POLITICAL SCIENCE
About Niccolò Machiavelli

- Niccolò di Bernardo dei Machiavelli
- Birth: May 3, 1469 in Florence, Italy
- Death: June 21, 1527 (aged 58)
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Political Science and International Relations

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Machiavelli (1469-1527)

Known as Father of European Secularism
European Secularism

Strict Separation of

State

Church
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Question</th>
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<tr>
<td>• Why? Europe had witness religious was and hence the scholars advocated to separate the square of religion and politics</td>
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</table>
Father of Political Realism

Political Realism

Politics is about power hymns

Realism is power view of politics

Politics is nothing but power
Political Realism

- No role of ethics in politics
- Politics has no place for ethics
- Politics is not a profession of bonus
Life of Machiavelli

Italy

Internally Divided

Corrupt Society
Italy was divided into 5 Principalities

- The kingdom of Naples in the south,
- The duchy of Milan in north-west,
- The aristocratic republic of Venice in the north-east,
- The republic of Florence in centre
- Papal state in the centre.
Life of Machiavelli

- Ruling
  - Pope
  - Rule of Church
  - Empire

- Corrupt Society
  - City State
  - Roman Empire
Life of Machiavelli

Religion divides

Nationalism units

Nothing is superior to nation
Life of Machiavelli

He was from Florence, Italy

Diplomate of Florence to France

Wrote the book *the Prince*

He called as Nihillio (mr zero)

Mr Zero hurts Machiavelli’s feeling
Age when nation State started emerging in Europe.

Italy was a house divided against itself
Italy divided into five principalities fighting against each other

Lack of unity led Italy vulnerable to external threats
Why did Europeans in the 1500s-1600s want to reform the Catholic Church?

The Church was corrupt.

There was political conflict between the pope and European Kings.

Europeans were influenced by the Humanist beliefs of the Renaissance.
Machiavelli

Served official positions

He wanted his motherland to regain its glory which it.

Diplomat

Experience of Real world of Politics

Greatest of Patriot among philosophers
Machiavelli famous book is the *Prince*

- Advice enterprising person who wants to come to power
- Best book in the field of Statecraft it is manual for administration
- Discusses Statecraft means management of power.

Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livius
Machiavelli’s famous book is the Prince.

Plato discussed Philosophy of Governance. Statecraft of Plato’s words, Soul Craft.

Machiavelli discusses the Art of Governance.
Machiavelli famous book is the Prince

Every thinker represents interest of a particular class. Machiavelli represents the psychology of emerging games class. Early Middle Class and Modern Capitalistic Class are both interests in this context.
Machiavelli's - The Prince

- His Prince is not a hereditary Prince
- Prince was political entrepreneur
- anyone who is willing to take risk could become the Prince
- His Prince is based on life of Italian Statement (Caesar borgia)
Machiavelli never found his Prince
Kautilya and Machiavelli differ in time and space

Kautilya found Chandragupta Maurya
They are striking simultaneous
Machiavelli's - The Prince

Chanakya

370 BCE - 283 BCE

Chanakya was an Indian political scientist and economist. He is mainly known for his writings, most notably Arthashastra. He is also known in the west as the "Indian Machiavelli".

Nature in this book the discovery of India has called Kautilya as Indian Machiavelli.
Machiavelli was a child of his time

If we look in his times, we can understand all tendencies of his time

Naturally is known as child of Renaissance

So Much Impact of his time, Sabine Call him “Narrowly dated and Narrowly located”
Historical Development of His Time

Medieval age coming to end and modern age was about to start Europe

Some Scholars called him as the first modern thinkers

Some other Scholars considered him as transitional Thinker

It is said that naturally is non medieval and a modern
Difference in Medieval Society versus Modern

Ancient Europe
- City State
- Age of philosophy
- Decentralized
- Slavery

Medieval Europe
- Roman empire
- Confederation centralized
- Religion
- Feudalism (House Of Lords)

Modern Europe
- Nation State
- Age of science
- Capitalism (house of commons)
Difference in Medieval Society versus Modern

- Religion
  - Faith
- Science
  - Proof
  - Reason
Post Modern Age after Second World War

- Supranationalism
- European Union
- Age of philosophy, theory of relativity
- Globalization (Expansion of capitalism in global state)
Feudalism and Capitalism (Comparison)

Modern Age

Feudalism
- King
- Nobles
- Knights
- Peasants

Capitalism

Described by capitalists
Feudalism

King
- Provide money and soldiers
- Grants land

Nobles
- Provide protection
- Grant land

Peasants
- Provide food and services
- Grant protection

King
- Provide money and soldiers
- Grants land

Nobles
- Provide protection
- Grant land

Peasants
- Provide food and services
- Grant protection

Feudalism
Feudalism

A loosely organized economic system of rule in which powerful local lords divided their landholdings among lesser lords.

- It provides protection to the common people in return for work.
- This is a political system based on land control.
- The king owns ALL land.
Feudalism

System based on work or Heredity

Static Society

There was no freedom search

They had no freedom to sale

They are labour at the cost they want
Feudalism was divided into two classes:

- **Lords**
- **Serfs**

There are the bonded followers, it was also hereditary in nature.
Capitalism

an economic system in which the means of production of goods or services are privately owned and operated for a profit
Capitalism

It is a system based on concept of market

Market is based on concept of freedom

Market is a place where things are bought and sold

There was freedom search

They had freedom to sale

Capitalism survival needs end of feudalism
What is State?

State

State is Authority
What is Authority?

What was the system of authority in ancient Europe:
City was considered as the unit

Nature of authority in medieval Times in Europe:
Europe was a confederation known as Roman empire
Since Capitalism is based on contract, Capitalism requires definite authority to enforce the contract. The situation of authority was very confusing in medieval times, as there were multiple centres of power.
Rise of Capitalism and Nation State

Interest of capitalist

And noted Princess coincided

Capitalist finance the king.
Native king as demarcated a territory

People living on that particular territory will accept of will of Prince

Prince or State will be sovereign. Even church is under state.
Elements of state:

1. **People** – the mass of the population living within the state.
   - Territory – demarcated area that rightly belongs to the population.
     - answer the question, “where?”;
     - terrestrial, fluvial, maritime and aerial;
     - should be permanent and large enough to be self-sufficing.
2. **Government** – Refers to the agency to which the will of the state is formulated, expressed and carried out.
3. **Sovereignty** – may be defined as the supreme power of the state to command and enforce obedience to its will from the people within its jurisdiction and corollary to have freedom from foreign control.
What is Nation State

Entity bigger than city State but smaller than confederation.

Four Essential elements are

- Territory
- Population
- Government
- Sovereignty

Nation of centralized authority in Europe

Italy city made basis for division of territories
What is a “nation?”

• Nation: a large aggregate united by common
  – Descent
  – History
  – Culture
  – Language
  – Inhabiting a particular territory
  • (not necessarily a country)
A nation-state is a state, or country, that has defined borders and territory. It is additionally a country in which a nation of principally the same type of people exists, organized by either race or cultural background.
### Situation in East or Colonies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modern Nation State</th>
<th>Boundaries</th>
<th>Nationalities</th>
<th>Demand for Nation Hood</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modern State was natural evolution in West however it imposed on Colony by the colonial Masters</td>
<td>Colonial Masters made boundaries in accordance to their convenience</td>
<td>Different nationalities concluded together in UN Secretary partition</td>
<td>National or ethnic movement &amp; demand for Nation Hood For Example Kashmir, Khalistan, Naga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Main Ideas In Prince (Machiavelli)

Best book ever written in the field of Statecraft — it is a manual for administrators.

Methodology of Machiavelli

- It suggested that history and psychology are better guide to understand politics.
- He used empirical method or method of observation.
The Empirical Approach

- The empirical approach attempts to answer questions through systematic collection and analysis.
  - This is referred to as scientific method, and is based on the assumption that knowledge is gained by direct, systematic observation.
Advice to prince on Nature of field of Politics
Machiavelli advice to the Prince

On nature of politics as a field of profession

It is not a profession of goodness

How will live is for removed
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>Machiavelli's Perspective</th>
<th>Methodology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| • He describe the nature of field of polity | • He is a realist who prefer to tell what is rather than ought to be | • He served different political offices.  
• He had understanding of human history & psychology to explain nature of the field of politics |
Machiavelli describes field of Politics

Look at things as they are rather than as they ought to be

Prince to not to live in word of Ideas

Prince must understand the reality

Prince cannot sacrifice national interest for sake of his beliefs

Politics is neither ethics no religion
Machiavelli describes field of Politics

- Politics is autonomous it has its own standards of morality
- Political action not to be charged by any other standard except political
- In politics end justify
- In politics we will meet such people who are not so good
- We should know how to be bad rather than how to be good
Machiavelli narrowly dated and narrowly located
Extremely Pessimistic views of Machiavelli towards politics has been shaped why the situation prevailing in Italy at that time had he belong to some.
Other time and space he is approach would have been different.
It is truth that Machiavelli understanding is base on his experience but we cannot say that Machiavelli view on politics is entirely wrong.

