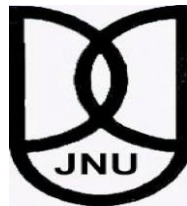


**Understanding the Idea of Morality in Realism and Liberalism:  
Interpreting the classics of Machiavelli and Kant**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the award of the degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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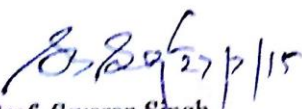
DECLARATION


I declare that the dissertation entitled "Understanding the Idea of Morality in Realism and Liberalism: Interpreting the Classics of Machiavelli and Kant" submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.

  
Pavan Kumar

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for the evaluation.

  
Prof. Swaran Singh  
Chairperson, CIPOD

  
Prof. Varun Sahni  
Co-Supervisor

  
Prof. Rajesh Rajagopalan  
Supervisor

**Dedicated to my  
Mummy-Papa**

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

#### Background

This dissertation is an attempt to understand the idea of morality in two of the most important theories of international relations, Realism and Liberalism, through the works of a key foundational philosopher in each theory, Machiavelli and Immanuel Kant. The world faces many problems in the form of civil wars, human rights abuse, terrorism, great power intervention, poverty and inequality. To understand the moral problems of the day, not much emphasis is given to the classic writings of scholars who have written extensively on morality, justice, state, power, human rights and individual freedom. Origins of state, power and security are traced in classical writings to justify a realist agenda. My purpose in this study is to re-examine the classics of realism (Machiavelli) and Liberalism (Immanuel Kant) to understand today's world better from a moral perspective. Is there any possibility to bring moral issues back in international politics at the global level? Is the state in itself a moral actor? Can there be an individual morality above the state? What should be the yardstick to judge an act- the act in itself or the outcome of the act? What are the duties and rights of the individual in a domestic society and can there be a similarity of morality at the level of statesmen?

I chose Realism and Liberalism over the other theories as they are the most dominant theories in the international relations and claim to be able to explain most of the problems in international relations. Both of these theories have different conceptions about morality, power, security and cooperation. Choosing Machiavelli and his *The Prince* over the other scholars and works in the realist tradition was a very difficult task. But he is considered the father of 'fundamental realism' for Michael Doyle (1997), one of the six realist paradigms for Jack Donnelly (2000), a voice of 'empirical realism' for

David Boucher (1998), and an ‘inspiration for Realpolitik’ according to Howard Williams (1992), (Slomp, 2009).

This research chooses Machiavelli for two reasons, one, he is the father of fundamental realism (Doyle1997) and two, his realism and morality is more practical and useful for foreign policy matters. Apart from this, I chose Machiavelli because he is being branded as a person who professes cruelty and violence. This gives an enormous space for the researcher to investigate issues of morality in *The Prince*. Supporters of Machiavelli defend his advices on the need of necessity. Dictums like ‘The ends justify the means,’ are linked with him and his name has become an adjective-Machiavellian-for sliness, craftiness, scheming and immorality (Burnett 2012). Without giving much close attention he is being discarded from moral philosophy as moral philosophers do not see any aspect of justice in Machiavelli. This tension demands a thorough study of Machiavelli and morality in international politics. Machiavelli was first modern political scientist who separated politics from other aspects of society.

A lot is being written on the domestic aspects of political philosophy of Machiavelli. Machiavelli is someone who is been used a lot in the field of political theory and political science, but at the same time his moral aspects of his writings on international politics is not been debated thoroughly. His argument of state as a moral actor and maintaining the existence of a state in an anarchical international system has become very relevant in a modern nation state system. The present study will try to look at the dimensions of Machiavelli’s ideas on morality at international level with the help of existing interpretation of Machiavelli’s philosophy.

On the other hands, Immanuel Kant is the leading figure in liberalism. Without him, it is impossible to think about liberalism. He has written on every aspect of life and society, domestic as well as international. His thinking about justice and morality makes him one the most powerful philosopher of the modern world. His importance to individual morality and the importance of ‘the act’ itself gives a space to contrast Machiavelli and his ‘consequentialist’ morality. Immanuel Kant is the most cited philosopher in liberalism with a huge thrust on individuals and the importance of institutions and this makes the inclusion of Kant mandatory.



More than 162,000 people were killed in the Iraq war from 2003 to 2011 (Iraq body count 2011). Around 40,000 people became the victims of the war in Afghanistan (Crawford 2011). The number is much higher in the Second World War, where the death toll crossed 60 million people. More than 3 million children died of malnutrition in 2011, globally (Alexander 2013). In the Syrian conflict, within 3 years more than 191,000 (UN Reports 2014) people have been killed (Karam, 2014). More than 1 million people were killed in Rwanda and the world did nothing. Millions of people became the victims of cold war politics in Vietnam and other parts of the world. And this story continues.

But scholars of International Relations are still not sure about the importance of moral issues in international politics. The domination of realism in the field and their emphasis on value free analysis of world politics is being argued as one of the major reasons for an inadequate debate of the moral issues in international politics (Frost 1996)

Judging some actions as moral or immoral is a very difficult task. In domestic politics, there can be a code of conduct through establishing a body by law where actions of individual actors are restricted by the enforceable nature of law, but in international politics where there is no such binding law on the actors, it becomes difficult to establish a code of conduct with responsibility. And it gives an ample amount of confusion for the philosophers and statesmen about doing the right thing.

Morality is about doing the right thing, but how would you define the right thing is a matter of debate. Who decides about the right thing in international politics? Is this right thing just or unjust? Who is the key actor in international politics, and who should be given the authority to decide about the right thing?

