

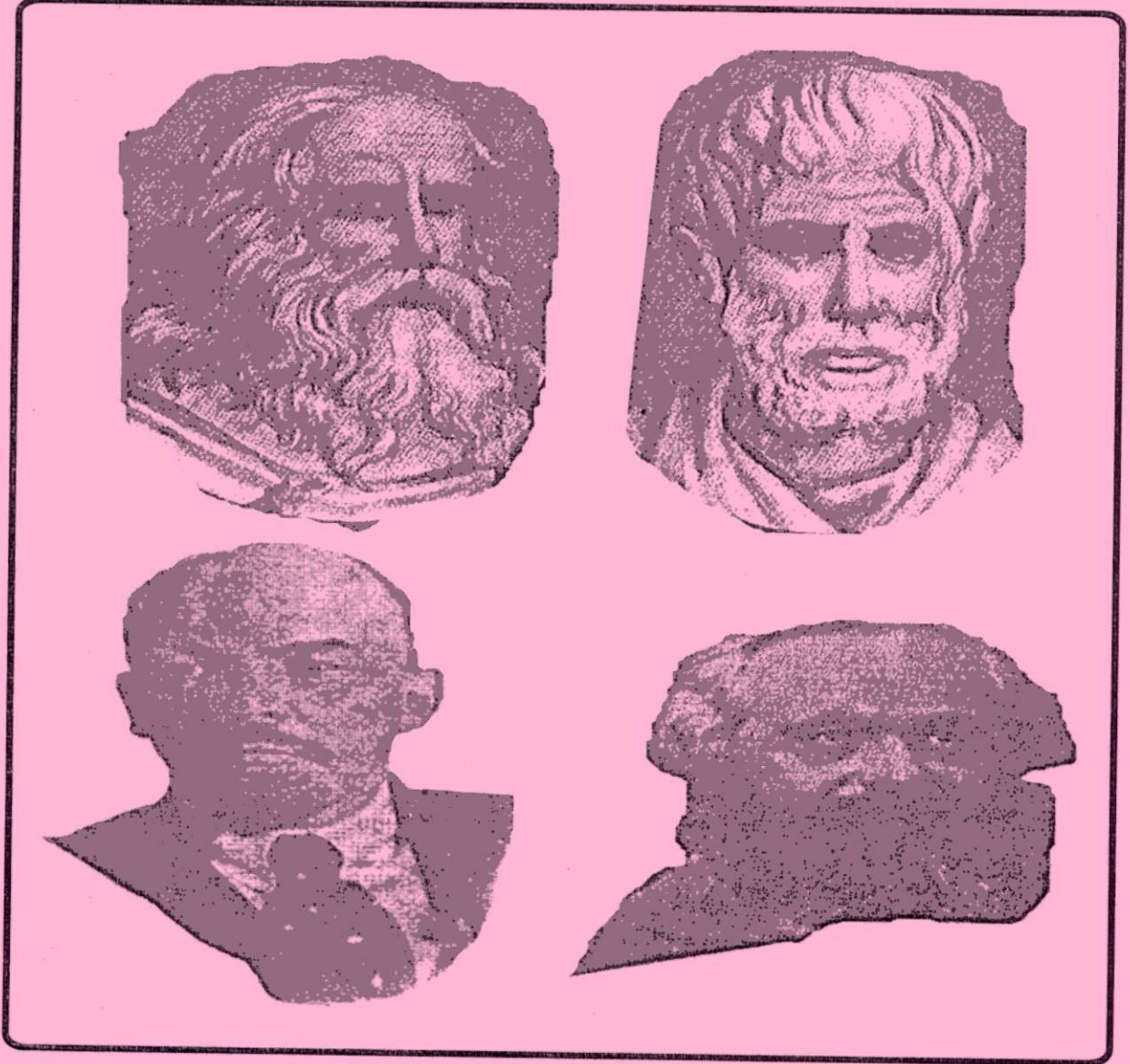
ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯ
ಮಾನಸಗಂಗೋತ್ರಿ, ಮೈಸೂರು - ೫೭೦ ೦೦೬



KARNATAKA STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY
Manasagangothri, Mysore - 570 006

POLITICAL SCIENCE
MA [PREVIOUS]

1140



Course - I
Paper - Western Political Thought

Block - II

ಉನ್ನತ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಇರುವ ಅವಕಾಶಗಳನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮತ್ತು ಶಿಕ್ಷಣವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಜಾತಂತ್ರೀಕರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ಆರಂಭಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ.

ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ನೀತಿ 1986

The Open University system has been initiated in order to augment opportunities for higher education and as instrument of democratizing education.

National Education Policy 1986

ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯವು ದೂರಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಪದ್ಧತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹುಮಾಧ್ಯಮಗಳನ್ನು ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.ವಿದ್ಯಾಕಾಂಕ್ಷಿಗಳನ್ನು ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಪಾದನೆಗಾಗಿ ಕಲಿಕಾ ಕೇಂದ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ಬದಲು, ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಪತ್ತನ್ನು ವಿದ್ಯೆ ಕಲಿಯುವವರ ಬಳಿ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ವಾಹಕವಾಗಿದೆ.

ಡಾ. ಕುಳಂದೈಸ್ವಾಮಿ

"The Open University system makes use of Multimedia in distance education system. it is vehicle which transports knowledge to the place of learners rather than transport to the place of learning.

Dr. Kulanandai Swamy

ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ ಸಂದೇಶ

ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಮಗುವು ಹುಟ್ಟುತ್ತಲೇ - ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ. ಬೆಳೆಯುತ್ತಾ ನಾವು ಅದನ್ನು 'ಅಲ್ಪ ಮಾನವ'ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಮತ್ತೆ ಅದನ್ನು 'ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ'ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುವುದೇ ವಿದ್ಯೆಯ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯವಾಗಬೇಕು.

ಮನುಜ ಮತ, ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ, ಸರ್ವೋದಯ, ಸಮನ್ವಯ, ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಈ ಪಂಚಮಂತ್ರ ಇನ್ನು ಮುಂದಿನ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಾಗಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ, ನಮಗೆ ಇನ್ನು ಬೇಕಾದುದು ಆ ಮತ ಈ ಮತ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಮನುಜ ಮತ. ಆ ಪಥ ಈ ಪಥ ಅಲ್ಲ; ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ. ಆ ಒಬ್ಬರ ಉದಯ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲ; ಸರ್ವರ ಸರ್ವಸ್ವರ ಉದಯ. ಪರಸ್ಪರ ವಿಮುಖವಾಗಿ ಸಿಡಿದು ಹೋಗುವುದಲ್ಲ; ಸಮನ್ವಯಗೊಳ್ಳುವುದು. ಸಂಕುಚಿತ ಮತದ ಆಂಶಿಕ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಭೌತಿಕ ಪಾರಮಾರ್ಥಿಕ ಎಂಬ ಭಿನ್ನದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಎಲ್ಲವನ್ನು ಭಗವದ್ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಕಾಣುವ ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ.

ಕುವೆಂಪು

Gospel of Universal Man

Every Child, at birth, is the universal man. But, as it grows, we turn it into "a petty man". It should be the function of education to turn it again into the enlightened "universal man".

The Religion of Humanity, the Universal Path, the Welfare of All, Reconciliation, the Integral Vision- these *five mantras* should become View of the Future. In other words, what we want henceforth is not this religion or that religion, but the Religion of Humanity ; not this path or that path, but the Universal Path ; not the well-being of this individual or that individual, but the Welfare of All ; not turning away and breaking off from one another, but reconciling and uniting in concord and harmony ; and, above all, not the partial view of a narrow creed, not the dual outlook of the material and the spiritual, but the Integral Vision of seeing all things with the eye of the Divine.

Kuvempu

BLOCK INTRODUCTION

Roman Political Thought

This Block deals with the issues of Roman Political Thought. This Block is divided into three units. Unit 8 deals with nature and importance of Roman Political Thought. Next two units deal with two important Roman political thinkers such as Polybius and Cicero. Unit 9 focuses on life, origin of state, and cyclical theory of government, mixed form of Government in Polybius. In the case of Cicero issues such as life, State, Natural Law, Equality, Liberty, and Forms of Government are dealt with in the unit 10.



