



State and Civil Society in the Political Thought of John Locke and Karl Marx

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Received: 10 Dec 2023 ; Accepted: 20 March 2024

Abstract:

The position and relationship between the government and the civil society has always occupied the minds of political thinkers, especially in the modern period. In general, governments assume different roles depending on the application of different approaches. From the point of view of the relationship and the type of influence of the government on the society, there have always been two competing views, which are rooted in the thoughts of two prominent political philosophers: John Locke and Karl Marx. In John Locke's view, the government is a mediating entity, limited and conditional, based on the principle of consent and with the aim of creating peace and public welfare based on the social contract and the right of public rebellion in times of inefficiency and disobedience to the law, and ultimately independent of civil society. And in the view of Karl Marx, the concept of government is based on three different opinions. The government as a means of suppressing the working class, the government as an arbiter or mediator, and finally the government as a function of the changing economic infrastructure, and ultimately relying on classes of society.

Keywords: Government, Civil society, social contract, John Locke, Karl Marx

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Introduction

In the modern world, many topics in the field of political thought are devoted to the issue of government and civil society and their relationship. On the one hand, the government is of interest because of its function and role in both internal and external dimensions in

facilitating the development process of a country and balanced development in the internal sector and progress in international relations and not remaining behind the course of global trends in the sector of foreign relations; And on the other hand, due to the common

issues that have involved at least a major part of the societies, it is taken into consideration. The concept of government has several uses and definitions, including a set of institutions, a territorial unit or geographical territory, a historical identity, a philosophical point of view. Unlike the past, the modern state is so powerful and comprehensive that its nature is considered one of the main topics of most political science works and literature, especially since the time of Hobbes. Until today, there is a lot of disagreement about the proper functioning and in other sense the role and duties of the government and the duties of the government. These issues and questions are the issues that each of the government's theories try to answer. The evolution process of the state in its modern form, like a public power independent of the ruler and the governed and having supreme political authority within a certain territory, is accompanied by the gradual process of institutional separation of the political and economic fields; which is related to the growth of centralized absolutist government and expansion of commodity production.

Civil society is also a common term in the 18th century, which entered political thought after the social contract theory. Civil society refers to a state of society in which people surrender their natural freedoms and submit to the government and the law. In short, civil society is a set of institutions, associations and social organizations, independent of the government and political power, but has a decisive role in political power.

John Locke was one of the first fathers of the Enlightenment and one of the great philosophers who played an essential role in the development and evolution of liberalism and made important reforms and adjustments in

the concept of government and its functions as well as its relationship with civil society. Locke believed that the government was formed based on a kind of social contract based on voluntary agreement and the principle of voluntary consent; that only through the creation and establishment of an independent power can one be safe from the insecurities of the natural situation (disorder, lack of security, cruelty, brutality). In this way, in the liberal theory, the government is considered as a neutral mediator between competing groups and individuals in the society. It means a kind of referee who has the ability to protect all people against each other's greed and violence. As a result, the government as a neutral identity or entity acts for the interests of all citizens and represents the common good or public interests, so there is a kind of independence between the government and civil society.

The Marxist theory of the state is fundamentally and essentially in conflict with the image presented in the liberal theory of the state as an impartial arbiter or final judge. From the point of view of Marxists, the state cannot be understood independently and separately from the economic structure of the society because the state arose from the heart of the class system, and its duty is to preserve and maintain the class system, class domination and class exploitation. This view of classical Marxism can be seen in Marx's view in the Communist Manifesto. According to Marx, "the executive branch of the modern state is nothing but a committee to manage the common and public affairs of the entire bourgeoisie". Therefore, there is a kind of reliance between the government and civil society. In this article, the relationship between the government and the civil society is discussed in detail from the point of view of John Locke as a full-fledged

representative of liberalism, and Karl Marx as a representative of Marxism.

Literature background of the subject

So far, many works have been published about the concept of government and civil society in liberal and Marxist ideas and their differences. However, few works can be found that compare these two concepts in the perspective of Marx-Marxism and Locke-liberalism. Some of these works are:

The book of the main currents in Marxism, by Leszek Kołakowski. The course of the history of Marxism from its emergence, the study of Karl Marx's thought and then the spread of Marxism trends have been considered.

An introductory book on modern political philosophy, by Lesley A. Jacobs. It has investigated classical liberalism and proposed Locke's views on limited government through the expression of a theory about individual rights.

The book Foundations of Sociology, by Amir Ashofteh Tehrani. While explaining the institution of government and politics, he discussed the opinions of thinkers such as Marx, Durkheim, Spencer and Max Weber.

Men of Thought, by Bryan Magee. In the section of Marxist philosophy, Marxist political and economic theory is taken into consideration, and Marx's thought and discussion about it is discussed.

The book of Karl Marx, written by Isaiah Berlin. It deals with the life and thoughts of Marx and his thoughts have been noticed in many subjects.

The book Metamorphosis of Marx's Communism, written by Mohsen Hakimi. He has investigated the state bourgeoisie of Russia and the theoretical transformation of

communism and its transformation into an ideological party and state capitalism.

The book Capital, by Karl Marx. By formulating the concept of the state in the socialist and ultimately communist system, Marx does not consider it as a tool and ultimately its existence as necessary.

New Interpretations of Modern Political Philosophers from Machiavelli to Marx, by Eltser Edwards and Jules Townsend. He expresses different opinions about the thoughts of philosophers like Locke, Marx, etc.

Capital in the 21st Century, by Thomas Piketty. The evolution of inequality in wealth and income from the 18th century to the 21st century is investigated and the forces of convergence and divergence in the direction of reducing and increasing inequality are discussed.

The intellectual history of liberalism book by Pierre Manent. Thoughts that have made nearly four centuries of modern political philosophy, including Locke's views on work and ownership, have been addressed.

