

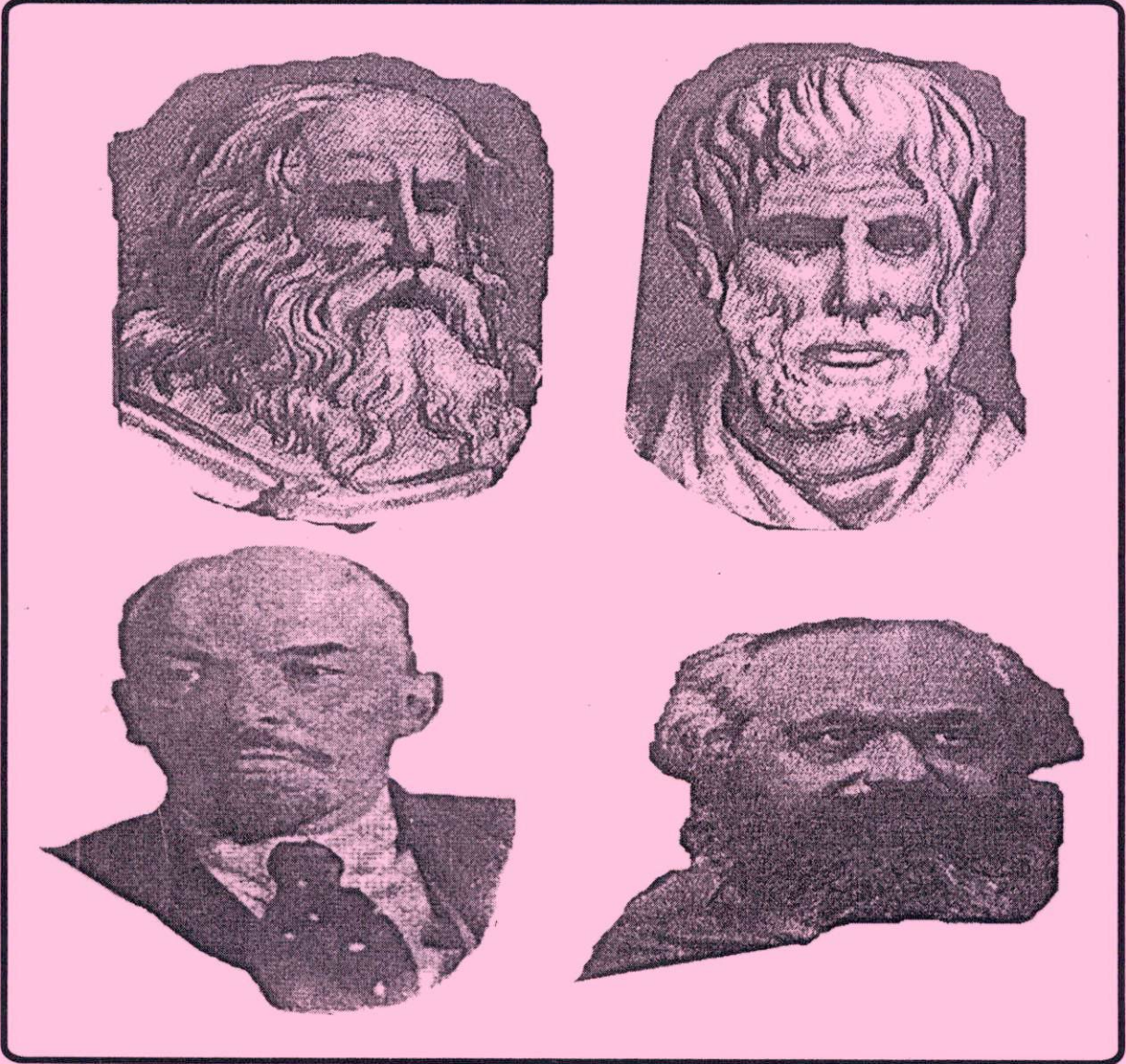
ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯ
ಮಾನಸಗಂಗೋತ್ರಿ, ಮೈಸೂರು - ೫೭೦ ೦೦೬



KARNATAKA STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY
Manasagangothri, Mysore - 570 006

POLITICAL SCIENCE
MA [PREVIOUS]

1039



Course - I
Paper - Western Political Thought

Block - IV

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. Kulandai 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 ಸರ್ವಸ್ವರದ 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



**Karnataka State
Open University**

**Political Science
Course I**

Block

4

Introduction

Unit 14

Machiavelli-Life works and Human nature

1 to 18

Unit 15

Morality and Religion

19 to 35

Unit 16

State and Forms of Government

37 to 54

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Block - IV Introduction

Block - IV consists of 3 units from 14 to 16. Unit - 14 explains the Machiavelli - Life works and Human nature. Unit - 15 explains Morality and Religion. Unit - 16 explains State and Forms of Government.

Block IV

Unit 14 Machiavelli - Life works and Human nature

Structure:

- 14.0 Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Life of Machiavelli
 - 14.2.1 Influence of his times
 - 14.2.2 Machiavelli's Method
- 14.3 Works of Machiavelli
- 14.4 Human Nature
- 14.5 Let us Sum up
- 14.6 Key words
- 14.7 Some useful Books
- 14.8 Answer to Check your progress exercises.

14.0 Objectives

After going through this unit you should be able to know.

- The life sketch of Machiavelli
- The works of Machiavelli
- His views on Human Nature

14.1 Introduction

Machiavelli is the product of the Renaissance. It was during his times that changes of great importance were taking place in Europe. The Renaissance was bringing about social, Political and intellectual changes. Feudalism was coming to an end and individualism was getting its due place. With Machiavelli middle ages come to a close and political philosophy entered a new phase. In other words, modern political thought begins with Machiavelli. He was the most worthy thinker in the history of Political thought. Machiavelli was a historian and a man of affairs. He was more a practical politician rather than a political philosopher. His actual life was not be upto the ideas though his ideas were high sounding, appealing and convincing. Italy was the first country to come under the influence of the new movement as a result of Renaissance.

14.2 Life Sketch of Machiavelli 1469 A.D- 1527 AD

Machiavelli was born in Florence in 1469 in a rich family. His father was a famous lawyer. During his young age he studied Roman and Latin History, Machiavelli was a realist, secularist and a great spokesman of his age. He claims to be the first modern political thinker a realist in politics. He is rightly regarded as the father of modern political science. He has been described variously as a product of his time, child and representative of his age. He was pragmatic in his outlook. He was inspired more by the historians rather than by the philosophers.

Machiavelli was extremely hostile to caesar. He clearly rejects Caesar and caesarism. He described Caesar as one of the worst

men in Roman History. Why was Machiavelli of this opinion? Caesar he felt had destroyed Roman freedom, destroyed the Roman constitution instead of regenerating or recreating it. To Machiavelli anyone who proposed to die for the lost cause was a fool and not worthy of consideration. He was purely pragmatic in connection with politics.

Machiavelli was a man of practical affairs. He was a diplomat. He went abroad many times on diplomatic missions and acquired vast experience in practical affairs of contemporary politics. He held this post for 14 years. At the age of 29, Machiavelli became the Secretary, in the second chancery and handled correspondence with regard to internal and external policy of Florence.

14.2.1 Influence of his times.

It is natural for the political thinkers to be influenced by the circumstances, situations and problems of their times. These problems are discussed in their writings directly or indirectly and solutions are sought. Infact the writings of political thinkers are a mirror of the problems of the times and their solutions.

The political philosophers are moulded by the times and in turn they mould the times.

In case of Machiavelli, the influence of his times and the problems of these times is even more clearly marked because he was an active participant in contemporary politics, He wrote his books to find the causes of the problems facing Italy in his times and suggested practical solutions. Further Machiavelli was called the epitome of his times.

1. The Influence of Renaissance and its impact on Machiavelli.

The Renaissance first bloomed in Italy where throughout the 15th century its finest fruits were manifested in diverse branches of creative thinking. Machiavelli was influenced by this intellectual movement. The fabulous intellectual activity marking the european

Renaissance was actually necessitated by the changing social forces leading to the decline of the feudal order and the emergence of the bourgeoisie- a new class trying for its dominance in European society. A timid submission to the static order of feudal society was now replaced by a courageous defiance of all natural and artificial barriers. The littleness of man appearing so real in the context of supernatural glories throughout the middle ages was now discarded as an illusion.

The Renaissance was, in essence man's awakening about himself about his autonomous sphere of authority and about his colossal power and possibilities. It was, in other words, a movement resulting in a great discovery of man. The Renaissance brought in sharp changes in man's thinking about himself. This movement rejects the fatalistic or divine attitude. It depicted man as a confident, self aware and courageous creature who for his success would no longer depend on the uncontrollable will of God and fate but rather on the power of his own arms he could conquer the world and indeed do miracles. Renaissance-movement preached a secular and scientific view of life. God was simply expelled from his erstwhile seat of dominance in human society having no longer been taken to be a necessary means for combating human problems.

