

Understanding Aristotelian Ethics in Global Diplomacy:
Achieving Eudaimonia Through Virtuous International Leadership

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This research was prepared for the Faculty of Political Science at the University of Lethbridge, Canada, and describes Aristotle's ethical concept of eudaimonia, places it on a global scale, and provides recommendations for global leaders regarding the same. The opinions, conclusions and recommendations presented herein are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the University of Lethbridge or any of the parties to this project.

ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to explore the application of Aristotelian ethics in the realm of global diplomacy, with a focus on developing a framework for nation's leaders to achieve eudaimonia for their citizens and globally. The concept of eudaimonia finds its roots in Aristotle's ethics, where he emphasizes the importance of leading a virtuous life for human flourishing. This paper therefore begs the question: how can eudaimonia be applied to international leadership and into the modern geopolitical context? Aristotle states: "the legislator should look to two things in enacting laws, the territory and the human beings. But further, one would do finely to add that he should look to the neighboring regions, in the first place if the city is to lead a political way of life and not one of isolation" (*Politics, II.1265a19*). The specific problem in international leadership is that leaders often face the dilemma of balancing short-term political gains with long-term global well-being. The pressure for immediate results can many times conflict with the patient and strategic approach required for sustainable flourishing and collaborating with international counterparts. The interconnectedness of nations in the modern world underscores the need for leaders who consider the well-being of not only their own citizens but also the global community who understand that by focusing on the common good and shared prosperity, not only can leaders achieve eudaimonia for their nation, but it can be achieved throughout the globe. Although applying a pedagogy of achieving eudaimonia in international relations may face challenges due to cultural variations interpreting and prioritizing well-being differently, it is a necessary task as leaders begin to recognize the importance of moral and virtuous behavior in addressing global challenges. This research seeks to bridge ancient philosophical ideals with the complex dynamics of contemporary global politics by investigating how Aristotelian principles can inform the ethical conduct of leaders, foster cooperation among nations, and contribute to the common good on a global scale.

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PREFACE

Aristotle and international affairs, a topic rarely heard of in politics as this philosopher has little to say about it. Aristotle does touch on the subject matter from time to time in his works, such as his explanation of war and peace, the relationship between virtue and law, and comments regarding military training and eudaimonia¹. However, he would go so far as to regard the conduct of global diplomacy as a factor either promoting or inhibiting the life of eudaimonia for the city, but, as we explore in this research, the application of his virtue politics is necessary for the wellbeing of contemporary global diplomacy. This paper will argue that Aristotle's cultivation of the virtues of wisdom (mainly practical), magnanimity, courage, temperance, and contemplation by virtuous leaders within global diplomacy are the main drivers to achieving eudaimonia for their citizens. This will be done through summarizing Aristotle's virtue and political theory in Chapter 1, of which commences with an overview of his theory and is further broken up into two parts outlining Aristotle's theoretical work from his *Nicomachean Ethics* (pp.14-27) and *The Politics* (pp. 28-36); Chapter 2 will cover contemporary examples of political leaders practicing these virtues as well as examining the opposite from the critics of Aristotle in international relations point of view; Chapter 3 will conclude the paper to pull the main argument of the paper back in detail with final comments on diplomacy as a mean to achieving the common good. This view aims to demonstrate how a leader may lead their nation to achieve

¹ Pakaluk, Michael, *Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 47. Often translated as "happiness" or "human flourishing". Eudaimonia is not merely a fleeting emotion or pleasure, but rather a state of living well and achieving one's highest potential as a human being. It involves the cultivation of virtue, rationality, and excellence in all aspects of life.

eudaimonia, tying together political theory and international relations from the Aristotelian viewpoint.

With that said, what is eudaimonia? Aristotle refers to the ultimate goal of human life as the means to achieve the highest good. He agrees that all people will call this *eudaimonia*, the highest form of happiness of which all human beings should strive towards. It is understood that we shall think of achieving happiness through the pursuit of eudaimonia of which Michael Pakaluk outlines in his examination of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, has four simple criteria:

- I. *Eudaimonia* is something stable. It is not therefore a fluctuating feeling, but some kind of lasting condition.
- II. *Eudaimonia* is objective, that is, someone might suppose he has *eudaimonia* but be wrong about it.
- III. *Eudaimonia* is universal. It is similar for all human beings, not something different for each person.
- IV. *Eudaimonia* has some relationship to divinity, either because it comes from the gods, or it is a condition like that of the gods.²

In a very literal sense, eudaimonia means “well-demoned-ness”, or “‘humaning’ excellently”.³

The simple act of having the mentality associated with eudaimonia will not allow an individual to achieve the state, rather it is an activity achieved through continuous virtuous action: “since happiness is an activity of soul in accordance with perfect virtue, we must consider the nature of virtue; for perhaps we shall thus see better the nature of happiness.”⁴ Leon Kass provides a good overview of the meaning in his works, *Leading a Worthy Life: Finding Meaning in Modern*

² Pakaluk, *Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*, 48.

³ Kass, Leon R, *Leading a Worthy Life: Finding Meaning in Modern Times* (Encounter Books, 2017), 327.

⁴ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. Sir David Ross, ed. Lesley Brown (Oxford University Press, 2009), 1102a5-7.

Times where he states it is “an enviable way of living-and-being, approaching blessedness” whereby “unlike those who would equate human flourishing with mere prosperity, Aristotle insists that it is not the possession of some external good like wealth or rank or honor, or of some internal good like beauty or health or even unused virtue, but rather is synonymous with activity – with activity of the *soul*, activity of the human soul *as human*.”⁵ Providing examples, Kass goes on to state, “we human beings flourish when we are *at work*, not when we are asleep...the basketball player as basketball player flourishes only during the game, the statesman as statesman only when actively engaged in rule, the musician only when making music, the thinker only when thinking.”⁶ Therefore, it is during this state of passionate action where eudaimonia is pursued. This then carries over to align with the aim of the leader in connecting to the happiness of the political community in that when the individual is flourishing, they are more likely to be supportive of any government, whether democratic or oligarchic, because they are likely to be benefitting mentally, socially, and most likely financially from the environment created by the virtuous leader. In such an environment, the individual is more likely to contribute to the political community to further encourage support the current government.

It is important to note that although Aristotle’s eudaimonia seems an idealistic pursuit, his idealism is not as extreme as Immanuel Kant’s view of politics, yet he is not exactly a realist in his virtue ethics and pursuit of eudaimonia. Where Aristotle might demonstrate some of his realist qualities is in his discussion of military training and war and peace as the “natural art of acquisition.”⁷ He explains that “the good man should be a soldier and a citizen, and the soldier should be a good man. The training of soldiers should therefore be regarded as part of the

⁵ Kass, *Leading a Worthy Life: Finding Meaning in Modern Times*, 327.

⁶ *Ibid*, 328.

⁷ Aristotle, *The Politics*, trans. Carnes Lord (University of Chicago Press, 1984), 1256b3.

training of citizens.”⁸ Alluding to the idea that the good man⁹, the good citizen, and the soldier coincide with one another. Aristotle identifies the good citizen with good soldier as they do not only share in the constitution, but they also serve it on behalf of the ruled citizens. The good citizen is referring to the rulers of a city, whereby “the ruled citizen” is not a full citizen. By this definition, the soldier would not be classified as a good citizen, however, Aristotle counts the soldiers of the ideal city in addition to its rulers, as good citizens. He distinguishes soldiers from those “who share in the constitution” however, they are not good men as they are intellectually immature citizens still in the process of acquiring practical wisdom.¹⁰ It is then not to be confused that the good man and good citizen/soldier coincide with one another. It is a matter of civic excellence which “must be possessed by all the citizens, otherwise the polis would not be the best (and the context is the best politeia); whereas the excellence of a good man cannot belong to all, since the citizens of a good city cannot be all good men.”¹¹ Aristotle states regarding the same: “the excellence of the citizen must be an excellence relative to the constitution...there cannot be a single absolute excellence of the good citizen. But the good man is so called in virtue of a single absolute excellence. It is thus clear that it is possible to be a good citizen without possessing the excellence which is the quality of a good man.”¹²

We see the notion of the good citizen coinciding with the good soldier still a popular practice in the modern world in nations with mandatory military training such as Greece, South

⁸ Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1277a10-12.

⁹ When “man” is referenced to in this paper, I speak of all individuals alike. “Man” simply coincides with Aristotle’s writing due to his different perception of gender roles during his time.

¹⁰ Keyt, David, “THE GOOD MAN AND THE UPRIGHT CITIZEN IN ARISTOTLE’S ETHICS AND POLITICS,” *Social Philosophy and Policy* 24, no. 2 (2007): 225. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0265052507070239>.

¹¹ Develin, Robert, “The Good Man and the Good Citizen in Aristotle’s ‘Politics.’” *Phronesis* 18:1 (1973): 71. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4181903>.

¹² Aristotle, “*The Politics*. Trans. E. Barker. 1276b16 – 1277b32.” In Develin, “The Good Man and the Good Citizen in Aristotle’s ‘Politics,’” 71.

Korea, and Sweden to name a few. However, though the good citizen is training, it does not mean the nation he serves is going to war. In Aristotle's view, if needed, military training is meant to protect the nation, however it serves the purpose to develop the good man led by virtue and most importantly the leader in the man: "the ruler should learn by being ruled, just as a man should command cavalry after having served as a trooper, command a regiment after having served in a regiment and been in command of a company and a platoon. Hence there is much truth in the saying that it is impossible to become a good ruler without having been a subject."¹³

Such things as the virtues, to be discussed in further detail throughout the paper, are naturally destroyed through deficiency and excess, just as we see in the case of strength and health for example, excessive as well as deficient gymnastic exercises destroy strength, and, similarly both drink and food destroy health as they increase or decrease in quantity. This excess and deficiency of virtue creates a vicious man who impedes the realization of a good regime by possibly creating a corrupt environment leading to political instability and disallowing civil engagement. This then allows for fragility in cooperation among states as other nations may disagree with the conduct of their neighbours' regime. Even if regimes are classified as Aristotle's 'good regime', it is possible to have conflicting interests whereby the common good of one nation simply is not the common good of the other, just as it is possible for citizens within a nation to disagree with the views of their leader, leading to another cause for a regime to be destroyed: revolution. This is because Aristotle thinks a good regime is quite self-sufficient in an economic and moral sense. It is not an absolute necessity for a regime to have relations with others, therefore one might agree that two good regimes might agree to leave each other alone as much as they can. It is further possible that virtue and vice alone do not explain the cause of war

¹³ Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1277b8-11.

whereby misunderstandings of intentions among state actors can lead to rash actions. But it then can be argued that if this is the case, the leaders were not virtuous to begin with and therefore did not have a hope in achieving a life of flourishing. Aristotle's classification of a good leader would not allow their temperance nor their practical wisdom to fade in such a situation. Rather, "the best way to secure obedience was through just rule."¹⁴ As international conflict is frequently between democratic¹⁵ and oligarchic¹⁶ states (Athens v. Sparta, West v. Soviet Union/Russia/China), conflict between nations can be approached through Aristotle's fundamental conflict between democrats and oligarchs. Aristotle believes "factional strife to be the condition of a socially diseased *polis*, such as a democracy or an oligarchy, from which only more limited goods can be expected as an outcome."¹⁷ It is not provoked by a lack of understanding for the other, rather, the causes of factional strife are "events such as acts of contempt, arrogance, disproportionate growth in key sections of the city, and election intrigues. Such events excite strong emotion and provide factionaries an opportunity to seize power."¹⁸ It does not mean the two may not share a global common good, however, they perhaps do not share a common moral ground. Using Weed's analysis of democracy and oligarchy for domestic politics to analyze international relations, we see that both perceptions of the world and fulfillment of happiness are different, leading one to believe they are greater than the other whereby they do not acknowledge equality across different types of government. The only similarity however is that both oligarchies and democracies draw upon equality and merit. For example, democrats still need to judge who is a meritorious democrat and lover of equality, and

¹⁴ Hankins, James, *Virtue Politics* (Harvard University Press, 2019), 33.

¹⁵ Rule of equality; all human-beings are equal at birth; born free. "when those have authority who do not possess a [significant] amount of property but are poor." (Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1279b18-20).

¹⁶ Rule of the wealthy. "when those with property have authority in the regime." (Aristotle, *The Politics*. 1279b17).

¹⁷ Weed, Ronald L, *Aristotle on Stasis: A Moral Psychology of Political Skepticism* (Saint Louis University, 2005), 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

within an oligarchy, they still acknowledge equality among oligarchs. Aristotle's effort to create a good regime consists of finding ways to reconcile these two opposite claims, both in terms of principle and in terms of institutions.

When we discuss eudaimonia in this paper, we are discussing Aristotle's view of the matter. However, it must be noted that the Greek and Roman philosophical school of thought, Stoicism¹⁹, discusses eudaimonia in a different light. Stoicism teaches that the path to eudaimonia is achieved by an individual whom "remains calm under pressure and avoids emotional extremes"²⁰ regardless of external factors where "the idea is that only people who have cultivated virtue and self-control in themselves can bring positive change in others."²¹ This differs from Aristotle's view that virtue and external factors such as friendship are necessary for a flourishing life. Both schools of thought are, of course, similar in the sense that both the Stoics and Aristotle emphasize the importance of virtue in achieving eudaimonia. Aristotle discusses eudaimonia closely tied to the cultivation of moral and intellectual virtues, as discussed previously, such as courage, wisdom, justice, and temperance. Similarly, Stoics are described as "the man of action and virtue"²² teaching that virtue or moral excellence is the sole good. While Aristotle and the Stoics both aim for eudaimonia, their understandings of happiness differ. Aristotle views eudaimonia in a teleological sense whereby it is the highest good and the ultimate goal of human life, encompassing a sense of fulfillment, derived from living virtuously

¹⁹ Philosophical school of thought originated by Zeno of Cyprus around 300 BCE, later developed by the philosopher Marcus Aurelius during the Roman Empire. Stoics believe that "everything around us operates according to a web of cause and effect, resulting in a rational structure of the universe." External things like wealth, health, and reputation are considered indifferent and should not be the focus of one's life. (Pigliucci, Massimo, "The Philosophy of Stoicism," TED TALK, New York, 2017, video 5 min., 24 sec).

²⁰ Pigliucci, "The Philosophy of Stoicism," at 1 min., 16 sec.

²¹ Ibid, at 2 min., 58 sec.

²² Hume, David, *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary*, [Revised Edition], ed. Eugene F. Miller. (Liberty Classics, 1987), 146.

to achieve external social factors within one's community that then leads to happiness for all. Stoicism explains that "to be happy is thus to be virtuous – if one seeks happiness, one ought, with the utmost diligence, to cultivate virtue in oneself."²³ Aligning eudaimonia with inner peace achieved through living in accordance with virtue alone regardless of poverty, hunger, disease, honor, or friendship. Thus, realists do not typically align with the Stoics view on eudaimonia. While they value virtues, a detachment and suppression of emotions to achieve tranquility can be aligned with the lack of connection with external factors, which can seem less attuned than the naturalism that Aristotle's philosophy is grounded in. It can then be suggested that Aristotle's ethics provides a more fruitful ground for having a political theory than does Stoicism, which does not always know what to do with other people.

Aristotle's political philosophy is teleological. He believed that human beings are by nature political animals inherently inclined to live in communities and engage in politics to fulfill their potential for virtue and excellence. This concept posits that all human actions aim at some end or good meaning that something has reached its stopping point, for he states, "but the nature is the end or 'that for the sake of which'. For if a thing undergoes a continuous change and there is a stage which is last, this stage is the end or 'that for the sake of which'."²⁴ This end he refers to being eudaimonia as the sake of which all actions should strive towards through the virtuous manner. At this level of analysis, Aristotle proceeds naturalistically. He considers the ways of life that organisms lead by nature, and he pursues corresponding functional accounts of these organisms' parts and capacities. Aristotle speaks of eudaimonia to be achieved by everyone; therefore, how can his ethics be applied into the global realm to make for a peaceful, productive,

²³ Hume, *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary*, 149-150.