The book of Marxist thoughts (the history of political thoughts of the 20th century), by Hossein Bashiryeh. It has dealt with the fundamental changes in the fields of human life, especially political, and its impact on the development of political thought in the 20th century. This book examines the thought of Marxism and its evolution from orthodox, revolutionary, critical, constructivist Marxism to twentieth century Marxism.

As mentioned, although in different stages of the research, many other works have been proposed and many other sources have been used; but none of them have specifically investigated the comparative status of the state and civil society in these two views (Locke and Marx). In this article, focusing on the concept

of government and civil society, the similarities and differences in these two competing ideas are discussed.

Operational definition of concepts

1- The government

The government is always the most powerful institution in all human societies because it has the legitimate monopoly of force in a specific territory and geography. Therefore, the modern state had a legitimate monopoly of force, which was able to deal with the snakes of private and independent powers that, along with the state, also had an administrative authority. The tool of a modern government is bureaucracy, which represents rational-legal authority and is completely different from the personal form of government. Since its inception, the modern state has acted as an agent of industrial development, and has had motives such as military and economic competition and preparation for war (Delfrooz, 2014: pp. 38-53). Leftwich believes that only the policy and the nature of the government can create and protect decent governance. In his opinion, instead of emphasizing the form of government or the institutional ideal of decent governance, one should emphasize the politics and nature of the government (Leftwich, 2010: p. 22).

2- Power

Power is one of the main concepts of political science, and it means the ability of its owner to force others to submit to his will. The existence of authority means a power whose legitimacy is based on accepted tradition or law, where command results from the recognition of a greater ability that lies in a person or position. Exercising political power is the main

characteristic of sovereignty and government (Babaei, 2008: pp. 421-420).

3- Civil society

A common word in the 18th century, which entered political thought after the social contract theory, is the term civil society, which refers to a state of society in which a person renounces natural freedoms and surrenders to the government and the law. In today's society, there are two views of civil society:

1- Civil society is a law-abiding society, based on social contract, transparent, protecting the rights of individuals, based on national sovereignty, distributing power within the framework of parties and councils.

2- Civil society is the space between the government and the family (Babaei, 2008: p. 208-209).

In any case, civil society is a set of institutions, associations and social organizations, independent of the government and political power, which have a decisive role in political power (Bashiriyeh, 2017: p. 324).

4- Natural state

The natural state is the state of man before entering the society, where people have rights and duties that defend their moral relations with each other: the right to live, freedom of property, and duties that do not interfere with them. Governments are tools created to expand these rights and must respect these rights. Any government that ignores or violates these natural rights must be removed and replaced by another government (Tohidfam, 2004: p. 137-138). In the natural state, no one is superior to another. These creatures, without obeying others, are equal to each other; Unless God, the Lord of all of them, grants someone the right of supremacy and dominion

over others according to his will and with a clear and obvious appointment (Lake, 2012: p. 73).

5- Social contract

Social contract is a theory that is presented in the modern era for a non-traditional explanation of the basis of political power. In social contract theories, there is a bilateral contract in which, in exchange for one party's promises and appointments, the other party also makes promises and appointments. In the natural state, the establishment of the government will only work if the people have the ability to do something. The promises and agreements in the contract are rational if they are implemented collectively (Hampton, 2006: p. 151).

6- Satisfaction

One of the basic concepts in the political philosophy of democracy is the concept of citizens' satisfaction in obeying the government. From this point of view, the legitimacy of democracy is based on the performance of the government according to the will and satisfaction of the citizens. Democracy is not possible without public consent and the legitimacy resulting from such consent forms the basis of democracy. Humans are rational and selective beings, and therefore it is possible to understand their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their government through evidence. Consent in this sense limits freedom in an acceptable way and turns it into obedience and commitment (Bashiriyeh, 2017: p. 257).

7- Capitalism

Capitalism, as a feature of business and production of modern society, is a type of economic system based on free economy, and it controls all economic activities, production,

domestic and foreign trade. The most complete example of the capitalist system is the United States of America, where the government does not interfere in production and trade, and even the arms industry is in the hands of the private sector. In other countries, the state capitalism more or less supervises production and trade, and in many countries the mother industries are under the control of the government (Tolui, 2006: pp. 615-614).

8- Revolution

The word revolution was used for the first time in the 17th century as one of the political terms, which meant the complete overthrow of the government in any country or government, and the replacement of the new ruler or government through violence. One of the obvious and main features of a revolution is the presence of leadership, specific goals for making changes, and the participation of all people in it (Babaei, 2008: pp. 112-114).

Historical developments that form the basis of modern thinking

The formation of modern societies is basically done in the framework of four major processes: political, economic, social, and cultural processes and the transition to modernity can be explained in the form of interaction between these four processes. The important events in the history of the social evolution of Western nations, which have provided the fundamental grounds and foundations for the emergence and development of the social face of modernity, include the following events in historical order:

- 1- Renaissance from the 14th century AD.
- 2- Reformation and religious reform movement (16th century AD).

3- Age of Enlightenment from the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century.

4- Industrial revolution, the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century (1850-1750) (Nowzari, 2006: p. 6).

Social contexts affecting John Locke's political thought

In the years 1648 to 1715, Europe gradually turned to science, the development of knowledge, and the progress and development of human life. The 17th century is one of the brilliant periods in the history of human knowledge, when the progress of science, knowledge, and technology reached its peak (Durant, 2008: pp. 561-662).