**Karnataka State
Open University**

**Political Science
Course I**

Block

II

Introduction

Unit 8

Nature and Importance of Roman Political Thought

1 to 13

Unit 9

**Polybius - Life, Origin of State, Cyclical Theory of Govern-
ment and Mixed Form of Government**

15 to 29

Unit 10

**Cicero- Life, State, Natural Law, Equality, Liberty and
Forms of Government**

31 to 48

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Units 8 - 10

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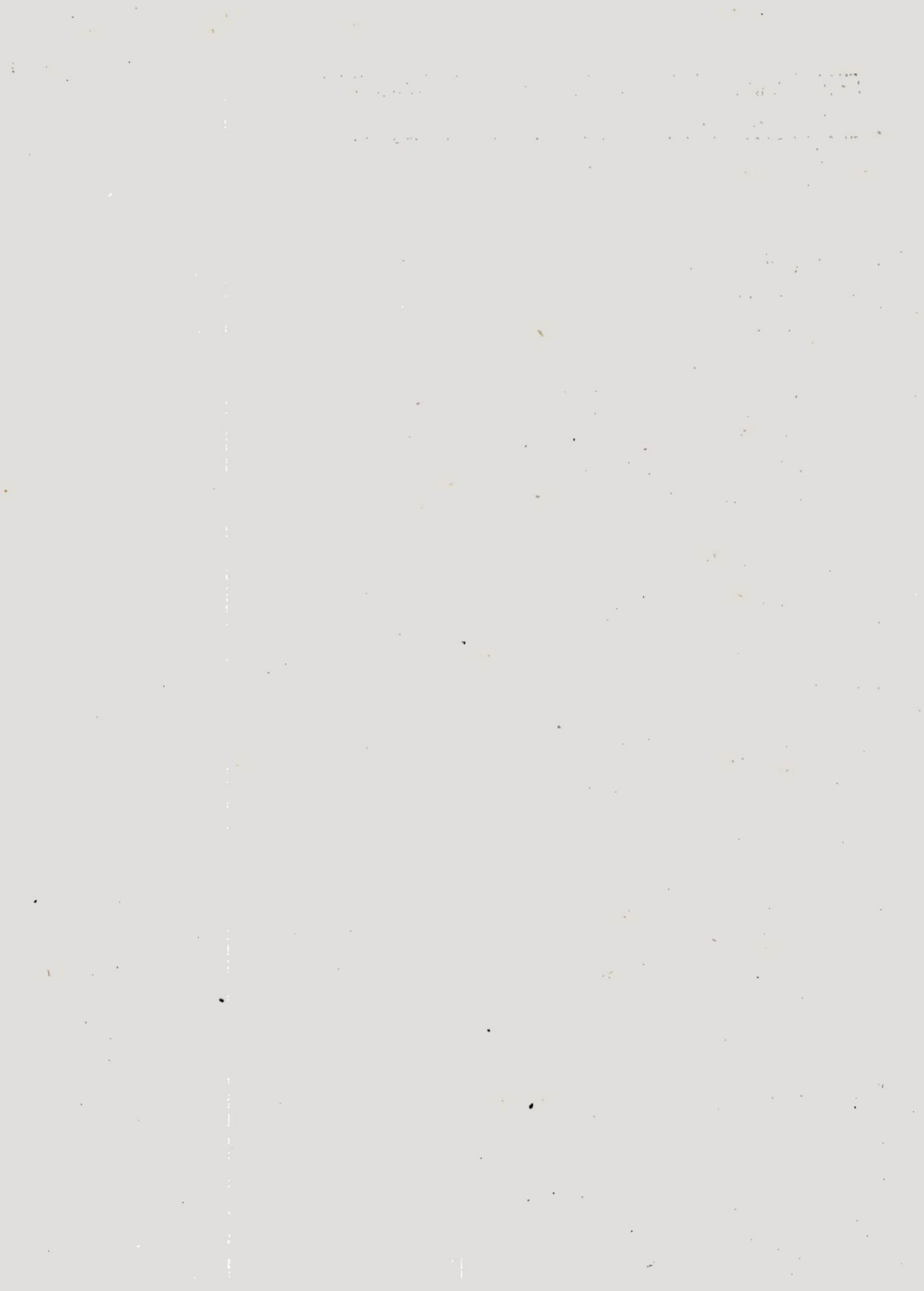
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Block - II Introduction

Block - II consists of 3 units from 8 to 10. Unit - 8 explains Nature and Importance of Roman Political Thought. Unit - 9 explains Polybius - Life, Origin of State, Cyclical Theory of Government and Mixed Form of Government. Unit - 10 Cicero- Life, State, Natural Law, Equality, Liberty and Forms of Government.



Unit 8 - Nature and Importance of Roman Political Thought

Structure

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Nature and Importance
 - 8.2.1 Merits
 - 8.2.2 Demerits
- 8.3 Let Us Sum Up
- 8.4 Key Words
- 8.5 Some Useful Books
- 8.6 Answers to Check your progress exercises

8.0 Objectives

After going through this unit you will be able to

- understand the history of political institutions and nature of Roman Political thought;
- Its importance in the political philosophy; and
- understand the way institutions grew in Rome and also the reasons for their decline;

8.1 Introduction

Unlike Greeks, the Roman world was bereft of any major political philosophers. The two names quite often referred to in the political philosophy such as Polybius and Cicero were not even a match to the political philosophers of Greece. Interestingly, Polybius was not a Roman in a practical sense; rather he was taken as a hostage who later on claimed every thing of Roman as supreme. Incidentally, both Cicero and Polybius eulogized the Romans to the highest level. For them history of mankind is nothing but the history of Rome, the best government was one which was run in Roman Republic, the best legal system was the Roman one. However, one cannot negate the contributions of Roman political system. Its system of separation of power with checks and balances, its legal system etc influenced many political philosophers, in various countries of the world. But all these contributions were not able to sustain the Roman world forever. Increasing conflicts, emergence of new social categories, civil wars, huge domain etc created conditions for the downfall of the Roman world both from within and outside.

8.2. Nature and Importance

Rome, the motherland of Roman civilization, which, from its antiquity as a settlement of peasants grew to become the centres of greatest empire of the world in its history. From about 500 to 300 BC, Roman dominated the whole of Italy and the Mediterranean

fringe. Between 200 BC and late 5th century AD, Rome controlled vast territories in Europe, Africa, and Asia. In fact, between 509 BC and 44 BC Rome experienced Republican form of government until the establishment of Roman Empire. Despite vast differences in the regional specificities, Roman rule created a distinctively Roman Culture.

Initially Rome was a city-state, which was very small in size. Later on Kings ruled it for many centuries. Rome was said to have been inaugurated by Romulus and Remus. The foundation of Republic is said to have taken place in the year 509 BC. In the initial stages two consuls who took over the roles of the Kings ruled the Republic. Nonetheless there were times when Rome was able to elect a dictator for a term of six months who would have sole power over the state. This was an exception than a rule. However Romans made little contributions to speculative philosophy. Most of those who wrote about mixed government, legal system, checks and balances etc borrowed their ideas from the existing reality. In other words, writings about politics were largely borrowed from what the Roman world was experimenting with. In fact, Romans cared more for development of political institutions than for political philosophy. This does not mean one should negate the contributions made by Polybius, Cicero etc. At the same time one should not over look the influence of the stoic philosophy on the political thinking although it is true that Romans also borrowed from non-stoic philosophy too. Stoic philosophy believed in human brotherhood and at the same time it was concerned about four important virtues: wisdom, courage, justice, and temperance.

It is essential to understand the nature of political institutions that the Roman world or the Republic established over the years.

- ♦ The Romans never wrote constitutions, however they believed in the separation of power of the institutions, along with checks and balances. In the absence of any written constitutions Romans

believed in evolving their own methodology to run the Republic. In general, they believed in two principles for their officials: one, annuality – in which the power was held for one year term and two, collegiality Where power was held or distributed among two men together, each of them exercising the power of veto over the other. This is how the system of checks and balances operated.

- The Roman world in theory believed in participatory democracy. However, in practice it combined the oligarchic elements, principally governed by an elite class and representative elements- in the latter case it believed in popular election,
- As the domain of Rome expanded, the number of functionaries in many of the structures increased depending upon the requirements and representation. Even some of the assemblies lost their charms that later on gave place for new forms of assemblies. Interestingly, the political structure also allowed the emergence of dictatorship, although it was a temporary phenomenon
- Women were barred from holding political office, though in the Roman world their roles as mothers, wives, and daughters of emperors gave a few women very high social status. Even elite women who were not members of the imperial family sometimes claimed the rank of their fathers or husbands (e.g., as *consulares feminae*, “consular women”).