²⁴ Aristotle, *The Physics*, trans. Daniel Graham. (Generic NL Freebook Publisher, 1998), 2194a29-30.

and virtue-driven world? This paper outlines a framework rooted in Aristotelian ethics that can be applied to international leadership education. Additionally, it aims to provide insights into the practical challenges and opportunities for implementing Aristotelian principles in the realm of global diplomacy. This research will contribute to bridging the gap between international relations and Aristotelian thought providing the practical enhancement of virtue-driven decision making in international relations. One will come away from this reading having answered the following question: How can human flourishing be achieved globally through the virtuous acts of global leaders? It must be noted that simply applying the logic of the polis to the logic of international relations will not be done in this paper as Aristotle would disagree because the polis is qualitatively different from the families, tribes, and other sub political units that form the polis. The next chapter will focus on applying Aristotle's "mean" argument of ethics (virtues) and politics (good regime and the middle-class regime) to its implications for international affairs and diplomacy. For Aristotle's conception of the "good regime" provides a basis of a regime that incorporates elements of a mixed constitution, the rule of law, and active citizenship, and a balance of power, whereby Tilo Schabert states in his works, *How World Politics is Made: France and the Reunification of Germany*, "In a world dominated by power, a balance of power has to reign between the dominant powers – this was...the "central principle," the "golden rule," and it was this that gave Europe its meaning in world policy."²⁵

²⁵ Schabert, Tilo, *How World Politics Is Made: France and the Reunification of Germany*, (University of Missouri Press, 2009), 37.

CHAPTER 1

ARISTOTELIAN POLITICAL AND VIRTUE THEORY

“Every art and every inquiry, and similarly every action and choice, is thought to aim at some good; and for this reason the good has rightly been declared to be that at which all things aim.”²⁶

Virtue Politics

Virtue Politics²⁷ is a key aspect of Aristotle’s political philosophy, which emphasizes the inseparable connection between ethics and politics, arguing that the cultivation of virtue in both individuals and the state is essential for both flourishing and the well-being of the political community. Since Aristotle’s political thought is grounded in teleology²⁸, he states that the telos of human life is eudaimonia and virtue is essential for achieving the same. Virtue is not simply about following rules or seeking pleasure but rather about cultivating moral and intellectual excellence through virtuous habits and actions “in our dealings with one another we carry out just actions, courageous actions, and actions of the other virtues – amidst our business deals, interests, actions of every sort, and our emotions – by taking care to safeguard what is fitting in each case.”²⁹ Aristotle identifies several moral virtues, including courage, temperance, justice, and wisdom, both philosophical and practical, which enable individuals to live a well-balanced life to achieve eudaimonia. These virtues, for Aristotle, “were descriptions of the best patterns of behavior, leading to happiness for states as well as individuals. By the same token he taught that laws had to be made and as far as possible administered by the wise and virtuous, regimes were

²⁶ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1094a1-3.

²⁷ “Emphasizes the need to develop, through reflection and practice, excellent patterns of conduct so as to achieve eudaimonia.” (Hankins, *Virtue Politics*, 36.)

²⁸ The idea that everything has a purpose or end (telos).

²⁹ Pakaluk, *Aristotle’s Nicomachean Ethics*, 325.

to avoid eventual corruption.”³⁰ Therefore, if a political leader were to act in a virtuous manner while engaged in global diplomacy, this could only strengthen its ties with international relationships while promoting eudaimonia within their nation. It must be noted that this paper is focused on virtuous leaders’ conduct toward one another in the international arena for these leaders set a standard for international conduct through the use of mutual respect and constructive discussions. This conduct relies on the virtue of leaders of their respective regimes in addition to the international realm as Aristotle’s description of the virtuous leader in a ‘good regime’ is likely to foster positive respect and a commitment to justice within their nation. Since this is their belief of conducting themselves while ruling within their nation, it is likely to translate into international relations through their effective behavior, and practical and philosophically wise decision-making. A lack of virtue in either realm can lead to conflict and ethical lapses in diplomacy.

Given Aristotle’s ultimate purpose of the *polis*, leading a virtuous life should be a necessary trait of a leader in order to enable citizens to achieve eudaimonia, and thus fulfill the purpose of leading a nation. James Hankins regards moral flourishing in his works, *Virtue Politics* in stating: “rulers whose rule brings a general prosperity, have a strong hedge against challenges to their legitimacy”³¹ for “no state can last long that relies on force or the threat of force to exact obedience.”³² It can be said that politics, therefore, is not about power nor governance, rather it is about fostering virtuous living among its neighbours for the flourishing

³⁰ Hankins, *Virtue Politics*, 35.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 33.

³² *Ibid.*, 31.

of it's citizens - the state has a moral responsibility to promote the cultivation of virtue and the common good within and outside of the nation.

Eudaimonia = Culmination of The Life of Virtue

Eudaimonia emerges as a complex and versatile goal of human life, whose richness cannot be fully grasped without an understanding of its relationships towards other issues of high philosophical relevance: moral virtues (courage, magnanimity, and temperance) and intellectual virtues (practical wisdom, contemplation). The culmination of such virtues might characterize the political realm through exemplary leadership gained through respect by one's citizens. Virtuous leaders whose decisions are guided by a concern for justice and the common good, as opposed to personal or nationalistic interests, are also more likely to engage in diplomacy and conflict resolution with a genuine commitment to peace and finding a common ground for the benefit of all nations.

According to Aristotle, moral virtue "is concerned with passions and actions and in these there is excess, defect, and the intermediate. For instance, both fear and confidence and appetite and anger and pity and in general pleasure and pain may be felt both too much and too little, and in both cases not well; but to feel them at the right times, with reference to the right objects, towards the right people, with the right motive, and in the right way, is what is both intermediate and best, and this is characteristic of virtue."³³ But how does one pinpoint the mean in any given situation? As Aristotle explains, the rule for virtue is how the person of serious worth (*spoudaios*) would judge and act in a particular situation. It is not a preset set of laws or rules, rather, it is a judgment by the person with the virtues that are best equipped to judge. Moral

³³ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1106b16-23.

education in this sense is about imitating good examples as opposed to following rules, therefore, if an individual is wise, Aristotle deems we should follow his example. The mean for the polis is the rule of law which cannot be said for international relations; therefore, this is where the reliance of virtue is of the utmost importance because when there is no law operating, then trust between leaders becomes even more essential and virtue builds said trust. There is a subjective mean however, which differs from case to case, as Aristotle explains: “for the brave man appears rash relatively to the coward, and cowardly relatively to the rash man; and similarly the temperate man appears self-indulgent relatively to the insensible man, insensible relatively to the self-indulgent, and the liberal man prodigal relatively to the mean man, mean relatively to the prodigal.”³⁴ Aristotle believes the example to follow is one and the same at all times in all places and regardless of who you are and what is being dealt with. Moral virtue belongs to this mean, meaning there can be no absolute, universal rule in matters of morality and ethics. Aristotle explains it well in his discussion regarding temperance: “not everyone craves for this or that kind of these, nor for the same things. Hence such craving appears to be our own. Yet it has of course something natural about it; for different things are pleasant to different kinds of people, and some things are more pleasant to everyone than chance objects.”³⁵ What is courageous, and therefore morally correct for one individual, may well be reckless for another in the same situation and cowardice for another in a different situation. The danger from that mindset is, of course, moral relativism. Should we conclude that since two people and two situations are never the same, we are free to do whatever we desire, and no moral judgment can be exercised? Aristotle would not agree. The judgment of the *spoudaios* would conclude that what is morally correct may be

³⁴ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1108b18-23.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 1118b12-15.

subjective, but for a certain person in a specific situation it is always one and clearly defined. Such virtue shall be imitated to ensure a life led by virtuous action.

NICOMACHEAN ETHICS

Courage, magnanimity and temperance are moral virtues. Courage is the virtue that enables individuals to face danger, difficulty or pain without succumbing to fear or cowardice. It does not merely entail physical bravery but also involves moral courage: the willingness to stand up for what is right even in the face of opposition. Courage, however, does not mean that a man is simply a fearless man, although Aristotle would agree the courageous man is mistaken for being a fearless man. For “a courageous person will assess the situation, they’ll know their own abilities, and they’ll take action that is right in the particular situation.”³⁶ A courageous person is not fearless for they are not rash, “for some who in the dangers of war are cowards are liberal and are confident in face of the loss of money. Nor is a man a coward if he fears insult to his wife and children or envy or anything of the kind; nor brave if he is confident when he is about to be flogged.”³⁷ The excess of courage would find an individual reckless and the deficiency where the individual is cowardice: “the motive of courage is the noble: characteristics of the opposite vices, cowardice and rashness.”³⁸ A courageous man can be explained as knowing the right way to act. French military leader, Charles de Gaulle reinforces Aristotle’s view when he states, “when faced with the challenge of events, the man of character has recourse to himself...it is not that he is unaware of the risks involved, or careless of consequences, but that he takes their

³⁶ CrashCourse, “Aristotle and Virtue Theory,” Virginia, 2016, video, 4 min., 22 sec.

³⁷ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1115a20-24.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 1115b6.

measure honestly, and frankly accepts them.”³⁹ It does not mean the man is not fearless of the consequences, however, he chooses nobility in the face of death when the opportunity arises: “but courage is noble. Therefore, the end also is noble; for each thing is defined by its end. Therefore, it is for a noble end that the brave man endures and acts as courage directs.”⁴⁰

Magnanimity (*megalopsuchia*), also referred to as *pride*, is the virtue that literally means “great-souledness.”⁴¹ It is the individual who has a true and accurate sense of their own worth. Not to be confused with being boastful or arrogant, “the man is thought to be proud who thinks himself worthy of great things and *is* worthy of them; for he who does so beyond his deserts is a fool, but no virtuous man is foolish or silly.”⁴² This individual seeks honor that is rightly due to them based on their achievements. Even though Thomas Hobbes believes that “magnanimity is no more than glory,”⁴³ Aristotle views it as a moral virtue because it involves the proper assessment of one’s own excellence and the pursuit of honor that is aligned with this excellence. It reflects one’s own high moral and ethical standards and requires a person to be genuinely worthy of the honor they seek. Magnanimity is the mean between pusillanimity⁴⁴: “he who is worthy of little and thinks himself worthy of little”, and vanity: “he who thinks himself worthy of great things, being unworthy of them.”⁴⁵ Whereby “the proud man, then, is an extreme in

³⁹ De Gaulle, Charles, “Edge of the Sword [1932 AD, France]” In *Gateway to Statesmanship: Selections from Xenophon to Churchill* ed. John A. Burtka (Gateway Publishing, 2024), 20.

⁴⁰ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1115b23-25.

⁴¹ Ibid, 1123a1.

⁴² Ibid, 1123b1-4.

⁴³ Hobbes, Thomas. *Human Nature, or the Fundamental Elements of Policy*, in *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes*, ed. William Molesworth (J. Bohn, 1840), Vol. 4. 52.

⁴⁴ Translating to “smallness of soul”.

⁴⁵ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1123b7-10.

respect of the greatness of his claims, but intermediate in respect of the rightness of them; for he claims what is in accordance with his merits, while the others go to excess or fall short.”⁴⁶

Also known as self-control or moderation, temperance (*sophrosyne*) is the final moral virtue of restraining one’s desires and appetites in accordance with reason. Aristotle discusses temperance as “a mean concerned with pleasures, as we have already said; for it is concerned less, and in a different way, with pains.”⁴⁷ The temperate individual exercises restraint and moderation in both actions and words, avoiding provocative behavior that could escalate tensions or cause harm; but all the while still exercising interest and care for others. The individual also exercises self-control over desires and appetites, which is why Aristotle uses the discussion of craving food or drink as an example of avoiding overindulgence of natural pleasures. It is about finding the balance in life to prevent excess and indulgence in pleasures, “In pleasures and pains, though not in all types, and in pains less than in pleasures, the mean is temperance, and the excess is intemperance.”⁴⁸ The same can be applied to the political significance of temperance whereby a temperate citizen is less likely to be driven by personal excesses or vices that could disrupt social order, creating a more stable community. As with a temperate leader who might avoid excess in their rule, ensuring an ethical government and reasonable decision-making with the interest of the nation in mind as opposed to personal ambitions.

Intellectual virtues encompass traits of the mind that guide us in thinking well and making sound judgments, helping us understand the world and make decisions in accordance with reason. The two discussed in this research are practical wisdom (*phronesis*) and

⁴⁶ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1123b11-14.

⁴⁷ Aristotle, “Nicomachean Ethics” In *Other Selves: Philosophers on Friendship*, ed. Michael Pakaluk (Hackett Publishing, 1991), 1117b25-27.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 1107b5-9.

philosophical wisdom (*sophia*). Practical wisdom is the virtue of making sound judgments and decisions in accordance with moral and intellectual principles, not to be misunderstood for Aristotle's explanation of philosophic wisdom,⁴⁹ it is "a true and reasoned state of capacity to act with regard to the things that are good or bad for man."⁵⁰ Offering us a brief look into Aristotle's practical wisdom, which requires dexterity in specific and fluctuating situations, thus, characterizing international affairs, Tilo Schabert states: "Virtues, isolated or combined serve no purpose if another practical quality is not added to them: the intellectual virtue of being so consistent in the coherence of his own thinking that when the going gets tough, he does not think twice about continuing or straying from the path, motivated only by the convenient desire of not bruising others."⁵¹ Practical wisdom is the virtue of *actively* and consistently using all virtues, for the display of one virtue alone does not make one virtuous. Aristotle views practical wisdom as the master virtue that guides the proper exercise of all other virtues within a man, stating that it is the "knowledge of how to secure the ends of human life"⁵² enabling individuals to discern the right course of action in various situations. However, it is not the highest of objects, for "it would be strange to think that the art of politics, or practical wisdom, is the best knowledge, since man is not the best thing in the world."⁵³ In politics, Aristotle at times refers to practical wisdom as one in the same, however goes on to explain that political wisdom and practical wisdom are in fact, "the same state of mind, but their essence is not the same...practical wisdom plays a

⁴⁹ Practical wisdom, as explained by Aristotle, is a variable action that can be scientifically known and demonstrated. Whereby the state of mind is concerned with a man's own interests. Philosophic wisdom, on the other hand, is a wisdom regarding the good of each species and to have demonstration about things that are highest by nature. Aristotle says individuals who are philosophically wise "know things that are remarkable, admirable, difficult, and divine, but useless; namely because it is not human goods that they seek." (Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1141b6-8). Practical wisdom is concerned with all things human and the knowledge of applying said wisdom.

⁵⁰ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1140b5-6.

⁵¹ Schabert, *How World Politics Is Made: France and the Reunification of Germany*, 34.

⁵² Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1140a24.

