

**ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF WAR IN THUCYDIDES AND HOBBS

**M.A. THESIS
Ayten Tuana RENDECI**

**Department of Political Studies
Political Studies M.A. Program**

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To the Devotees of Warriors

FOREWORD

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A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF WAR IN THUCYDIDES AND HOBBS

SUMMARY

War is the one that affects both the mind and social life of man. What is war for, what makes it preferable? Scholars have subjected war studies to various perspectives. In this thesis, I study human emotions as causation of war and war of human among emotions. At the time of war, war now establishes its own language and structure; because of human emotions, man easily adapts to war and war builds man. War is a natural phenomenon in human life; it is hard to avoid it from man's relation among others. For seeing this, I base my understanding of the war on Thucydides' analysis of political history in Ancient Greece. The History of Peloponnesian War written by Thucydides in B.C. fifth century will be the source of this study on the causes of war. The fact is that causation of war comes with human nature and has an inevitable place in human life. Although hegemon seems to be the most robust security policy among state policies, I also evaluate power policies and examine the essential political elements among states. Is hegemon going through material forces, as the realist paradigm claims, or to what extent its psychological effect is valid? For this, Hobbes's state-based theory of sovereignty, which he founded on war, constitutes another field of my study. In this study, I make the comparison between Thucydides and Hobbes understanding of war and human tendencies. Firstly, I analyze Thucydides methodology about writing history and his approach to the war via Athens and Sparta's relative positions to each other. Then, I study and compare issues that are shown as the cause of war or that have the potential to make war. I examine the differences and similarities between states' material and non-material properties and what it addresses and where it is positioned in warfare. Thucydides revealed the ideal and real distinctions that refer to him as reference point in the Melian dialogue that I assert it in detail war. Even the most intelligent leaders of human nature have fallen into arrogance, pride and honor. I reviewed the last chapter; Hobbes express that this is happening in individuals before states, and that he builds his thesis on it. In Hobbes, we see the construction of war and other related institutions with the possibility of the concept of anarchy. But anarchy, with its unhindered structure, rather than allowing for war, is not the result of states' actions, as Wendt claims, but the cause, and Hedley contributes to my ability to evaluate it with the concept of anarchic society. In front of the values that hold people together and even lead to death together and same person, have things that fight each other. My work ends with an evaluation whether this is a trap.

TUKİDİDES VE HOBBS' TA SAVAŞIN KAVRAMSAL BİR ANALİZİ

ÖZET

Savaş, insanın hem akılını hem de sosyal yaşamını etkileyen bir olaydır. Savaş ne için yapılır, savaşı tercih edilebilir kılan nedir? Savaş çalışmaları, düşünürler tarafından çeşitli bakış açılarına tabi tutulmuştur. Bu tezde savaşın neden insan yaşamında merkezlendiğini ve insan duygularının nasıl savaş sebebi olduğunu çalışıyorum. Savaş zamanı geldiğinde artık savaş kendi dilini ve yapısını kurar; insan yine duyguları sebebiyle savaşa kolayca adapte olur ve savaş insanı inşa eder. Duyguları arasında insanın savaşını da inceliyorum. Savaş insan yaşamında doğal bir olgu ve ondan kaçınmaya çalışmamız oldukça zor. Bunu görmek için, savaş hakkındaki bu çalışmamı Tukidides'in Antik Yunanistan'daki politik tarih analizine dayandırıyorum. Tukidides tarafından milattan önce beşinci yüzyılda tarihi yazılan Peloponez Savaşı'nın sebepleri bu çalışmanın ana araştırma kaynağı olacaktır. Savaş sebebinin insan doğası ile geldiği ve insan yaşamında kaçınılmaz bir yere sahip olduğu gerçeği araştırmamda inceleyeceğim diğer bir konudur. Devlet politikaları arasında hegemon olmak en sağlam güvenlik politikası olarak görünse de güç politikalarını da değerlendirip, devletlerarası aslolan politik elementleri inceliyorum. Hegemon olmak realist paradigmanın iddia ettiği gibi materyal güçlerden mi geçiyor yoksa psikolojik etkisini ne kadar geçerlidir. Bununla beraber Hobbes'un savaş üzerine kurduğu insan doğası ve devlet temelli egemenlik teorisi çalışmamın diğer bir konusunu oluşturuyor. Çalışmamda Tukidides ile Hobbes'un savaş anlayışı ve insan eğilimleri arasında kavramsal bir karşılaştırma yapıyorum. İlk önce, Tukidides'in tarih yazımına ve Atina ve Sparta'nın birbirlerine olan göreceli konumlarıyla savaşa olan yaklaşımına ilişkin metodolojisini analiz ediyorum. Sonra savaşın nedeni olarak gösterilen sorunları inceliyorum. Tukidides, onun Melian diyalogda ayrıntılı olarak ele aldığı ve savaşta savunduğu hatta onu politik bir bilge yapan sonrasında da referans noktası olarak gösteren ideal ve gerçek politika ayrımları ortaya koymaya çalışıyorum. Bu kısım, analizlerimde savaşın en gerçek ve sarsılmaz tarafını oluşturur. İnsan doğasının en zeki ve ehil liderleri bile nasıl kibir, gurur ve onurun peşinden sürüklediği çarpıcı bir örnektir. Son bölümde ise, Hobbes bu savaş durumunun devletlerden önce bireylerde yaşandığını ve bunun üzerine sosyal sözleşme tezini oluşturmasını çalışırım. Savaşın insanı ve diğer ilgili kurumları inşa etmesini Hobbes'ta anarşi kavramının imkânıyla görüyoruz. Fakat savaşa imkan tanımaktan ziyade engel olmayan yapısıyla anarşi Wendt'in iddia ettiği gibi devletlerin yapıp ettilerinin sonucu değil, aksine nedenidir ve Hedley bunu anarşik toplum kavramıyla değerlendirebilmeme katkıda bulunuyor. İnsanları bir arada tutan ve hatta birlikte ölüme götürebilen değerlerin karşısında yine aynı insanları birbirleriyle savaştıran şeylerin referans noktasını incelemek bu bölümde gerçekleşir. Çalışmam, Tukidides'in savaş sebebi olarak ortaya koyduğu iddianın devletlerin kaçınabileceği bir tuzak olup olmadığının değerlendirmesiyle bitiyor.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Research Question and Purpose of the Thesis

Political philosophy provides us with conceptual tools for analyzing and understanding politics. Its abstract framework can make complex, latent and ambiguous structure of the political reality and phenomena more explicit and intelligible. It also helps us making sense of our historical-social world consisting of all sorts of happening and events. Even the brute fact of war making needs a thorough theoretical investigation which is supposed to explain and understand its substance, meanings, structure and context better. This study, will investigate war as political and social interactions and look into its relationship with human nature and motivations. The Cambridge dictionary defines war as ‘armed fighting between two or more countries or groups’ and we mean it as that way (dictionary.cambridge.org). War has always been a human communication and relationship. It is assumed that war was done to destroy the enemy completely or to indicate its superiority. As one of the definition on war is “war is seen to be a state of law and a form of conflict involving a high degree of legal equality, of hostility, and of violence in the relations of organized human groups or more simply, the legal condition which equally permits two or more hostile groups to carry on a conflict by armed force.” (Wright, 1964, p.7). The effort of the war to build a new order or change the existing political order has made it the solution of the need for change. Since war requires societies to act collectively “to expand wealth and power by violence began with civilization.”(Ibid. p.24). I will study the man who proceeds with the conflict in which s/he has been born and grown from infancy, and how he learns from war. This is the battle of the human being, which can be the cause and the result of something, with its nature. The origin of this thesis is that in my perspective on understanding human nature affects war and after occurrence of it, war co-constitutes behaviors of human being. Thus, I hope to have an answer as to why the wars have no end despite all the suffering. And, to contribute to the understanding of the complex structure of

war. Although human nature and the study of war evoke the science of psychology for the first look, as the return of the modern world, but I will proceed under the roof of international relations and political history. To support my thesis statement I will apply to examine the Peloponnesian War of Thucydides, who claims fear is the real cause of war is accurate? Then, investigate; does the man who builds the war find the solution from being a hegemon or applying a balance of power policy? As Athens applied that Gramsci called it cultural hegemony over others in politically, intellectually for the sake of domination. And lastly, where is Thucydides right position in international relations. After that I will continue my second part of thesis is construction of man by war. From the moment the war started, it created his own language and Hobbes put it in the best possible way with his concept state of nature. Contrary to Wendt's interpretation, the man built by the war is not active but passive, and as Hobbes pointed out, anarchy is the cause. And Hedley Bull's claim on anarchy will be on table. Solution to this situation Leviathan come to place but Leviathan is different than Machiavelli's Prince because of naturalness.

War is a reciprocal act and mutually happened. Man as the decisive actor of wars makes it according to his feeling and some benefits in his context because he is not apart from that. And just started war establishes it's own norms and conditions human. War as a social condition has its own structure that man does not slog on to share and follows it. Actually understanding nature of war helps us foreseen to potential upcoming war scenarios when we consider people as social and interacting beings. War is a social reality that leaves deep traces in human life and makes us think about its consequences. Most of the times war is unbearable reality to stand with it thus we term 'World Wars' to express our huge gashes. For this, I found that war phenomenon must be open to discuss and catch the structural foundations of it. This study will help those who want to understand the reality of war that we, as human beings have difficulty in withstand but never give it up. Even though the work is about the causes and foundation of war, I examine the human impacts on war and also being affected by the war. I will consider human feeling as a cause and foundation of war for the first part of my thesis and then inquire into man as a social construction of war. The fear of human being as causation of war seeks for security in man and do this through the state. Security will be used in meaning that being far from possible fear and danger. In this study and part, I will examine in which way it will be provided for man and state. Thucydides asks in case of state security whether,

the balance of powers or whether being a strong hegemon in system? Within this study, I will analyze which motivation can help to control fear over security in Thucydides' approach based on the '*History of the Peloponnesian War*' which is the one of the oldest war and book in political history. Thucydides was the one who established the bridge between the present and the ancient by his methodological differentiation from his contemporaries. One of the basic arguments that make up the first part of my thesis is that will the war as the cause of the fears lead states to become the most powerful- hegemon-, as did the Athenians or try to make balance of power politics? While studying this, I will discuss Thucydides' contributions by considering various interpretations of political scientists. One thing to consider is that whether Thucydides tends to accumulate power or accumulate security. Despite of the some scholars Thucydides actually is not familiar with the being a hegemon in Gramscian means domination as he said "hegemony which the dominant group exercises throughout society and on the other hand to that of 'direct domination' or command exercised through the State and 'juridical' government." (1971, p.12) rather Thucydides approach is resemble to security based system. Kenneth Waltz in 1959 wrote his book of '*Man, the state and War*' and explained his international relations theory of how states try to secure their survival by playing balance of power politics rather than power domination like a hegemon. Security based system is tend to play with politics of power among states and search for keep the state alive by security ensure policies among other states in system. Thucydides is one of the main sources of political history. It is worth remembering the theories of international relations that contribute to our understanding of this. "Traditionally there have been two central theories of IR: liberalism and realism." (McGlinchey, 2017, p.4). Indeed he (Thucydides) is accepted as the main figure of the realist paradigm that "realists consider the principal actors in the international arena to be states, which are concerned with their own security, act in pursuit of their own national interests, and struggle for power" (Karpowicz, 2017). "Liberalism contains a variety of concepts and arguments about how institutions, behaviours and economic connections contain and mitigate the violent power of states. Liberals have faith in the idea that the permanent cessation of war is an attainable goal and putting liberal ideas into practice."(W. Meisser, 18 Feb 2018 p.22). The third important theory is the constructivist theory that mostly viewed as a middle ground. "...constructivists highlight the importance of values and of shared interests between individuals who

interact on the global stage. Alexander Wendt, a prominent constructivist, described the relationship between agents (individuals) and structures (such as the state) as one in which structures not only constrain agents but also construct their identities and interests” (McGlinchey, 2017, p. 6). Wendt’s phrase ‘anarchy is what states make of it’ written in 1992. Another international relations theory is that English School theory “involves the idea of a society of states existing at the international level. School agreed with traditional theories that the international system was anarchic. However, he insisted this does not mean the absence of norms (expected behaviors’), thus claiming a societal aspect to international politics. In this sense, states form an ‘Anarchical Society’ (Bull, 1977) where a type of order does exist, based on shared norms and behaviors” (Ibid. p.6). Upon these, I will look into Thucydides’ political perspective with regard to the contemporary world of 21st century. But in which ways? To be able to investigate it as second assumption I will analyze Robert Gilpin’s theory of hegemonic war attribution to Thucydides that is much more convenient than Ned Lebow’s interpretation of Thucydides’ idea of war. Because of Lebow’s claim on Thucydides’ perspective about hegemony is much more related to psychological elements rather than material among states. However, the hegemonic war is based on political, economical and strategic changes and interactions between states. Therefore, Gilpin’s hegemonic war theory explains the change in the system because hierarchy of power determines the behavior and strategies of the states. Lastly, I will examine Michael Doyle’s claim that Thucydides should be classified as a Minimalist /Classical Realist or Structural in terms of modern conceptual theorizing in the discipline of international relations. Doyle supported that Thucydides is more classical/minimalist realist rather than structural one because he put forth minimalist realism with power dynamics and takes fear as the emotional foundation of human political behavior. Moreover, I will examine Thucydides’ explanation for causation of war via merely searching power to be secured by states. The continuation of the thesis and the other part of my claim is to examine the constructivist feature of war. Even if war is a social phenomenon, it is a concept that should be dealt with on its own. After the war was started between the parties, it immediately establishes its own language, principles and structure. Therefore, nothing is the same as with war. The main issue is how war reshapes human behavior by its psychological derivatives. Hobbes is undoubtedly one of the thinkers who best show us the founding nature of the war. War constructs human behavior from the

moment it started. I will examine the Leviathan of Hobbes as the founder and constructor of war. Because I have the idea of Hobbes' state of nature is related to anarchy so that the condition is required a sovereign authority called Leviathan to solve the problematic state of nature. Clear that Leviathan is constituted by war result in Hobbes however, I consider that construction referring Leviathan as a natural entity not as Hobbes' 'artificial' claim to it. This naturalness is just like the naturalness of war and man. Leviathan is precisely different than Machiavelli's Prince who is constructed with fox and lion metaphors. "Like Machiavelli, Hobbes also builds his political theory on a negative conception of human nature" (Salzborn, September 2015, p.12). However, Leviathan and the state as covenant result institution constructed natural process of human behavior rather than Machiavelli's Prince to be compelled to produce to manage the non-unified city-states. "As described by Stefan May (2002: 35), with Hobbes the state becomes a '(natural) rights-protecting institution' built upon the shared political activity of individuals, casting off the fiction of a natural order in the political sphere." (Ibid. p. 33). Hobbes and Machiavelli's positions and leaders are different from each by the way of achieving their political purposes. Therefore, I will evaluate the war as a constructions and constructed leaders of the states. Then, I will research how war can create and build its political and social order in terms of Leviathan and its resemblance to Thucydides' Melian dialogue in warfare. Anarchy as chaotic setting is required a sovereign authority to stay in security in Hobbes. This is quite different than Alexander Wendt's constructivist understanding of anarchy. Man in Wendt's interpretation of anarchy is effectual while constructing it but in my evaluation, man actually is passive and followers position during warfare. The followers of the war develop strategies for being the winner. However, I will not go into details of war strategies in this study to be able to keep the thesis on topic. Despite of the Wendt's explanation of constructed anarchy Hedley Bull's analysis of anarchy is more persuasive to construct of international society. Because, human being and states as construction of war produce new international society under anarchical conditions. Bull' claim on anarchic society to establish common rules and norms is more appropriate to the constructive nature of war. The other assumption is that I will focus on how war will co-constitute institutions of the state, despite of the devastating effects of war. In Hobbes' explanation the 'covenant' as a result of state

of war is constructed to provide the security of society and the state that covenant interests and hints the lack of fear from something else.

War is experienced as evidence of distrust caused by fear between the parties. Because of there is no a sovereign authority among states to solve the crisis when needed tackle with. 'the international scene is properly described as an anarchy -a multiplicity of powers without a government (Wight M., *Power Politics* (London, 1978), p. 101). Thus, this uncertainty brings along insecurity and when it becomes unbearable, man enters into battle with an effort to end it. Then what is his seeking from that action? A reliable and confidence order is the answer. The way of achieving this constitutes is to build reliable leaders, state and environment/ system. Hobbes' *Leviathan*, which forms the other part of my work, is one of the only examples proving this. Because, Hobbes has seen throughout his life a powerful ruler and the state is capable of and the guarantor of security.

The disciplines of classics and ancient history still can speak with us. This is accepted as unchanged nature of man as in Thucydides claim on his book that I share also. The 'classic' in literature and particularly of war studies mean timeless or '*in all possible times*' concepts. Man of war as social being got used to live with it. Human and war have been accompanied by thousands of year. It is my curiosity that what were the things that provided this togetherness and continuity. For this, I will examine human decisions, in terms of the material and non-material construction of human being. The patterns of behaviors as an objective reality that goes beyond the history of human nature, clearly apart from the time? Thucydides gave the clue and proof of it in the "the Melian dialogue, extracted from the rest of the text" (Lebow 2012, p.208). The humanity has led some to historicize their own and their predecessors' views of Thucydides' aims and methods (Connor, 1984, 1–19). Human beings by his nature desire, seek and un/satisfied with the power in stage of individualistic and commonly. Also, I will consider that why and how Thucydides' thinking of the effects of goes beyond the fields of classical political history. He has regarded 'scientific historian' (Murari Pires 2006:811-30) with his expression of the events as 'the truth about events exactly as they came to pass' (Ranke 1885: 311). The tradition that Thucydides grew up in had been made on a specific semi mythical artistic goal rather than political realities on writers and scholars. But, Thucydides beyond his historian identity he is referred scientific because of his methodological view to history. The charm of Thucydides come from his "art and science, in perfect

combination” (Morley 2012: 130) and more his human based factor explanation of war.

Moreover, I will research Thucydides’ methodology of writing war and how he stays different than his predecessors especially from Homer and Herodotus. I will consider the aim and methodological differentiation of Homer from Thucydides, which we know with his works of Iliad and Odessa. I will also make these differences in the evaluation of Herodotus, who is regarded as the ‘father of history’. Thus, I hope to be able to go beyond the reading of what is experienced and considered important as historical reality. And, why we do not study the war studies without reference Thucydides. Thus, what makes him special in political history. I will focus on the main differences that distinguish him from the storytelling of Ancient Greece. The work he wrote on understanding the causes for the war managed to put him beyond just being a historian. The *History of the Peloponnesian War* as his terms as ‘great war’ in history has been the subject of many studies. Especially, the book has become the main source text from the political history for the international relations literature. But I will to remain in political history and warfare because of its connection to human’s actions, desires and decisions on political life. Then, I plan to examine the Athenians and the Spartans, who are the sides of Peloponnesian War, both in person and with their social qualities. Political and militaristic differences as causation of wars were my focus. It is the essence of the matter that the state administrations and the people govern the process during the 27-years war. The reasons for the war will be focused on the analysis of Thucydides. The main purpose is here placing recent and diverse interpretations of Thucydides on war and in which way to define his perspective.

The way in which the war has its own language and context meaning, and how it finds its place in the Thucydides narrative, will be another field of study. I will use the concepts of war language as when the clashing sides in warfare, every party only wants to win. Therefore, in period of warfare no one can regard or care about justice, humanity or rights etc... These concepts might be the case after or before war however precisely not in wartime period. “Language is, and has always been, the means by which we construct and analyze what we call ‘reality.’” (T. Lakoff, 2001, p. 20). The war language and warfare understanding in my reading it in the Melian dialogue in Thucydides’ writings and also in Hobbes’ state of nature. Constructing man by war is used as a concept that describes the new conditions in the war

situation. Although war is something politicians have avoided, and even war is seen as the last thing to address, it is actually the result of a choice and preference. As a devastating event, war is surrendered to the obligation by the parties. Generally, politicians do not want to be known for wanting war. However, the war is done as a result of not being able to withstand the uncertainty brought about by fear and meeting expectations. This is also the common point where Hobbes and Thucydides meet. It is an effort to establish a new political order as the winner. For this, people and states come into battle to win at any cost. This separates the time of war and the routine period. At the end of the war, a new founding and valid language develops for this purpose. In this language, which I call the language of war, justice, compassion and natural rights and laws brought by the history of mankind are no longer effective and valid. Hobbes gives the concept of ‘homo homini lupus’ in *Leviathan* and to explain exactly the war situation. ‘War of all against all’ as connotation of anarchy refers to an environment that supports fear as a cause of war. This would be the source of Kenneth Waltz’s explanation of war in international relations that ‘war occurs because there is nothing to prevent it’ in international system. Anarchy is lack of central government or authority to lead the system among states. Anarchy is the way in which war builds human behavior in Hobbes. I will concur with the idea that the state leaders and their desires, attitudes towards war are important and effective. With Sovereign in Hobbes, the human being, who is the decision-making mechanism for war, and his feelings begin to build a new situation to overcome this constant war situation and fear brought on by anarchy. Because, the state leaders make their decision about their psychological and material data and drives. And that is not context-independent issue. Human is an entity that is built together with interaction. Human beings are influential and influenced, and this is an undeniable reality. Therefore, ethical and political evaluations of human beings as a social being will help my understanding of war. Also, It will peruse effects of human motivations to make decisions living in a political and ethical life comparing Plato and Aristotle. Comparing realist Thucydides and idealist Plato’s understanding of man’s impasses and their solutions to ethical and political life will help me to go into the concepts of war. Listening to each other’s study is common among classics, ancient history and other disciplines. After a 2000-year break, Thucydides was subjected to a new and different reading with Hobbes. The last chapters will be about similarities and differences of Thucydides and Hobbes about motivations and their

constructions. Hobbes was aware of the impact of war as a reality that was or was likely to happen. In Hobbes as a commentator of Thucydides, there are remarkable links and similarities for interpretation of events and war. And it is based on cause and effect relations that modern scholar see it 'scientific methodology' related natural sciences to humanities. Also, explaining causation and foundations of war based human nature and physiological derivation of human motivation is correlating to concept of power. "Thucydides shares with Hobbes a belief that *techne* - skill - can advance; but human motivation is unaffected by any advance in *techne* , even though the effects of human motivation, as in Hobbes, can be temporarily controlled by power, skill and design." (Clifford W. Jr, Summer 1989, p.236). Studies on war have a lot to learn from these two scholars, although the theories established vary widely. Hobbes is actually a philosopher who shows us how Thucydides can be varied with different readings. State of nature and human motivation in Hobbes take him to develop the 'covenant' theory of explaining how significance to live under roof of absolute sovereign state. Similar assumptions used to understand human beings are contain with many philosophical inferences. That will be my special care for analysis. I will compare their war and human understandings. Thucydides and Hobbes had experienced civil war in their states and since this influenced their mind similarly Behemoth and Peloponnesian war will be the case in this study. Both "Hobbes and Thucydides believe in the constancy of human nature, but one its constants is the desire for innovation and change." (Ibid. p.234). This is actually a very good opportunity to study changing and unchanging phenomena in human beings. I am interested in how the war, which quickly opens the door to change and innovation- mostly-, is intertwined with the unchanging features of man. Apart from that, Thucydides trap, a critique from contemporary scholar, will be among my assessments. Consequently, this study will be an indication that Thucydides' claims exceeding all time, history does not remain on dusty pages.

1.2 The Methodology

This thesis aims to analyze how human emotions cause of war as Thucydides' view on war of Peloponnesian. And when war occurs its constitution of human behavior as Hobbes' understanding of human nature as mentioned above. This work, which is examined on the constructive side against the destructive feature of war, has a

historical background. The historical meaning here is used to show that war has accumulations like human beings that some of them are unchanging. Thucydides' *all possible times* attributed to the war as its causations the description of the work will search in which way to achieve it. In order to do that, Thucydides' work of the *History of the Peloponnesian War* (Finley edit, 1972) will be used as main source with Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651). Therefore, the methodology that will be used with concept of war to compare it in both Thucydides and Hobbes' understanding. As the cause of war for states, how some emotions coming from people's nature lead the war will be the basis of the investigation. This will be clearly conceptual analyzing that allows me to get into in human and his nature via war. The analyzing the war helps to explain Athens and Sparta's political, social and cultural differences and similarities for comparison. I will be moving into the psychological field as a discipline that examines the decision-making factors that lead to the verdict of war and understanding the human being. This psychological account helps me to able to analyze the justification of war in between Athens and Sparta. Also, Hobbes' man that is established completely by the man relationship to war. As purpose of my thesis is duplicate and first one is to examine the human emotions as causation of war in Thucydides writing from fifth century and what he said us to rereading wars in today. Secondly how war constitute man's behavior according to that in Hobbes' understanding of human nature. Thus, I find a point of perspective to study causations of war that allows me to connect today's wars. To be able to achieve that I will describe what they want to concentrate on the basic works of both scholars. The method of expression used by Thucydides in historiography, has added to him in political studies. Thereby, in this thesis I will study in both historical narrative and political implication of the war in terms of on the Peloponnesian War. And, I will look into conceptual investigations and comparisons war studies to catch basic elements of discussions in academy. I will also examine the Realist paradigm, which provides powerful explanations of war studies while taking advantage of international relations theories. I have benefited from these theoretical approaches throughout my work.

Hobbes, who is a good reader of Thucydides, will shed light on the modern era, and his work will be another major actor in my work on man and war. Hobbes mature work *Leviathan* is sufficient to get into the state of nature and social contract theory and his selfish, lonely and ambitious man seek to be in welfare and self-preserved

with peace. I will use the work that allows me to examine the war in itself and compare Hobbes' man's dilemma with the war to Thucydides'. Hobbes' human nature based on human negative features thus, I will follow the nature of the war, the state of war, the way it drives people. To Thucydides, who builds people as social beings, Hobbes considers human beings to be an individual entity is important distinction. In the social group there are many ties that affect the human, and there are only self-motivated motives that affect the individual. Hence, social contract has crucial influence on human life in modern times. Then, I will explore the question of what are the factors that led to the establishment of the people and institutions of war and examine the possibilities of this in the theoretical framework. I will use the basic texts to understand the effect of the concept of anarchy on war in international relations theories. In the light of all this, I will clarify on the definition and comparison of man and his journey to war.

Moreover, an extensive secondary and selective literature will be used through to pursue the study. I thought that Aristotle and Plato's political and ethical philosophy from ancient Greek would also contribute to understanding the cultural and political life than man would seek. State and people-oriented, the good life models they have established are linked to the subject. In my work, there are many aspects of the meaning of war that can be used today and I will evaluate it through the US-China conflict. Thucydides' causation of war will be the source of assessment for current war scenarios.

1.3 The Framework and Chapter Outlines

This study presents mainly human and war in case of Thucydides' *the History of Peloponnesian War* and Hobbes' *Leviathan* and their comparisons. In this vein, in the first chapter, I focus on Thucydides and his bearing witness to Peloponnesian War. Since the history of war required seeing it from inside and out, I decided to witness to Thucydides' personal accomplishment. Before examining the war, I turned to the parties to study their political and social life in Peloponnesian War. I tried to keep the frame in the center of the war, since the long-term war required detailing every time. The stages of the war were under determination through the study. In that part, Athens and Sparta were subjected to a detailed examination. The military and political and social conditions were compared in terms of the factors that prepared

the cause of the war. I assert that sources and observations of Thucydides in different standards throughout the war which were apparent and essence causes of the war. During the first chapter, I examine how the Peloponnesian war is still a reference to the present day.

