

"I'd listen with pleasure," he said, "if you revealed your opinion."

"Well, it seems good to me," I said, "for them to do neither of these things, but to take away the year's crops. Do you want me to tell you why?"

"Very much indeed."

"It appears to me that war and civil war are two different things, just like these two names they're called by, which apply to two kinds of division in two respective things. The two things I mean are, on the one hand, one's own kind and kin, and on the other, what's foreign and alien. Civil war is the name applied to hostility within one's own kind, and war applies to hostility between foreigners."

"And there's certainly nothing off course about what you're saying," he said.

"Then see if I'm also on course when I say this: I claim that the Greek race is itself with itself its own kind and kin, but alien and foreign to a barbarian race."

"Beautifully on course," he said.

"Therefore when Greeks fight with barbarians and barbarians with Greeks we'll claim they're at war and are natural enemies, and that this hostility of theirs should be called war, but whenever Greeks do anything of the sort to Greeks we'll claim they're natural friends, but in such circumstances Greece is sick and divided, and that this sort of hostility should be called civil war."

"I go along with regarding it that way," he said.

"Consider, then," I said, "that in the sort of civil war now acknowledged as such, wherever any such thing happens and a city is split apart, if each of the two sides ravages the land and burns the houses of the other, civil war is held to be an abomination and neither of the sides is considered loyal to the city, or they would never have dared to devastate their nurse and mother. But it seems to be within measure for those who prevail to take away the crops from those they defeat, and to think of themselves as people who are going to be reconciled and not always be at war."

"This way of thinking is far more civilized than that other," he said.

"What about it, then?" I said. "Won't the city you're founding<sup>88</sup> be Greek?"

"It's bound to be," he said.

"And won't the people be good and civilized?"

"Emphatically so."

"But won't they be loyal to all things Greek? Won't they regard Greece as their own place and participate in religious observances in common with the rest of the Greeks?"

"Emphatically so on that point too."

"Then won't they regard a division with Greeks, since it's with their own people, as civil war and not even name it merely war?"

"That's right."

"So they'll have their divisions in the spirit of people who're going to be reconciled?"

"Very much so."

"So they'll bring their opponents back to their senses and not punish them with slavery or destruction, not being enemies but people intent on inducing moderation."

"That's the way," he said.

"Therefore, being Greeks, they won't devastate Greece, or set fire to houses, and they won't agree with anyone who says that everyone in any city is their enemy—the men, women, and children—but hold that a few enemies are always the ones responsible for the division. For all these reasons they won't be willing to devastate their land, since most of them are friendly, or to knock down their houses, but they'll maintain the conflict up to that point at which the responsible parties are forced to pay the penalty by the guiltless people who're suffering from it."

"I agree," he said, "that this is how our citizens ought to conduct themselves toward their opponents, but toward the barbarians they should act the way Greeks do now toward one another."

"So shall we also impose this as a law on the guardians, not to ravage land or burn houses?"

"Let's impose it," he said, "and certainly these things and the ones that preceded them are all well and good, but it seems to me, Socrates, that if anyone left it to you to discuss this sort of thing you'd never remember what was pushed aside before you'd mentioned all this, the question of whether it's possible for this type of polity to come into being and in what way it would ever be possible. Because I certainly grant that if it were to come into being, everything in the city in which it came into being would be good, even things you're leaving out; I mean that they'd also fight their enemies best because they'd desert each other least, since they recognize their own troops as brothers, fathers, and sons and call to them by these names. And also if the female group were in combat along with them, either in the ranks themselves or drawn up in the rear, both to frighten the enemy and in case any need for assistance should arise, I know that with all this they'd be people no one could fight. And I see all the good things at home that would be to their benefit. But since I agree that there would be all these things and tens of thousands of others if this polity were to come into being, don't keep saying more about that, but let's try

88 At 461E Socrates called the city Glaucon's, and his wording here strengthens that way of speaking. It is as if the content of Bk. V has made Socrates less willing to claim the city as his own.

from this point on to persuade ourselves of this very thing, that it's possible and in what way, and let the rest go with our blessings."