⁵³ *Ibid*, 1141a22-24.

controlling part”⁵⁴ in politics, being legislative wisdom. Legislative wisdom, or in other words, political wisdom “has to do with action and deliberation”⁵⁵ which seeks the good of the polis. This type of wisdom has roots in and is very similar to practical wisdom however, since practical wisdom is concerned with the individual, political wisdom is greater in the eyes of Aristotle because its object is greater. But being practically wise for the concern of the individual aids in the understanding of other individuals from experience. For it is said by Aristotle “that a young man of practical wisdom cannot be found. The cause is that such wisdom is concerned not only with universals [(as philosophic wisdom does)] but with particulars, which become familiar from experience, but a young man has no experience, for it is length of time that gives experience.”⁵⁶

Aristotle rounds out the difference between practical wisdom and scientific knowledge in his example, as a young man can be a mathematician or a physicist because it is dealt with hard factual knowledge, that does not come with time, but instead with practice but the young man cannot be in politics for he has not yet experienced the application of concern for the individual. Aristotle thinks that, to grasp the content of eudaimonia, humans should consider activities that are such as to be chosen for themselves and not for the sake of higher ends. He states regarding the same – “for there is a need for leisure both with a view to the creation of virtue and with a view to political activities,”⁵⁷ reflecting his belief that leisure is essential not only for personal growth and the cultivation of virtue but also for active participation in civic life and political responsibilities. Philosophical contemplation, Aristotle thinks, is the activity that most of all has this end-like character, at least when compared with other activities. Philosophical wisdom

⁵⁴ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1141b22-23.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 1141b27.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 1142a12-17.

⁵⁷ Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1329a1-2.

(*sophia*) is the exercise of our contemplative intellect through reflection on actions, thoughts, and virtues. Aristotle stated regarding the virtue of contemplation, “now if you take away from a living being action, and still more production, what is left but contemplation? Therefore, the activity of god, which surpasses all others in blessedness, must be contemplative; and of human activities, therefore that which is most akin to this must be most of the nature of happiness.”⁵⁸

Contemplation can also be in the form of leisure activities for the good regime – we see this in contemporary politics when politicians go into their communities and take part in festivals, community activities, spending time with citizens to reflect on their duties. Since contemplation is choice worthy for the sake of higher ends, some interpretations of Aristotle think that contemplation is useless. However, it can be argued that for Aristotle, contemplation most of all has the character of happiness, which is an unqualifiedly end. Thus, contemplation is the happiest activity that we can pursue. Aristotle thinks that, as eternally active and maximally self-sufficient, has the happiest kind of life. Humans attain happiness by approximating this God’s eternal activity – not by trying *to be* God, but by trying to be fully active as the kinds of living beings are. Aristotle’s God, however, does what the maximally self-sufficient eudaimonic individual would do: this God contemplates itself. Like Gods, human beings also have a capacity for contemplation, whereas no plants and no other animals have this capacity. Aristotle views the virtuous man as “a man [who] wishes to live with himself...His mind is well stored too with subjects of contemplation. And he grieves and rejoices, more than any other, with himself; for the same thing is always painful...[however] he has, so to speak, nothing to regret.”⁵⁹ It is in contemplation that human beings find their *telos* or eudaimonia. Those lacking in this will lack the wisdom to understand the ends of human life that make human beings happy and thus, these

⁵⁸ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1178b20-24.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 1166a24-29.

individuals will not make good leaders. The notion of contemplative political leaders might be a little strange – for the same reasons Socrates thought the idea of philosopher-rulers would be laughed at, however, even great political leaders in the modern world devote time to philosophical and political contemplation, such as former President of the United States, Barack Obama. Obama often carved out time for personal reflection and contemplation throughout his presidency, admitting in his autobiography, *Dreams from My Father*: “I would learn to slip in and out of different worlds, understanding the myriad ways in which people spoke to each other, played with language, shaped their dreams. It was a way of fitting the pieces of myself together, a subtle but useful form of self-contemplation.”⁶⁰ He would use his experiences and observations to engage in self-contemplation, allowing him to understand different perspectives and integrate them into his identity and worldview. There is a certain tension between the life of contemplation and the life of action, such as a person of action like a President of the United States, that Aristotle notes. And however aware I am of this tension, perhaps contemplation, while not about political action, can improve political action by improving other virtues such as temperance and practical wisdom. Leaders who engage in contemplation are better equipped to understand complex issues through a clearer sense of virtues. When leaders contemplate upon such virtues, they are more likely to act in ways that align with the same to foster fairness and justice in their decision-making as opposed to making rash decisions. By contemplating, the leader is, in a sense, doing the work before the crisis has arisen so that when a crisis comes, they are able to offer a more wise and temperate decision. Obama understood that one’s leadership must be reflected upon, and mind well-rested, to ensure decisions are being made on behalf of the common good.

⁶⁰ Obama, Barack, *Dreams from My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance* (Crown Publishing, 2004), 294.

However, note there is a significance between a life of leisure and contemplation for the good regime. Both as necessary for political leaders to practice as the other. Mary Nichols explains leisure from Aristotle's viewpoint as the following:

Leisure is not idleness, as opposed to education; nor is it rest, relaxation, or play (*Politics* 1137b37-38a1). Rather, leisure refers to the noble activity or activities that human beings choose for their own sake and that constitute their happiness. Occupation (*ascholia*) is literally the absence of leisure. A person without leisure does not engage in his proper activity...*Ascholia* is for the sake of leisure, as a means is for the sake of an end. It is more passive than leisure, for it is a reaction to circumstances. Leisure is the truly active human state."⁶¹

In this explanation, the absence of leisure is true in Latin, where *negotium* (business) literally means the negation of *otium* (leisure or peace). In the modern day, individuals tend to think in terms of the reverse, that leisure is the absence of work, for example, a day of rest is understood as non-action or non-work, which Aristotle claims is servile: "Happiness is thought to depend on leisure; for we are busy that we may have leisure."⁶² Occupation refers to the contemplation of one's virtue as it applies to achieving political goals. Leisure is just as necessary an attribute of a good leader as is contemplation as John von Heyking distinguishes in his works, *The Form of Politics: Aristotle and Plato on Friendship*, "the regime that does not know what to do with peace will necessarily be warlike. A regime that knows nothing but the pursuit of necessities will only direct its energies into excelling at that pursuit, whose main expression is excellence at war."⁶³

⁶¹ Nichols, Mary, *Citizens and Statesmen: A Study of Aristotle's Politics*, 152-53. In Von Heyking, John. *The Form of Politics: Aristotle and Plato on Friendship*, (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), 59-60.

⁶² Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1177b4-5.

⁶³ Von Heyking, *The Form of Politics: Aristotle and Plato on Friendship*, 60.

Practical Reason Without Virtue

Practical reason without Aristotle's virtue ethics cannot lead to flourishing. Aristotle views virtues not merely as intellectual knowledge but as habitual disposition to act in morally good ways. Therefore, without the cultivation of his outlined virtues of courage, temperance, justice, and wisdom, leaders can possess as much practical reasoning skills as they wish however, they will lack the moral character necessary to consistently make the correct decisions in various situations. Committing too many acts of evil undermines the ability to be trusted as well as the very legitimacy of the rule of a leader and the society. For example, years of morally ambiguous and dirty hands actions by the United States military has corroded trust in the United States throughout the world, as well as the legitimacy of democracy itself. If a leader wants its regime to be honoured, the leader must first be honourable. It can further be related to an individual who has as much knowledge as possible, however, does not have any emotional intelligence. Yes, practical reason alone can lead to decisions that prioritize efficiency, short-term gains or personal interests over the common good and is not as morally inflexible as other moral theories including natural law of Kantianism, which renders it capable of dealing with morally ambiguous situations. However, virtue encompasses qualities such as integrity, empathy and a sense of justice, which guide leaders to make decisions that benefit society, even if they may not be the most immediately advantageous. Decisions made through virtue are accompanied by a moral compass, ensuring that they are not just pragmatic but also ethical and considerate of the well-being of all individuals and communities. While practical reason helps leaders navigate complex issues and make effective decisions, virtue ensures that those decisions are morally sound and aligned with the principles of justice and fairness. Thus, practical reason needs to be accompanied by virtue for effective leadership. Aristotle emphasizes the importance of

integrating reason and emotion in moral decision-making when he states, “for to such person, as to the incontinent, knowledge brings no profit; but to those who desire and act in accordance with reason, knowledge about such matters will be of great benefit.”⁶⁴ Virtues serve as the bridge between rational deliberation and emotional responses, guiding individuals to act in ways that are both rational and emotionally balanced. Without virtues, practical reason may be susceptible to being swayed by irrational desires or passions, leading to morally deficient actions that do not lead citizens of a nation, or the world, to achieve lives of eudaimonia.

Eudaimonia As a Political Goal

Aristotle rejects the notion that eudaimonia and politics are separate spheres of human activity; he sees them as deeply interconnected as our lives in political community consist in being neighbours, friends, fellow citizens, and fellow persons, as “politics uses the rest of the sciences, and since, again, it legislates as to what we are to do and what we are to abstain from, the end of this science must include those of the others, so that this end must be the human good.”⁶⁵ Eudaimonia provides the foundation for politics, guiding the actions and decisions of individuals within the political community. Conversely, politics has a profound impact on eudaimonia, shaping the moral character and values of its citizens through laws, institutions, and social norms. “No activity that served only the purpose of making a living, of sustaining only the life process, was permitted to enter the political realm”⁶⁶ as a citizen would not be led to a life of flourishing. Rather, “the “good life,” as Aristotle called the life of the citizen, therefore was not merely better, more carefree or nobler than ordinary life, but of an altogether different quality. It

⁶⁴ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1095a9-12.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 1094b4-7.

⁶⁶ Arendt, Hannah, *The Human Condition* (The University of Chicago Press, 1958), 59.

was “good” to the extent that by having mastered the necessities of sheer life, by being freed from labor and work, and by overcoming the innate urge of all living creatures for their own survival, it was no longer bound to the biological life process.”⁶⁷ A part of making up the good life, is the life of good citizenship. The life of good citizenship is to live a life oriented towards the common good as opposed to one of isolation for “by self-sufficient we do not mean that which is sufficient for a man by himself, for one who lives a solitary life...since man is born for citizenship.”⁶⁸ To lead such a life of citizenship, Aristotle posits all individuals shall actively participate in the life of the *polis* where “the citizen in an unqualified sense is defined by no other thing so much as by sharing in decision and office.”⁶⁹ This is not to say the regular citizen is to lead in the regime, rather the citizen is able to contribute to politics in some sense. However, it is necessary in the well-being of the *polis* not simply for the happiness of contribution by citizens, but it allows the next leader the opportunity to learn for “just as the cavalry commander learns by being commanded, the general by being led, and [similarly in the case of] the leader of a regiment or company. Hence this too has been rightly said – that it is not possible to rule well without having been ruled.”⁷⁰ The key idea is that while man is distinguished by reason, not all men possess sufficient reason to warrant citizenship – for example, Aristotle believes women’s reason lacks authority and natural slaves lack the capacity to lead their own lives and must therefore remain subject to the absolute rule of men.⁷¹ Rather, the citizen is good to the extent that

⁶⁷ Arendt, Hannah, *The Human Condition*, 58.

⁶⁸ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1097b9-12.

⁶⁹ Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1275a22-24.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 1277b10-14.

⁷¹ It is important to note Aristotle’s perception of the world during the time he wrote his *Politics*. Pivotal movements such as feminism and anti-apartheid were not to occur until decades after his lifetime. Although unfortunate, it was a norm for a man to be central to Aristotle’s “good citizen” however, it does not mean we cannot take what he says, and as we are applying it to international relations in this paper, we consider how it may be applicable to women today. As we know, during Aristotle’s lifetime, women would have been perceived to have one role, the child-bearer, and the slave, the worker – it is not rational to dismiss his thoughts on the good citizen entirely based on his

he adheres and contributes to the constitution that governs his city and possesses both practical and theoretical virtue.⁷² To serve something greater than oneself, on behalf of the common good of their neighbours. This active involvement in the political process is crucial through voting, participating in public debates, holding public office, and generally being engaged in the civic life of the *polis*. To be a good citizen for Aristotle one must demonstrate a virtuous, yet calibrated and agreeable notion of citizenship. The natural qualities of the citizen include the uniting of the qualities of head and heart – combining of courage and passion with brainpower and skill. Education and conformity to one’s regime further plays a key role in the formation of good citizenship to encourage stability and guard against revolution for “not everyone agrees that the same person is a citizen. Someone who is a citizen in a democracy is often not one in an oligarchy.”⁷³ Further, citizens share civic friendship with one another which is also a sign of their freedom. On the global scale, this would classify as the unity and legitimacy of a regime that is crucial for state conduct for internal disunity is a direct threat to the security of a state and its neighbours and allies. In Aristotle’s time, he would have known how frequently Athenian politicians allied with the enemies of Athens to pursue their own good, which of course harmed Athens. Citizenship is therefore comprised of orderly, non-disruptive forms of political participation. It is the space of both being free to articulate one’s will, insofar as what is expressed is consistent with both the physical qualities and character traits of the rational citizen.

perception, as Aristotle is providing insights into the *polis* as it was and how he saw it at the time. In addition, these are ambiguous claims for on the topic of women, Aristotle’s meaning is that macho men, who dominate politics, rarely listen to women, which is hardly a criticism of the rationality of women. Regarding slaves, those who are deemed “natural slaves” lack capacity to lead their own lives while those falling into the category may be fairly narrow as one may think of these individuals as classified as mentally challenged, and Aristotle deems masters must take care of slaves precisely because they cannot take care of themselves, which can be more humane than some contemporary examples.

⁷² It is worthwhile noting that the virtue of a man differs than the virtue of a woman, or one of lesser class at the time, “for a man would be thought a coward if he were only as brave as a brave woman, and a woman a chatterer if she were only as modest as a good man.” (Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1277b21-23).

⁷³ Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1275a1-3.

Civic friendship plays a necessary role in achieving eudaimonia as a political goal for “the ethical concept of friendship is never strictly separated from the performance of political roles, for discussions of ethical principles and moral norms always take place within the framework of a particular political regime.”⁷⁴ Several leaders use this as a tool for fostering partnerships in global diplomacy, and while some are genuine (virtuous), most are purely strategic (friendships of utility) for Mikhail Gorbachev states it well when he says, “But when you talk about friendly relations in politics, it’s not the friendship of schoolmates.”⁷⁵ Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* offers us the most elaborate discussion of friendship where he classifies it into three types: (1) friendship of *virtue*; (2) friendship of *pleasure*; and (3) friendship of *utility*. Friendship of virtue is the highest form of friendship, characterized by Aristotle as “those who wish well to their friends for their sake are most truly friends; for they do this by reason of their own nature and not incidentally; therefore their friendship lasts as long as they are good – and goodness is an enduring thing.”⁷⁶ This friendship is rare to find in the international political realm as a friendship of virtue is to be completely caring for the other so as to never place your self-interests over theirs. It is a durable friendship that one does not expect anything out of other than the friendship itself; there is no room for complaints and quarrels⁷⁷. In politics, as one can imagine, this simply is not realistic. One could argue that when nations’ leaders offer supplies to others during times of war, they are doing so out of virtue – I would argue however, that there is (1) self-interest only without a care for the other nation at the root of the generosity as they would like to see that nation survive the conflict for their own well-being, and/or (2) they are obliged to do so if the two nations are united in an intergovernmental agreement. I shall omit the

⁷⁴ Roshckin, Evgeny, *Friendship Among Nations* (Manchester University Press, 2017), 111.

⁷⁵ Heintz, Jim. “Gorbachev calls Reagan ‘a great president’,” *Associated Press*. June 6, 2004.

