# BABES-BOLYAI UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY PHILOSOPHY FIELD

## THE MORAL OF POWER IN THE GREEK PHILOSOPHERS' VISION

### PhD Thesis

(Summary)

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The paper entitled *The moral of power in the Greek philosophers' vision* proposed a research attention to issues of morality and the Greek polis and ethical-political conceptions of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, ending with the perenniality of the ancient inheritance in ethical-political thinking. We oriented to ancient philosophy so far from our times to perceive things in their evolution to capture them in their genesis.

This paper is an ethical-political synthesis designed rigorously and based on basic research of the works of Greek philosophers and of the most important studies about these thinkers. It includes a number of related information in a relevant and persuasive structure. Research has highlighted the variety of ancient citadel constitutions, of ancient citadel institutions, the perfect state-citadel governments.

In Europe the main ideas about the society and political aspect arose in ancient Greece. Greek thinkers guided the meaning of philosophical meditation towards the man and his problems as *zoon politikon* as the city dweller. Greek philosophers were inspired by the aspiration to change the world through the power of ideas.

Philosophical discourse must be understood in terms of the relationship between politics and morality which is an important aspect of the very basic problem of philosophy. The general picture that we want to detach from this paper is one full of optimism. This vision we can justify through the words of Aristotle: "If in our power stay to do or not to do good and bad- ... then follows logically that lies in our power to be moral or immoral." Therefore it is the duty of responsible people, of the nations united by virtue of common moral values (freedom, justice, truth) to require politics a rational way to serve humanity and its ideals. Philosophy is meant to contribute according to its ability, vocation and means.

The paper is structured in five chapters. Chapter I, entitled *The moral and polis to Greeks* contains subsections (1) *The subordination of morals to politics*, (2) *The supreme purpose of politics* and (3) *The significance of moral values*.

We considered necessary familiarity with concepts like morality, politics, politician, polis, the good of citadel, moral values (the good, justice, liberty, responsibility, temperance) to the ancient Greeks.

The chapter deals with politics at the ancient Greeks, the only alternative to the lifestyle of the philosophers being politics while politics is subordinated to philosophy. Politics was still at its beginnings, a controversial area, dominated by tension between opinion and fact. We started from the idea that a large part of Greek philosophers agreed that politics is the supreme goal of morality. Meditations on human nature, concentrated in expression *zoon politikon*, can suggest the idea that man as a moral being is inclined to pursue community interests. Man being by nature a social being, a unity between politics and morality is born. Being a human being , man builds his "rational animal" nature by sharing a virtuous and happy life. Despite the fact that human nature is a moral one, however, some weaknesses are hidden in this perfection. Therefore, government intervention is needed to shape human behavior by enacting laws that strictly respected

leads the individual on the path of righteousness and morality in this way facilitates the path to accession to the greater good.

We emphasized that the politics actions must be directed towards educating citizens in the spirit of moral values, so that people know to appreciate honesty and fairness, thus being able of noble actions. Those who draw attention for the first time to the problem of morality in politics are the Greek philosophers. The Greek thinkers Plato and Aristotle saw man as a *zoon politikon*, which requires moral default.

We could see that the real politician is the man capable of noble sentiments, whose actions are virtuous, and in respect of which harbors a deep sense of pride. The politician needs to know that the good does not come naturally, but is up to the human being to choose between a moral and an immoral life. To be directed to choose a straight path it is necessary the modeling of the character, which is possible only through good education.

Some appreciation on the term *citadel* as referred to in the paper are required. Regarding the reasons for which a a citadel is born, Plato asserts that "a citadel is born ... because each of us is not autonomous, but lacks many ... Thus, each accepts a second, taking in consideration to the third and in need of a fourth, and shaking the many in one place to be partakers and help each other to make us give abode, the common name of citadel "(*Republic*).