Regardless of the effects and changes that the Enlightenment era left behind in the fields of knowledge, epistemology, and philosophical views, one of the important achievements or measures of this era was in the field of political and social philosophy. In this regard, one of the classic and important works that more than other works could change the way of political-social thinking in Europe at that time was "Two Treatises on Civil Government" written by John Locke. Until the 17th and 18th centuries, we witnessed autocratic and autocratic governments; In the 16th and 17th centuries, the era of absolutism and the foundations of absolute government were formulated in principle. The main political problem in the 16th and 17th centuries was the issue of internal order and peace and creating political stability. During these two centuries, most of the western societies have witnessed political disturbances and riots and engaged in civil wars over gaining political power or with neighbors and foreign powers over border disputes and expansionism. The necessity of resolving

these unrests and creating internal political stability and the security of external borders led to the formulation and regulation of theories regarding national sovereignty. However, in the 18th century, we witnessed many political and national revolutions and democratic revolutions, and the most important one is the French Revolution. The main political problem of this century was the issue of freedom and uprising against injustice and inequality. John Locke's political theory consisted of denying and denying the divine right of kings and rejecting the absolute power of the ruler. According to Locke, all human beings have the natural right to freedom and equality. Obedience to power without consent has no meaning; Although the obedience of the political society to the decision of the majority is an obligation that everyone must undertake, it is the decision-making authority and institution, or the legislature, or the legislature, that makes decisions on behalf of the majority of the society. John Locke grew up in the struggle of civil unrest, which is one of the plagues of 17th century England. Locke's fame is mostly in epistemology, and his most important book is "Speech about human understanding". In this book, Locke proposed the view of empiricism against rationalism. Locke's political thought is stated in "Two Treatises on Government" (Pouladi, 2007: pp. 52-51). Among other prominent works of Locke, we can mention "Letter on Toleration 1689", which influenced the cultural life and the constitution of the United States. In this book, Locke defended human rights and required the separation of church and state. Especially in England, Locke influenced his contemporaries in the fields of ethics, government and religion (Delaney, 2015: pp. 21-20).

John Locke's political thought

1- Political system and government

The knowledge of the details of John Locke's thoughts is more than other philosophers of the 17th century Europe. After his death, a large collection of his unpublished articles and treatises shows his intellectual activities in the fields of ethics, epistemology, economics, theology and medicine. Some experts consider Locke to be the first thinker of liberalism, because firstly, he separated the idea of constitutionalism from the past tradition and based it on the social contract. Secondly, it provided the context for a serious discussion about the concepts of separation of powers, constitutional monarchy and majority rule. Based on this, human beings, as rational beings, are engaged in efforts and competition in search of their own interests in the society, and the society must recognize their sphere of freedom within the framework of the law (Jahanbeglu, 2004: pp. 48-49).

In the book "A Treatise on Government", Locke is looking to remove himself from the unstable natural state and join others who have joined together in society before him; Or they want to join each other in order to preserve their life, freedom and property (property). Therefore, the main goal of people to join within a political body, and to put themselves under a government, is to preserve and take care of their property; Because there are many deficiencies in the state of nature (in this sense): first, the absence of a known and permanent law, understood and approved by universal agreement; Second, in their natural state, they feel the need for a recognized and impartial arbitration to resolve their disputes based on established law. since in the natural state of all people, they are both judges and executors of the law of nature; When it comes

to personal interests, it is possible that emotions and a sense of revenge make them go beyond (the law of nature) and not remain neutral. Also, their carelessness and indifference may make them careless about the rights of others. Thirdly, in the natural state, there is often not enough power to support, defend and enforce the rights of individuals. The powerful who violate these rights with their tyranny are often not harmed, and their punishment in many cases is dangerous and destructive for those who resist them. In spite of all the privileges he enjoyed in the natural state, man entered the society due to the unfavorable conditions. Therefore, it is rare to find people who live in such a situation for a while. Facing the adversities due to the unusual and unstable exercise of power, which everyone had to punish the aggressor, forced them to take refuge under the umbrella of government laws to take care of their assets. For this reason, people voluntarily gave up their individual power and surrendered it to those who were chosen from among themselves; And they were given the mandate to act according to the laws and regulations approved by the community (Locke, 2013: pp. 177-175).

Locke's meaning and understanding of the political body is not a democracy or any other form of government, but any independent community, which in Latin is called Civitas (which consisted of a land called a city and had a senate, a consultative council, a council to determine and collect taxes and a public defense council) (Locke, 2013: pp.182-181).

A very important final article about Locke's thought is about the dissolution of government. He admits: "A distinction should be made between the dissolution of the society and the government. What is the builder of society and brings people from their free and

unrestrained natural state into a political society is the agreement that each person makes with other people to join each other; and act as a body or group, and become a clear and distinct political body. The only way through which such an alliance is dissolved is the invasion of an external force that has overcome them; Because in this case (due to the inability to maintain and support itself as an integrated and independent body) the unity that belongs to the body; which is dependent and emanating from it, must necessarily disappear and therefore, everyone returns to the situation he was in before. This return is accompanied by the freedom to change direction and provide whatever people, in another society, see fit for their health and safety. When the society is dissolved, surely the government of that society can remain. When a society is dissolved, its government cannot remain. The purpose of government is the good of humanity. Anyone, whether he is a ruler or a subject, violates the rights of the ruler or the people by resorting to force, and sows the seeds of the collapse of the constitution and the foundations of any just government. He is the cause of the greatest crime that a human being is capable of committing, and he must be responsible for all the injuries and bloody stings, looting and looting, and the destruction that tearing governments into pieces brings to a country. And the person who does such a thing should rightly be considered an enemy of all and a pest of humanity and treated accordingly. Everyone agrees on this matter that if the rulers or foreigners forcefully touch people's property, they can be resisted by force. Whoever uses force without having the right, puts himself in a state of war with those who used force against them. In such a situation, all agreements are cancelled, and all rights are suspended, and everyone has

the right to defend themselves and resist the aggressor. People's opposition to the king, in some cases, is legal and is not considered a rebellion. If there is a dispute between Shahryar and some people about which the law is silent or ambiguous, and the dispute is of great importance, the arbiter of this dispute is the body of society (Locke, 2013: pp. 247-275).