Niccolo Machiavelli lived and worked at a time when the Italian Renaissance was at the height of its glory. He was a child of the Italian Renaissance. His two important books *The Prince* and *the Discourses* are indeed, permeated by the very spirit of European Renaissance. He builds up his assumptions on the basis of the facts gathered from historical lessons and from his own personal experiences. In other words, his data are drawn from man as he has been or as he is and not from man as he ought to be. In this respect Machiavelli certainly is a political analyst and not a political philosopher. He treats politics not philosophically but empirically. Thus, he has been called the product of the Renaissance.

(2) **Might was Right**

During Machiavelli's time political morality and public spirit had reached a low ebb. Factional strikes within the cities and wars among them were common. The rulers although sometimes cruel and violent were usually able and resourceful men. They encouraged the Renaissance and often improved the condition of the people as a whole and yet faced difficulties conspiracies flourished, and assassinations, imprisonments and banishments were common. Cold-blooded personal and political considerations were necessarily dominant factors in retaining power.

(3) **Italy divided into small states**

Machiavelli lived at a time when Italy was divided into many Principalities. In other words Machiavelli was unfortunately living in times when Italy was divided into small fragments. There was no national figure to command the confidence of the whole nation. The great powers of Europe, France, Spain and Germany were rivals for power. To increase their power, they were trying to use the small principalities of Italy as tools. The small Italian States were trying to survive by craft and diplomacy.

4) **Political corruption and moral degeneration**

Though society in Machiavelli's times was intellectually brilliant and artistically creative, yet there was rampant political corruption and moral degeneration. It was an age of unprincipled people and adventurers. Cruelty and murders were the order of the day. The rulers were using force and craft as key for success.

5) **Machiavelli's experience in domestic and foreign problems.**

Machiavelli who occupied a high political post for 14 years acquired through knowledge of domestic and foreign problems and understood the circumstances, the people and the rulers of his times. He was a keen observer of men and events. His views in the 'prince' and 'Discourses' reveal the conditions of his times. The period in

which he lived was brilliant from the intellectual and the artistic points of view. It was a gloomy period from the moral and political point of view. It was a leaderless and masterless period.

6) **Need of a strong Man.**

Machiavelli wrote in an atmosphere of political corruption and moral degeneration. He naturally came to the conclusion that there was a need of a strongman to solve the problems of the troubled times.

7) **The last days of Machiavelli**

The Political career of Machiavelli ended all of a sudden. He was involved in conspiracy, was arrested, was tortured and was sent to prison. He was released after some time. Machiavelli led a life of retirement at his farm. He spent his time in literary pursuits and wrote many books during the period of his retirement. Machiavelli hoped to be appointed to his old post of Secretary in the chancery. The appointment of other man to his coveted post resulted in a great shock to Machiavelli.

He died a few days after he learnt that his old post had been given to another man. His attempt to re-enter politics was a failure.

14.2.2 Machiavelli's Method

Machiavelli followed the following methods in his study.

1. Method of Observation.

Machiavelli had a keen power of observing men and situation. He went abroad on diplomatic missions many times and observed the conditions in the countries which he visited. He was a realist and practical psychologist.

2. Inductive Method

He followed the inductive method. In inductive method, we start with facts or particulars and arrive at universal principles or generalisations.

3. Empirical Method

He followed empirical method. His two books the 'Prince' and the 'Discourses' are based on his own experience.

4. Scientific Method

He was the first great political thinker of modern times to free politics from religion. He studied politics systematically and scientifically. He made politics a real science. His method was scientific.

5. Comparative method.

He used comparative method to understand and explain the political problems. His aim was to build a strong and unified Italy under a strong ruler.

6. Historical method.

He studied the past. He believed that the study of the past would enable us to better understand the present and to predict the future. He used the historical method in his discourse. He studied particularly the history of Rome. He was concerned with things as they are and not with things as they ought to be. In other words, he was concerned with facts and not with ideals. Facts of history became his guide as his own experience was his guide.

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) Discuss the life sketch of Machiavelli.

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2) Describe the influence of environment on Machiavelli.

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3) Explain the methods adopted by Machiavelli.

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14.3 Works of Machiavelli

Machiavelli wrote a number of books. But the important among them are the following.

- 1) The Prince.
- 2) The Discourses
- 3) A History of Florence.
- 4) The Art of War.
- 5) Manda Gola Drama.
- 6) Familiar letters.

Of these books, the Prince is the most important work which has made Machiavelli immortal. The Discourses is the next in importance to the Prince.

1) The Prince.

Machiavelli wrote a great book known as the 'Prince'. This book is chiefly concerned with principalities. Machiavelli's 'prince' is a masterpiece and a great classic of diplomacy and statecraft. The Prince is a treatise consisting of 26 short chapters in

which he deals with the science of statecraft. In the first 9 chapters he deals with the various types of governments. Giving numerous examples from history and from his experience he explains how power is acquired and defended. He also explains the causes leading to loss of power. He insists a prudent prince according to Machiavelli with the good will and respect of the people. In the next 4 chapters Machiavelli deals with military organisation and the methods of defending the country. Later in the 9 chapters Machiavelli advises the prince on statecraft. He says the reason of the state is supreme. He argues that the state is an end in itself. It exists for its own sake. The Prince's main purpose in politics was to manipulate and acquire power. How to preserve the safety and security of the state? His work prince postulates all the important steps which are necessary for preserving the safety and security of the state. It was the main goal and main end of the state. For Machiavelli 'End is more important than the means'. He is the expounder of the doctrine that end justifies the means. Every action is designed for achieving an end. Justification is unnecessary. Machiavelli advised the prince to be cunning like a fox and to be brave like a lion. In other words, he advised the prince that there are two methods of fighting.

1) Fight by Law - It is an act of men and

2) Fight by force- It is an act of beasts and animals.

He said fighting by law which is an act of men is insufficient to maintain the safety and security of the state, and hence force is unavoidable and inevitable. He even defended force, fraud, passion, fear, deceit, duplicity, violence boldness, ruthlessness, untruth, dishonesty etc which are necessary for protection of the State. He advised the prince to be brave like the lion and cunning like the fox to achieve the goals.

By any means end has to be justified. End determined the means. How to acquire, maintain and expand power became the subject matter of the prince. He advised the prince to use any means

and methods including even brutality, falsehood and physical punishment to achieve the end. No preference or priority is given to honesty, morality and sincerity etc.

2. The Discourses.

His second major work, *The Discourses*, provides us with a masterly analysis of the Republican form of government with special reference to the Roman Republic. In this work he upholds the supremacy of democratic republic above all other forms of government. The work is divided into 3 Books. The first Book deals with the republican constitution of Rome and the place of religion in political life. He says the Roman Republic was an ideal form of government as it was a mixed type of government. In all important undertakings the people must be consulted and their opinion must be final. Regarding the place of religion in politics he says that the founders of religions have been very great people. But their followers have done immense harm to religion because of their corruption, intrigues and cowardliness. He accused the catholic church of bringing about disunity in Italy.

Machiavelli was conscious of the fact that contemporary politics was based on violence and fraud and not on good Christian ethics.

In the second book of the *Discourses*, Machiavelli described how the Romans praised and maintained their liberty. He says that paganism fostered virility and sacrifice. It made men love liberty. As a contrast, he maintains, Christianity teaches other-worldliness and humility and upholds the virtues of poverty.

The third Book is devoted to military affairs and the role of leadership in a republic. He maintains that the republican form of government is the best because it brings about strength, and unity in the state.

3) History of Florence.

In this book he analysed the political degeneration and corruption and the division of Italy.

4) On the Art of War.

It is a treatise on military strategy. In this book he explained politics is nothing but relations.

5) Mandagola.

It is a five act play and a drama and a well known satirical comedy.

6) The familiar Letters.

Machiavelli also published tales, essays; plays, Articles poetry and letters and came to be recognised as a man of letters.

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) Give a brief account of the works of Machiavelli

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2) Describe machiavellis views on ends and means.

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14.4 Human Nature.

Machiavelli's political philosophy like that of many others is based on his views about human nature. He has discussed at some length about human nature. He depicts man as ungrateful and selfish. According to him achieving success, power and fame happens to be the chief end in the life of man. Machiavelli's man is a master of his own fate. Fortune, to Machiavelli, is like a woman who has to be kept under control only by a rough handling. Human life to him, is a continuous battle which has to be won at any cost. Those who win it are alone good and honourable and they only have the right to rule over others.

Machiavelli gives a long list of motives which determine human nature. A brief description of these is given below.

1. Love of Novelty

Machiavelli is of opinion that human beings love novelty. The rise of new leaders is the result of the peoples desire for novelty.