⁷⁶ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1156b9-13.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 1162b10.

discussion of friendship of pleasure as it is simply pertinent to easily dissolved friendships that the value of joy and the fun that each person brings to the other within a small circle of individuals. Rather, we can take Aristotle's thinking of internal state unity and apply his insight to external relations when we discuss that friendships of utility are the most prominent among global leaders and nations alike as reinforced in Aristotle's internal state belief that "friendship seems to hold states together, and lawgivers to care more for it than for justice; for concord seems to be something like friendship, and this they aim at most of all, and expel faction as their worst enemy."⁷⁸ This type of friendship is based on mutual benefit. It is for individuals who use it as a source of pleasantries where something is typically being provided in return. For example, business partners or colleagues might form friendships of utility because they gain something beneficial from each other's skills and resources. There is an aspect of equality in the aforesaid friendship, "for the friends get the same things from one another and wish the same things for one another, or exchange one thing for another."⁷⁹ Thus, friendship of utility in politics can be perfectly advantageous for all parties involved as it might sustain long-term benefits to facilitate the common good between nations such as breaking down trade barriers, security, and allow space to excel and foster a global environment to achieve eudaimonia. Aristotle describes the polis as a morally self-sufficient community however notes in his works that friendship of utility is best described as relations between cities: "for men apply the name of friends even to those whose motive is utility, in which sense states are said to be friendly (for the alliances of states seem to aim at advantage)."⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1155a22-25.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 1158b1-3.

⁸⁰ Ibid, 1157a26-28.

THE POLITICS

Justice, when applied well in the political sense, is a contributing factor to the happiness of a good-ordered society. When applying the same to the virtuous leader in the international arena, Just War Theory is maintained. This theory ensures war is morally justifiable and conducted in an ethical manner – this is if conflict even gets so far – and ties into Aristotle’s description of justice within the *polis* through the treatment of others in a fair and equitable manner in accordance with his purpose of political life and governance to enable citizens to achieve eudaimonia. From this perspective, a just war would need to serve the higher purpose of promoting the good life as merely opposed to the interests of the ruler. This, in addition to previous discussion on moral self-sufficiency, the connection between leisure and peace, and the virtues serves the basis to establish how Aristotle’s good regime is least likely to be warlike as it is not to occur on a whim rather, for justifiable reason. Aristotle might suggest that a pillar in a leaders’ *telos* of flourishing for their nation, they should create a just society that achieves the common good: “Aristotle saw political power as well justified when exercised on behalf of the whole political community for that community’s common good, especially when it enabled each member to live the best kind of life possible...regimes that violated this principle were by definition unjust.”⁸¹ His meaning of justice in this sense is made up of five criteria: (1) a distinct state of character; (2) involving deliberate purpose or choice; (3) dealing with distributable goods; (4) concerned with two sorts of distribution; (5) which distributions, when just, are marked by equality.⁸² Justice entails giving each person their due, it “is thought to be another’s good, because it is related to another; for it does what is advantageous to another, either a ruler or

⁸¹ Hankins, *Virtue Politics*, 35.

⁸² Pakaluk, *Aristotle’s Nicomachean Ethics*, 182.

a co-partner.”⁸³ Aristotle distinguishes between distributive justice, which concerns the fair distribution of resources, honors, and opportunities within society, and corrective justice, which involves rectifying wrongs and restoring balance through legal proceedings. However, Aristotle also discusses a political justice whereby a necessary distinction is made between an unjust act and an unjust individual. An individual may be unjust in that they continuously display unjust acts knowing the action is by Aristotle’s definition, unjust. He uses the example of adultery in that “a man might even lie with a woman knowing who she was, but the origin of his act might be not deliberate choice but passion.”⁸⁴ By definition, he portrays an unjust act, but is not an unjust man. The same follows into political justice for it is why a man himself does have final say into a rule of justice, rather “rational principle, because a man behaves thus in his own interests and becomes a tyrant.”⁸⁵ Therefore, man is welcome to protect justice and uphold the law, but one man alone should not create and uphold the same. Aristotle states that “justice exists only between men whose mutual relations are governed by law; and law exists for men between whom there is injustice; for legal justice is the discrimination of the just and unjust.”⁸⁶ He is suggesting that law is the expression of justice in society. A society without law, or without a strong commitment to the rule of law, will be unjust. Indeed, when he distinguishes between good regimes and corrupt regimes, rule of law is the determining factor because it expresses the common good. The purpose of these laws is to manage and resolve conflicts to establish fairness where there are imbalances, making judgments about what is fair and what is not. Aristotle argues that living justly is integral to living a good life. Justice involves treating others with fairness and respect, which fosters a harmonious and well-ordered society. In such a society,

⁸³ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1130a4-5.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 1134a20-22.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 1134a35-36.

⁸⁶ Ibid, 1134a30-34.

individuals can pursue their own goals and virtues without undue hindrance or exploitation, creating conditions where everyone has the opportunity to flourish.

The Good Regime

Aristotle's conception of the good regime is expounded upon in *The Politics*, deeply rooted in his understanding of human nature and ethics. He outlines the material conditions necessary for this regime to flourish as a cultivation of virtue. The human nature aspect, he believes, is an understanding that humans are political animals motivated by their natural inclinations and needs. Meaning that they are inherently social and political beings who naturally form communities for the sake of living well together; "now it is evident that to be partners in nothing is impossible; for the regime is a certain sort of partnership, and it is necessary in the first instance to be partners in a location: a single city occupies a single location, and the citizens are partners in the single city."⁸⁷ Aristotle believes that humans must live in a state of community – how well this community is run, is where this paper aims to advise political leaders of the purpose of the *polis* to facilitate the fulfillment of the state of eudaimonia for its citizens. Aristotle's guidance through the explanation of the good regime will allow leaders to reach eudaimonia for its residents. In stating that "the legislator should make the city as a whole happy. But it is impossible for it to be happy as a whole unless most [people], or all or some of its parts, are happy,"⁸⁸ he argues that the state plays a crucial role in promoting eudaimonia by creating the conditions necessary for individuals to live virtuous and fulfilling lives, "for happiness is not the same kind of thing as evenness: this can exist in the whole but in neither of its parts, but

⁸⁷ Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1260a38-42.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 1264b16.

happiness cannot.”⁸⁹ Thus, a good regime is one that enables its citizens to pursue eudaimonia collectively and individually. To achieve this goal, Aristotle identifies the need for political institutions and laws that are conducive to the development of virtue and the common good for “the virtue of the excellent citizen must exist in all, for it is necessarily in this way that the city is excellent.”⁹⁰ The importance of virtues previously discussed in this paper in the governance of the state are therefore emphasized in addition to the need for leisure as “the good regime...must dedicate itself to leisure because only leisure provides the self-sufficiency that characterizes the good regime.”⁹¹ To clarify, leisure is not just idle time but is used for reflection and the pursuit of knowledge. Such form of contemplative activity is considered the most fulfilling and self-sufficient form of activity as it serves to develop the individual’s virtue to further affect their actions. This can be in the form of festivals, music, drama, or physical activity, as it provides a foundation built from peace and when this foundation is transferred into making virtuous political decisions, leaders are able to more wholesomely understand what it is that they are protecting for their citizens – the good life, the good regime, and the opportunity to pursue eudaimonia. Leaders are therefore less likely to make rash decisions such as war for a *polis* that does not know what to do with itself during times of peace. For if a *polis* is to be consistently active in all pursuits, it will not know how the importance of leisure and might seek war because it will be in a state of restless pursuit of goods that it thinks it needs to satisfy its quenchless thirst for fulfillment such as wealth and glory.

Aristotle considers the different forms of government and each regime’s capacity for eudaimonia and peacefulness: “we have to consider whether there is only one form of

⁸⁹ Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1264b19.

⁹⁰ ^Ibid, 1277a1-2.

⁹¹ Von Heyking, *The Form of Politics: Aristotle and Plato on Friendship*, 60.

government or many, and if many, what they are and how many, and what are the differences between them.”⁹² He argues there are six (6) ways in which the state could be organized under governance, dependent upon who ruled, and for whom they ruled, whereby he states,

“Since it is necessary that the authoritative element be either one or a few or the many, when the one or the few or the many rule with a view to the common advantage, these regimes are necessarily correct, while those with a view to the private advantage of the one or the few or the multitude are deviations...tyranny is monarchy with a view to the advantage of the monarch, oligarchy [rule] with a view to the advantage of the well off, democracy [rule] with a view to the advantage of those who are poor; none of them is with a view to the common gain.”⁹³

	One	Few	Many
Common Advantage	Monarchy	Aristocracy	Timocracy
Interest of the ruler(s) or private advantage	Tyranny	Oligarchy	Democracy

Figure 1. Aristotle’s Forms of Government

In Aristotle’s ideal sense, a monarchy, aristocracy, and timocracy would be ruled by a virtuous individual who govern for the common good. If such a rulers exist, these forms of government would foster a high capacity for eudaimonia as the ruler’s virtue and wisdom would ideally ensure just and harmonious governance. However, Aristotle is aware that real-world monarchies often degenerate into tyranny, aristocracies into oligarchies, and timocracies into democracies, their corrupt forms. These corrupt forms of governance, according to Aristotle, where power is wielded for self-interest as opposed to the common good has a low capacity for eudaimonia as the ruler’s self-interest often leads to oppression and instability. Democracy partially differs from tyranny and oligarchy however, as it promotes eudaimonia by giving

⁹² Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1278b5-10.

⁹³ Ibid, 1279a27 & 1279b5

individuals a voice in governance and therefore promoting equality. Where Aristotle had concerns about democracy is the potential for a mob rule or the tyranny of the majority undermining the common good. Aristotle affirms the statement: “the organization [of the regime] as a whole is intended to be neither democracy nor oligarchy, but the one midway between them which called a polity; for it is based on those who bear arms.” Whereby he states, “Now if he institutes this as being the most attainable of all the regimes for cities, he has perhaps argued rightly; but if as being the best after the first sort of regime, not so”⁹⁴ alluding to his view that a mixed regime that combines elements of democracy and oligarchy can be classified as the best regime. For “the defining principle of a good mixture of democracy and oligarchy is that is should be possible for the same polity to be spoken of as either a democracy or an oligarchy.”⁹⁵ The regime must be said to be both – and neither – a democracy and an oligarchy, and it will be preserved “because none of the parts of the city generally would wish to have another regime.”⁹⁶ National interest is determined by the nature of the type of regime where a government is going to implement policies that align with their values. Democracies will determine national interest along democratic ideals such as citizen participation in government and the rule of law while oligarchies will determine the same along oligarchic ideals such as government control over resources and limited political participation by citizens. The mean is said to be accomplished by balancing the national interests of different social classes, with the middle class being dominant because they avoid the vices of the ultrarich (arrogance) and the poor (meanness), and preventing the dominance of any one group, as a mixed constitution can promote stability and justice. In this sense “it results that all rule, just as if shoemakers and carpenters were to exchange places rather

⁹⁴ Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1265b28.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 1294b14

⁹⁶ ^Ibid, 1294b38.

than the same persons always being shoemakers and carpenters.”⁹⁷ Further, balancing the distribution of power, the rule of law guided by virtue, active political participation, and an emphasis on civic friendship as a tool for enhancing the well-being of the *polis* and virtue allow the nation to be able to pursue eudaimonia.

Aristotle’s good regime is indeed an ideal, and the argument for the mixed regime is a practical way to improve current regimes, which is the goal of Aristotle’s practical political science. Aristotle provides a realistic assessment of a good regime and has a clear understanding of its end or *telos* while providing advice on how to reach the same however, with sober expectations that individuals may actually achieve it: “it is the regime for which we should pray because of the low likelihood of finding citizens capable of achieving the degree of virtue required to dwell there, on top of securing the physical, geographic, economic, and other material factors that its realization requires.”⁹⁸ What Aristotle proposes lies in between realism and idealism as it is possible, however he recognizes the inherent flaws in human nature where there is a constant risk of individuals in positions of authority becoming corrupt or self-serving and thus, undermining the common good. Building and maintaining such a regime would require extraordinary wisdom, virtue, and resources, which may be beyond the capabilities of any human society. However, it is possible to come close to the very idea and at the very least, strive for this perfection, whereby to strive for this perfection means to achieve the constant evolving eudaimonia.

In his description of the good regime, Aristotle does not directly discuss how the same shall interact on the global scale nor whether it is a necessary trait of one to do so. However,

⁹⁷ Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1261a34

⁹⁸ Von Heyking, *The Form of Politics: Aristotle and Plato on Friendship*, 59.

applying Aristotle's concept of the good regime to global diplomacy involves translating his ideas about governance, justice, and ethics in the realm of global politics. This may be approached by thinking of international relations as its very own community focusing on the specific aspects of Aristotle's ideal regime with the promotion of the virtues of trust and even friendship, balance of power, rule of law, ethical leadership, and his mixed form of government.

At the core of the problem lies the promotion of virtue among nations, akin to Aristotle's emphasis on cultivating virtuous citizens within a state. This entails encouraging states to act ethically, respect human rights, and uphold principles of justice in their interactions with one another. Diplomatic efforts would focus on fostering a culture of responsibility and moral integrity among nations, recognizing that virtuous behavior contributes to the stability and flourishing of the international community. Furthermore, Aristotle's notion of balance and moderation finds resonance in the realm of global politics, where maintaining equilibrium among states is paramount whereby, he states, "It is necessary that all the citizens be partners either in everything, or in nothing, or in some things but not in others."⁹⁹ Just as Aristotle cautioned against the dangers of excessive power concentration and greed within a regime, "the wickedness of human beings is insatiable: at first the two obol allowance was adequate, but now that this is something traditioned, they always ask for more, and go on doing so without limit"¹⁰⁰ so too must global diplomacy strive to prevent the emergence of hegemonic dominance by and single nation or group of nations. Advocating for a multipolar world order, where power is distributed more evenly and cooperation is incentivized over coercion, becomes a guiding principle in pursuing stability and fairness in international relations. Central to Aristotle's vision of the good

⁹⁹ Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1260a36.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 1267b43.

regime is the rule of law, which ensures that justice prevails and that the rights of individuals are protected. Emphasizing the importance of legal frameworks and the peaceful resolution of disputes through diplomacy serves to strengthen the rule-based international order and mitigate the risk of destabilizing conflicts. Moreover, Aristotle's advocacy for a mixed form of government offers insights into the promotion of democratic principles and ethical leadership in international relations. Supporting democratic governance worldwide, alongside efforts to enhance transparency, accountability, and integrity in leadership, becomes essential for fostering trust and cooperation among nations. Democracies tend to be more inclined toward peaceful resolutions of conflicts and are more responsive to the needs and aspirations of their residents, thus contributing to a more stable and just global order. One should further look to seek to engage civil society, promote dialogue, and facilitate knowledge-sharing among nations for "if they do not share in the regime, how will they feel any affection toward the regime?"¹⁰¹ Empowering residents to participate in decision-making processes, advocating for inclusive and transparent governance structures, and fostering cultural exchanges and academic collaboration all contribute to building mutual understanding and trust among nations. For leaders should lead their residents by virtuous example and ensure it is known that "it's possible to do admirable actions without ruling over sea and land."¹⁰² To take the discussion back to that of the virtue of wisdom, in addition to experience, the best way to become practically wise is to imitate those who are practically wise therefore, we turn to an Aristotelian International Relations Theory to examine the virtuous actions of great political leaders.

¹⁰¹ Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1268a23

¹⁰² Aristotle, "Nicomachean Ethics" In *Other Selves: Philosophers on Friendship*. 1179a4.

CHAPTER 2

ARISTOTLE IN DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY

Even if an art can be grasped by knowledge itself without using it, virtue depends wholly upon its use. And its greatest use is the governance of the city and the completion in fact, not in speech, of the same things as these men shout about in corners.¹⁰³

If nation's citizens are to act in an Aristotelian manner, how might that translate into international relations? As it is the *telos* of political leaders to achieve eudaimonia by creating an environment where their citizens can achieve the same, this chapter will outline an 'Aristotelian International Relations Theory', by examining political leaders in international politics. This will outline Aristotle's theoretical ideologies by bringing them into a practical light from historical exemplars. This framework emphasizes the traits of an Aristotelian virtue-driven leader in the pursuit common good, ethical citizenship, virtuous cooperation, and the ethical conduct of diplomacy.