It is essential to understand different political bodies of the Republic:

- **Roman Senate:** Senate was composed of magistrates and ex-magistrates. Usually they served for life. Minimum qualification was election as questor. This was the only permanent governing body, although technically it was an advisory body. In due course it emerged as the most powerful organ of Republican government. In the Senate, debate was allowed. Senate

controlled such matters as foreign affairs, finances, state administration, Further, it was assigned the military commands and the power to pass the decrees that would be submitted to assemblies for final ratification. "The Republican government was symbolized by the letters SPQR (*senatus populusque Romanus*), meaning "the Senate and the Roman people".

• **Roman Assemblies:** Theoretically speaking all the males who were full citizens were allowed to participate in the assembly. In other words it was the assemblies of the entire electorate but had different internal organizations. Debate was not allowed; the votes were counted in groups (not individually). Vote of each group was determined on the basis of the vote of the majority of individuals in that group. Nonetheless, Roman Republics experienced three citizen assemblies.

1. **Assembly of Curiate** (*Comitia Curitae*): This is an oldest assembly and had mostly ceremonial and clan functions. The head of the each curia was elected for life. It was effectively controlled by patricians

2. **Assembly of Centuries** (*Comitia Centuriata*): It had power to elect consuls, praetors, censors, right to declare war, and also to act as court of appeal in cases involving capital punishment. These centuries were based on wealth and age, Originally it was a military unit

3. **Assembly of Tribes** (*Comitia Tributa*): It elected all the other magistrates. Initially representation was based on place of residence, however in course of time, date it became hereditary. They elected lower magistrates. Nonetheless, there were different executive offices in the Republic. They were:

Consuls: Two men always held the supreme office of consul together. Senate and assembly meetings were presided over and convened by the chief magistrates or consuls. They were also chief civil and military magistrates. They would initiate and administer legislation. At the

same time they served as the generals in military expeditions. They also represented Rome in foreign affairs. Sometime Consuls could appoint and/or serve as dictator for a period of six months at the time of emergency

Praetor: Even though they served mainly as judges in law courts, they had the power to convene the Senate and assemblies. They also had the power to assume administrative duties of consuls when the latter were not in Rome. They also were military commanders and administered civil law at Rome. Their number fluctuated between two and eight

Censors: They were elected once in five years for a term of one and a half years. They had the power to conduct census of citizens, property assessments for tax purposes; enroll new citizens, review of roll of senate, control public morals, supervise leasing of public contracts, and grant state contracts.

Aedile: They had the power to supervise public places, public games, religious affairs, temples, upkeep of the city, regulation of market places and grain supply. There were two aediles- one was exclusively meant for plebeian and the other was either plebeian or patrician

Quaestor: They administered the finances of the state and were also in charge of the treasury of Rome. Any one who was elected as quaestor, he automatically became eligible for membership in the Senate. Their number would change between two and forty.

Tribunes: It was basically composed of plebeian. The office came into existence to protect the lives and property of the plebeians. They had the power of veto over such issues as election laws, decrees of the senate and acts of any magistrate. They had the power to convene tribal assembly. "They were by law **sacrosanct**, meaning that anyone who attacked them physically could be immediately and summarily killed; they could convene the Senate and assemblies and initiate

legislation.” Their number was also fluctuating- it was between two and ten.

Dictator: consuls appointed them at the time of military emergency. Their tenure was limited to six months or the duration of crisis

There are reasons why the Roman Republic failed to live up to its expectations in subsequent years and vanished from history as noted below;

- ♦ The checks and balances which believed in harmonious relations and resolving the issues by mutual concessions and compromises was replaced by the employment of force. The latter became the order of the day and was employed often during the last century of the Roman Republic.
- ♦ This was sharpened with the emergence of new social classes. In fact, the extension of dominions of Rome transformed the economy and created conditions for growth or emergence of two great classes: the wealthy nobles- Patricians and pauperized commons or Plebeians. This antithetic classes fought bitterly both inside the Senate and assemblies and also outside the political platform-some time the common man or plebeians would secede from the Republic and set up their political camps. For example in 494 BC plebeians elected two leaders, to whom they gave the title Tribunes. These numbers some time increased to ten and helped in creating “Council of Plebeians.” Sometimes, both the social classes would resort to civil wars as the last resort to resolve the deadlocks.
- ♦ As the Roman world expanded, it became too complicated and too huge to manage. It is here corruption became the common practice. More than that, the agrarian reforms of 133 BC released large number of urban unemployed. All these resulted in political strife, civil wars etc. In fact the Battle of Actium

brought an end to the Republic. The same was replaced by the Roman Empire.

- ◆ The different institutions were not able to cope up with the growing resistance from within. One such institution was the Senate. Sometimes, military revolts reduced the power of the senate, including the fact that even the consuls became less powerful in course of time.
- ◆ Yet another factor that had much influence was the growing separatist rebellion, led by the slaves. Although they were defeated or crushed especially when Rome had right leadership, the slaves would often defeat several legions, giving a severe blow to the Republic. Nonetheless, it is essential to focus on the principles of political philosophy that the Romans advocated:
- ◆ Roman political philosophy believed that the state is not only natural but also essential. It was not the product of any contract. At the same time Romans were opposed to identify the state with the individuals. They believed that both the state and the individual have their respective rights. Meanwhile they made distinction between the state and society. The main function of the state was to protect the rights of the individual and the society
- ◆ Roman political philosophy believed in popular sovereignty. In other words, the political sovereignty was vested with the people as a whole. Every state executive, whether consul or the Emperor was treated as the representative of the people. Even the law made was in agreement with popular assemblies i.e.,- law was based on popular sovereignty
- ◆ The Romans believed in the innate and inalienable rights of the communities to “ issue orders to its members and enforce obedience to them.” At the same time they were opposed to any hereditary rights. But they believed in human innate character to rise to the highest position. The best example was the way Cicero raised to the level of consul

8.2.1 Merits

- ◆ The political philosophy that the Romans boasted of was largely the product of their experiments with different political institutions. In fact credit should go to them, after Greeks, for establishing political intuitions which influenced many countries in course of time.
- ◆ Their political philosophy however centered around a few things: popular sovereignty, distinction between the state and the individual, and natural law based on reason
- ◆ On the practical side, they advocated mixed type of government, barring Dictatorship at the time of crises, with checks and balances.
- ◆ As the well known Philosopher Bertrand Russell argues, “the part played by Rome in civilizing the different countries such as Northern Italy Spain, France and parts of Western Germany was of immense importance. These countries were able to develop high level of culture as that of Rome due to fact that they were once related or came under the rule of Rome’.
- ◆ The Romans also introduced new reforms at a time when it was not imagined in different parts of the world: land reforms, extension of franchise to all the cities and establishing what is called “equites” as a new force.
- ◆ In a way the Romans contributed to the emergence of the better philosophy. In fact, prolonged control of Rome over a large number of countries led to the idea that they all belonged to one single civilization. To this was added the idea of Stoics who professed brotherhood. Incidentally, this created a world-view that made them to analyze the world other than theirs as barbaric and uncivilized. This single world-view later on descended to Church. Incidentally, the conception of “one human family, one catholic religion, one universal culture, and one world-wide state

have been haunting the human beings since its approximate realization by the Romans”.

8.2.2 Demerits

- Roman politics overlooked the presence of women. They were neither given any place in the political apparatus nor allowed to be a part of politics. It was highly biased and discriminatory
- Far from being democratic, Roman politics was controlled by oligarchy of people; Often controlled by the rich men only.
- In fact the Romans had no love for theories, no concern for consistency and hardly looked beyond the obvious needs of the moment.
- Most of the political institutions were often moved away from the reality. One such institution was the Senate.
- Organization of political institutions was not simple. They were so complex that it is difficult to say whether they actually represented some or all people at all. Most of the time, the institutions were at variance with the other, which often made the institutions a laughing stock.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain the different political institutions of the Roman Republic

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2. Discuss the merits and demerits of Roman political philosophy and institutions

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8.3 Let Us Sum Up

The Romans were one of the first to introduce democratic institutions, after Greek; Unlike the Greeks the Roman world could not boast of world-renowned political philosophers like Plato, Aristotle. Even though Cicero and Polybius and others wrote or contributed to political thought, their contributions were largely derivative in nature They wrote on the basis of their experience from the existing political institutions and highlighted the Roman contributions as unique and ideal, especially its mixed type of government, its checks and balances, legal system etc. However, at the same time one cannot negate the influence of Stoicism on the Roman world, mainly its focus on human brotherhood, reason, justice etc.