Kautilya who belong to the different time and space that is ancient India represent similar views.
“Man is By Nature selfish, ungrateful, deceitful, Coward, Fickle minded (Changing Mind) and avaricious (greedy)"
Introduction

• Above statement tells about human nature as given by Machiavelli.

Methodology

• Statement’s Base is His observation
• His understanding of history and human psychology

Description

• Machiavelli has given the concept of “universalism egoism”.
According to Machiavelli

- One thing remained constant throughout human history that is human nature.
- Man is selfish by nature.
- Since Man is selfish by nature man is ungrateful and deceitful.
- Prince can not trust anyone for all times.
According to Machiavelli

- People will remain with the prince so long Prince is fulfilling their interest even then there is no guarantees that they will not change the sides.
- Points towards fickle mindedness of human nature.
- Suggests that is better to be feared then to be “loved”.
Machiavelli on Human Nature

• Prince should give opportunity to them to realize their greedy nature.
• Prince should “execute rather than confiscate”, because a “man forget the loss of his father but not the loss of his patrimony.
• Men are possessive about their women so wise Prince should not touch the women of his citizen.
Machiavelli statement on Human Nature

- People love at their own will but fear at the will of the prince.
- When Machiavelli says, Man is possessive by nature.
- He represent the psychology of emerging bourgeois class
- Man has a love for property
- Human nature is greedy

According to Machiavelli
According to Machiavelli

- Prince can still remain in power by manipulating the weakness of human nature.
- One of the major weaknesses is that they are fearful and coward.
- They are fearful because they fear the loss of things which give them pleasure.
- Prince can convince his people that only Prince can provide them security of their life and property.
- Prince should know how to manage humans by understanding essential qualities of Human nature.
Machiavelli narrowly dated and narrowly located. He took such a Pessimistic view of human nature because of his experience in Italy during his time of which was an extremely corrupt society. Had he belong to some other time and space his views would have been different. It is true that his views are partially correct but at least they are partially correct. We cannot overlooked the egoistic nature of man. Machiavelli is not alone to take Pessimistic view of human nature.
Thomas Hobbes who belonged to England has also given similar views on human nature and has established that fear is the basis of authority.
“Prince has to be both fox and lion”
Machiavelli prescription about the qualities required by the prince are based on his empirical observation of the real world politics, his understanding of human psychology and human history.

Prince has to be fox and lion because the field of politics is not ethics.

Prince should not see goodness in every profession.

In politics, He will meet such people who are bad not so good.

Prince needs to learn not how to be good but how to be bad.
Intelligence and Defense are two essential requirements for any state to survive. We can compare intelligence with fox and defense with lion.
In the end we can say that we cannot ignore the advice of Machiavelli which are based on “Real Politik”

That's why “Prince” (His book Name) is the best book ever written in the field of politics.
• “It is better for prince to be feared than to be loved”
Prince is considered as the best book ever written in the field of statecraft.

It is like a manual for administrators.

Machiavelli’s advice are Based on his observations, understanding of history and human psychology.

Machiavelli defines Statecraft as the art of management of power.

Prince should know the appropriate use of power, which forms of power and in what proportion.
There are two forms of power:

1. Power of attraction
   - Love
2. Power commercial
   - Fear
According to Machiavelli:

- Does not use the hard power as the 1st option.
- Prince should first explore the soft power.
- However if need arises and soft power does not work, Prince should not be reluctant to Exercise hard power.
- It is good to use soft power but it is better to use hard Powers in some situation because the nature of soft power is not compelling.
According to Machiavelli

- People Love at their own will but fear at will of prince
- Wise prince will does what is his will than the will of the others.
- Prince has to ultimately rely on policy of fear because policy of love may not always work considering the selfish and ungrateful nature of man.
- Prince should be a man of cold blooded logic
According to Machiavelli

• Prince should not get provoked, if Prince decides to use force, the magnitude of the force should be such that it completely destroy the enemy so that enemy is not in a position to take revenge
• Revenge is also a very powerful sentiment when Revenge dominates mind, men pursue revenge even at the cost of his own interest.
• It mean, use of force has to be calculated
Machiavelli on ends and means, relationship between politics and ethics and the concept of dual morality.

Question

• “In politics end justify the means”
Above statement is the most defining aspect of so called Machiavellism.

Machiavelli is highly criticized for making separation between politics and ethics and for giving priority to ends over means.

Machiavelli is often criticized as advocating immorality.

Machiavelli was unfortunate because he was criticized for telling the reality.
There are two schools of thought which represents the relationship between Ends and Means, Politics and Ethics.
End justify the means

ENDS (Machiavelli)

- Realistic scholars like Machiavelli who suggest that politics is not a profession of goodness
- One who suggest that in politics end justify the means
- On the other hand scholars like Plato, Socratic and leaders like Gandhi do not support the separation.

MEANS (Gandhi)

- Gandhi was critique of Machiavelli in his book in the Hind Swaraj (Gandhi Book name).
- Gandhi told that it is a illogical to expect rose flowers by sowing the seed of by babool.
- Gandhi Emphasized on purity of means.
End justify the means

- Whether means have priority over end or ends have priority remains a matter of debate.

- It is to be noted that we have to understand Machiavelli in the right context.
End justify the means

- When Machiavelli suggest priority to ends. He wants to suggest that nothing is superior to National interest.
- It is not only important to take right decision, but timely Decisions.
- Occasions may come where Prince may face dilemma, his ethics or religious beliefs may put him in situation of dilemma.

According to Machiavelli
End justify the means

- Hence Machiavelli suggest that Prince should not be in dilemma and he is free to take whatever actions he thinks is in the interest of the country.
- He should not look at moral consequences.
- He invented the concept of dual morality.
- Morality of the prince is different from the ordinary man.
End justify the means

- Ordinary man can sacrifice his life for the sake of his principles but Prince does not have the Liberty.
- Nobody will blame the Prince if he achieves his end.
- However nobody will leave the Prince if he sacrifices ends for the sake of the means.
- If Prince is successful in achieving his ends it automatically proved that means were correct.

According to Machiavelli
Question

• “Was Machiavelli against religion?”
Was Machiavelli against religion?

Machiavelli was not against religion but he was against the interference by Church in the state.

Machiavelli does not recommended the prince to be anti religion or atheist.

Machiavelli had utilitarian approach towards religion.
Was Machiavelli against religion?

- Religion should not use Prince, Prince can use religion.
- Religion can be useful for prince for administering people.
- Religion is a disciplinary force
- Religion can be an aid in administration.
Was Machiavelli against religion?

- He even recommends prince not to appear, Anti religion in public even when he is against religion or not believe in private.
- In public Prince should display himself as religious man because people like such person.
Prince should act in a magnificent manner.

Whatever Prince does, he should do with a lot of pomp and show.

Prince should also be a showman.
Machiavelli was critical of nobility or Feudal lords. He suggest that in case Prince has to choose between nobles and common man, He should choose common man has Limited ambition.
Machiavelli was the first person to suggest that prince should have the Army comprising of only Nationalist.
Expansionist foreign Policy.

Machiavelli support expansionist foreign Policy. Because acquisition of land increase the scope for the material Welfare of citizens.
Rule

If the conquered land is having same culture like that of the prince can rule directly.

If the culture of the people is difficult he should appoint his lieutenant (Someone native).
Punishment

It is preferable to administer punishment not directly but through subordinates.
What is Fortune?

Things which are beyond the control of human being.

It can be understood as luck.

Machiavelli uses term fortune in Italian sense which means misfortune (bad luck)
Advice On Role Of Fortune

• Even when Prince has all qualities, is well worth in state craft. yet there is no guarantee that prince will be successful.
• There is a role of luck bad luck or bad time can strike anyone anywhere.
• When the time comes it devastate man completely.
Advice On Role Of Fortune

• Bad time comes like torrential rain or roaring river that it becomes difficult to face.
• Wise Prince will make some prior arrangements, insurance and embankments for protection.
• Still Prince can be devastated.
Machiavelli is optimistic.
Machiavelli compares the nature of Fortune with the nature of women.
Women embrace brave man.
If Prince will face bad times with courage, He can turn fortune In his favor.
In his first book “the prince”, Machiavelli has recommended/advocated the rule of strong prince having absolute power and who rules with the iron hand.