Virtuous Leadership

As explained in the previous chapter, eudaimonia is the culmination of the life of virtue. It is not a one-off action rather it is a habit cultivated over a long period of time. Aristotle's pursuit of eudaimonia through virtue has been demonstrated in international leadership throughout history through those actions of the late monarch of the United Kingdom, Queen Elizabeth II; former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom during the reign of King George VI and the commencement of Queen Elizabeth II's reign, Winston Churchill; and former President

¹⁰³ Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *On The Republic I*, trans. David Fott (Cornell University Press, 2014), 2.

of France during World War II, Francois Mitterrand. These three individuals displayed virtues of courage, temperance, magnanimity, and wisdom in their work with other leaders for the common good of their nation and the globe. These leaders were most importantly admired by other global leaders for their actions on the international scale. For virtue is one thing, but to be admired by other leaders for one's virtue – who can easily be your biggest critics because the work one does, even if making decisions for their own nation has an effect on surrounding nations – is a form of political power that makes statecraft more effective.

Queen Elizabeth II: The Worlds' Queen

Queen Elizabeth II was “a pillar on the world stage for more than 70 years.”¹⁰⁴ In keeping with the unitary theory of all of Aristotle's virtues in focus for the purpose of the argument of this paper (courage, magnanimity, temperance, and wisdom), she understood the necessity for the interchange of ideas, goods, and the significance of friendship on the global scale to maintain a peaceful and virtuous society while ensuring the strength of the United Kingdom was never questioned. She consistently demonstrated virtuous acts towards rivals and nations less powerful than she, and in doing so, managed to maintain the unified image of a mighty Commonwealth and nation amidst events of turmoil. She demonstrated such action in the *Calendar of State Papers 1864*: “God having so ordained that no place should enjoy all things appertaining to man's use, but that one country should have need of another, by which means men of remote countries have commerce with one another, and by their interchange of commodities are linked together in amity and friendship.”¹⁰⁵ In this view, she demonstrates allegiance and stability to her

¹⁰⁴ United Nations, “General Assembly Pays Tribute to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Consummate Diplomat, Beloved Leader for Over 70 Years,” *United Nations Meetings Coverage and Press Releases*, September 2022.

¹⁰⁵ Roshckin, *Friendship Among Nations*, 177.

nation and the globe, in turn, promoting the same in the citizens of which she is the symbolic leader. In accordance with Aristotle, keeping in mind, she was the leader of, arguably, one of the most powerful and long-standing monarchies in the world, she does not demonstrate an excessive pride nor pettiness in her leadership. Rather, she exemplifies Aristotle's mean of the virtue of magnanimity for she has a true and accurate sense of her nation's worth and promotes a steadfast unity that citizens of her nation and the world find a sense of pride in. This transcends into international relations when in the absence of a higher law for global leaders, she ensures a trust from others to form the foundation for several political friendships for the United Kingdom. Queen Elizabeth II knows well that her nation is a great one: "gratitude, respect and pride, these words sum up how I feel about the people of this country and the Commonwealth,"¹⁰⁶ but she is not too excessive in this pride as she does not boast about the United Kingdom when visiting other nations. When she receives the opportunity to publicly speak to other nations, she does not boast about the power or wealth of the United Kingdom rather, she recognizes the work of the nation that stands before her. For example, during a state visit to Germany in 2015, the Queen attended a German State Banquet and proclaimed: "Germany has reconciled with all her neighbours. I pay tribute to the work of the German statesmen since the Second World War who reinvented Germany and helped to rebuild Europe."¹⁰⁷

Notably, the Queen's role in the Commonwealth of Nations¹⁰⁸, particularly in promoting unity and diplomatic relations among its member nations, was one of her continuous displays of

¹⁰⁶ Queen Elizabeth II, "A Speech by the Queen on her Golden Jubilee," *The Royal Household*, June 4, 2002.

¹⁰⁷ Queen Elizabeth II, "A Speech by The Queen at the German State Banquet, 2015," *The Royal Household*, June 24, 2015.

¹⁰⁸ The Commonwealth of Nations is comprised of 56 independent and equal countries from Africa, Asia, the Americas, Europe and the Pacific. The member governments have "agreed to shared goals like development, democracy and peace...working together for prosperity." (Commonwealth Secretariat, "The Commonwealth Charter," 2024). A few member countries of The Commonwealth include nations previously under British reign who

Aristotelian virtues of courage, temperance and wisdom in international relations. When the Queen was still a princess, she went on a tour of South Africa with her family on her 21st birthday. At just 21 years of age, the then-Princess dedicated her life to the service of the Commonwealth, stating in an address to all nations of the Commonwealth: “if we all go forward together with an unwavering faith, a high courage, and a quiet heart, we shall be able to make of this ancient commonwealth, which we all love so dearly, an even grander thing – more free, more prosperous, more happy and a more powerful influence for good in the world – than it has been in the greatest days of our forefathers.”¹⁰⁹ She went on to famously say, “I declare before you all that my whole life whether it be long or short shall be devoted to your service and the service of our great imperial family to which we all belong.”¹¹⁰ This should be the goal of all leaders – serving the citizens of your nation and nations you are in intergovernmental relations with using faith (contemplation), courage, and a quiet heart (wisdom and temperance) to promote happiness. As we discussed in the Aristotelian theoretical chapter, serving one’s nation is the statesman’s form of eudaimonia because flourishing for the statesman comes only when actively engaged in rule and creating an environment for others to flourish, just as Queen Elizabeth II dedicates her entire life not only to the well-being of the United Kingdom, but to the Commonwealth of Nations. When discussing the formation of the modern Commonwealth of Nations in 1953 the Queen stated: “Thus formed, the Commonwealth bears no resemblance to the Empires of the past. It is an entirely new conception, built on the highest qualities of the spirit of man: friendship, loyalty and the desire for freedom and peace. To that new conception of an

sought peaceful independence. These include Canada, Ghana, Cameroon, India, Singapore, Jamaica, Cyprus, Australia, and New Zealand, to name a few.

¹⁰⁹ Queen Elizabeth II, “A Speech by the Queen on her 21st Birthday, 1947,” *The Royal Household*, April 21, 1947.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

equal partnership of nations and races I shall give myself heart and soul every day of my life.”¹¹¹ This modern Commonwealth of Nations perfectly aligns with Aristotle’s utilization of virtue to pursue the common good – these nations collaborate to pursue common goals based upon shared values such as human rights, international peace and security, freedom of expression, good governance, sustainable development, and protecting the environment, to name a few, while using components such as political friendship for the *telos* of global prosperity. The Queen demonstrated such attributes and belief in the same during her address to the United Nations General Assembly in 2010 where she spoke about the role of the Commonwealth in promoting global peace and development: “some attributes of leadership are universal, and often about finding ways of encouraging people to combine their efforts, their talents, their insights, their enthusiasm and their inspiration, to work together.”¹¹² Her presence at such meeting and her consistent support and service for Commonwealth initiatives over the decades have underscored her role as a unifying figure within the international organization.

There are several benefits to being a member of the Commonwealth, aside from serving the global common good, such benefits ultimately guarantee economic cooperation, peace, and security for your nation through trade and military alliances. From Aristotle’s view, we are not to be naïve to the necessity of trade, money, and military defence, however, these are to be used through the guidance of practical wisdom to ensure moderation. Commonwealth member states benefit from preferential trade agreements and increased market access with trade facilitated through initiatives such as the Commonwealth Trade and Investment Hub, which aims to reduce trade barriers and create opportunities for businesses within the network. The nations within this

¹¹¹ Queen Elizabeth II, “Christmas Broadcast 1953,” *The Royal Household*, December 25, 1953.

¹¹² United Nations, “General Assembly Pays Tribute to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Consummate Diplomat, Beloved Leader for Over 70 Years,” *United Nations Meetings Coverage and Press Releases*, September 2022.

network often have reduced tariffs and streamlined trade processes with one another. The Commonwealth is also a source of military alignment should it be needed. Although The Commonwealth provides a platform for dialogue and diplomacy among its member states to help resolve conflicts and promote peace through intergovernmental meetings. These nations can also voluntarily step in to protect their Commonwealth partners should it be necessary. We saw this during World War II where Commonwealth nations such as Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, and South Africa participated alongside the United Kingdom driven by their status as part of the Commonwealth. This alliance may not have been in whole dedicated to the Commonwealth, but I do think it is safe to say it did play a vital role. The overall goal of The Commonwealth, however, is conflict resolution through peaceful means. These traits especially serve the small member nations, the secluded states, and the underdeveloped such as the several African nation members.

On the topic of conflict resolution – during her reign, Queen Elizabeth II was temperate, wise in a practical sense, courageous, and contemplative in her approach to resolving conflicts. This was demonstrated on several occasions, the first being her two visits to Ghana, one in 1961 and another in 1999. The most notable was in 1961 when she was advised by her House of Commons not to attend as it would be a problematic visit. This is because, after decolonization began to unfold over the decades following World War II, the United Kingdom was at risk for its loss of colonial influence in Africa. As Ghana was one of the first sub-Saharan African countries to gain independence, its successful transition set a precedent and encouraged other African colonies to push for independence. This process was leading to the gradual dismantling of the British Empire and a shift in global power dynamics, therefore, the actions of the Queen during her visit was of great importance in the future of the United Kingdom. In opposition to the

wishes of the House of Commons, she attended, only after stating to her Prime Minister, “how silly I should look if I was scared to visit Ghana and then Khrushchev went and had a good reception...I am not a film star. I am the head of the Commonwealth – and I am paid to face any risks that may be involved. Nor do I say this lightly. Do not forget that I have three children.”¹¹³

In this one statement, the Queen demonstrated her unwavering courage, perseverance, and determination to her nation and to her care for the maintenance of her relationship with the nations of the Commonwealth. During the visit, the Queen famously danced with Ghana’s president Kwame Nkrumah at a state ball. It was a moment of political symbolism, showcasing the cordial relations between the United Kingdom and Ghana at a crucial moment in history.¹¹⁴ It was a great symbol of a peaceful transition of power. Unlike many other colonies who gained independence through violent struggle or conflict, Ghana achieved it through negotiations and peaceful means; the dance being the final signal to the world that the United Kingdom was respectful of the right of nations to self-determination. All the while allowing the United Kingdom to maintain their strong, united appearance in its period of decolonization. It marked the beginning of a new chapter achieved through continuous virtuous action by the Queen in the relationship between the former colonial power, and its former colony, now an independent state.

She applied similar virtue on the international scale during a state visit to Ireland in May 2011. The visit was historic as it marked the first time a British monarch had visited the Republic of Ireland since its independence in 1922. However, Northern Ireland did not gain independence from the United Kingdom at that time. In 2005, the famous Irish Republican Army (IRA)

¹¹³ Queen Elizabeth II, “Her Late Majesty Queen Elizabeth II Volume 824: debated on Saturday 10 September 2022,” Speaker Lord Boateng, *UK Parliament: Lords Chamber*, September 20, 2022.

¹¹⁴ Kettler, Sara, “How Queen Elizabeth II’s Controversial Trip to Ghana Changed the Future of the Commonwealth,” *Biography*. 2020.

bombings occurred in London, where suicide bombers were sent into London's Underground train system, placing bombs in garbage cans and on trains in protest to seek the end of British rule in Northern Ireland. Still yet, the Queen visited Ireland in 2011 and stated during a speech: "indeed, so much of this visit reminds us of the complexity of our history, its many layers and traditions, but also the importance of forbearance and conciliation. Of being able to bow to the past, but not be bound by it."¹¹⁵ She then made a gesture of reconciliation¹¹⁶ by laying a wreath at the Garden of Remembrance in Dublin. The act symbolized her acknowledgment of the painful history between Britain and Ireland, and her expression of sympathy and respect for those who fought against British rule. Aristotle emphasises the importance of choosing the right actions in response to past conflict: "for in everything it is no easy task to find the middle...so, too, anyone can get angry - that is easy - or give or spend money; but to do this to the right person, to the right extent, at the right time, with the right motive, and in the right way, *that* is not for everyone, nor is it easy."¹¹⁷ The Queen's deliberate and meaningful gestures demonstrate her practical wisdom, remaining temperate and viewing the situation from the others perspective in order to resolve conflict peacefully.

From an Aristotelian viewpoint, the Queen achieved such greatness in her reign through virtuous means due to her magnanimous service to the United Kingdom at such a young age. Her father, King George VI reportedly ruled that during World War II, Elizabeth's "training as a princess outweighed the nation's increasing manpower problems and that 'Betts' should not join

¹¹⁵ Queen Elizabeth II, "A speech by The Queen at the Irish State Banquet, 2011," *Government of the United Kingdom*, 2016.

¹¹⁶ The Latin origin of the word, "reconciliation" means "concilio," meaning "I unite" therefore, we can determine that in this act of reconciliation, she demonstrated Aristotle's meaning of justice and friendship between the two nations.

¹¹⁷ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1109a24-29.

any of the women’s auxiliaries, nor work in a factory.” However, Queen Elizabeth II had other ideas. As she turned 18, she signed up for service to her country, making her the first woman in the Royal Family to become a full-time member of the armed services.¹¹⁸ This experience played a pivotal role in shaping how she reigned, who she is, and the importance of the monarch being visible and present during times of national crisis. For I repeat Aristotle’s statement once again: “it is impossible to become a good ruler without having been a subject.”¹¹⁹

Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth II in 2022, world leaders had much to say regarding her virtuous rule of the United Kingdom, their nation’s relationship with her, and her service to the Commonwealth. Former President of the United States, Joe Biden stated:

“Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II was more than a monarch. She defined an era...in a world of constant change, she was a steadying presence and a source of comfort and pride for generations of Britons, including many who have never known their country without her. An enduring admiration for Queen Elizabeth II united people across the Commonwealth. The seven decades of her history-making reign bore witness to an age of unprecedented human advancement and the forward march of human dignity.”¹²⁰

Canadian Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau also stated along similar lines of admiration:

“Her Majesty vowed to devote her life to the service of the Commonwealth and its people. On behalf of all Canadians, I thank Queen Elizabeth II for honouring this vow and for a lifetime of service...Her Majesty’s reign spanned so many decades – a period when we came into our own as a confident, diverse, and forward-looking country. It is her wisdom, compassion, and warmth that we will always remember and cherish.”¹²¹

And finally, former President of the United States, Barack Obama and first lady, Michelle Obama, outlined her ability to show friendship on the world stage in stating “a reign defined by

¹¹⁸ Imperial War Museums, “Why Queen Elizabeth signed up in the Second World War,” 2024.

¹¹⁹ Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1277b9-11.

¹²⁰ Biden, Joseph, “A Proclamation on the Death of Queen Elizabeth II,” *The White House*, September 8, 2022.

¹²¹ Trudeau, Justin, “Statement by the Prime Minister on the passing of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II,” *Government of Canada*, September 8, 2022.

grace, elegance, and a tireless work ethics, defying the odds and expectations placed on women of her generation...Back when we were just beginning to navigate life as President and First Lady, she welcomed us to the world stage with open arms and extraordinary generosity.”¹²² For it was through virtue that guided her decision-making and actions with other nations to maintain an orderly society comprised of friendship among nations. When necessary, using said friendships during times of military crisis for the well-being of her Commonwealth of Nations.