Aristotle gives a special connotation of this term which will define the human society politically constituted in a polis. Greek philosopher is the one whose fate is closely related to the ancient Greek polis world. Polis had the great importance in social and political life of ancient Greece, seen as "the citadel's most comprehensive and highest form of society, because his goal is for comprehensive that targeting any society" the greater good and (Leo Strauss ). Regarding the significance of moral values, in the ideal state imagined by Plato were alive all the virtues. The ones indicated and named by him are four cardinal virtues: wisdom, courage, temperance and justice.

Aristotle doesn't provides a cataloguing of the moral virtues. In his view, moral and virtuous man has the ability to perceive moral virtues, to know them, without seeking to intuit this from a higher principle. I considered necessary to present the most important moral virtues: the good, justice, freedom, responsibility, temperance. The good moral was assessed in ancient thinking as the greater good.

In Plato's view access to a moral life depends on finding a supreme good, the universal which once known leads to purification of the soul.

In contrast, Aristotle accuses this perception of utopianism and identifies the good relying on individuals who act depending on the circumstances, of the conduct. Good that you have to follow is not a good saw as generally, but a good of the human being. In conclusion, there isn't exist a supreme good, as Aristotle believes that happiness is the purpose of desires. At Aristotle we notice a note of optimism and a new vision of political problems, which he defines as a real science with moral purpose, guiding government. In his opinion so as every kind of human action corresponds to a particular good, so the government activity will pursue to a certain good, but "human welfare through excellence". which will not have a higher purpose, but Above all human goals must prevail the common Good which needs to be followed by politics and on which to reflect philosophy. According to Socrates, the supreme good lies in a continuous search to a permanent existential research. Think well-he says-and you'll discover that doing what you must to do

*is the best for you-, and if others do wrong, do it because they haven't thought very good.* Both Socrates and Plato believes that man is endowed by nature with a desire to do well.

To the question "What is justice?" Plato gave the answer "to do what is yours and don't do more". In the *Republic* Plato attempts to demonstrate the important role that politics would have if it were governed by the principle of justice having at the helm on a wise leader who to follow the idea of Good. This ruler is a philosopher-king with the purpose of saving the ordinances politics. According to Socrates and Plato, out of political mess is only possible through the appearance of the king-philosopher.

We showed that at Greeks what was absent was the quality of individual and not that of freedom of the individual. In Aristotle's view, freedom was not enjoyed by all citizens and this is because not everyone could have this goal. A large part of the population did not have citizenship. Among them were women and slaves. Aristotle believed that some men are slaves by nature and therefore can be enslaved. Besides the fact that they were deprived of their freedom, slaves had no rights. Plato insists on a formula that expresses the whole essence of the State: it must reunit freedom, wisdom and understanding.

By the law of the Greek citadel is establishing the idea of justice, and to obey to the law means to guide your own nature and to avoid any kind of external constraint. Citadel is build according to human needs and its limitations. Appear the necessity of cooperation, entry into social relations, creating a "community". This cooperation is based on an essential principle of the ideal citadel: the principle of specialization (*oikeiopragia*): each person must meet in the citadel one function according to its ability.

The extensive part of the paper is the Chapters II, III, IV which examines ethical and political conceptions of the great Greek thinkers Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, assessed as the most important representatives of ancient Greek philosophy.

Chapter II *The ethico-political conception of Socrates* has as subchapters *Socrates and the cult for citadel* (1) *Relationship moral-politics* (2) *Socrates as educator of the citadel* (3) and *"Revolution" in Socratic thinking and its consequences* (4).

Through Socrates we remark an important moment in the history of universal philosophical thinking, which will strongly influence the subsequent development of philosophy. By Socrates we don't have a written work. The moral and political conceptions of the wise Athenian we find its by his disciples Xenophon and Plato. Attachment to the city, respect for its laws, Socrates has demonstrated by his attitude towards death. He believes that laws are fair and therefore should not be violated and has been involved in educating citizens in the spirit of virtue. The Greek philosopher didn't talk about the relationship between politics and morality, as Plato and Aristotle did later, but is intuitive how he thought. Socrates turned his attention to moral values prompting people to love the good, justice and truth.