One thing is fairly clear that the Roman contribution to the growth of democratic institutions were the products of long struggles, crises, wars, experiments, and dangers that the Roman world faced. This is the reason why many of the democratic institutions often witnessed conflicts, underwent sea change, even sometime they were replaced by new institutions. It is interesting to note that even the democratic institutions provided space for dictatorship for a short period, and, incidentally it was converted into Roman Imperialism.

However, for the Romans, the state, initially, was not the product of Devine Right. It was but natural and essential. The Romans clearly demarcated the distinctions between the individual and the state, including the society. The state had the right to protect the individual right. Meanwhile it was an accepted fact that the popular sovereignty was the order of the day. All the institutions were treated as part of popular sovereignty. Even law was seen and treated as part of human reason. That is why the Romans advocated equality of citizens in all matters. However, their contributions can be visualized in other matters too: The Romans created a world view which was later on taken over by the church; it created new civilization, brought in many countries under its civilization etc. However its collapse and eclipse from history can be attributed to multiple factors: internal conflicts, wars, growth of new social classes, corruptions, etc.

8.4 Key Words

Domain	:	Area, Field, Sphere of influence
Stoic	:	A school of philosophy, founded in ancient Greece
Veto	:	Power of rejection or prohibition
Oligarchy	:	It is a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in a few people
Elite	:	Privileged or Influential group of people.
Clan	:	Tribe, family
Romulus	:	The founder and the first king of Rome
Sacrosanct	:	Sacred, reverant, holy
Converge	:	Unite, join
Barbaric	:	Uncivilized
Battle of Actium	:	It was a decisive naval battle that took place in north- Western Greece, on September 2, 31 BC, between the Roman fleet of Octavian, and a combined Roman-Egyptian fleet commanded by Mark Antony and Cleopatra.

8.5 Some Useful Books

Bertand Russel,	A History of Western Philosophy
Frank,	Roman Imperialism
Pierre Grimal,	The Civilization of Rome
Gibbon.	Decline and Downfall of Roman Empire
Joseph Voget,	The Decline of Rome
Mortiner Chambers,	The Fall of Rome
A.H.M Jones,	A history of Rome through the fifth century
Michael Grant,	The World of Rome
William Ebestein,	Great Political Thinkers: Plato to Present
W.A. Dunning,	A History of Political Theories
Frank Burr Marsh,	A History of Roman World
D.R.Bhandary,	History of European Political Philosophy
Frank Burr Marsh,	A History of The Roman World,
G.H.Sabine,	A History of Political Theory
William Archibald Dunning,	A History of Political Theories, Ancient, and Mediaeval

8.6 Answers to check your progress exercises

Check your progress 1

1. See section 8.2
2. See subsections 8.2.1. And 8.2.2

**UNIT 9: POLYBIUS -Life, Origin of State, Cyclical Theory
of Government and Mixed Form of Government**

Structure

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Life and Works
- 9.3 Origin of State
 - 9.3.1 Merits
 - 9.3.2 Demerits
- 9.4 Cyclical Theory of Government
 - 9.4.1 Merits
 - 9.4.2 Demerits
- 9.5 Mixed form of Government
 - 9.5.1 Merits
 - 9.5.2 Demerits
- 9.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 9.7 Key Words
- 9.8 Some Useful Books
- 9.9 Answers to check your Progress exercise

9.0 Objectives

After going through this unit will be able

- ♦ To focus on the life history and contribution of Polybius to political thought;
- ♦ To analyze the theory of origin of the state as advanced by Polybius;
- ♦ To evaluate the theory of cycle of governments as propounded by Polybius and
- ♦ To know the theory of mixed governments according to Polybius

9.1 Introduction

Credit should go to Polybius for transforming the history of Rome into a universal history and also to advocate mixed form of government as the best form of government. It was Polybius who believed in the inevitable laws of growth and decay. One of his major contributions came in the form of the cyclical theory of government, arguing that every form of governments creates conditions for its own degeneration and perverted form and in the final analysis the system comes back to square one. Polybius combine Platos' six fold classification of *Statesman* and Aristotle's *Politics*. Rome became an ideal ground for him in his write-ups, and also represented an "exact equilibrium." Polybius again and again goes back to the history of Rome, and put forth the argument that Rome represent both mixed as well "exact equilibrium." His other contributions cover such other issues as the origin of the state, checks, and balances etc. His works have influenced large number of scholars working on separation of powers.

9.2 Life of Polybius

Polybius, a Greek historian who became famous as Roman philosopher was born in 204 B.C in Megalopolis in Arcada, one of the leading states of the Achean League. His name is linked to the history of Rome. His theoretical discussion on the government is largely derived from his analysis of the Roman constitution- he was a great admirer of Roman polity. Polybius spent his initial thirty years on education, military and political experience as an Achean statesman. He was a son of a famous politician of the day who was a follower of great Philopoemen. He came from a rich landlord family. He had little knowledge of literature, philosophy, but was a keen observer of History. He was a Cavalry Commander in the Achaean League (170-169) that sought a strong autonomous state vis-à-vis the invading strong Rome. This brought Greece under Roman rule or dominion. Rome was too strong to resist the federating countries of Achaean and Peoponnesus. Rome arrested thousand of most influential members of Achaean including Polybius and took them as hostages to Italy and tried for conspiracy. In 146 B.C Achaean became a Roman province covering the whole of Greece. Incidentally in Italy Polybius lived as a distinguished visitor rather than a prisoner or hostage for the next sixteen years.

In Italy, experience of Polybius was not only utilized but also recognized. He was more fortunate than his colleagues. He was sent to Greece to mediate between Rome and Achaeans. He subsequently became the representative of Roman Republic to Greece for the reconstruction of the country. In Rome he spent most of his time in scholarly debates, studies and collection of materials on the history of Rome. In Rome he became acquainted with Roman statesmen and the, Roman Constitution. More he studied the history of Rome, more fascinated he became by it. One of the outcomes of his stay in Rome was his scholarly work “*Universal History*” in 40 books. This was

9.3 Origin of the state:

Polybius's argument of the origin of state begins with the conditions in which the arts of civilization and the habits of social life were unknown. In this condition, men were living like animals and were accepting the strongest and bravest as their leaders. It is in this context that importance was given to physical strength. However the idea of kingship arose only when the idea of family ties and social relations came into prominence. Along with that, the notion of goodness and justice and their reverses also came into existence. To understand the growth of such conceptions, Polybius gives the examples of the upbringing in the family, fluctuating character of individuals etc. Kingship came into existence, for Polybius, when a powerful person assumed to rule as per popular sentiment and "appeared as a distributor to each man according to his deserts." And therefore, he becomes a king rather than a despot- this he calls "genuine kingship." Here kingship is based on morality. However, Kingship also gave place for tyrannical state- it is the perverted form. This takes place when they submit to sensual lives, unlawful activities, luxury etc. A second stage is the emergence of the aristocratic state, after abolishing Kingship and despotic state of the kings. This too in the initial stages carries the work for public advantage, however their successive generation, "gave themselves up with passion to avarice and unscrupulous love of money, others to drinking and the boundless debaucheries, violation of women", and in the process, the same state was transformed into Oligarchy. The third step in the formation of state is "not to venture to set up a king again" or to "aristocracy" rather to form "democracy" or to democratic state where people would take "upon themselves the superintendence and charge of the state." Polybius argues that in successive generations, the same democratic state would degenerate, as some would seek to become more powerful than the ordinary citizens, and corrupt the people in

every possible way. In this process the virtue of a democratic state is lost or destroyed and democracy would be transformed into “ a government of violence and the strong hand.”

9.3.1 Merits

- ♦ One of the merits of Polybius’ analysis lies in the fact that he analysed the origin of the state to human instinct;
- ♦ Secondly, Polybius tried to give a new outlook to the theory by saying that one state degenerates to make way for the another;
- ♦ However he was not particular about any one state- for him every state has the other phase

9.3.2 Demerits

- ♦ There is no historical proof to state that different states undergo same phases in history;
- ♦ His theory is largely derived from two or three countries, which cannot be taken to mean that the theory is universally valid.