Winston Churchill: Friendship as a Political Tool

Evgeny Roshchin states in his works, *Friendship Among Nations*, “friendship and commerce remained tightly intertwined and widely spread as such in diplomatic instruments in the epoch following the theoretical re-description of friendship.”¹²³ In this, Roshchin defends friendship as a category for international relations, and claims states practice utility friendship, which is still friendship. In reiterating Aristotle’s outlook into modern diplomatic relationships and how elements of friendship such as mutual respect and cooperation are often blended with commercial interests, relations among state leaders can be said to be a blend of virtue friendship and utility friendship whereby even utility friendship is still friendship. As trade should not be the only goal of political friendships, rather, as Aristotle suggests, a virtuous leader should focus on the median between greediness and a lack thereof, for one cannot overlook the effect global trade and the well-being of the global economy has on the well-being of their citizens. A leader will not achieve virtuous eudaimonia for their nation through a naïve outlook, for trade is the foundation for politics and the friendships found within: “[Adam] Anderson maintains that ‘the

¹²² Obama, Barack, “Our Statement on the Passing of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II,” *Medium*, September 8, 2022.

¹²³ Roshchin, *Friendship Among Nations*, 176.

first record that we meet to our purpose in the thirteenth volume of *Foederd*, is in the year 1502: It is a treaty of friendship and intercourse of commerce between King Henry VII of England and Maximilian King of the Romans.”¹²⁴ Aristotle understands self-interest as in the terms of the need of friendship. He disputes as to why a happy man would be in need of friendship and states, “it is said that those who are supremely happy and self-sufficient have no need of friends; for they have the things that are good, and therefore being self-sufficient they need nothing further...but it seems strange, when one assigns all good things to the happy man, not to assign friends, who are thought the greatest of external goods.”¹²⁵ For even the political leader needs a partial friendship of virtue in association with utility as in the harmony of self-interest and virtue for “it is nobler to do well by friends than by strangers, the good man will need people to do well by.”¹²⁶ Winston Churchill exemplifies Aristotle’s concept of friendship as a tool for international cooperation in politics through his ability to cultivate friendships of utility based on shared goals, and practical cooperation: “The capacity to form friendships, not just alliances or strategic partnerships, is, with magnanimity, the central criterion Churchill brings.”¹²⁷ This alone demonstrates how the unity of the virtues operate for in this situation, there is no friendship without magnanimity whereby magnanimity, or pride, according to Aristotle, is the individual who has a true and accurate sense of their own worth. In the context of international relations and friendship, this would be a leader who has pride within their nation at the forefront of their friendship, followed by a friendship of utility. Where there is respect for the other but careful as to not be bullied nor run over by the other into carrying out actions that do not align first with the goals of one’s own nation. For example, the friendship Churchill shared with Franklin D.

¹²⁴ Roshckin, *Friendship Among Nations*, 176.

¹²⁵ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1169b4-10.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 116912-14.

¹²⁷ Von Heyking, John. *Comprehensive Judgment and Absolute Selflessness* (St. Augustine’s Press, 2018), 140.

Roosevelt was a vital relationship during World War II. Although many view this friendship as one of mere utility, it can be seen for this friendship to be deemed as Aristotle's 'perfect friendship' on the international scale. The two were thought to share a mutual admiration for one another, as Churchill made clear when he delivered Roosevelt's eulogy in the House of Commons in 1945: "I conceived an admiration for him as a statesman, a man of affairs, and a war leader. I felt the utmost confidence in his upright, inspiring character and outlook, and a personal regard – affection I must say – for him beyond my power to express today."¹²⁸ With that said, both leaders had their abilities to independently lead their nations, using their virtue-friendship to their advantage whenever possible. Von Heyking states in his works, *Comprehensive Judgment and Absolute Selflessness* regarding the same, "their virtue-friendship formed and sustained their mutual work and alliance, and even enabled them to weld their two nations' military staffs into a single operational unit."¹²⁹ For both leaders understood friendship as a tool for effective cooperation. Not only can these political friendships contribute to stable and enduring international relationships, reducing conflict, but by fostering trust and cooperation, virtue-friendships can lead to shared economic benefits and military aid. Aristotle deems equality as a main characteristic of friendship, and although he speaks to inequality of friendship and the proportionality that follows, one must keep in mind that Roosevelt and Churchill were not of unequal status to begin with. Therefore, if the leaders are taking from one another at the convenience to their nation, the friendship is constantly unequal, which was the challenge for Churchill as he demonstrated that he needed Roosevelt more than Roosevelt needed him. The

¹²⁸ Churchill, Winston, "Eulogy delivered in the House of Commons 1945," In "Franklin D. Roosevelt: "The Greatest Champion of Freedom," *Finest Hour* 192, *Second Quarter* 2021, 2021.

¹²⁹ Von Heyking, *Comprehensive Judgment and Absolute Selflessness*, 67.

Atlantic Charter of 1941¹³⁰ is an example of this occurrence. In this Charter, “both countries agreed not to seek territorial expansion; to seek the liberalization of international trade; to establish freedom of the seas, and international labor, economic, and welfare standards...[and] supporting the restoration of self-governments for all countries that had been occupied during the war and allowing all people to choose their own form of government.”¹³¹ Although a seemingly good Charter fostered through friendship and shared common interest, “Churchill’s primary goal in attending the Atlantic Conference was to get Americans into the war” and Roosevelt’s primary goal was to “encourage the American people to back U.S. intervention in World War II on behalf of the Allies.”¹³² Therefore, it is questioned whether this friendship was Aristotle’s ‘perfect friendship’. It certainly was one of utility and has notes of one of virtue, and it does well to highlight the importance and application of political friendship as demonstrated on New Year’s Day in 1942 when Roosevelt and Churchill, along with representatives from other countries signed the Declaration by United Nations. The declaration was a result from the two leaders’ collaboration in creating the *Atlantic Charter* as whomever signed the declaration pledged to accept the *Atlantic Charter*; it formed the basis of the United Nations. The United Nations stated that the *Atlantic Charter* “was not a treaty between the two powers [(Churchill and Roosevelt)]. Instead, it declared “certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they based their hopes for a better future for the world.”¹³³ The *Atlantic Charter* also affirmed the basic principles of universal human rights:

¹³⁰ United States of America Office of The Historian, “The Atlantic Conference & Charter, 1941,” *Milestones 1937-1945*.

The *Atlantic Charter* was created by Churchill and Roosevelt on August 9 and 10, 1941 aboard the U.S.S. *Augusta* in Newfoundland, following discussion of their war aims for World War II and their shared goal to outline a postwar international system.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ United Nations, “Atlantic Charter (August 1941),” *The History of the UN*.

1. No territorial changes without the freely-expressed wishes of the peoples concerned
2. The right of every people to choose their own form of government
3. Equal access to raw materials for all nations

Therefore, Churchill further provides action to promote the life Aristotle desires for all individuals through his outlook for his nation, and on behalf of the common good of the globe. The United Nations further stated, “The Atlantic Charter created a profound impression on the embattled Allies. It came as a message of hope to the occupied countries and held out the promise of a world organization based on universal moral principles.”¹³⁴ Over the next three years, Roosevelt, Churchill, and their allies continued to elaborate their vision of the postwar order, which demanded international organizations to address global challenges and foster independence. Churchill aligns this view of friendship as a tool for global diplomacy when regarding other political friendships. He recognizes King William III’s inability to use friendship as a tool for political cooperation with Marlborough:

“These incomplete relationships were the King’s own fault, and a misfortune to his reign. If in 1689 and 1690 William, with two kingdoms to govern and the diplomacy of half of Europe in his hands, he treated Marlborough fairly and had not denied him his rightful opportunity upon the battlefields, he might have found that talisman of victory without which all his painstaking, adroit combinations and noble exertions could but achieve a mediocre result. He might have found across the differences of rank that same comradeship, never disturbed by doubt or jealousy, true to the supreme tests of war and fortune, which later shone between Marlborough and Eugene.”¹³⁵

Although it must be noted that there is a difference between Roosevelt and Churchill’s friendship and King William III’s and Marlborough’s friendship as Marlborough is not a fellow king but

¹³⁴ United Nations, “Atlantic Charter (August 1941),” *The History of the UN*.

¹³⁵ Churchill, *Marlborough*, vol. 1, 441. In Von Heyking, *Comprehensive Judgment and Absolute Selflessness*, 141.

rather King William III's commanding general, i.e., a subordinate and therefore the friendship would be among unequal within the same regime.

In addition to civic friendship, Churchill exhibits Aristotle's virtuous life in his 'moral code'. In his work *The Second World War*, Churchill inserts the teaching about morally correct and prudent action in peace and war whereby in war, one shall demonstrate resolution; in defeat, one shall demonstrate defiance; in victory, one shall demonstrate magnanimity; and in peace, one shall demonstrate good will.¹³⁶ Whereby "the entire moral implies standing boldly in defense of right against injustice and aggression and so calls for both moral knowledge and the moral courage to act on that knowledge."¹³⁷ Additionally, as we established in Aristotle's theoretical framework, the virtuous mentality does not make one virtuous; the virtue must be accompanied by action that is done in the right way and at the right time. As Churchill demonstrates in his explanation of politics of war, one must have a wise and temperate leader in practical situations:

"Those who are prone by temperament and character to seek sharp and clear-cut solutions of difficult and obscure problems, who are ready to fight whenever some challenge comes from a foreign Power, have not always been right. On the other hand, those whose inclination is to bow their heads, to seek patiently and faithfully for peaceful compromise, are not always wrong."¹³⁸

It is important to note that being a courageous leader does not mean fighting every challenge that arises, for we noted the difference between Aristotle's description of a brave leader and a courageous one. That is what Churchill depicts here as well. It is at times courageous not to fight because as courage is a virtue it must act in conjunction with other virtues, therefore, it is not to

¹³⁶ Churchill, Winston, *The Second World War* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948). These words are stated in the opening pages of each volume of Churchill's war memoirs under the heading: "Moral of the Work."

¹³⁷ Lyons, Justin, "Winston Churchill's Moral and Philosophical Guides," *The Churchill Project*. November 8, 2021.

¹³⁸ Churchill, Winston, *The Gathering Storm* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948), 287.

be accompanied by rash decision-making, rather it is accompanied by what one discovered during time spent in contemplation, through the level-headed mind of temperance, through the practical wisdom of knowing when and how to demonstrate action, and through the pride of one's nation knowing it may be a mighty one, but choosing to fight or not to fight based on the greater good to create an environment for the residents within all nations involved to flourish. Churchill demonstrates Aristotle's practical wisdom further through how he has dealt with morally ambiguous situations. For example, Churchill's discussion to sink the French naval fleet at Oran in World War II, which killed about 15,000 French sailors. The French hated him for it, and Churchill said it was perhaps his most difficult decision during the war since he had a great relationship with France. But the Allies simply could not allow French ships to be taken by the Germans. We see here that Churchill utilized his wise decision-making during war to make a life-altering decision to serve the well-being of his nation and his allies.

Former president of the United States, John F. Kennedy, admired Winston Churchill for his courage and friendship towards the United States. He went so far as to make him an honorary citizen of the United States by signing a proclamation conferring honorary citizenship on Sir Winston Churchill on April 9, 1963, as he stated:

“This is the first time that the United States Congress has solemnly resolved that the President of the United States shall proclaim an honorary citizenship to a citizen of another country...Whenever and wherever tyranny threatened, he has always championed liberty. Facing firmly towards the future, he has never forgotten the past, serving six monarchs of his native Great Britain, he has served all men's freedom and dignity in the dark days and darker nights when England stood alone and most men stayed Englishman despaired of England's life, he mobilized the English language and sent it into battle. The incandescent quality of his words illuminated the courage of his countrymen. Accustomed to the hardships of battle, he had no distaste for pleasure. Proof that courage and faith and zest for freedom are truly indestructible. Winston Churchill...has been a firm and steadfast friend of the American people and the American nation in whereas he has freely offered his hand and his faith in days of adversity as well as triumph, and

whereas his bravery, charity, and valour both in war and in peace have been a flame of inspiration in freedom's darkest hour, and whereas his life has shown that no adversary can overcome and no fear can deter free men in the defence of their freedom."¹³⁹

Francois Mitterrand: Self-Interest and the Common Good

As we discussed Aristotle's meaning of self-interest and the harmony between virtue and the later, former President of France from 1981 to 1995,¹⁴⁰ Francois Mitterrand, is examined to understand the necessity for when and how to act on self-interest and when to act for the common good.¹⁴¹ A virtuous leader, according to Aristotle, would look at a situation, such as the reunification of Germany, not only for the self-interest of their nation, but also for the common good, and negotiate across borders promoting the same. This kind of civic friendship used to obtain eudaimonia for regimes suggests that all virtues are somehow operating. Practical wisdom, however, can be singled out as the virtue that enables someone like Mitterrand to discern the political good that is to be achieved. The relationship between Thatcher and Mitterrand provides an interesting case study in how self-interest and the common good played out in international relations during the late 20th century. Tilo Schabert does well to explain this pairing's work together in his works, *How World Politics is Made: France and the Reunification of Germany* to illustrate the complex interplay between self-interest and the common good in international diplomacy, whereby, despite ideological differences and national priorities, two

¹³⁹ Kennedy. John F, "Remarks Upon Signing a Proclamation Conferring Honorary Citizenship on Sir Winston Churchill, 9 April 1963," *John F. Kennedy Archives*, Washington, April 9, 1963, audio, 4min., 49sec.

¹⁴⁰ Government of France, "Francois Mitterrand," *Elysee: Former Presidents of the Republic*, 2024.

¹⁴¹ We see an intertwine of virtues here as well. As we have discussed previously, Aristotle's virtues do not work alone – they are to be cultivated with other virtues at the very least with the hope that all virtues will prevail and one will lead a life of eudaimonia. In this case, Mitterrand utilizes practical wisdom in conjunction with magnanimity in friendship. For self-interest is a magnanimous pursuit in friendship for one must be able to understand their own worth to make the decision according to their beliefs and desires as opposed to being bullied by other states into following blindly. This further takes the courage to act in opposition to a political friend, while remaining temperate in the approach to doing so.

leaders are able to find areas of cooperation that benefit both their nations while contributing to the broader European project.

However, Margaret Thatcher, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 to 1990,¹⁴² continuously demonstrated a thinking for the self-interest only, as she continuously desired to hinder the reunification of Germany during World War II. In 1992, she still stood by her position when she spoke to Mitterrand saying, “Germany is even more dangerous since reunification. It is in the process of reconstructing its empire...The Nazis are now in the Community, and you have reunified them.”¹⁴³ Therefore, when there is a complete difference of opinion what does one do? It comes back to Aristotle’s complete balance of virtues – a friendship of utility must be navigated through the balance of self-interest (national priorities) and the common good (European unity and stability). Mitterrand recognized the importance of reaching compromise to advance national interests and the broader Europe, as opposed to Thatcher’s narrow, selfish view of serving her own self-interests with a lack of care for the Eastern European nations who were affected by the ill-cooperation between East and West Germany. Eastern European nations were impacted by the military concerns within the region with Soviet troops present but most importantly, they were influenced heavily by the economic divide between East and West Germany. West Germany’s economic prosperity and rapid recovery after World War II with the aid from their western allies contrasted with the Eastern European communist regimes’ economic challenges. While Aristotle is discussing the *polis* when he states, “the city-state comes into being for the sake of living, but it exists for the sake of living well,”¹⁴⁴ it can be applied to the necessity of Mitterrand’s actions as he suggests that states

¹⁴² Government of the United Kingdom, “Baroness Thatcher,” *Past Prime Ministers*, 2024.

¹⁴³ Schabert, *How World Politics Is Made: France and the Reunification of Germany*, 182.