The Greek thinker gives preference to human, stating that no one is willingly bad. It is for man to know what is right and therefore can not wish evil. By developing intelligence, life can be directed to virtue. Striking is the high socratic maxim *Know yourself* !, calling for reflection, not only urges man to know himself, but to know the moral virtues, to trust themselves. Meditations on man and his relationship with the citadel starting from socratian philosophical thinking. For the Greek philosopher the citadel, the report between individual and polis, the laws are a major concern. Socrates is considered the initiator of the idea of individual freedom, the idea that man is a being

independent and strong in the ancient citadel. Philosopher defines the good as all that is respected by people, all that is universally available. Good has its origin in reason.

Socrates says that the purpose of morality is happy life. After thinker's opinion, virtues are the ways in which access to happiness. "If you know the good, you do it" - Socrates says. Socrates persist over time as the symbol of wisdom and morality of reason and virtue, an exemplar of moral practical political attitude. He sought to educate citizens in the spirit of virtue and moral duty. His philosophical ideas have enjoyed great receptivity among youth who have worshiped.

Socrates did not make clear judgments between moral and political relationship, as will do later Aristotle. But given the way he thought and acted we conclude that the politics could not be detached from morality. He wished for citizens to become virtuous and knowledgeable of the truth. According to philosopher opinion politics without the morals and culture intake was not beneficial for good citizens which wanted from it to achieve and justice in the citadel. Considering the fact that through cult of the city and its laws, Socrates would be considered thinker who gives more importance to politics we find that, in fact, attention has been focused towards the defense of fundamental moral values. Socrates wanted to lead people to know the truth, justice, virtue.

For the Greek philosopher, the man was "the measure of all things." Noteworthy is the message of Socratic maxim "Know yourself as a unique power as being free, self-control." The Greek philosopher presents himself to us as such a worthy defender of the idea of individual freedom. Awareness of this freedom came from the Greeks, and its founder is Socrates. By the fact that raised the man to the rank of supreme being, he initiated a new polical-ethical conception.

Chapter III titled *Plato and moral subordination to politics* has the following subchapters *The appereance of citadel* (1) *The power of wisdom and of the wise in the citadel* (2) *Liberty and justice in the platonian citadel* (3) *The individual and the Platonian citadel* (4), *Forms of the citadel decay and their effects on moral level* (5).

Idealistic and utopian philosopher, Plato is considered one of the foremost thinkers of antiquity, the most brilliant student of Socrates. It is famous for its dialogues as they relate to politics: The *Republic*, *Statesman* and *Laws*. Plato gave us the most comprehensive work of political philosophy, The *Republic*, in which he imagines and presents an ideal political organization. In the citadel imagined by him, philosophers are those entrusted to lead the citadel. Plato formulated the most popular definitions of politics: "the science of living together of people", "science steering on people." Greek philosopher gave us also the first typology of political regimes. The *Republic* is a valuable work of synthesis. Are worthy considered the fundamental virtues of ideal citadel: wisdom, courage, justice and temperance. Plato believes that for a citadel justice means to respect the principle of *oikeiopragie* according to which each class and each individual should retain the place in the citadel in accordance with his nature.

The Greek philosopher distinguishes three classes that belong to ideal citadel: class "guards" is the first and the most important of them being the one that monitors the observance of justice in the city; second class on Plato's ideal citadel supports the producers of material goods which includes craftsmen and farmers; the third class is auxiliary class consists of merchants, spare, artists etc.

The Greek philosopher believes that each class has its own virtues, differentiated of these three classes functions. The virtue of courage in the citadel is recommended of the first class. The

second class is a must for citadel demonstrating obedience and temperance, and to the third class is required as the sole virtues temperance, which is the general virtue of any other class. Our interpretation embrace the idea on temperance as a barrier against abuse that these classes could use.