472A

"This is so sudden," I said. "It's as though you've launched an attack on my argument, and have no tolerance for me to squeeze out its last drops. Maybe you don't realize that when I've hardly escaped a pair of waves you're now bringing on the biggest and most crushing third wave; when you see and hear it, you'll have complete sympathy, understanding that it was fitting after all that I was hesitant and fearful to state and undertake the examination of an argument so contrary to general opinion."

B

"The more you say that sort of thing," he said, "the less you'll be let off by us from saying how it's possible for this polity to come into being. Just speak and don't waste any more time."

"Well then," I said, "isn't this the first thing that should be recalled, that it's because we were seeking what sorts of things justice and injustice are that we got to this point?"

"It should, but what about it?" he said.

C

"Nothing; except, if we find out what sort of thing justice is, will we also hold that the just man needs to be no different from that very thing, but be in every respect of the same sort that justice is? Or will we be satisfied if he's as close to it as possible and participates in it the most in comparison with other people?"

"The latter," he said. "We'll be satisfied."

"Then it was for the sake of a pattern," I said, "that we were seeking both what sort of thing justice itself is, and the completely just man, in case one could come into being, and what he'd be like if he were to come into being, as well as injustice and the most unjust man, so that by looking off toward them to see what they appear to us to be like in relation to happiness and its opposite, we'd be constrained to agree about our own selves as well, that whoever was most similar to them would have a lot in life most similar to theirs. But it wasn't for the sake of our demonstrating that it was possible for these things to come into being."

D

"That's true, as you say," he said.

"Do you imagine someone would be any less good a painter, who had painted a pattern of what the most beautiful human being would be like, and had rendered everything in the picture well enough, because he wasn't able to show that it was also possible for such a man to come into being?"

"Not I, by Zeus," he said.

"Well then, don't we claim that we too were making a pattern in speech of a good city?"

E

"Certainly."

"Then do you imagine we're describing it any less well on that account if we're not able to demonstrate that it's possible to found a city that's the way we were describing it?"

"Surely not," he said.

"So that's the way the truth of it is," I said; "but if it's also necessary for this effort to be made for your pleasure, to demonstrate in what way most of all and as a result of what it would be most possible, then you, the same as me, should make some concessions in return for such a demonstration."

"What sort of concessions?"

"Is it possible for anything to be done in practice the way it's described in speech, or does action have a nature to attain to truth less than speaking does, even if it doesn't seem that way to somebody? But do *you* agree or not that it's that way?"

473A

"I agree," he said.

"Then don't require this of me, to be obliged to represent the sorts of things we went through in speech as coming into being in every respect in deed as well, but if we turn out to be able to discover that a city could be founded that's closest to the things described, then declare that we've found out that it's possible for these things to come into being the way you ordered us to. Or will you not be satisfied if that happens? I'd be satisfied."

B

"I would too," he said.

"Then it looks like the next thing for us to do is try to search out and demonstrate whatever is now done badly in cities, on account of which they aren't managed this way, and what would be the smallest change by which a city could come into this mode of political association—preferably a change of one thing, or if not that, of two, and if not that, of as few things as possible in number and the smallest in strength."

"Absolutely so," he said.

C

"Well with one change," I said, "it seems to me we can show that it could be transformed, though it's not a small or easy one, but it is possible."

"What's that?" he said.

"I'm in for it now," I said, "up against what we likened to the biggest wave. But it's got to be said, even if, literally just like an uproarious wave, it's going to drown me in laughter and humiliation. Consider what I'm about to say."

"Say it," he said.

"Unless philosophers rule as kings in their cities," I said, "or those now called kings and supreme rulers genuinely and adequately engage in philosophy, and this combination of political power and philosophy joins together in the same position, while the many natures that are now carried away to one of the two in isolation are forcibly blocked off from that, there is no rest from evils for the cities, dear Glaucon, or, I think, for the human race, and this polity that we've now gone over in speech will never before that sprout as far as it can and see the light of the sun. This is what's been putting a reluctance

D

E