Machiavelli support such system for the state where people are corrupt.
He advocates republicanism in the tradition of Aristotle.

It is possible only where people are virtuous have civic culture.

In the words of Machiavelli whenever necessary monarchy, wherever possible republic but in no situation oligarchy or aristocracy.
DISCOURSES

- He was extremely critical of the feudal class.
- He considered them parasites and factor for lack of unification in Italy.
- He represents the mentality of the emerging Bourgeois class.
Machiavelli As A Child Of Renaissance?

Introduction

Every thinker is a child of his time.

He belongs modern age was about to start and Medieval age was coming to an end.

He was called child of Renaissance.

The core of Renaissance philosophy is Humanism.
Machiavelli has built his Political Theory on the analysis of human nature.

Machiavelli would not have remained out of Renaissance, as Italy in general and Florence in particular was the seat of Renaissance.

Machiavelli love for history is also derived from Renaissance.

Renaissance Scholars have recommended the knowledge of history.
Renaissance was not just the intellectual movement, it had impacted all walks of life social economic and political.

Renaissance has given rise to following development.
**Reformation**

- Reformation is linked to emergence of secularism in modern west.
- Machiavelli is the first person to give the theory of secular state.

**Renaissance**

- Renaissance has led to growth of Nationalism, enlightenment, science, materialism, capitalism, Industrial Revolution all of these tendencies are found in thoughts of Machiavelli.
Machiavelli As A Child Of Renaissance

He represents the perspective of the emerging bourgeoisie class.

His dislike for feudalism, his description of human nature as possessive

His advocacy for National interest national army show that he was a child of his time.
Machiavelli As A Child Of Renaissance

He belong to time when age of nation state emerging in the Europe.

It was the time when kings finance geographical exploration which was the basis for expansionist foreign policy.
Rise of Capitalism

Machiavelli's disliking towards Feudal lords

His suggestions that prince should prefer common man over noble.

Machiavelli describes human nature as selfish, materialistic, Possessive

Machiavelli As A Child Of Renaissance?
Machiavelli’s concern that Italy should become a nation state

He gives suggestions that prince should have Army of nationals show the tendency of his times.
Geographical Exploration

Monarch started financing geographical exploration, which lead to imperialism, colonialism. Machiavelli supported expansionism. Appropriate to say Machiavelli was child of Renaissance.
Sabine calls Machiavelli narrowly dated and narrowly located.

Machiavelli views on politics, human nature and specifically his a negative perception towards Church and religion was because of his experience in Italy.

According to Sabine if he belong to some other time and space.

He would not have presented such a Pessimistic view.
Que. Machiavelli was narrowly located and dated?

It is true that Machiavelli was externally influenced by his time.

It is also true that Machiavelli is not free from biasness.

Yet it will not be justified if we say that Machiavelli thoughts lacks Universal importance.

At least Machiavelli gives the partial view of reality.
Machiavelli is among the greatest thinkers. His book “The Prince” is certainly the best book ever written in field of politics. There is a rich Legacy of Machiavelli in the discipline of international politics. He has influenced Scholars like Hobbes, leaders like mao.
Questions

- Explain how Machiavelli’s application of empirical method to human affairs smart and important states in the evolution of political science.

- Comment power is an end in itself find machiavelli enquiry into the means that are best suited to acquire retrain and expand forward this separate power from morality ethics religion and metaphysics – (ebens..50) statement.
Que. “Machiavelli thoughts are Narrowly dated and normally located”? Comment ”
Machiavelli is one of the most controversial figures in the history of Western political philosophy.

He is also one of the most criticized scholar.

Dunning mentions that Machiavelli really is unfortunate, as he was criticized for telling the reality.

Everyone criticize Machiavelli but everyone practice Machiavelli in the real field of politics.
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He is also one of the most criticized scholar.

Dunning mentions that Machiavelli really is unfortunate, as he was criticized for telling the reality.

Everyone criticize Machiavelli but everyone practice Machiavelli in the real field of politics.
• Sabine is a critic of Machiavelli.
• Sabine suggests that Machiavelli’s thoughts are narrow in scope and limitations.
• He is specially critical of the manner in which Machiavelli present the role of church in the state.
The extremely Pessimistic view about Human Nature, Politics, Church is because of the circumstances that were prevailing in Italy uri his time.

Had he belong to some other time and space his views would have been different.
Machiavelli ideas were very much influenced by the circumstances prevailing in Italy.

Machiavelli thoughts show similarity with thoughts of Kautilya another great realistic scholar who differ from him.
Rich Legacy of Machiavelli among later day scholars.

Realistic tradition in international politics

Morgantheu in particular is influenced by him.

Foreign policy of USA has roots in his thoughts.
Machiavelli

- He is source of influence on “behavioral School of thoughts”
- He has influenced political philosophers
- He is among the greatest political scholar
- He introduced the tradition of Real Politic
- Prince is best book written in field of statecraft.
<table>
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<th>Question 1</th>
<th>Question 2</th>
<th>Question 3</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Neither his cynicism nor his praise of craftiness is it sufficient to cancel the idealist in him. comment.</td>
<td>• I have resolved to open the new which has deception?</td>
<td>• Never attempt to win by force which can be win by deception?</td>
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Question 4

- Power is an end in itself and Machiavelli enquires into the means that are best suited to acquire, retain and expand power, thus separates power from morality, ethics, religion and metaphysics (Ebenstein on Machiavelli) comment.

Question 5

- Explain how Machiavelli’s application of empirical methods to human affairs marks the important stage in evolution of political science.
Explain how Machiavelli’s application of empirical methods to human affairs marks the important stage in evolution of political science.
1) Political science is one of the oldest disciplines.

2) Origin in ancient Greece as a branch of philosophy on ethics

3) In medieval time it became subdiscipline of religious studies

4) With Machiavelli a new chapter in evolution of discipline start, he establishes autonomy of politics from ethics and religion.

5) In Plato we see idealism. In Machiavelli we see realism
6) Plato proposes dialectical approach, Machiavelli recommends empirical method

7) Plato suggest to look into a essence or Idea. Machiavelli suggest that we should look into the things as they are rather than as we want to look at them.

Thus Machiavelli has a contribution in emergence of Political Science as an autonomous discipline. Application of empirical method by Machiavelli has shown the light to scholar who later on attempt to introduce scientific method.
The new interpretation of my Machivalli work is despite projective him as a realist.
Somewhere Deep in his heart he is idealist.

On one hand his suggest that man is selfish by nature but another hand he expect The Prince to forget self interest hand work in the collective interest
Machivalli’s Question

THE PRINCE

- Princes is considered as the best book ever written in field of statecraft it is a manual for administration machiavelli advices are based on history of history and human psychology what (statecraft is the art of Management of power)
• Machiavelli thoughts on Naroli dated and normally located? Comment
Machiavelli is one of the most controversial figures in the history of Western political philosophy not only controversial he is also one of the most criticized scholar running mentions that make you really he is unfortunate as he was criticized for telling the reality the paradox is everyone criticize Machiavelli but everyone practice Machiavelli in the real field of politics.
Sabine is a critic of Machiavelli suggest that make you list thoughts there in scope and limitations he is specially critical of the manner in which Machiavelli present the role of church in the state their extremely Pessimistic view about human nature politics Church is because of the circumstances that were prevailing in Italy during his time had he belong to some other time and space his view would have been different.
Machiavelli ideas were very much influenced by the circumstances prevailing in Italy.

Still if we believe that his thoughts where narrowly dated and narrowly located it will be in justice him

Machiavelli thoughts show similarity with thoughts of Kautilya another great realistic scholar who differ from him.
“It is inequality, that we have seen that is everywhere the cause of revolution. Explain with the reference to Aristotle’s principles of the distributive Justice.
Thomas Hobbes

(1588-1679)
The English Civil War

- James I’s son Charles succeeded him and continued upsetting various religious groups.
- Charles also quarreled with Parliament over the need to raise taxes to pay for wars with Spain and France.
- In 1628, Parliament forced Charles to agree to the Petition of Right before it would consent to more taxes.
- After getting the money, Charles ignored his promise.
Charles became King in 1625. He believed in the ‘Divine Right’ of being the King. This is the belief that the King or Queen is chosen by God!