Closely related to the vision of the ideal state is the Platonic conception of the appearance of corrupt government forms that highlight the negative aspect and are presented in their progressive stages of decay. Thus, we found it necessary to present these forms of government. Timocracy is a first form of degradation aristocracy in which the intellectual capacity is replaced by the aspiration to increase of the leaders being the type of government where violence and greed are dominant. Timocracy degenerates into oligarchy when the government's aspiration to increase the use of political power is supplied to enrichment them.

Oligarchy is characterized by greed for riches. From oligarchy degrades in democracy generated by lust of money and pleasures, it is the dictatorship of the people. From the numerical point of view Plato distinguishes three forms of government monarchy, oligarchy and democracy having correspondent in leadership function an individual, a small number, respectively everyone.

We note that Plato studied political issues closely to philosophy and to human issues. Independent of human thought, politics loses its substance reaches an abstract phenomenon, really weird. Politics can not be regarded as an activity in which man is missing or he would have only a minor role. Findings man as the subject of politics is not just a requirement ethics, but an objective truth. Moral and political condition of the citadel is inextricably linked to moral and political condition of the man who belongs to this citadel, as analyzed under the great wisdom of the ancient Greek philosophers Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. Plato showed same passion for philosophy and politics.

Notable is the concern for the description in his *Republic* for a five human types: moral sovereignty and knowledge man called royal or aristocratic man, timocratic man,oligarchic man, democratic man and tyrannical man.

The *Republic* is pictured a perfect Constitution that Citadel could be led by those who have acquired knowledge of the true realities, Ideas, Essences, and, knowing the supreme Idea, the idea of Good.

We emphasize that the greatest thinkers of ancient Greece, Plato and Aristotle will admit the supremacy of the ethics to politics, of the state on the individual. Although he place the citadel above the individual, Plato brings a new order to ensure the smooth organization of the state and defend its morality that is led by the wise. Of course this is a utopia, like his conception of the citadel presented in the *Republic*, but highlights Plato's interest for the good governance of the citadel and its morality. In ancient Greek philosophers-rulers were assessed as not only wise, but also virtuous. Plato is not just some philosophical thinker, but also a political analyst. His thinking is oriented towards the idea of politics that emerges to another idea, namely the idea of justice. In Plato's view, the ideal citadel's aimed is justice, because only through justice can reach the supreme ideal, which is the Good.

Based on the way it is seen by Plato justice in ideal city in which divisions are removed, each individual and class being satisfaction of destiny given by nature. Political reality contradicts Plato's view, showing the utopian and unrealizable character of the ideal citadel. Citadel government requires reason, and when it is replaced by its opposite in citadel government reaches degradation and immorality.

We appreciate that in the citadel of Plato, individual liberty remains a long-awaited goal.

Individual freedom is conscious in the ancient citadel, but integrated to polis laws. Only from Aristotle, the concept of liberty is stated categorically.

Plato hasn't seen his political ideas implemented, but managed by his philosophical thought to produce changes in people's minds. Evolution of idealism over time was marked by the influence of Plato's philosophy that has lasted until today as a classic.

Chapter IV, Ethics and Political Science at Aristotle, is dedicated to this great universal spirit equally scientist, political thinker, philosopher and includes subchapters: Aristotle and Plato's citadel (1) The State and its moral function (2) The correlation between leadership and submission and its moral significance (3) The report between morality, law and politics (4) Types of government and their morality (5), Tyrannical government features (6) Liberty as fundamental goal and the aim of democracy (7) Definition, structure and stability of polis (8) The aspect of the ideal citadel (9). We present first the link between Aristotle and Platonic citadel. We can speak of a similarity between Plato and Aristotle on the relationship between morality and politics. Like Plato, Aristotle did not separate morality from politics. He will continue Plato's ideas appreciating politics and giving to it as a moral purpose: the highest good. The two thinkers issued the first genuine theory of politics from different perspectives. Plato had his philosophy as a starting point, while Aristotle started from analyzing the political realities and the Constitution. Worthy is the fact that both have made from the state the most important object of political science. Considered citadel's philosopher, Aristotle is distinguished both as a philosopher polis full consecration and as a philosopher's degradation. Spirit realistic, scientific, but Aristotle would treat political issues in a realistic manner detaching from the utopian spirit in his papers by meeting viewpoints arising from political and moral reality of Greek citadels, aspects relatively absent in the utopian citadel of Plato.