¹⁴⁴ Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1252b29-30.

should aim not only to secure their own survival and interests but also to contribute to a broader global order that promotes cooperation and the common good for all nations.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in Germany in 1989 as East and West Germany became one step closer to reunification, Thatcher and Mitterrand did not share the same opinion on the reunification as Thatcher “quite simply did not forgive the Germans for their “national character” or, more exactly, what she thought about it: their aggressiveness, their anxiety, their lack of self-knowledge, their thirst for power.”¹⁴⁵ However, Mitterrand took the opposite stance, not agreeing with the actions of the Germans, but understanding the bigger picture of the matter - it was an “issue of borders” whereby “the question of German reunification is not a problem in itself. The problem is the respect of the borders.”¹⁴⁶ When he discusses the respect of borders, Mitterrand is emphasizing that while reunification was a significant and complex issue, the real concern was ensuring that it did not disrupt the stability of Europe’s borders and the balance of power. Mitterrand wanted to ensure the changes brought about by reunification did not lead to instability or challenges to the existing boundaries in Europe. It was important that the reunification be managed within the framework of international agreements and alliances so as to maintain respect for the relationships within Europe. The most crucial in the process was the Treaty of the Two Plus Four which confirmed the borders of the reunited Germany whereby any deviation from could lead to conflict with the signatory powers of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and France. Leaders who work collaboratively across borders to tackle common problems and promote peace and prosperity are, according to Aristotle, promoting virtue and collectively enabling citizens to pursue eudaimonia. Mitterrand continuously stressed

¹⁴⁵ Schabert, *How World Politics Is Made: France and the Reunification of Germany*, 180.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 290.

this very idea: “but peace in the future was more important than any past” ... “In particular, unification work had to concern the European borders within which Germany was shaping itself, and this work had to be accomplished by all-Germans and their neighbours-in an agreement promising peace.”¹⁴⁷

Francois Mitterrand shows how the relationship of friendship obtains even when there is no international law, and in this case, when international law is being created. Relationship between virtue and law, according to Aristotle, is not necessarily conditioned by rule of law. In the absence of law leaders must be able to trust one another, and they must be in some sense dedicated to virtue so they can trust one another, and even be friends. Such friendship is exemplified between Helmut Kohl of Germany and Mitterrand. Kohl stated in 2007 regarding the same: “because new knowledge and enriching impressions abroad help to reduce prejudice and establish friendships. Just what Europe needs.”¹⁴⁸ Both leaders found themselves on opposite sides during the Second World War where Mitterrand served in the French army and was wounded and captured by German soldiers.¹⁴⁹ They were also on opposite sides within the political realm – Mitterrand a French Socialist and Kohl a Conservative Christian Democratic. Nevertheless, on September 22, 1984, Helmut Kohl and Francois Mitterrand commemorated the Battle of Verdun, both having personal connections to the war as Kohl’s father fought, while Mitterrand had been wounded in the vicinity of Verdun. At the service of commemoration, Kohl and Mitterrand shared a moment of silence when the most unexpected happened in a political friendship of utility:

¹⁴⁷ Schabert, *How World Politics Is Made: France and the Reunification of Germany*, 289.

¹⁴⁸ Kohl, Helmut, “Erinnerungen: 1990-1994. Munchen, Droemer,” 2007. 332. In “Friendship in world politics: Assessing the personal relationships between Kohl and Mitterrand, and Bush and Gorbachev,” ed. and trans. van Hoef, Yuri, *The Journal of Friendship Studies* 2:1 (2014): 72.

¹⁴⁹ Van Hoef, “Friendship in world politics: Assessing the personal relationships between Kohl and Mitterrand, and Bush and Gorbachev,” *The Journal of Friendship Studies*. 73.

“the clouds hung low, it was pouring, and an icy wind blew in our faces. We remained standing. Drums, trumpets, without it being planned, Francois Mitterrand took my hand and we both held each other’s hand for a long time. It is hard to describe my feelings. Never before have I felt so close to our French neighbours. The spontaneous gesture of the French president had overwhelmed me. His handshake was a sign of reconciliation.”¹⁵⁰

This friendship had transcended one of utility whereby the meaning of the handshake “was both a signal of joined mourning and of reconciliation, not just between the two politicians, but between their countries. And while political calculations might certainly have played a role in the handshake, it is very hard to imagine that such a signal and statement could have taken place between two heads of state that did not enjoy a special bond.”¹⁵¹ In 1990, Kohl visited Mitterrand in France to improve relations with France and Germany and hopefully, deter Mitterrand away from a coalition with Thatcher in preventing the reunification of Germany. He succeeded, reinforcing his friendship which became the basis for Mitterrand’s aid in the reunification of Germany. It was their striving towards joint goals, and the recognition of that striving within each other, that validates their friendship as an example of leaders trusting one another, dedicated to virtue in the absence of law enforcing them to do so. Kohl states regarding the same in his autobiography: “The fact is that the German-French friendship was not simply imposed from above, but rooted in the hearts of the people, and is the target and best trust capital that we have built up all these years.”¹⁵²

In the reunification of Germany Mitterrand further demonstrates acts of practical wisdom when faced with criticism for his pivotal role in bringing Germany to a borderless nation. For

¹⁵⁰ Kohl, Helmut. “Erinnerungen: 1982-1990 München, Droemer.” 2005. 310. In van Hoef, “Friendship in world politics: Assessing the personal relationships between Kohl and Mitterrand, and Bush and Gorbachev,” 72.

¹⁵¹ Van Hoef, “Friendship in world politics: Assessing the personal relationships between Kohl and Mitterrand, and Bush and Gorbachev,” 72.

¹⁵² Kohl, *Erinnerungen: 1990-1994*. München, Droemer. In van Hoef, “Friendship in world politics: Assessing the personal relationships between Kohl and Mitterrand, and Bush and Gorbachev,” 75.

example, the now King of the United Kingdom, who at the time of asking was the heir to the throne, Prince Charles said to Mitterrand in 1990, "I'd be quite interested to know what you think of the repercussion of German unification on the construction of Europe." Mitterrand replied: "I don't think that complicates matters. Instead of 62 M[illion], we'll have 78 M[illion] Germans. For four or five years, Germany will be weighed down by the cost of modernizing East Germany. I think that France will have the necessary energy to face up to it." Charles added, "People who experienced two world wars are anxious. But the democratic march is encouraging. And in his practical wisdom Mitterrand responded: "It is a borderless country, in perpetual change. But over the last forty years, democracy has given rise to institutions that seem successful to me. They are again in direct contact with the Slavic world. We needn't be too worried. We've existed for a thousand years."¹⁵³ He further responded in a temperate, magnanimous, and courageous nature in another instance when interviewed by a Dutch television channel: "France has known Germany for a thousand years. There are periods when Germany was a considerable power, imperial and dominant... There were good moments and bad moments, victories and defeats. Well, even when Germany was a very powerful country, France always survived! ... It is not a matter of fighting, but of the legitimate, peaceful competition in which we are engaged. Our strong points are considerable and they will succeed at least such is my conviction for France. So why do you want me to be afraid of Germany?"¹⁵⁴

Admiration for Mitterrand was also given by several world leaders, most notably, the President of Federal Germany, Roman Herzog, stated to Mitterrand in 1994: "I am very grateful,

¹⁵³ Report of the Mitterrand-Prince Charles meeting, December 17, 1990. In Schabert, *How World Politics Is Made: France and the Reunification of Germany*, 318.

¹⁵⁴ EP, Press Office, "Interview accordée par M. le Président de la République à la télévision neerlandaise NOS-RTV Pays-Bas," December 5, 1991. In Schabert, *How World Politics Is Made: France and the Reunification of Germany*, 319.

Mr. President, for your action in favor of German reunification. I have great admiration for you.”¹⁵⁵ Former President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, further stated to President Mitterrand at a state dinner in the United States in 1984: “All Americans are grateful for your friendship and appreciate the courageous stands France has taken throughout the world in the cause of liberty. When you return to your country, please take that message of our gratitude and admiration with you.”¹⁵⁶

Aristotle in Diplomatic Activity: A Critique

“Aristotelian political theory cannot...understand the “transience of the polis” partly because, as Alasdair MacIntyre puts it, “[Aristotle] had little or no understanding of historicity in general.””¹⁵⁷

In the realm of global diplomacy, Aristotle’s political theories have been subject to critique and analysis by several modern-day scholars, students, and philosophers alike. While his emphasis on virtue, justice, and the common good provides valuable insights into the functioning of regimes, some argue that his framework may not fully capture the complexities of international relations; that it only adheres to the Greeks of his time. For example, Stephen Sims argues, “although we might think that it would be possible for regimes to share a common good, it is difficult to see how Aristotle’s notion of the political common good allows for such a sharing...it is a good that is a particular community’s own and does not belong to another

¹⁵⁵ Report of the Mitterrand-Herzog meeting, November 30, 1994. In Schabert, *How World Politics Is Made: France and the Reunification of Germany*, 326.

¹⁵⁶ Reagan, Ronald, “Toasts of President Reagan and President Francois Mitterrand of France at the State Dinner,” *Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum*, March 22, 1984.

¹⁵⁷ Dietz, Mary G, “Between Polis and Empire: Aristotle’s Politics,” *The American Political Science Review* (2012): 276.

community. Indeed, if the political common good were not particular to communities, it is somewhat difficult to see why there would be distinct and separate communities and regimes.”¹⁵⁸ Mary Dietz, argues along similar lines, suggesting that Aristotle may not adequately address the challenges and dynamics of diplomacy in a globalized world: “the polis-centric perspective that comprises this dominant view holds generally to the notion that Aristotelian political theory is exclusively and parochially concerned with the city-state as political community.”¹⁵⁹ These scholars regard Aristotle’s city-state focus inappropriate for analyzing politics today, which is composed of nation-states, because nation-states are significantly larger and more complex than ancient city-states, when compared to the scale he would have encountered in ancient Greece. Contemporary nation-states encounter diverse populations, territories, and economies that operate at a much larger scale. The dynamics involved in the decision-making process in the modern day involves numerous factors such as cross-border trade, diplomacy, intergovernmental organizations, and global issues such as climate change and human rights that simply were not present in the *polis*. In this sense, Aristotle’s virtue theory and aspects of a mixed government ideal whereby democracy was based on direct participation of citizens in the polis, which was feasible due to its small size, seems a naïve one to examine in the modern day, whereby Aristotle was the first to raise the question of the proper size of a political body, “you cannot make a city of ten men, and if there are a hundred thousand it is a city no longer.”¹⁶⁰ Hannah Arendt states regarding the confusion of the size of the public and private realms that “it is therefore not surprising that medieval political thought, concerned exclusively with the secular realm, remained unaware of the gulf between the sheltered life in the household and the merciless

¹⁵⁸ Sims, Stephen, “Aristotle and Foreign Policy: An Examination of the Common Good and its Effects in International Affairs,” *Classics of Strategy and Diplomacy* (2021).

¹⁵⁹ Dietz, “Between Polis and Empire: Aristotle’s Politics,” 276.

¹⁶⁰ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1170b31-32.

exposure of the polls.”¹⁶¹ Applying the critique that philosophers such as Aristotle, were unable to comprehend beyond their community and were blind to the challenges and exposures faced in the international arena. Therefore, regardless as to whether it was called a polis or a civitas or a republic, theorists considered that the city-state must be of such a size that all its citizens could personally acquaint themselves with one another and participate in all its business.¹⁶² This leaves the application of Aristotle’s theoretical methods in the international arena on shaky ground as he specifically offers an opinion impossible to achieve across borders. This critique of the size of the *polis* challenges Aristotle’s perspective in the context of modernity, where nation-states are much larger and more complex, further suggesting that Aristotle’s ideal of direct participation and personal acquaintance is impractical and insufficient in the modern world.

Sims, Dietz, and Arendt are correct in their examination of the size of the city-state examined by Aristotle however, it does not go without saying it is an obvious conclusion. For a scholar reading Aristotle’s works can determine that Aristotelian political theory is exclusively concerned with the city-state and he does not devote much attention to studying international affairs. However, one must examine and relate Aristotle’s theory to global diplomacy. In this view, we see that, accompanied with Aristotle’s virtue ethics, the political common good can be shared across communities. For example, I would urge these scholars to review contemporary global leaders led by virtue to achieve a common good such as, Angela Merkel whom arguably held the EU together for the common good of it’s long-term stability, Dag Hammarskjöld whom intervened in the Congo Crisis as it was taking an effect on neighboring nations, Francois Mitterrand whom was ample in the reunification of Germany not only for the common good of

¹⁶¹ Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 35.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

Germany but for all of its neighboring nations in Europe, and Ronald Reagan in creating the *Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act* for South Africa and all nations facing apartheid. Aristotle states in *The Politics*, “the legislator should look to two things in enacting laws, the territory and the human beings. But further, one would do finely to add that he should look to the neighboring regions, in the first place if the city is to lead a political way of life and not one of isolation.”¹⁶³ Does this not serve as proof for taking into consideration the vision of one’s neighboring nations when making national decisions as well as Aristotle’s capability to think beyond the *polis*? As shown in the analysis of global leaders in this paper, it is demonstrated that international cooperation is conducted by leaders characterized by specific virtues. The wise, temperate, and magnanimous leader consider the shared common good in decision-making processes whereby a nation may have their own self-interests, according to their leader, but to act on these self-interests alone, without the overarching pursuit of the common good among all nations, is to be an unvirtuous leader according to Aristotle. As we demonstrated in the comparison between Margaret Thatcher and Francois Mitterrand, it is the mean between the excess and deficiency of self-interest and the common good that Aristotelian political theory is extended beyond the city-state.

Implications of Aristotelian political philosophy in fostering cooperation and shared values among nations in international relations are expressed by Leon Kass in his work, *Leading a Worthy Life: Finding Meaning in Modern Times* when he states:

“having embraced the new absolute of moral relativism – “Who’s to say what’s good and bad?...All values are subjective, both culturally and personally relative!” – we will resist tooth and nail any suggestion that there really is a better and a worse answer to the question, “How to live, in order to live well?” Let’s not bear around the bush: With such

¹⁶³ Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1265a19.

cultural prejudices it will be difficult, if not impossible, to learn anything of value from Aristotle.”¹⁶⁴

Kass does make a viable point here in saying that all values are a subjective matter however, that is why eudaimonia (the outcome or telos) looks different for everyone. In alignment with this statement from Kass, Aristotle discusses the making of a ‘good citizen’ as well as a ‘good regime’ within his view of the *polis*. Further to this point, eudaimonia’s focus on long-term flourishing might conflict with immediate political or economic pressures. As Aristotle’s virtue theory is teleological, the virtues associated with achieving the end goal of eudaimonia might come in the way of what citizens need in that moment. The shared value between nations might be risked for the immediate gain of the nation however, it can be argued that if this is the case, the individual choosing the immediate gain as opposed to the long-term goal is not a temperate nor wise individual. For Angela Merkel faced criticism when choosing the long-term benefit for the EU as opposed to the short-term solution for the benefit of Germany alone in bailing out Greece and Portugal of their debt with austerity measures during the European debt crisis. She told the World Economic Forum in 2020, “I know that people were very angry with me, [calling me] such a bad person for actually imposing these stringent conditions on Greece and Portugal etc. But now you see that reforms are taking place.”¹⁶⁵ She was not impulsive to offer the bailouts without negotiation with the long-term well-being of her neighboring nations individually, and the EU in mind. Therefore, it must be brought into question as to the legitimacy of immediate political or economic pressures for why can they not be dealt with in a virtuous manner to adhere to fostering cooperation between nations? In Aristotle’s view, these instances

¹⁶⁴ Kass, *Leading a Worthy Life: Finding Meaning in Modern Times*, 326.

¹⁶⁵ Chadwick, Lauren, “Auf Wiedersehen, Angela: How Merkel has shaped Europe and Germany,” *EuroNews*. 2021.

would only be deemed detrimental to such relationships when the action taken is rash and not well contemplated upon.