In the following chapter, I aim to investigate internal dynamics and outputs of the Peloponnesian War. These are the parts of the war throughout the process and mostly dialogues of human with his warrior side. This chapter will take into account the reflections of man and nature as the cause of war. I will examine the Athenians, in particular, how human emotions are capable of directing war. The Melian dialogue, which constitutes the backbone of my evaluation of the war, is the most prominent part of the subject. I will examine the expansion of Athens as a growing force and its expansionist policies through the eyes of a candidate hegemon and its meaning in wars. Even though I follow emotions as a cause of war, the war, as its definition implies, is going on and experiencing concrete resources. In this section, I examine how honor, interest and fear can turn into economic and military resources in wars; I will benefit from Gilpin's hegemonic war theory and Lebow's concepts of psychological hegemony. Particularly, I pay a special attention to Thucydides' view to that Melian Dialogue. Also, For Thucydides as an Athenian commander is an important distinction that he can place himself in a neutral position to analyze the war. "Thucydides is one, who, though he never digress to read a lecture, moral or political, upon his own text, nor enter into men's hearts further than the acts themselves evidently guide him: is yet accounted the most politic historiographer that ever writ." (Hobbes trans. of Thucydides 1839, p.viii). Thucydides' interpretation of war goes throughout as 'love of truth' even he was a devoted Athenian. In order to make better use of Thucydides, I see it necessary to keep it read correctly. Therefore, I reflect in the Athens' statesman Pericles approach, who Thucydides admires. In addition to managing government affairs, Pericles is also competent in managing the crisis that I specifically review. His speech at a funeral one year of the war, he tries to re-form the Athenians' identity according to war language and come with the claim of righteousness. That makes allowances for we owe it to the universality and the rapid accessibility of emotions to be such an important place in the mechanism of human emotions in decision-making. Thucydides via Athenian emphasizes the basic values of the human being and put forth an inexorable process of war and man.

Pericles, who evaluates the structure of the human being integrated with his state, also makes Pericles the legendary one. This state man, who opened the door to the debate about the state leader, reached the philosopher king of Plato, even to the present day. In fourth chapter, I investigate the 'lessons' have taken from Peloponnesian war in political and philosophical mean on the next generation of Athenians. It takes Plato and Aristotle at the beginning of them. They have created great works on how important and how a government is to be governed. Thucydides is a political value beyond being just a historian thus, I will examine their positions of these three scholars on politics and ethics.

Then, the other major political actor of the modern world, Hobbes, took the following part. Hobbes' Leviathan book, which I made in my assertion that war established human beings, will examine whether man can remain in a passive position. We live on the fact that man was not born with an empty mind at birth, and that his environment was not without history and this is an indication that war established man by anarchy. The theory of social contract on human nature and war declared both human and state. Human motivation's relationship with power is the basis of my work where it can direct him. Does the laws of human nature help us as described by Hobbes, or is that what Thucydides said there is no solution to this? That is why I find it important to understand the concept of anarchy thoroughly and correctly. To do this, I will discuss Alexander Wendt's interpretation of anarchy from the constructivist approach and make it possible for further readings. We can admit that there are certain norms for states as long as their relationship continues, but if they can transcend anarchy, I will get an idea from Hedley Bull. Can the state of nature be overcome by such a result of the covenant as Leviathan even it created wills of men? What will happen when the nature of power and the nature of human beings come together, will be my main consideration. As a result, I will assess whether all these are avoidable factors from war as called Thucydides trap. Or should we look for ways to make war more bearable for today's world happenings?

2. THUCYDIDES AND PELOPONNESIAN WAR

Does an empire established by war have to continue its existence by war? States cannot keep the concept of war away from their organizations until their disappearance. Why is this so? Anyone looking for an answer would overlap the path with Thucydides. Thucydides' approach to this question is an answer to the essence of the issue. The essence of it unavoidably links to the human and his nature. Also how human nature shaped by the military culture and goals in war. Why do states go to war is our question for that study to quest why Thucydides is still the most basic referenced resource that offers us a view on causes of wars? Fear, honour, and interest are human characteristics immutable through time and have generally been the cause of wars throughout history (Strassler, 1998, p.43). Despite the changes in the methods of war, we hope to see why we have not seen a change in the reasons for the cause of war at the end of our work. In doing so, the main source of our work and the subject of our study will be Thucydides' *the history of Peloponnesian War*. And I will examine the war and cause(s) between the two great powers of Ancient Greece, Athens and Sparta as reference war and book.

2.1 Who is Thucydides?

It is understandable that people want to know what happened before their living of the similarities and differences of their experiences. Oral and written history has been the method of this. In this part, I will be studying of Thucydides' life, the comparison between him and Herodotus and the importance of his studies. Thucydides is a famous ancient Greek historian and an Athenian general (*strategos*) who lived between 460 and 400 years before Christ. "Thucydides was a young man, probably in his late twenties, when the war began. It is a guess that he was born about 460 B.C., but a good guess." (Thucydides, 1974, Finley edit. p.9). He was born in the Athenian outskirt of Halimous and "his father Olorus is thought to be from the Athenian *deme* of Halimous. In 424 he served as general at Amphiboles, which lay in a part of Thrace where he had inherited certain mining interests from his father, Olorus" (G. W. Bowersock, Spring, 1965, p.137). "Thucydides' own testimony that

his father's name was Olorus; for Cimon on his mother's side was the grandson of a Thracian monarch of that name, and the name as was the custom, had probably descended in the dynasty” (Ibid. P.137). There is limited known about Thucydides’ life differently from appealing in his chef-d’oeuvre works. He witnessed the war of the Peloponnesian in 431 BC and he was a participant of the war within an army position. “He took part in the war himself after being chosen in 424 as one of the ten annually elected Athenian generals. Unhappily, he was unsuccessful in his military operations and was voted into exile because of his failure” (Zagorin, 2005, p.9). During the time, he continued his work on the war. “Eschewing personal reminiscences, Thucydides did not even attempt to justify his own military failure at Amphipolis, a failure which led to twenty years in exile” (G. W. Bowersock, Spring, 1965, P.135). His study of history and his work in the history of the Peloponnesian wars, where he was involved, was his point of reference since the day it was published. His expression technique is known as one of the first initiators of political history.

Thucydides places the war between the Greek city-states led by Athens and Sparta, which lead to internal turmoil in the Greek world, and argues that this is the greatest of wars. Thucydides dealt with the Peloponnesian Wars (431-404 BC), which he himself was completely contemporary for the time, with a different interpretation than Herodotus. Based on their writings Thucydides is a much more interesting and different historian than Herodotus (BC. 484-25) who lived in the same age. According to Thucydides, the most important part of history is political aspects therefore he has always examined history according to his political aspects and sense. He wrote his work under the title of ‘*The History of the Peloponnesian War*’ in order to educate local people politically. Must be aware of historical and also intellectual ground to Thucydides’ work and his method, structure and appearance of the causes of war to get the catch him up.

Greek historians would generally not to begin history narration from the beginning of the world; but their difference is that they search and evaluate the evidence, chronology and literature effects. Keeping the time limitation and case could help them to go throughout the aim of the transferring it to the public. The way of expression of the ancient Greek was, of course, as important as the least described. We can appreciate this on Homer’s Iliad and Odyssey and also Herodotus’ books on

history telling. To be able to capture Thucydides' way of understanding of activities, I will give the periodical and previous realities of his time. Both of them lived in the 5th century BC and studied on wars. Thucydides was aware of Herodotus' wording and the history narration of his time. Actually different expressions of the same phenomenon began with Hecataeus, who first questioned myths in the understanding of the theological-mythological history that Herodotus was influenced by him. "Herodotus builds up his own narrator persona against the foil of other purveyors of mythical material poets, mythographers, geographers, orators, artists as one who is methodologically cautious in dealing with myth, and yet attentive to the cultural significance of peoples mythological traditions, and the role of such traditions in shaping history." (Baragvanath, E., Bakker, M. 2012, p.31). However, both Herodotus and Thucydides considered the oral tradition more important than the written tradition and both of them wrote while travelling. They both relied on their eyes and ears, and on the eyes and ears of people they trusted. Different from Herodotus, Thucydides emphasizes that these observations are very strongly close to commonsense. Even though Thucydides has clearly emphasized the importance of observational correctness, his aims were confident in the availability of observation. Thucydides said for that;

My conclusion have cost me some labour from the want of coincidence between accounts of the same occurrences by different eye—witnesses, arising sometimes from imperfect memory, sometimes from undue partiality for one side or the other. The absence of romance in my history will, I fear, detract somewhat from its interest; but if it be judged useful by those inquirers who desire an exact knowledge of past as aid to the interpretation of the future, which in the course of human things must resemble if it does not reflect it, I shall be content. I have written my work, not as an essay which is to win the applause of the moment, but as a possession for all time. (Thucydides, edit by Finley, 1974, p.15)

Herodotus records what he sees and hears in his writing of history, and he distinguishes them from each other. Herodotus took different versions of the stories into his work and left them to the reader, which was true. What makes Herodotus worthwhile is respect for his literary skills. In this point, Thucydides was skeptical about the approach to Herodotus' expressive methodology of wars. And, Thucydides referred very little to the Greek gods, he rather explained events in terms of human causations as active agents in history when I study his book.

"Herodotus, we must remember, tried to re-create, for the most part, the atmosphere and the events of the past, some of it so remote that he would not have been able to

interview anyone who had been alive at the time. Thucydides, on the contrary, was a contemporary of, and for a time a direct participant in, his war; indeed, when he decided to write his History, the subject matter lay in the future.” (Thucydides, Finley edit. 1974. p.12)

Thucydides tried to understand the war on purpose and political value. He even studied the plague in terms of its political implications. Thucydides declares that the only time it is possible to obtain reliable information is today however, to the extent that evidence permits, the past can go back. Today is the key to both the past and the future. Thucydides was interested in political and military history and for him; human actions are either political or nothing. In contrast to Herodotus, Thucydides did not content with the narrative and he set forth his intellectual installation. In addition, he rarely gave information about sources. Thucydides emphasizes that contemporary history is more important than past and the fact that it attaches importance to political events put forward the political history up to the present day. He is regarded the pioneer of scientific and objective history writing as our contemporary literature. Thucydides is ‘the father of political history’, and Herodotus has been called as ‘the father of history’ by scholars. These two historian scholars, which are referred to as the first examples of the past, are important with the viewpoints they add to our own periods and today. And, to follow them, that is, to trace the past, will only point to a temporal difference.

Thucydides’ way of explaining of what is happening has very critical function to my study. Understanding why people are fighting can actually help us understand why states are fighting each other. Thucydides clarified the reasons and precisely more than that one because this theory has revealed many truths beyond the time as a classic. Thucydides without any doubt has gone far beyond the historical narrative methods of its era with its depth, including the political background of wars. And his writings have become one of the masterpieces of discipline particularly in history and international relations. This is what Thucydides has done beyond the deviations from antiquity historiography traditions by the technique of documentary expression via by linking the cause-effect relationship to the worldly (material) dynamics and shedding light on the formation of modern science from his period. And he is very aware of his doing and intention. “That Herodotus was less critical of sources and motive, more interesting in ethnography, anthropology, myth and yarn does not make

him any less of a historian-or in turn Thucydides any more the biased theoretician, eager to select, omit, manipulate and distort data according to his own preconceived and refined notion of what constitutes important and unimportant lessons of human behavior” (Strassler, 1998, p.xii). Homer who lived 8th century acknowledged wrote “the Iliad is to be dated to c. 730. This makes it the earliest extant work of Greek literature, and earlier than Odyssey, also ascribed to Homer, and the wisdom literature of Hesiod.” (Silk, M. 1987, p. 3). The factors that determine human and social events in Homer's writings are determined by the will of the Gods. In Greek mythology, it was not possible to prevent or change the God’s desires because they were similar to humans. This approach, which has given a supernatural explanation, said that there could not be an explanation and a law of the economic and political events taking place in society. It would be necessary to wait for Aristotle for causality. It was thought that the basic purpose of human science in social thought was to develop moral judgments. Even Herodotus was able to move away from these assumptions for several centuries temporally, but it would be with Thucydides to get rid of it completely.

Another area where we saw the effects of Thucydides was ‘war studies’ in international relations and political studies. Thucydides’ ‘History of Peloponnesian War’ will be the first analysis to give us from many facilities to catching the causes of war. Despite the intervening centuries, this source, which we apply to explain a war that took place today, derives its power from its simple and open to human nature and its reflections. “For Thucydides, history was in the most fundamental sense a strictly human affair, capable of analysis and understanding entirely in terms of known patterns of human behavior, without the intervention of the supernatural” (Thucydides, 1974 Finley edit. p.14). The war is a social phenomenon belonging to people and communities long before it takes place at the individual, *state and system level*. “Considered essential reading for generals, statesmen, and liberally educated citizens for more than 2,000 years, *The Peloponnesian War* is a mine of military, moral, political, and philosophical wisdom.” (Ibid. p. xii). Although war is more than just an interstate conflict, that is to say, new forms of war, the fact of war gives us the essence of matters. To understanding the phenomenon of war and its nature, causes and limitations let us to intervene and foresee. “For Thucydides, as for any serious Greek thinker, moral issues and conflicts were an integral element in politics, and

also what we should call social psychology.” (Ibid. p.15). Openly, History of the Peloponnesian War book is a political analysis of war, causes and consequences of the objective criteria to put forward. Thus it would be the main reference in the war studies that were made after centuries via analyzing the distinction between the ‘apparent and essential causes’ of war actually this is much related to philosophy of Greek. And without any doubt to examine the relationship between war, violence and human explain how war shows human is in core to understand war phenomenon. Thucydides somehow examined in the book the running of men in society and problems of society. War as a social occurrence studied in social conjecture by Thucydides and his one o the basic points on that majority does not guarantee accuracy and truth in political manner.

Thucydides supports the situational awareness as Greece's welfare at his time was its peak -Golden age- and this war was far more destructive than the wars that had happened before, because both sides were their great times as power as Thucydides claim. The other wars were limited to only a few cities for Greece. Thus, Peloponnesian war much more complicated and extend than previous wars. Thucydides’ way of explaining in the book was visible tableau as such. After the Greco-Persian wars, the Persian King was still dreaming of having Greece and hoping to realize his dreams by encouraging Athens and Sparta to ruin each other. He was convinced that the two rival cities would not like to share the Greek world for a long time. Thucydides mind reading was in this direction and we will see it throughout the book. The actions reflects the intention for me and Thucydides acted in this way around. Sooner or later, one would try to take advantage of his power to conquer the other, and that was because power came with greed in Thucydides. That is the nature of power that I will study it as section in here.

According to Thucydides, history helps us understand the conditions of human decision-making process and emotions and it is based on actions to apply. “The perception of these inherently human attributes is fundamental to a state’s conception of its vital interests and in turn its political objective” (Gilchrist, November 29, 2016). The fact that power transitions were not easy and that the continuity of the alliances was not possible undermined the flexibility of the parties particularly Athens and Sparta. Another important feature of this war is how local conflicts drifted in a rising power struggle based on complicated constructions by political

relations and alliances. “Under these circumstances rational political objectives can become skewed by fear, honour, and interest, in turn destabilizing the existing order and bringing power struggles closer to all out war.” (Ibid.) Thucydides approach to history as political means is appealed clearly in this sentence and that is critical to get into the war studies especially for that study. “Throughout history, the powerful had the power to govern the weak. “Such a situation is suitable for human nature.” (Thucydides, By John. H. Finley edit, 1951, p.23)

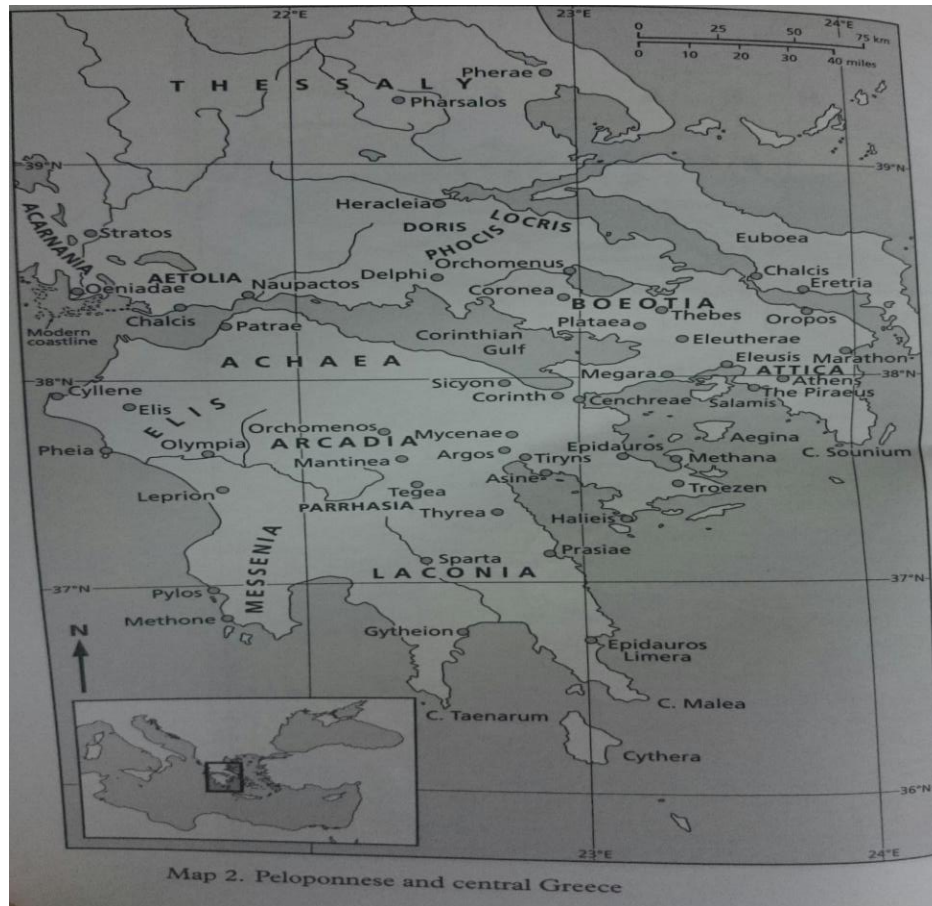


Table 1.1: The map of Greece

2.2 The Sides of the War

2.2.1 Sparta

In history, the existence of Sparta recorded between BC 900- 165, the 1st Messian war and until the Roman Conquests. Sparta, which is located within “the borders of

¹ **Table 1.1:** The map has been reached from Hawthorn, G., (2014). *Thucydides on Politics*, Cambridge University press, p. xix

today's Morea peninsula the north of the Mediterranean, was established in the region between the Taygetos and Parnon mountains in the Gulf of Laconia and the Eurotas River.”(Adam Augustyn,, p.3). Aftermath Sparta extended regionally and started to conquer her neighbors. The southern part of the Peloponnese which was under the control of the Spartans hereafter and it was called Laconia in the Classical period. “Lacedaimonia can be defined as the urban center of the Spartans or as the whole place of the Spartans.” (Kennell, Nigel M. 2010, p. 2). Lacedaimonia / Sparta was an Akha settlement but BC 9-10 centuries Doric migrants from the north (Thrace) have also established settlements. Herodotus stated that there are seven nations residing in the Peloponnesia. “Arkadians and Kynurians as the locals of the region, who have described the Akha from the region after the seven foreigners, as those who came from outside gave the Dorians, Aitoloi, Dryops, and Lemnos.” (Herodotus, Book VIII, p.73). There were three social classes in Sparta society and first of these were the Spartans, who had come with Dorian migrations and share the territory having all kinds of political and social rights. They are Spartan citizens called *Spartiates*. The second group is the people of free non-citizens and they were dependent on Sparta in the military sense. However, they had an *autonomy* before the Doric migration in the region and they called *Perioeci*. They were local people and had property rights but not the political one. They also pay taxes and go to the military. The third class formation is the Helots; they were remaining slaves thought Spartan irruption and having no political and social rights, and cultivating the lands shared by the Spartans. The Helots in the Spartan society are the people who are the *slaves of the state*. The Helots had a different position from the slaves in other Hellenic *polis*. The slaves in other city-state (*polis*) are considered to be the property of the persons, while in Sparta *helots* are considered the property of the state. This class, whose numbers cannot be fully calculated and they were used in the war where the Spartans were few in wars. They were the majority of the population. The population became a vast underclass of Helot ruled over by leisured Spartan elite and resulting dynamic of social structure. The citizens and helots’ relations were not always easy and there were rebellions on occasion. These rebellion attempts have great influence on the political and social structures in Sparta.

Spartan women do not have right of vote but they had some roles in society like being heiresses, managers of estates and Helot women had domestic and agriculture functions. Spartan women had relatively more freedom than Athenian women.

Education was under control by the state and it was based on military education. Lycurgus (BC 800-730) who was Spartan ruler brought competitions for women too differently from Greeks who were founded the Olympic Games in 776 BC only for men. From here we can understand that fighting in Sparta was settled in all community units.

Spartan regime was an oligarchy and she has a Council, “the Council of Elders” which consisted of two kings from separate families and only twenty-eight men makes all the important decisions about state. These elder people were elected by an Assembly (*Ekklēsia*); the Assembly was almost same as the Athens and these elder people as a rule had to be more than 60 years old also from a royal family and completing his military service. These two kings, as a reflection of the religious tradition of ancient Greece, were also the apostles of the gods. The God was Zeus was addressed to the kings. And as priests, kings were on the Council of the Elderly which was the highest court to taking decision in Sparta’s government. “The assembly met once a month and was open to all citizens who voted by the simple method of shouting. There was also an executive committee of five Ephors (Ephoroi) chosen by lot from the citizen body, able only to serve for a maximum of one year and who were ineligible for future office.” (Cartwright, 28 May 2013, p.3). The most important policy of Sparta is the establishment of *symmachians* that is called in Peloponnese Union. Sparta wanted a troop from the entire Peloponnesian army for this unity in which Sparta was the leader and provided most of the military power. B.C. VIII century, Sparta battled with other cities in the Peloponnese to protect its internal security and develop economically. Actually, they do not have alternatives in case of land power more or less. She began to establish hegemony other cities by taking advantage of the fact that there is no dominant power in these wars. From the establishment of Sparta, she gave importance to the internal security and generally established alliances to protect her security in that way. Very different from the Athens, Sparta attributed importance to the army and managed to establish a considerable army power. Spartan male citizens only had the option of being a soldier. This has begun almost a culture, the culture of recruitment and entire city lived like an army till the end. Thus, this process was starting by birth of a child and he examined by the elders for being healthy and sturdy. If not, the infant left to die a mountain. At 7 years, they starts to the state school of *agoge* and thir life devoted to

war already. When he was 18 years old could join the mass that is his new privilege. Being brave strong and bodies were great and being obedient and self-restraint the main aim of that education there. Sparta was clearly constructing the human being newly not only a state. The power was now a part of the invincibility for them that Sparta is recognized as everywhere admired to them and nowhere imitated by others. Sparta troops are usually set up to defend themselves for military purposes, and one reason can be limited and lack of population. This community was completely devoid of luxury for the sake of more disciplined and ready for fighting. In this manner, Sparta's policies were followed by military upbringing and other requirements to reach the purpose. Other interaction in society, such as the economy was taking place in this direction.

Sparta's economy was basically depending on land and land farmed by Helots. The land and its ownership have been divided and controlled by the state to the Spartan. This land power provided her economical sufficiency by farming and conquering neighbors and they did not appreciate the trade despite A,thens. That made Sparta more close and introvert society as well. Sparta had sources of iron and she used her money and labor more in this direction. The Perioeci had the land and free inhabitants for agriculture, they actually dwellers around and not have the Spartan rights as political.

However having the right of land made them more influential because all mineral and marine sources Laconia and Messenia were in their hands. Herodotus mentioned Perioeci as producing shoes, clothes and objects of iron especially war weapons. Helots were doing the labour issues like agriculture and household issues and generally Spartans have Helots in their home and those three groups consist of the economic base in Spartan. The south of the island there was the port of *Gythium* to export and import and the chariots import were very popular among Spartan culture. That was actually one the most favorite leisure activity in Sparta and like the other *polis* Sparta participate the Olympics in Olympia and individuals Perioeci made their own money from it. Bronze and pottery making were also Spartan produce for their economy and statue. Bronze sculptures are known in ancient time and their technology of making it was developing over time. Some sculptors travel to Athens, observe the statues of their made, and import tin and copper to mix them with iron for bronze working. This was important for making helmets, shield, breastplate and shinbone protectors as well because of military kits were main equipment for them.

The pottery had also a function to tell the human stories especially wars happened in their society by painting the scenes on the pots. Thus we may say that the Spartan economy was not apart from its culture of militaristic society and economy has divided into its social layers to sustain its warlike structure. This militaristic way of living was precisely and merely the option of saving their ownership of acquired to Sparta.

Then what could be the regional succession of Sparta who knew what he had and what was missing? During the Persian Wars, Sparta gained power and respect among other Hellenic city-states and found that it could reach some riches also. Sparta had some policies about her new future. “The first is to continue the domination of the seas, the second is to leave the domination of the seas to the Athenians and to fight to strengthen the Sparta effect in the north of Isthmus Bay and to continue the policy of protecting the superiority of the Peloponnesus as before the Persian Wars.” (Kagan, D. 2010, p. 182). But it has not changed after the Greek victory of Persians wars because Sparta was one of the *great powers* among the *polis* yet. The view that I also share is once you gained a power position nothing remained the same as before. Thus, we may say that Sparta only followed the river, river of struggle. Sparta commonly has made alliances to maintain its advantage from the beginning of the Peloponnesian War and after. And all these alliances were not relying on a specific and certain strategy rather its periodic features of relations. Namely, the first alliances formed were allied with a state, and later allied with the state as against position. The military strategy of Spartan was periodic and case by case. And this behavior pattern is called and suitable more reel politics behaviors for the twenty-first century. The Union of Peloponnesian was directed by Sparta and its members cannot leave it without rebelling to it. Sparta was precisely the dominant power of the union among other alliances even all members had the equal vote right. Unions have leaders as groups and Sparta appreciated to conduct it.

2.2.2 Athens

“Athens was the chief population center in Attica, an area about the size of Rhode Island, bounded east and south by the Aegean Sea, north and west by Boeotia and Megara.” (Strassler, 1998, p.576). Athens placed 150 miles apart from Sparta and 4

miles far from the Aegean Sea and this little distance might make such ‘huge’ difference for such big wars. Greeks called themselves as Hellenes, actually Roman named them Greeks and Athens was one of the city-states which placed in Attica (south part of Greece) polis where was near the sea. We see here again that geography shapes the destiny of man and Athens’ option was go through the sea by its navy. Themistocles who was the Athenian politician and general served in the Athenian parliament during the Persian Wars walls around the city to protect the location. Athens would be surrounded by stone walls and “the construction of this wall probably marks the union of the 12 towns of Attica (the department in which Athens lies) under the leadership of Athens, an event traditionally ascribed to Theseus” (Vanderpool E , p.4). Athenians actually contemplated themselves as top and ideal *polis* in all of Hellenic world. They perceived themselves who produce literature, poetry, sculptor, philosophy, athletes, politicians and schools in the way of best. There were Gods for every city-state, these gods care these cities in special interests, and one of these gods was Athena who was ‘goodness of wisdom’. The name of the city Athens came from that God features. The temple Parthenon was built in Acropolis for the goddess Athena to show their respect to Athens’ patron goddess.