Check Your Progress - 2

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain the theory of Origin of the state in Polybius

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9.4 Cyclical theory of Government:

Polybius uses the classification of governments set forth by Plato and Aristotle and explains the cyclical theory in the history. Cyclical theory believes that all the constitutional development takes place in a cycle or circle. Here too he begins his argument by distinguishing three kinds of constitutions Kingship or Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy. He dismisses the argument that these three constitute the best form of governments. Polybius writes; "we must regard as the best constitution that which partake of all these three elements." This is substantiated by the examples of Lycurgus, Sparta. However, Polybius was also concerned about the perverted form of governments. He argues that, "we can not hold every absolute government to be kingship, but only that which is accepted voluntarily and is directed by an appeal to reason rather than to fear and force". Similarly he argues about oligarchy, "nor is every oligarchy to be regarded as an aristocracy, the latter exists only where the power is wielded by the justest and wisest men selected on their merit". However he calls the democracy, "where reverence to gods, respect to elders, obedience to laws are traditional and habitual in such communities. If the will of the majority prevail, we may speak of the form of government as democracy." The perverted form of governments he calls as Despotism, Oligarchy, and mob-rule respectively. However, Cycle of governments becomes complete in the following manner: "once all the stages are crossed or completed-then come simultaneous assemblies, massacres, banishments, redivisions of land; until, after losing all trace of civilization, it has once more found a master and a despot". This he calls it as a "regular cycle of constitutional revolution" and natural order in which constitutions change and transform to return again to their original stage.

Polybius makes it a point that there are two ways by which every government is destroyed: one, by some accident that happens from without and two, some "evil that arises from within itself". In the latter case that "when a state, after having passed with safety through many and great dangers, arrives at the highest degree of power, and possesses an entire and undisputed sovereignty; it is manifest that the long continuance of prosperity must give birth to costly and luxurious manners, and that the minds of men will be heated with ambitious contest, and become too eager and aspiring in the pursuit of dignities. And as these evils are continually increased, the desire of power and rule, and the imagined ignominy of remaining in a subject state, will first begin to work the ruin of the republic; arrogance and luxury will afterwards advance it: and in the end the change will be completed by the people; as the avarice of some is found to injure and oppress others, and the ambition of others swells their vanity and poisons them with flattering hopes." This particular degeneration covers the entire sovereignty, even the government will become greatest of all evils according to Polybius.

9.4.1 Merits

- ♦ Polybius made the tendency of the unmixed governments to degenerate as a historical law.
- ♦ He was the one who saw the degeneration covering entire gamut of politics, including the sovereign.

9.4.2 Demerits

- ♦ His mixed government was not a balance of social classes rather political power;
- ♦ In fact there is nothing original about the cyclical theory of the governments;

- Arguments of cycle of governments were largely borrowed from the Greek experience and thereby it does not fit into an understanding of the Roman Republic.

Check Your Progress - 3

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain cyclical theory of government as expounded by Polybius

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9.5 Mixed type of Government

Polybius, following Aristotelian principles, classified the governments into three forms: Monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. At the same time he viewed their respective perverted forms – tyranny oligarchy, and extreme democracy. Monarchy has given rise to its perverted form of tyranny; The second form of government was aristocracy that too ended up in its perverted form of oligarchy. Similarly democracy has given place to mob rule or ochlocracy. . To over come the extremity, Polybius preferred a mixed form of government, combining elements of all the three best governments. For him, Roman constitution became the symbol of best form of government, which combined the best elements derived from all the three constitutions- it became ideal too. This was apparent when he

argued that it was in the Roman constitution that respective share of power in the whole of state "had been regulated with such a scrupulous regard to equality and equilibrium, that no one could say for certain, whether the constitution as a whole was an aristocracy or democracy or despotism". Further, Polybius argued that in the Roman constitution "consulate represented the monarchical principles, senate aristocracy and assemblies the democratic principles." In these three kinds of government, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy were all found united in the commonwealth of Rome. Each had the control over the other by virtue of the power vested in it. This was nothing but principles of checks and balances in operation.

His argument that the Rome constitution combined the best elements was also derived from his comparison of three important constitutions of the period: Sparta, Crete, and Carthage. However he argued that Sparta were able to solve the problem by the sheer force of reason. The Romans on the other hand could able to achieve stability from the lesson taught from the "many difficulties and by great disasters". However according to him Rome became an example for best form of mixed government for the following reasons:

- ♦ The consuls, when they remain in Rome, are the masters of all public affairs. All of them are subject to them, they appoint ambassadors. They propose subjects for the discussion in the senate, they have the power to decree; they "attend to those affairs that are transacted by the people; to call together general assemblies; to report to them the resolutions of the senate; and to ratify whatever is determined by the greater number. In all the preparations that are made for war, as well as in the whole administration in the field, they possess an almost absolute authority." They have the right to levy, taxes, appoint military tribunes, etc

- ◆ 'To the Senate in the first place belongs the sole care and management of public money. Its orders or consent is essential for the receipt and expenditure of public money. "To the senate is referred the cognizance of all the crimes, committed that demand a public examination and inquiry. Even when a controversy arises, it is the duty of the senate to resolve it. Senate is entrusted with the task of sending ambassadors, or "to make a denunciations of war, to propose conditions of a treaty"
- ◆ The people or the assemblies have the right of approving or rejecting laws, rewarding or punishing the guilty, "peace and war are likewise fixed by their deliberations. When any alliance is concluded, any war ended, or treaty made; to them the conditions are referred, and by them either annulled or ratified".

At the same time Polybius argued that their powers are checkmated leading to situation of "counteract and cooperate" This is argued on the basis that:

- ◆ Senate controls the designs of the consuls-.it has the power to aggrandize and amplify the victories that are gained, or debase and depreciate the same. Senate approval is essential for war and such other acts carried out by the consuls
- ◆ Consuls should be careful to preserve the affections of people. Consuls at the time of laying down their office are bound to submit their past administration to the judgment of the people"
- ◆ Senate is bound to attract attention of the people, and to act "in concert with them in all affairs that are of great importance." In addition, all the offences committed against the state, etc should be confirmed by the assembly or the people

- ◆ Even people or the assembly is dependent on the senate both to the particular members and to the general body. Senate also controls all contracts for public works, senators are drawn the juries in most cases, Thirdly the general public or citizens are likely come under the absolute power of the consul as the soldiers.

He further argued that checks and balance are essential for retaining balance in the system, it helps in maintaining “due position of their respective elements,”

9.5.1 Merits

- ◆ He gave new name to democracy calling it as, ocholcracy;
- ◆ Polybius', theory of checks and balances was the first formal exposition in the history of constitutional organizations;
- ◆ By emphasizing the Roman institutions he was not only addressing reasons as to how Rome has grown to what she is, but also to forecast the future of the institutions.

9.5.2 Demerits

- ◆ His mixed government is not standing on the balance of social classes rather on the political power
- ◆ It is not always the case that checks and balances promotes the democracy. Subsequent history of Rome proved that it was misappropriated.

Check Your Progress - 4

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain the theory of mixed type of government in Polybius

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9.6 Let Us sum up

Polybius was a Greek but came to be known as a Roman political thinker by the sheer accident of living in the Roman Republic as a hostage. His major work "universal History" was to project the growth of Rome as a powerful and dominant force in history. Most of his arguments about the government, mixed form of government, or origin of the state were largely the product of his understanding of the Roman Republic. In fact, the Roman Republic was not only an ideal for him but it came to be known as "best form of government." He was one of the greatest admirers of the Roman Republic-its constitution, its culture, its history, and its politics. At the same time he derived his arguments about the classification (perverted form) of government largely from Aristotle and Plato. He was the one who advocated checks and balances, and also the mixed type of government as the best form of government. He influenced many

scholars such as John Calvin, Machiavelli, and Montesquieu in due course.