While Aristotle's focus may seem limited in scope compared to modern nation-states, the principles he articulated – such as the nature of citizenship, virtuous leadership, and the common good – are still applicable today. The direct participation in politics by all citizens that Aristotle envisions, and that is criticized, might not be feasible in large nation-states, however, modern representative democracies still strive to maintain elements of citizen participation and engagement through elections, the ability to choose between political parties that align with one's beliefs, citizen participation at all levels of government through the freedom to express views at town hall meetings, public forums, and meet with government leaders to provide feedback to policymakers. Aristotle does not devote much attention to studying international affairs because Aristotle wrote *Nicomachean Ethics* and *The Politics* around 350 BC; global connection was an impossible consideration in that time due to national isolation. Quite simply, there was a lack of knowledge of civilizations that limited international communication and transportation. However, it is the work of a scholar to interpret and build upon ancient theories. Modern-day scholars must be able to see beyond the words of ancient philosophers – their opinions are written to be expanded upon and such as the world has evolved, so too, does philosophy. The challenge lies in adapting Aristotle's principles discussed in this paper to larger political entities while preserving democratic ideals. However, as demonstrated by the several case-studies of political leaders in this chapter, it can be done in the modern day. Stephen Sims further stated in his essay on Aristotle and Foreign Policy: "The purpose of this essay is not to give Aristotelian warrant for some crude version of *Realpolitik*. Its purpose is to show the deep significance of the political common good, and that acting morally requires a robust notion of the

common good. The implication, I believe, is that we cannot approach international politics from the neutral standpoint of an outside observer, but from the standpoint of citizens and statesmen within real and existing political communities which have their needs, desires, and fears.”¹⁶⁶ I agree with this application of Aristotle’s virtue-politics to international relations as it outlines the implication of philosophy on politics. We must view international politics from the standpoint of citizens and statesmen. This is exactly the aim of this paper. My hope is that, combined with the theoretical aspect, an examination of leaders who have demonstrated Aristotle’s virtue politics within and outside of their nations in the pursuit of eudaimonia through the political common good *on the global scale*, allows for an approach to global diplomacy from within.

Even though there are similarities between Aristotle’s views and the world stage, there are clear differences based on the fact that he was unable to comprehend the scope of the world. The very fact that the principles that Aristotle applied under these circumstances still have great relevance in the world today is in itself, incredible.

¹⁶⁶ Sims, “Aristotle and Foreign Policy: An Examination of the Common Good and its Effects in International Affairs.”

CHAPTER 3

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Leaders: How a Nation Can Achieve Eudaimonia

Global statecraft needs Aristotelian virtue ethics to guide the ethical conduct of leaders within the international arena to achieve a state of eudaimonia for the residents within their nations and across borders. Figure 2 outlines basic principles covered in previous chapters, offering a comprehensive overview of how the leader can act at the international level to empower citizens to lead individual lives of eudaimonia that will in turn, lead to flourishing in intergovernmental cooperation.

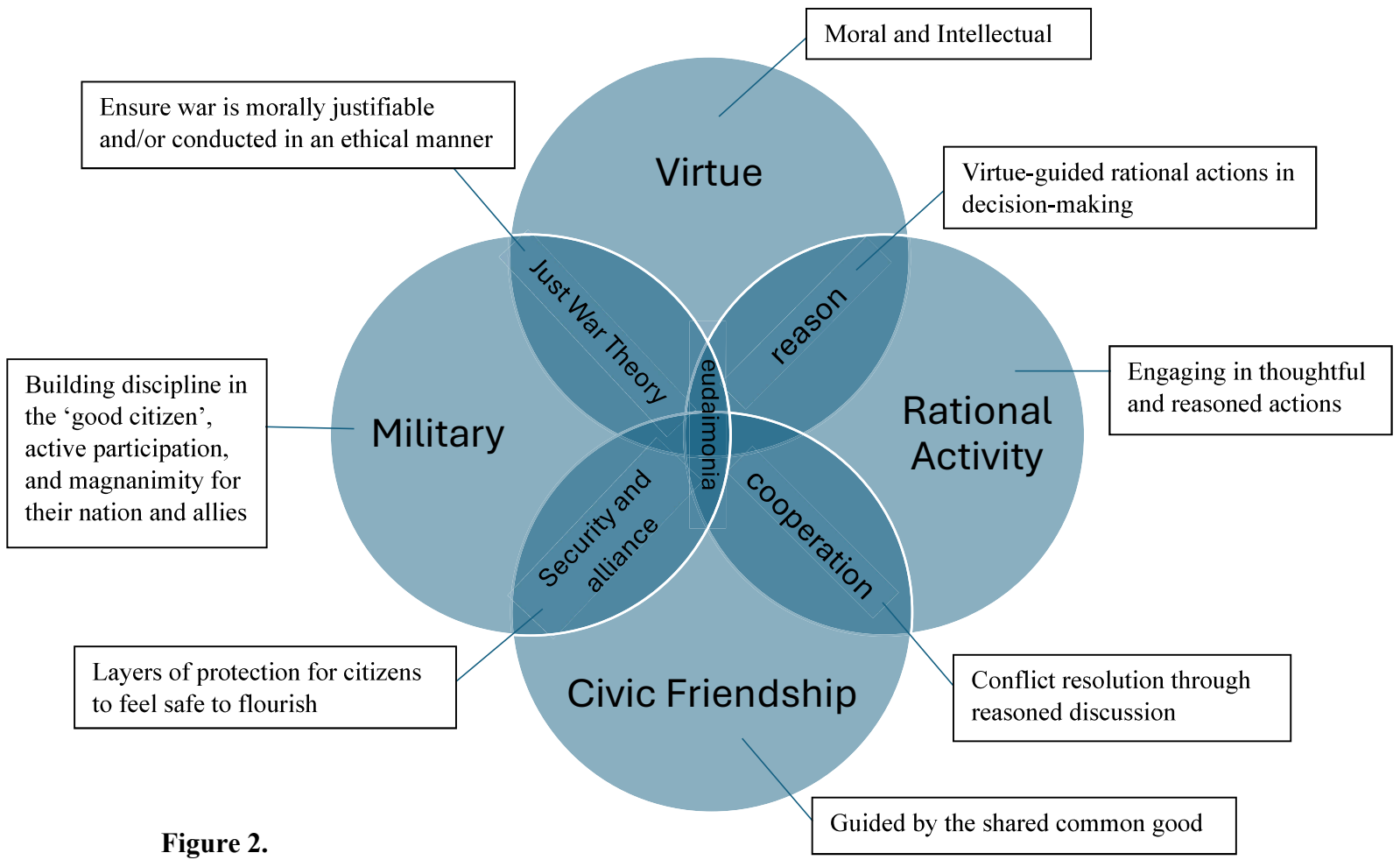


Figure 2.

In this figure, we see an outline of what has been discussed throughout this paper - Global diplomacy is indeed led by moral and intellectual virtues but it is not without the use of the other three aspects guided by virtue noted here – rational activity, civic friendship, and military security, where nations can truly flourish. For virtue alone is a simple philosophical however, in combination with aspects of Aristotle’s ‘good citizen’ and ‘good regime’ we can see to the action led by virtue that is required to lead a nation to flourishing. The balanced integration of these four elements fosters an environment for flourishing, where ethical behavior, strategic military use, supportive alliances, and rational decision-making work together to achieve stability and mutual common good on the global stage. Why is global diplomacy in need of the types of virtues discussed throughout this paper? It can be argued that it is because the international sphere is anarchic and not governed by laws which, in domestic politics, can restrain leaders. As we noted previously with Mitterrand, the ability to trust one another is an especially acute challenge in the international sphere without the guidance of virtue in actions. States and leaders do not always have the assurance of law (or even self-interest) to base their trust of others upon. The importance of Aristotelian virtues for international statecraft must be emphasized as the international arena especially depends upon relationships of trust and trustworthiness because state actors are not restrained by law in the same way domestic political leaders are.

Leaders – it is important to ask, are you using your power and influence for the common good of the world in addition to your citizens? The scope of Aristotle’s viewpoint on the world may have been minor compared to what contemporary leaders have access to now. Still it is not without political friendships, balancing self-interest and the common good, and truly listening to your citizens and neighbors to ensure all voices are heard prior to making decisions for “if they

do not share in the regime, how will they feel any affection toward the regime?"¹⁶⁷ Because, as a contemporary leader, you will not be able to have all citizens participate in the politics of your nation and abroad, therefore, it is your duty to demonstrate actions of virtue, even when your citizens or international neighbors do not. For the long-term goal of eudaimonia may not align with short-term economic and political goals, but as Francois Mitterrand demonstrates in his role with the reunification of Germany, you are to remain steadfast in alignment with the common good of your nation and your global citizens.

Scope for Further Study

The research and suggestions in this paper can serve as the basis for a focus on several aspects within the broader theme of applying Aristotelian ethics to contemporary diplomatic practice. One may investigate the intersection of gender, diversity, and Aristotelian ethics in diplomatic leadership. Analyze how gender norms, power dynamics, and intersectional identities impact the expression and recognition of virtues such as courage, temperance, justice, and wisdom among diplomats and negotiators. How do intersecting identities, such as gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and class, shape experiences of leadership and representation in diplomacy? What are the potential benefits of gender diversity in enhancing creativity, problem-solving, and innovation in diplomatic practice? How might human beings satisfy the desire to be different from others and still live a virtuous life in the pursuit of eudaimonia without conflict with their neighbors?

Further, it would be worthwhile to explore the impact of cross-cultural perspectives on virtue ethics. Explore how cultural differences and diverse philosophical traditions influence the

¹⁶⁷ Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1268a23-25.

application of Aristotelian ethics in global diplomacy. Compare and contrast Western and non-Western approaches to virtue ethics and examine how cultural contexts shape perceptions of virtue, justice, and moral leadership in international relations. In other words, how are Aristotle's virtues read or translated by other cultures? One approach is the large body of scholarly literature comparing Aristotelian and Confucian ethics. How might the role of ethical leadership within international organizations such as the United Nations have an effect on cultural differences? How can leaders within these organizations lead to ensure inclusivity of all cultural perspectives on virtue? How might these leaders exemplify or fall short of Aristotelian virtues in their decision-making processes and interactions with member states? Since this paper argues that international diplomacy especially needs the virtues to flourish, then the ability to recognize them and interpret them into other cultural idioms would be essential.

Concluding Remarks

One may see this research comparing Aristotelian ethics and global diplomacy as an impossible feat to achieve with differing cultures, views, and goals where “no man can be neutral” due to “communist and non-communist [nations] alike.”¹⁶⁸ If humans are all to be equal in culture, views, and goals, it would be a dull and ill-advanced place to conduct relations indeed. Where this research suggests the problem lies is within a lack of contemplation to lead a virtuous life, self ego-driven actions, and a lack of interest for the common good. This is where international leaders can seek education to improve upon their methods for leadership and international cooperation; taking a step back to find new methods of achieving their goals to ensure that all leaders wish to create an environment for their citizens to achieve eudaimonia for

¹⁶⁸ Hammarskjöld, Dag, “The International Civil Servant in Law and in Fact,” *Lecture delivered to Congregation at Oxford University*, May 30, 1961.

as Dag Hammarskjöld points out: “Our world of today is more than ever before one world. The weakness of one is the weakness of all, and the strength of one – not the military strength, but the real strength, the economic and social strength, the happiness of people – is indirectly the strength of all.”¹⁶⁹ Conflict is an inevitable by-product of the human race, as Aristotle states, “the wickedness of human beings is insatiable: at first the two obol allowance was adequate, but now that this is something traditioned, they always ask for more, and go on doing so without limit”¹⁷⁰ however, must the happiness of citizens be caught in the crossfire? One shall fight to protect, but is it not possible to first attempt to negotiate and cooperate, casting aside ego and a human desire for innate power? Might leaders, and all human beings, find a way to limit themselves in this sense? For “In truth, there can be no authentic political sphere, no veritable “public space,” when thought and action are reduced to cruel and inexpiable struggles for power and domination.”¹⁷¹

Aristotle’s view of the world may have been restricted based on his perceived size of the same, however, the first Canadian astronaut to walk in space, Chris Hadfield, offers us a realistic view from outer space that can be aligned with Aristotle’s general philosophy of achieving a common understanding of the world and cooperating with differing perspectives. Zoom out on the world for a minute – picture yourself in space looking at earth from afar. Take a step out of daily thoughts, societal pressures, and unnecessary conflict. It is silent – there are no news sources, human power, or wealth when looking at the earth from space; one planet with land and water. Hadfield stated regarding his experience in space exploration, “It’s a perspective of the world that allows us, hopefully, to make better collective, global decisions about what’s

¹⁶⁹ Hammarskjöld, Dag, “The United Nations – Its Ideology and Activities. Address before the Indian Council of World Affairs 3 February 1956,” In *Andrew W. Cordier/Wilder Foote, Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations. Volume II: Dag Hammarskjöld 1953-1956* (Columbia University Press, 1978), 660-661.

¹⁷⁰ Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1267b43.

¹⁷¹ Mahoney, Daniel, *The Statesman as Thinker* (Encounter Books, 2022), 3.

happening – less jealous, narrow, local decisions. And we need that type of thinking if we’re truly going to have this many people and this standard of living for the foreseeable future.”¹⁷² Resolving global challenges will not be found in the noise of our digital age, decision-making needs to be based on real connections, friendships, an understanding of realpolitik, and an understanding of the environment from which information is originating. Similar sentiments were expressed by Winston Churchill when he stated in a speech in 1944: “the longer you can look back, the farther you can look forward.”¹⁷³ Although Churchill can only comment on experiences had on earth, he references history as a perspective to broaden one’s scope on matters to make better global decisions. In space, as Hadfield reports in his works, *An Astronaut’s Guide to Life on Earth*¹⁷⁴, a plurality of regimes, as emphasized by Aristotle, utilize their differing views and skillsets to achieve a common goal. They may look at situations differently, but collaboration is at the forefront to ensure the product is the best possible outcome produced. Hadfield discusses his journey to space in 1995 where Russians, Americans, and Canadians alike may have had different tasks to achieve as set by their nations, however, indirectly working together, they were on the ISS to achieve a common goal and they fostered friendships of respect for one another. For, as we already know, “the legislator...should look to the neighboring regions, in the first place if the city is to lead a political way of life and not one of isolation.”¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Hadfield, Chris, “Why all politicians should travel to space (and some should come back)” Big Think, video, 5 min., 55 sec.

¹⁷³ Churchill, Winston, Speech 1944. In “The longer you can look back, the further you can look forward,” Speech by Rt Hon Winston Peters, *Government of New Zealand*, 2018.

¹⁷⁴ Hadfield, Chris, *An Astronaut’s Guide to Life on Earth* (Random House Canada, 2013).

¹⁷⁵ Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1265a19

Allow nations to have differing opinions, yet, as reinforced by Mitterrand, respect their borders and those on the other side. Rash decision-making leading to unnecessary wars has created ill-cooperation between nations and their residents leaving a lasting hate passed down through generations. Teach youth to learn from history as opposed to teaching hate towards a nation. After all, whether it is a made-up expectation placed upon society, wealth, or power, once these are taken out of the equation, the answer to global *substantial* issues shared by all nations such as hunger, education, shelter, environment, and health, become simple. Do not become greedy in your race to be the most powerful, and be magnanimous in your political friendships as Aristotle states, “dividing the care (of possessions) will cause them not to raise these accusations against one another, and will actually result in improvement, as each applies himself to his own.”¹⁷⁶ Leaders may use this research of Aristotelian virtue in international relations as a framework for conducting themselves in a virtuous manner with the goal of eudaimonia for all humans at the forefront of global diplomacy because, it can be argued that if leaders continue to lead in the international sphere with self-interest only, there will not be much of a world left to lead.

¹⁷⁶ Aristotle, *The Politics*, 1263a27

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