Athens became a democracy in BC 500 and all three men over the age of 18 years old considered as citizens. The other social groups like women, non-citizens, and slaves were not allowed to vote and taking role in any government positions. In ancient Greece every city-states lived their own form of government for instance; kings ruled Corinth as mixture of monarchy, oligarchy and tyranny. Sparta was ruled by councils and two kings. However, Athens was ruled by direct democracy different from others. As appeared Sparta has such mixed regime but mainly oligarchy, Athens’ democracy came in view as meant of “rule by the people” it is “demos” (people, or the masses) and “kratis” (rule). The government was divided into three branches as Sparta; Assembly (*Ekklesia*), it includes all the Athenian citizens 5000 to 6000 men were and they were debating and voting on laws. The council was meeting every 10 days with the committed agenda. Decisions were made by voting with members and citizens. The voting issues determined by, the voters used rocks white (yes) and black (no) to vote. The General topics in Athenian Assembly were political, militaristic and social-economical matters and agendas in the Pnyx (place near to Acropolis) collecting to discuss. *The council* was a group of narrowed down

to a group of 500 over 30 years old met every day and manage the day to day governmental issues. The third branch was the *strategoi* group which is elected to command the army as ten commanders. Their role was crucial to run the army thus, they were selected best military leaders among generals. The *strategoi* group the merely ten generals were automatically chosen by virtue of their experience. Thucydides was one of them. The Council was chosen by a method called 'lot' voting rather than commanders voting. This voting was made the place of *Agora* place where is center of the markets and social organizations of Athenians.

If we compare the plain way of living of the Spartan people to Athenian, Athenians had very miscellaneous and generous habits and life. Again different from Sparta, in Athens, boys were not compelled to attend the army a fortiori they had the facility to perceive education with social support. Also Athenians interest in varied kinds of philosophy, arts, sports, and sciences however Spartan people were not likely to get an education, merely a basic level of reading and writing. And they mostly intensify on military education physical strength to fight and teamwork and their interaction were so limited the outside world.

An ordinary Athenian boy until seven ages would be trained by their mothers or possibly slaves at home. Then the cultivation continues until the boy 14 years old with going to school and learn how to read, write, literature, and arithmetic. In this period, the boys also get the education of gymnastics, javelin and how to play the traditional instruments. When the boy is 18 years old, he could begin his military program. Athens military training aim was not raising invincible soldiers like in Sparta. The Athenians were hoping to improve fitness habits and bodily fit structure throughout their lives from young men. And it makes them more strong and courageous. After completing his military service, he would prefer first to taking courses from masters before working life. On the other hand, girls' education was scarce like Spartan girls, but very few parents gave their girls a good education because generally parents afraid of persistent and highbrow girls who learned grammar. Nevertheless, wrestling was an option for two sexes for being well bodied again. Except those, women stayed at home, raise their children and look after housework also educated their daughters. Finally, we may not tell that Athens and Spartan women learned very different things other than motherhood issues. But for boys, learning how to read, and other various things and stuff was necessary.

Because of the society required them to know to carry out sustainable life. That is why the Spartan educational system was fictionalized to provide only a good militaristic society but Athens trained their children to promote a society that is more open to diversities of human features.

The economy was a way of any community to manufacture, produce and exchange for food, products, and services. And Athens was good for these professionals. First of all Athens economy was mainly dependent upon trade and trade of olive oil, honey, garlic, silver, and other things as well thus we see the difference of Spartan economy from its. Agora was the center of the public marketplace for buy and sells the goods by the Athenians exhibit household items, clothes, pottery, furniture, jewelry, slaves, and foods. Athens also made its own coins and these coins were made of valuable mines as gold, silver, and bronze. The coins as the valuable metals made easier the trade. Sparta was an inland location and agricultural society. In this manner, Sparta's main imports goods were metals. The most prominent layers in Spartan society men were warriors and Athenian was tradesmen in general. The progress of Athens in the Mediterranean Sea and its active power is in the BC fifth century. Geographical restrictions were clearly decisive for both sides and the sea and land surrounding Athens lead them to find solution to that problem because there was no enough food for feeding the entire city. This led Athens throughout the sea. Athens had naturally good harbors. Hereby, the Athenians with her sails traded with coastline of the region and other cities and civilizations in the Mediterranean region.

2.3 The Stages of Peloponnesian War

The battles of the two most fascinating peoples of the ancient world, the Greeks and Persians, are the great wars written by the historian Herodotus. The war was between the Achaemenid Empire and the Greeks, it was a series of battles. The Persians who were *superpower* of its time and her territory already exceeded one million square meters. Marathon battle (BC 490), then Thermopylae (BC 480) and battles of Salamis and Plataea were between Persians and Athens resulted by Persian defeat. BC by the 431s, the Persians had been completely removed from the Greek country. The greatest supporter and protagonist of the Persian-Greek wars of the years was the Spartans. They were now able to stop the Persians' advance to the West. To support any anti-Persian activities in the eastern Mediterranean at sea, Athens organized the

Delian League and by this organization, Athens could control its members of the League. Athens made over the league into an empire. Athens has built a city in which the entire Hellenistic world looks jealously with the revenues it collects from its members. After the victory of Persian war, Athens and Sparta remained two influential city-states in the ancient Greece. Moreover, this situation began to make associations for the future. To be able to analysis the Peloponnesian Wars' result, we will determine and reveal the parties and the importance of the war. Thucydides said in the book;

it would be a great war and more worthy of relation than any that had preceded it. This belief was not without its grounds. The preparations of both the combatants were in every department in the last state of perfection; and he could see the rest of the Hellenic race taking sides in the quarrel; those who delayed doing so at once having it in contemplation. Indeed this was the greatest movement yet known in history, not only of the Hellenes, but of a large part of the barbarian world- I had almost said of mankind. (Thucydides, edit. Finley, 1951, p.11).

The Peloponnesian Wars consist of three different stages of the total war. These are (BC 460-445) Athens-Sparta as the first stage, (BC 431-421) Athens-Sparta second stage and (BC 415-404) Athens-Sparta as the third stage. However, Thucydides only included the last two stages of the wars at his book. Although the sides of the war are Athenians and Sparta, other city-states as their allies in terms of internal dynamics and Persians are the main actors. The Peloponnesian war lasts from 431 to 404.

2.4 Comparing Athens and Sparta for Political and Military Structures

Athens and Sparta most powerful and impressive were among the Greek city-states, but politically and militarily, they were polar opposites. Athens' democratic government and open culture versus Sparta was an oligarchy and warrior society of tough, often unbeatable soldiers. Their difference does not come with them rather it came before their presence of power. The Spartans are descendants of the Doric invaders coming from the north this is a matter of debate, it is a traditional belief which modern historians and archaeologists think may be myth and the arrival of the Athenians from the Ionians reveal the distinction between cultural backgrounds.

This, in fact, indicates that they have not chosen much difficulty on which power to prioritize. Sparta has taken them over their neighbors through military progress since its foundation. Like Messenia another Greek city-state and they become slaves or Helot who serves and care their territory. They were the subject yearly to give half of their farming revenue to the assigned Spartan. Another category in Spartan society is Periocoi, a self-employed freelance craftsman working in the military. Only obey the Spartan orders. Their freedom was limited and it was valid in non-military parts merely. Periocoi were not citizens so they do not participate in political decision process. That was a group of people who did not want to spend their whole life as being a soldier. Spartan was so limited in the field of military education and lifestyle that their trade and crafting occupations were doing by 'neighbors'. Spartan full-time and life-long soldiers very few defeated in battle over a period of 300 years. Military based life was usual and initial option for who will born next. The fate of their sons when they were born was shaped based on the military education system by state. Education from the cradle to the grave was the only fixed policy of Spartan. This training was based on very challenging education and close relationships. Thereby soldiers the best hoplite warriors raised in Greece.

Throughout the book, the presentation of these two city-states as land and sea power was a material definition of reality that Thucydides had brought about. As Ibn Khaldun, claimed that the geography affects the fate of states and nations, perhaps it came from them to him as an example. The Athenians were people living and dealing with the sea. The Greeks' quests and works were always on the sea such as food and social diversity to their lives come from the sea even a concept has evolved from all these as thalassocracy. The Athens' navy represents nested social structure or 'microcosmic' life among slaves, soldiers, foreigners, citizens and mercenaries. Athens' elites as wealthy members were sailing and even needed, they were fighting together no matter poor citizens, Metics and slaves. The implication of these social varieties had some reflection to the political life also. The diversity that Athens experienced in the navy would be influential in its transition to democracy and its settlement in the future. At the beginning of the thing that makes Athens the richest city in the Mediterranean is the maritime trade it carries out in the region. The military strategy that Thucydides described in Pericles's speech was about this openness. This variety, which Athens lived and brought to life in the struggle with

other states and even pirates in the region, was visible in all layers of Athena in economy, military, political and social relations. Agora is the economic center where all this diversity is staged and some of them were African ivory, Baltic amber, and Chinese silk, Peacocks from Persia, pandas. Some of them were very luxury items such as wine, salt fish, building stone, and timber. These decent opportunities provided by the trade increased the trades' interest and investment in the navy. The wealthy Athenians were acting as captains and decision-makers when the ships sailed into the sea. In addition to this, they were taxing other than their financial contributions to the fleet and sponsoring the demonstrations of the city. These riches were now turning their savings on the ships and the crews into commercial wealth and penetration. We can portray that Spartans militarized their society entirely and the Athenians made seaman -naval- theirs. The Athenians had developed their battle tactics at sea. These tactical developments in the war statements were paralleled by China's Sun Tzu where very far from that geography. Athens' Themistocles, Cimon and Thrasyllus were some statesmen used these maneuvers in sea battles and also within Persian war. The important difference in Athens, the teams in navy also constituted with component of the land forces. The exceptional thing was for soldiers to row and even they were light-armed soldiers, rowers to fight on land. Then, this regulation become a usual task of a sailor's. Thucydides mentions the rowers were used as light-armed functionality of such a group of soldiers alongside the very powerful soldiers. The self-rowing soldiers and sailors fighting were precisely technical skill of Athenian crewmen. The Athenians managed to control the sea in favor of all these methods, and they took control. "Notwithstanding all the familiar and unfamiliar dangers of the sea, both travel and traffic by water have always been easier and cheaper than by land." (Mahan. A. 1982, p.14). Thus, invasion was easier than landing somewhere. Athens' colonies were placed in areas where there were no domestic and native people; hence, they could control colonies in environmental trade. These small new colonies were the duty of protecting commercial convoys and warning of Athens for threats and invasions. "A stationary hoplite garrison to control a potentially unruly population or a division of land, held by absentee landlords, to punish and extort defeated allies, would not have needed any ships to be effective." (Potts, s. 2008, p.38). That is what Sparta did.

The fact that Athens embraced foreigners and gave them facilities was coming from their socially free spirits and their gaze. Such a liberal thought was rare in Helens and neighbors of Athens. Because of the military and economic strategy in Helen was based on xenophobia and fixed structure ideas. For the Athenians, shipping was the center of every activity, from art to philosophy and politics. Even Athens called their government as a “ship of state” and its leaders as steersmen. “The seaboard of a country is one of its frontiers; and the easier the access offered by the frontier to the regions beyond, in this case the sea, the greater will be the tendency of a people toward intercourse with the rest of the world by it.” (Mahan. A. 1982, p.18). Whether it was diplomatic negotiations or in the beginning and end of war, when everything had to be managed quickly, this navy was important. Like, Mytilene, Melos and Syracuse military decal. Although the Navy had the same importance in the protection of the merchants, it was their initiative to protect them. At the same time, rowing was a professional source of income for the Athenians. Navy as a cosmopolitan institution was politically strong as some period especially and even mentioned “naval mob”. Despite of the thalascocracy as related with ‘Old Oligarchy’ this collective diversity in navy indirectly leads the Athenian political structure to the democracy. This correlation still keeps the question open. But, again there easily must be shown that crewman was resisting the oligarchy in Athens before democracy and they had effects the policy as seafarers and ships and helm. The domination navy to Athens politic like being a sailor, especially in the war would become prior than land status. Hence, in some situations the crew has reached the citizenship to join the political system. This transformation among jobs made the Athenians capable in many areas. Nevertheless, this situation caused them to face more quickly with their arrogance.

Sparta and Athens were always watchful being for each other’s. The growth of Athenian power in the post- Persian War period dominant Athens presence in the region was expanding both military and political on the seas and the land. The big winnings brought along loads and Athens tried to overcome this through political alliances. A major part of Athens’ income was the tribute and mostly it received from its allies. This sovereignty of Athens over the seas made it the ruler of trade in time. The region was an active area in terms of maritime activities and it would have been for the centuries. Athens’ increased military force was deployed in the region or on

the islands where there was political instability. Miletus, Samos and Chalcidice islands were some examples for this.

Hoplites were organized into groups and fight within this group strategically to be saved by them. This warfare system is called also phalanx. Unless the participation of Sparta' hoplites in the war against the Persians, in the critical battle of Thermopylae at 480 BC, the Persians could have conquered Greece. Spartan hoplites' reputation was clearness of their enemies' respect. Thucydides gives these durable warriors to their franchise. The Hoplites were the infantry used by many city-states sometimes as mercenaries. Hoplite word come from *hoplon* and that means soldier who carries shield but basically it means *armed man*. "As Sparta grew, these Spartan citizens formed a government and the Spartan army. For hundreds of years, all Spartan citizens fought in the Spartan army." (Park, L. and Love, T. 2010, P.5). 'Come home with your shield or come home on it.' was their picture of lifestyle. They had very strong honor codes and as there are many factors in this furthermore provided the worst thing for a Spartan is to show cowardice in battle. They sought glory in every battle. "Originally, Spartan citizens were the only people allowed to become hoplite soldiers." (Ibid. p.6). Thereby, hoplite army was inextricably bonded with Spartan society. Spartan statesman and lawman Lycurgus have presumably established that equal land among citizen. In a society with few citizens and much slavery, working fell on Helots. The social group was very connected to the distribution of land. The land is now indicative of wealth and in power. The processing of soils was also important for the continuity of the military education in agoge.

Sparta's' agricultural labor was important to them; the management of the slaves who had constantly rebelled was a problem for Spartan. The fact that the Hoplites are so powerful and prepared for war that might linked to the Helots uprising. Thus, it was not just for the wars that were likely to be made with the outlanders to keep the Hoplites ready for war at all times. Helot revolts and crisis in the state were the shortages of Sparta thereby main militaristic policy was on that issue. There is the Krypteia position in Spartan society who was secret police to control Helots and also stealth for education of *agoge*. However, when the day required it the Helots and Periocoi were fighting together with the Hoplites. Social classes have a large effect

to Spartan army and these crisis transitions between the social layers of Sparta say something different than Athens. These warriors in their times could demand the land and have had it. This demand as social system alteration was transformed into the state issue by state runners. That kind of elite position could not be possible in other city-states for Hoplites. As Thucydides awareness domestic and foreign policies by States' view might change according to this. Hoplites as citizens were precisely have very high status among other social layers with their landholding rights. However, "they were obliged to contribute to the messes and to pay tribute to the state from what their estate produced, to hold themselves available for military service, to provide their own weapons and equipment as hoplites." (*Hooker J.T, 1980, p.118*). Besides, they have one right to joining citizen's assembly. Especially, BC seventh and sixth centuries hoplites' positions become more stabilize and grounded. Then the hoplites began growing into a ruling class and this new citizen class was dedicated to the army permanently. And this could not very easily happen in very oligarch and aristocratic Spartan society thus, the revolution won't be an exaggeration for Hoplites. It is clear that these rights are the rights of the Hoplites with the power of the weapon, not by the desire of any aristocrat.

Athens had an experience with their Hoplite group challenge also. "The hoplites of Athens were at first in favour of this oligarchic counter-revolution, but the fleet, which was manned by the poorest and most democratically minded Athenians, remained resolutely opposed." (Cartledge, P. 2002, p.145). Namely what really made the Hoplites strong in political life was in fact very relevant to the power they exhibited on the battlefields. At birth, each Spartan was allocated a land equally. But again, all the other needs were provided by helots and Periocoi. They were different from the Metics, one of the three social groups in Athens. Metics were not in Spartan society as well. Metics were free but non-citizen who could trade and collect wealth. Besidesly they need protection by court to not be sold as slaver. Some Metics with the effect of future and financial gains may attain citizenship. These two city-states, which were under the roof of the Greek, showed differences geographically, philosophically and lifestyle. They showed unity against an outside enemy as Persian who was 'superpower' of that time. And Greece could resist its power and preserve the Athens government. However, why this companionship with Sparta did not continue? Is it always the same cause that took states from war and dragged them to

another? After the Persian wars what happened to them that confronted Athens and Sparta.

Athens developed the largest fleet at that time, while Sparta invincible in the land battle. These opposing qualities made Greece a very powerful and influential nation in his period especially in Persian warfare, but it also became its ultimate weakness in case of domestic affairs. Spartans were by definition and differently than Athens, socially conservative in their thinking. Sparta did not provide art and architectural works such as Athens. Even they were not interested in military architecture. 'Spartan walls' was their military educated young warriors. At the top of the Spartan administration, two kings, one of whom went to wars and the other in the home, the power relatively between them with was going to war. The real power was linked to the elderly council of men over 60 years old and five judges named Ephors who were elected each year and served for one year. The real executive branch was the Ephors. Then the assembly, all free male Spartan citizens involve in but except Periocoi and Helots again. Sparta management was another group of elite groups. Oligarchy was a small group of elite people and in Spartan case this clearly demonstrated the patterns of a military rule. Spartan regimes and lifestyle were in minimalistic structure among Helens and based on clear order which was established and maintained with hierarchical authority. Obedience to one's superiors was starting at the bottom of the social structure until top of the political officials. What makes Spartan different is about courage, strength, and endurance as the things want to be achieved but "the hoplite was quite unlike the heroes of The Iliad, He and his opponents fought not on their own but in formation." (Paul A. Rahe, Winter, 1993, p.67).

Thucydides describes Sparta's situation like if Sparta was a desert and had not built any buildings, temple such, it would have earned the same reputation equally. It was so evident that Pericles was proposing a strong land force and naval force to combat the Hoplites of Sparta in the Peloponnesian War. Spartan military strength, as defined by his enemies, as the rise of the Athenian, was obvious. Thucydides declared these two power as "that their financial power at this time made them equal with the richest states in Hellas and that their military resources were greater than those of Corinth. In particular they boasted of their naval superiority..." (Thucydides, Finley edit. 1974, p.32) for Athens. Hoplites are known as heavy

weapon infantry soldier are citizens of their own war equipment and have enough wealth to support their families while they are in war. It was spread in Greece in the style of phalanx (walk structure in battle, thick stick, war order, and army center) taking strict order of the Hoplites.

The policy of Lacedaemon was not to exact tribute from her allies, but merely to secure their subservience to her interest by establishing oligarchies among them; Athens, on the contrary, had by degrees deprived hers of their ships, and imposed instead contribution in money....both found their resources for this was separately to exceed the sum of their strength when the alliance flourished intact. (Ibid.p.14)

Actually, in next times, the Athenians will use their power to manage their entire Hellenic world, and to build a hegemony in the Aegean Sea. They used the sea and land power to take the Persians out of their land. Then, Sparta and Athens separated but against each other. And Pericles had trusted the sea power that they had for centuries against this giant land force and said to people. "Athens, however, controls plenty of land outside Attica and can import what she wants by sea. And if we try to make her allies revolt from her, we shall have to support them with a fleet, since most of them are on the islands." (Thucydides, 1974, edit by Finley, p.50).

The Athenian policy precisely was with that view "And there is a wide difference between declining the alliance of an inland and of a maritime power. For your first endeavour should be to prevent, if possible, the existence of any naval power except your own; failing this, to secure the friendship of the strongest that does exist." (Ibid, p.24). Athenian ones captured the importance of the navy and its winnings. In Athens, as in Sparta, there was no clear authority and state-centered structure. However, they really could not regard the strong relationships among the Spartan Hoplites especially in battle. Brothers stay near brother and friends go to war with his friends despite the main approach of the paddlers in the navy of Athens is the riches they have acquired from this work. Thus, we might say that sea power and land power determine human relations its own way. The land power of the marine power also has its advantages and disadvantages. Both systems had their internal and external dynamics. And it was about how these states were fighting rather why. These external factors only showed the way to war decision makers. The Peloponnesian war was an example where the land force defeated the sea power.

2.5 The Apparent and Essence Causes Of the War

“The city of Epidamnus stands on the right of the entrance of the Ionic gulf and the place is a colony from Corcyra. As time went on, the city of Epidamnus became great and populous...” (Ibid. p.16). The city fell into a clash and ‘the last act before the war was the expulsion of the nobles by the people.’ “Epidamnusians finding themselves hard pressed send ambassadors to Corcyra beseeching their mother country not to allow them to perish’ but Corcyraean refused to accept their suppliants.” (Ibid. p.16). Upon this, the Epidamnusians have asked for help from Corinth and Corinth accepted to help them. Hearing this news, Corcyra began preparations for war and both cities already started to for this. Actually, there was hostility between these two *city-states* long-before.

Accordingly, Corcyra and Corinth made a sea battle for Epidamnus and the Corcyra relatively won but Corinth increased their preparations to attack again. Afterwards, Corcyra applied to Athens Assembly. The speeches were made at the assembly of the Athenians of Corcyra and Corinth, the Athenians made an alliance with Corcyra. Athens listened to them and made a decision based on her current and optional positions. Thucydides explained reasons to support for Corcyra because of, if one day in the future of Athens to fight Corinth and other naval forces, Italy and Sicily close to the coast of Corcyra thus, Athens preferred to support Corcyra. However, Athens also did not want to reject the Corinth because Athens just wanted to defend Corcyra not to attract the Corinth. The Athenians' support for the Corcoran's could not account for a break of thirty-year deal. In fact, as long as the Athenians were the guarantor of the agreement, Corcyra's attention was in the Athenians. Thucydides does not state their reasons for agreeing with Corcyra on the inevitability of the war. After the sea battle began between Corcyra and Corinth, both sides thought it was the victory but when Athens increased its support by naval power, the Corcyra won the war.

This was the first war against the Athenians and the Corinth. The reason for the cause of war was open support of Athens to Corcyra. After this, the rivalry became clear between Athens and Peloponnesian, and lead them into the war. Athens decided to take an action for this and Athens maintained its current position and imposed sanctions on Corinth. That decision also affected the relations of Macedonia because

the son of the Macedonian king made an agreement on Poteidaia's separation from Athens with Corinth. These developments immediately after the war brought the series of relations alliances and Athens started to war with Potidaea and won. However, Athens did not satisfy Corinth's support to Potidaea's out of Delian League and as retribution, Athens implements a commercial embargo Megara which was the member of the Peloponnesian Union.

"The second stated cause of war in Thucydides' term was a decree barring the city of Megara, a member of the Peloponnesian League, from the use of the Athenian Agora and the harbors of the Athenian Empire." (Kagan, D. 2009, p.35). Athens showed the reason for that '*embargo*' to Megara for killing Athenian in that holy land and this was also the end of the alliance between Athens and Megara in 446. So that, discontentedness of Sparta demands for Athens to withdraw the barriers back. Athens did not accept it and then, peace and war discussions became appear among Athens. The events that were mentioned and lived were the apparent causes of the Peloponnesian wars. And, the other experienced situations would be stated reasons of war. The other issue was building the wall by Athens, actually, it was a method of protection and domination from Persian invades to Greece. In addition, Athens continued it after Persian withdrawal but Sparta met this event as rivalry and send ambassador to tell the Athens to stop it.

"The real meaning of their advice, the suspicion that it contained against the Athenians, was not proclaimed; it was urged that so the barbarian, in the event of a third invasion, would not have any strong place, such as he now had in Thebes, for his base of operations; and that Peloponnesian would suffice for all as a base both for retreat and offence." (Thucydides, 1951, edit. by Finley, p.52).

Of course, the Athenians would not accept it and Themistocles' Athens continued to empower of its cities and naval. "All this came upon them with the later war, which was begun by the Athenians and Peloponnesians by the dissolution of the Thirty years' truce made after the conquest of Euboea." (Ibid. p.15). And between BC 431 and 421 called Archidamian war as stage one started for Sparta and Athens. Sparta attacked Attica and Athens go around the Sparta by its dominant naval. Sparta and Athens were worn throughout this 27-years-old battle with the soldiers who returned to their homes in winter and fought back to the battlefields in the summer. This first stage of the war continued ten years and ended with Nicias peace which was signed

for the sake of 50 years of peace. However, also this agreement, like the '30-year peace', would have gone before its time. Both sides were getting stronger as they fought, and as they gained strength, their maintenance fought. The war had already begun to shape them. This was a chain that was very difficult to stop once it started. Athens has set the goal of expanding its territory to Syracuse and launched the second phase of the war. When Athens went there with its fleet Syracuse demand help from Sparta and Athens attack resulted of Athens defeat. The strengthening of Athens and Sparta's concern; these were the things that led to the main causes of war. The wars in the entire region were now continuing through the alliances of the two sides. The third and last stage of the war was Ionia war between BC414-404. It is also known Deceleian war because of the place name near the Attica. Sparta attacked there, and has taken the Persian help, and down the Athens naval. The point is crucial because alliances were not persistent. The victory was Sparta and it weakens city-states in Greece. The new situation only facilitated the next invasion the invasion of Philip of Macedonia to the region and conquering.

Thucydides reminds us of this incident to understand the conflict between them. BC 464 there has been an earthquake in Sparta and it was challenging for Spartans because after that Helots upraised to government simultaneously. Because of that situation, Athens sent a troop to help the Spartan government despite the hostility between them. But Sparta was very skeptical about it and did not accept Athens' aid. Athens were aware of that decision and action and "they broke off the alliance which had been made against the Mede and also allied themselves with Sparta's enemy." (Ibid. p.58). Before that situation, "Thasians being defeated in the field and suffering siege, appealed to Lacedaemon, and desired her to assist them by an invasion of Attica. Without informing Athens she promised and intended to do so, but prevented by the occurrence of the earthquake..." (Ibid. p.57). This was an enmity that started before the confrontation of the parties.

Their contentious relations began to manifest themselves in the events of Euboea and Epidamnus. The Spartans called their allies to talk between Corcyra and Corinth and the siege of Potidaia by Athens. The Corinthian were as follows "Out of war peace gains fresh stability, but to refuse to abandon repose for war is not so sure a method of avoiding danger. We must believe that the tyrant city that has established in Hellas

has been established against all like, with a program of universal empire, part fulfilled, part in contemplation; let us then attack and reduce it, and win future security for ourselves and freedom for the Hellenes who are now enslaved.” (Ibid. p.69). Corinth as the ally of Sparta was clear about her decision and continued her approach since the beginning. In a meeting with Sparta's allies, Thucydides says that he decided not to fight the allies’ speeches but because he feared that the Athenians would be stronger. According to Thucydides, the Spartans could not withstand that the Athenians began to attack their allies, and they fought to destroy the Athenians' rising power. The Spartans and their allies in BC 432 at the meeting they held to decided to fight against Athens. But in order not to leave out to as first the Thirty Years Peace 'agreement which is done in BC 449, they primarily sent ambassadors to Athens to inform some demands. In the first process they have overcome a religious issue. Then Lacedaemonians with “...ordered Athens to raise the siege of Potidaea, and to respect the independence of Aegina. Above all, it gave her most distinctly to understand that war might be prevented by the revocation of the Megara decree, excluding the Megarians from the use of Athenian harbors and of the market of Athens.”(Ibid. p. 57). The Athenians would not admit that any of the ambassadors’ saying. Athens’ Pericles made a speech to Assembly and expressed his thoughts about intentions and decision of Sparta on war. Pericles also says there is no point in avoiding war and “we must not fall behind them, but must resist our enemies in any way, and attempt to hand down our power to our posterity unimpaired.” (Ibid. p. 83). However one year later a plague epidemic emerged in Athens in BC 430, and after two years, this epidemic, where Pericles died. Actually it did not cause any change into the war other than public complaint. Under Pericles, Athens lived her golden age and The Athenians sought out other Pericles that would end this impasse. In the Hellenic world, the parties, who had a relatively strong position, were driven by this perception. In the face of this rise of Athens, Sparta positioned himself as a defender of the Greeks In contrast, Athens wanted to win the blessings of being strong, which he saw rightly and wanted to handling more Greece land. These approaches eventually conduct to war among the Greeks. Sparta raised and appreciated a powerful army. Athens was aware her land power and hard to deal with them thus, Athens gave weight her naval units that Sparta did not have.

