt to resolve the apparent contradiction between the new science based on the discoveries of Copernicus and, in particular, Galileo, and the teachings of the Christian-Jewish tradition, and 2) an attempt to show that Christianity, if properly understood is a peacemaker. These two projects are completely based on the historical-social and political-religious background of his own era.

Regarding the influence of political and moral teachings, Hobbes's moral philosophy has been less influential than his political philosophy; Regarding its reasons, researchers have emphasized more on the ambiguity and internal contradictions of the writings and some parts in Hobbes's works. This has caused a general consensus not to be reached about Hobbes's moral philosophy.

Most scholars have attributed Hobbes to a kind of relativism or personal subjectivism. The views that Hobbes supported divine command theory, virtue ethics, egoism, etc. are supported in Hobbes's texts and among scholars. Because Hobbes considered moral philosophy to be the doctrine of natural laws; The difference in the interpretation of Hobbes's moral philosophy can be found in different

understandings of the operation of Hobbes's "natural laws". By now, the view that Hobbes advocated psychological egoism as the foundation of his moral theory has been widely rejected.

The goal of Hobbes's moral philosophy was to confirm the relativism of the old skeptics. He abandoned the absolutist view of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle on ethics and politics, and then tried to prove the correctness of the relativistic view. According to Le Marinoff: "Hobbes takes a purely subjective position on morality: good and evil are merely names for things that we like or dislike, respectively." There is no universal good (in the rejection of the pure form of goodness or the ideal form of Platonic goodness) and there is no ultimate good that leads to the hope and guidance of human ideals (especially in the rejection of the Aristotelian theory of eudemonia/happiness and Common, the Greek concept of living well or a happy/good life).

According to Hobbes, there is only the possibility of achieving a happy life. In fact, Hobbes argues, a man's strength is nothing but his ability to acquire whatever he considers good and escape whatever he considers evil. From this he arrives at a fundamental principle of human nature: that every human life is a ceaseless pursuit of power after power, which stops only at death. Each of us seek our own benefit—to the best of our ability to understand it—from cradle to grave. Hobbes writes in Leviathan: "But whatever is the subject of each of man's desires and requests is considered good, and whatever is the subject of his hatred and aversion is called bad, and whatever is the subject of his reluctance is considered worthless and insignificant. Because the words good, evil, weak and insignificant always give meaning in relation to the person who uses it: because nothing is simple and absolute (good or evil or insignificant); Also, there is no general rule for good and evil that is extracted from the nature of things themselves; Rather, (this proof of the rules) comes from the person himself (when there is no government) or (when there is a government) from the person who represents it, or from the person of the judge or arbiter whom people, because they disagree with each other, They choose their own agreement and make his ruling the principle of good and evil)" (Hobbes, 2001, pp.105-106). The passage above clearly illustrates Hobbes's relativism and subjectivism in Leviathan.

Some researchers, such as Tolonen (2009), believe that narcissism/selfishness, or its historically accurate and more appropriate term equivalent, narcissism (self-love /self-compassion), is considered one of the important themes in early modern moral psychology and political philosophy. The origin of this term is often considered to be Thomas Hobbes. Historically and traditionally, two forms of egoism have been attributed to Hobbes, which are: 1) psychological egoism and 2) moral egoism. Psychological egoism is a view according to which our actions and judgments are largely determined by those reasons that are directly related to ourselves, and moral egoism refers to a view that those reasons are only related to other people or aren't related at all. This is well summed up in Hobbes's analysis of the sympathetic movement. Hobbes writes in Leviathan (2001, p.110): "Grief is compassion for the calamity inflicted on another and arises from the idea that a similar calamity may be inflicted on the sympathetic person; Therefore, it is also called pity, and in the language of the present age, it is also called sympathy. Hobbes adopts a self-centered –

though not necessarily egoistic and selfish – theory of motivation and action. In general, moral egoism says that it is morally justified for a person to act in a way that furthers his own interests. Hobbes's description of human nature is basically selfish. Perhaps the best term today, which is very similar to Hobbes's idea of a scientific discipline, is philosophical psychology; That is, psychology before it became a separate science during the 18th and 19th centuries.

By adopting a scientific attitude, Hobbes defines the desires, needs and wishes related to human nature in biological and social terms. First of all, Hobbes tries to answer the question of how people will live if they follow their desires and tendencies based on their non-social nature, and he claims that life in these conditions will be unbearable. Hence, Hobbes argues in favor of a political system in which all human actions and rights are organized by political power, in order to eliminate the "state of war of all against all". Hobbes proposes a political system that keeps the state in unity and coherence. His system, at first glance, is coherent and integrated; Hobbes bases his system on the assumption of the state of nature, in which human beings are described through their physical and mental characteristics. Therefore, according to Hobbes, man has natural, bestial and intellectual talents and powers that are embedded in his nature.

Since there is no moral code (justice, right, wrong, good, evil, etc.) in the natural state, natural emotions inevitably put people in conflict with others. In addition, the nature of good and evil is determined in relation to the matter of personal desire. If the subject in question is considered beneficial for the survival and well-being of the person, the person will try to get it at any cost. In the natural state, good and evil are relative. For Hobbes, the concepts of good and bad have no meaning except in the state, and moral standards of good and bad change according to the laws of the state. Therefore, not only moral standards but also government laws are not fixed and somewhat relative. Hobbes gives great power to the government in his political system and believes that order is better and superior than disorder and anarchy. Therefore, absolute power is necessary to maintain and protect the government. Hobbes's political theory may be accepted to some extent. Logically, governments should take necessary precautions for their citizens to ensure peace and security. But it does not require absolute power to enforce those laws. According to Hobbes, whether or not humans have an unchangeable nature is considered important. Finally, he defines the nature of human beings as cruel, dissolute and malicious.

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