In the book "Letter on Toleration", Locke says about the duty of the civil ruler; It is the duty of the civil ruler to protect their legitimate ownership of things that belong to their worldly life by justly implementing equal laws for all people in general, and for every person under his sovereignty, in particular. If someone thinks of violating the laws related to social justice and equality, which have been created to secure worldly life and protect it; He should be prevented from this act by threatening him with punishment, that is, deprivation of civil benefits and benefits. For this reason, there must be a ruler who benefits from the power and strength of all his agents, so that he can punish all those who violate the rights of other people. Therefore, the whole domain of the ruler's authority is only related to civil affairs. The domain of the ruling power cannot and should not be extended to matters related to the salvation of human souls. Laying down laws, demanding obedience from others, forcing them by the force of the sword, belongs to no one but the civil ruler. All the power of the civil government is only related to the civil interests of humans and is limited to the protection and care of worldly affairs and has nothing to do with the hereafter (Locke, 2004: pp. 55-61). In short, Locke's political theory consisted of denying and denying the divine right of kings and rejecting the absolute power of the ruler. According to Locke, all human beings have the natural rights of freedom and

equality. The natural situation that Locke depicts is not an unbearable situation, but there are problems in it, so people gather together to form a society to live better. Regarding political power, he believes that it cannot be applied without considering its destination and purpose, which is the common good, because people enter into contracts to preserve life, liberty, and property. Here, Locke establishes one of the basic principles of the liberal tradition, in the sense that obedience to power without consent has no meaning. Legislative institutions make decisions on behalf of the majority of society. In addition, the final power to elect the legislator also returns to the people. People leave a part of their right to make decisions to their representatives, although conditionally, and the power of the legislator is not absolute and unchanged. In his view, power is conditional and limited, and if a government usurps people's freedoms and natural rights, people will have the right to rebel and change it. In Locke's philosophy, respect for natural and civil rights includes freedom, the right to private property, the right to rebel and change the government, the separation of religion from politics, the principle of consent, conditional government, and a government that protects the interests and security of private property. It should also be mentioned that Locke has a positive view on the category of money and private property and even considers property to be a priority over the formation of society and considers it a natural right and does not include this right in a contract. Locke, while in favor of constitutional government, at the same time wanted special political privileges for the section of society that belonged to the property owners.

2- Civil society

According to Locke, wherever a number of people unite in a society and all of them hand over the executive power they have from natural law to the society, that society is a civil society. It is also necessary to support the government that respects the civil rights of the people, and if it acts against it, the right of rebellion is reserved for the people. In the case of religion and government, he decrees the separation of the two and insists on religious tolerance. Rulers must rule through laws that have been known and approved by the people. Regarding the law and the scope of its power, Locke considers the main purpose of a person's entry into society to benefit from his life, wealth and property in conditions of peace and security. The government should be based on the principle of consent, limited and conditional, the main power is in the hands of the people, they entrust a part of it to the ruler, and in case the ruler is ineffective in providing civil interests, they take back their power. The duty of the government is to protect the civil rights of the people of the society. The important principle in Locke's view is the dissolution of the government, which people are not satisfied with and does not provide their interests and freedoms. In a summary of Locke's opinions, the concept of government for him means providing welfare, comfort and freedom of the people in accordance with the principle of consent, the theory of social contract and the theory of constitutional government (Nozari, 2006: pp. 78-102).

John Locke points out this point in his treatise on government about political society; That: A person is born with the right to complete freedom and the right to benefit from all natural rights and privileges, and everyone is equal in these rights. Humans have the natural right to

protect their property, which is their life, freedom, and property, against the encroachment of others. Nature has also given man the right to punish those who violate his natural rights with death, if their crime is so wicked that he recognizes that it deserves death. But no political society can exist and continue to survive, unless it has the power to protect its property and can punish the aggressors. Therefore, the political society emerges when all its members give up all their natural rights and leave them at the disposal of the community. Of course, this delegation of natural rights to the society does not take away from them the right to resort to the law of that society to take care of themselves. In this way, there is no place for individual judgments in the political society, and the elected officials of the society, impartially and based on the laws established by the society, judge the differences between people and make decisions about them. And they bring those who commit crimes against the society to the punishments determined by the law of that society. Those who have united with each other and formed a single entity with a common law and judiciary, and have appointed an authority to resolve disputes and punish aggressors, live in a civil society. But those who do not have such a common authority on earth, are still in a natural state, and in such a state, everyone is the judge and executor of his own justice. Hence, the political society has the power to identify and punish the members of the society who commit crimes. The political society also has the power to punish those who harm its members from outside that society. All this is to preserve and take care of the property of all members of the society as much as possible" (Locke, 2013: pp. 141-140).

Locke also writes about political society; Wherever a number of people unite together in a society and all of them bypass the executive power given to them by the law of nature and leave it to the society, that society is a political or civil society. And this happens when a number of people, who lived in a natural state, gather together and form a political entity under the rule of a government; Or when a person joins a society that already has a government. In the latter case, he gives the command to the society, or to its law-making power, to make laws for him based on the good of the society, and according to his will, he gives his power to the society to implement these laws. It is in such a situation that people leave the natural state, connect themselves to the political society, choose arbitration; And they give him this mandate to judge their differences and to compensate the damages that may happen to each member of the society. This referee is the same legislator or ruler who was appointed by them. But if a number of people, in any case, gather together somewhere, without having such a decision-making power, their gathering is still in a natural state. Therefore, absolute monarchy is not really compatible with civil society and cannot be considered a form of civil government. Because the goal of civil society is to avoid and treat the adversities that people have endured in a natural state; The adversities that necessarily originated from the judgment and executive power of each person for himself. For this reason, people chose a legitimate power for themselves that all members of the society can resort to in case of disagreement with each other or injury. In such a situation, even the absolute king lives in a natural state in relation to those who are under his rule (Locke, 2013: pp. 142-143).