Therefore, arguing or disagreeing with the King/Queen was seen as a disagreement with God’s servant. Parliament were not too happy about this, especially as the King started making decisions without asking them. Charles set up a group named the ‘Court of the Star Chamber’ which was made up of landowners friendly with the King. This court made decisions about laws which Charles wanted to introduce to England. This was usually Parliament’s job.
The horrors of the English Civil War convinced Hobbes that all humans were naturally selfish and wicked.

He believed that “without governments to keep order, there would be war of every man against every man”.
LEVIATHAN

- Hobbes has used the term leviathan for the State
Introduction of Hobbes as a Thinker

Hobbes

Witnessed trouble face of British History

Witnessed the Puritan Revolution of 1641

British was in the State of Anarchy.

There was no security of life.

Main concern of Hobbes was security of life
Introduction of Hobbes as a Thinker

Hobbes was the first thinker to give the **Theory of Right to Life** which means right to self preservation.

He establishes that right to self preservation is the most sacred and inalienable right which cannot be taken.
Hobbes was concerned with preservation of life.

He was in favour of law and order.

He believed that only strong state can preserve life.

Hence He justified state absolutism.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hobbes is known as the first modern thinker.</td>
<td>Modern political life is constituted on the lines of Nation State.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why?</td>
<td>The most important element of the nation state is sovereignty.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hobbes has given complete theory of sovereignty.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Hence, Hobbes is called as first modern thinker</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Hobbes has introduced the tradition of Utilitarianism (Materialism, Capitalism)

Utilitarianism associated with capitalism

It suggests that all human actions are guided by pleasure and pain or profit and loss.

Hobbes like a Machiavelli, is a scholar of emerging bourgeois class.
Hobbes is considered as the greatest of all individualist.
Individualism is a philosophy which gives priority to interest of men over society. Hobbes could logically established that man is individualist by nature. He established that being individualist is a natural fact and not a sin.
Hobbes is also a realist scholar
What is Social Contract

Hobbes belongs to tradition of “Social Contract”

- Feature of capitalist way of life.
- Capitalist society is based on principles of contract.
- State is also an outcome of contract.
- Contract between man and man and Not between man and God.
- Contract symbolize the freedom of choice.
What is Social Contract

- The Constitution under which people live represent there will.
- Not enforced on them by some supernatural authority.
- Constitutions of modern states are considered as the outcome of process of social contract.
- Contains the obligation and right of the contracting parties.

Hobbes belongs to tradition of “Social Contract”
Scholars have used contract as a methodology. Which include certain steps shown on next page.

- Described life without government (the “state of nature”) as “nasty, brutish, and short.”
  - Without strong gov’t, we would all kill each other and take each others’ property
- In order to protect our natural rights, Hobbes said we agree to be ruled by an absolute ruler (a “Leviathan”) who can keep us all in line
Social Contract Methodology

Description of human nature

State of Nature
Hypothetical concept to show how our life will be, if we allowed to live naturally without any external authority

Contract

Outcomes of contract
Terms and conditions
Purpose of Hobbes as a Philosopher

Hobbes wanted to end anarchy for sake of preservation of life.

Academic purpose

Hobbes was influenced by physicist like Galileo and Newton.

He wants to build political theory on scientific basis

Why - it was a age of science and Hence, credibility will be based on scientific approach
It is called as “resolutive compositive Method”

Thomas Hobbes
(1588 – 1679)

The Case for Absolute Authority
- Philosophical Method (Resolutive-Compositive)

Political Philosophy
- Endeavors or motives are the causes of action
- Either we are attracted toward something, which we therefore call good, or we are repelled by something, in which case we call it bad.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• What is resolutive compositive method?</td>
<td>• It is supposed to be the method of natural science Hobbes wanted to give scientific basis to the political theory so he adopted the resolutive compositive method.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Source of influence

• René Descartes, Descartes has shown the way how scientific method can be employed in social science.
Hobbes method

He gave following Steps

- Observe the complex phenomena
- Break the phenomena in elemental parts
- Establish the correlation
- Give explanation
Hobbes has applied the RC method to build his theory who was also influenced by scientist like Galileo and Newton and Hobbes believe that we can employ the concept of physics in politics.

He held that physics, psychology & geometry can be utilized to build scientific theory.
Application of the method by Hobbes

- He suggests to observe complex phenomena.
- The complex political phenomena can be divided into simpler parts.
- Political phenomena is a product of human behavior.
- Behavior is shaped by human mind.
- Mind is made up of all other particles like all other things in the universe.
Particles are in state of motion. Motion is life force till we are living it means particles are in motion. Death means end of motion.

Motion of particles is in response to the external stimulus.

There are two types of motion which can be called as two types of emotion, Two basic emotions are love and aversion.
Application of the method by Hobbes

• “The things which give us pleasure we would like to do that, and things which give us pain when we avoid that”

• Hence, by his method he has proved that man is utilitarian by nature.

• How he proves men is individualistic by nature?

• Human behavior is shaped by motion of particles in human brain.
Application of the method by Hobbes

- They are individualistic experiences we cannot make assessment of movement of particles in mind of other person.

- Nature has not created man in such a way that we can understand pleasure and pain of others.

- Since man is utilitarian by nature so man is individualistic by nature, it is a natural fact not a sin.

- Utilitarian is not sin, it also implies that man is also materialistic.
Both have similar view, but Machiavelli told on basis of observation whereas Hobbes give logical explanation.

Is Hobbes explanation scientific- No. It is rather deductive.
Hobbes has built the theory of the origin of the state, its purpose, nature by adopting the tradition of social contract.
Hobbes is known as the first modern thinker. Why?

Hobbes’s main concern is with the problem of social and political order.

Let’s begin with Hobbes’s concept of ‘state of nature’: in the "natural" condition human beings lack government and are prone to conflicts.

Humans are meant to live in anarchy.

Hobbes believes that human judgement is unreliable since it is made on the basis of self interests.
Since man is utilitarian, man is individualistic, materialistic, possessive and power seeking.

“Life of man is continuous search for power, after power, which ceases only with his death”

Man wants to enjoy not once but forever.
In above statement, Hobbes explains the elemental characteristics of human nature. On the basis of "Resolutive Compositive Method" Hobbes could establish that man is utilitarian by nature.
<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>Why man is utilitarian by nature?</td>
<td>Utilitarianism of a man is the result of the movement of particles in human brain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Man is utilitarian by nature

When particles in our brain look at the external stimulus they get inclined towards or away.

These two emotions, he calls as two basic emotions, “love and aversion”.

Man wants to possess the things which give him pleasure or man wants the satisfaction of his appetite.
### Human nature according to Hobbes

<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>• Why search for Power?</td>
<td>• Since man is utilitarian by nature man require powers because power is a mean to acquire the things which give pleasure form of power may vary it can be economic political.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Answer</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why there is continuous search for power?</td>
<td>Till man is alive his particles are in constant state of motion.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>When man satisfy one desire the search for the satisfaction of the other desire starts.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Human nature according to Hobbes

Analysis

- Hobbes is the first person to suggest that all are utilitarian.
- He rejects the myth of metals are superior soul or inferior soul.
- Thus, he was the first person to acknowledge some level of equality.

Conclusion

- The way he describes human nature shows that Hobbes was the scholar of the emerging bourgeois class.
- Explanation is not scientific but logical utilitarian so individualistic.
It is a hypothetical concept used by social contract scholars to show the state of human life when we are allowed to live naturally or purely according to our nature.
Hobbes on the (State of Nature)
To understand need of authority

THOMAS HOBBES: FORMATION OF THE STATE

"STATE OF NATURE"

- No private property: "no mine and thine distinct"
- Life = a war "as is of every man against every man"
- Life is therefore, "nasty, brutish, and short"

FIRST CONTRACT: Creation of Supreme Power through the Surrender of Natural Liberty

SECOND CONTRACT: Transfer of Supreme Power to a Sovereign, now the Definer of Rights

THE STATE: Sovereign, Absolute, Irresistible
“The state of nature is a state of war of all against all”

“In the state of nature life of man is nasty, poor, brutish and short”

“In state of nature there is no scope for art, literature, letters, navigation industry”

“The state of nature is a state of war of all against all”
Hobbes on the (State of Nature)

Hobbes description of state of nature is influenced by the circumstances prevailing in England during this time. He has witnessed the chaos because of the “puritan revolution”. During that time there was no security of life and property.
Man is utilitarian by nature

Man wants to possess the things which give him pleasure.

All men are utilitarian. Hence, there will be a competition and conflict because all desire those means which give him happiness.