For Aristotle good is regarded as same, whether we refer to the individual or the state. In his view, the state is the sole guarantor of human freedom.

Like Plato, Aristotle considers the relevance of laws action in state. While Plato was aware of the difficulties unbeatable in the founding ideal state, Aristotle seeks to find the ideal government. The most important aspect of Aristotelian *Politics* is the concept of perfect constitution. The State, through the coercive force of laws, it directs the individual on moral path of righteousness, determining him to avoid damage that he could commit it. Forming of a citizen endowed with virtues can only be achieved through good education based on well-established laws. In its reference papers Politics and Nicomachean Ethics, Aristotle supports the idea of an active life dedicated to the citadel. The Stagirit appreciated that as some people are predestined by nature to be free, and others to be slaves, so by nature free man is a *zoon politikon* therefore a being destined to political life. Aristotle gives to the State a moral function. The citadel is considered the association of happiness and virtue, having as main objective the happiness of citizens. Since happiness is generated by virtue and anchored in public life, the main concern of the state is the cultivation of virtue. The state has an obligation to educate individuals in the spirit of the supreme good, and citizens are bound to boost the state's mission to achieve the highest good. Perfect state is one in which every citizen can, by law, to practice virtue and good as to guarantee happiness. Aristotle believes that it is necessary to consider whether the virtue of the two categories, of those likely destined for leadership and those destined for listening, is identical or differ. Since both, the one doomed by the nature to lead and those destined to hear it must be educated in the spirit of virtue and both are required to take part in moral improvement, we wonder why one is forced to listen and the other justified to order. The philosopher motivated this by the formula of natural teleologism.

Like Plato, Aristotle believes that must lead those who have political knowledge because they are among the wealthiest people coming from those who are educated, wise and virtuous. The solving of dispute leadership-submission according to Aristotle, directs us to the presentation of a problem warranting attention, namely slavery. In Aristotle's conception, the slave is considered "thing spirited", "tool before other tools." Although the Greek philosopher observes the less worthy of slavery, he won't appreciated it as phenomenon reprehensible and unethical because some people by nature are created to be free, while others are slaves. In Aristotle's conception is normal for some to be concerned by philosophy and politics, as free citizens, while others, according to its nature, be considered "animated tool" in the service of the former. Even nature has endowed with various features two categories: those who command and those who obey. Same nature is what distinguishes the bodies of free as straight and slender, capable of political action and those of slaves brief and strong able for down work.

We distinguished that Stagirit gives particular importance to morals and moral virtues in the organization and governance of the citadel. He differs from Plato, who was an idealist, a dreamer, also not being as him, a utopian. A particular concern of Aristotle is the idea of human good. However, Aristotle does not undertake to discover good by a review of politics in obviously sense or the good of polis in its own terms. He is oriented primarily toward what most people-the many and the refined-call good of people that is happiness. Greek philosopher believes that in a society based on good political morals, in which there is differences between people, respectively between those who lead and those who are subjected to, it is imperative that it be strengthened through better laws enforcement. A law is supreme when it put reason above. Laws provide a specific order and constraints that have the purpose ownership by individuals of moral standards while being the quintessential of wisdom in acceding to the common good and ensure a good public behavior. We submitted the forms of government and types of constitution that is a particular concern of Aristotle. Of forms of government (monarchy, aristocracy, constitutional regime, tyranny, oligarchy and democracy), the last three are considered, in order, tyranny to be the worst, followed by lower-stage oligarchy and democracy as the most tolerable of the three . Tyranny is defined as the worst and most immoral from political regimes. Aristotle makes a meaningful characterization of this form of government and a psycho-moral profile that highlights the attribute of good psychologist and fine political analyst. The Stagirit noted the total immoral aspect of tyranny. Analyzing politics closely related to moral, Greek philosopher regarded in a derogatory way the tyrannical regime, since both politically and morally, tyrannical power proved to be treacherous and immoral. In a fine analysis of the observation of a statesman, Aristotle investigated the basic principles of these different forms, their conditions, their evolution, their collapse and transform them self from one to another.