Social contexts affecting the political thought of Karl Marx

Emphasizing reason, Enlightenment thinkers examined traditional values and institutions, often seeing them as unreasonable. Among those who were most directly affected by the Enlightenment was Karl Marx (Ritzer, 2017: pp. 25-27).

It should be noted that Germany had never experienced a revolution comparable to the French or American revolutions. In addition, many German intellectuals considered France a dynamic society, although full of conflicts. Compared to France, Germany seemed to be a static and backward society, and politically, it was divided into several independent states; And its integration was achieved in 1871 and only as a result of Prussia's military and economic power and Bismarck's diplomatic skills. Germany's largely agrarian economy, along with bursts of industrialization, was disillusioned with government regulations and an anti-commercial culture. From a social point of view, Germany was completely conservative under the rule of landed aristocracy, which provided little room for social innovation and freedom. Considering this social backwardness, the German middle class was politically weak and admired the military and patriarchal spirit of the landed aristocracy. Enlightenment ideas were accepted in Germany, especially in the intellectual circles. The German political scene consisted of two groups that wanted to change: liberal reformers and idealist philosophers. Liberal reformers believed that change required gradual administrative and legislative measures. The idealist philosophers intended to replace the German religious culture with a secular-humanist culture that spread liberal ideas on a wide level (Sideman, 2016: pp. 37-39).

With the growth of trade, the subsistence economy of medieval society disappeared and was replaced by a political system in which power was based not on land ownership but on financial wealth. In this situation, a wide range of social problems that did not exist before industrialization appeared, and this involved the minds of intellectuals and social thinkers (Delaney, 2015: p. 32).

In this regard, many factors influenced Karl Marx. French culture and its ruling rationalism influenced Marx. Later, it was the conservative approach of German idealism that influenced Marx's thinking. Marx's meeting with Engels in Cologne in November 1842, which created a long friendship between them, was also a decisive turning point in the development of Marx's thoughts (Delaney, 2015: p. 101).

Karl Marx (1818-1883) was one of the great thinkers in various fields of social sciences including economics, politics, and sociology. His important writings were; Economic and political manuscripts (1844); Theses on Feuerbach (1845); The German Ideology (1946); Communist Manifesto (with Engels, 1847); Fundamentals of Criticism of Political Economy (1854); Class War in France (1848); Napoleon Bonaparte's Eighteenth Brumaire (1852); and capital (Pouladi, 2007: pp.174-173).

Political thought of Karl Marx

In order to understand Marx's thought, it is necessary to have a correct understanding of the situation of the 19th century, the situation of capitalism, colonialism and the ideological transformations of that time. Marx also played a prominent role in the 20th century. In this period, he is the spirit of great trends such as the rise and fall of socialism, the Cold War,

and anti-colonial movements in the third world. People like Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky, Gramsci, Mao, Castro, and many others have relied on his thought. Thinkers of the 20th century such as Jean-Paul Sartre, Lukács and members of the Frankfurt School were influenced by Marx (Jahanbeglu, 2004: p. 179).

Marx is one of the most influential founders of sociology, although he did not consider himself a sociologist, but rather a political and revolutionary economist. The 19th century was a period of great political, social and economic upheavals. (Moore, 2010: p. 16)

1- The government

Marx has discussed the issue of government in three political essays. In the 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, he describes the process of formation, development and expansion of the state apparatus and its transformation into a machine independent of the society. According to Marx, it is only during the period of Bonaparte II that the state seems to have become completely independent. "Government and government did not come to earth from heaven, they are the result of people's social action in the form of society or political community". In these words, quoted from Marx, an issue has been brought up, the explanation of which is clearly beyond the limits of his materialistic vision, which considers the economy as the only effective factor in socio-political developments. Apart from this case, the government is nothing but a machine of oppression of one class by another class, and this is a fact that is equally true in the democratic republic and the monarchy. In short, the state is, at its best, an evil that the victorious proletariat inherits from the past in the battle to gain its class dominance. It is an evil that the proletariat, just like the Paris Commune, cannot get

rid of its losses in the shortest time; Only when a new generation of people, born in new and free social conditions, become so capable that they can remove all this accumulated garbage called the government and remove it from their feet. (Marx, 2009: pp. 9-44).

According to Marx, the class that has economic sovereignty in the sense of ownership and control of the means of production also has political sovereignty. In the capitalist system, the government is an institution that maintains the property relations of the rich minority, and thereby allows one class to oppress another class. Therefore, the government does not represent all people, both rich and poor. As long as there are classes, the government will also have a class nature; The government will always support the rulers (Chilcot, 1998: p. 185).

2- The origin of society, civil society and the decline of the state

Marx studied the society from its origins, that is, from the time when people gathered to produce the necessities of life, and with the hatred of the poverty and suffocation around him, he looked to the future with hope. And he believed that the future society will undoubtedly be a communist society. According to him, the foundation of society is economic production, and this is the key to understanding society. According to Marx, economic contradictions and differences arise when one group monopolizes the control and administration of the economic resources of the society, and as a result, becomes the owner of power over other groups. By using this power, the dominant group can impose its appropriate and accepted values on the whole society. The history of the society is the history of changes in the economic structure of the society, along with

which the dominant group also changes. Each stage of a group's dominance marks a historical period (Moore, 2010: pp. 17-16), and each historical period has its own laws (Marx, 2015: pp. 39-38). In any case, the society is "rooted in the material conditions of life" and the development of the economic infrastructure through the effort of individuals to meet their basic needs or the conflict between man and nature determines the legal and political superstructures of the society (Kinlock, 2014: p. 117).