Hobbes being forward the dilemma of unlimited desires and limited means.
Human nature is such that he wants satisfaction not just one but forever.

In the state of nature there is no authority. Everybody is leaving as per their nature.

Utilitarian nature of man makes him individualistic and power seeking.

Each person look at the other as the source of unhappiness because he can deprive him from the means of happiness.
Each person wants to accumulate **power** and will not feel satisfied until and unless has more power than the others.

There will be a continuous struggle for power—a situation of war where man is preparing for offence and defense.

The biggest threat in the state of nature is the threat to life. Thread life is the biggest source of unhappiness there is always a threat to life because other person will be assured of this unless his competitor is not existent.
People will suffer from “Security Dilemma”.

Such state is painful.

In such state when there is no security of life it is useless to suggest that there will be good life.

In such situation nobody can afford to go for establishing Industry, Navigation, Art and Culture.
The Life of Man will be nasty, poor, brutish and short.

Hence, utilitarian man would like to come out of the state of nature into the state.

Where his life is secured.

Hence Hobbes suggest that they will go for social contract.

Giving justification of state through above statements
**Social Contract**

**Question**
- State of nature is a state of pain. Why?

**Answer**
- Because there is no security of life.

**The Social Contract**
- Political theory concerning political authority and legitimacy
- Speaks of the basis for and scope of political power
- Key Elements: the state of nature (and thereby, the nature of man)
### Question

- In the state of nature man is sovereign, Why?

### Answer

- There is no authority over and above man.
- Man is completely free to do what he wants.
- State of nature is a situation where man has maximum liberty.
- The outcome of maximum liberty is anarchy (No security).
- It means insecurity.

![Nature of Man](image1)

- State of Nature
- Social Contract
According to Hobbes, men will prefer security over liberty. Because men is utilitarian.
and fear were born together ➔ Hobbes, Theory part

Basis of Authority of state is fear in Men.

Idea of Statement
- According to Hobbes fear is the basis of the authority, it is the insecurity in men which necessitates state.

Insecurity of what?
- Loosing things which give happiness.
and fear were born together ➔ Hobbes, Theory part

**What is biggest insecurity?**

- Loss of life because end of all happiness.

**What is the role of the state?**

- To give security of life.
Social contract according to Hobbes

What is state?
• State is a security agency

What is essential function of state?
• Internal and external security
Social contract according to Hobbes

Which type of state Hobbes project?

- Police state and not welfare state.
- Police state is also called as minimal state.

Why?

- Minimum Function
Status of man is the State of Nature

What is minimum function?
- Physical security

How police state differ from welfare State?
- Welfare state performs additional function not just physical security but also social security.
Hobbes is not only one of the greatest political philosopher.

He is also known as among the greatest writes in English literature.

Above statement is linked to the event of his life, his mother has given him premature birth out of the fear of Spanish armada.

He connects his political philosophy in a metaphorical manner.
When he says that I and fear were born together.

He means to say that man is fearful by nature.

We can see continuity in the thoughts of Hobbes and Machiavelli.

By using RC method he shows that Man is utilitarian by nature.

It is because of utilitarian nature that man is fearful.
Man wants to enjoy forever and is fearful of losing the things which gives him happiness, the biggest fear in man is the loss of life.

In the state of nature which means in the absence of state, there is no security of life. Hence for the sake of preservation of life man enters into social contract, transfer all of his natural powers and liberty which he enjoyed in the state of nature to the state.
Thus man bargains liberty for the sake of security.

Thus the foundation of authority is in the need for security in man.
About description shows that the state is a security agency or insurance agency.

The most important function of the state is protection of life.

It is for preservation of life that man has created the state.

By definition, the states failing to provide security of life will be failed state.
Social contract according to Hobbes

Whose contract and with whom?

It is a contract among humans.

It is a contract of all with all
Social contract according to Hobbes

Role of state in the contract

- State is a third party state is a beneficiary of the contract.
Social contract according to Hobbes

Terms and Conditions

Each person will be made the part of the contract.

Each person is supposed to transfer all of his rights to the state.
“I authorize and transfer all of my rights to the state on the condition you transfer all of your rights to the state”
Since man has transferred all of his rights to the state he is powerless.

Since state possesses all rights, so state is all powerful and state has absolute right.

“State is a leviathan” because it combines the power of all.

Finally man is powerless and state is sovereign.

Hence, Hobbes justify “state absolutism”.
What is Absolute State

I will not get confused between absolute state and non democratic totalitarian dictatorship based state.

He uses the term absolute state to define state as sovereign.

It shows that whatever state will say will be “the law”.

State will have power to punish those who do not follow the command of sovereign “the law.”
State is absolute means state will have the final say.

State will not share authority with church or any other association.

State is above the church what is given in the religion the ultimate authority to decide is the state.

State is a Supreme Priest.
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<tr>
<td>Que 1. Hobbes as the first modern thinker?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Que 2. While jean bodin was standing on the gate of modernity it was Hobbes who jumped inside the gate?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction

• The position of first modern thinker remains contested.
Why Machiavelli?

- 1st scholar to give the idea of nation state
- He was the first person to prescribe the separation between religion and politics (father of European secularism)
Why debatable

- Those who do not consider him as the first modern thinker suggest that Machiavelli has not given the detailed view about sovereignty of the state.
- As of sovereignty of state is the most defining element of nation state and the core concept of modern political theory.
- Machiavelli is regarded as non Medieval and Modern
Jean Bodin

- Bodin was the first person to give the theory of sovereignty of the state.
- According to him the sovereignty is the supreme power of the state over citizens and subjects.
- However, it is said that Bodin was standing at the gate of modernity.
Why?

- Bodin accepted the supremacy of the state.
- However, only in secular sphere of life, as far as religious matters are concerned.
- He held that the church is supreme.
- Thus He, was reluctant and could not come out of the medieval mentality completely.
3rd contestant - Hobbes

- Hobbes rightly deserved to be known as first modern thinker.
- He gave the complete theory of sovereignty.
- He held that in a particular territory, there cannot be more than one sovereignty.
- He clearly held that even church is under the state.
Hobbes

- It is one of the reasons that Hobbes' book was among the prohibited books by the church.
- Hobbes was even accused of propagating immoral principles.
- His book was burnt and Leviathan was called as "toad full of poison".
- Hence, it is appropriate to say that Hobbes could dare to jump inside the gate of modernity.
What is sovereignty?

- Sovereignty lies with the state,
- He is a principle of modern political life.
What was the situation in medieval times?

There was no center of authority.

Authority was distributed between church, state and hierarchy of feudal lords.

What was the problem ➔ not conducive for capitalism, As capitalism is based on contract, clarity of law is required to enforce the contract.
What was the situation in medieval times?

Hence, there was a necessity of the institution which could be regarded as supreme.

As far as law is concerned.

Hence, the principle was accepted that all power lies with the state and law will be the “command of sovereignty”.

The purpose of theory of sovereignty is to determine the source of law.
Hobbes belong to the tradition of positive law which means the law made by state.

According to Hobbes law should have definite source, certainty and above all power of enforcement.

Hence, Soverignty will not only tell the law but will also have power to punish those who do not observe the law.
In state of nature man was sovereign

Since there was no power about the individual, he was fear to do what he wanted.

The result of absolute freedom was complete anarchy, the result of anarchy was lack of security of even life.

Hence, man transfers all of his rights to the state.
State become absolute. Everyone is to follow the dictators of the state.

State has power to punish those who do not follow the state.

Since man is selfish by nature, men will observe the law so long it benefits him.

He will evade law if that is in his interest if one person is allowed to do so others will follow.
Why power to Punish?

This will being everyone back into state of anarchy.

Hence, for the misdeed of few, life of everyone cannot be pushed into anarchy.

Man has only two options first absolute state second complete anarchy.

If anybody does not observe the state made law, it means he is asserting the sovereignty he is acertain that he can have his own law.

This is not permitted as life of every person will be back into anarchy.
Hobbes belong to the tradition of positive law.

Hobbes law is the command of sovereign.

He also suggest that the essential characteristics of law is power of punishment.

Since man is utilitarian by nature.
Covenants without swords are nothing but words

Introduction

He would be tempted to evade law wherever his interest demands.

Hence there should be the fear of punishment to force man to observe the law.

If fear of punishment is not there we will go back to anarchy.
How Hobbes prove his point

- Hobbes had compared natural law and positive law and has shown the superiority of positive law of over natural law{reason}.
- In the state of nature there was natural law However, natural law was not sufficient to ensure that there will be peace.
- Natural law depends on the reason of man.
• If man has a reason man will follow the natural law and there can be peace. In men passion dominates over reason and Hence, natural law is not in a position to being peace.
• State of nature also lack authority to enforce law. hence, he said that it will be preferable to call natural law as a “article of peace”
What is his views on law?