Regarding with the two things most opposed to good counsel are haste and passion; haste usually goes hand in hand with folly, passion with coarseness and narrowness of

mind. As for the argument that speech ought not to be the exponent of action, the man who uses it must be either senseless or interested, senseless if he believes it possible to treat of the uncertain future through any other medium; interested if wishing to carry a disgraceful measure and doubting his ability speak well in a bad cause, he thinks to frighten opponents and hearers by well-aimed calumny (Ibid. p. 168).

The answer(s) of why do states go to war cannot make appear itself the war easily in some sense. In Thucydides' view there can be some reasons seem to our causes of the war however he declared that "The real cause I consider to be the one which was formally most kept out of sight. The growth of the power of Athens, and the alarm which this inspired in Lacedaemon made war inevitable." (Ibid. p. 16). However, there were so many different reasons in sight that it was not even a matter of time to miss the truth. Thucydides explains what happened as "all this came upon them with the late war, which was begun by the Athenians and Peloponnesians by the dissolution of the thirty years' truce made after the conquest of Euboea. To the question why they broke the treaty, I answer by placing first an account of their grounds of complaint and points of difference that no one may ever have to ask the immediate cause which plunged the Hellenes into a war of such magnitude." (Ibid. p. 21-22). But again he appreciates that telling the justifications of both parties, which led to the termination of the agreement (the thirty years peace) and go to the war. "Thucydides reveal how to characters and ways of Athena and Sparta color their respective foreign policies, but also how the dynamic interaction between the cities-informed by the distinctive necessities of weighing upon them- causes the Hellenic status quo to tremble and fall" (Jaffe, S. N. 2017, p.6).

Later the Athenian representatives, when they had finished the business for which they had come, also returned. This decision of the assembly that the treaty had been broken took place in the fourteenth year of the thirty years' truce which was made after the affair of Euboea. The Spartans voted that the treaty had been broken and that war should be declared not so much *because they were influenced by the speeches of their allies as because they were afraid of the further growth of Athenian power, seeing, as they did, that already the greater part of Hellas was under the control of Athens.* (Thucydides, 1974, edit by Finley M. p.52).

Increasing the penetration of any entity changes the change in its perception of others at the same rate. A rising power like the Athens naval power and other political and economical influence to the around would have found a reflection. Although the relations of a rising power depends on its perception by others, it is also about how she sees itself. Being too powerful and vice versa is relative and relational. When nearly equal powers try to or want to be more dominant clash become inevitable because of these are taken as an attitude to change the balance, status quo. The attitude of the parties here is to be too scared to fight or fight. “However, as demonstrated by Sparta and Athens, this decision is also shaped by a state’s prevailing strategic and military culture.” (Ibid, p. 41). The change brought by a rising power is generally based on a force or consent acceptance. Athens as rising power was wishing for redecorate the world based on its interests. And Athens on the basis of its power could not see the limits and the end of its existence and its ascension, which is in the face of the one who follows power. Thucydides show us the fact that all throughout the book that how one empire’s quest of honour triggered another’s concern and how they caused a destruction war that could affect the history of geography. This war was a reflection of the dynamic of the alliance, the tension of alliance politics, and of preaching the self-interest in the guidance of the military in Thucydides’ explanation. “The Athenians have allies as numerous as our own, and allies that pay tribute, and war is a matter not so much of arms as of money, which makes arms of use. And this is more than ever true in a struggle between a continental and a maritime power.” (Ibid. p.46). And parties’ governance systems are clearly out of this situation which goes through by urgencies. In case of the Athens relations the citizens and the other nations. The Athens culture and regime lean to values, ideals, norms and principles but this was valid only inside of the city not the relations with rivals. This was a double-standard as acting same who is with you and acting differently (against) who is not same with you. Aristotle's philosophical foundations were laid out in the same way that the logic of the Athenians again in the battle to push themselves to take priority. Athens existence, honour, and interest that the reflections of war on human nature. “These ideals shaped their image of themselves and a belief (as articulated by Pericles) in the right to rule others, and hence a willingness to use military force to achieve their interests.” (Ibid. p. 114). A good example of this is Pericles, who speaks to people in the great plague epidemic in Athens, to be convinced of the prestige that will be won and the fear of not

fighting before the death. Fear, the concept of fear, we can say that even itself can build something. As a restorative or revitalize the agency of collective salvation is taken that fear by Thucydides.

“Thucydides’ account of human nature is largely psychological....bound up with how a certain psychology (or attitude or disposition) meets the challenge of a given moment. But ‘psychology’ must not be understood as here in its contemporary sense but rather in its etymological one, as about the soul, as a study of characteristic motions as these encounter a moving world (Ibid. p.114).

This was the beginning of fear being a political phenomenon rather than a psychological concept. The Peloponnesian war is an exemplary example of how this fear of human beings has been reflected in social life and state behavior. It is clear while telling that “the real cause of war, he tells us, was Spartan fear of the growing power of Athens, although men did not speak of it openly at the time. Thucydides is here a psychologist, a reader of minds.” (Bowersock, G. W., Spring 1965, p.141). Thus, Thucydides call us to emphasize that fear should be accountable just like military equipment in the war in terms of human impact and basic motivation. Confronting fear shows how to get to know it and learn to live in peace with its existence. “Fear does not betray the individuals; it is his completion. It is not the anti-thesis of civilization but its fulfillment.”(Robin, C., 2004, p.32). Emotions like hatred, fear, honour, trust, envy, greed and hubris as bold feeling has an effect to decision making and it generates a manner interaction in social and political structures. Thucydides shows it in Melian dialogue also and how Athenian ambassador’s arrogance and glory tendency determined the relations to the Melos. Thucydides said that underestimation of the emotions in mankind might you miss the real conditions of wars. It might define as “running from the immediate causes of the war to the human causes of war in general, from the particular event to the history's universal theme.”(Ibid. p. 32).

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, Thucydides and his great work as Peloponnesian War was perused. The methodology of analyzing war in ancient times has changed with Thucydides and it made him different from his contemporaries and predecessors. Historical studies apart from art became closer to common sense especially in Homer and

Herodotus' works. Understanding the war in itself and causes of the Peloponnesian between Athens and Sparta appeared and how domestic and foreign policies differentiate was searched. The policies of the parties in internal management and the dynamic examined. Although the military and political concerns were different, the reasons of the war in the parties showed the following results. The war showed some apparent causes by two parties however, the real cause was one's markedly raising led to others to fear. This civil war caused by the city-states in the Greek state has provided indicators that will serve as a reference point to date. Thucydides is a participant and writer of the war and also is a work that shows the boundaries and borderless of human nature. Athens and Sparta can be replaced by other states to see the real cause of war has happened and will happen. Histories of the wars possibly are far from changing but only actors. The differences between actors' features do not have any meaning despite of their nature.

3. OUTPUTS OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

The analysis of the war will be the subject of this chapter, in which processes are going on inside and beyond. I will study the causes of the war and how the human factor has taken over by Thucydides. In particular, it will be based on how Athens conducts the escalating policies and the leading influence. I will examine the effects of Thucydides' fear as a cause of war on human decision-making in politics. And will continue whether the way to overcome fear is to be the most powerful or to ensure security. I will address the question of how human emotions can be actors in decision-making process in state policies and what a state leader's obligation to his people encompasses. The role and influence of Athens' dedicated statesman Pericles in the Peloponnesian war. It is my basic point for how a single human nature can bring all people together in a common place and aim. I will examine what Thucydides really emphasizes us as evaluated in the realist paradigm.

3.1 Melian Dialogue

“The Melians are a colony from Sparta. They had refused to join the Athenian empire like the other islanders, and at first had remained neutral without helping the either side; but afterwards, when the Athenians had brought force to bear on them by laying waste their land, they had become open enemies of Athens.” (Thucydides, 1951, trans. by Finley, p.330). There was a place that wished to remain neutral during to war as small island. However, Athens and Sparta were engrossed in the war and they did not accept gray areas anymore. Melos Island and Melians had a critical point to show of the inevitable face of war. Athens came to island and made a discussion with Melians actually, it was more than a discussion. It was a treating to choose of side whether Athenian or not side by Athens. In fact, Melians options were two; as ally of Athens or being destroyed. Athens approach was clear at the beginning of coming to island even before the war and said it openly by Thucydides mouth. “Discussion between Athens and Melos is only in question between equals in power, while the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must.” (Ibid.

p.331). Melos did not come to Athens view and preferred to rely on the gods to save them based on “we trust that the gods may grant us fortune as good as yours, since we are just men fighting against unjust, and that what we want in power will be made up by the alliance of the Lacedaemonians, who are bounded, if only for very shame, to come to the aid of their kindred. Our confidence, therefore, after all is not so utterly irrational.” (Ibid. p. 333-4). Melians indeed chose neither of the options and resistant was only ‘weapon of the weak’ in order to remain neutral. Before the war because of Melos chose to fight instead of Athens’ peace when Athens had not accepted the political independence of Melos. Athens killed some of the men and slaughtering all the Melians declared her answers to Melians resisting. And said that “well, you alone, as it seems to us, judging from these resolutions, regard what is future as more certain than what is before your eyes and what is out of sight, in your eagerness, as already coming to pass; and as you have staked most on, and trusted most in, the Lacedaemonians, your fortune, and your hopes, so will you be most completely deceived.” (Ibid. p.336). Athens gave a sharp reply to Melos about their trust to god by both gods and men respect only one thing that is power. Then Athens spoke out what was happening to the Melos, to Athens at the same time. “Of the gods we believe, and of men we know, that by a necessary law of their nature they rule wherever they can. And it is not as if we were the first to make this law, or to act upon it when made: we found it existing before us; all we do is to make use of it, knowing that you and everybody else, having the same power as we have, would do the same as we do.” (Ibid. p. 334)

The main drive of Athens was to have power and its sustainability but Melians were acting according to moral sentiments. Military strengthens of the Athens was superiority over Melos and it was out of any non-material concepts. Thus, in case of justice, as long later Plato’s Thrasymakhos, in the book of *Republic*, makes three claimsonjustice. Justice is the advantage of the stronger (339a), the obedience to laws (339b) and someone else’s good (343b). “Each ruling power sets down laws according to its own advantage and its self-interests. For instance, each kind of regime makes laws that are, in its eyes, just. In a democratic regime, the laws are infavor of the mass of poor people, in a tyrannical regime for the tyrant and in an oligarchy for the wealthy.” (Rachel Naguib, p.2). According to Thrasymakhos’ definition of justice merely justifies the rule of the powerful one not more than that. Melians indicated disagreement of justice imposes by power of stronger and offered

being friend with the Athenians instead of enemies. But, Athenians answer was “No; for your hostility cannot so much hurt us as your friendship will be an argument to our subjects of our weakness, and your enmity of our power.” (Thucydides, 1951, edit by Finley p.332). For Athens neither justice nor morality was the question, they only accounted the self-interest and both sides failed to persuade each other. That is the war language exactly in experienced by both side. Athenians attack the Melians with their satisfactory justifications like control them for the sake self-interest, survival by being strong and controlling their territory.

In Thucydides' explanation of the Peloponnesian Wars was based on only human nature, the nature of emotions, nature of self-preservation and nature of being powerful and honored. The war has given these all concepts to curvet by providing conditions to appear. Additionally, “human nature played a role both in the process leading up to the war and the escalation of the war, because without the ‘fear’ of the Spartans, the Athenian power would have peacefully risen and fallen.”(Doğan, N. 2004, p.3). Fear and passion are accepted always centre of decision-making process for human. While building friendships, establishing alliances people always act on the basis of these two emotions. And because the decisions made on the basis of these emotions cannot precisely determine where they will continue, their decisions are always on this basis. For Thucydides, it is only under his control that a war or peace decision is taken in the triangle of reason, will and passion. “...the course of human events is to be thought of as shaped by the wills and passions of individual men or of cities, not as a part of what lies around it and beyond. And what does lie beyond?” (Cornford, F. McDonald, 1965p. 71).

Thucydides' answer was clear from the beginning on human nature as the most serious cause for the war. He established whole the war even the cause of all time and wars is evident in his methodology of explanation. In my opinion, whatever the verdict gives, the decision now becomes something that ties it up at the same time. The feelings of human birth cannot be denied and the effects of this have already been explained by Thucydides and he emphasizes purposeful choices made by individuals. Thus, he focused on the relationship between the choices and the events of the war in history. Thucydides accepted the man as pioneer of events. “Thucydides, then, believes that individuals, despite structural forces, are not without choices and they willingly choose going to war. Individuals are not irrational creatures either. For Thucydides, the characteristics of this ‘value rationality’.”

(Doğan, Nejat, 2004, p.7). Thucydides power comes from being able to tell something very complex in a simple way. And this is his influence overtime to the studies. “Even his vigilant precaution allowed a certain traditional mode of thought, characteristic of the Athenian mind, to shape the mass of fact which was to have been shapeless, so that the work of science came to be the work of art. And, since this mode of thought had, as we shall see, grown without a break out of a mythological conception of the world of human acts and passions, which is the world of history, I have given him the epithet Mythhistoricus.” (Ibid. p. ix). Athens did not -might- understand the limits of power even after its defeat at Pylos battle. And Thucydides justification to this was on “They encouraged Athens to avoid letting their pride become hubris and to use their new-found position wisely, or find themselves imperiled as Sparta had. However, their appeal to Athens’ better nature fell on deaf ears as Athens sought to escalate the conflict rather than agree to peace. (Gilchrist, M., 30.Nov.2016, p.5)

“Athens particularly, could no longer claim to be a benevolent empire as the war progressed, with their actions in Melos actually demonstrating the decay of the Athenian state—not its enhanced power.”(Ibid.). The discussion of the Athenians with the Melos people was far from their ideals, but it was close to the pride of being strong. This approach was demonstrating how Athens started to tendency of short-term gains and consequences. Not all of these things prevented Athens from acting with deaf ears against peace despite their better positions than the surrounding nations. Athena's predisposition to war was eliminating the opportunity to grand the peace and restrains the rational policies. On the other hand, was the power strategy of Athens against the Melos people worth or for what it was worth to use against Athens?

We need to see an important distinction here, which is one of the things that Thucydides is trying to show. Because, Athens as the birthplace of democracy is actually very modern adaptation so that being aware of how Athens ravenous and demagogues as feverishly managed. Thucydides describes Athens as ‘tyrannical’ especially in that case the tribute Athens demanded from Melos to pay, in fact, showed that Athens' allies were not inferior to their hostility. Athens’s arrogance especially after the events with the Melos, the war was a inevitable state for Sparta, a

war tradition. The fear of Sparta was alike that feeling such Melos people had come across and lived such conditions. This attitude a 'with us or against us; kill or be killed' was precisely Athenian eye and vision disorder. The realistic political approach of Athens to Thucydides became clear with the Melian Dialogue. Athenians notice their rough rules of debate and refused to consider 'fair words' and they were stick to justice is irrelevant when one party is more powerful than another. Thucydides as loyal and devoted Athenian kept his love of Athens and search for truth thus in that point story-telling and political history detached. Hence these objections continued over his writing also in Pericles part. And that process begins with the analysis of the Athenian delegation at Sparta reached the peak with Pericles' hardy first and last speeches. The Athenians witnessed the loss of their moral values throughout the war. Fear, honor, and interest drive all people based on those values of human nature. Athenians could not avoid any "false consciousness" which their 'powerful privileges' let them to go further. Thucydides see the world as to transcend ideology and confront what is actually the real world namely they try to see the world 'as it really is'. This evolving of confronting political reality was contrary to initial ideas for Athenian. In Thucydides' words, the Athenians rely not only on a self-serving moral story, but on the objective reality of all human beings. In the Melian Dialogue, "the Athenians declare that it is in the nature of man to rule wherever possible" (Bowersock, G.W. Spring 1965, p. 141). For Thucydides, war was far from being good or bad, it was only something that Athens had to go after. This was actually the reason why those who were stronger than others were trying to bring about what happened. But in doing it so, they do not abandon the moralities of the ancient world. The war language does not include any moral, ethical or human rights concepts during warfare. And this can be observable in every war field. They do not even hesitate to use all kinds of concepts in a way that works for them or help them to win, with the desire to win within them. Winning is something that is pursued, such as providing proof that you are right. They even show themselves as examples, claimed a higher moral model. For Athenians, domination is an inevitable component of a universal statement hunger for power. And in Thucydides view Athens is described as openly amoral. Because, Athens already fell into warfare mind and in my expression war language. To present their rightful achievements to humanity. It is understood that no political community can successfully pursue its foreign policy on such a clear, indecent basis. Even Sparta is described hypocrisy by

Thucydides she could stand more seated basis. The Athenians expose that they are incapable to live by their claims and thesis. Merely Athens announces their self-interests are righteously superior to other nations. They think that they deserve to preserve their empires and their glory just because they have a noble advantage over their interests. Imperial ambition is already a sign of its noble superiority in comparison alone. "The rest of the Greeks became alarmed and many of them, out of fear of Athens, turned to Sparta as a liberator. A strange situation since, apart from her imperialism, Athens was the embodiment of freedom and initiative, while Sparta, with all the merits of an ingrained discipline, had indeed a dead hand." (Rex Warner and Abid Hussian, Apr.—Sept. 1959, p. 52). Athens grew and grew but Sparta remained the same with her power. "Democracies, more or less on the Athenian model, were encouraged in these states; but the mother democracy of Athens had become an imperialist power and used the contributions of her allies to strengthen and to beautify herself." (Ibid. p.52). Thucydides show in Melian dialogue war and peace is in man mind and it becomes clear with his personality. It is up to him to choose which one.

Athens like the Melians, implicitly believe in justice but the power of justice. They thought and believed to deserve the rewards of empire that is glory. So, claim not to regard more about justice than self-interest but they actually care it. Athenian arrogance that "with various compounds using the key syllable 'self' -self- vaunting, self-serving, self-blindness, self-glory, self-love." (Burian, P., Saphiro, A. 2009, p.199). Like Thucydides, Aeschylus (BC 525-456) who personally participates in wars is also a playwright. He is known as 'father of tragedy' and as an Athenian participate the Greek-Persian war in *Marathon* and *Salamis* battles. In Aeschylus' play '*The Persians*', it was the pride of the Athens after their war with the Persians. The work was written for a reason that celebrated the victories of the Athenians and depicts the Persian King Xerxes as an arrogant recruit. The humiliation and sorrow was the Persian share and Athens have seen that a stage in play. Athens effectively was showing the perspective of a strict enemy to Persians. The feeling of superiority brought by victory was Athenian sense of mightiness. It was everyone's right to share the promise of this victory that no Greek name had ever written in play. The triumph of the Athenians against the Persians was not shown as a distribution of justice, nor as a struggle for freedom against despotism of barbarous Persians. It was just pride and glory of the Athens over the Persians and actually more than that because Athens

was aware of the Persian power which is great power of its time. Athens' feeling was aggression against to them. The Athenians were very happy to keep such a great power away from the land. They thought they received a share of 'greatness' because they defeated such a great power. And, now they began to 'thinking big'. However, they could not differentiate "This is still a case of hubris as dishonor, and an (implicit) insult is still involved, but the insult consists not in an act or an intention to act, but in the impression created by a disposition of excessive self-assertion." (Douglas L. Cairns, 1994, p. 77). The magnitude of the person is included in the arrogance. The sense of greatness and desire in man is a social feeling. And it wants to live and be kept alive in a society, whoever has attained it just like honor. Greatness does not easily accept the sense of rivalry, it expects the relative superiority of others to be confirmed by everyone. It was this feeling of greatness, which Athens also had, and wanted it to be accepted by Sparta. It was precisely this desire of greatness that the expansionist policies advanced around the Athenians. And towards the end of the 19th century, Antonio Gramsci, from close geography, explained the situation with a familiar concept: hegemony. "the term "hegemony" in Gramsci itself has two faces. On the one hand, it is contrasted with "domination" (and as such bound up with the opposition State/Civil Society) and on the other hand "hegemonic" is sometimes used as an opposite of "corporate"... (Hoare and Smith, 1972, p.xiv). Hegemony, forces between states is formed either consensually or by coercion as a distinct result of the hierarchy. Athens with their expansionist policies have escalated their hegemony over others. Gramsci called it cultural hegemony by other elements of domination among classes intellectually, morally and politically. What Athens also did was that it was only progressing as a growing force. But since it was also a sign of being a prominent force, he brought his hegemony to the regional states by his naval trade, philosophical, educational life. And the Athenians imposed it on every state they went to fight. Melians, Plateans, Syracuse, etc... Athens was conducting democracy in its foreign relations just like the monarchy, but by beautifying democracy. The safest way to escape from the war in which fear would continue was to become the most powerful- the hegemon-, so that no one could fight you anymore. This was the best solution the Athenians found. However, Gramsci is not right to explaining struggling powers exposing powerful one to non-material elements of hegemony over weak. Even material or non-material force to be accepted hegemon by powerful side. Thucydides was not pleased with this approach.

Because the pursuit of power requires more power, and being a hegemon requires maintaining it. This is a long-term and tiring road by states. And solution cannot be secured by power accumulation rather security accumulation. Therefore, Thucydides place is near to balance politics among other states. The power balancing policies allows that states can freely form alliances with other powerful or less powerful states and pursue their own security. “States can do this either through internal balancing, where a state uses internal efforts such as moving to increase economic capability, developing clever strategies and increasing military strength or through “external balancing”, which occurs when states take external measures to increase their security by forming alliances” (Waltz, 1979, p. 118). As it is possible to see the balance policy in the relations of the parties described throughout the book, Thucydides supports this against the war. “The weaker, because of the general desire to make profits, were content to put up with being governed by the stronger, and those who won superior power by acquiring capital resources brought the smaller cities under their control. Hellas had already developed some way along these lines when the expedition to Troy took place.” (Thucydides, 1972, Finley edit. p. 26). Hegemony is a very strong aspect of addressing human emotions, but when it comes to war, Thucydides finds it dangerous in others because it can tend to it.² The imperialist policy of Athens was to increase the balance of power in her favor, and in return, it turned against her because she did not respect other existing balances. “Thucydides urges us to see power as a property whose effects are contingent upon the structure of social institutions and conventions that delimit the use of both the tangible and intangible resources that enable actors to establish relations of psychological control.” (Garst, March 1989, p.20). Instead of trying to become hegemon against the ambiguous structure of interstate relations that are open to possible fear, war decision makers should be aware of the existing forces. In order to rule out the fear, which is the cause of war, gazing at being a hegemon places the state on its target. For this, what Waltz draws attention to is the concept of power distribution, but this is not, as Gramsci points out, non-material forces, but rather observable forces. In the pursuit of the wars that have happened and are likely to be experienced, it is material resources, as Gilpin claims, that give rise to fear. Hence Gilpin argues that Thucydides is “the first scientific student of international politics” (1984, p.

² The context of the writings of Thucydides is practical outcomes rather than reflection.

291). Gilpin by moving Waltz one degree further, he showed how the balance of powers is shaped. War-causing fear begins to create an enemy only by watching the resources that provide material evidence. Gilpin's theory of hegemonic war explains changes in system to go war by economical, technological, militaristic or strategic alterations among states.

Thucydides was the first to set forth the idea that the dynamic of international relations is provided by the differential growth of power among states. This fundamental idea—that the uneven growth of power among states is the driving force of international relations—can be identified as the theory of hegemonic war. (Gilpin, Spring 1988, p.2)

Is is based on the idea that if one of the power in the system increases its relative development, which is not necessarily absolute, other states and groups will feel uncomfortable. Sparta was the dominant position and Athens were rising power and that can be explained by this way of Gilpin. The crystallizing the hierarchy of power between states have made the Gilpin's explanation of war. In my view the differentiation of power is that one side progresses quickly and effectively on the other, but this development is entirely due to material reasons. On this road to becoming a regional hegemon, the Athenians, as Ned Lebow claimed, were not or becoming just psychological hegemon. What made fear Spartan was Athens growth but in materialistic powers as naval trade power as economy, technological power by productizing their raw materials and basically imperial strategies over their neighborhoods. "Athens also earned time because her intellectual and artistic accomplishments made her the 'school of Hellas'" (Lebow and Kelly, Oct. 2001, p. 594). Lebow argues that being a hegemon cannot be based solely on material resources because it is not the only form and guarantee of acceptance in the system. "Hegemon are by definition powerful states, but successful hegemony is based on more than material capabilities.... Hegemony requires a justification that is acceptable to a significant proportion of those who are ruled." (Ibid. p.595). Although Lebow actually provides a justification that emphasizes human nature, being an invincible force to become a hegemon is sufficient in material terms. Managing their differences in the balance of power that causes war means actually managing fear, and that is not something that can happen with words, promises, and persuasions. "This fear encouraged an expansionist foreign policy as a means of demonstrating resolve and power, and with it, the kind of risk-taking that threatened

serious military losses. The Athenians made their fears self-fulfilling.” (Ibid. p. 596). Because Athenians assumed that allies could rebel if they were recognized as feeble. Capable was to be the right solution for the Athenians.

A material change is always in sight as a concrete reality, but words can fly away. No state can accept its increasing power to other states, whether political, economic or military, with a commitment or goodwill. On this road to becoming a regional hegemon, the Athenians, as Ned Lebow claimed, were not just psychological dominance. Gilpin is more accurate to explain to changing power by imperial expansionist policies by trade and other ways for Athens such Megara Degree between sides. A change in the balance of power opposes dominant power and rising forces. What accelerates the debate here is that the hegemony’s resentment or coercion cannot prevent war, as Gilpin argues. Therefore, as Lebow claims, consent / social acceptance cannot actually ignore the changes that escalate the hegemonic war. Keeping statesmen and states calm, who think that fear can only transcend changes as hegemon, cannot be based on a psychological or moral trait such as Lebow’s claim. Actually Lebow and Kelly claim “Thucydides' central insight about hegemony is as much psychological as it is material” (Oct. 2001, p.3). In trying to present the possibilities of the hegemon's ability to hold its own place, Lebow predicted that a possible mistake would upset all relationships in an instant.

To secure and maintain the voluntary compliance of allies or subjects, hegemons need to behave in a manner consistent with their claims and professed values. They must forego short-term gains that threaten the longer-term stability and survival of their alliance or empire. All hegemons periodically succumb to the temptation to exploit their privileged status for selfish ends...” (Ibid. p. 595).

It is not the promises made when determining the war situations caused by fear, but the political decisions and strategies implemented by the states. Thus, there is no need to make new peace agreements like between I-II World Wars. Lebow tries to bring identities and intentions to the power games which is fear is the center among states. “The central idea embodied in the hegemonic theory is that there is incompatibility between crucial elements of the existing international system and the changing distribution of power among the states within the system.” (Ibid. p.601). Therefore, the Peloponnesian War was a hegemonic war and Gilpin is accurate to explain it. And Thucydides is valid to claim on this will be lived in “*all possible*

times” always. The existence of a hierarchy between powers will always cause fear, and being a hegemon as a way to overcome it is neither a definitive solution nor an easy thing to maintain for long time. In Thucydides, man is bursting with unchanging things because he exists with values formed by many emotions and social accumulation. When I look at the human appearance of Thucydides in terms of its effects in the system, the emotions that push him to become hegemon seem easier. And foremost among them are those who embrace honor and the insatiable for the social acceptance of the self.