Marx believed that society consists of two separate parts, the superstructure and the substructure. The infrastructure consists of productive forces and social production relations based on those forces. In other words, the productive forces and the control and ownership of the means of production are the determining factors of the division of labor that separates some members of society from other members. The legal and political superstructure is formed by people's perceptions of the world at different levels. These perceptions depend on the infrastructure of the society. They are ideologies that guarantee false consciousness. According to Marx, the role of science is to expose the ideologies that protect the interests of the dominant class. Only the revolution against these classes can free society from these ideologies (Chilcot, 1999: pp. 187-185). Capitalist society is plagued by self-alienation, and human alienation is resolved with the establishment of communist society, and man reaches unity. In order to become unique, man needs the conditions that are provided in the communist society. Among these conditions, we can mention these things; Abundance of life's blessings; Getting work out of compulsion and turning it into a moral necessity; The exclusion of class distance and class struggle

and the oppression of man against man, and finally the unification of man with his general characteristics (man as a free and productive being in his entirety). Democracy as an ideal can only emerge in such a society. As a radical democrat, Marx believes that democracy and the realization of freedom are only possible with the elimination of all kinds of oppression and exploitation of human beings. At this high stage of the evolution of human society, the existence of the government is also ruled out and the government gradually disappears. Because according to Marx, the state was created at a certain stage of history, it means the emergence of class society, and to control the exploited classes by the exploiting classes. The government was created with the emergence of private property and the division of society into classes, and with the elimination of private property and the elimination of the class division of society, it also loses its reason for existence (Poladi, 2007: p. 198).

The first step with which the government truly steps forward as a representative of the entire society, it means taking over the means of production in the name of society, is at the same time its last step as a government. After that, every day, the government's intervention in a new field of social relations disappears, and finally, the government will stop working by itself one day. Government over people gives way to managing things and directing production processes. The state is not destroyed, it withers and disappears (Scientific and Imaginary Socialism, Chapter III) (quoted by: Kołakowski, 2010: pp. 421-420).

Apart from analyzing and criticizing the existing society (capitalism), Karl Marx has an image of a happy and ideal society which is very general. He defines the communist political society as a place where no one has a specific

field of expertise, but everyone can achieve success in any field they wish. Since the way of production is under the control of society, it is possible for humans to do different things every day. Go hunting in the morning, fish in the afternoon, feed the cows in the evening and engage in social criticism at night; Regardless of whether his job is hunter, fisherman, shepherd or critic. Apart from these general references about the simple and pleasant economy of non-professionals, Marx did not say much about the details of the communist society. He considered theorists who explained their vision of a rational political order in detail as fantasists. In his interpretation, truth is not static, but is inherently changing and evolving, and he called the model of this development, which is also in history, "dialectic". Irregularities of political life are considered "contradictions" in the context of dialectical changes, that is, they are in a state of tension caused by two mutual forces. Dialectical change is the result of trying to eliminate these contradictions. According to Marx, the elimination of contradictions is the driving force of historical transformation. Marx's reconstructed vision of a happy society is more of a general prediction than an imaginary wish. He claims that he has provided an approximate description of the new social system that will be created soon and not of the potential possibilities. His reconstructed society was a vision of the future and not an endless ideal. The new order can only be seen at the right time. It can be observed only when the process of history is complete and a new society emerges. Until then, trying to imagine a communist society is like trying to picture a mature and wise human being from his fetus. A very general picture of a person can be presented from the embryo and nothing more. Capitalist society is class;

communist society is classless. The bourgeois employer and the proletariat or both are aliens, the socialist man is psychologically comprehensive and self-aware. Capitalist society is plagued by war, and peace prevails in communist society. The tensions and contradictions of the present time reach the point where it is not possible to bear them and then they will disappear with the revolutionary transformation (Springs, 2008: pp. 148-145). In Marx's view, society represents a state of equilibrium, during an evolutionary transition, and social consciousness is determined by the method of material production, and in other words, the economic system (Kinlock, 2014: p. 117).

Conclusion

As mentioned, this article tries to analyze the position of government and civil society in the political thought of John Locke and Karl Marx. It can be said that due to the impact of political, economic, social and cultural developments in the 17th century and the impact of the emergence of modern societies; The birth of a new intellectual and cognitive world that arose from the Renaissance, the religious movement, the scientific revolution of the 17th century and the Enlightenment of the 18th century, the change in European thought and ethics, had a great impact on the thinkers of this period. Humanism was developed in the lap of the Renaissance and established a new worldview that was based on the dignity of human beings. This new concept brought new principles including the inherent freedom of human beings, individual independence, dogmatism, tolerance, altruism and pacifism. The main political problem of the 16th and 17th centuries was the issue of internal order and peace and creating political stability.

During these two centuries, most of the western societies witnessed political disturbances and riots and were involved in internal wars and struggles for gaining political power or with neighbors and foreign powers over expansionist border disputes. The necessity of resolving these unrests and creating internal political stability and external security was to formulate and regulate theories regarding national sovereignty. The 18th century saw numerous political and national revolutions and democratic revolutions, including the French Revolution. The basic problem of this century was the issue of freedom and uprising against injustice and inequality. Its political theory was formulated and presented in the form of natural rights, which are certain, undeniable and inseparable from human life.