2. Love and Fear

Machiavelli Said that some people become popular and influential by creating love in the minds of others. And some people become popular and influential by creating fear in the minds of others. Machiavelli is of opinion that fear is more powerful than love. People will follow more readily the man whom they fear than the man whom they love.

3. Love of Wealth

Another powerful motive which determines human nature or conduct is the love of wealth. Men are greedy after wealth and this greed becomes the- cause of strife.

4. Ambition

Machiavelli says ambition is a very forceful motive to determine human nature. Men are not satisfied with their achievements. The more they achieve, the more they desire to achieve.

5. The desire for liberty:

There is a strong desire in the hearts of men to be free from the control of others. Men want to lead an independent life in their own way. They do not want to be restricted by others. In order to become independent, they make others dependent. The unavoidable result is the strike among the individuals and the states.

6. No limit or end to human desires.

According to Machiavelli human desires are limitless and endless, and insatiable. If one desire is satisfied, another arises in our mind. Sometimes desires arise in our minds in clusters. If some desires are satisfied, many more remain unsatisfied. This is the insatiable nature of desires which creates discontent in the human mind resulting in struggle, competition, strike and war.

7. Men are Jealous and envious

According to Machiavelli envy and jealousy also determine human conduct. Men are Jealous and envious of those who make more progress and try to harm them. Hence envy and Jealousy are the causes of quarrels and disputes.

8. Men are selfish.

According to Machiavelli men are essentially selfish and self-centred and, are always interested in their own cause. They do not care for the interests and the welfare of others. Man always cares for himself. Thus, their behaviour is anti-social.

9. Men are Wicked.

They are wicked and are always ready to deceive others for their selfish motives. Men are fickle in their love and friendship. They are ungrateful and greedy. They show love and friendship so long as their own selfish interests are satisfied. As soon their own purpose is served, they break the bond of love and friendship.

10. Men are Aggressive.

Human beings are always aggressive. Everyone is interested in acquiring more and more and keeping as long as he could. They

are aggressive because they always want to promote their own selfish interests. Men want to acquire more and more and do not want to lose what they possess. The result is strife and war.

11. Men are timid.

Men are always timid and creatures of his own habits. Being timid man follows the line of least resistance. He wants to follow only well established customs so that he is not opposed by the society.

12. Men Love Private property.

Machiavelli was of the opinion that by nature men love private property more than their kith and kin. He can forget and forgive murder but not patrimony.

Criticisms

Machiavelli's description of human nature is too gloomy, too dark and one-sided and rather is unjust to human beings.

We can point out the following deficiencies or defects in Machiavelli's views about human nature.

1. One-sided, too dark and too negative a picture.

Machiavelli has described the dark and evil side of human nature. He has ignored all that is good in man and has mentioned only his evil qualities. If man is selfish, he is self-sacrificing also. If he is aggressive, he is peace-loving also. If he is fickle, he is faithful also.

Men are not anti-social as Machiavelli thinks. Men is not a devil and beast as Machiavelli paints him. Man is a rational being. He has his strong points and weak points. He is a combination of good and evil—a mixture of virtue and vice.

2) Machiavelli does not develop any psychological Theory

Machiavelli describes the wicked and selfish side of human nature without giving any scientific and psychological proof. He does not advocate any psychological theory as Hobbes does in his Leviathan. Machiavelli's views about human nature have no psychological and scientific foundation. His views are partial and

describe only one side of the pictures.

3) The state is not based on fear- .The ultimate basis of the state is the will of the people

MaChiavelli over-emphasises the role of fear in the state. He says that men follow more the person whom they fear than the person whom they love. This view of machiavelli is not correct. The state is based more on love and co-operation than upon fear:

Thus, Machiavelli has painted man in a very black colours. He takes a very poor view of human nature. He singles out all the evil traits in human nature and completely ignores the good qualities in man. He only looks on the dark side of human nature and does not take into consideration its bright side.

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) Examine machiavelli's ideas regarding human nature.

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2) 'Discuss the Criticisms of Machiavelli's Human nature

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14.5 Let us Sum up

Machiavelli is the product of the Renaissance Movement. He is the first realist in politics. Machiavelli is very much influenced by his times. He was the product of his times. Niccolo Machiavelli took an active part in the complex life of Italian politics and his observations of actual working of government in Italy and other parts of Europe are reflected in the nature and method of his philosophy.

He was primarily concerned with the maintenance of Italian Independence and restoration of prosperity in the Italian states' Machiavelli paid no attention to the issues of church versus state or of pope Vs council nor to the teachings of scriptures nor to the opinions of church Fathers, nor to the principles of natural law, He believed that the historical method by which present and future problems might find solution in the light of the past, was the only true approach to politics.

In practice, he was chiefly interested in the questions of his own time. He observed them closely, analysed them carefully, drew his deductions and then called upon history to support the conclusions that he had reached.

He was the first modern realist. He described the actualities and realities of the' Florence.

In his famous and popular book the Prince, Machiavelli said end justifies the means end determined the means. He advised the prince to follow any means to achieve the end of the state- Machiavelli's main purpose in politics was to manipulate and acquire power. He argues that state is an end in itself and not a means to an end.

In his works, Machiavelli explained about the various important issues i.e., about the church; about political power, and place of religion in politics. His works also stress more on military strategy, division of Italy, Political corruption and degeneration of ethics and morals.

In his Human nature he depicts men as ungrateful, selfish, lover of wealth, men are wicked, Jealous and envious aggressive timid etc.

While the ideas of Machiavelli are bitterly criticised, the importance of his contribution to political thought can scarcely be overemphasized.

14.6 Key Words

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|--------------------|
| 1. Renaissance | - | Reformation. |
| 2. Worthy | - | Capable. |
| 3. Man of affairs | - | Practical Man. |
| 4. Recreat | - | Revive. |
| 5. Epitome | - | Collection. |
| 6. Manifest | - | Exhibit or Reflect |
| 7. Illusion | - | Deceit. |
| 8. Autonomous | - | Independent. |
| 9. Conquer | - | Attack. |
| 10. Theology | - | Divine. |

14.7. Some Useful Books.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| 1. H.R. Mukhi | - | Political Thought. |
| 2. A.B., Abrol | - | Modern western Political Thought. |
| 3. W.A. Dunning | - | A History of Political Theories. |
| 4. George .H. Sabine | - | A History of Political Theory. |
| 5. Thomas .L. Thorson | - | A History of Political Theory. |
| 6. L.C. Wanlas | - | History of Political Thought. |
| 7. Aron .R.S | - | Main Currents in Sociological thoughts. |
| 8. Bhandari .D.R | - | History of European political Philosophers. |
| 9. Ebestein | - | Great Political Thinkers. |
| 10 Foster M.B. | - | Masters of Political Thought. |

14.8 Answer to Check your Progress Exercises.

Check Your progress - 1

- 1) See Section 14.2
- 2) See Section 14.2.1.
- 3) See Section 14.2.2.

Check Your Progress - 2.

- 1) See Section 14.3
- 2) See sub section 14.3.1

Check Your Progress - 3.

- 1) See Section 14.4.
- 2) See section 14.4.1

Structure

- 15.0 Objectives.
- 15.1 Introduction.
- 15. 2. Morality.
- 15.3 Religion.
 - 15.3.1 Machiavelli's Views on religion
 - 15.3.2 Important factors related to religion
 - 15.3.3 Criticisms.
- 15.4 Let Us Sum Up.
- 15.5 Key Words.
- 15.6 Some Useful Books.
- 15.7 Answer to Check your Progress Exercises.

15.0 Objectives

After going through this unit you will be able to understand

- * with Machiavelli's views on Morality and Religion.
- * By studying this unit you should be able to know about the relationship between Morality and Politics.
- * The Role of Religion in Modern Political Thought.
- * The Role of Religion in the state.

15.1 Introduction

Machiavelli explained in detail the relevance of ethics and morality in the state. The chief difference between Machiavelli and the writers who preceded him was his attitude towards morality and ethics. For Centuries Political Thought had been a by - product of theology and political issues had been confused with issues primarily religious in nature. Machiavelli frankly subordinated moral principles to the necessities of political existence and welfare. He viewed the state as a distinctly human institution, and the church one of the factors which a statesman must take into consideration in shaping his policy. The safety and success of the state were made paramount, all other consideration were subordinate. Physical force and craft were the essential bases for political greatness. Machiavelli has not only dealt with the State Craft but applied his mind to other important political and non-political problems which the world was facing at that time. His philosophies and ideas in particular reflect happenings in Italy of his age.