In a very pure meaning, arrogance is one's superiority to other people. And what applies to a person is valid within a group that especially in life centers where pride and pride are so decisive and central. The problem of that feeling is never getting enough and no border to limit. Throughout the play, Aeschylus emphasized the superiority and proud freedom of the Greeks over the Persians. Athens as sea power and Persians were land power with their hoplites have land power was defeated by sea power and Aeschylus use these phenomenon as a militaristic and inspiring items in that play. Thucydides was also used that distinctions but for definition and somehow this definition makes also a superiority.

Superiority was a characteristic of the gods and Aeschylus supported to this share was given by the Gods to Athens. Thus, this bless, because of chosen by the gods the Athenian, was invaluable. Aeschylus constantly reflected it in this Persians’ play that how Persians are bad and arrogant in particular the king of Persian Xerxes and Greeks victory. Athenian was satisfying to see such scenes for being a differentiation in the sense they want. With regardless view of arrogance caused them to perceive the events as I and them that Athens and rest. Hubris as a sort of arrogance has a strong tendency towards tyrant. But Athens as a democratic regime were in this aggressive invasion defined ‘tragic’ by Thucydides. “Thucydides uses the concept as do Aristotle and prose authors, and offers not the slightest excuse to conclude that is use of hybris approaches a simplistic, 'automatic pattern of pride and punishment which many feel (wrongly, as we have seen) is characteristic of tragedy rather than a history.” (Fisher, N.E.R. April 1979, p.44). It is evident that Thucydides succeeded in separating literary and historical distinctions from his predecessors. Even though in Aeschylus's work, the concepts which he put forward in the eyes of literature it was related to the view and status of the Athenians. However, it is Thucydides' awareness to make sense of their political implications, especially about pride.

Particularly Melian Dialogue this hubris reached the climax and Athenians, were dragged into their destruction. And for this they did not want to remember any social, religious and moral value. Only their hopes and desires for glory. They take refuge in the cleansed and blessed for that.

As Thucydides point that justice is not something that states can easily ignore. Athens has brought the distinction between domestic and foreign politics to the existing structure. Thucydides does not merely demonstrate the weakness of justice that Athens fell into. He also tells us about the gaps and faults that our character weaknesses may fall to in understanding and practicing justice. It was an example of how the state was governed by a world in which hope and fear prevailed during and before this war. Thucydides not only spoke of the naked reality of war, but also the facts about human relations. These truths on human nature have very close relation and reflection to their social and political life. Thucydides, an Athenian who revealing all these timeless facts, as in fact, like all other peoples, he wanted to property of glory. But he still shows us that a life trying to understand truth is the best and excellence. This is however a way of going with common sense and prudence to him. To understand how and when the Athenians got away from this prudence, we must analysis the adventure of the famous Athens statesman Pericles.

3.2 Pericles as Athenian Leader

Athens and its Pericles son of Xanthippus (BC 495-429) with a huge impact by the influence of his great demagogues to the public are. We could get the effect of Pericles by his death and how Athenian democracy followed according to the military capacity priority. Since Pericles has no writing, we get a lot of information from Thucydides. His father and mother were noble family and his education was eye-ful. Pericles as an Athenian statesman with Thucydides' emphasis was in capacity of intellectual and his war leadership was admirable. His period is known as 'golden age for Athens. His one of the achievements was construction of the Parthenon in Acropolis and leading Athens as a *polis* to the empire. Pericles recorded in many fertile as an artist, impressive orator and general also his contribution to those majors especially in art studies continued by him.

Then what made Pericles different than others will be more about his tendencies for instance; he supported artistic and intellectual activities he had sophist friends were Zeno, Anaxagoras and playwright Sophocles. He was already the dearest of the Athenians with his influence in strengthening and advancing Athens and in the Peloponnesian war. Pericles in Thucydides words “Pericles indeed, by his rank, ability, and known integrity, was enabled to exercise an independent control over the multitude—in short, to lead them instead of being led by them; for as he never sought power by improper means, he was never compelled to flatter them, but, on the contrary, enjoyed so high an estimation that he could afford to anger them by contradiction.” (Strassler, 1998, p. 112). Nevertheless, Pericles' rise in Athens was due to the fact that the system more, beyond its own capabilities, provided a somewhat stronger protection and mainly reinforcement strategy. Pericles' policy was keeping Athens in a winning side and fostered democracy. Additionally his mission was, increasing Athens into the cultural and considerable power center of the Greek universe. Especially after the war with Persian, Pericles's Athens reached worthy of note a power which was followed by the golden age. Pericles as rhetorical charisma with self-control over the issues on politics was more than a citizen even Athens ruled by its citizens. He without any doubt was cognizant of that situation and conducted it by his points. He continued this decisiveness and persistence and when the deal comes to his hometown. Before Peloponnesian wars in case of Megarian decree his determination to enforce decrees was clear even keeping out the Megara trade from the Athenian empire. But there is a question that we must aware to ask about how much do Pericles entitle for the successes of Athens, and how much condemn would he undertake of the Peloponnesian War? “The first chapter of this part looks carefully at the way in which Periclean leadership is presented as both a solution to the potentially problematic existence of equality in the deliberative sphere and as a problem for the democratic status of Athenian government.” (Fisher, M.D. Summer 2017, p.15). This competition, which Pericles took with the driving force of the war and continued with his oratory power, was actually leading Athens into collapse with an empire of power. This is much related to regime that Pericles' execution has imperial patterns while presenting value of democracy. This noble daring preacher was voice of sensibility and desires of citizens who were already experienced being honored and reward. The other point that the Athenians and Pericles' connection with reality in particular diminished was the fact that he could

not see the consequences of his risk with a potential reward. Pericles said; only the love of honour is timeless forever remain young. The only gladness of the old men when they are old is honour.

Before foundation of democracy in Athens the city-states had defense formations even they were few groups. "The introduction of a new mode of fighting some after time 700 (BC), when the predominance of cavalry gave way to warfare between serried masses (phalanxes) of heavy infantryman (hoplites) had a further leavening effect." (Kagan, D., 1998, p.5). "Greek armies were made up of unpaid citizen-soldiers who return to their farms after a campaign. As independent defenders of the common safety and interest; they demanded a role in the most important political decision." (Ibid. p. 5). The people in military position - without any intermediary institution, such as the bureaucracy-, this meant that they could proceed to governance that after the democracy it would continue. Then, how we might explain that Pericles effects to the Athens democracy and public idea mainly based on what? How he reached such reputation and trustworthy politician that it is a level that none of the followers can reach. Beyond his training, Pericles skillfully applies in his speeches to three very important tenants of rhetoric: ethos, pathos and logos in Aristotle's' meant. Pathos as appealing to emotions that Pericles could use it to tell the people how meaningful that die as a hero is better than living a coward. The other contribution to the fact that his rhetoric is so strong because of explain the concepts in a very good order. All the executives selected after Pericles' passing away were looking for his features. But they were almost at the same level with one another, and they were trying to manage state affairs according to the decisions made by the majority's whim.

This, as might have been expected in a great and sovereign state, produced a host of blunders, and amongst them the Sicilian expedition; though this failed not so much through a miscalculation of the power of those against whom it was sent, as through a fault in the senders in not taking the best measures afterwards to assist those who had gone out, but choosing rather to occupy themselves with private cabals for the leadership of the commons, by which they not only paralyzed operations in the field, but also first introduced civil discord at home. (Strassler, R. 1998, p. 51).

In Thucydides view the most explicit fault that public could not follow the policy of Pericles of the statesmen after his death. In other words, they could not fulfill the management and war properly, and Athens was choosing the new ruler. Any statesman could replace Pericles. However, Athens was always looking forward to that man. And this was become clearer after the Sicily military intervention. Pericles had persuaded his people to prosecute Pericles on war when the plague has emerged and sweltered the Athenians. "Above all, he had the power to dampen their gross swings of mood, instilling fear in them when they had become too elated and restoring their confidence when they gave way to despair." (Ibid. p. 51). Namely, Pericles as statesman, orator, and leader was a wise man for Athens who would never be repeated to live. Apart from that, Athenians always followed the decisions of Pericles before the war and during the war. This continued until the death of Pericles 429 BC from the plague. There can be seen the excluded Pericles much more later of his death. For the Athenians, showing the cause of the events of Pericles is 'what people need to do' reports Thucydides. Pericles was known to have earned the respect of the public because it could remain beyond personal concerns and passions. The idea of imperial democracy offered to the people would appear much later. Thucydides point on democracy in Athens was alike "a democracy in name, but in fact the rule of the first man."

3.3 Pericles' Funeral Oration

Thucydides gave the funeral speech over the defeat of first year of the war. Pericles as the most reputed statesman was chosen to make the speech behalf of the deaths. This speech by Pericles for the losses following the first year of the Peloponnesian war is very important. Because, his defining and determining the Athens' 'ideal identity' which must be followed. For Thucydides, it was significantly cardinal issue to understand the nature of war and its reflections to the people. Pericles' public funeral oration can give us how a democratic party represented by Pericles indicated military patterns over democratic attitudes and how for the sake of democracy. Pericles did not mention about soldiers who were death like a general view even he was, rather he talked about the soldiers who chose and dare to suffer. Glory and honor were the satisfaction of souls. Athenian soldiers did it for the sake of glory so their wife's' honor come from hers husband died for it. Pericles, who touched on the many differences that kept the Athenians differently, said that in this speech, life

style, governance, military capacity and quality of man. What Pericles did was to honor the dead and continued by mentioning democracy that the Athenian soldiers died for it.

Our constitution does not copy the laws of neighboring states; we are rather a pattern to others than imitators ourselves. Its administration favors the many instead of the few; this is why it is called a democracy. If we look to the laws, they afford equal justice to all in their private differences; if no social standing, advancement in public life falls to reputation for capacity, class considerations not being allowed to interfere with merit; nor again does poverty bar the way, if a man is able to serve the state, he is not hindered by the obscurity of his condition. (Ibid. p. 98).

In this speech given to all the people of the city, what Pericles gave to the people were clearly the reason, what the reason for the death of the Athenians was. They were fighting for the same worth reason that was for the *polis*, freedom of Athens and of course democracy. And principally the regime that constituted being rich or poorness was not the case for being citizen. The fairness of democracy was one the most significant features of the greatness of Athens. Especially ‘equality before the law’ and ‘don’t force people to live their lives in a certain way’. Being open to differences and world gives privilege to Athens as precursor and being ‘school of Helens’. Athenian has the right of govern themselves and this freedom to act and decided according to their preference made the Athenian so one and only. The same right is freedom to choose how Athenians want to live your life as an individual combined in Athenian democracy. It was in this funeral speech that the primary source to show the uniqueness of Athens democracy was found in the language of Pericles. This in fact revealed the difference with Sparta in terms of citizenship, management and lifestyle. Before BC 500 Athens governed by monarchy and oligarchy by a small group of men from noble families but then a statesman called *Solon* established a parliament of people’s law court. That Council of the people had brought a new way of ruling system anymore and in this manner, ruling power were shared by the all citizens. When he came to the position Athens was already get used to appreciate the democracy so democracy was not founded or invented by Pericles however he played a chief role to bringing it to mature position. Pericles was an Athenian aristocrat but acted as a citizen of a democratic republic and maintained the

managing process in democratic way with voting on his time. However there cannot be ignored the influence of Pericles to public decision making process.

“If we turn to our military policy, there also we differ from our antagonists. We throw open our city to the world, and never by alien acts exclude foreigners from any opportunity of learning or observing, although the eyes of an enemy may occasionally profit by our liberality; trusting less in system and policy than to the native spirit of our citizens; while in education, where our rivals from their very cradles by a painful discipline seek after manliness, at Athens we live exactly as we please...” (Ibid. p. 98).

The view of military education and being open to the outside, benefited from the blessings of the people outside. The tragedy was not the kind to be remembered for, but the people who died were it for the sake of things or the people of different than other nations? Merits of the city were come from the soldiers who preferred courage to cowardice. Pericles remarked that this mourning rendered Athens much more meaningful and valuable than before. In Thucydides' writing, Pericles's pouring words were such; The Athenian soldiers who have preceded glory than fear of die reached the peak of this established lifestyle. He was talking about how proud it was for the soldiers who had the courage to fight in this war that fathers and sons had died. Pericles strategy to give that talk was not only the honor the death; it is actually preparing the people for the future, the future of challenges. For a man, choose to fight for the country where shared the same values by peoples he leave an honor as much as the values he fought back. Pericles said this clearly as “You are now in a position where you can turn your present good fortune to good use, keeping what you hold and gaining honour and reputation besides.”(Thucydides, 1974, Finley edit. p. 155). Pericles 'opinion is that the Athenians live in the way they want, where they refer to the Spartan's coming from a tough military discipline. And yet, the reflection of being prepared for situations that could be dangerous is that the Spartan are strong enough to venture to attack Athens only with their allies. In Thucydides view being ready for fight might be more worthy than the prejudice that war may bring to misfortune by its crises. Hence, when the crises with Lacedaemonians, Athens relying on the luxury and relatively better life according to Peloponnesian, with Pericles headed did not hesitate to 'being more powerful'. “For being the most powerful man of his time, and the leading Athenian statesman, he opposed the

Lacedaemonians in everything, and would have no concessions, but ever urged the Athenians on to war.” (Ibid. p.46). As Thucydides explained, Pericles's goals in the Peloponnesian war were clear. Because of Athens's naval resources were incommensurably superior to its land power, Pericles gathered people from countryside into the long walls and rely on the maritime for food supply. He was already thinking that he could sustain the war for a long time. Because there were flown revenue from the tribute and reserved enough capital. Beyond that, Pericles' strategy was not only on defense. Megara, with its fertile soil, would also provide support to Athens, with the embargo by Athens. Thucydides is aware that we are both intelligent and war-prone beings and the layout we established was parallel to this. Thucydides justifies it as because “self-control contains honour as a chief constituent, and honour bravery. And we are wise, because we are educated with too little learning to despise the laws, and with too severe a self-control to disobey them, and are brought up not to be too knowing in useless matters...” (Ibid. p. 67). In here Thucydides draws attention to war which was decided by its people with moral and ideal based can failure the outstretched and oppressive ones. Actually making a strategy or plan to winning a war or target is shaped by its military culture and financial means. Beyond this he showed how strategic and military culture changed and reshaped the things bottomed on war's influences. Despite his military culture, Sparta was more pragmatic and could act strategically than Athens. Pericles describes the military capacity of Athens as our greatest preparation is not always tricks and pitfalls, but we are always willing and ready to fight for the city-state. Pericles says that Athens has found prosperity in all criteria of life to establish both war and peace. Athenians was capable of military affairs and courageous to establish lifestyle as they wish. At the beginning of the war Thucydides uses Pericles to tell us “there is a cost to achieving and wielding power, and only those willing to bear the cost of war can achieve greatness.” (Ibid. 126).

Then, from which window can we see and make Thucydides better and clearer? Is Thucydides more prone to classical realism on the basis of his emphasis on human nature and man, or structural realism due to changing forces leading to war? For, Thucydides reflects one aspect of Realism by many thinkers. One of them, Michael Doyle, thinks that Thucydides basically meets minimalist realism. His claim on that minimalist realism is based on three assumptions and that means “Minimalism portrays a world-view or explanation of interstate politics as a 'state of war'. First

assumption is “international scene is properly described as an anarchy”, second is “primary actors are independent states whose domestic hierarchy (sovereignty) complements international anarchy” and third one is there is “no restraint whether moral, social, cultural, economic or political is sufficiently strong or general either to eliminate completely or to manage reliably conflicts of interest, prestige, or value.” (Doyle, Jul 1990, p.224). Here, states make their decisions by looking at the internal and external policies and do not exclude morality, even if security is at the forefront. And Doyle says “we can best interpret Thucydides as at least a Minimalist, but neither a Fundamentalist nor a Structuralist.” (Ibid. p. 226). To support this, Doyle took into account the comments given by Thucydides when examining the Athenians' conversations with the parties before declaring war. Platean, Syracuse and Melians and “instead, Thucydides seemed to have said, as did the Athenians at Sparta, that ‘Those who really deserve praise are the people who, while human enough to enjoy power, nevertheless pay more attention to justice than they are required to do by the situation.(I:76)’” (Ibid. p.228). Doyle, who identifies minimalist realism with classical realism, is based on the idea that he differs from structural realism because it includes the nature of human in decision-making process in politics. Doyle's contribution to our understanding of Thucydides is evident, but it is not possible to exclude structural realism because of the importance it places on the hierarchy of forces and the balance of power policies. But it is a great fact that the link to the classic realism that makes a human-based war reading cannot be ignored. In my view, Thucydides, who act with human concern while explaining the cause of war, is far from the system-based explanation of structural realism. However, his structure is not completely stripped of structural realism. Because of systemic analyze of war is based on power hierarchy that “Differences in just those dimensions of power ships, money, and size identified the growth in Athenian power relative to that of Sparta.” (Doyle, Jul. 1990, p. 230). Thus, distribution of power concept from Waltz and Structural realism will continue to explain both the Peloponnesian war and possibly other wars. Thucydides accepted this, as the lack of any authority to prevent the war revealed the importance of the balance of powers. From Gilpin and Waltz's point of view, the importance of the material forces against the immaterial forces is evident and states increase and decrease their fears according to these forces. Neo-realism as synonymy structural realism draws attention to environmental factors as the cause of war and that environmental factors can

transcend human nature. However, I find that human nature and the will factor, one of which they contain, are missed by structural realism. Structural realism, which attributed the center of decision-making to the whole system as a decision-making authority, destroys the influence of an authority and leader, condemns man to anarchy as structure. What makes the realist paradigm look pessimistic is the origin of the concept of 'environment' made up of people, the human nature. According to Melian dialogue the strong one live what he wants, and the weak one experiences the pain has to compel. This inference is a knowledge that people arrive by living as Athens said it to Melians. And today powerful say it to the weak states and will say it some others also. Therefore, Thucydides sees this foundation of all these things in human nature and that's why he dared to argue. Along with all this, Thucydides wrote his faith in human nature and social laws precisely in this dialogue. Thucydides supports that "rational self-interest cannot exist outside a community and the language of justice it enables." (Lebow, March 2002, p.80). Of course, these things will become clearer in the future with what Hobbes would call anarchy, but Thucydides is aware of the situation. Therefore, Corcyraean, one of the smallest forces, was able to stand against the Lacedaemonians on the assumption that all the agreements were carried out on the initiative of the strongest, that Athena's will would end on the ground. The serious part was that it was true. A higher emotion, which can confront fear if there is no superior power or binding that can stop Athenians and powerful states, is only honor or interest. Thus, in this part, Doyle reconciles minimalist realism with Thucydides, leaving us at the border of structuralism. "Thucydides casts Athens as a tragic hero whose power and hubris led it to break free from the traditional web of relationships and reciprocal obligations that bound cities to one another and restrained their foreign policy goals."(Ibid.). The human being, the authority itself, will direct his mind to those emotions that make him decide, as Hume points out. As Waltz assumes, there is no longer a need for a rational person after he cannot take his own break. Therefore, importance of understanding human nature still has its explanatory power in war studies. Moreover, it emerges from human emotions, and honor and fear are opposed to those who are worthy of fighting, and that Waltz cannot resist external interventions to man capable of self-rule.

"To be "under equal compulsion" means to be subjected to a common authority. Since such an authority above states does not exist, the Athenians argue that the only

right in the world of anarchy is the right of the stronger to dominate the weaker.” (Karpowicz, Apr. 2006, p.234). It makes it difficult to resist the fear or desire for supremacy it has to wait for itself to be an obstacle in itself where there is no other obstacle. It makes it difficult to resist the fear or desire for supremacy it has to wait for itself to be an obstacle in itself where there is no other obstacle. And “whether explicitly, as in classical realism, or implicitly, as in Neorealism, the realistic theory premises an egoistic human nature.” (Ibid.). The race of power politics has been the easiest thing to draw people into. However, as Thucydides express it Athens fall into their hubris and power hunger but there is justice behind the happenings. Overestimation of power stay always with powerful ones. To what extent is it possible to blame the anarchy that only allows this? For this, I consider it necessary to examine the war with its relationship with anarchy.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have worked by seeing how the diversity of human nature has made man vulnerable to danger. Man has to keep his emotions under control, especially if it is the state administration. Arrogance, pride, and hubris invaded the Athenians throughout the war and then countered their own values themselves. Melian dialogue has shown us the reason why it is one of the best texts describing man in war. While the dialogue showing us in the most naked form of man, it is the proof of what his every desire or fear can lead to. I have examined the short but longest conflict we witnessed how the desire for supremacy turned into hegemony, how fear led to war, and honor led to social immortality. As one them is Pericles that was an influential leader on his people to Athens. The importance of his value by people to him became clearer after he died. Melian showed us why the dialogue can never be on the dusty pages of history. Human nature drew a picture of how men can turn into a monster on the basis of the Athenians by human desires. The emphasis on the difference and priority for the individual and his / her state, or emphasizing it, can lead to extremism. The characteristics that he brings with his human nature are enough to make him unique again. The efforts of the states to become hegemon as the first resort sought for absolute escape from fear were evaluated as not a real solution. Because of the balance of power for security will last much longer when we talk

about the fears of the states. This can be done not by psychological persuasion but by being aware of the hierarchy of powers, as in Athens. And even if death destroys the existence of man, but that is the only material part of life. People and states are in contact with others and interactions make the political balances. As such, it is vital for the future to predict of war and its consequences. This was the trap of the Athenians in the Peloponnesian War as Thucydides implies desire of being a hegemon. In order to make more use of Thucydides while studying all of this, Doyle's minimalist and structural realism was evaluated to understand his place in the modern era.

4. POLITICAL AND ETHICAL LIFE IN PLATO AND ARISTOTLE

When we consider Thucydides as a political thinker with his political work via declaring it on 'History of Peloponnesian War' that, his contribution is remarkable from his time to contemporary world. Thucydides has acquired notable position as a referenced founder in political issues by giving political infrastructure for both political realism and idealism. Thucydides' work is in the field of social and human science just like other pre-modern politics. Thucydides gives primary importance to human motivations in order to understand the causes of war. These are fear, interest and honor. The question of why people and states fight will be examined from the perspective of philosophers after Thucydides as a subject of political and ethical life. Particularly Thucydides counts the human experience and he was aware the same events might have a different meaning in others. Different interpretations will lead to different results and as long as the things expected from human beings be varied. The connection between Thucydides and the later understanding of political and ethical discussions in Plato and Aristotle is core to our analyses in that part. Plato's work on the political and ethical issues at the *Republic* and Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* will be our main resources. Plato (BC 428-347) and Aristotle (BC 384-322) as Athenians were successors of Thucydides.

4.1 Thucydides and Plato

Plato was of aristocratic descent and his youth years are overlaps the last years of Thucydides. Plato as a young man attracted to life in politics and ethics in terms of the question 'is it always better to be just than unjust?' And his student Aristotle has gone from the path of his teacher, even though his thoughts evolve differ. While Plato was putting forth his 'theory of ideals', Aristotle propounded his paradigm based on 'practical knowledge' rather than theoretical knowledge in case of political and ethical life. *The Republic* explores what good political rule would have to be in political and ethical means. Most of the Republic consists of a dialogue between Socrates and two of Plato's brothers and features of the statesman of the good city. In

Plato and Aristotle issues in the political sphere are mostly state governance forms and regimes. The ethical discussions are based on what the virtue of justice is and why a person should act on just and how the definition of the cities related to these principles. Plato characterizes *justice* as a personal virtue which is a reflection from the 'ideal forms' world. A good city and citizen would be just and that defining justice as a virtue of a human being. For Plato, politics in the *Republic* is based upon the 'moral psychology' in the city. Thus, he focuses on morality in human motivation. Justice is worth selecting for its own sake is core in Plato's political and ethical life. Justice as regardless of the rewards or penalties must be chosen by Socrates' voice at the *Republic* and it is always better to be just than unjust. Plato says the main aim of his writing as "We are discussing no trivial subject, but how a man should live." (Plato, *Republic*, 352d). Plato has known the experiences in Greece and around others' past on political life. The human being is both political and ethical subject while living thus, his responsibilities to himself and to the society is substantial for Plato. Anyone who acts in his own mind rather than his wish can find them himself. And, he should do all he can to build this good way of life. The important part is that it is such a claim that there is no point in reaching this goal alone. A society is able to explain political and ethical life together and to achieve this good life. That is why societies and managers are important. Since it is not possible for everyone to reach the knowledge of the truth, the order should be in the wise king, not the general mass of democrats. Hence, it is important to understand how much the regimes do and how they differ for Plato. However, Thucydides cares mostly human effects on institutions. Because of people are more flexible than institutions.

Regardless of the forms of governance, the adaptation of the human may operate bilaterally. In other words, either the person follows the order he establishes himself, or he adjusts the order he has established in his favor. And the most decisive thing in this; again, the interests and desires of man. Clear that, both Thucydides and Plato were aware of this and had their attitude in writings. Thucydides while describing Pericles' rhetorical power on people, he claims men can think that war and peace are less important than these words. Wherever human satisfaction is, he goes there. Plato supports for personal happiness and social order because it is necessary to understand human nature.

4.2 Thucydides and Aristotle

In Aristotle, man wants to know naturally. Knowledge is something that man is pursuing for life-long. Then, knowledge of what? For Aristotle, practical knowledge is relevant to the knowledge of 'how to live and act'. He divided the knowledge into three parts; theoretical, practical and production. For Aristotle theoretical knowledge is about the research of 'truth for its own sake' like Plato and this is most divine one thus, the most beautiful human life, living in the pursuit of such information. Ethics and politics, which are the practical knowledge in Aristotle includes obtaining and using practical information that makes it possible to lead a good life. According to Aristotle, this is related with human beings as moral representative. Human beings are unique as a moral presence. Ethics is basically connected to the actions of human beings as individuals and social. These relations are about actions in communal life, politics. The importance of this is political and ethical agents are very closely linked and interrelated to the each other. Aristotle different than Plato does not give any importance to the abstract knowledge in political and ethical outputs because of the meaning of human actions appears with that action, it does not come from any other world.

It is the virtue and happiness that is the best for everyone in the life of politics, but only if the city strives for them. Aristotle attaches importance to the existence of the city and explains how each political animal becomes a city with its family and society. 'Man as political animal' it's by nature in his view. Aristotle has also studied on how to achieve a happy life like its predecessor Plato in political and ethic works. For Aristotle 'living well' come to the meaning of pursuing a life of happiness and virtue and living in a city, is essential for everyone who desires to be completely for the citizen. Aristotle does not have a fixed set of rules throughout ethical and political. In his ethical life eudemonia is related to a kind of right activity. In Aristotle, this is a lifelong practice in which this person develops himself intellectually and morally. When a man meets to the edge of the ethical political decision must be flexible to take an action according to general law and knowledge. We must be aware of that practical knowledge is different than knowledge for its own sake. Thus, if you do not use this knowledge to develop citizens and the city, the

study of politics and ethics would be meaningless. Aristotle knows that man has shortcomings and trusts the law to deal with it. Aristotle here was awake for the inequality of property and honor in the city which are resulted by desire of human. These two issues give their owners the opportunity to underestimate others, and even common ownership cannot prevent it. Difference comes with honour and arrogance. Aristotle tries to achieve the order and regime by carrying them to the realm of justice.