Locke's political theory was based on the explicit denial and negation of the divine right of kings and rejection of the sovereign's absolute power. According to Locke, all human beings have the natural rights of freedom and equality. In the natural state, people gather together to form a society in order to live better. Political power cannot be exercised without considering its destination and purpose, that is, the common good, because people enter into contracts to preserve life, liberty, and property. But obedience to power without consent has no meaning. Legislative institutions make decisions on behalf of the majority of society. The final power to elect the legislator also returns to the people. People leave part of their right to make decisions to their representatives, albeit conditionally, and the power of the legislator is not absolute and unchanged. In his view, power is conditional and limited, and if a government usurps people's freedoms and their natural rights, people will have the right to rebel and replace it. In Locke's

thought, respect for natural and civil rights includes freedom, the right to private property, the right to rebel and change the government, the separation of religion from politics, the principle of consent, conditional government, and a government that protects the interests and security of private property. Locke considers ownership prior to the formation of society and considers it the gem of natural right and does not include this right in the contract. Ownership of land is very important for him and he considers it as the result of human labor and the owner of land is the one who works on it. Locke, while in favor of constitutional government, at the same time wanted special political privileges for the section of society that belonged to the property owners. According to him, the political society is that wherever a number of people unite in a society and all of them hand over the executive power they have from natural law to the society, it is a civil society. We should support the government that respects the civil rights of people, and if it acts against it, the people have the right to revolt. Everyone should be subject to the law and rulers should rule through laws that have been known and approved by the people. The main purpose of human entering the society is to benefit from his life, wealth and property in conditions of peace and security. The government should be based on the principle of consent, limited and conditional, the main power is in the hands of the people, who entrust a part of it to the ruler, and in case of the ruler's inefficiency in providing civil interests, they take back their power. The duty of the government is to protect the civil rights of the people of the society. Dissolution of the government is if the people are not satisfied with it and it does not provide their interests and freedoms. For Locke, the concept of government means the

representative of public interests in order to provide the welfare, comfort and freedom of the people in accordance with the principle of consent, the theory of social and constitutional contract. Also, the civil society is independent from the government and the basis of its power, which overthrows the power in case of dissatisfaction.

In the framework of Karl Marx's thought, the main driving force of history is the production of material means of life, and human history moves forward on the axis that organizes human production. Man produces to fulfill his vital needs; in this way he changes the nature for his needs. It is not man's consciousness that determines his existence, but his social life determines his consciousness. As the economic situation of the society worsens and the proletariat gains power, the revolution will finally come to an end. The proletariat has taken over the government, and the government is prohibited from its powers in owning the means of production, and the economy is under social control. Marx presents contradictory views about the state: first, the state as an institution dependent on class domination. Here, the government is a tool of class domination that the ruling economic class uses the government to ensure its security and continuous economic exploitation and political control. The second is the Bonaparte government, which is the government as the pillars of the party, which is a form of an organization. It acts like a potential independent and autonomous authority and dominion and can regulate the class struggle in the direction of common interests or even restrain and divert the struggle in the direction of the supremacy of a certain political stratum. This opinion of Marx is explained in the analysis of the French government under the rule of Bonaparte. Third, the government

as the guide or solution of the revolution, which is rooted in Marx's initial criticism of Hegel, but in the course of his later studies, it underwent changes and was re-expressed in the light of the establishment of the Paris Commune regime in 1870. This view says that the government is always an isolated and alienated form of political organization because it is based on the division between the ruler and the ruled. Political alienation will disappear only when this division is dismantled through the self-organization of society.

According to Marx, the class that has economic sovereignty in the sense of ownership and control of the means of production also has political sovereignty. In the capitalist system, the government is an institution that maintains the property relations of the rich minority and thereby allows one class to oppress the other class. Therefore, the government does not represent all the people, both the rich and the poor. Therefore, there is no general relationship between the government and the civil society, but the government only represents the interests of some individuals and classes of society. As long as there are classes, the government also has a class nature, the government will always support the rulers. Democracy as an ideal can only emerge in a communist society. In the high stage of the evolution of human society, the existence of the state also expires and the state gradually disappears. The work of the future government will not be to rule over people, but to manage things, or in other words, to organize production. Therefore, the government during the establishment of communism is the representative of the entire social interest or civil society. Although centralized economic administration is necessary, the future government will have no political function. The

bourgeois state must be destroyed in general, but in the transition period, in which the working class is victorious in the fight against the exploiters, it still needs an instrument of violence, and for the first time in history, the state will be the instrument of the interests of the majority. The proletariat has used the power of the state to completely destroy the class, and in the meantime, the growth of the capitalist economy prepares the ground for the transition to socialism. But this transition is not only an economic change in the infrastructure, but also a change in the superstructure field. In a classless society, there is no need for the state to exist, so in the end, the state will disappear in a communist society. In Locke's thought, priority is given to the existence of civil society and then the conditional state is formed, but in Marx's thought, the pre-existing state supports and preserves the interests of a part of society.

In the comparison of two ideas; In John Locke's view, when people enter the society, they have provided the equality, freedom and executive power that they had in the natural state, so that the legislator can use them for the good of the society. But the purpose of this action is to better protect people's life, freedom and property. The power of the legislator and the power of the society should be used, and the main goal of the society should be to establish peace, comfort and welfare for all. In Locke's social contract theory, there are two contracts: the first is the contract that is concluded with the society, and the second is the contract that the majority of the society makes with the government. In the first contract, people give up all their natural freedoms and leave it to society, and civil society is practically formed. And in the second agreement, the majority of the people agree on the sovereignty

with their vote, and the government is formed. In this contract, the government does not have any rights, but only undertakes to act in the interest of the members of the society. When the society is established, it can determine the framework of any government it prefers and change it whenever it wants. In this situation, people do not delegate their natural rights and powers to an arbitrary and tyrannical government. According to Locke, the purpose and goal of the contract and delegation of power of the people to the ruler is to apply the common good. In addition, obedience to authority is not possible without consent. Institutions of power, whether legislation or government, are the representatives of the people and are elected by the majority of the people and can be changed. Based on this, the final power is in the hands of the people themselves, and the delegated power is conditional and limited. Locke considers society to consist of two groups of people, the group that owns property and the group that does not have it. He considers property owners to be wise and calculating people and have the right to vote, while the other group does not have the right to vote because they did not put in effort and did not own property. Therefore, his government is established by the majority vote, not by the vote of all the people. Marx's opinion about society is that the solidarity of free people indicates a society in which the material process of production no longer determines the entire pattern of human life. A reasonable society implies a system in which not the totality of work, but the total satisfaction of all individual possibilities, forms the principle of social organization. He thinks of a society that gives each person not according to his work, but according to his needs. Marx's analysis of society is expressed in the midst of economic