The Greek philosopher examines very closely and refines the forms of government and their morality. Presenting various constitutions and state issues are points of view worth following for posterity. And nowadays resort to the distinction between monarchy, aristocracy, oligarchy and democracy following the ideas of Aristotle. Compared with Plato, Aristotle does not intend to propose a single model of governance of the city. He argues saying that it is not enough to design a perfect government, but is especially necessary a practical government. Based on the reality that all people choose their own form of government, Stagirit is committed to republic as a form of

organization, in which the master's middle class. It is select the middle, moderation, finding extremes as dangerous.

Regarding democracy, the Greek philosopher argues that it can be met only when considering the freedom of individuals. Purpose and basis of democracy is the freedom which is a principle of democratic governance. Aristotle defined democracy as government of the poor majority and oligarchy as a government of rich minority. In terms of democracy, Aristotle contributed by value judgments that were perpetuated: highlighting of freedom as feature of democracy that notification principle of separation of powers as a compulsory condition of exercising the democratic principle in any political system. We have referred to the meaning given to polis, structure and its conservation. In Aristotle's sense, the word citadel (polis) has a broader meaning. He doesn't mean the State, but the social system as a whole. Having the same direction with the society, the polis is defined as complex "aggregate", realized on functions, spheres of activities, professions. Greek philosopher did not distinguish between society and the state, between social domain and political domain and therefore, for him, polis mean a human society located in a particular territory and its characteristic organization. It is necessary to emphasize the idea that the social aspect plays an important role in Aristotle's view, most of the times, occupying an important place in relation to the political element. In his book, Politics without focus solely and strictly on political issues, it is noted in the area, however the presence of political issues that are of real importance. Polis, the citadel, means in Aristotelian view, the whole. The Stagirit characterizes the state as the most important political association whose main objective is "the highest human good." In the thinker's conception, the state is subordinate to the will of the people.

People decide the state organization, structure and oversee its development. Both good and evil, morality and immorality of the citadel is based on the power of the people. This is the starting point for thinker intention to reflect to the ideal citadel. Citadel is defined by a number of factors: population, economy, culture, religion, territory, army. Citadel is an aggregate of people able to satisfy all the necessities of life. We noticed that to the ancient Greeks Constitution had a special significance. It was different because it did not contain a strict code of laws, a list of guiding rules. In reality, Politeia did not take of the city, but it belonged to the people, so it don't talk anywhere about the constitution of Athens, as today, when we discussing about the Constitution. Word politeia was added by Greek to the citizens, so it could speak for example about Athenian Politeia. Politeia called thus the illustrating of our correspondent of national character. It is noteworthy the complexity of Constitution in ancient Greece, considering that it meant a living reality, which illustrate the soul of a people and not just a political and legal document. Sometimes Aristotle put the sign of identity between the constitution and government and other times, between the law and the constitution, and most of the times he appreciated the constitution as a political regime of the citadel. In the Aristotelian view the reporting of Constitution to power places the constitution term in the political sphere.

Following the manner in which Aristotle examines various forms of constitution, shows clearly that he did not merely it to a political and legal act, but he believes in particular in realization of the spirit of a society, the essence of the polis. Aristotle in his book, *Politics* analyzes the strategic and political events that can prevent disruption and can keep the durability of the polis. He believes that governance of the middle class able to use moderation as principle is preferable to the oligarchic

or democratic governance, although the last two can be kept, subject to compliance with the principle of moderation. Stagirit is an advocate of harsh education in a spartan style. He will not be reluctant claims harsh punishment to all beyond normal limits and immoral acts. Ideal form of government is that which gives the greatest happiness of the state. Happiness is inextricably linked to virtue, and the state is considered happy when are happy all citizens. Regarding education, it can be appreciated that in addition to the moral, political appearance is required, the purpose of education being steadfastness and unity of the city. The state must provide its contribution through education without parental input, it should be mandatory and apply equally to all citizens.