9.7 Key Words

Achaean	:	All the inhabitants of Ancient Greece.
Philopoemen	:	one of the leading statesmen of the Achaean League from Megalopolis.
Didactic method	:	moralistic, method
Machiavelli	:	Italian historian, statesman, and political philosopher, (1469-1527), whose name become synonymous for cunning and duplicity.
John Calvin	:	A French theologian, Church reformer, humanist, and pastor, whom Protestant denominations in the Reformed tradition regard as a major formulator of their beliefs (1509-1564)
Attic	:	Top story
Montesquieu,	:	French writer and jurist (1689-1755), Known for advocating separation of Powers.
Avarice	:	Greediness
Scrupulous	:	Meticulous

9.8 Some Useful Books

James V. Downton	Perspectives on Political Philosophy
and David K.H	Vol. Thucydides through Machiavelli
R.N. Berki,	History of Political Thought
D.R. Bhandari,	History of European Political Philosophy

Cooker F.W, **Readings in Political Philosophy**
William Archbald Dunning, **A History of Political Theories:**
 Ancient and Medieval
Bertrand Russell, **A History of Western Philosophy**

9.9 Answers to Check your progress exercises

Check your progress 1

1) See section 9.1 and 9.2

Check your progress 2

1) See section 9.4 and subsections 9.4.1 and 9.4.2

Check your progress 3

1) See section 9.6 and subsections 9.6.1 and 9.6.2

Check your progress 4

1) See section .8 and subsections 9.8.1 and 9.8.2

UNIT: 10 Cicero

Life, State, Natural Law, Equality, Liberty, and Forms of Government

Structure

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Life
- 10.3 State in Cicero
 - 10.3.1 Merits
 - 10.3.2 Demerits
- 10.4 Natural Law
 - 10.4.1 Merits
 - 10.4.2 Demerits
- 10.5 Equality
 - 10.5.1 Merits
 - 10.5.2 Demerits
- 10.6 Liberty
 - 10.6.1 Merits
 - 10.6.2 Demerits
- 10.7 Forms of Government
 - 10.7.1 Merits
 - 10.7.2 Demerits
- 10.8 Let us Sum Up
- 10.9 Key Words
- 10.10 Some Useful Books
- 10.11 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercise

10.0 Objectives

After going this unit you will be able

- To understand the life history of Cicero as a Roman scholar
- To evaluate the state as expounded by Cicero
- To know the meaning of natural law in Cicero
- To analyse the issues of equality in Cicero
- To know the conceptual understanding of Liberty in Cicero
- To focus on the issues of forms of government as explained by Cicero

10.1 Introduction

Cicero, native Roman who extensively wrote on large number of issues such as rhetoric, history, literature, politics, law etc, was both a fascinating scholar as well a tragic one. In the latter case he became the victim of violent political activities or the rivalry of his time. His work is fascinating for the simple reason that he used both discourse and didactic form in his various writings. He was the one who influenced Roman politics more than any other scholars of his time. At the same time he was for the retention of democratic – Republican form of government in Rome, at a time when Rome was undergoing tremendous transformation due to its expanding domains. For him Rome became an excellent example for mixed form of government. His philosophy was a form of Stoicism. However, some of his arguments such as the natural law and human reason tried to establish the linkage between God and human beings. He is remembered for advocating natural law, mixed form of government, the state etc. Many political theorists later on adopted Ciceros' arguments about the separation of power.

10.2 Life

Cicero, the greatest orator, a writer, statesman, and philosopher was born at Arpinum in 106 B.C. He was the only native Roman who wrote extensively on the question of political theory. He is called the greatest of the Roman prose writer and, was one of the most successful lawyers of the day. In his various writings, the influence of Stoics and Plato is very much apparent. He was born at a time when Rome was undergoing tremendous changes-it was a period of economic and political crises, which led to the sharpening of conflict between Patricians and plebeians. This also had the effect on the functioning of Checks and Balances. In fact it rendered the functioning ineffective. Civil war also badly affected the working of the Republic. Cicero was an ardent Republican who stood for Senate and Republic. He too stood for mixed type of government. He wrote on variety of issues – rhetoric, oratory, ethics, and political philosophy.

During his young age itself Cicero became known as the best orator and also one of the best poets of Rome. As a youth he studied law, oratory, literature, and philosophy in Rome was immensely loved by the Romans for his eloquence and for his character. He became a good friend of eminent statesmen and leaders in the senate and acquired the knowledge about law from them. He was the first Roman who became the highest dignitary of the state by his own eloquence and has merits as a civil magistrate. He entered into the public life to save the life of a slave's son. Here he distinguished himself by his courageous defense of his cline. At the same time it made him to leave Rome to travel to Greece under the pretension of his health, wherein he lived quietly in the study of philosophy. At Athens he met the famous Pomponius Atticus and attended the lectures of famous Antiochus who taught him the dogmatic doctrines of Plato and the Stoics. From Athens (Greece) he went to different parts of Asia and Rhodes. In Asia he conversed with "Xenocles of Adramyttium, Dionysius of Magnesia, and Menippus of Caria; at Rhodes, he studied

oratory with Apollonius, the son of Molon, and philosophy with Posidonius". At the age of thirty Cicero came back to Rome in 77 BC. He soon eclipsed in speaking all his competitors for public favor. He came to be known as pleader, which brought both fame and "repute of ill-nature." In 74 BC he was elected to the Senate. From Rome he was sent to Sicily as a quaestor wherein he succeeded in convincing the province without resorting to oppression. However he became famous for his celebrated prosecution of Verras, for his misgovernment of Sicily. Five years after his quaestorship, Cicero was elected aedile. After two years he returned at the head of the list as praetor. He pleaded many cases. In 64 BC he was elected as consul. During his consularship there was a conspiracy to overthrow the government. Cicero succeeded in quelling the revolt. He was hailed by the Romans as "Father and Deliverer" of his fatherland. Subsequent events show that he was forced to go into exile in 58 BC. Interestingly senate supported him urging him to return and declared that "it would not attend to any business until the decree which ordered his banishment was revoked". This made Cicero to come back to the country, and accepted the assignment to govern the Roman province of Cilicia. This position was given as part of law, which allowed the division of province among the senators or consular or praetorian rank. Cicero conducted a war while he was in office against the plundering tribes of mountain district of Cilicia. However, his vacillating character came to fore at the time of the civil war between Cease and Pompey. - Initially he supported Pompey and later on when the latter was defeated he joined Caesar. He was bestowed the title "Imperator" by his soldiers. He also served in the army and participated in Marsian war, however, the assassination of Caesar once again brought him back to the stage of public affairs, with little success. Cicero wrote when he withdrew from politics and lived as a private citizen during the period when Ceaser was the virtual dictator. Cicero wrote *De Repulica* and *De Legibus*. In the former case he

was concerned about creating an ideal state as Plato had done. The treatise *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum* was written after the manner of Aristotle, and discusses the chief good and the chief evil. The *Academicæ Questiones* relates to the Academic philosophy, the *Tusculanæ Disputationes*, focusing on the practice of life, and human happiness. The Paradox contains a defense of six paradoxes of the Stoics. His other important rhetorical works are the *De Officiis* (On Duty dialogue) *De Natura Deorum* (On the Nature of the Gods) *De Oratore* On Rhetoric, *Oratoriae Partitiones*. The latter is centered on the art of arranging and distributing the parts of an oration and persuading the audience. In his another dialogue *Brutus* he gave descriptions about those who flourished in Greece or Rome. He also wrote the treatise *De Consolatione*, which was meant to mitigate the anguish of his suffering at the fag end of his life. The *Topica* is a compendium of the *Topica* of Aristotle. His other treatise *De Optimo Genere Oratorum* was originally proposed as an introduction to a translation of the celebrated orations of Demosthenes and Aeschines De Corona. Like Polybius, for Cicero, Roman Republic or the state including its history was a most important aspect while detailing an ideal state. The Orations that he is known to have composed amounted to 107, His best orations were: *Oration for Scaurus*, *Oration in the temple of Bellona*, *Oration for Marcellus*. He was brutally assassinated at the age of sixty therein B.C 43 – he became a victim of violent political struggle unfolding Rome and was treated as an enemy of the state.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Describe the life history of Polybius. Do you agree that he became the victim of political rivalry of his time

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10.3 State in Cicero

Cicero believed that the state originated in the social instinct of man. It is here he becomes Stoic, and argued that state is a rational being. At the same time he argued that a major function of the state was to protect the individual rights. He writes, that, "For the purpose of establishment of constitutional state and municipal governments was that the individual rights might be secured." This was the earliest known philosophical argument in defense of private property used to subscribe the theory of the state. Interestingly, for Cicero property is not private by nature. Rather property is the result of long occupation, victory in war, by law, settlement, even by lot or some kind of agreement. He was opposed to taking away the property right, as it violates the law of human fellowship. Meanwhile he differentiated the state from the government. For him the government is the agent of people in the state. He also stood for popular sovereignty.