- Only the law made by state deserve to be known as long as it comes with power of enforcement.
- Sovereign has power to punish those who do not observe the law.
- According to him “covenants without words that is power to punish are nothing but words”.
We can see the relevance of Hobbes idea when we look at the status of international law.

International law is a weak law it is weak because of its voluntary character.

There is no world government with power to punish those who do not obey the law.

Hence, international politics is still struggle for power.
Hobbes is not a champion of liberty.

He gives preference to order over liberty.

Hobbes state is absolute, it means when state exists and state has made law people lose liberty to act according to their choice.

They have to act according to the law, otherwise they are to be punished.

Hobbes Perspective
Statement:

Hobbes is the supporter of the State Absolutism.

In his social contract man has transfer all of his rights to the state. As a result state emerge sovereign. Law is command of sovereign.

Every person has to observe the law. sovereign has power to punish those who do not observe the law.

In the words of Hobbes “covenants without words are nothing but words”
He suggests that wherever sovereign has made law, man has no freedom to act according to his choice.

Man has to act as per the dictates of sovereign.

Man has liberty to do what he wants only.

If sovereign has prefer not to make law is silent.

“Liberty is where, law is silent”
Hence, as a result of contract man loses his liberty or sovereignty.

According to him we have only 2 options either to live under absolute state or suffer from complete anarchy.

Thus Hobbes the supporter of the state absolutism.
Hobbes on Liberty

- He is a scholar of order, not liberty.
- He gives preference to utility over liberty.

Hobbes on Liberty and Rights

- You have a general right to liberty
- Liberty = the absence of external impediments
- Your right is natural, independent of government
- A right is a liberty to do or forebear
- This is weaker than a general right
- There are no positive rights
There are two concepts of liberty.

**Negative**
- Feeling free only when the state is absent or not interfering.

**Positive**
- Another term for capacity building when a person feels that state intervention is not reducing liberty but rather enhancing it.
Traditionally liberty was always understood in terms of absence of the state.

However, after economic depression the idea of welfare state come, with welfare state comes the concept of positive liberty.
Liberty, is understood, according to the proper signification of the word, the absence of external impediments: “liberty is where law is silent”
Hobbes makes a difference between **Liberty** and **Capacity**.

He defines liberty as absence of opposition in external impediments to motion.

He makes difference between external impediments and internal impediments, internal impediments means lack of capacity for him liberty is not capacity.

Liberty has nothing to do with internal impediments.
liberty has to do with external impediments if a person wants to do something other person can be and impediments here comes the role of law. Law can put obstacle in the path of external impediments. 

He gives the example of liquid in a bottle, walls of water act as an impediment and Hence, liquid is not in a position to flow, in such situation we will not see the liquid like the capacity to flow.
We can understand another example, such a person unable to walk does not mean that he has been denied liberty, he is unable to walk because of internal impediments that is lack of capacity.

It is to be noted that Hobbes is not supporter of liberty he favours order over liberty.

He believes that man has liberty only where law is silent.
What is individualism?

• Individualism is a moral philosophy which recognizes the worth of the individual
• It has its roots in Sophism but became the defining tradition of modern way of life.
• In political science there is a debate between priority of self and priority of society. Weather whole is prior to part or part is prior to whole. For individualist part is prior to whole. Scholars are classified as Methodological, Normative
Individualism vs Collectivism

- It is the degree to which individuals are integrated into groups. In individualistic societies, the stress is put on personal achievements and individual rights. In collectivist societies, individuals act predominantly as members of a lifelong and cohesive group.
INDIVIDUALISM

- Definition: Is a society in which the ties between individuals are everyone is expected to look after her/himself and the immediate family (father mother and children). Orientation toward the self.

- Values (irrational values): independence, creativity, uniqueness and personal achievement, can be linked to greater self-esteem and greater normlessness.

- Countries (14 countries, western countries, north American, Australian, and USA is the highest)

- “To be your own person, not following others ideas and simply living in your own values”

- “Having more power in choices”
Scholars are classified as

Methodological Individualist

Normative Individualist
### Methodological

- Those who have used individualistic nature of man as a basis to develop their theory are called methodological.

### Example

- Hobbes has built the theory of state absolutism on the individualistic nature of man.
### Normative individualist

- Those for whom individualism is a value system and there is nothing wrong if a person is individualistic.

### Example

- Hobbes is individual in normative sense.
- He is published that man is individualist by nature. It's natural fact. He is the person who removed the feeling of guilt from being individualist.
Hobbes as an Individualist

- Hobbes is known as greatest of all individualist. because first, He established utilitarian nature of man as natural.
- He has established that State is a creation of man. It is result of social contract. in his social contract he gives the responsibility of the protection of the life to the State.
Hobbes has established that right to life is a supreme right. Even the State cannot take away the right in arbitrary manner.

He gives right to resist the State in case the State takes away the life of man in arbitrary manner.

Hence for above reason Hobbes can be regarded as the greatest of all individualists.
Hobbes as an Individualist

• Though at times it appears as if he is sacrificing individual for the sake of the State, however even after justifying State absolutism, Hobbes remain individualist. thus there is no contradiction in his absolutism and individualism. it is for the protection of the individual that he creates an absolute State.
Hobbes as an Individualist

• Since man is extremely individualist.
• He cannot lead a social life without leviathan.
• Only leviathan can ensure the security of life.
• Even after creating State he has given right to resist to the individual.
Hence for Sabine, Hobbes is greatest of all individualist.
Hobbes as an Individualist

Question

- Hobbes start as an individualist but concludes as absolutist? –C B Macpherson
Hobbes is one of the most logically consistent thinker. Hobbes on one hand is seen as greatest of all individualist and on the other hand greatest of all absolutist. According to MacPherson he is individualist in his assumption but he is absolutist in his conclusions, because on the basis of the RC method, he proved that man is utilitarian and so individualistic. On the other hand, he creates absolute State as a result of social contract, he is the belief that only State is sovereign and law command of sovereign.
Once State makes law, individuals has to act according to law and man has liberty only where law is silent he gives power of punishment to the sovereign as he believed that covenants without words are nothing but words.
However according to sabine there is no contradiction in his absolutism and individualism. It is for the protection of individual that he creates an absolute State. He remain individualistic in his conclusion as he regards self preservation has the supreme right and give right to resist. In case State deprives then a person has right to live in an arbitrary manner.

Sabine
His views on Right to Life

- First scholar to give the justification for right to life.
- Right to life is a supreme right given to man by God.
- God has given right to life to man to lead a happy life.
- In State of nature there was no security of life.
- People enter into the contract for the preservation of life. Preservation of life is the reason. People agree to transfer their natural rights to sovereign. People transferred all of their rights except right to life.
Right to Life Includes

- Obligation of the State to protect life of people.
- Restriction on the State that it cannot deprive any person from his right to life except in accordance to his procedure established by law.
- Consider right to self defence as the part of right to life than man has right to resist.
“Leviathan is fruitless as a book of history and useless as a book of politics” Vaughan
LEVIATHAN

• Laviathen is not only a masterpiece in political philosophy it is also a masterpiece in English literature.

• The greatness of Hobbes as a thinker is even recognize by the philosopher like Karl Marx who held that “Hobbes is Father of all of us”.

LEVIATHAN

- Hobbes Leviathen had become controversial book as it burnt during his lifetime who was among the prohibited book who was has characterized as dangerous toad full of poison.
Like Machiavelli, Hobbes was also criticized because of his realist view. He was criticized for establishing that even church is under the State.

It is true that we are looking for the anthropological account of the origin of the State.

Hobbes is fruitless actually. Purpose of Hobbes was not to give the history of the origin of the State but the philosophy of the State.
Hence it would not be appropriate to say that leviathan is fruitless as a look of history it would be grace injustice with Hobbes if we suggest that Leviathan is useless as a look of politics we cannot understand the principles and practices of the modern nation State without understanding leviathan.
John Locke (1630-1704)

Locke is considered as the father of Liberalism in England.
WHY GLORIOUS REVOLUTION?

- Because it was **PEACEFUL**, and **ACCOMPLISHED** without **BLOODSHED**
- James II wanted to reestablish the Roman Catholic religious
- The common people questioned Divine Right of King.
- No one was willing to tolerate the possibility of the country being pushed into military conflict.
- The struggle between the King (Monarchy) and the Parliament ended in victory for the people.
What is Liberalism?