The reason why Plato's *Republic* book was discussed by political scientists and philosophers even after about 2400 years is due to its ability to reveal the issues to the foundation of human and state. The main distinction in the book begins with how the work division in society is made and what it is based on. In Plato, the ideal society, by the political and ethical structure is perfectly formed would guarantee the future of the city. 'Justice is both necessary and sufficient for happiness' that is prominently robust thesis than for seeking happiness via being justice. A soul might experience opposing attitudes at the same time in relation to the same thing however they have to relate to it directly.

In the *Republic*, Plato explains his human motivation as the aims of each of the psychological part of human reason, spirit, and appetite. Plato shows this establishment by the distinction between appetite and reason and also between appetite and spirit. In this psychological conflict are adapted to cause of the weakness of will (*akrasia*) in Socrates explanation in the book. Plato distinguishes people ruled by reason, by spirit, and by appetite and who ruled by reason love truth and wisdom, who ruled by spirit love honour and who ruled by appetite love money and profit. Every human contains reason, spirit, and appetite in a soul that is the unified source of that human. But For Plato the man who ruled by love of wisdom that must be the king- can manage the state which is the best way to do it, otherwise the disorder and unhappiness begins. The reason is qualified by the desire for wisdom, which is a philosophical leader, can only have it. The only person who can go beyond his sensory and perceptual characteristics is the philosopher king can provide the best management style. Plato see necessary the philosophers to rule the ideal city based on education they have received. Additionally Plato was awake of the very complex dynamic between the love of money and the love of honor. This training

process is also quite heavy and requires competence, especially compared to others. Plato, in his book *the 'Stateman'*, describes in detail why this should be so. Especially the implications on forms of government, the oligarchy, democracy and tyranny are issues political and ethical life in the book. Plato also gives importance to ruling by who and which way as rule by one, a few, or by many. It could be that they had the knowledge of Sparta and Athens as background experiences. The inferences of the book VIII of the *Republic*, Plato mentioned how the ideal constitution might decay into a regime focused on honor. Sparta was admitted as oligarchy and for Plato her regime was mixture. Plato challenges with democracy because of it give honors all pursuits equally and that opens the city vulnerable for conflict and disorder. "Protagoras clearly refers in these arguments to democratic principles not only of egalitarianism, but also of civic education. Athenian democrats everywhere maintained that civic life in the democracy constituted an extraordinary education in political virtue, superior even to the acclaimed regime of the Spartans." (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1180a25–9)

Aristocracy regime associates with rational attitudes, timocracy with spirited attitudes, oligarchy appetitive attitudes, democracy is constituted with appetitive attitudes, and tyranny regime associates with lawless appetitive attitudes. While Plato and Aristotle seek the answer of how 'good life is possible',

4.3 Comparison Thucydides with Plato and Aristotle

The difference of these two philosophers from Thucydides is hidden in the fact that the initial questions are different. Thucydides seeks the answer to why the states fight even though they are the same nation. For Plato and Aristotle cause of war is root of the human features very related to desires and greedy for luxury and wealth. Thucydides' history writing is more or less related to power politics. And it was the essence of the conversation in Thrasymachus' dialogue in Plato's *Republic*. On Thrasymachus' view "justice is conventionally established by the strong, in order that the weak will serve the interests of the strong. The strong themselves, on this view, are better off disregarding justice and serving their own interests directly." (343c–344c) Thus, both sides Athens and Sparta said that justice was his interests. Aristotle neither supported Athens as an ideal city, nor the military-oriented society of the Spartans. Sparta, who fought for the sake of fight and always prepared for it.

However, war in Aristotle was made for the sake of peace. “In the case of the best regime, [the citizen] is one who is capable of and intentionally chooses being ruled and ruling with a view to the life in accordance with virtue.” (Brudholm, T. and Schepelehn Johansen, 2018, p. 44). In Plato that having power is not matter of good or bad in itself. But he argues that absolute power will bring destruction, because it makes people blind and arrogant. The concept of power in Plato is not used as a force in a material way but rather as an educational effect. Spiritual virtue rather than material power was praiseworthy for Plato. Hence, real politics in Thrasymachus inequality between people is natural and stronger should manage weak approach will lead to the justice of the powerful. Thus, Plato also does not accept it. Plato does not support Thrasymachus claim, which is the purely negative concept of defining the right and the wrong only the stronger one. Thucydides does not endorse the goodness and absoluteness of something only from itself. Thereby Thucydides supports that concepts and meanings are open to change. And it depends on the source. When their perspective on events changed, its understanding and meaning changed also, so the crisis situation defined everything.

To fit in with the change of events, words, too, had to change their usual meanings. What used to be described as a thoughtless act of aggression was now regarded as the courage one would expect to find in a party member; to think of the future and wait was merely another way of saying one was a coward; any idea of moderation was just an attempt to disguise one's unmanly character; ability to understand a question from all sides meant that one was totally unfitted for action. Fanatical enthusiasm was the mark of a real man, and to plot against an enemy behind his back was perfectly legitimate self-defence. (Thucydides, 1974, Finley edit. p .137).

Thucydides tells us about man with his emotions in socially and politics. However, ethical and political life became interpenetrated in Plato and Aristotle. Both philosophers begin with human and its motivations and reach the happiest life. But the paradigms they revealed differed significantly in the political sense. Especially, in case of the discussions of justice. Athens 'expansionist policy was at the center of Thucydides' narrative, and neither justice nor truth could be mentioned here. In the History of Peloponnesian War, Thucydides gives the meaning of justice for both city-state as according to the Athenians, justice had no place in the politics of power, justice had no power in the world. Plato's good and just life and Aristotle's

eudemonia were in both political and ethical life issues but in warfare the issue is not peace, it focused on how people behave, not ought to. There are significant differences and expectations in Aristotle's understanding of politics and Thucydides. "Since political science employs the other sciences and also lays down laws about what we should do and refrain from, its end will include the ends of the others, and will, therefore, be the human good." (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1094b). Aristotle sees politics as a guiding mechanism and a politician as leaders who are responsible for protecting the state and the people.

But the activity of a politician also involves exertion, and, apart from the business of politics itself, it is designed to secure power and honors, or at least happiness for himself and the citizens, which is different from politics and which we clearly pursue as something different. (Ibid. 1177b).

Thucydides' Pericles as an 'imperial' democratic statesman possibly affected that vision for Plato's utopian thought and that process of democratic decision-making is little bit exaggerated. The regime type alone does not explain the Athenians' judgments and justifications on war. Or Sparta's regime was not the causation for declaring war to Athens. The Spartans and their allies claim they have declared war on Athens to save Greece from the cruel ambitions of Athens. The justice of the Spartan was the freedom of the Greek people. Thus, the assembly was clearly delicate to manipulation. Athenians differentiate themselves by two features: their democracy that was actually imperial love of freedom. It became more appear in the Sicilian expedition; while meeting with Sparta, Athenians had tried to 'justified their imperial policy in the name of necessity born of freedom.' (Ibid. p.156). Thucydides' core concern was about Athens and Sparta strengthens as sea power and empire and Sparta's' land power than their regimes. There were differences in the world and this caused inequalities in power. While Plato was concerned with how to dispose of them and establish a just order, best political regimes Aristotle was interested in the reasons and how best to manage a happy life. However, Thucydides as political historian deals with political life on its own terms and sees despite of the rich Athenian world, remained and acted based on constant human psychology and actions. Sparta and Athens engaged in real or power politics in this war. Thucydides showed how Athens descent far from pillar for Athenian values "but we are not in a court of justice, but in a political assembly; and the question is not justice, but how to make the Mitylenians useful to Athens." (Ibid. p.156). Thus, in real politics

absolutism and certainty become blurred and politics create its own meaning. “Yet in justice the same cases should be decided in the same way, and policy should not mean anything else than lasting gratitude for the service of good ally combined with a proper attention to one's own immediate interest.” (Ibid. p. 163)

“In the confusion into which life was now thrown in the cities, human nature, always rebelling against the law and now its master, gladly showed itself ungoverned in passion, above respect for justice, and the enemy of all superiority; since revenge would not have been set above religion, and gain above justice, had it not been for the fatal power of envy.” (Ibid. p. 176). Fear, honor and interest are unbearable forces felt by all human being and political communities.

Fear, and the sight of the numbers of the conspirators, closed the mouths of the rest; or if any ventured to rise in opposition, he was presently put to death in some convenient way, and there was neither search for the murderers nor justice to be had against them if suspected; but the people remained motionless, being so thoroughly cowed that men thought themselves lucky to escape violence, even when they held their tongues.” (Ibid. p.446).

It could be related for that according to the Athenians, a thrust not less than the fear of interest and personal interest were something that could not be blamed on political life. It is not true that the Athens envoys can be justified in Melian Dialogue, because this right and justice have no place in political relations. For Athens justice has no power except that between equals. This was an invisible distinction between Aristotle and Plato and no one could prevail upon the Athenians considered unjust for war and during the war. Of course, these later were not well known for Aristotle and Plato and lessons learned as examples from that experience. Neither Athens democracy nor Spartan oligarchy was admitted by both philosophers. Plato's unchanging world of intellectual forms and ideals and Thucydides' passionate and honor loved world clashed. The construct abstract Platonic idealism and Thucydidean realism who is better guide in political life?

While Aristotle and Plato appeared to be tried to create a culture, Thucydides revealed a thesis based on nature actually how it is. All had put forward universal laws for understanding human nature. Aristotle in his book *Magna Moralia* argues

that people and states that share similar cultures will be better for their relation. When we take the '*Athenian thesis*' in order to define Thucydides' causation of the war. It says all human beings are compelled by natural necessity. To pursue their own interest no one can be blamed or punished they perceive as good for themselves. Those who refuse to do so, but still try to strengthen themselves, apply double standards.

There can be seen Thucydides' conflicts between nature (*phusis*) and convention (*nomos*), and also apparent tension between justice and necessity. Pericles in the last speech considered that the war was chosen or necessity. As Thucydides wrote in the book, 'of course, for those who have a free choice and whose fortunes are not in danger, war is the worst.' But if the merely options was between independence and danger with the hope of preserving that independence. In this instance no one will get any blame if does not take the risk. Failure to not choosing so may bring an accusation. For Pericles war was necessary and Thucydides accepted that both side were compelled to war. Athenian greatness and Spartan fear was defined for war.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the tone of the relationship between the human and the society, which is a political and ethical subject, through the eyes of thinkers. Understanding of human nature and trends is similar in Plato and Thucydides, and the view that democracy is not healthy in terms of governance is common also. Plato is concerned with shaping human beings with the 'good life' ideal as a way to overcome all human 'distressed' realities. Thucydides is rather wise to accept things that cannot be changed. This enables us to Plato's idealist Thucydides to describe as realist. The person who can choose the death for the sake of the values he describes is not familiar with the rule. Plato's political and moral definitions are much more rigid movement with orientation is insufficient to understand human nature and war. Aristotle was aware that it was not possible for a single standard to be valid in all morality and politics. But Plato strongly opposed the idea that morality depends on state interests, as in the case of Gorgias. Same criteria of natural law could be same for man and state for Plato. Aristotle makes a hierarchy between natural law and state law because they might interfere. And people might confuse which is natural and which is state law. As political community philosophers sees the city as an entity and

they realize that the law that is suitable for a city may not be suitable for other cities. Even so, Plato argues that political progress will lead and support to moral progress that Thucydides does not have it. For Thucydides, man and war are not easy to shape after coming to life. Thucydides, in trying to understand the reasons for things Plato and Aristotle, we see the concern of finding a solution to them. Man is a small universe. What a great claim to say man has solved!

5. COMPARISON OF MAN IN THUCYDIDES AND HOBBS

As much as peace, war is a result of human actions, and anyone who wants to understand human beings has to enter a piece of war. In this chapter, I will study how war constitutes human being in warfare. While studying this, I will consider Hobbes as a translator of Thucydides and Hobbes' new point of view in human understanding according to the ancient times. Therefore, we need to distinguish the affinities and difference between Thucydides and Hobbes. It is for their methodologies and way of expressing to human nature in war and war in human being also. State of nature is intimately with war understanding of the necessity and origin of the state in Hobbes. Human motivation helps us to understand the reason of action during war and war by examination of the state of nature and the social contract. Anarchy will be my main concept during this chapter to catch the man and war relation in Wendt's interpretation of constructivist perspective. I will examine the state of nature in Hobbes, which gives us a new perspective with the concept of anarchy that makes the human being built by war. Another issue I will be touched the nature of man and power relations via analyzing whether there are global norms and values that may exist in an anarchic structure. The new methodological approaches they bring to the field will be the subject of this study. Also, I will examine Hobbes and Machiavelli by comparing the monarchs that the anarchic system built for a solution. Lastly, will study 'Thucydides Trap' for understanding of the state balances that have changed in the 21st century is a reference to a Thucydides who cannot die.

5.1 Thomas Hobbes on War

Thomas Hobbes was one of the most influential philosophers for 17th-century philosophy without any doubt. His studies were about human and its creation of social order. It would not be wrong to assume that it has the effects of his life what he has written about. Because of Hobbes was born in England and his life was the scene of sovereignty races between the ruling king and parliament. Beyond the training he received, he had a side where he could examine nature and society with

different eyes. Thus, the societies where it is located have not been able to stay permanently because it has developed unfamiliar ideas easily. Hobbes account in his book of Leviathan is of human motivations and its reflection to the community life. And how this individualistic acceptance organizes human society. It is a serious rejection of its predecessors to receiving society as Organicism rather than to organize society with a more mechanical and atomistic approach. That is underlying the issue of human motivations and nature. Appetite is the basic motivation for all in Hobbes claims on man's satisfied with the appetite of each individual is the same way of achieving desires. The way of actualizing its, being powerful is the provider. Hobbes defines 'power' as natural and instrumental. Natural power is the talents of the individual and the instrumental power such as money to the acquisition of power. The power is the only way of satisfying our appetites in every period. However, power is always in relational in Hobbes' theory. Power competition was centered in Hobbes' human being and people live by taking care of their own interests. Human as a power-hungry creature always try and will maximize his power in order to provide his self-preservation.

Here, I will examine how war, in particular, built the people, the state and the system of relations. Hobbes is the foremost person who shows us that war has established and constructed human beings. Hobbes says that war is as natural as a human being and leads us to anarchy which is the whole behavior of the underlying thing. Anarchy is basically means "*war of all against all*" and man with his individuality cannot deal with it in Hobbes view. Although his methodology is different from Thucydides, he presents us with the conceptual analysis of the war and the prescription of the desiccation. "That the condition of mere nature, that is to say, of absolute liberty, such as is theirs, that neither are sovereigns, nor Subjects, is anarchy, and the condition of war that the precepts, by which men are guided to avoid that condition, are the laws of nature." (Hobbes, p.570). The covenant between the sovereign and the citizens make the end of the constant war. These rights, taken from the individual, have also made the state of absolute power. The absolute sovereign power that represents the citizen's rights continues to protect their interests. On the way to the Sovereign, the nature of the war in itself and the relevance of its reflections on man are obvious. Hobbes takes these assumptions via making deduction-al statements into the laws and *self-observation*. Another characteristic of law of nature is the calculation of behaviors. As a way to ensure safety in state, everyone has the

right to do what he wants, which is restricted by law if its accepted by covenant. For the security, that everyone thinks what is good for themselves and by nature, use their power to satisfied to it. The environment that allows this called anarchy that human behavior creates, Hobbes claims. That makes an important distinction from Thucydides because Thucydides lacked a conceptual look at it when it examined human and state behavior. *The History of Peloponnesian War* was main source for both Hobbes both are in my study on war constitutes human being. Hobbes examines the human in case of war and builds it on a process. This agreement, which is the beginning of everything, includes moral, ethical and other issues. Man was never born with blank slate as Locke's claim. Man is born with some makings and the situation they live in is granted. Anarchy is created by human behaviors, which seemed to be irregular, was actually a result of certain regularities. Thus, human behaviors was not the case of any morality and other issues in Hobbes until the sovereign authority emerged in community and make the constant war stop, then morality and justice would be established. Before it, nothing has the meaning they supposed to have. Even promise keeping and determining good or bad for something. I will consider and many other data and make conceptual comparisons between Thucydides and Hobbes. And of course I will do this, stating that how Hobbes is a very good Thucydides' reader and student to benefit his perspective.

Bookman and scholars were aware of Thucydides' influence on Thomas Hobbes and his formation of political thought. Hobbes published a translation of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* in 1628. Hobbes examined the value of reading and interpreted him accordingly. Hobbes was in harmony with history and the desire to learn and transfer history lessons to his contemporaries. He does not hesitate to admit the benefits and experiences of history. Hobbes understands "past experiences as cognitive resources for prudent anticipation: these experiences are useful knowledge, if they are hypothetical concatenations of events, because only this way can they be extended and put in equivalence with present and future circumstances that one wishes to anticipate." (Basaure, 2013, p.79). The experience as known from past can help us to anticipate of unknown future. Thucydides undoubtedly helped to shape his ideas and his part will examine the reasons that affect the similarities and differences between two. In Thucydides' first book Athens presented by these three motivations, "fear, honor, and profit." And these three human motivations are

explained in Hobbes as competition, diffidence and victory. The human being is selfish and motivated by fear, honor and interest definition has some background from Helens. But this translator has had more than these especially when we come to deep in the assumptions of the in Hobbes's classical piece the *Leviathan*. Hobbes' artificial monster is common good for people. Leviathan, which individuals created and contributed to by individual, was a result of human nature.

Nature (the art whereby God hath made and governess the world) is by the art of man, as in many other things, so in this also imitated, that it can make an artificial animal. For seeing life is but a motion of limbs, the beginning whereof is in some principal part within; why may we not say, that all automata (Engines that move themselves by springs and wheels as doth a watch) have an artificial life?... Art goes yet further, imitating that rational and most excellent work of nature, man. For by art is created that great Leviathan called a commonwealth, or state, which is but an artificial man; though of greater stature and strength than the natural. (Hobbes, 1651, p.51)

Hobbes sets out this artificial state system, which he defines as a war against natural man, for human benefit again. The design of man as a simple machine away from other social features is based on Hobbes's belief that the basic human features are determined. Therefore, the reasons for the fights and wars are also evident for him. But I do not regard that Hobbes is an artificial sovereign ruler of what will prosper society as a result of the war. War is just as natural as a human being, as both scholar acknowledges, but it is also natural that this natural process emerges. Hobbes' s Sovereign is in a position superior to any law and power in which all wills unite, and is thus very different from the Prince of Machiavelli. *Leviathan* and the *Prince* books, written on how to govern the people, contain very detailed metaphors. Just as we cannot call artificial the war-built human that the sovereign built by those believers for the same reason. In Hobbes, there is a ruler created by a social agreement, that is to say, while there is a ruler in Machiavelli who does not hesitate away from using violence to make his people make his own wishes. The fox and lion metaphor to strengthen the management of Machiavelli' s *Prince* against the people trapped between the lion and the fox. The fact that Hobbes has similar ideas with Machiavelli in understanding politics is also about the domestic politics of their nations and is similar in their search for a solution to a dominant and powerful leader. Hobbes and Machiavelli, who brought the perspective of what would later be

called 'real politics' to the literature, kept the concepts of justice and righteousness apart from government administration. "Whether it be an inborn, individual quality or an exemplary, institutionalized public spirit, virtue is affected, and often threatened, by external circumstances chance or Fortuna." (Machiavelli, 1532, p.71)

"What Machiavelli has done by stressing the prince's will is to secularize the notion, common in medieval political theory, that God's will is the only criterion for judging right and wrong. Still, for Machiavelli, the overriding consideration is that both the ruler and the ruled benefit from the continued preservation of order." (Ibid. p. 66).

Machiavelli claims that the power of the Prince is possible by protecting the relationship between virtue and Fortuna. Otherwise, dissolution is inevitable. Prince of Machiavelli's imagery is based on myth of power. However, Leviathan has everything contained by the human nature. Glory, honor and interest are centered feelings in war condition that man cannot escape them wholly. Leviathan is also and even though Hobbes thinks similar to Thucydides in terms of human qualities, he looks more limited and deterministic in war and human affairs. One of the main differences between Thucydides and Hobbes as the cause of war; Thucydides speaks of 'national' character, while Hobbes mentions individual traits. Thucydides defines Spartan more concise and Athens more brave and bold. Thucydides is pleased that people are not equal. Some may be more intelligence, straight character, more modest or more faithful. No need to be equality in every stage in Thucydides' view. But, Hobbes takes everyone in equal to be killed by someone. No matter being wiser, richer or stronger than someone else is. Everyone has one life to live. The hierarchy of motivation was clearly self-interest that is determined by fear in Hobbes. Actually Thucydides' man is also self-interested but not based upon the fear. It is much more unified with honour that is shared by the *polis* and social setting. Moreover, individual interests separated from common good would be far from honor in Thucydides. The thing that trapped the Athenians was the pursuit of more honor. Hobbes interprets the Peloponnesian War and especially Athenian vainglory and pride to go to war is madness. Hobbes actually accepts this crazy side of the human being. Both admit that the hubris is one of the main factors that make men feel wrong in human emotions and the main cause of the fight among people and states. The establishment of alliances in Greece was actually due to this fear. The power of sanctions of emotions cannot be ignored. The effects of Pericles' public speech

caused Hobbes' rhetoric study. And then where was the reason here? Where were the rational state policies in Greek states and Hobbes' man? If the human being was a purely mind-acting and decision-making entity, we could not talk about the errors man-made. However, a man lives very little this perfect state of mind situations. And this rare times is unpredictable because man and his attitudes are unpredictable in Thucydides. History is therefore a cyclical structure in Thucydides. Many factors in life and few of them sometimes are under control. Inevitable progress idea is not valid in Thucydides and then Ibn Khaldun. The nature of things is cyclical and human nature and history are some of them. Despite of the Hobbes cyclical historical understanding what was happening in time, observational research has been the method of both Thucydides and Ibn Khaldun. The "only a cyclical theory of history can confront empirical realities" (Goodman, Apr. - Jun., 1972, p.269) but Hobbes view to history might be linear or progressive even his main approach to state is naturalistic. This is because he explained the state based on people's behavior. Famous scientists of the period that influenced Hobbes guided him through a mechanistic understanding of physics. Hobbes while examining the man as individual point applies psychology, but people behavior, from a social point of view he is thinking political. The effort to understand the man brings him and Thucydides to find the most valid explanation. The desire for competition, insecurity and superiority was both of which they found in the war. The reason for these three quarrels in man has caused him to preempt his fear of death in his natural condition according to the joy of life. Hobbes's emphasis on fear is the basic motivation for war, just like Thucydides. The necessity of the state would exist at this point to ensure the safety and well-being of individuals. Leviathan is the manner of telling the state of nature was a phase of transition to civil society and civilization. Hobbes's difference was that he used the law of motion from Aristotle in human science outside physics. The concept of causality is used in social science by him. Here in Hobbes, unlike Thucydides, we see the intention of building politics as a *scientia*. We see that Hobbes reflects this concern very clearly. Hobbes was able to integrate the ancient Greek, the philosophy of nature and the accumulation of Renaissance philosophers. It can be explained by the method of systematic knowledge building in the social actions of the people like physics, Hobbes tries to establish. The formula of political order is coming from the past experiences to Hobbes and their rereading of results.

Even though, in ancient Greece's experience of democracy there was a lesson for Hobbes, he does not discriminate the government types strictly like Plato and Aristotles. Only sovereign power must be at single hand thus, monarchy as unified structure is supported. No matter who the administration is, it must have been one element with absolute power. The important thing is sovereign's power to be able to achieve its task of secure people. For this, Hobbes looked back and looked at the most fundamental institutions that remained unchanged. Hobbes, who writes about the origin of the state, sees this again in the family he regards as a natural institution. The family is the most natural occurrence in community, and it helps to establish easy compatibility with the state. An entity that can make decisions through human reason and will also see this reality, which observes nature as it is, with all its nakedness. The civil war, which was written by Thucydides, was based on Hobbes's experience of civil war in the state. I will search Hobbes's main claims, which later became the nation-state theorist and the founder of the Realist paradigm. Anarchy concept that is the reason of all wars against the Sovereign in Hobbes and world government in political thought. Nevertheless, war and its reflections to human being must be understood by who dare to warfare. What he says is the most basic founding claim that Hobbes primarily refers to as the state of nature. And anarchy is very close to it thus, fear-fed anarchy reveals the passivity of man. It is a fact that human intrinsic motivations change according to environmental conditions, and even the most insane ideas lead the masses even when they receive support. Thus, the relationship between state of nature and war is important in understanding human beings in Hobbes.

5.2 State of Nature in Hobbes

Before any political order, Hobbes' starting point was that putting forth the rights of nature which every individual has equally same. That is the liberty of action as their wish to provide and preserve their desires. One of the basic assumptions as the classic description is the 'state of nature' or 'the natural condition of mankind'. Individuals' freedom is not subject to any restriction in this way; they perform whatever action they see fit to their justification. This right of nature definition has good to have it but if only can protect to exercise of the rights. Because state of nature is described as;

To this war of every man, against every man, this also is consequent; that nothing can be unjust. The notions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, have there no place. Where there is no common power, there is no law; where no law, no injustice. Force and fraud, are in war the two cardinal virtues. (Hobbes, 1946, p.83)

This collective right is aimed at protecting the rights of all kinds of freedoms in the case of nature. Although unlimited freedom to act is used equally in everyone, people are not equal in nature in their power. Thus, this situation creates a contradiction. Individuals will not be able to enjoy the unlimited use of their natural right. Because of the more powerful ones have an equally unlimited right for the same things and actions. Clearly, individuals will be in competing with each other when they try to use the rights of nature. Thereby, competition feeds rivalry and state of nature became an unbearable situation to continue. That is warlike living is not suitable for human. According to Hobbes, there is no stability and progress because of the constant war in their state of nature. State of nature is regarded as a state of war in Hobbes terms because everyone is vulnerable to being killed by someone else. That equal liberty simultaneously brought the threat and jeopardy together to be the victim of someone's desires. In addition, there is no justice and no general power in this kind of war. In such a situation, human life is quite short and unhappy says in *Leviathan*. Human in such state of nature situation lives with his loneliness, free to act according to his desire, selfish, and fear of death due to insecurity and war. The states live in the same condition in state of war with other states. The environment that Hobbes presents as a natural state completely points to and says the concept of anarchy. To be able to exist in such an environment, the state and the human being are forced to act as required by the circumstances. The possibility of constant renewal of war through anarchy led Hobbes and contemporary thinkers to seek a solution. That condition leads all beings to seek to power to save and protect themselves. Being not sure about individuals' security and meeting request to cause suspicion and constant potential hostility. 'Natural conditions' in Hobbes definition openly brings the people to choose lesser evil one. The consent of transfer of rights and freedoms to sovereign for the sake of security was become the case. And after that, the administrations and relations they established were possible with this 'consent'.