15.2 Machiavelli's Views on Morality.

The word Morality is not a new one. It was prominently used by Greek philosophers. The Greek philosopher like plato did not separate morality/ ethics from politics, and society from the state. Plato said that state was a moral institution. He thought that politics is only ethics writ large. According to him, the individual is the state in miniature. The state is good if individuals are good. There cannot

be good individual in a bad state. There is a moral end for which the state exists. He considers the state a moral institution. Aristotle, the father of political Science, said that the individual is the basic unit of the state. State has come into existence for the sake of the individual's life and continues to exist for the sake of good life.

1. Machiavelli divorced Morality from Politics

Machiavelli is the first famous political thinker who completely divorced or separated morality, ethics from politics. He was perturbed by political corruption and moral degeneration in Italy of his times. Therefore, he suggested that only strong ruler can control the people who are by nature wicked, stupid, irrational, selfish, aggressive and anti-Social. For Machiavelli Power represents the highest good and therefore advises the ruler to be as much powerful as possible and for the sake of attaining this goal almost anything is permitted for the ruler. He should not care for any kind of restraint, be it moral or religious. He must not care for justice, humanity or cruelty nor for glory or shame. The ruler must not allow others to be powerful. Since he finds most men as essentially wicked and bad, having had in their character a preponderance of beastly qualities, Machiavelli asks the ruler to put off the frail armour of morality for taming the people under his power and develop different rules of game. Thus he suggests that the ruler must not hesitate to use brute force, cruelty and cunning. He should tend to be more feared than loved and must not be ashamed of frequently breaking his words. He must be both a lion and a fox - a lion in physical strength and a fox excelling in cunning. In other words, he should not care for the intrinsic goodness of means. An means congenial to acquiring and preserving power are good. He said power is desirable it maintains the state beyond which politically there is nothing.

Power to him, is a product neither of man's moral virtues nor of his divine life. It rather results from his own arms-from his own brute physical force. It thus appears that machiavelli frees power

from the tightening constraints of morals and religion.

Machiavelli suggests that ethics and politics are two different sciences. Morality is a science of the ideal character in individual life. It is concerned with what is right and what is wrong, what is good and what is bad, what is moral and what is immoral, what is rational and what is irrational and what is just and what is unjust in the conduct of the individual.

Politics is the science of the state. Machiavelli does not expect the prince to follow the principles and standards of morality. The prince should strengthen his position internally and externally and expand his territories. To achieve the end of building a strong and powerful state, the prince is free to ignore all rules of morality.

2. Double Standard of morality

Machiavelli subordinated morality to politics. He regarded state as an end in itself. It is the highest form of human association. It is, indeed the creator of law and morality. Machiavelli prescribed two or double standards of morality.

- 1) One for the Ruler and
- 2) The other for individuals.

Public morality is different from private morality. The individuals are obliged to observe private morality. Public morality is above private morality. The ruler is above law and morality. If the reasons of state demand the ruler may utilise immoral methods to achieve his objective. The ruler should not be judged by individual ethics. The rightness or wrongness of the action of the ruler should be judged only from the point of view of the safety of the state. Thus, Machiavelli distinguished between public and private morality and placed the 'reasons of state' above moral considerations.

Thus Machiavelli suggests a double standard of morality- one for the individuals and in other for the ruler. He advised the prince to break faith and treaties when necessary to use force ruthlessly, to use persuasion artfully and to attack the enemies without giving them

a chance to get ready for defence. It goes to the credit of Machiavelli that he completely divorced morality from politics and separated them completely from each other. Infact, he tried to subordinate religion to state but at the same time agreed that morality had its own limited place in society, which must be preserved and exploited. He also differentiated between public and private morality and assigned the former a preferential place and position over the latter.

Machiavelli said that precepts of christianity played little part in the practical politics of the Italian cities. In his desire to unify Italy, he naturally opposed the papacy, which was one of the chief obstacles to union. In order to save Italy from the invaders he felt that any political means was justified. His doctrine was a theory of the preservation of the state, rather than the theory of the state itself.

3. The end justifies the means

According to Machiavelli the prince is free to use any means to secure the end of stability and strength of the state and the end of public welfare. The Prince can use even immoral means like murder, deceit, duplicity, and dishonesty to achieve the goal of the state. If the end is public welfare, any means are fair and right for the prince. He is free to break any assurance or promise or treaty if by breaking them, he can benefit the state. The Prince should always keep the interests of the state in mind and should not be bound by rules of morality which are applicable to the individuals. An individuals not justified in committing a murder because he is guided only by the motive of self-interest, but the prince is justified in committing murders if his ultimate motive is public welfare. Since a private citizens actions concern himself alone, he is bound by moral considerations but since the prince is concerned with the state and public welfare, there has to be a different criterion of rightness or wrongness of his actions. Any action of the prince which results in the welfare of the people is right for the prince, even if that action cannot be judged to be right on moral grounds. If the prince aims at public welfare and commits

violence to achieve that aim, he is totally free from any blame, according, to Machiavelli. He who commits violence for the sake of violence is to be blamed. He who employs violence effectively and believes in economy of violence is not to be blamed and condemned.

4. The Ruler is above morality.

Machiavelli said that it will be ruinous if the ruler is bound by individual standards of morality and ethics. According to him, the ruler creates law. He also creates morality, because all moral obligations must, in the long run, have the sanction of law. The ruler is, therefore, above law and morality.

The ruler has to face the problems of internal and external security of the state. We should not judge the ruler's actions on the basis of individual standards of morality. It will bring ruin and destruction to the state if we apply strict standards of individual morality to the ruler. It will always be wrong for the individual to break the moral law. For example, it is wrong for him to tell a lie or to cheat. But what is immoral for the individual is moral for the ruler if his action is in public interest. It may be essential and good for the prince to tell lies and break promises in the interest of the state.

5. The Ruler must break the rules of morality when necessary.

Machiavelli said the prince can achieve success in building a strong state only by breaking the rules of morality, when necessary. He says that the prince has to deal with human beings who are selfish, wicked, aggressive and anti-social. Therefore he should not be bound by any strict moral law. The ruler should break treaties and promises and use force and violence whenever it is useful for the strength of the state and welfare of the people. The prince must appear to be sincere, upright, very human and very religion, but he must have his mind so disciplined that when it is necessary to save the state, he can act regardless of them.

6. His political philosophy is not immoral, but amoral or non-moral.

Machiavelli subordinates moral judgment, to political considerations. He suggested that the ruler should violate all moral principles when circumstances require. The highest consideration is the state, not morality. Morality must be subordinated to public welfare.

Machiavelli does not deny the importance of morality. He only gave it a secondary place next to political considerations. The prime consideration is the state. Morality is only a secondary consideration.

7. A Ruler can violate the principle of morality.

According to him, a ruler who violates the principles of morality and is cruel for the sake of keeping his subjects united and faithful is better than one who follows moral principles and allows disorder and chaos in the state by his tenderness.

Criticisms

1. Machiavelli was mainly concerned with practical and not speculative politics. He was not interested in any particular political philosophy. He suggested double standard of morality-one for the ruler another for the individuals. That is wrong. We cannot completely divide morality into two watertight compartments. Further we cannot separate completely morality from politics.
2. Secondly, Machiavelli has given too much importance to the end and neglected the role of means. He said a ruler can follow any means to achieve the end. But we cannot achieve the good end by following the bad means. One should give equal importance to both the ends and the means. Mahatma Gandhi said both the ends and the means should be pure.
3. Machiavelli divorced morality from politics. But in practice it is very difficult to separate them.

But whatever the criticism against Machiavelli there is truth in whatever he has said. By separating morality from politics, he was not doing anything new. It was being practised during his time. Whatever his ideas, Machiavelli courageously wrote what he saw. He was a great writer and he gave his suggestions quite candidly without any touch of hypocrisy. Most of the modern western political thinkers who owe him for their own perspective of political theorisation have completely disowned him. To their eyes Machiavelli, indeed, remains a much-hated outcaste.

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) What were the views of Machiavelli on Morality?

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2) Machiavelli divorced morality from politics. Explain

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3) Critically examine machiavelli's double standard of morality.

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4) For machiavelli end is more important than the means. Do you justify?

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15.3 Religion

Machiavelli is famous for separating Religion from politics. He subordinated the church to the state and freed politics from the doctrines of the divine law. According to him, the church was one of the major causes of degeneration and downfall of Italy. The state was detached by him from the church. He made the state an organisation of force. The state according to him existed only for earthly ends.

15.3.1 Machiavelli's views on Religion.

Machiavelli was indifferent to religion. He was of the opinion that religion should be subordinate to the state. The ruler has to take decisions according to the needs of the circumstances and should not be swayed by religious belief. Religion is a matter of individual faith and cannot be the basis of state policy. The state should therefore be secular. When religion stands in the way of political progress it must be ignored completely. The duty of the ruler is to bring about unity and increase the strength of the state. If religion comes in the way of these objectives it must be condemned. Thus, machiavelli detache politics from religion and its dogmas.