Ideal citadel is a particular concern Aristotle's conception about polis. Comparing with the utopian citadel thought by Plato, we find that perfect citadel in Aristotelian conception is more realistic. While Plato's has as a starting point the general ideas to get to designing the ideal citadel, Aristotle, in contrast, has as its starting point the descriptive presentation of real citadel historically, so as later will illustrate, in the same realistic way the objective and subjective determinations of the citadel imagined as ideal. Perfect citadel and perfect government are those that can provide to people they lead the joy of a happy life. The philosopher believes that for each individual access to happiness is closely related of activity, of the contribution to public life, of the actions of the citadel. Ideal state will include a number of citizens and a suitable territory. A state founded when it reaches a sufficient population for a life in the political community. The population of the citadel, as the territory should also be included at a glance because it facilitates the defense. The Stagirit sees in the ideal state a whole able to provide spiritual and material needs without use the help of others. Regarding the territory is estimated the one that through the natural values gives a full independence to the state. This principle relates to possess everything and did not need anyone. Regarding the constitution, it is considered that the best is the obviously represented of the best leaders. A perfect constitution will create a perfect administration which in its turn, will ensure supreme happiness of the citizens of the citadel, but happiness depends on achieving virtue. The best government requires private virtue perfect overlap with political virtue. Thus, with the virtues that characterize a good man can form an entire state. Perfect polis assumed dominance of reason, virtue and perfect morality for both private citizens and the leaders. On the contrary, if the corruption and decay will dominate among the government, the citadel will suffer depreciation and immorality. Therefore, an immoral and corrupt regime fails to develop virtue and morality of its citizens and will not be able to shape an ideal citadel that has the purpose of the highest good and to ensure for its people the full happiness.

The final part, Chapter V entitled *The perenniality of the ancient inheritance in ethicalpolitical thinking* has as subchapters *The report between politic and philosophic in the conception of Greek thinkers* (1) *The relationship between politics and morality in antiquity* (2) *The perennial character of Aristotelian inheritage* (3), *What claimed posterity from the political philosophy of the ancient Greeks*? (4).

In the final chapter we chose to reveal the sustainability of ancient heritage. We appreciated as interesting and useful to investigate what alleged the posterity from political philosophy of the ancient Greeks. To highlight the perenniality of the ancient inheritance we referred to the politician, the relationship between politics and morality, the relation between political and philosophical in conception of Greek thinkers. Great thinkers of ancient Greece appreciated politics as a complex activity, considering that the real policy could be designed and carried out only by real people. In

view of Socrates, the mission of political man is not confined to the protection of citizens life, but rather, must make them better, cultivating virtue and developing justice in society, which the Athenian politicians have not done, allowing among citizens to govern greed and ambition. In his book, *Politics*, Aristotle approaches the general political community and its institutions.

In the *Republic*, Plato is satisfied with the presentation of conditions of ideal citadel. Aristotle is also interested in the reported conditions of a perfect citadel, but not to make a fantasy unrelated to reality: the idea approach of the ideal citadel arises only in relation to the actual data. Reflection on politics can be considered a reflection on man found in the state of social being, a member of the citadel, the zoon politikon. Aristotle defined man as zoon politikon but in humanity sphere were not targeted slaves considered as "speaking tools" and neither women, whose access to the political life of their citadel was strictly forbidden, governing principle adopted by Plato. In the ethical-political sphere Aristotle has left to generations value judgments that caused and causes nowadays a special interest giving rise to penetrating thoughts. We can say that, while Plato is considered the father of political philosophy, Aristotle is regarded as a promoter of several disciplines belonging to politics: political science, ethics, political psychology. The Stagirit can be considered as a universal thinker, evidenced by its contribution in the sphere of morals and politics. Aristotle's ideas enjoys even today of an unanimous judgment, for example the idea that politics and the state aimed at the highest good. Also, the idea of general superiority in relation to the individual, human appreciation as political and social beings, recognizing of involvement in public life are of undoubted actuality. Particularly valuable are the scientific observations on the variety of forms of government, studied and analyzed by Aristotle in the manner of a true scientist. An important contribution to the balance of power is noting the two roles, respectively one to lead and one to submit that require different values and moral virtues.