In fact, all these natural state assumptions were made to justify why the state should exist. However, man does his best to achieve in peace, and even he waives many of basic rights. Even if people give up all these rights, this does not mean that they will live in comfort in society. People need a superior existence and totality over society. Otherwise, people do not even hesitate about turning back to the state of nature and selfishness in Hobbes view. Therefore, the state is obligatory for social order to precise solution to that anarchy problem. The only solution to get rid of this state of nature and the constant coercion of war for people and of course states was an absolute power. After transferring their sovereign rights, people do not have the right to move to other sovereignty or come back to the state of nature. The traditional understanding of will reflected a special rational appetite in Hobbes. This example of will is, in fact, an empty will far from any qualification, a level that implies impulsivity in animals. Then it has transformed into the appetite to seek self-preservation to live well. Although the person here seems to be active in the whole process, he is in a passive position as a reflection of the current situation. My claim is here that anarchy constitutes states with self-interested and self-preservation. Thus I do not share the approach of Alexander Wendt's claim that 'anarchy is what states make of it' titled in 1992. In short, Wendt argues that anarchy is formed by man's self-identification, and by the positions they see themselves in the system. The constitution of identities and interests reflex potential contribution and cooperation and also war condition by explanation of social science theorists. The constructivist theory potential interests can be established by states re-occurred views, and it can be friendly or enmity. Actually I regard that view very comprehended to see effect of will power in human nature. This is an approach that describes the power of one's own understanding and will. These claims could have been valid if the human were born with an empty mind (*tabula rasa*) and an environment without history. However, man is born and grows on the accumulations and acts with certain motivations that he brings from birth. I figure on no one will deny that these motivations, as Thucydides and Hobbes have pointed out, are still features that we can see in all humans. But Wendt Claiming that the pursuit of what one wants for the sake of one's own good, and acting in cooperation, can save states from the mechanism of self-help. Wendt claims that anarchy has three different logic, not one, and accuses the Neorealists of 'seeing' only one. "I argue that self-help and power politics do not follow either logically or causally from anarchy and that if today we

find ourselves in a self-help world, this is due to process, not structure.” (Wendt, Spring 1992, p.395). However, human nature has strong connections to nature of war that “Thucydides, who believed that individual statesmen and regimes can effectively address the problem of anarchy to a considerable extent, but anarchy will nevertheless return repeatedly as long as human nature remains the same.” (Ahrens Dorf, Sept. 2000, p.579). As a result of human nature; anarchy will always exist, as Kant claims, unless a world state is established that Hobbes strives for. Wendt supports three sorts of anarchy approach as Hobbesian, Lockean and Kantian and claims that we can choose what we would. However, anarchy is not such preferable phenomenon by man and states.

Anarchy via wars among states builds man’s behavior because war has its exclusive structure. It is possible to see this in all the battles in the world. Studies on the causes and aims of the war are quite numerous and it is unlikely to mention Clausewitz here. But, I will maintain the focus of my human nature-based war work, apart from Clausewitz, who mentions the claim that war is a continuation of politics ‘on War’. Undoubtedly, by definition of war, there is to impose oneself or interests on the other side, and the sense of admission superiority is something that comes from human nature. And Constructivist Wendt interpretation claims that there is a problem of anarchy understanding by states. Therefore, Wendt supports if we can re-design environment with same identification and interest, we do not need to concern about wars and human nature because of anarchy. Everyone who is concerned about self-help as neorealist basic assumption is actually supporting this anarchy system in Wendt’s view. He supported that “Self-help is an institution, one of various structures of identity and interest that may exist under anarchy. Processes of identity-formation under anarchy are concerned first and foremost with preservation or “security” of the self.” (Spring 1992, p. 399). We see the constructive character of war in times of war. Thus, to make anarchy more open Hedley Bull’ view can be helpful.

States, then, are in a condition of war, not in the sense that they are always fighting, but in the sense that over a period of time they have a known disposition to fight. War in this sense is inherent in the condition of states that are not in awe of a common power; peace, in the sense of a time in which there is not a disposition to fight, is beyond their reach. (Bull, Winter 1981, 721).

In fact, anarchy is known for supporting continuous war situation, and also Wendt blames it in this way, but anarchy only expresses an environment that allows war and peace at same time. The decision-maker is again human and his nature. However, we cannot recognize anarchy as causation of war rather it is a result of human actions and nature. And human being is not in active position to design anarchy he rather in passive when war come to stage. The language of war is the language of winning, and every person or party does not hesitate to do whatever it takes to become a winning party. Because almost every war is survival and Hobbes made it clear. It is not possible to look at the situation differently for the two parties who have reached the war threshold. The real issue here is that states lose control of common sense if they go to war. That's one of the things that differentiate Thucydides and Hobbes. Hobbes finds that the only way to avoid such a situation is with an absolute authority. The Leviathan is his resolution in here but Thucydides in the event of the loss of common sense, he thinks there is nothing to replace it. Because the things that can stop the war are very limited and states that are in the way of reorganizing relations do not have the opportunity to re-establish anarchy as Wendt claims. Wendt says that "before interaction they would have no experience upon which to base such definitions of self and other." (Spring 1992, p.402). If so, each relational behavior would rebuild and re-establish anarchy, but anarchy does not change according to anyone's interests. It's always the same. However, states know that their new personal relations are different from anarchy. Because it was actually established without anyone seeing it open, and man and state do not try to establish it every time. What the states actually build is, as Hedley Bull says, the international community. Bull, one of the most important representatives of the English school, talks about the norms and characteristics that emerge with these relations in his interpretation of the relationality of states. Bull says that as long as they can influence each other's decisions over the relations of states, he can tell us that a system of states is, above all, anarchic. Bull explains it in *the Anarchical Society* and says that "a society of states (or international society) exists when a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions." (Bull, 1977, p. 13). I see this almost as the best explanation for the establishment of the human beings by war and then the construction of the state and the system. Then, human relations in the

international society cannot influence anarchy but vice versa. States' relations with each other take place on the lower front of anarchy, and human nature is based on materialist phenomena. "Rules and norms although they may be considered in abstraction, are also part of the material reality of war, the consideration of which requires attention to behavior that is a response to accepted rules." (Bull, 1977, p.179). This is not anarchy of human production, but it is evident that man is born and shaped within him, and this is done through war. One of the answers to the question of whether human beings have a very limited effect against war; in fact it could only contribute to the so-called international society. Nevertheless man can also live or survive those contributions –norms, rules- outside wartime, because during the war, he is immediately involved in the structure of the war.

Hobbes could not surrender to the words or rules of a man founded by the war caused by the anarchy, nor to a vague understanding of justice. Hobbes' trying is not present an aggressive policy or battle winning methodologies he rather purposeful of create a war stop mechanism. However, in an anarchic structure, states can only rely on their powers, not words. And he sensed that the answer was also human, so he had to set up a mechanism so that he could protect man despite his nature. "The two functions, moreover, cannot be separated: the sword of justice which the sovereign wields, as Hobbes puts it, is the same as the sword of defense." (Ibid. p.713). In both Thucydides and Hobbes, we sense a secret sense of justice, even in the greatest power battles. Therefore, both scholars have thought about defense mechanisms rather than offensive war. However, in human meanings we see in both, the sense of justice and justice becomes unreadable on the battlefields. Social customs shared and lived in the past can disappear in a moment, as in Thucydides. Hobbes also does not accept the existence of any natural law for the sake of self-preservation and prosperity. Here the war situation shows us this naked reality unlike normal conditions and continues to show us. From the moment of the war, the reason for attracting the sides into itself is because human nature allows it. Therefore, it is very difficult for us to make an accurate inference after ignoring anarchy in the analysis and predictions of international relations. What Hobbes talks about the state of nature has nominalistic conceptual assumptions. This is the way of his way of establishing theory of the state via man and his relations to others. This is his most distinctive distinction from Thucydides as methodology. "Thucydides uses consistently for empirical, often physical evidence or sense testimony which can allow humans

various degrees of proximity to the clear truth of human affairs, without any explicit reference to the divine.” (Homblower, London 1987, p. 103). Human is known from history in Thucydides but a man in the state of nature is not a historical rather analytical concept in Hobbes. And Hobbes openly says that that is ‘a logical abstraction,’ a ‘hypothetical construct’, and ‘methodological fiction’. Hence, we know at which level of speaking to us. The solution Hobbes attempted to bring to this Athenian thesis is reasoning.

Religion, which was shown as a source of justice, was also in Hobbes' evaluation. Religion is an instrument of state sovereignty in Hobbes and it should be like that or religion, the church can rival the state, which is a threat to security. Religion indifferently with morality is under state sovereignty and the state can save them as they wish. The church may have its own laws, but they are not comparable or superior to the laws of the state. Hobbes bases morality on the human concept. Moral truth or inaccuracy, rights or injustice is not in the natural state of people. These concepts are only applicable to individuals who live in the state. These statements are basic points to catch Hobbes up and understanding his developed theory for politics and human. “Therefore, the state of nature is “not a historical fact, but a necessary condition.”(Strauss, I. 1952, p.60). Moreover, the state of nature assures the equality of all man namely, there is no difference for each other till the sovereign state appears. There was no common power to fear means there is no authority to obey because the state of nature is men out of the community. In Hobbes, justice is merely man-made rules and morality appears when good or bad defined by reason based on egocentric individuals. However, Thucydides we have come across to justice issue in terms of human actions and decisions in three debates. First, the Mytilenaeon Debate between Cleon and Diodotus occurred in BC 427. Thucydides tells the story on the how was changed the decision on the future of the people who rebelled against Athens during Peloponnesian war. Cleon as Athenian side wanted to destroy all the Mytileneans because of rebellion to Athens but Diodotus have made the Athenians decision rethink by explaining some ethical things to do. Emphasizing the contradictions of a democracy that dominates an empire was the other issue. There is justice on human nature because killing man who is not rebellion but Mytilenian would not be just said Diodotus. And if Athens do that it would possibly break down to Athenian reputation among other *polis*. But Cleon supported that what is the necessity of justice if interests cannot be defended? We see this attitude of the

Athenians in the Platean and Melian dialogues also. Clearly, in both Thucydides and Hobbes morality is not apart from the reason however, their states of nature, justice and morality views are precisely different from each other. Thucydides regards the value, virtue and social customs of the society. He again agrees that man always destroy these for the sake of his self and single desires such envy, superiority or retaliation... The Melian dialogue is remarkable for Thucydides' belief in humanity to recognize the difference. In Thucydides, justice is in society and human before any expediency thus Thucydides' state of nature has some components rather Hobbes' has. Because Hobbes' justice comes into open with contract and in ancient Greece honour-based times would not appreciate to this. Another thing on Thucydides is that Hobbes's desire for gain is approved for himself, but Thucydides sees it as something that weakens to the social ties. What the real question that will allow us to see the difference between them is; what is worth dying for, if there is something like that. Thucydides says yes there some and they are coming from with human being, naturally. But Hobbes says precisely no, there is nothing important than survival. "When one is being attacked and has to think about the safety of one's own country, one cannot go in for calculations about what is prudent" (Thucydides, 1974, Finley edit. p.180). Melians and Plataeans choose to die for their freedom, autonomous life. Hobbes obviously against the question "Certainly freedom of speech, freedom religion, or any other kind of autonomy besides that of being free from bonds would not be worth risking one's life for." (Johnson, 1993, p.145). Thucydides supports that, as the Athenians say in the Melian dialogue, justice and honour is not just valid among equals. Thucydides' state of nature has some principles and degree of moral values such as honour, glory and courage. Man is slave of his passion but can concern about being justice in Thucydides. Hobbes' state of nature dealt with man's competition to the other who willing to same thus, the clash between the states and within the state will not stop from fighting if they do not have a strong sovereign. Hobbes use anarchy concept that there is no manager to lead the interstate relations. For that reason, states would remain always in alarm situation. State of nature among states maintains its explanation power. "Hobbes indicates that the seemingly inevitable cycle between war and peace, vanity and fear, can be overcome through an instruction that artificially gives people who are at peace the lessons they would "naturally" learn from the bitter and bloody experience of war." (Ahsendorf, Sept. 2000, p.582). According to Hobbes, war is a fact that should be learned. Here we see

the war as a condition of Thucydides' perpetual human nature, and Hobbes tries to solve it because it is unbearable.

5.3 Social Contract Theory

The origin of the commonwealth theories says it is by nature or artificial and Hobbes says nature of government is unnatural. The Social Contract pointed out a self-interested agreement among others for providing self-preservation. To sustain the social and political obligations to create the society in which they live. The social contract is rational covenant to avoid the state of nature that represents the constant conflict. Man in state of nature cannot sustain himself live in and counting danger always. It has to stop somewhere for Hobbes view. Man in state of nature try to seek his self-preservation and without a common power for everyone would agree, it is hard to settle. "Universal war must continue until some enforceable agreement may be found; thus the need for a sovereign." (Rogers and Ryan, 1988, p.127). From the effort of the man looking for peace, it is actually rational decision every man must take. Although the agreement is rational, there is a danger of turning it into a worse state if the agreement breaks down. We see it from Hobbes' moral philosophy has been established on the political philosophy and before any political entity, society is not the subject. The Social contract has a crucial position after Hobbes' state of nature because it would provide the covenanting between individual and the ruling. "...they could not be truly human until they had left behind them the state of war by subscribing to a covenant and submitting themselves to a Sovereign." (Ashcraft, R, Nov 1971, p. 1106). An absolute sovereign can order a peaceful society where people live in happiness. Hobbes disclaim of the theory of the 'Divine Right of Kings' because of causing political imperatives to be subject to religious imperatives. He abandoned this understanding; the authority of the king to have been given to him by God was actually to live in the authority of God. In politics that meant to sovereignty is divided for Hobbes. It also means power is divided. The second approach of Hobbes that he removed the democratic regime that was dealt with by the members of the Parliament and that power had to be divided between the Parliament and the King. Natural law says if everybody wants pursue satisfied wishes would seek to peace and at the same time keeps the right to war against those who do not want peace. This is for the sake of being ready to war in all time. For this

situation, individuals by mutually renouncing their natural rights that are from the state of nature must establish a society. The person who did it is not the strongest in that society. If there is someone in the there must be destroyed. Everyone must agree to live under the common law together. Then, society would be possible with the Social Contract to that go over the state of nature by creating artificially and conventionally superior cooperation. No matter how much the sovereign states rule badly the state manages their business and manages our own lives, this will not be worse than the state of nature. Because of it gives us meaning and fulfillment. Nothing that is immoral or unjust with absolute sovereign authority. And without contract there is no morally evil or good concept to define something rather they belong to physical world for like appetite or pleasure than just and unjust. In Hobbes, the good means 'the object of any man's appetite'. That is basically an individuals' self-interest to choose and for his own sake. Hobbes' natural man is such barbarian who lives without law and king and troops were such wild and vandal. And until we live in proper government by acceptance of all wills we remain in 'savage at hearts'. That view frankly related to Thucydides' perception of Athens society to their intrinsic connection to their values. Like living in a community and living for the community, that makes Athens best and the others rest as barbarians. Thucydides sees human nature just a state affairs people are social and ambition and envy and more. In Peloponnesian war, Thucydides showed how human nature breakdown the civilization which was living her 'golden age'. Athens who caused such defeat followed only their ambition and self-interests by power. With their plus power, no one could stop them on their way to their nature. Overconfidence towards Spartan peace offers by Athens was rejected. Athenian success leads her to be greedier. The Athenians brought here; they were defeated at firstly to themselves because of the things that were in their nature but did not choose to control. Hubris was basic honor and glory to seek. In the world of meaning described by Thucydides, dying for honor may be a good cause, but in Hobbes, this is the most fundamental problem to be avoided. But as long as it doesn't trap this superiority in Thucydides view.

Human nature and statesmanship were two cases in Thucydides' based to learn politics and warfare. Character as human nature reflected in personal and nationalistic can help to understand the actions and predict it for the future. That is done by modern political scientists to create an order that demonstrates the laws of

state behavior and their motivation. Thucydides' ahistorical human is more complex and sophisticated than Hobbes human understanding. Both Thucydides and Hobbes utilize the psychology to explain human motivations but Hobbes takes it more mechanical. Hobbes' men to be antisocial, have desires which, if all were fulfilled, that is impossible, would not bring peace. "Hobbes' depiction of men in the state of nature includes an element of human nature that is social; pride." (Johnson L. 1993, p.4). Hobbes' state of socialized men act according to pride and that motivation comes first even before rational fear. That fear is relational to understand the social contract in Hobbes. Thucydides agrees with the social contract that keeps people connected to society. But this social contract meaning is different than Hobbes usage. For Thucydides, society is results of people living together who share common values and also human beings are connected by bonds that are derived from many human relationships. This commonplace is similarly reflects togetherness and ascension and descent are together. Society is related with practical needs and without political authority but nations are political entities with state structures. However, we see that Thucydides used the concepts of society and nation in an ambiguous and close way. Although he admits that war reflects the dark side of man, it is an honor that keeps him tied to society again. Thucydides tells that, in times of peace and tranquility, that man's moral behavior is high but when the war breaks down daily routines, it is in frustration with the horrors of man. The important thing is that the gap between the wise man and the man who is driven from the passions through the war must not broaden. In ancient Greek society was core concept both conceptual meaning and as real fact. Agora the center of the city for all social interactions is evidence for this. The values of society were not dependent on time or place. Honor, wisdom and courage to fight for them were of course the leading values. The concept of family, which is the natural structure of society, is the foundation of both Hobbes and Thucydides. Again, the difference of Thucydides in understanding the nature of man could not concern him not being modern. While Thucydides drew the human and war profile of all possible times, Hobbes tried to place the person who was ahistorical in the mold. Hobbes missed the family ties that were established with birth, altruism and the justice that could overcome interests human. The social agreement in Hobbes tries to protect the individual's rights in society and is never much more. And this again indicates the existence of the individual outside the society by self-preservation. What would Thucydides say if he

heard the difference of things that were translated from him and built upon them? The social agreement came and grew with family ties and kinships in ancient Greece. Both in Athens and in Sparta, there was a sense of togetherness as long as it was possible to fight together and die for community values. There are social layers and leaders of society and their characteristics are at the forefront in Thucydides. Spartan people by the contract of akin relation act together and war together in the *polis*. Spartan was the more social level and constant material than Hobbes' individuals are. Hobbes has taken society granted upon the conflict and after the covenant, society would appear. In ancient Greece social covenant was based on honour that is all community members would seek to take a share from it. Community was over the individuals and state were over to community. Therefore, the greatest share of honor was the war for the state. This was the most powerful and invisible contract in which people belonged to the state of Sparta. For Thucydides people's personality traits, education etc. are different and no equality is sought. A man who guides and directs people is not the same as the man who paints the tile, and if a reality is to be sought, this is the most real natural situation. Being a community in addition to religious affiliations and kinship ties in Greece, the institution of marriage was also reflecting social state like other communities. A value belonging to society would also be shared by its members, that is, people would take into account the values of the society they went to, and otherwise would bring disrespect and exclusion. The sense of unity and solidarity was and is one of the most basic needs of man. It was also a natural tendency in all possible times of Thucydides referred. This is what Hobbes said it was not a though agreement that you could not leave once after accepting it. Namely that was not an obligation and coercive. Thucydides' human habitat is based on more ancestry, honour and social togetherness. Although war is a social phenomenon, there are battles and conflicts within human, and those who can see and manage them can only affect people. It is the man who created the war and the human being who transformed himself. People who can manage all these processes can stand out from the others. Thus, the leader was and is essential for societies. As Pericles for Athens was most admirable person ever but he was a strong character that could reflect his personal desires to society. The language he used to do this was his emphasis on the Athenian society. Pericles with a reference to the ties of unity and values that make society a society, he was almost able to rebuild the Athenians. Pericles who had the features of integrity and patriotism brought to them to

community. Thucydides is the acceptance of the will of the human and the change of human characteristics to the place and environment. The state leader, though the most powerful, has limitations. While Thucydides said he could overcome these limitations with his (human) character, Hobbes chose the way to completely eliminate these limitations. His leader/ mainly monarch must be far away from all kinds of restriction to govern the state. As long as it fulfills its basic duty of providing security, no one should be allowed to restrict or dominate the sovereign. However, Thucydides' understanding of leader role is more humanistic. The social contract to which both the leader and the society meet, but apart from that, the human being is born with altruism and empathy. If this were as Hobbes said, no one would go to fight for his society, and would not even put himself in danger to end a fire to someone whose house was burning. Thucydides' analyzing human nature is much more realistic than Hobbes also. For Hobbes, there is natural disorder given by God and need to give an order to break up that state of nature. Only social contract keep the individual in peace and self-preservation secured. And if the people obey the sovereign will reach the peace. And natural and covenantal obligations are issue in Hobbes view but basic understanding of obligation is; "for right is liberty, namely that liberty which the civil law leaves us: but civil law is an obligation; and takes from us the liberty which the law of nature gave us." (Hobbes, 1651, p. 462). Making a covenant means accepted to be obliged by that covenant in Hobbes. And a man make it with his prudent reason. Because human nature cannot change with new conditions of law and greedy, appetite, envy and fear are going to try to control man. Thus the covenant that every man has accepted will bind them. The new society as civilized structure sustain its existence this artificial obligation. Promise keeping was in state of nature related to the natural obligation. You could have given up because the word you gave was personal related claims and it only concerns and ties that person. However, covenantal obligation cannot be broken because it concerns everyone.

Here, what they both agree on, whether the name of the administration is a democracy or a monarchy, management is something that can be in a single structure. Thucydides here also made the distinction between *de facto* and *de jure* and pointed out the human factor rather than the regimens. Even though human nature is loaded with jealousy, vanity and pride, he also follows what he calls his leader in crises even though he is his opponent. War defines an extreme and non-

ordinary situation in human life and this has its own characteristics. It is perhaps the fastest factor that can bring people together side by side or against. In Hobbes, the war is the thing that makes the covenant, while the war is an action that breaks the deal in Thucydides.

Thanks to their social belonging in non-citizens who make up the majority of the society. In ancient Greece, social identity would appear by the scenes of religious rituals, festivals, trading in Agora. The meaning Pericles and Thucydides gave to being the Athenian, and even more than that, led them to see Athenian as a nation. The social layers that expand as core family, kinship, consanguinity, community and nation exceed Hobbes' fear-based reductionism. Thucydides' study of human nature and war is much richer than Hobbes, especially in terms of the emphasis on human versatility. The sense of self in Hobbes while trying to provide self-preservation, in Thucydides the self tries to manage political and moral conflict. According to Thucydides, some people and nations do it better than others. Athenians are the only society able to evaluate human beings in all aspects. "For the Thracian race, like all the most bloodthirsty barbarians, are always particularly bloodthirsty when everything is going their own way. (Thucydides, 1974, Finley edit. p.276). Thucydides claims that it is not normal that people who do not value anything and can run unconditionally to death. To fight for the sake of fearlessness is also not acceptable for Thucydides. Courage is to fight for what you find worth protecting. And this has never been a person's interest. Here we see that Thucydides sees virtue in society but Hobbes find it in a state. Individuality is something that disrupts unity claims Thucydides. He has the idea that community-based structures continue with the state and non-unified structures cannot give meaning to the state. "Thucydides drew a rigid distinction between Hellene and 'barbarian' and his whole work was a paean to the uniqueness of Greek achievements, even the destructive ones." (Bernal, 1987, p.102). "Thucydides, the 'critical historian' who rejected legends, was able to mention Helen, a purely national figure, but not civilizing foreigners like Danaos, Kadmos or the Egyptian Kekrops." (Ibid, p. 102). The character, which we use as the basic parameter that reflects human nature, was used in the national sense in Thucydides. Thus, human is as social and political process always in motion going up and down. As Paul Kennedy's saying in *The Rise and Fall of the great Powers* "As some areas of the world have risen, others have fallen behind—relatively or (sometimes) absolutely. None of this is surprising. Because of man's innate drive to

improve his condition, the world has never stood still.” (1987, p.531). Despite of Hobbes assumptions, man can experience the dominance of many emotions simultaneously and it changes throughout moment to period. The convention is based on man's promises and both thinkers try to make human actions consistent with their promises.

When Hobbes's assumptions are reflected in inter-state relations, the natural state is the most severe practice. War and peace have manifested themselves in everywhere. The law of nature was included in the literature as a wolf law then. Agreements are made on mutual earnings, in case of corruption, it is required transaction. And unless a sovereign authority govern the inter-state relations that means with later Kant's 'world government' no one can stop between Athens and Sparta's war. While the state is the only institution that provides internal security and management, there is nothing that provides such a security garage in foreign relations. For Hobbes it could be the best way by establishing security alliances. 'Leagues between commonwealth' but here again, if the alliances established such Delian and Lacedaemonians leagues are in conflict, the other parties can be dragged into war. This is a deadlock of man, as Thucydides said. And the solution that Hobbes was trying to find was that he was an omnipotent absolute ruler so that they would never happen again. In addition, Hobbes and Thucydides regard that human nature and motivations can deal with these concepts by his reason. This is actually an account / challenge of man's mind and emotions. But reason, in a position not to be the starting point of the issues in both thinkers. What is the most fundamental question in this study that leads people to take a war decision.

5.4 Human Motivations in Hobbes and Thucydides

“For many of the ancient Greeks and for all the European medieval philosophers, having desires was not something good, and was often considered intrinsically bad.” (Martinich, 2005, p.44). A desire for something pointed out incompleteness that lack of something that you have desired. Has man really had unlimited desires as claimed? Count? Hobbes studied the man in detail and depth and was able to choose his most basic motivations. Hobbes' man is structured with mind and body faculties and does not take decision against his self-preservation and pleasure. Man as

calculating actor has desires and motivations. There are few desires to create motivation for people and mind always seek to causes. Desires, although they lead to human beings, have potential to demand an unlimited amount of it. To serve the desires it doesn't always mean to satisfy the desire. Some are overflow when they have satisfied and power is one of them. Unlimited and restless power demand drives people to death say Hobbes in *Leviathan*. Having desires is equal to all man and that equality caused fear in a way because when two men desire same thing for acquisition that create diffidence. Merely that desire good enough to transform the peaceful situation to warfare. The desires of the human being cannot be taken under control easily. And, Hobbes express the desire of something with concept of 'appetite' and "alternate, in the question of good or bad is called deliberation; so the whole chain of opinions alternate, in the question of true, or false is called doubt" (1968, p. 120). What Hobbes found in human nature was not much different from Thucydides. Hobbes says the "strongest motivations of man are the competition that allows him to gain, diffidence for safety and reputation for glory." (1651, p.202). Hobbes built his system on the individuals who are egocentric and looking forward to satisfying their free demands. His naturally asocial men primarily hope to escape that constant war to feel more comfortable and satisfied. Hobbes' human being, in the state of nature, is always in a state of race due to similar wishes. Very beginning Hobbes defines man by his nature is not fit for society and social experience. And this is not possible to taste it without government. Hobbes brought his approach to explain causes of war in three components of inherent human nature; the first, one is competition that is based on the desire of gain, second one fear that required competition with someone else and third glory that is reputation every one's desire. That triple drives make man fight for and this is related to state of nature because Hobbes claims man born with some traits, it is like the birth of fear, a twin when he was born. The most basic motivation in man is self-interest he says but he can protect himself by running after it. The condition of constant fear and race in the state of nature creates unbearable circumstance that push people into a social contract are also these drives. Hobbes assets a radical individualism that human incentives and if these incentives -let's take self-interest- do not come to together, society does not come into existence. Thus, if we can mention about any society structure that means there is a contract there. This is also prevailing all types of administration has been introduced / founded on the consent of the government. However, the destructive

power of pride, Hobbes argues that the power to dominate the sovereign has to be increased because this is always something that is cycling. Pride, envy and hubris always cause a conflict and reason cannot always adjust it. Such as pride as basic feature of human being make changes on government. “Only absolute sovereignty can adequately control the natural urges of ambitious individuals” (Johnson, 1993, p.27).

Even if the social contract is established and declared sovereign, people continue to reflect them to the society in terms of their characteristics. That is why sovereign must be designed according to these facts in Hobbes. Openly these feelings wherefore in state of nature leads individuals to make a social contract and show their consent of a sovereign government. Because of in Hobbes, the government must be established with respect to human nature. Human nature is something that the same in everyone therefore Hobbes shows how actually individuals and their desires are incompatible within society. Because men are equally treated and considered and their desires and wishes as feeling. Same motivations cause clash in a same time.