1. Religion - Useful Weapon:

But Machiavelli says that religion can be a useful weapon in the hands of the ruler to further his own ends. He says that the ruler must appear to be religious even though he may have no belief

in religion. This will help him in gaining the confidence of the people. They will think that a man who is so religious cannot do anything bad. And this goes a long way in furthering the power and prestige of the ruler. Thus, religion can be used by the ruler to further his own ends. Only to that extent religion is useful to the ruler. In Europe, Politics was the hand maid of religion for a long period. And Machiavelli divorced religion from politics completely. This was a great service rendered by Machiavelli. Church came under the authority of the state.

15.3.2 Important factors related to Religion

1. No supernatural end for man.

Machiavelli does not believe in the supernatural end for man. Human aim is earthly, not heavenly. Earthly end is not only material wellbeing. It is something higher than this. Machiavelli recognizes the values of greatness, power and fame. According to Machiavelli, the individual is capable of fame and glory which will bring immortality to him.

2. The state is above Religion.

The central point in Machiavelli's philosophy of separating religion from politics is that the primary consideration is the safety of the state. A wise statesmen should use religious sentiments of the people to achieve reforms which otherwise would be different.

3. Machiavelli is a hero-worshipper

Machiavelli is by temperament a hero-worshipper. He has every word of praise for a strong and powerful man. Machiavelli was pessimistic in one sense regarding the ordinary man. But optimistic regarding the exceptional man. He said that religious teachings and principles must be subordinated to the end of attaining power. There is nothing higher than power. Religion is subordinate to power.

4. He denies Divine Law.

To Machiavelli Divine Law has no function to perform in human life because there is no supernatural end for man. Machiavelli does

not believe like St. Thomas Aquinas that men are governed by two laws - The Human law and the Divine law. According to St. Thomas Aquinas, the ruler is the custodian of Human law and the church is the custodian of Divine Law. St. Thomas Aquinas also believed that the church is superior to the state Machiavelli the church is not superior to the state. It is not even independent. It is definitely subordinate to the state.

5. ***He separates politics from Religion on the facts of the nature.***

Machiavelli was a realist. He believed in practical politics. His political philosophy was guided by realities, facts and actualities and not by ideals. He was concerned with the actual working of governments, not with the ideal state. He was not at all interested in the impossible and imaginary matters. He studied and understood problems as a realist. He was concerned with life and events as they were. He was concerned with the actual happenings in the states. He was concerned with the actual march of events. He says, "All human affairs are in motion you cannot stand still- you must go forward or backward and where reason does not lead, necessity will drive you".

6. ***Machiavelli first Modern thinker***

Machiavelli was an Italian political thinker whose books *The prince* and *the Discourses* made him very famous. He was not an idealist, but a thinker of realities. He understood the problems of his time realistically and suggested practical solutions. He has been described by many writers as the 'Father of Modern political theory. His approach was practical. He laid the foundation of power politics. His political ideas were the product of his times. He was clear in his pragmatism. He was the product of his times, a product of Renaissance and pioneer of modern political thought. He introduced many new ideas in political thought. He has been called the 'Father of Modern Political Thought'.

7. *He separates politics from Religion.*

Machiavelli was the first political thinker to suggest that the ruler is not bound by any Religions principles. He was the first great political thinker to suggest that the prince should totally disregard the religious principles for the purpose of strengthening the state internally and externally.

8. *Machiavelli a great Secular Thinker.*

There is no doubt that other political thinkers like Marileo of Padua were also secularists before Machiavelli separated church from state. Machiavelli's approach was different. He formed his view that human affairs are not guided by supernatural powers.

9. *Machiavelli was a supporter of pragmatic philosophy in politics.*

He was least concerned with metaphysical theories. He was concerned with practical politic He had no faith in supernatural beliefs of religion. He did not bother about high moral ideals. He did not show any interest in the romance of idealism. His only interest was in the actual political problems. In his books, he gave a large number of practical suggestions to the rulers. He suggested mean for the preservation of the states. He justified the use of force and fraud and suggested that the state must either expand or perish.'

Machiavelli freed politics from Religion. He did not attach importance to the otherworldly things. For him the state is the result of inter play of several material forces and factors which are not permanent. There is always movement in human affairs.

15.3.3. Criticisms.

1. Machiavelli is not free from criticism. His writings are full of contradictions and in many cases he cannot be called a farsighted thinker. Except for the art of war and politics he has discussed and talked about nothing else. He does not discuss and offer solutions to social , economic and political problems which are equally important and in some cases rather more important.

2. His belief that a cunning prince can produce or change social, economic and religious values to serve his own ends is not correct. All these values are correlated with politics and have a close bearing on each other. To think of divorcing one from the other or of making the one the handmaid of others is not proper and mostly not possible. Machiavelli misrepresented the religious thought of his age and tried to mould religion according to his political wishes and thus earned the criticism of many. He was narrow in his thought; and philosophy. His understanding of religion was poor He could not anticipate a great movement like Reformation. He did not take a universal view of religion and had he written sometime after reformation he would have treated religion quite differently.
3. Another short coming was that he only thought about political matters Political and did not give due place and respect to social and religious institutions. He was not correct in his idea that the ends justify the means.
4. Still another criticism advanced against him is that he has overstressed the role of law givers and legislators in moulding religions and social institutions.
5. No doubt religion should not guide the state but who can deny that religious instinct is an inherited instinct of all human beings. To do away with religion or to have played with the religious sentiments of the people will be most dangerous leading even to revolutions. He was infact living in an age of religion and ignored the part which religion was to play in the centuries to come. Moreover, religion was an uniting force and severance of religion would have meant isolation which a state could ill afford.

Machiavelli's contributions to Religion.

But inspite of shortcomings of his, philosophy there is no doubt that his influence was tremendous.

1. Credit goes to machiavelli, for boldly and clearly divorcing religion from politics. He strongly stood for the doctrine that the religion should have no place in state activities and that the prince should not act according to the wishes of the pope. He subordinated the church to that of the state.
2. Machiavelli's another contribution to political thought was that for the first time he distinguished between public and private morality, which he felt must be separated from each other.
3. Machiavelli was the first political thinker of his times who abandoned the idea of natural law and in its place gave the idea that the law was positive rule created by the sovereign in the state. He did not believe that there were certain eternal laws. Thus, he refuted the idea of natural or eternal law.
4. He did not have any place for divine law in his state. According to him man has no super-natural ends and as such it is wrong to believe that divine law has any purpose to perform. In the words of Foster, "Machiavelli Values religion only as an instrument to the ends of the state".
5. As a modern thinker he made a valuable contribution by saying that the state was an end in itself. He did not care for the morality of means but believed that end always justified the means.

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) Discuss the views of Machiavelli on Religion.

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2) "Machiavelli is the first realist in politics" Explain.

3) Critically examine Machiavelli's contribution to religion.

15.4. Let us sum up

1. Machiavelli is the first famous political philosopher who completely separated morality from politics and politics from religion.
2. Machiavelli said a ruler must have power. Unless he possesses power he cannot achieve anything. The prince could be merciful, human and religious, but he should not be a prisoner of these virtues. Machiavelli brushed aside ethical and moral considerations. He said the main purpose of politics is to preserve and increase political power.
3. Machiavelli said the reason of the state is supreme. preservation of life and independence are of great importance to the state. Moral principles should be subordinate to the end of the state. Idealism has no place in politics. Thus, Machiavelli upheld realism against political idealism.
4. Machiavelli does not reject religion altogether, his theory is not opposed to religion. He said only when circumstances demanded the ruler could take action without taking into consideration traditional morality. It would also be wrong to consider that Machiavelli was irreligious. Actually he had great

respect for true religion. He says that among men the founders of religion are best. Religion inspires fear and fear keeps men under restraint. Fear of God is more permanent. But a religion which practices corruption and sows the seeds of disunity among men, he says should be wiped out. The Christian church of his time represented such a religion and therefore, machiavelli showed no respect to it.

5. Machiavelli thinks that religion plays a very important role in making the state healthy and prosperous. According to machiavelli, authors and founders of religion deserve great respect.
6. Finally we can say that feat of the ruler is not sufficient to make the people sincere and obedient. Force alone is not enough to make people serve the state faithfully. There is a need for another motive which can the citizens obey the state and the Prime with real zeal. This motive can be provided by religion.

15.5 Key Words.

Shape	-	Formulate
Paramount	-	Supreme or important
Theology	-	Divine
Divorce	-	Separate
Restraint	-	control
Excel	-	Good.
Preserve	-	protect or safeguard
Preference	-	Priority.
Invade	-	attack
Ruin	-	Spoil.
Hypocrisy	-	Deceit.
Dogma	-	Ideology or principle.