In one of the earliest examinations of this issue, L. S. Woolf, when assessing the effect of moral ideas on handling of international affairs, defines morality from the perspective of an ordinary man. And for him an ordinary man would say, “It is right to tell the truth, even though it harms you or it is wrong to cheat you even though it benefits you (1915)”. But can this morality be applied to international politics? And there is a strong disagreement on this issue. The purpose of political philosophy is not just about identifying the realities which means-what is - but it is also about making an

improvement over what is and thinking about what ought to be and why that ought to be? (Frost 1996)

In answering the questing, what is the right thing to do, we come across two kinds of methods to assess an act and its importance. One type is called Consequentialism, which is concerned with the outcome of the act. For them, any means are just tools to achieve the right ends. For consequentialists, unethical means are justified if it gives prospects to a moral and just end. But the basic problem associated with this method is regarding the uncertainty of the outcome and problem of manipulating the act by the hegemon. Realist, Marxist and proponents of utilitarianism come into this category.

The second type of method used in assessing an act as moral or immoral is Deontology. For Deontologists the act in itself is important. Individuals cannot be used to achieve some goal. Means in itself becomes an end. Individuals have their own dignity and existence which cannot be encroached. Kant and his categorical imperative fall in this category.

In domestic politics as well as in international politics, actors cannot run away from their ethical obligation, which is why we always see an explanation of justification of the acts by the statesmen. The Iraq invasion of 2003, Afghanistan invasion of 2001, Vietnam War, Indian intervention in East Pakistan in 1971, Israeli attack on the Palestinian people, suppressing the voices of dissent in India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, are all the cases where concerned actors justified their action. But their reasoning of justification was all different. This reasoning ranges from a Machiavellian logic of necessity to the liberal conception of democracy promotion. Even liberals do not agree on the issues of morality.

Consequentialist like Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill are obsessed with maximizing the utility or general happiness, and for them, what makes an act moral or amoral is its outcome (Ellis 1992). But on the other hand, deontologist like Kant gives priority to dignity and the capacity of individuals to use their reason. For Kant, the moral aspect of an act cannot be justified by its outcome; means have to be as ethical as an

outcome. We should not treat individuals as a means to an end, even if it guarantees the general happiness of the society (Donaldson 1992).

Apart from method, another issue which needs some explanation is the reference point, that is, who will be the reference point for morality, the individual or the state. For Realists, the state is the sole protector of lives of its citizen; hence, it is in itself a moral actor. Fighting for the survival and security of the state is a prime area of concern for the state (Machiavelli 1950, Morgenthau 1948). For Morgenthau there cannot be any morality without being prudence, and being prudent is associated with doing whatever is necessary to maintain the security of the state. Morality is the product of power (Carr 1939), and states should focus on getting more and more power for survival (Mearsheimer 2001).

For liberals the reference point is the individual. Immanuel Kant, Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill have given importance to the individual over the collective. Liberals take individuals as an important focal point of morality.

### **Machiavelli and his idea of Morality in International Politics**

It is quite clear from the above literature that not much discussion has happened on the ideas of morality in international relations. Most of discussions and literature are on the morality in international politics. Ideas of philosophers have got less importance in the light of value free analysis of the discipline. And those who tried to understand the idea of morality in Machiavelli's writings limited themselves to either domestic level or to the 'ends justifies the means dictum'. Machiavelli is more complex than these dictums.

Machiavelli does not say that morality does not exist. But he gives preferences to the necessity of survival. In the words of Steven Forde (1992), Machiavelli hopes to transform political actions with his realist attack on international moralism but he does not believe that moralism itself will ever disappear. In his interpretation, Moral convictions have great power (Forde 1992: 68).

### **Kant and his idea of International Morality**

Kant is much more complex than Machiavelli or any other philosopher of political science and morality. His work on morality is substantial which includes *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals* (1964a), *Critique of Practical Reason* (1949), *The Metaphysics of Morals* (The *Metaphysical Elements of Virtue* (1964a) and *The Metaphysical Elements of Justice* (1999), *Lectures on Ethics* (1963b), “On the common saying: ‘This may be true in Theory, but it does not apply in Practice’” (1971a) and *Perpetual Peace* (1903). All of them deals with issues of morality at different levels, but all of them are linked with each other and helps in understanding each other. In the words of Thomas Donaldson (1994), Kant’s idea of morality gives priority to individual; it is agent centric, allows principle to trump consideration of consequences and places emphasis on the moral motives (Donaldson 1994). Our concern here is not much about his understanding of morality of individuals in an abstract sense. Our concern here is about his idea of morality in International Politics.

### **Defining Morality**

Morality can be defined as the differentiation of intentions, decisions, and actions between those that are "good" and those that are "bad" (Johnstone, Megan-Jane 2008). Descriptively morality can be considered as personal or cultural values, codes of conduct or social mores. It does not connote objective claims of right or wrong, but only refers to that which is only considered right or wrong. It is not about what it is, but what considered as it is. Normatively morality can be considered as whatever (if anything) is actually right or wrong, which may be independent of the values or mores held by any particular peoples or cultures. Ethics is about principle, but it is more than principle. It is about interpretation of these principles as well as the choices and action.

This shows the importance of judgment in interpreting principles and in choosing and acting on the basis of these principles (Nardin 1992). The institution of morality is more interested with duties that arises from the rules or precepts that constitute it. These particular actions can be categorized into two categories one is consequential and another is deontologists. Some ethical judgments are moral in the restricted sense that they involve the application of principles of right conduct (deontologists). On the other hand,

consequentialists are concerned with the acts as desirable or undesirable according to the outcomes they produce, or as virtuous or vicious according to the character they display.