At the same time for Cicero the idea of state is nothing but "commonwealth." The latter is "people's affair; and the people is not every group of men, associated in any manner, but is the coming together of a considerable number of men who are united by a common agreement about and rights and by the desire to participate in mutual advantages". His important argument came in the next sentence " the original cause of this coming together is not so much weakness as a kind of social instinct natural to man." There are few things apparent in this argument: that state is founded on the basis of the consent of the people; two, people constitute the sovereign bodies; three, it is the common interest or interest of the community that brings the people together. And finally, it is social instinct that brought men together. However criterion for the establishment of the state has two aspects: one the collection of human beings that makes up a people and two, state conducting its affairs in accordance with the people's sense of justice and keeping with their interest. In the first case "people" are constituted when 'they have moral consensus and a shared sense of justice both in their lives and institutions and secondly, a commitment to their shared good or mutual advantage. However, Cicero argues that when single individual subjugates a group of individuals and imposes his will on them, no state will exist. Or state will not exist "when a faction of individuals is in charge of a large number of persons in a geographical area and rules in the interest of the faction." In one sense his arguments come closer to the arguments of Polybius who the latter has argued that every state is undergoing a cyclic manner. Cicero cited the examples of Diomachus of Syracuse, the rule of thirty tyrants on Athens as examples for the change of the state.

10.3.1 Merits

- ♦ One of the merits in his arguments is the reduction of state to ethnical sphere. For him the state is community for ethical purpose and it should be held together within the moral tie up;

- ♦ He made the authority of the state to arise from the collective body of people;
- ♦ He viewed the people's power as corporate power;
- ♦ Nonetheless his contribution became part of the common heritage of political thought;

10.3.2 Demerits

- ♦ It is not always the case that social instinct is the major reason for forming commonwealth
- ♦ His theory of state does not say who will speak for the people, who constitute the people or how one becomes entitled to speak

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain the state in Cicero

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10.4 Natural Law

Cicero begins with the argument that universal law of nature essentially grows out of God's providential nature and rational and social nature of human beings as the latter are similar to God in their reasons. Hence his stress on the fact that the constitutional and civil law must be based on natural law. He thinks that supreme universal

law existed in nature. Even the principle of justice is derived from the universal law. Other wise the laws become redundant. He gave the definition of natural law in *De Republica*: "True law is right reason in agreement with Nature; it is of universal application, unchanging and everlasting; it summons to duty by its commands, and averts from wrongdoing by its prohibitions ... There will not be different laws at Rome and at Athens, or different laws now and in the future, but one eternal and unchangeable law will be valid for all nations and for all times.

There are a few things apparent in his definitions:

1. Law emerges out of right reason, and will be embraced by all
2. True law should be in agreement with nature
3. True law is universally applicable, irrespective of nations and times
4. True law is unchanging and everlasting
5. It makes people to obey the right thing and prohibits wrong doing
6. True law is in accordance with nature and reason
7. Law is eternal wisdom, ruling the world

Further he argues that law helps in the measurement of justice and injustice. However root of justice lies in the nature. Further, he states that reason is the ground for human wisdom, which is common both among the people and the God. Since both are related as both have common ancestry or origin, they have common virtue that is nothing but nature perfected and developed to its highest point. Nature's nonetheless perfect the reason and thereby justice lies in nature and the reason. This is the reason why he argues that law should be completely in accordance with justice and nature. Otherwise "existence is impossible for a household, a city a nation, the human race, physical nature, and the universe itself." Finally he assigns the

authorship of true law to God, 'who is the author of this law, its interpreter and its sponsor'.

10.4.1 Merits

- ♦ He gave the civil law a natural basis
- ♦ His theory of natural law became part of Roman Legal Thought and early Christian thinking
- ♦ His theory of natural law combined the philosophy of Plato and Stoics
- ♦ He made the state a moral community who in common possess the state and its law

10.6.2 Demerits

- ♦ One of the demerits lies in the fact that he brought the dictates of abstract and universal reason and law into immediate relation with human reason and legislation
- ♦ In fact, the eternal and universality of nature in the final analysis becomes the law of Rome with certain modifications

Check Your Progress - 3

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain the meaning of natural law in Cicero

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10.5 Equality

Cicero held the view that men by nature are equal. Every human being, including the races has virtue. He thinks men are equal before the universal law. This is aptly argued by Sabine, "that they are not equal in learning, and it is not expedient for the state to try to equalize their property, but in the possession of reason, in their underlying psychological make-up, and in their general attitude toward what they believe to be honorable or base, all men are alike". Few things are quite obvious in this argument:

- * Equality is fundamentally related to the possession of reason, belief and psychological setup
- * Equality does not lie in equal learning

Further he argues that since every body has the same capacity for learning, experiencing, they are equally capable of differentiating right from wrong. He thinks that even in the context of democratic state, the notion of equality will turn into inequality. This is for the reasons that democratic system often become prone to favoritism and bias. Cicero argues that even in democracy, "what is called equality is, in reality, extremely unequal." However he thinks that in the mixed form of government one can assure equality. Nonetheless equality is linked to freedom.

10.5.1 Merits

- * Unlike Aristotle, Cicero makes equality a moral question- equality is a moral question than a reality,
- * He made reason as the basis of equality.

10.8.2 Demerits

- * Since he made the reason the basis for equality, it is not universally valid as the reasons of individuals changes
- * Perfect equality is not a possibility at any given time
- * Issues of equality are hypothetical in nature than reality

Check Your Progress - 4

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Analyse the meaning of equality in Cicero

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10.6 Liberty

Cicero was in favour of popular sovereignty. People's participation is the utmost value for him. Liberty flourishes in those states where people have supreme power. He was in favour of equal enjoyment of liberty. This is apparent in the following arguments: "if liberty is not equally enjoyed by all the citizens it is not liberty at all." This is the reason why in Monarchical state or aristocratic state people do not enjoy the liberty even though people participate in the election, elect the civil and military officials, their suffrages are solicited for purposes of election and legislation. However absence of any power in the military commands, or in advisory councils or in special jury councils renders liberty irrelevant.

However, issues of liberty are also linked to the issues of freedom. Cicero thinks, "Extremes of freedom becomes the extremes of slavery." It is from the perfect freedom that tyrant arises. At the same time without freedom liberty is not a possibility

Further, his notion of liberty is also interlinked to the politics of the state. He declared that safety of the state is rested in the free people and the wisdom of its ablest men

10.6.1. Merits

- ♦ He was the one who linked the issues of liberty to participation and freedom
- ♦ Liberty becomes a value in Cicero
- ♦ Liberty is seen as essential conditions for the safety of people

10.6.2 Demerits

- ♦ Liberty without restraints is too dangerous for any country
- ♦ His thesis on liberty can be introduced only in small countries where every body participates in state politics

Check Your Progress - 5

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Describe the meaning of Liberty as expounded by Cicero

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10.7 Forms of Government

Cicero followed closely the arguments advanced by Polybius in classifying the governments. He too classified the governments into Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy with each having its own perversions. Meanwhile, he also accepted the cyclical theory of governments with little modifications. His cycle consisted of Monarchy-Tyranny, Aristocracy- Oligarchy, and Democracy- Military dictatorship and finally once again monarchical form of government. His argument about the forms of government begins with his treatment of human instinct that created conditions for social groups and establishment of fixed abodes. This fixed abode in due course translates into cities, or towns. To endure, it requires some sort of deliberating authority which is based on two characteristics: one, it must always be relative to the peculiar grounds which have brought the particular state into being; two, authority must be delegated either to a single person or to certain selected persons or must be retained by all the members of the group. When the power is vested in one man, the government is called Monarchy. When it is in the hands of certain selected persons, it is called Aristocracy, and the state is democratic when all the power is vested in the hands of the people. Cicero disagree that all these states are perfect and are best. Rather he argue that these are passable form of government. However there are reasons why the governments undergo perverted forms:

- In Monarchy all except the King are too much excluded from the protection of law and from participation in deliberative functions. In Monarchy King rule unjustly. In the process King become tyrant.
- In aristocracy mass have hardly any share in freedom. Only the wealth rather than the excellence controls the state. They are characterized by shamelessness and arrogance. The perverted form of aristocracy is oligarchy.