15.6 Some useful Books.

H.R.Mukhi.	:	Political Thought.
W.A.Dunning.	:	A History of Political Theories
A.B.Abrol.	:	Modern Western Political Thought
Amal Kumar Mukhopadhyaya	:	Western Political Thought.
S.N.C.Rao.	:	Political Thinkers.
Allen. J.W.	:	A History of Political Thought.
Butterfield	:	The statecraft of Machiavelli,
Russel, Bertrand.	:	A History of Western Philosophy
L.C.Wanlas.	:	History of Political thought.
G.H.Sabine.	:	A History of Political Theory.

15.7 Answer to Check your Progress Exercises.

Check Your progress - 1

- 1) See Section 15.2.
- 2) See Section 15.2. and sub section 1
- 3) See Section 15.2. and subsection 2.
- 4) See Section 15.2. and subsection 3.

Check your progress - 2.

- 1) See Section 15.3 and subsection 15.3.1.
- 2) See Section 15.3.2 and subsection 5 and 6.
- 3) See Section 15.3.3.

Notes

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Block IV

Unit 16 State and Forms of Government

Structure

- 16.0 Objectives
- 16.1 Introduction
- 16.2 State
 - 16.2.1 His Theory of Preservation of the State.
 - 16.2.2 Machiavalli's practical Suggestions
 - 16.2.3 Criticisma of the State.
- 16.3 Forms of Government
- 16.4 Let Us sum up
- 16.5 Key words
- 16.6 Some useful Books.
- 16.7 Answer to check your progress exercises.

16.0 Objectives

After studying this unit you should be able to know about

- ♦ The Role of the state in the modern political thought, and
- ♦ The Forms or classification of Government, according to Machiavelli.

16.1 Introduction

Machiavelli had very clear views about the state. He was very clear in his views that the state must expand or it will simply shrink and die. In the making of the state, law givers and legislators have a big role to play.

Machiavelli, the celebrated Italian thinker, the writer of 'The Prince' and the Discourses has often been called the Father of Modern political Thought because of his realistic approach to political problems, his pragmatism, his separating politics from Ethics and religion, his secularism and above all, for his advice to the prince.

His best slogan is Fight force by force and fraud by fraud and your state will be strong. With Machiavelli, the realist the opportunist, the hedonist, the pragmatist, ends the Middle Ages and the Modern Age began. He made a statement that the state is superior to the church. He thought that the church was the cause of degeneration of Italy. He criticized the Christian virtues of tenderness and gentleness and glorified the ancient Roman virtues of bravery and courage. Machiavelli said that the state is the result of human needs, desires and ambitions and clashes and conflicts are not the result of any divine plan. Machiavelli does not attach importance to the supernatural and other - worldly things. Politics is concerned with things of this world. The state is the result of inter-play of several material forces. Nothing is still. There is always movement in human affairs. The state is an organised force said Machiavelli. He said the state is secular and temporal. The church according to him is subordinate to the state. The church is not independent and it is not superior to the state. It is

definitely subordinate to the state.

It has been said that Machiavelli's doctrine is a theory of the preservation of the state rather than the theory of the state itself. He did not establish any theory of the state. His political thought is related to the conditions and needs of Italy of those days.

He was in favour of a strong national state. He was opposed to the idea of universal Christian state with pope as the head.

Machiavelli was not an idealist. He was not concerned with the political theory of the ideal state. He was concerned only with the actual problems of the princedoms and the Republics. He does not enunciate any theory of the state. He does not say anything directly about the attributes of the state. He does not discuss any theory of the sovereignty of the state in a direct manner. However he enunciated a number of maxims without any scientific and psychological proof. He took them for granted. His philosophy is pragmatic and practical, and not idealistic and theoretical. He was perturbed by political corruption and moral degeneration in Italy of his times. He gives causes of degeneration of states and suggests means of preserving them. He suggests a double standard of morality - one for the ruler and the other for the people. According to him, the prince is free to ignore all moral principles in the interest of the state. corrupt people can be ruled only by a very strong ruler who ignores all principles of morality and strengthens the state and expands its territories.

Thus, we should remember that Machiavelli was not an idealist, he was no utopian, but a thinker of realities and actualities. He was a realist, a pragmatist and understood the problems of his time realistically and suggested practical solutions. As a realist and pragmatist, Machiavelli advises the ruler to make religion subordinate to the state and to appeal to the religious sentiments of the people for the strengthening and glorification of the state.

16.2 Machiavellis views about the state.

Machiavelli said the state is an end in itself. It has a life of its own. It has its own goals. The ends of the state are national independence, security and a disciplined political order. These ends constitute 'the reason of state' The reason of the state is supreme. Preservation of life and independence are of great importance to the state. Moral principles should be subordinate to the end of the state. Idealism has no place in politics. Thus, Machiavelli upheld political realism against political idealism.

Machiavelli's views about state may briefly be discussed thus.

In so far as state is concerned Machiavelli was clear that it was highest form of human association. The state came into being because the human beings were selfish, weak and fickle minded. The state came into being to check selfish interests of human beings. Since the people have endless desires, the state is to check them and also to satisfy them to the extent possible.

He also said that the state was not natural to human beings and thus not in keeping with his social instincts. On the other hand it was an artificial creation. He disliked Aristocracy as a form of Government and favoured Monarchy. He also said that the state was nothing unearthly but came into being to satisfy material interests of the people. He said that the church had no big role to play in state affairs and expected that a good ruler in a state should take full advantage of such religious feelings of the people as humility and submissions. He very strong believed that in order to become strong it was essential that the state must have powerful army. Such an army should consist of its citizens and be most prepared not only to defend its national borders but also to expand Mercenaries were move dangerous to their employer than the enemy. The citizens must be trained for army service and in fact there should be compulsory military training for all able bodied persons. According to him it was difficult for a state to serve without a national army.

Machiavelli was a great nationalist. He wanted a strong and unified Italy. So he preached the philosophy of end justifying the means. The end must be achieved whatever the means. Machiavelli was a patriot every inch. His patriotism was the main motivating force behind his philosophy.

- Machiavelli admires the ancient Roman virtues. We read in Machiavelli's books the lesson of patriotism "love your country. Glorify your country. The country is greater than moral principles. If the interests of your country demand, sacrifice all principles of morality. The state must expand or perish. Defend your country with a strong national army. Capture new territories". Machiavelli wanted to cure Italy from the wounds of cruelty, corruption and degeneration and save it from the invading neighbours.

16.2.1 His theory of the preservation of the state.

In both Books 'The Prince' and 'the Discourses' he suggested the means for the preservation of the state. He justifies the use of force. The prince should act ruthlessly. Machiavelli does not paint the picture of the ideal state. He takes hints from Aristotle. He thinks more of realities and actualities than of ideals. He was fully conscious of contemporary political problems and give practical and useful hints to the rulers. The monarch according to him, need not care for principles of morality. He should break the principles of honesty when it is necessary to do so in the interest of the security and strength of the state. He advised him to break faith if others did not keep faith with him. He was a realist and not an idealist political thinker. He had no speculative political philosophy. He had no doctrine of the state to explain and discuss. He has not discussed about the ideals of the state. Machiavelli explained and discussed the actual problems in politics all the time.

Machiavelli advised the ruler to maintain security of the state and to expand the territories of the state even by violating the moral

principle of honesty, if this violation was essential in the interest of the state. Machiavelli believed that a state must either expand or expire if it had to survive in this world. He always argued for conquest and expansionism, which meant perpetuation of conflicts and subjugation of the weaker. His main purpose in politics was to acquire and retain power. Machiavelli is the first great thinker to introduce the idea of power politics. According to him "power is the greatest deity, a deity which guides human affairs. All moral principles, all religious beliefs are subordinate to this most powerful deity-the deity of power. In order to increase his power, the ruler can violate the principles of morality of need be can break treaties and friendship. He should use force ruthlessly and persuasion artfully. He should be always prepared for war. He should capture territories of other states. He should use the religious sentiments of the people to win their support. In all activities of the ruler, the guiding principle should be that no value is higher than power. Power leads to fame. Fame means immortality. Machiavellis had all admiration for who were ruthless, merciless and even unprincipled at times for the sake of power and stability of the state.

How to protect the state?

For this he has given some of the means for the preservation and safety and security of the state. For Machiavelli end justifies means. End is more important than the means. The security of the state was placed above everything. When the security of the state was in danger, then there is no consideration of what is 'just' and what is 'unjust' what is 'good' and what is 'bad', what is 'merciful' and what is 'cruel'. He favoured any means to preserve the safety and security of the state. He advised his sovereign not to care for the means. Any means can be applied to achieve the end. He did not care for the means. He suggested double standard of morality - one for the individuals and other for the state. He advised his sovereign to break the rules of honesty and morality, if there is a need for doing

so to maintain his authority. He said the ruler should observe secrecy. In order to succeed in the implementation of his plans it is most essential that the ruler should keep his plans entirely secret. Secrecy means success, breaking the secrecy means failure. In the interest of the integrity, solidarity and strength of the state it is very essential that the ruler should know the art of keeping his plans secret. The king must not only maintain a strong national army, but he must also be an expert in the art of war. He should regard all states in the neighbourhood as likely enemies and must always be on guard. He must have both the qualities of brave and cunningness to maintain the internal law and order, defend his state from the attack of the enemy and be in a position to add territories to his state by defeating his enemies. Bravery and cunningness are essential qualities to be strong and successful.