Every single act in domestic politics as well as in International Politics has a moral dimension. Every act is assessed either by domestic population or world leaders and world population on the moral values in temporal and spatial context. Still not much debate is being seen on the importance of morality in international politics. ‘What is’ (Realism) dominated over ‘what ought to be’ (Liberalism) in practices of International politics, starkly in the name of ‘What Ought to be.’

Political theory has lots to say on morality in international politics. So this study will use the classical texts of realism, liberalism and critical theory to understand the modern issues of Individual /state morality, Duties of the statesmen means/end debate, human rights abuse/humanitarian interventions, just/unjust wars and north/south divide in an economic sense. It is an effort to find the relevance of classics of these modern issues of morality or doing the right thing. How do they think of doing the right thing? And how useful these texts can be used in understanding the current problems of the world? This dissertation is re-examination and deconstruction of key texts. It has used classical texts of Machiavelli (*The Prince, Discourses on Livy*), and Immanuel Kant (*Perpetual Peace, Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*) to explore the relevance of these texts on the issues of morality. Interpretation of these texts by other writers in the context of morality will also be used for a better understanding.

It is an attempt to understand the modern issues of individual /state morality, the duties of the statesmen the means/ends debate, human rights abuse/humanitarian interventions, just/unjust wars and north/south divide in an economic sense. It is an effort to find the relevance of classics of these modern issues of morality or doing the right thing. How do they think of doing the right thing?

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. Second chapter dealt with the idea of morality in the Writings (*The Prince and Discourses*) of Machiavelli and its relevance in International Politics. Third chapter tried to trace the idea of morality in the writings (*Perpetual Peace and Metaphysical Elements of Justice*) of Kant and his idea of morality

in International Politics. In chapter four, similarities and differences on the idea of morality in the writings of Machiavelli and Kant, are investigated. In chapter 5 conclusion is drawn.

## Chapter 2

### **Machiavelli and his Idea of Morality in International Politics- Interpreting *The Prince* and *Discourses***

Writing on Machiavelli is not an easy task and writing on the idea of morality in *The Prince* and *Discourses* is even more difficult. Writing on someone whose name is equivalent to murder, treachery, cunningness, slyness, immoral, and evil becomes a tough task. How can we find an idea of morality in the writing of someone who is considered a the teacher of evil (Strauss 1957, 1978), advisor to commit murder (Tarlton 2002), *The Prince* a handbook for gangsters (Russell), advocate of imperialism (Hornqvist 2004) and many more horrific adjectives related with his name?

The same kind of image is related to Realism and immorality. Realism is considered as an immoral discipline (Lake and Morris 1971, Ashley 1981, Keohane 1983) and this perception leads to hostility towards political realists in general (Gilpin 1996, Desch 2003). A few sentences of the writings of Thucydides and Machiavelli are picked selectively without understanding the context, and Realist are lamented as immoral people. On the one hand Machiavelli is considered guilty of giving immoral advices, not keeping the words, advocate of use of violence for holding power (*The Prince* 1950: 61). On the other Thucydides branded as the supporters of powerful by quoting his famous Melian dialogue where he states that the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must.

In the light of these two accusations against Machiavelli and Realism, the aim of this chapter is to investigate the idea of morality in *The Prince* and *Discourses on Livy*. A selection of these texts is done as these texts are the two key texts by Machiavelli where he is charged of immorality and on the basis of these two texts he is also considered as a realist. A realist who realized the importance of power in politics, a realist who came to understand the importance of maintaining a state for the common good and a realist who saw and described the world as it is rather than how it should be. A realist who separated

politics from the hold of religion, advised the Prince and people for the security and glory of their group (State).

The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is divided into five sections which deal with his general understanding of morality. The first section will try to understand the foundation on which an act is considered as moral or immoral, which will include consequentialist versus deontologist debate and the basis on which he is considered an immoral philosopher. A second section will try to summarize some of the most important interpretations of his idea of morality, to make my interpretation more inclusive. In the third section key ideas, Human nature, Virtue, Fortuna, and State, of his foundation of morality will be discussed. The fourth section will deal with my interpretation of his ideas of morality in domestic politics in two books and the final section will summarize the idea of morality in two books in key points.

The second part of the chapter will deal with the idea of morality in international politics. In this part, issues of alliances, keeping the promises in international politics, imperialism, war and treatment with the people and the family of the ruler of acquired territory will be discussed. His idea of international peace, balance of power and use of force and diplomacy will be discussed to argue that he was in favor of a republic, the rule of law and world peace but not at the cost of threat of survival of one country.

### **1. Idea of Morality In Domestic Politics**

This part will try to answer the following questions in Machiavelli's writings What is morality? What is the basis on which an act is considered moral and immoral and how does he define an act as moral or immoral? What are his views on Christian morality and pagan morality? What are the objectionable parts, in *The Prince* and *Discourses*, on the basis of which he is considered a teacher of evil? What is the key interpretation of his idea of morality by other scholars? How does he define Human Nature, Virtue, Fortuna, State, Security and Glory?