- Liberalism is a philosophy of the bourgeoise class.
- Liberal State mean Constitutional State or limited State.
John Locke (1630–1704)

What limits the State?

- Rights of the people limits the powers of the State.

Locke is known as father of Liberalism for various reasons but most important reason is-

- He gave theory of natural rights. Natural right is the basis for fundamental rights.
- Concept of separation of powers.
• Locke is also known for “Theory of Toleration”.
• Toleration is the second fundamental value of Liberalism.
• Locke is also known as the scholar of “Possessive Individualism.”
• It is a philosophy justifying capitalism.
• According to this philosophy whatever man possess is result of his own efforts. Hence, man is under no obligation to pay back the society.
Locke is also known as “possessive individualist” as he justified absolute right to property.
Features of Locke

Note

- In Liberalism we see two trends -
  1) Possessive individualism
  2) Social democrats welfare State
- It has its origin in Aristotle when his suggest private property but common use.
JOHN LOCKE

- 1) Locke is utilitarian.
- 2) Locke belongs to social contract tradition.
- 3) Locke is individualistic
- 4) Locke is materialistic.
- 5) Locke is Empiricist- Base on experience observation.
Empiricism of Locke.

- Empiricism means observation, knowledge through experience.

According to Locke.

- “Mind is tabula-rasa.”
- Mind is clean State.
- Nothing is imprinted on mind when Men takes birth.
- Entire knowledge is a result of experience and observation.
According to Socrates, traditional knowledge is inherent in human soul.
The source of knowledge lies in our soul.
The method of knowledge is dialectics/introspection and logical reasoning.
Real knowledge about idea and not matter.
Unlike Hobbes who has witnessed the troubled face of British history, Locke has witnessed the stable phase of British history.

He has witnessed glorious revolution of 1688.

Glorious revolution is called as bloodless revolution.

There was a peaceful transfer of powers from monarch to parliament.

Hence, Locke has seen more reasonable dimension of human nature.
Works of John Locke in (Books)

BOOKS

• “The two treaties on Civil Government”

• Content of 1st treatise

• 1) In the first book Locke as criticize Filmer's book “Patriarcha’.

• 2) In second book, he has discuss the history of Government (second treatise)
Question

• "Comment that Filmer and not Hobbes was the main antagonist of Locke"?
Who was Filmer

- Filmer was the critique of social contract tradition.

Why

- Filmar believes that contractual basis is not an appropriate basis for the justification of the authority of the State.
- He favoured hereditary system.
Why He opposed contract?

- It is difficult to convince the future generation why they should uphold the contract entered by their forefathers.
- He believe that hereditary is the better principal to justify right to property.
What was Filmer’s view

- He held that State is a family of God (Patriarchia)
- King is a Patriarchia.
- Adam was the first king. Adam was son of God.
- Adam inherited this State from God like God Adam enjoys absolute authority.
- Subsequent kings are heirs of Adam.
- Hence, they should be in just some authority.
Locke's Point of View

- Locke rejected Filmer's view that State is a family of God.
- Even when we accept the theory, that Adam was son of God and other things were successors of Adam, still so much time has lapsed between that event and the present times.
- It would be foolish to support the theory. In our times we need some new basis for States authority.
Locke's Point of View

• Locke suggests that there are so many kings, how are we going to ascertain that who are the real heirs of Adam
• Like Aristotle he also challenges the absolute authority of the State. State is different from family.
• Citizens are not dependent on State, in the similar way children are dependent on father.
• Father's authority may be absolute but not States.
• Thus in his first look Locke has criticize Filmer.
Q. Why it is said that there is a debate that Hobbes and not Filmer or Filmer and not Hobbes is the main antagonist of Locke?
Those who believe that Locke attacked was directed against Hobbes suggest that Locke aimed to criticize Hobbes.

As Hobbes gave the justification for absolute State. However, he avoided mentioning Hobbes because Hobbes book was controversial and prohibited by church.

Those who believe that Filmer was the main target of his attack suggest that Locke attacked Filmer, as Filmer was the critic of contract.
3. Locke share many assumptions with Hobbes.

- Both Hobbes and Locke support contact.
- Both support man is utilitarian.
- Both represent the interest of bourgeois class.
- Hence, it is appropriate to say that Filmer was the chief antagonist.
2nd TREATISE OF LOCKE

In this book he has given his theory of social contract.
He gives more *balanced view* on human nature
What is balanced view?

If man has passions, man does have reason.

Man is combination of both.

What was reason behind balanced view?

According to Locke Men represent self-interest but it is enlightened self-interest.

In the words of the John Locke- “reason in man guides him, no one ought harms others in his life, liberty, health and possession”.
State of Nature

Since reason in man guides him not to harms the others.

State of nature is not the State of war as suggested by Hobbes.

In the words of John Locke in State of nature was the “State of peace, goodwill and mutual assistance.
• Reason in Men, weather people were enjoying rights in the State of nature?
### Position of Hobbes

- People possessed natural right but failed to enjoy.

### Why

- In Men passion dominated and Men Lacked sufficient reason.

### Outcome

- The State of war where might is right.
- Hobbes preferred to call natural rights as power (who can enjoy)
POSITION OF LOCKE

Reason in man teaches him not to harm the others persons in his life, liberty and property.

Hence, people were really enjoying natural rights, right to liberty, health and property.
HOBBES

• In Hobbes it is anti social/ Pre social, but in Locke it is social.

• In Hobbes State of nature is both pre social and society is absent and pre political and Government is absent
Is State of Nature Anti-social?

SITUATION OF LOCKE

In Locke State of nature was just pre political but not pre social society was already existing, only Government was missing.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Why?</th>
<th>What was the inconvenience?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• According to Locke there where certain inconveniences in the State of nature.</td>
<td>• In the State of nature every person was sovereign, a lawmaker executive and judge.</td>
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<td>• This situation was not convenient and there was a need of common authority for the sake of definite laws.</td>
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<td>• Goodwill is prevailing but there is no guarantee that goodwill will continue to prevail.</td>
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Social Contract according to Hobbes

Why?

- If man has a reason and Men also has passion.
- Peace and good will be ended if Men will act with passion.
- It is not common sense to leave things on the reasons of the Men.
- There is a need of some agency who can ensure that the State of peace and goodwill is not spoiled.
Social Contract according to Hobbes

- According to Locke man is utilitarian by nature.
- Man wants to be happy forever.
- There is uncertainty in State of nature.
- Hence, people will come out of a necessity and ensure that some agency comes into existence which enforce the contract so that State of peace is continued.
In Locke there are two contacts whereas in Hobbes there is a single contract.

In Hobbes by single contract society, State, Government all comes into existence.
Locke

1\textsuperscript{st} Contract

- Outcome is Civil society

2\textsuperscript{nd} Contract

- Outcome is Government
1st Contract (Civil society)

- Conceptually Civil society excludes family and Government institutions.
- All other association will come into Civil society.
- It is a formal sphere of life
- In Liberalism, Civil society is the site for freedom and recognition of rights.
Civil society is a result of first contract, where people have given formal recognition to each other right. Thus there was recognition of the rights of man (First come rights then come govt.)
Formation of Government
How Government is form?

• Some persons are elected to represent the people from among the members of the Civil society.
• Thus, Locke also talks about representative democracy and majoritarian democracy as a form of Government.
• Thus Government is based on the consent of the Governed (people).
• Periodic election is the method to gain the consent.
Locke discuss two types of consent

Explicit

Tacit
Consent according to Locke

- In Locke Government is always based on consent.
- Consent can be declared or undeclared.
- The idea is that once Government is formed nobody can say that Government does not represent his consent.
- Because he has not voted for the party in power
After 2nd contract

Powers of Government

People have transferred only 3 rights.

Right to make law
Right to execute law
Right to adjudicate laws
After 2nd contract

Thus 3 branches of Government comes into existence

- **Legislature**
- **Executive**
- **Judiciary**

**3 BRANCHES of GOVERNMENT**

(provides a separation of powers)

- **Legislative** (makes laws)
  - Congress
  - Senate: 100 elected senators total; 2 senators per state
  - House of Representatives: 435 elected representatives total; representatives based on each state's population

- **Executive** (carries out laws)
  - President
  - Vice President
  - Cabinet

- **Judicial** (evaluates laws)
  - Supreme Court: 9 justices nominated by the president and must be approved by the Senate (with at least 51 votes)
  - Other Federal Courts: Nominated by the president and must be approved by the Senate (with at least 51 votes)
After 2\textsuperscript{nd} contract
After 2\textsuperscript{nd} contract

**Legislative**
- Makes laws
- Approves presidential appointments
- Two senators from each state
- The number of congressmen is based on population

**Executive**
- Signs laws
- Vetoes laws
- Pardons people
- Appoints federal judges
- Elected every four years

**Judicial**
- Decides if laws are constitutional
- Are appointed by the president
- There are 9 justices
- Can overturn rulings by other judges
Three rights man has not transferred

Man has not transferred and man cannot transfer three basic rights

They are inalienable (Not Transferable)
Why they are alienable?