Machiavelli also distinguished between a normal and perverted state. According to him, in a normal state, the citizens were always faithful and law abiding. They were patriots and most prepared to defend their motherland. In a perverted state these qualities are not to be found. He also said that a normal state would always have a tendency to expand and grow. He said in a normal state such tendency was unavoidable. He pleaded that expansion of state was nothing new because in the past the states had expanded to become empires. According to Machiavelli, in a state law givers have a big role to play. According to him, good laws and legislators could change the very foundations of the state.

16.2.2 Machiavelli's practical suggestions to the ruler relating to the state.

In order to make the state strong, Machiavelli has given some of the practical suggestions to the prince. They are given below.

1. The Prince should make himself feared by the people

Machiavelli is of opinion that since human nature is very wicked and selfish, it is not advisable for the prince to rely upon the

love of the people. In order to secure his position from internal and external dangers, it is essential that the prince should make himself feared by the people.

He is of the opinion that fear has a stronger and more lasting effect than love in making the prince influential. Fear is stronger than love in making people obedient and faithful.

It is always better for the prince to create an atmosphere where his people are afraid of him because it is better to be feared than to be loved. He should only be feared but not hated. He preferred fear over love because he felt that the love could change as soon as the ruler withdrew benefits and concessions.

2. The Prince should be as brave as a lion and as cunning as a fox;

According to him, the prince should not only be brave not help him, because he also be cunning like a fox. If he is not cunning like a fox, his bravery likethat of a lion will not help him, because he can be easily deceived. He cannot defend himself from enemies only by being cunning like a fox. Bravery and cunningness both are essential to make a strong and successful prince.

3. The End Justifies the means.

According to Machiavelli, the prince is free to use any means to secure the end of stability and strength of the state. The prince can use means like murder, deceit and treachery to achieve the end of the stability of the state. He is free to break any promise and treaty if by breaking them, he can benefit the state. The prince is justified in committing even murder and treachery if his ultimate motive is his own survival. If the end is security and strength any means are fair and right for the prince.

4. Expert in the art of war.

According to Machiavelli, a prince should not only maintain a strong national army, but he must also be an expert in the art of war. He must fight like a lion and must deceive his enemies like a fox. He

should have strong and well-equipped standing consisting of patriots.

5. *The prince should appear to be good.*

Machiavelli advises the prince to be so cunning and clever that he should appear to be good kind merciful to the people even when he is bad and cruel.

6. *The Prince Should use power and force ruthlessly*

A prince should not hesitate to use power and force ruthlessly against those who tried to challenge his authority. He should ruthlessly crush all opposition and not mind execution and bloodshed. He should not brook any opposition.

7. *The Prince should act decisively.*

Another useful and practical piece of advice which Machiavelli gives the prince is that he should act firmly promptly and decisively. The prince who hesitates in taking decisions wastes his time in implementing decisions goes on the way of destruction. Firmness, decisiveness, determination, promptness and quickness on the part of the prince are the surest qualities to strength and success. Hesitation delays and half hearted measures in implementation of decisions are destructive and ruinous.

8. *The Prince should show respect for women and property of the subjects*

Machiavelli advises the prince to show respect for property and women of the subjects. If the prince respects the women and property, he will win popularity among the people.

Machiavelli points out that any prince who violates this piece of advice, will become unpopular. Men are very sentimental about property and women. A prudent prince will always respect the property and women of the subjects and thus evoke respect among the people.

9. *The prince should break faith when necessary.*

Machiavelli advises the prince to break faith if it is necessary in the interest of the state.

Machiavelli observes that an upright and honest conduct is praiseworthy in the prince but he says that those princes who do not keep their promises but are clever enough to break them when necessary are more successful in accomplishing great deeds.

10. The prince should nip the evil in the bud.

Machiavelli advises the prince to be watchful and careful about the internal and external dangers. He should nip the evil in the bud and should not allow the grass to grow under his feet. The prince should take precautions against internal and external dangers not only of the present but of the future also. A prudent prince should take effective steps to save the state from any kind of disorder and chaos. If timely steps are not taken to guard the state from the internal and external dangers, it may be difficult to control them later.

11. The prince should always of his self interest and should be an opportunities.

According to Machiavelli men are selfish, wicked, fickle and aggressive. The prince, therefore, should not depend upon friendship of anyone. Friends should be chosen by the prince keeping in view his personal interest. Since self interest is the main consideration in friendship, it is not possible for the prince to have permanent friends. Nor are there any permanent foes. Friends and foes change according to times. For making friends, the prince should always think of his self interest. He should change his friends according to his own needs and interests.

12. The prince should keep the flatterers at arm's length and should not encourage them at all.

Machiavelli points out that men are selfish and self seeking and then flatter men, who are in power for their own interest. To win favours of the prince, to get benefits from him, men follow the policy of flattering the prince. The flatterers never give the right type of advice to the prince. They do not have the courage of doing so, because their intentions are not pure. The greatest weakness of men

in power is that they are easily misguided by the flatterers. Flattery gives them so much satisfaction that they encourage the flatterers. Machiavelli advises the prince that in order to be strong and successful, it is essential for him to discourage flatterers.

13. The dilemma of mercenary captains.

Machiavelli explains the danger of mercenary captains in the form of a dilemma. If they are not able, they will ruin the prince. If they are capable, they will aspire to become great. They will either oppress the prince, their master, or instigate others against his will. So whether they are capable or not, they are dangerous and a serious threat to prince.

14. The prince should be popular among the people.

Although Machiavelli wanted the prince to be feared more than loved, he appreciated the need for the prince to win love and affection of the people and to be popular among them in order to succeed in his plans. Machiavelli advises the prince not to ignore public opinion and to always remember that "the voice of the people is the voice of God". An unpopular prince cannot meet any challenge.

16.2.3 Criticisms of the state

In spite of all the contribution of Machiavelli we have to admit that there are many deficiencies, weak points, contradictions and inconsistencies in his concept of the state. They are as follows.

1. He describes human beings in black and dark colours mostly because he noted that men in his country were politically corrupt and morally degenerated.. This was wrong. He has done injustice to human race by arriving at universal conclusion that all men at all times are bad. If . men at a particular time in a particular country are bad and selfish, it by no means follows that all men at all times are bad. There are good and bad men in all countries at all times. Human nature is a mixture of good and evil. Machiavelli looks only at the evil side of it he human nature and fails to look at its good side.

2. Machiavelli over-emphasises the role of force in the state:

Machiavelli's basic assumption that human nature is essentially wicked and selfish is false. This false starting point of Machiavelli results in another mistake. He thinks that wicked human beings can be controlled by force. He advises the ruler to use force ruthlessly. He forgets that too much use of force in a state could be a symptom of a weak state. Co-operation and goodwill of the people are better foundations of the state than force. Too much use of force inside the state becomes the cause of revolution. Too much use of force outside the state means war. The consequences of war are dangerous. It leads to destruction and disasters. Therefore foundations of the state are shaken by too much use of force. T.H. Green rightly says, "Will, not force, is the basis of the state." Therefore, Machiavelli's political philosophy is illogical, inconsistent, incoherent, self-contradictory and incomplete.

3. Machiavelli is inconsistent in giving two meanings to virtue:

The virtue of a prince is a compound of intellect and force. The prince should be as brave as a lion and as cunning as a fox. He should use force ruthlessly. He should indulge in fraud whenever it is necessary to do so. He should break promises and treaties. However, the term 'Virtue' has a different meaning in the Discourses in which Machiavelli supports the Republican form of government. People in the Republic should be law-abiding and faithful etc.

It is clear that by giving two meanings to the same word 'virtue' Machiavelli makes his argument inconsistent.

In spite of the criticisms, Machiavelli is the first political philosopher or thinker to suggest the idea of territorial, national, sovereign state at a time when the concept of nation state was yet to emerge. He is a great nationalist. His political philosophy was guided by his patriotism. His patriotic and national philosophy became the focus of European politics for centuries after him.

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 ideas of Machiavelli on the State.

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2) Machiavelli's doctrine is a theory of the preservation of states rather than a theory of the state. Discuss.

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3) Discuss the practical suggestions given by Machiavelli to the prince relating to the state.

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4) "The prince should nip the evil in the bud" -Examine this advise of Machiavelli to the Prince.