## **What is Morality?**

The definition of morality is equal to answering the question of what is considered to be good or what is held to be good by the people (Mansfield 1984: 179). And on this basis, it can be generally interpreted that what one society held as good, need not to be held good by another society. So it demands specification and context. Ethics is about principle, but it is more than principle. It is about interpretation of these principles as well as the choices and action. This shows the importance of judgment in interpreting principles and in choosing an action on the basis of these principles (Nardin 1992). Morality is context dependent and differs from time to time (Skinner 1981). So from this definition we can conclude that morality is not about what is good, but what is considered to be good by the people and it is context dependent. During Machiavelli's time meaning of morality was related to living and acting in accordance with the Christian values of charity, mercy, and sacrifice, love of god and forgiveness of enemies (Skinner 1981, Mansfield 1984:179, Berlin 1997:45). In the words of Harvey C. Mansfield:

“Morality had meant not only doing the right action, but also but doing it for the right reason or for the love of God. Thus, to be good was thought to require ‘a profession of good’ in which the motive for doing good was explained; otherwise, morality would go no deeper than outward conformity to law, or even to superior force, and could not be distinguished from it....because it is difficult to live a moral life by oneself; hence morality requires the construction of an imagined republic or principalities but when Machiavelli denies that imagined republic or principalities ‘exist in truth’ and declares that the truth in these or all matters is the effectual truth, he says that no moral rule exists, not made by men, which men abide by.” (Mansfield 1984:179)

The debate about right action includes another debate which is, right action for the sake of right action or for the right outcome. There are many points of view in this debate. This includes two major categories. The first debate is among the deontologists and consequentialist. It is not possible to have a watertight separation of these two categories, but this is done to make it simple to understand. Machiavelli is considered as classical consequentialist (Grant 1999), Ethical Consequentialist (Mansfield 1984), Deontologist

(Benner 2009) and Utilitarianist (1965). But still he is still considered as consequentialist by a large majority of scholars. In his own words,

In the actions of all men, and especially of princes, where there is no court of appeal, one judges by the result. So let a prince set about the task of conquering and maintaining his state; his methods will always be judged honorable and will be universally praised. (*The Prince* 1532, 1950:64)

This debate of consequentialism goes further and includes the consequences for whom. One side of interpreters of *The Prince* and *Discourses* claims that it is basically a guide for the rulers to control the city for their personal gains (Strauss 1957) and a justification for murder by the rulers (Mansfield 1998: VII, Grote 1998:119). The other side of scholars, who consider him the great patriot on the basis of his chapter 16 of *The Prince* and chapter x of book I, denies these charges and argues for his republican spirit in the *Discourses*. They see consequentialism in the terms of state and not for the purpose of any individual. We can find this in chapter 26 of *The Prince* where he is more concerned about the good of the people than good of The Princes.

Even chapter seventeen, which gave him the most sinister reputation for choosing fear over love, have the seeds of peace, order and stability of the state (which means people) than for fewer people:

Coming now to the other qualities mentioned above, I say that every prince ought to desire to be considered clement and not cruel. Therefore a prince, so long as he keeps his subjects united and loyal, ought not to mind the reproach of cruelty; because with a few examples he will be more merciful than those who, through too much mercy, allow disorders to arise, from which follow murders or robberies; for these are won't to injure the whole people, whilst those executions which originate with a prince offend the individual only. (*The Prince* 1532, 1950: 64)

Introduction of the first book of the *Discourses* also talks about the common benefit of the purpose of the book when he writes, “Yet animated by that desire which impels me to

do what may prove for the common benefit of all, I have resolved to open a new route, which has not yet been followed by anyone” (*Discourses* 1950:103).

In chapter V of First Book of the *Discourses* he is in complete support of republicanism and liberty and freedom of the people,

And because in every Republic there exists the Nobles and the Populace, it may be a matter of doubt in whose hands the guard is better placed....., There are strong reasons in the favour of each but, to judge by the results, we must incline in favor of the nobles, for the liberties of Sparta and Venice endured a longer space of time than those of Rome. But to come to the reasons, taking the part of Rome first, I will say, that one should always confide any deposit to those who have least desire of violating it; and doubtless, if we consider the objects of the nobles and of the people, we must see that the first (noble) have a great desire to dominate, whilst the latter have only the wish not to be dominated, and consequently a greater desire to live in the enjoyment of the liberty, so that when the people are entrusted with the care of any privilege of liberty, being less disposed to encroach upon it, they will of necessity take better care of it; and being unable to take it away themselves, will prevent others from doing so. (*Discourses* 1950: 122).

Having said all the essential aspects on the definition of the morality, now we will move towards the basis on which he is considered an immoral philosopher and teacher of evil, and why those statements were considered the sayings of the devil and brought him the most sinister reputation. Chapter three, five, seven, fifteen, and eighteen of *The Prince* brought him the most sinister reputation. In these chapters he talks about employing all means for success in domestic politics and means to maintain and win new territories. In these chapters, he is not concerned about morality in the society; he is interested in survival and glory of the state. He is asking to employ all means whenever necessary because he thinks humans cannot be trusted.

## **Some of the most important interpretation of *The Prince and Discourses* and idea of morality-**

There are many important and controversial interpretations of *The Prince and Discourses*. In the views of Meinecke (1962), Machiavelli's doctrine was a sword thrust in the body politic of the Western humanity, which caused it to cry out and to struggle against itself (Meinecke 1962:49)<sup>1</sup>. For Garret Mattingly (1958, 482-491) and Alberico Gentili (1585, 101-102) it is a satire and it cannot be taken literary. In the view of Luigi Ricci (1903) *The Prince* was a cautionary tale and he was a patriot, Democrat and supporter of liberty. *The Prince* was written to tell the effects of tyranny (Berlin 1980: 27). In the views of Hiram Haydn (1950) and Giuseppe Prezzolinil (1967) it was an anti-Christian book and an attack on the authority and influence of the church. In their view, it was also an attempt in defense of the pagan view of morality.