Thucydides fear and honor are not incidental for defining the Peloponnesian War and Athens and Spartan motivation for their behavior. Hobbes in Chapter 13 of *Leviathan*: “in the nature of man, we find three principal causes of quarrel. . . The first, maketh men invade for gain; the second, for safety; and the third, for reputation. (1651, p. 202). Firstly, an examination of the effect of fear on individual behaviors and political associations shows similarities in both scholars. The dispassionate deliberation is studied modern historian and Thucydides seems very close to it as ancient showed some resemble makings in his analyzing the war. The basic one is “reason is the slave of the passions” via prioritizing emotions, desires and intuition. Thucydides explanation demonstrates how these emotions affect even sometimes dominate and manipulate political life. And fear is the most ruling one. As the translator of Thucydides, Hobbes shared that interpretation as well. Fear as a cardinal passion of Thucydides’ psychology was the truest causation of the war. “Thucydides’ most characteristic ‘lesson’ for political action: one possible reading of the History is that it tacitly advocates a prudent, rational fear” (Desmond, W., October 2006, p.360). In Thucydides, fear was the reason for the alliances and treaties among states. Such Delian league founded against the Persian and the Peloponnesian League was to Athens. War is ‘violent teacher’ “They both agree in viewing fear as motivated

mainly by uncertainty, resulting in anticipation, and affecting human judgment in either a beneficial or a detrimental way depending on the time-horizon: and assign to fear the role of cornerstone of the political order.” (Slomp, G. 1990, p.567). Uncertainty is related to behavior of others what keeps the fear constant and dominant passion of the world. This conceptualization has started with Thucydides and went on with Hobbes’ constant fear to chase the individuals and states. But in Thucydides immediate fear can also lead people to take a decision to kill someone in the present and future. That is such a difference between Hobbes and Thucydides. Thus, Hobbes uses that constant and future fear as providing the necessity of eschews state of nature. While uncertainty about the intention of others which feeds fear, the outcome of the fear is the anticipation in Thucydides.

The second feature of human motivation is explained by Hobbes as honor both ‘natural and political states’. Honor is meant that where someone's achievements and power perceived by others. This is used as an extension of the search for human nature's fame in the meaning of glory. Hobbes define honor as; “riches are honorable; as signs of the power that acquired them gifts, costs, and magnificence of houses, apparel, and the like, are honorable, as signs of riches. And nobility is honorable by reflection, as signs of power in the ancestors.” (Hobbes, 1640, p.21). Honour actually come from being not same and equal of mass. The possibility of everyone dying is the same, but the possibility of being honored is different. Honor is a feature of life, no connection to death in Hobbes. “And authority, because a sign of strength, wisdom, favour or riches by which it is attained. And good fortune or casual prosperity is honorable, because a sign of the favour of God.” (Ibid.). Honour from the ‘superior to the inferior’. Superiority as a desire is run after by individuals or groups to acquire political power over others. In this sense, Hobbes is separated from Thucydides because honor is a feature that is produced by society and exists within the society. That is very crucial in Thucydides and ancient Greece social life. In Athens and Sparta, people fought and died for their community in Peloponnesian war and also before the Persian war. Glory was the exact destination for all of the community member’s desire. In Sparta, the determination of the fate of the newborn is in the hands of the state and is an example of a situation that is experienced by this social contract. People belong to the state and its decisions. In Homer and Herodotus mention, value and glory attributed to society in their works are much more important than personal interest. Honor precisely belongs to society and it is reached

by the presentation of society. Thucydides and Hobbes agree on that superiority as desire is picked as the strongest motivation, unrestricted ambition is the most dangerous thing for the society and civilizations and, the drive to pursue excellence supports the society. In both, people have a humming ambition to rule the life of others. “Both authors recognize the 'epidemic' nature of the desire for power” (Slomp G., Winter 1990, p. 576). and individuals always invest in ambition and power to survive in this power race. Thucydides saw this in Athens throughout his lifelong. Lacedaemonians have shown such interference to their neighbors for the sake of that desire to the ruling. Spartan invasion more focused gain some material needs to maintain state income in Thucydides draw. Until, Corinthians put them in a position to preserve their survival and take a side. In Hobbes, there are such people like Spartan as moderate by inclination however character of glory-seeking behavior concern of self-protection. This is precisely in Hobbes, the pursuit of power the image of the fact that they want to ensure their well-being. This ‘will to content’ lead them to struggle for power. Without the acquisition of more, there is no well life. “Thucydides has always been considered the most austere scientific of the ancient historians; in his introduction to the translation, the empirical Hobbes specifically commends Thucydides' method in gathering and sifting evidence from eye-witness accounts. Both writers exhibit a hard-headed skepticism.” (Sower, 1998, p.153). But both of them aware of the feelings have a social side or at least social reflection. Such as; pride, glory and honor and most of the influential feelings on human being. “Competition of riches, honour, command, or other power, inclined to contention, enmity, and war: because the way of one competitor, to the attaining of his desire, is to kill, subdue, supplant, or repel the other.” (Hobbes, 1651, p.160). But both Thucydides and Hobbes were aware of the concept of vain-glory because the results were clear. Will man be able to give up one day of running after honor? Probably not, I found it was not a coincidental choice to use it as a basic explanatory motivation by them, and we're still talking about it today. Human motivations were always topic of the human studies from many scholars like Thucydides, Hume, Abraham Maslow and 21st century psychologists. An attempt to make a sense of what is happening is a reflex. This is likely to happen because of the anxiety of protecting one's self and mind. What Hobbes has caught here is to protect and preserve the existence of the human being.

5.5 Power in Hobbes and Thucydides

Hobbes's translation of Thucydides has revealed that power of rhetoric has a remarkably important place and power is necessary and dangerous for the proper work of the state. In Hobbes, power is studied in textual and supply meaning to externalize that power might be persuaded political 'right or ill'. While exploring such power, Hobbes was careful to determine the lines of the power privately or commonly. Because broader of the interest and fear of human is the case of the state of nature to understand the effects of power depending on the occasion. "Thucydides' historical monument puts the power to move human minds to apparently proper use, effecting substantive change through personal restraint." (Butler, T. 2006 Jul, p.482). Power was an exclusively core topic in Thucydides as how it is gained and lost. Especially, armies and armadas were most significance to follow in his eyes. Thucydides, specifying the sides of the war and differences between common places mentioned in *the History of the Peloponnesian War*, as their regimes, social structure as Athens open- Spartan close societies, economical differences. But the case was the competition of two great powers. "...between Athens and Sparta was that they were both major or first-rate powers; the really important difference between them was over their prevailing attitudes toward power" Sparta and its alliances were against the Athens and their analyzing were on Athens rising and the view and policy they bring is not to waiting Athens' 'twice its original size'.

And Hobbes sees that power on "sovereignty with naked power" thus this amorality of power supports the 'man of pride'. Hobbes' statement on the "perpetual and restless desire of power after power" was the supremacy of sovereignty over people. Power as a means to acquire more in Hobbes shows instrumentally of power and that is very similar to Thucydides' understanding. But this capacity produces problem in the state of nature so it has to transform into a sovereign. Hobbes's concept of power is based on the concept of cause. In Aristotelian physics cause and effects reflected power and act in Hobbes conceptualizing. Power as instrumental or original mean is used to influence others decisions and control their behaviors. The general framework of Hobbes; the fight between two people wanting the same thing at the same time was lead them to result in one's control or destruction. This turned into a survival reflex at all costs. The individual has understood the importance of power in

the face of events that lead to a duel that is directed by desires. This is very similar in Melian's dialogue when the Melos people see the preparation of the Athenians to war. Thus, there is no need to speak more said Melians; intention was clear like the Athenian power also. The desire of self-preservation required to be powerful at least relatively more than others and this lead the system competitive world. The stress of the rise of Athens' among other city-states and Spartan passivity leads the transition of power. The fear that the growth of Athens power inspired has made the Spartan power calculation. And the Athenians compelled going into war. Thucydides specifies that conflicts between states, Corcyra and Corinth were medium size. They managed to drag the great powers into war. This enabled Hobbes to understand the relativity of power and its relevance in his theory.

Thucydides accents the circulation of power throughout the managing Athenian political system. Pericles' power on the people and the severity of the competition among Pericles' successors was the example of the inability to manage power in Thucydides. The characteristics of the leaders for Thucydides are supplementary explanations of the negative consequences after the death of Pericles. Thus, the character of the leader is accepted power also by him. That has a reflection in Hobbes to his political structure issue because Hobbes's distrust of democracy was influenced him by Thucydides. And the best regime was monarchy in Hobbes that no distribution of power with any of assembly or aristocrats. For political power, Hobbes said that it arose and derives from the acquisition.

The other things as human motivation are interest that whatever is to one's advantage from others. Hobbes called it profit. Self-interest is taken in both scholars as the instrumental value of wealth when it's compared to honor and fear. But again interest as motivation for the challenge has a precise effect on people. Gain, wealth as riches are objectives that indicate domination and superiority of who established political order. In Thucydides, "natural law" that human beings are under the conditions of it "rule where they can". Self-interest as profit is compatible with Hobbes' individuality as instrumental wealth to promote desires. The interest of an individual is to abandon the horrible condition of the state of nature, to renounce it with his liberty, and to repay it. This is a prudential choice of the man which brings him to civil society and welfare. In Thucydides, Pericles counts the wealth as power as

saying Lacedaemonians weakness come from their poverty. Wealth is the war of honor that is given to protect it after possesses it. Pericles was commanding the power of the city that everything was subsidiary in case of the power of the city. In the book of Peloponnesian war settled covetousness and ambition was the main problematic features of the Athens action and desires are promulgated the around. As Hobbes definition of the state of nature human was in danger and if the only trust to a political state could stop that fear and honor and profit search motivation. Clear that Thucydides was not as optimistic as Hobbes because Thucydides human history has not shown or clued such salvation trace or circumstantial evidence. It is necessary to know that the purpose of writing in both scholar is different because we do not see a solution-oriented approach to war as in Hobbes in Thucydides. Even if both writers start with a civil war experience and motivation. Behemoth as civil wars in England 1640-1660 was complicated problem for English body politics that has strong connections to Leviathan's occurrence for Hobbes. Hobbes, in his book dealing with the internal chaos that led England to a stalemate, had in fact put forward many concepts that would be the source of the Leviathan. Hobbes, who, like Thucydides, was able to observe the war closely, followed his teacher in this sense. Thucydides' history writing was also about Peloponnesian war as civil war among Greek city-states. The meaningful unity (emotion and motivation) given to foreign states in wars lost all meaning inside. The struggle of the same person against the same person (nationality in Thucydides means) points to the self and motivations.

Freedom in nature it is very dangerous for Hobbes' approach because it causes fear and destruction. It should have been forsaken for the advantage of life in a peaceful society. Hobbes made distinctions about short and long term goals in human life discussion. And apart from the men motivations, autonomy is a necessary condition to political participation. It might be hard to see how analyzing the traits of the past would be advantageous to predict future luck traits. Human nature is bleak in both. Hobbes and Thucydides' arguments about true and false are irrelevant. Because, if human beings are not strong enough in Hobbes, they can never feel safe, and so the search for power continues. Even though the search for power will never be the last, man will continue to do so because of this fear. Saving power has now turned into security accumulation. But this will never be absolute for an ordinary person. Being relatively stronger than others will make others more uneasy. As this means more enemies for the stronger, it will want to see it when it becomes unbearable, which

means time is warfare. Now, the strong one will either turn to establish a new/ his order or disappear. Athens before the Peloponnesian war discussed with Lacedaemonians and gave them to their view on power relativity effects as:

We have done nothing extraordinary, nothing contrary to human nature in accepting an empire when it was offered to us and then in refusing to give it up. Three very powerful motives prevent us from doing so – security, honour, and self-interest. And we were not the first to act in this way. Far from it. It has always been a rule that the weak should be subject to the strong; and besides, we consider that we are worthy of our power. Up till the present moment you, too, used to think that we were; but now, after calculating your own interest, you are beginning to talk in terms of right and wrong. (Thucydides, 1974, Finley edit. p. 48)

Thucydides claims that human nature where man is empowered, a congenital government enters a tendency. This is something that power brings with it. What Hobbes said is that it is the force that establishes justice. Thucydides' approach to this, of course, is in its own interest, the justice that the powerful are trying to establish. But there is a fairness in nature, including the strong, that he should follow, because his balance is infallible. Actually, this sense of justice is inside of man but some challenging times and sense of gain might block that sound. Like Athens in Melian dialogue discussion. The pressure of war in Thucydides makes man more brutal but Hobbes has the logic to stop the war if there is enough power. Thucydides' people may be more brave and fearless when faced with death. However, Hobbes' man becomes more rationalized to make a covenant to stop it. Namely, he chooses to stop the power with another force. Thucydides' man was trying to overcome his fear, even with a terrible death. People in the face of power tend to bow down. But this is something that changes according to the situation. The relationship between powers can be relative or absolute, and this determines possible scenarios for the future. According to Thucydides, the nature of man will continue to function as an unswerving clock and will be his framework of interest, fear and honor. Precisely, I share that "Hobbes's hope that the Leviathan might constitute the definitive solution to the problem of anarchy is less reasonable than Thucydides' belief that this problem can never be solved." (Ahsendorf, Sept. 2000, p .591) And can people and states avoid them? What could the thousands of years have taught us? A scholar took it into

consideration and studied how they got used to the nature of power as Athens and Sparta of the 21st century.

5.6 Thucydides Trap in Evaluation

What does Thucydides who over centuries says in the 21st century? I have not asked the question as does anything Thucydides say for 21st century. Without any doubt, answer is yes, he says something to us. His study on war is still our current topic and contemporary political issue. As long as the human being continues to exist as the warring element, the war is a fact. Thucydides with his masterpiece showed us its basic causations as the naturalness of being human. And he has done this work by what happened during his time and what could happen in all possible periods. In the fifth century, Thucydides went beyond the work of his predecessors and put forward a method between science and art. The new concept was the 'History' from that time. Love of truth as main intention to Thucydides' writings. His writing on the History of Peloponnesian War is today reading book in political and military departments of Schools. In war studies cannot be presented without reference to him. The war in between Athens and Sparta was 'great' and influenced us throughout history both chronologically and politically. Because of Thucydides said by "the growth of the power of Athens, and the alarm which this inspired in Lacedaemon made war inevitable". When we apply to this in the present 21st century events, it helps us to be up and sense. Thus, Thucydides as the clue continues to be and catch us up.

Graham Allison introduced his last study and claims in his book of 'Destined for War' about rereading Thucydides study. And he represent it as 'Thucydides Trap' that is as his definition; "Thucydides Trap is the dangerous dynamic that occurs when a rising power threatens to displace a ruling power, like Athens, or Germany 100 years ago or China for today and their impact on Sparta, or Great Britain 100 years ago, or the US for today." (Graham Allison, 30.10.2018, Ted^x Talks,). The theory that moves through the relativity of two great powers and their responses to that mobility and change. In 20th century, after collapse of Soviet Union, US declared his unipolar international system like Athens Empire after Persian wars. But today in 2019 after 27 years later of ending Cold war period there is a developing China that no one can deny or ignore. China's economy, technology, military, such as many

areas made significant progress as brute facts are very hard to ignore. Who will control the technology is their question hereafter. Because of China act in many major areas 'too fast'. The execution of China is a 'purpose-driven leader and a government' that Chinese President Xi Jinping is very clear about the targets for specific dates: 2025, 2035, 2049. They build their national strategies on this speed and innovation. Former Czech president, Vaclav Havel said, "All this has happened so fast, we haven't yet had time to be astonished." In fact, this explanation is also used in the First World War.

The study was conducted on the effect of changing state forces on the state on war. "Harvard's "Thucydides's Trap Case File" has reviewed the last 500 years of history and found 16 cases in which a rising power threatened to displace a ruling power. Twelve of these ended in war. And the tragedy of this is that in very few of these did either of the protagonists want a war; few of these wars were initiated by either the rising power or the ruling power."(Ibid.). China's rapid growth creates a space to US in a state of competition and cooperates on challenges. Then what will be between these two super powers for next? Will states control their fear let's say emotions or/and manage alliances they have established, or will they become victims of the allies like the Peloponnesian war? Will they manage this risk or how will they follow a path? Are we going to watch with dreadful eyes how history inevitably drives us to war? Allison said on that "The good news is that leaders are increasingly aware of this Thucydidean dynamic and the dangers that it poses. The bad news is that nobody has a feasible plan for escaping history as usual." (Ibid.). The risk of a 'Cold War-type strategic competition' between the US and China might be unwillingly sweep before one. Because both have nuclear power and their economical relation is mutual and binding than before. And Allison sees these as positive side of conscious. However, power even being relatively different than others leads to act differently. In situations where things change, both people and states develop a reaction. As Spartan fear to Athenian grow. This can be instant response or observing the action for a certain time. Thus, Allison gives a huge importance to China and US perception toward each other.

If Chinese leaders became convinced that the United States is seeking to constrain China's rise, they may conclude that a cooperative relationship with the US is impossible. Today Beijing believes that the US seeks to cooperate with China, even as

it hedges against the potential risks that China's emergence may pose to American interests. If the Chinese judged that cooperation was no longer possible and that the US was seeking to contain China, it would likely revise its foreign policy. (Glaser Bonnie S. 2014, p.78).

How they interpret these developments to the parties and other countries in the world seems to shape the future. Globalization's effects, nuclear weapons are element of today's life and we still don't know how much it will affect the future. Nevertheless, Graham Allison said his option in order to avoid this Thucydides trap for potential up coming. He proposes some options to be able to avoid from the trap. These are; "War between nuclear superpowers is MADness. Leaders must be prepared to risk a war they cannot win. Define the new "precarious rules of the status quo." Domestic performance is decisive. Hope is not a strategy."(Allison, Graham, JUNE 9, 2017, p.6). Professor Allison sees war as a disease and portraying her with a prescription giving. Again, it is obvious that each option has a certain past, Mr. Allison resemble the issues as Cold war experienced. His basic assumption and claim is war is not inevitable. Allison is only warning about it and suggests making diplomacy because war is not a destiny. And to be able to achieve that both US and China must learn from the past. The aggressive attitude will always make the work of states more difficult. Thus, this view and manners reading become extra important. Like, China explains her growing to people as 'peaceful rise', over hundred states could get it as normal maybe as good news. But US response to it probably will different than others. Regional power issue is core itself because China is surrounded with powerful and influential states also. Will China going to settle with each of them one by one, or will it be enough to overthrow the leader? Of course she would like to choose the cheap one but inevitably going to choose. Because and again being powerful required to it. Who do not understand the nature of power, like Allison make recommendations to stop or avoid the war. The feeling, when it has a 'power' desired by everyone, is different from that when it is not. When you have this opportunity, it is a new field which is the return of the changing environment and relations. So, when you have something that is so obvious, you can't pretend you don't have it. Even if such a thing is a strategy, it is regarded as a fear by others. Like the Athenians, China will not do that and we should be able to see it. A state like China that places itself at the center of the world, even defines it by its name' zhuong

gou' means country in the center. "China's goal is now to displace the American barbarians and correct historic humiliations imposed by those who dethroned China from its rightful position at the center of the world." (Judith Shapiro, 15.06.2017). The equipment of power might change like new technology brings new way of battle and we may not mention about sea and land power as deterministic way. However, war remained its place to mankind with its devices.

Although the proposed options may save the situation, the Thucydides' approach to understanding power remains true. Even if all of these solutions are achieved, will the power match the human nature? The collapses of the rise of the great powers have not yet brought a sharp change in her perception of human nature. The self-perception and identification of people and the state can be oriented by honor, passion or glory. However, this emotions only become visible by interaction each other with the material way. And that way is again expression of human nature that never showed any change from Thucydides' world to today. Allison 'solutions' for avoiding war and was as a preventable and bearable does not overlaps with human nature. But, Allison insist on that Santayana's reminding that "only those who refuse to study history are condemned to repeat it". The idea is that the experience will prevent the error. The trap seems to in remain here. Because experience cannot prevent do mistakes, but rather recognize the mistake only. Like, once we drink milk and burned, then we do not do drink any more milk. Just remember that burned but we don't give up that taste and satisfaction because that burned. Thus, glory and honor are such taste that human being never gives it up. Whatever it takes, try to and will try to achieve it. It is like a curiosity, progress or love always there has been. Who is going to be leader, who will manage or whose law will go ahead? These are the question of human mind and this not constant. Change will be always in road of progress but human nature remains same. I truly share the idea of if Thucydides and Aristotle came out of their graves; we could only talk about technological changes. Sure that we accompany them in their moral and political matters, where they stayed. Man as -no limits being- has to face some of his emotions such arrogance, hubris and power. He has to define the relationship with power. The nature, effect and results of power may change, but the human response to power does not change. Thucydides attempt was to show that fundamental nature of war's depths. And how men cannot stop himself to acquire, grip, and practicing the power. This example of war is a

stimulating lesson for today's world. "Initial successes gained Athens great power, but they also intensified great power rivalries and created the hubris that ultimately led to its desolation. Thucydides and modern historians alike would probably suggest Athens' fate was a result of its failure to understand the continuities of war that should have guided and constrained, rather than emboldened their actions" (Walling, 2013 Autumn, p.79). This 'Athenian thesis' of Thucydides that understands human reason in between honour and fear. These feelings drive all human beings and reappears in the history again and again. China as rising power is accumulating the power and US as leader of current status quo are watching each other. The context is special to its time but it cannot destroy the fear as feeling and its impact on human life. The fear that is created by change is importantly effective to human decision making process. When we avoid that feeling of fear, we may change our perceiving.

6. CONCLUSION

Thucydides showed us why we took him as a reference point today with the work he put forward. In this study, I examined the features that differentiate it from other history narrators. I worked on the basis of his work, which distinguished him from the stories of the plain heroic tales and placed it in a political picture. In his work, he told about the Peloponnesian war, the two city-states of the Athenians and the Spartans about the history and processes of the war. The cause of the war was the rise of Athens that scared the Sparta. This war, which lasted for 27 years, began after the parties defeated the Persians, a common external enemy. While Sparta is more introverted as a society, the Athenians were more flexible with the familiarity of the sea culture. As the geographical location determines the preferences, the differences in socio-economic structures were examined. With the influence of their past, Sparta had a distinct land force and represent invincible space. Although Sparta was governed by the oligarchy, which established a unique order with its state-run military training structure, it was more of a mixed regime. And since the beginning of the war, she maintained a defensive policy. Athens, which had many varieties against Sparta, had the showed of a rising power portray. Directed by direct democracy, Athens gave importance to art, philosophy and mathematical sciences and was an exclusive power among many city-states. Athens showed that this rise was troubling other states, but the forces that could be equivalent would be a party to this. This example of war is telling us that the war is against the equivalent forces, by Thucydides. Regardless of the forms of government governance, economic infrastructure or social-military base, the main cause of the war was/is the power race between them and what they reveal. It may not always be so easy to see the truth. Because there are too many variables in sight and these oppositions are shown to be the cause of war, as if they are curious. While the fear of our emotions, which are the cause of war, manifests itself before the war, it is obvious that wartime constitutes its own language and this is related to the sense of honor in human beings. The fact that the war broke out as a result of human and state relations brings our focus to the forces before understanding it. Human desires, appetite and power has core effects and position in warfare. As long as human emotions and nature do not change, the

cause of war will continue to be fed by fear. And the statement of Thucydides, who voiced this for the first time, remains valid.

Another thing that I reviewed was the attitude of Athens during the war. Thucydides' approach to explaining Athenian conduct to the Sparta and her alliance while invading them. Athens' past accumulation and development has pushed her to dominate others. This war has now been the struggle of the Athenians on the road to becoming hegemony within the Greek state, with a sense of superiority. And Melos island invasion demonstrate how Athens' hubris made them go thought it without any control. However, the desire to become a hegemon, seen as a way of avoiding this war situation caused by fear, is actually saluting a bottomless well filled with wars. Instead of trying to be hegemon to maintain the survival of the state, it is more sustainable to implement balance of power policies. He found that hegemonic efforts in Thucydides would endanger the security of other states and would make the human / state too powerful. Waltz 's balance of powers is a policy that states should take into account instead of the expansionist policy of the Athenians using Gramsci' s concept of cultural hegemony. State leaders have to take care of the interests of their people and the opposite is very few. But if they do it with common sense and prudence, this interest would be protected. Any extra emphasis is made both by the individual and by a state throws them into the sensitive lap of emotions. States should see the cost of investing in power, hegemony, and foresee the potentials of other giants; the change in the balance of powers will begin to climb like today's US-China a happened Athens and Sparta. This is best explained by the hegemonic theory of war, because the relationship between the forces, as Lebow says, is not over psychological, but rather over material forces. Even the Pericles, the leader of the Athenian expansionist policy, found it difficult to direct because Athens, growing economically, academically and politically, grew a little too much to control. Pericles, by emphasizing the greatness of the Athenians, in fact, led them to pursue pride and fame. This had a negative effect on Aristotle and Plato's work on political and ethical life. Both philosophers said that if one lives a life based solely on his reason, he will be able to catch happiness. That is why Athens was an example that should be taken some lessons for them. Thucydides and Aristotle had a tolerant view of human emotions, and there was no Plato. In his model of state, Plato drew a much more solid portrait of human. Thucydides focused on that the events were 'how thing are, and Plato worked on 'how it should be'. This study asserted that this also affected

their interpretation of life and politics by examining nature of war and its correlation to human nature. So when I asked where is the real place of Thucydides inside the realist paradigm? We can benefit from Thucydides only when we see that he understands wars through human nature and relationships. As Doyle argues, although minimalist / classical realism seems appropriate due to its emphasis on human nature, Thucydides also attaches importance to the distribution of power in the system. Thucydides, which I understood during the Peloponnesian war, paid great attention to the balances of power to be observed, and the balance policies in his transfers kept him close to structural realism. Finally, I study on Hobbes' state of war assumption that related to human nature and anarchy concept. I researched how Hobbes opened a door for us to understand humanity and war, and how we passed through all of us. This, however, was the state with the wills and keeping it safe. The fact that war was a factor that allowed both destruction and construction was carefully examined. I see anarchy, which I understand as a non-obstacle structure, rather than allowing war, against Wendt's interpretation. Because anarchy is not an institution of what people do and on the contrary, relations form only international norms or general rules, and they are only material realities. Hedley Bull of the English school explains this with his concept of the state system, and this is the relationship formed in the shadow of war. The fact that the experiences of the war are human-shaping experiences sheds light on those who want to understand both the human and the state. Since the relations formed under the shadow of anarchy are again the product of war, we can see these traces both in Thucydides and in Hobbes' Leviathan. Thus, historiography based on both material and feeling concerns, taking Thucydides as the cause of war, helps us even today. So I consider that Leviathan is not as artificial as Hobbes claims, but as natural as an institution as a human being. The state leader Machiavelli tried to create with metaphors virtue and fortuna is much more artificial than Hobbes' Leviathan because the foundation on which it is based cannot be naturalized as human. Lastly, It is a mistake to see Thucydides' claim as a trap that can be avoidable in understanding war. Rising forces evoke change and this happens either with consent or coercive, and war is the part of coercive. There is much to learn from Thucydides with in his word: war, is a "violent teacher." Thus, such Melian 'empty hopes' cannot be auxiliary. Thus idealism cannot survive in real and tough political agenda of states. Again, as we said before, if Thucydides came out of his grave today, the only thing he would see as innovation would be in the field of technology.

Human nature, his motivations, power relations. Man is still the same person we talked to about 2000 years ago. The future is not very unpredictable in case of war and human nature. The things that change are many, and they cannot be deniable, but they are all changes that are outside of human. I have doubt that are we closer to understanding human nature from time that book has written. Can we talk about an undiscovered emotions and feelings that Thucydides pointed?

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