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16.3 Forms of Government

Introduction: Machiavelli agreed with Aristotle's classification of governments into Monarchy, Aristocracy and Constitutional Democracy and their perverted forms like polybius and Cicero he thinks that the mixed form of government combining the advantages of these forms is the best type of government. Machiavelli discusses at length two types of government only. In 'The Prince' he deals with Monarchy, a type of absolute monarchy which he prefers under certain circumstances. In the Discourses he analyses and upholds the Republican form of government as suitable for a country where there is equality, unity and public spirit. The republican form of government alone ensures greater equality of opportunity to all the people and as such it is the best form of government, according to Machiavelli. Such a government is more stable because it can adapt itself to changing circumstances. Since people have an opportunity in sharing the work of administration there will be contentment among the people. Corruption will also be less in a republic. The Judgement of the people, he feels, is always superior to the judgement of a corrupt individual.

Machiavelli favoured election in the choice of the rulers and disliked heredity as the basis in their choice. He was of the opinion that different types of government will be suitable to different times and places. Italy, under the circumstances existing then, needed a strong ruler who could bring about unity in the country and strengthen its power.

Classification of Government.

Like Aristotle Machiavelli classifies Government into pure and impure forms. Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy are the pure forms of government. The perverted or impure forms of government are tyranny, oligarchy and mobocracy.

Number of Rulers	Pure or Good or Normal Government	Corrupt or impure. or perverted or bad Government
1. One	Monarchy	Tyranny
2. Few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
3. Many	Democracy	Mobocracy

Thus Machiavelli accepted completely the above classification of the government as put forward by Aristotle.

Like Polybius and Cicero, Machiavelli also accepts 'mixed government' as the best form.

A brief account of Polybius and Cicero's classification of governments is given below.

1. Monarchy:

According to them the earliest form of government was Monarchy. People learn the values of Monarch's authority by reason and experience and offer him willing obedience.

2. Corrupted form of Monarchy - Tyranny:

They pointed out monarchy degenerated into tyranny When a monarch began to exercise his powers in a crucial, unjust and arbitrary way, Thus the corrupted form of monarchy, i.e, its perverted form was Tyranny.

3. Aristocracy:

Aristocracy was the leadership of a few wise and distinguished people.

4. Oligarchy:

Aristocracy had its own weakness. When Men in power became oppressors of the people, the perverted form of Aristocracy appeared as oligarchy.

5. Democracy:

Democracy was the government of the people for the interest of all.

6. Mob-rule (Ochlocracy)

When Democracy also failed because of ignorant masses being corrupted by the wealthy, and without justice, people get disillusioned and the result was the mob-rule-ochlocracy.

According to Polybius and Cicero the pure forms of government were (1) Monarchy, (2), Aristocracy and (3) Democracy. The perverted or corrupted or degenerated forms of government were: (1) Tyranny, (2) Oligarchy, and (3) Mob-rule (ochlocracy).

The Cycle Started Again:

Machiavelli also accepts the same classification of government as provided by Polybius and Cicero.

Machiavelli said that the stability of the government depends upon the economic development. Economic power is necessary for political stability. He gave more importance to the republican form rather than monarchy. These ideas are found in his book the Discourses. According to him, Where there is economic equality-republican form of government is the best.

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) Write a short-Note on Machiavelli's classification of Government.

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16.4 Let us Sum up.

1. His dictum that the state must expand or expire holds good even today.
2. Machiavelli has given some hints to his 'Prince' as to how to acquire power, how to retain it and how to expand it.
3. His best slogan 'Fight force by force and fraud by fraud' to make your state strong are still relevant today.
4. He is the first secular thinker who expounded the theory of the preservation of the state.
5. He is the propounder of the principle that "End Justifies the means".
6. Credit is due to Machiavelli because he has given a number of practical suggestions to the ruler.
7. In the classification of the Government his stress is more on the republican form of government.

16.5 Some Key words.

Expand	-	Enlarge.
Fraud	-	Deceit.
Preservation	-	Protection.
Enunciate	-	Explain.
Maxims	-	Principles.
Perish	-	Shrink and die.
Integrity	-	Unity.
Decisive	-	Taking firm decisions.

16.6 Some Useful Books.

H.R.Mukhi.	-	Political Thought.
Amal Kumar Mukhopadhyay	-	Western Political Thought.
Allen.J.W.	-	A History of political Thought.
Butterfield	-	The statecraft of Machiavelli.
L.G.Wanlas	-	History of Political Theory.

G.H.Sabine	- A History of Political Theory.
Ebstein	- Great Political Thinkers.
Gupta.M.G.	- Great Political Thinkers.
Gupta.R.G.	- Great Philosophers.
Maxey.C.C.	- Political philosopher.

16.7 Answer to check your progress exercises.

Check your progress - 1.

- 1) See Section - 16.2
- 2) See Section - 16.2.1.
- 3) See section - 16.2.2.
- 4) See section - 16.2.2. and sub section -10.

Check your progress - 2.

- 1) See Section - 16.3.

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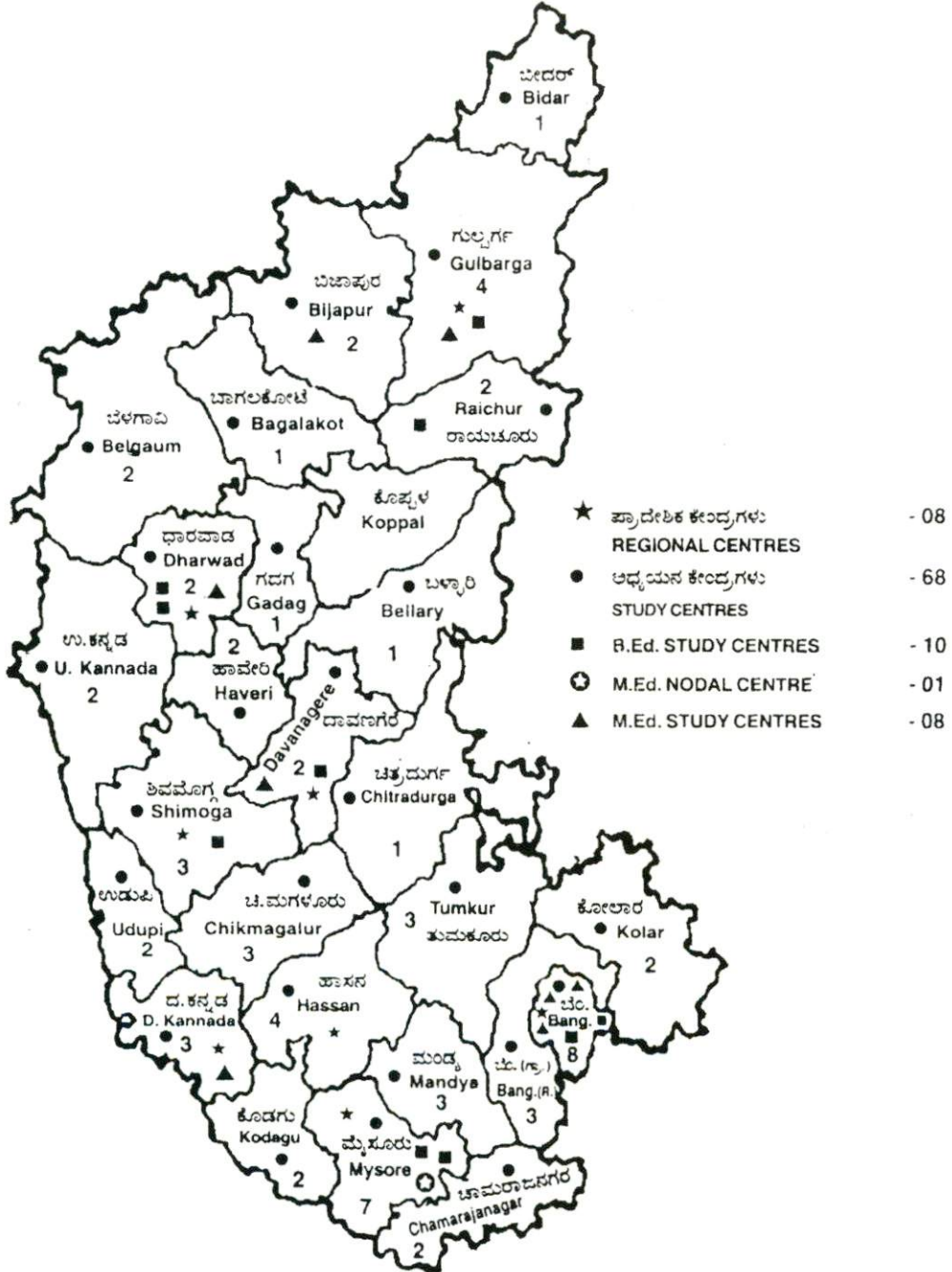
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