Swiss scholars Walder, Kaegi and von Muralt consider him as the peace-loving humanist who believed in stability, order and pleasure of life (Berlin 1980: 29). Macaulay and Herder consider *The Prince* as the book which depicts the picture of that time. Francis Bacon (1857:17, 76)) considers him as the supreme realist who does not believe in fantasies. Antonio Gramsci (1949) considers him as a revolutionary who spoke against feudal aristocracy, papacy and their mercenaries. For the Jesuits, he is the devil's partner in the crime and *The Prince* is a handbook for the gangsters (Bertrand Russell). Bodin, Frederick and Leo Strauss are some of the big names who are in the list of anti-Machiavels (Berlin 1980:36). Berlin (1980) considers him as the moralist. But for Berlin he is a pagan moralist and not a Christian moralist. He writes,

One is the morality of the pagan world: its values are courage, vigour, fortitude in adversity, public achievement, order, discipline, happiness, strength, justice, above all assertion of one's proper claims and the knowledge and power needed to secure their satisfaction (Berlin 1980: 45)

In Berlin's view, for Machiavelli Christianity is an obstacle in building a society which he wants to build. B. P. Burnett (2002) strongly opposes the immoral or amoral

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<sup>1</sup> Cited in Berlin Isaih (1980: 39)

interpretation of *The Prince* and *Discourses*, and considers him as a rule consequentialist. For Erica Benner (2009), Machiavelli's fundamental concerns are ethical. His conception of morality was based on the nature of human desires and ethical demands which human beings place on them. Words like order, necessity, fortuna, justice, virtue and law symbolizes his connection with his idea of morality. In Benner's view, Machiavelli and his writings relates to a long critical traditions of Plato, Thucydides, Xenophon and Plutarch (Benner 2009:170). His conception of the good is very clear in personal relation in a society when he gives priority to friendship and justice over the success of an individual in personal life and it makes him a moral philosopher who is non-consequentialists (Benner 2009:340 cited in Burnett 2012). His preference to act of humanity can be traced in the XX chapter of the IIIrd book the *Discourses*:

This example shows that an act of humanity and benevolence will at all times have more influence over the minds of men than violence and ferocity. It also proves that provinces and cities which no armies and no engines of war, nor any other efforts of human power, could conquer, have yielded to an act of humanity, benevolence, chastity, or generosity. History furnishes many other instances of this besides the one just cited. It tells us how the Roman arms could not drive Pyrrhus out of Italy, but that the magnanimity of Fabricius in making known to him the offer of his confidential servant to poison him caused Pyrrhus to leave it voluntarily. It also shows us that the taking of New Carthage, in Spain, did not give Scipio Africanus so much reputation as the example of chastity which he gave in restoring intact to her husband a young and beautiful wife, whose honor he had respected; which act gained him the hearts of all Spain. History also shows us how much the people desire to find such virtues in great men, and how much they are extolled by historians and biographers of princes, and by those who trace their proper course of conduct. Amongst these, Xenophon takes great pains to show how many victories, how much honor and fame, Cyrus gained by his humanity and affability, and by his not having exhibited a single instance of pride, cruelty, or luxuriousness, nor of any other of the vices that are apt to stain the lives of men. (*Discourses* 1950:.472)

In the interpretation of J. H. Whitefield (1965), for Machiavelli, acts cannot be justified until and unless those acts help the common public in general. If the act is done for personal benefit, then it needs to be condemned (Whitefield 1965:92). Harvey Mansfield (1996) does not agree with Whitefield and defines morality in the writings of Machiavelli in reference to Virtue. For Machiavelli, Writes Mansfield, “Deeds are sovereign: when confronted by a necessity, Machiavelli advises, do not worry about justice, but actions and words to justify your action will come to you afterward” (Mansfield 1996:3, cited in Bennett 2012).

Ruth Grant (1997) interprets Machiavelli not as someone who was moral or immoral, but someone who knows that to live in the world peacefully you have to master the art of deception and hypocrisy. So it is not about being moral all the time, but appears to be moral all the time. He is a pragmatic moralist and acting according to necessity makes an act praiseworthy. Grant writes, “Machiavelli recommends the use of ‘true’ hypocrisy, which requires cultivating the appearance of moral goodness, virtue, or religiosity while actually seeking to further one’s own ends, or even for the sake of furthering one’s own ends” (Grant 1997: 19). In both the books he recommends deception as a strategy for the success and security of the state.

### **Key Concepts/Ideas in *The Prince* and *Discourses***

In the writings of Machiavelli we find that there are certain words and concepts which come repeatedly. Both the texts were written almost five hundred years ago and the meaning of many words has changed over the period of time, so it becomes necessary to go into the context and meaning of these words for a better understanding of his idea of morality. These words and concept include his conception of Human Nature, Virtue, Fortuna, State, Necessity, murder, Glory, deception, religion and Hypocrisy.

### **Human Nature-**

Machiavelli had to face the attack of the humanist and Christian orthodoxy of the day because of his conception of human nature. He wrote something which was in complete contrast to Christian understanding of human nature. Machiavelli characterized men as self-centered, and someone who do not acting in the larger interest of the group.