The Stagirit granted full trust in the power and moral virtues of the human being, in the human capacity to ensure the morality of his actions. In this sense, Aristotle believed that if it stays in the human capacity to do good or to do evil, then it is natural that it is in his will to be moral or immoral. We conclude that, after years, still remains as an indisputable value the work of Aristotle, who earned fame and celebrity. Aristotle had the advantage of enjoying the experience of the two philosophers, Socrates and Plato. From Socrates acquired humanistic spirit and the ability to notice essences and from Plato grandeur and nobility of the idea by the side of interest in analyzing the citadel's problems. Everything taken from the work of his predecessors, has exploited in the benefit of scientific research and upstaged by raising ethical and political thinking to a new level. As an analyst of the citadel, Aristotle established and strengthened first opinion based on the relationship between morality and politics, opinion subsequently taken in various forms, in political and ethical posterior systems.

Over time, interpretations, commentators have been increasingly diverse and contradictory. By the emergence of totalitarism in the contemporary political life, which is believed to have origins in the *Republic* the interpretation was over the last century predominantly political. Popper states that "The *Republic* is the first (and perhaps, over time, the most influential) of the great utopia with totalitarian vocation, from which, directly or indirectly, will claim not only the promoters of genuine fascism, but also Hegel, Marx and Communism and other trends such as meritocracy, reformist feminism and different educational reformist systems".

The development of political liberalism has led to increased criticism of Plato, observing to him clearly the premises of total state that is representative in terms of seizure of civil liberties. In the Renaissance, Plato's thesis is classified as heretical, opposing to the natural rights of men. In the contemporary political studies Plato is blamed again to be devised oppressive logic applied in the totalitarian state. When the state of freedom had to be based on state law, which restricts the power on civil society, protecting the freedom of individuals, Plato's citadel form dehumanizing structures, which oversees strict society. Plato would have provided not so tyrannical state, but rather the total state. K. Popper blamed Plato's order as being the first ancestor of totalitarianism. JJ Walter, essayist contemporary even recognize in *Republic* the defining features that characterized Nazism, Stalinism and Maoism. In these systems are present the measures provided for prohibiting contact between citizens and aliens, those for the destruction of individualism for the community and to achieve total obedience of citizens to the state.

It is relevant that the great totalitarian experiments of the twentieth century tried to find in Plato the first formulation of the total state. As appreciated Leo Strauss thinker, straight citadel model will be impossible to achieve, feature through which Plato is like a purely "political idealism." The main idea of the paper, an idea that is in fact the conclusion of the thesis is that in philosophical plan the moral and politics are inseparable. The studied greek thinkers give primacy to politics, addressing political issues closely related to morality because they are supporters of the idea of functional priority of politics.

An analysis of ethical political conceptions of Greek thinkers is justified because enriches our sphere of knowledge, helps us to understand the wisdom past, to make a connection between the past forgotten, the uncertain present and the illusory future. So, analyzing the wisdom of the past will understand better the present with good and bad, and we can foresee a brighter future. Thus, certain ideas and judgments of the ancient Greek thinkers such as democracy were accepted in their time, but remained valid until today, knowing of course new manifestation forms. From the analysis of the ethical-political conceptions of the great Greek thinkers can be drawn ideals that serve humanity, lessons and moral fundamental values to last over time.

Despite the fact that politics remained just as corrupt and dirty however through books of great spirits of ancient Greeks philosophy, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, it foreshadowed the idea of a new beginning, a new way to achieve an ideal that has never found an end.

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