They are inalienable (Not Transferable)

- Because they are fundamental rights to the existence of man.
- According to John Locke above three sides are given to Men by nature or God.
- They are not given to man by State.
- Hence, State cannot deprives a person from his right to life, liberty and property.
What if State attempts to deprive?

- Natural rights are Men's property, they are not States property.
- Man has absolute rights, State cannot limit those rights against his wish -
- In case, State attempts to deprive or limits, people have right to revolt against Government.
Concept of revolution in Liberalism (Locke)

Liberalism

• In general we understand revolution as violent overthrow of the system.
• However, in Liberalism Revolution is a peaceful Constitutional change.
• According to Locke if State act in arbitrary manner people can change set of persons ruling.

How

• By Constitutional method like elections.
Locke Theory of Separation of Powers

- In the interest of Liberty, it is rational to go for separation of power.
- All the three branches of Government have their specific functions.
- In the State of nature there was inconvenience because every person was acting as law maker, executive & judge.
- Is it common sense to fuse the functions- No.
According to Locke, common sense suggest that one should not be a judge in his own case.

Note- Reason / common sense or natural law is same.
Powers of the Government

Situation in Hobbes

Government enjoy absolute power

Why?

Man has transferred all of his rights except right to life

Man has transferred all of his rights except right to life
Powers of the Government

Situation In Locke

Government has Limited powers

Why?

Man has transfer only three rights
The natural rights enjoy by man limits the power of the State

Government cannot make law, if it deprives a person from his life, liberty and property.
Powers of the Government

Nature of Governments

1. Government lacks original power.
2. Government has only “delegated powers”.
3. In the words of the Locke, Government is trust and people are trustees.
4. Those who manage the Government are just the manager cannot go against the wishes of the trustees.
Question

- No law No Liberty. Locke

- Why law made by the State in accordance to the reason or natural laws?
Locke belong to tradition of Natural Law.

The term law refers here is natural law or due process of law.

In State of nature man was enjoying Liberty because of the presence of natural law.

In the words of the Locke “reasons in Men teachers him that he should not harm any other person in his life, liberty and property
People enter into social contract to form the Government and end the inconvenience in the State of nature.

According to him even after Government is formed Liberty of people remains assured.
It will be treated as arbitrary and people will have right to revolt.
Thus natural law is guarantee that man can enjoy Liberty even after formation of Government.
If we see the case of India, the liberty of people have been protected since Supreme Court has accepted the doctrine of the due process of law in ‘Menka Gandhi case'
No Law No Liberty - Locke

- Even when State comes into existence, Liberty remains assured.
- Because due process of law that is reason or natural law remains a constraint on law making powers of the State.
- Reason suggest that no one can transfer his right to life liberty and property, if State makes any such law which limits or deprived person from his life liberty and property.
It will be treated as arbitrary and people will have right to revolt.

Thus natural law is guarantee that man can enjoy Liberty even after formation of Government.

If we see the case of India, the liberty of people have been protected since Supreme Court has accepted the doctrine of due process of law in ‘Meneka Gandhi Case’
### Question 1
- Comment that Locke is the scholar of possessive individualism?

### Question 2
- “The sole purpose behind the creation of the Commonwealth is protection of property”?

### Question 3
- Write short note on concept of “night watchman State”.
Locke has given one of the earliest and the strongest defense of absolute right to property.

Hence, he is known as the scholar of Bourgeoisie classes.

In the words of CB Macpherson the scholar of possessive individualism.

Right to property is a natural light, which means-given two State by nature or God.
Introduction

State is not the source of right to property.

what is the basis to consider right to property as Natural right?

According to Locke, God has given life to Men, God wants Men to lead happy life. God has created Apple milk meat to eat and drink and not to sacrifice. property is also source of happiness.
It can be accepted that once property was held in common.

However, it is common sense that it cannot remain common because of the gap between demand and supply.

Those who are industrialist, hardworking, enterprising become rich.

Those who were lazy, quarrelsome fanciful remain poor.
• Why person should have complete ownership over private property?
Like Aristotle, Locke also believed that Men should have complete ownership over property because property is the product of one's labour.

In the words of Locke man has absolute right over the product of his labour, the labour of his horse and the labour of his slave.

However, there is a difference between Aristotle and John Locke.

Aristotle is in favour of common use and that's why treated as social democrat but Locke does not favour common use.
What is the role of State?

- According to John Locke, the sole purpose for which man has created the State is in the preservation of property.
- People have not transferred their right to property. The Government has no original power; it enjoys only delegated powers.
- Government cannot go against the wishes of trustees.
What is the role of State?

According to John Locke

- It cannot make any sense law which either limits are deprived man from his right to property.
- Locke gives the concept of night watchman State minimal State or police State.
Some restriction to right to Property

Locke prescribed there restriction on mans right to property but actually they are no restrictions they are gain favor Capitalist class.

- Nobody has the right to spoil the property.
- Nobody should deprive other the opportunity to own property.
- Property should not be earned by unfair means force or fraud.
On the basis of his theory of property, we can say that Locke is the scholar of bourgeoisie class.
Toleration is one of the core values of Liberalism. We can see Locke's Idea on Toleration from his essay title concerning Toleration.

Locke suggests that Government should tolerate or follow the policy of Toleration among the following of different religions.

Unlike Hobbes, who gives State powers to even control the matters of belief.
Toleration

Toleration - Meaning:

Noun. The acceptance of religious practices or beliefs officially by a government that differ from those held by the government or nation.
According to Locke as far as the matter of belief or conscience is considered magistrate shall have no authority.

If State want to force someone in religious matter, State can do so by force but it will not be successful in changing once belief or conscience.

However, Locke suggest that State should not be tolerant towards atheist they should we expelled out of the State.
FATHER OF LIBERALISM

• What is Liberalism?
• It is a philosophy which believes in value of liberty and Toleration.
• As a political philosophy Liberalism is the theory of limited State.
• In terms of class Liberalism represent the interest of Capitalist class.
Locke is treated as father of Liberalism because:

- 1st person to give theory of natural rights.
- 1st person to give theory of limited State.
- Talks about separation of powers.
- Democracy majoritarianism, peaceful Constitutional changes, principle of Toleration.
Locke is individualistic out and out?

Question

- Q. “Everything in the locks revolves around the individualist” (Vaughan)
Locke is individualistic out and out?

Introduction

Individualist are of 2 types (Locke is both)

Methodology

Normative Individualist.
Locke is individualistic out and out?

On what ground we call you individualist?

- Theory of natural rights.
- Government by consent.
- Government is means, individual is end.
- Principle of Toleration.
It is correct to say that he was individual out and out, Macpherson called Locke the scholar of possessive individualism. If we compare with Hobbes, Hobbes emerged as the supporter of the individual as well as State absolutism.
To quote Macpherson Hobbes is individualist in his assumptions.

But absolutist in his conclusion.

On the other hand we look at Locke, Vaughan is right when he says that everything in Locke revolves around the individualist.

No where he justifies State absolutism.

We can say that he was individualist in his assumptions as well as in his conclusions.
• Que. It is hard indeed to suggest that Locke theory of democracy is not qualified theory of democracy?
Introduction

• Democracy

Democracy

• Feature of Liberal society because it is the only form of Government which protect liberty.

Father of Liberalism

• John Locke known as father of Liberalism is also one of the earliest exponent of democratic form of Government.
However, according to Macpherson, his theory is not qualified it is rather qualified theory the specific thing in Locke's theory is-

• 1) Justification of majoritarian model of democracy instead of consociation.
• 2) His democracy, his advocacy for absolute right to property, show that his system in for the properties class, it is to be noted that in the western world working class got right to vote only in the second half of 19th century.
• 3) Western democracy have been called as bourgeoisie democracy is by western scholars.
Before Introduction of property and educational qualifications where essential qualifications for right to vote

Question-
End of law is not to abolish restrain (but to preserve and enhance the freedom)