He believes that men in general are liars, deceivers and ungrateful. He writes in the chapter XVIII of *The Prince*-

Men in general are ungrateful, voluble, dissemblers, anxious to avoid danger, and covetous of gain; as long as you benefit them, they are entirely yours,” but their “love is held by a chain of obligation which, men being selfish, is broken whenever it serves their purpose. (*The Prince* 1950: 61)

He advises The Prince to act on the basis of prudence and human nature,

A man who wishes to make a profession of goodness in everything must necessarily come to grief among so many who are not good. Therefore, it is necessary for a prince, who wishes to maintain himself, to learn how not to be good, and to use it and not use it according to the necessity of the case (*The Prince*1950:56)

Machiavelli believes that men will lie, use deception and cheat if it brings them benefit and this happens more when there is no fear of punishment among them. After injecting fear within them they should be educated for good moral conduct. In the chapter XVII of *The Prince*, he suggests that it is better to be feared than loved for a ruler or prince because fear forces them not to do the things which their nature forces them to do (*The Prince* 1950: 60). Regarding the counselor of The Prince, he says “The counselors will all think of their own interests, and he will be unable either to correct or to understand them. And it cannot be otherwise, for men will always be false to you unless they are compelled by necessity to be true.” (*The Prince* 1950: 89)

In view of the keeping of promises, he comments that it is naturally good to keep the promises, but there is no guarantee that or hers will keep the promises; hence there is no need for *The Prince* to keep the promises when necessity arises. In his view as “ men are bad, and would not observe their faith with you, so you are not bound to keep faith with them ” (*The Prince* 1950: 64). He also writes, “A man who wishes to make a profession of goodness in everything must necessarily come to grief among so many who are not good” (*The Prince* 1950: 56).

In his view, corrupt and selfish human nature is responsible for war and violence. The desire to have more and fear of losing what is possessed are two most important impulses for the conflicts. He writes it in chapter XXVII of the first book in the *Discourses*,

For when men are no longer obliged to fight from necessity, they fight from ambition, which passion is so powerful in the hearts of men that it never leaves them, no matter to what height they may rise. The reason of this is that nature has created men so that they desire everything, but are unable to attain it; desire being thus always greater than the faculty of acquiring, discontent with what they have and dissatisfaction with themselves result from it. This causes the changes in their fortunes; for as some men desire to have more, whilst others fear to lose what they have, enmities and war are the consequences; and this brings about the ruin of one province and the elevation of another. (*Discourses* 1950: 185)

But when he speaks about human nature, is he really speaking about all of humanity? If look closely upon his writings, we find that *The Prince* is more ruler oriented and is about maintaining and expanding the principalities and *Discourses* is more about the good life in a state. But there is no contradiction in my view. They both supplement each other. It is about different political compulsion and he is advising all of this for a better society where there is a rule of law and peaceful economic and social life, which we will see in the next pages. This untrustful human nature of Machiavelli is stronger in *The Prince* than *Discourses*. In the discourse he gives preferences to people over The Prince because he considers it as more fruitful for the state.

When he is speaking about human nature in *The Prince*, he is speaking about the people who are in a position of power and wants to advantage out of chaos. Machiavelli believes that these people who are in a powerful position in a state will always be ready to get rid of him whenever there will be a possibility to gain from the chaos and anarchy. Here it is fruitful to quote from the television drama *Game of Thrones* on the ambition of the counselors. In this conversation between two counselors to the Iron throne Lord



Varys and Littlefinger<sup>2</sup>, we find a desire to get more power and there is a space or conspiracy for getting more power and they are waiting for chaos as an opportunity to move upward.

Petyr 'Littlefinger' Baelish: Chaos isn't a pit. Chaos is a ladder. Many who try to climb it fail and never get to try again. The fall breaks them. And some, are given a chance to climb. They refuse; they cling to the realm or the gods or love. Illusions. Only the ladder is real. The climb is all there is. (GOT: S03E06)<sup>3</sup>

In short, in the view of Nick Spencer (2012), for Machiavelli, people in general are greedy, marked by hypocrisy, stupid, irrational, incapable of knowing what is actually best for them, ungrateful, and shallow (Spencer 2012).

But as Machiavelli does not permit the personal benefit and speaks for the state it is quite clear that he is speaking about human nature of political man, even there he expects good people or ministers who wants to do a great service to *The Prince* and principalities. He expects people to act according to the law and keep faith with each other. Machiavelli believes that people will calculate their interests in actual terms of this world. People will find wealth, power and fame more important and will work to protect life, security, loved ones and property. And they will find any mean to satisfy their desires, if not constrained. He writes in *Discourses*, “Nature has created men so that they desire everything, but are unable to attain it [thus they are] discontent with what they have” (*Discourses* 1950: 208). As there is no harmony among the people’s interests and this lack of harmony, gives rise to conflict when it comes to fulfilling the political interests like power and security. (Bass 2008)

## **Virtue**

Virtue is the one of the most used word in the writings of Machiavelli. The English meaning of virtue is equal to behavior showing high moral standards, a quality

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<sup>2</sup> Littlefinger and Lord Baeris are the members of the council of King in HBO drama series Game of Thrones. They both are very ambitious.

<sup>3</sup> GOT- Game of Thrones. It is an HBO fiction drama series. Sometime examples are used from Game of Thrones to understand the moral dilemmas in human nature. This series is useful as this has the all kinds of characters from realist, liberals to Stalinists. Fiction is used to just show how fiction shows different behaviors in human nature.

considered morally good or desirable in a person, a good or useful quality of a thing (Oxford Dictionary). When we talk about a virtuous person we commonly think about the moral persons, so we link virtue with common morality of the time. But Machiavelli difference, on the conception of virtue with others. For him virtue does not represent high moral standards. His notion of virtue does not deal with being good or evil, but it is about acting out of necessity. In the words of Harvey Mansfield (1996),

It is necessary for humans to trust in necessity; necessity is the only trust that fully reflects one's inability to trust. Necessity means the necessity to acquire; so men cognizant of necessity must devote themselves to acquisition. The new, solid base beneath virtue does not leave virtue as it was but transforms it (Mansfield 1996: 15).