interpretation and understanding of history. In an agricultural society with a large population, ownership of land provides the key and guide to political, social, legal and cultural institutions, purposes and concepts. In such a society, the landlord class runs the government and society. In industrial societies, ownership is on the means of industrial production, so the main key is that the capitalists determine the fate of the society and manage it. Capitalist society is nothing but a mechanical collective and the only bond that can be seen in it is the negative bond of individual benefit. Regarding the liberal social contract, Marx considers it nothing more than a fiction created by the thinkers of the 17th century. The natural state that Locke depicts is not a state of war of all against all, but a state of freedom and obedience to natural law. Conditional and limited government means the trustee of people's right to vote based on the principle of consent, which can be changed in case of lack of trust. Free and equal human beings' live side by side with relative peace within the limits of natural law, they are not subject to a superior power, but relying on reason and conscience, they generally obey natural law. Natural law has principles such as the right to life, liberty and property. According to Marx, the natural law is that the natural destiny of a person is to live in a society that is not based on the negative bond of individual negation, but based on the independent and self-motivated need to interact with others. In a society where each individual freely considers himself to be one with the whole, there is no need for coercion and control. Marx believed that if the civil society against the ruling tyranny does not have monitoring and regulating systems such as independent press, trade unions, and popular parties and associations; The civil society and the

ruling authoritarian system will become more alienated day by day. But if the ruling system is democratic, the monitoring and adjusting institutions will develop while maintaining their popular nature.

It seems that the views of Locke and Marx about society and political power based on the social contract and the human condition in the natural state are divergent.

Regarding revolution and the right to revolt, Locke is of the opinion that if a government violates natural rights to maintain its power, the people have the right to try to overthrow the ruling order. Of course, it somehow encourages caution and moderation in this matter. He considers the revolution without bloodshed. If the government does not fulfill the trust and trust of the people, the common people have the right to stand up against the government and overthrow it. According to Marx, social revolution occurs when the system has left no other choice for the workers. What causes the final rebellion is the set of social and economic crises that increase over time. The normal periodic cycle, stagnation and crisis, shows the irrational nature of capitalism. Whenever ballot boxes are available, the socialist revolution has been achieved peacefully, otherwise it has been accompanied by violence. The emphasis on revolution is the prominent feature of Marx's model. Marx considers the working class to be the cause of the revolution of the modern capitalist era. With the victory of the working class, there will be an era without class divisions and wide social inequalities.

It seems that the two viewpoints about the cause of the revolution (the majority of the people - the working class) and the way of action (peaceful - violent) have divergence, and

about the right of rebellion and revolution they have convergence.

Regarding the government, Locke believes that the institution of the government can and should be understood as a tool to defend the life, freedom and property of its citizens. The reason for the existence of the government is to protect the rights of individuals. In such a way that divine providence has determined it, and approved its law. Preservation of the society as a whole and reaching the ultimate goals shows the necessity of a government based on the constitution. Locke was in favor of a kind of constitutional monarchy that has the executive power and a parliamentary assembly that deals with legislation. According to him, the formation of the government does not mean the final transfer of all the rights of citizens to the government, the rights of legislation and law enforcement can be transferred. Locke's government is a trustworthy government and if it does not have the trust of the people, it can be replaced and changed. Based on this, if the rights of individuals and the goals of society are regularly ignored, this right can be taken away from the government. The government formulated by Locke is a limited and conditional government, which is based on the principle of people's consent. Locke also believes that due to the extravagance of humans, it is possible for them to ignore their duties. Unless a higher authority guides them. This necessitates the institution of government. The power of all governments and all legislative institutions is limited and can be revoked.

In his writings, Marx deals with three types of attitudes about the state: in the first case, he considers the state to be a tool through which the ruling class exercises power over the subordinate classes. This attitude is based on the instrumental model that emphasizes the

coercive aspect of the government. In this view, the government is first of all considered to be the cause of suppressing the resistance of the working class against the exploitation of the capitalist class. The modern government is nothing but a committee to manage and administer the affairs of the entire bourgeoisie. According to this model, economic power simply turns into political power, and by means of it, the dominant bourgeoisie rules over the lower classes through the liberal government. The second point of view about the government presents a different model of the government, which can be called the arbitration model. In the 18th book of Brumaire Louis Bonaparte, Marx presents an understanding of the modern state in which he considers a relative independence for the state against the interests of the bourgeoisie. In this view, in some exceptional moments when the bourgeoisie cannot fully exercise its dominion over the other classes that it must fight against; The modern state grows with such power that it may become an arena for conflicting interests and apparent mediation and even act independently to limit the power of the bourgeoisie. But the power of the government is not suspended in the air, but only the interests of the classes that are manifested at the political level and finally the economic power will determine how to use the power of the government. So, despite the relative independence of the modern state, economic power eventually turns into political power. Because the government needs the material support of the historically superior class, and therefore, it ultimately acts in the direction of securing the interests of the bourgeoisie. In the third look at the government, in the economic work of his intellectual maturity period, he presents a model called the functionalist view. Based on

this attitude, which is presented in the third volume of the Capital book, the government is a superstructure whose nature is completely determined by the change in the economic foundation of the society. It should also be pointed out that during the transition from capitalist society to socialist society; According to Marx, like the first view, the state is a tool in the hands of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is used to advance the goals of the working-class society until achieving the desired result, which is to reach a society without a communist class.

According to the presented materials, it seems that in terms of the necessity of existence in

the short term, the government is on the path of convergence, but the continuation of its function (necessity of existence - destruction and lack of need) is on the path of divergence. And also, in terms of playing a role, they are similar and convergent in the case of (arbitrator government-intermediary government) and different and divergent in the case of (arbitrator government/trustee government-instrumental government/functionalist government).

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