Democracy does not recognize merits. They are prone to discrimination and favours

Nonetheless, Cicero did not think that either of the forms are good. Rather he was in favour of mixed form, "which is the combination of all three." This is because, "Monarchy showers love to his subject, aristocracy shows wisdom represented in counsel and democracy expresses freedom". In addition he argues that, "there should be a dominant and royal elements in the commonwealth; second, that some powers should be granted and assigned to the influence of aristocracy and third; that certain matters should be reserved to the people for decision and judgment". However, he favoured mixed government for two fundamental reasons: firstly, it avoids any instability secondly, it ensures an element of equality

10.7.1 Merits

- Unlike Polybius he added a new dimension to the theory of cycle of governments- military dictatorship
- He also followed his predecessors that ideal state should always carry the component of Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy
- His idea of check and balances was less mechanical than that of Polybius.

10.7.2 Demerits

- Cicero makes no attempt to rival the Greek in evolving a fanciful polity that has no relations to actual social life and nature of man
- There is no guarantee that mixed form governments will survive always
- Since his political philosophy was largely borrowed from the Roman experience, one can not safely argue that same mechanism can be applied elsewhere

Check Your Progress - 6

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Analyse forms of government in Cicero.

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10.8 Let Us Sum Up

Cicero, Roman by birth was known for his extensive writings on rhetoric, oratory, ethics, and political philosophy. He was a Stoic and, at the same time combined the methodologies of Plato, Aristotle, and Polybius while detailing political institutions. He was the one who rose to the position of consul with his own merit, eloquence, and rhetoric. Although, his death was a tragic one, his contribution to political philosophy cannot be negated. Unlike his predecessors he looked at the state in terms of the creation of human instinct and as one embodying the rational being. He also saw the state in terms of "commonwealth." Cicero also believed in the mixed form of government, as it brings "equilibrium and stability." Like Polybius, for him Roman Republic was the best and an ideal state to be emulated by others. His other contributions are in the realm of natural law, equality, and liberty. In the first case of natural law, he thinks that natural law emerges out of the right reason, and will be embraced by all and that it is universally applicable. Further he thinks that true law should be in accordance with nature and reason- both are however

interlinked to God and human beings. Similar arguments are made about the equality. Since human beings have the power of reason it is obvious that human beings are essentially equal. However, for him liberty lies in freedom, participation in the politics of the state. Nonetheless, Cicero continued to influence Roman Lawyers in subsequent years.

10.9 Key Words

Didactic	:	Informative, Moralizing
Rhetoric	:	Public speaking
Discourse	:	Conversation
Stoic	:	It was a school of philosophy established in Athens about 300 BC by Zeno of Citium
Patricians	:	They were members of landed families who were citizens of Rome
Plebeians	:	They were the common people of ancient Rome, including the poor and landless
Eloquence	:	Articulation, or expression
Pleader	:	Person who takes up the case and pleads
Quaestor	:	It is the magistracy in Roman Republic
Aedile	:	they were the officers of the Roman Republic, Corresponding approximately to directors of public works and exercising some police powers
Caesar	:	Name of a patrician Roman family and an imperial title. Among them Julius Caesar was the famous one
Pompey	:	He was one of Roman general and statesman, and son-in-law of Julius Caesar, who later on became his archrival for power.

10.10. Some Useful Books

Ebesntien,	Great Political Thinkers: Plato to Present
G.H.Sabine,	A History of Political Theory
William Archbald Dunning,	A History of Political Theories: Ancient and Medieval
William Archibald,	History of Political Theories
R. N.Berki,	History of Political Thought
Robert H. Murray, ,	History of Political Science from Plato to Present
D.R.Bhandary,	History of European Political Philosophy
Bertand Russel,	A History of Western Philosophy

10.11 Answers to check your progress exercise

Check your progress 1

1. See section 10.2

Check your progress 2

1. See section 10.4 and subsections 10.4.1 and 10.4.2.

Check your progress 3

1. See section 10.6 and subsections 10.6.1 and 10.6.2

Check your progress 4

1. See section 10.8 and subsections 10.8.1 and 10.8.2

Check your progress 5

1. See section 10.10 and subsections 10.10.1 and 10.10.2

Check your progress 6

1. See section 10.12 and subsections 10.12.1 and 10.12.2

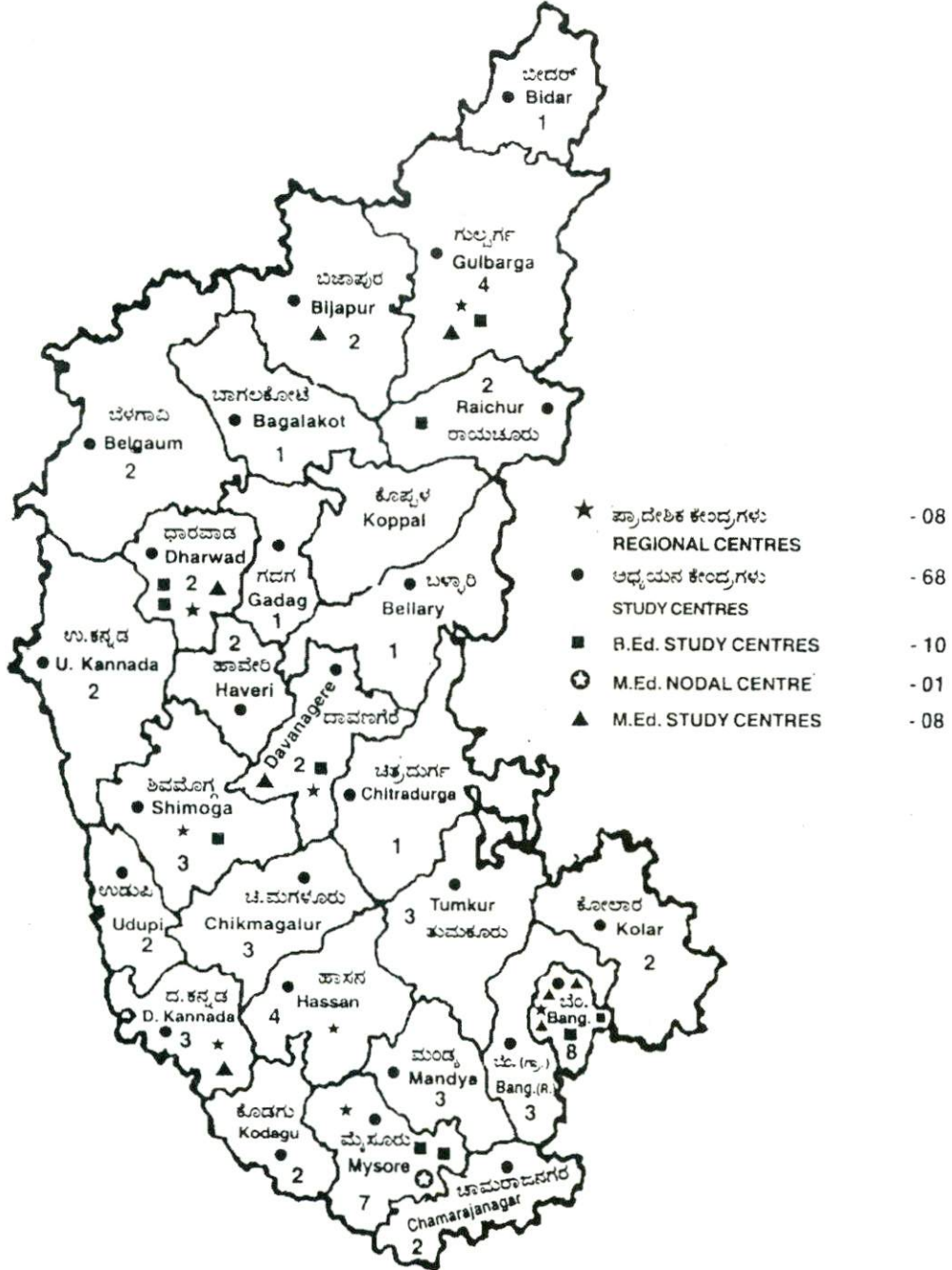
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ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯದ ಪ್ರಾದೇಶಿಕ ಹಾಗೂ ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳು
Regional and Study Centres of Karnataka State Open University



(ಸಮೂಹಿಸಿರುವ ಅಂಕಿ - ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಒಟ್ಟು ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.)
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