For him it is virtuous to fight for the security and the glory of the state. It is virtuous to prepare an army always ready for war, which is composed of its own citizens. Virtue is about self-reliance without being too much dependent on others. The virtue is about being able to learn not to be good when necessity demands it. It is about using deception for the order in the state and wellbeing of the people. Virtue is about capable of putting fear in the people to obey the law. He writes in the chapter XVII of *The Prince* that it is better to be feared than loved. He praises virtue and advises that it is a necessary part of virtue to be evil (Mansfield 1996:19).

Virtue is about perception also. It is virtuous to be feared than loved, but it is not virtuous to be hated. Virtue is not about being strong or having the military capabilities; it is about having the military capabilities as well as prudence. It is not about being the Lion, but it is about being both the lion and the fox, and act according to necessity (*The Prince* 1950:71). He is not in support of the Christian virtue of charity, mercy, sacrifice, love of God, forgiveness of enemies, contempt for the goods of this world, faith in the life hereafter, belief in the salvation of the individual soul as being of incomparable value. These Christian virtues have made the ruler weak and responsible for the downfall and disintegration of the Italy.

He asks for the revival of the pagan virtue which includes power, magnificence, pride, austerity, pursuit of glory, vigor, discipline, antique virtue - this is what makes states great. It also includes courage, vigour, and fortitude in adversity, public achievement, order, discipline, happiness, strength, justice, above all assertions of one's proper claims and the knowledge and power needed to secure their satisfaction (Berlin 2001). Leo Strauss (1957) pinpoints very effectively its characteristics in saying that virtue consists for Machiavelli in "greatness of mind and manliness combined"

### **Fortuna**

"The Prince who bases himself entirely on fortune is ruined when fortune changes." (*The Prince*: 92)

After human nature and virtue, Fortuna is the most important concept used by Machiavelli. For him, Fortuna is an outside force on which you have little control. He compares Fortuna to a flooding river (*The Prince* 1950:91). So in a sense it is not in the control of men. Fortuna is an outside power. In Machiavelli's view, fortuna is the strength of the others. But here the question arises, if Fortuna decides the course of the action, then what the role is left for the individual or human capacity.

Machiavelli has an answer for that. He does not say that Fortuna decides everything; he is just making us aware that we should not just live our life on good fortune. If we have a good friend who is powerful economically and physically, then it is our good fortune that he is helping us in all the conditions, but what if our friend turns hostile. In this situation Fortuna is playing a great part over which you have little control. The armies which we had earlier in the form of mercenaries are alliances have suddenly left us and our existence is under attack (*The Prince* 1950: 52). To avoid this kind of situation he advises to make some measures to reduce the effects of Fortuna. He writes,

Still when it is quiet, men can make provision against it by dams and banks, so that when it rises it will either go into a canal or its rush will not be so wild and dangerous. So it is with fortune, which shows her power where no measures have been taken to resist her, and turns her fury where she knows that no dams or barriers have been made to hold her. (*The Prince* 1950: 91- 92)

Here he is talking about giving importance to virtue. Fortuna has only half worked and with half left for virtue, you can still control the fortune. If your armies are good, if your domestic law is better and people are happy and united, there is very little possibility for fortuna to have a large impact on the activities. Men have to change with the change of fortune, he has to change his tactics and strategy for the success, it is acting out of necessity. And if you don't use your virtues and prudence and go by your fortune alone your destruction is unavoidable (*The Prince* 1950:93). He concludes chapter XVII of the *The Prince* with the following lines,

I conclude then that fortune varying and men remaining fixed in their ways, they are successful so long as these ways conform to each other, but when they are opposed to each other then they are unsuccessful. (*The Prince* 1950: 94)

### **Necessity**

In the forty-first chapter of the third book of *The Discourses*, he makes it clear that for him necessity is the source of all moral acts. If safety of one's country is at stake and situation is necessitating cruel measures, then you should not hesitate to do so as this for the life and liberty of the state (*Discourses* 1950:421). On the issue of necessity and conspiracy he suggests conspiracy when it is necessary for the survival of the state. For him there is nothing immoral in deception and conspiracies if necessity is demanding that (*Discourses* 1950: 420). Apart from that he should be prudent enough to know when it is useful to be fox and when lion (*The Prince* 1950: 65)

To say that something is necessary is to say that there was no other option. Necessity is about the doing something without exception, to achieve some ends which are considered as necessary. Preservation and longevity of the state is considered most important good for Machiavelli (Witlin 2011). For the preservation of state any kind of violence or strategy is permissible. Killing is considered bad, but when you kill in self-defense you are excused and it is about necessity. It is necessary to go to war if there is no other option left to deter the enemy to attack you. But what should be the limit of this necessity?

A lot of people interpret Machiavelli and his necessity as doing anything for maintaining the power in their hands. But his necessity is limited to necessity, which means constraining the activities out of time and situation and not by moral principles. It is not about doing anything. You do it only if it is helping in the consolidation and expansion of the state. When asks to use violence and use deception as strategy he was doing it for the security of the state. He was against the personal use or abuse of power. In the last chapter of *The Prince* we see that he is advising The Prince for the unification of Italy. It is about using the right kind of weapon. Violence or force does not work all the time. Necessity is about acting according to the situation. If necessity demands cooperation and alliance, the ruler should do that. And if necessity requires violence the ruler should not be fearful of that.

### **Morality in *The Prince***

*The Prince* is a book that describes the world as it is. It does not idealize anything. It shows us a mirror. He is just telling us what we are. And when we come to know that we are selfish beings and don't care much about the wellbeing of the others, we feel offended (Ricci 1950). It was an attack on our egos. He did not write a single word about religion in *The Prince*, but his virtues were a massive departure from Christian morality.

When we read *The Prince*, we should always read it in the context in which it is written. We know that he wrote this book so that he can get some favors from his Prince and can become an influential person in the foreign affairs of the Florence, which he could not get. Apart from that we should also understand that he was living in a time when Italy was divided into many parts and there was no unity (Skinner 1993). As a man of letters, Machiavelli has seen that men betray whenever it is necessary for them to do. So as someone who have seen the reality of politics, how can he be expected to write about some idealism which he rarely saw?. In his view, We have to accept human nature as it is and only by accepting human nature as it is, we can make some arrangements for peace. On the other hands if we go by some idealists notions of peace and ask for cooperation from our enemies without military and diplomatic strength what is the guarantee that the adversary will not take benefit of our weakness. He is just focusing that you cannot leave everything to Fortuna. He has to work on the virtue.

He was one of the first writers who understood the importance of a united and large group called state. The last chapter of *The Prince* makes it clear that whatever advice he was giving to The Prince was for the security and the glory of the state. He did not advise The Prince for his personal gain, but for the benefit of the states.

He exposed the power politics on top. He made it clear that people whenever get a chance to acquire the power will acquire it by any means possible and to stop this power struggle prince should always keep the people with him. And he can do that by making their life better (Meineke 1957, Skinner 1978). He was a man who was well aware of power politics and writing whatever was going around him.

Strategies which he advises to prince can't be considered as immoral as his conception or morality was linked to morality of the state. He knows that you cannot avoid doing the wrong acts for the stability of the state. There are many kinds of people who will conspire against the state for personal benefit and for the benefit of the state; they need to be silenced by any means possible. Deception as a strategy is useful because this will maintain the good faith and morality in the people. Even if you are cruel in making decision for the survival of the state, you should not look like a cruel ruler. Too much cruelty leads to hatred and hatred cannot be stopped even with the help of the state. Prince should never take the property and women of the people.

For him violence is unavoidable and inevitable for the maintenance of the state. The option in front of The Prince is to use it once or use it regularly. For him, using violence once is useful because it leads to less being people killed and maintenance of the state. If by killing few people who want to harm the existing state, anarchy in the state can be saved then it is worth it(Howes 2012). No doubt he is imperialist. But we have to see his imperialism in context. He knows that if you do not fight and make others fear about your strength they will dominate over you. So it is better either they accept your hegemony or just make them your part.

He understood the importance of civil armies. He knew that mercenaries are not useful for the security of the state. Too much army is also hurtful to the state. Armies which are not yours, but you have borrowed, will only hurt you back by killing your

people and leaving you in problem when you need them the most. (*The Prince* 1950: 7, 45, 49) When he was writing on acquiring new lands and holding them, he considers setting up the colonies there is more important than sending army there (*The Prince* 1950: 10). He is asking people as well as the Prince to be good. Always behave decently and think about the well beings of the people. He never advocates violence without reason. He advocates violence only when there is no other measure is left. It is like using violence in the self-defense. And it is justified by everyone. So when violence is justified in the self-defense, why it can't be justified in the self-defense of the state?

### **Interpreting the *Discourses*-**

When it comes to *Discourses* very few people have interpreted the *Discourses* in comparison to *The Prince*. First of all, I don't find any discontinuity and contradiction between *The Prince* and *Discourses*. Scholars argue that *The Prince* is a book for dictators, tyrants and *Discourses* is for democrats. This does not seem to hold water if we read both the books carefully. There is continuity and both of them are part of a larger whole. When he was writing, there was no stability in the Florence. So the first thing in front of him was the need for stability. Those people who were under some prince for a long time and suddenly got freedom, it becomes difficult for them to maintain that liberty (*Discourses* 1950: 130, 134). He knew that people are not educated and he gives importance to educated people in a certain culture to respect their state, as was the case in ancient Rome. In the absence of a good population, he wanted a united group of people under a strong central authority. Once this task is done, he moves towards Republicans.

He believes that in a chaotic state of nature, you cannot have a republican system without first making it centrally strong. That's why first he prefers prince over *Discourses* and once the state is there, he prefers people over *The Prince* which we find at numerous places. In *The Prince* also he is against the elitists' control of the state. He is against those people who are interested in their personal gains. He advises *The Prince* that a prince takes care of the population and not the elites as he can create an elite whenever he wants (*Discourses* 1950:502).

Whatever he wishes, we cannot deny that principalities and republics were the realities in front of him. He was just explaining how to maintain both and gave preference to second. What kind of discontinuity and contradiction is there? I didn't see any.

*Discourses* are about honouring merit (*Discourses* 1950:206). He believes that those who have the capabilities to govern the state should govern it, and it should not be governed by those who just have the desire to govern (*Discourses* 1950:102). In his idea of republicanism, individuals have a great role to play, but more than individual institutions are more important (*Discourses* 1950: 117). People are more worthy to rely as the protector of the freedom and the liberty rather than nobles as a person has less desire to attain a high status in the state than the nobles. (*Discourses* 1950: 121)

In *Discourses*, Law has a very important role to play for the betterment of the state. In his view, it is the duty of good ruler to make good laws for the future stability of the state. His (ruler's) duty is not to just think about his times, but of the generations to come. In chapter XXIV of the I book of the *Discourses* (*Discourses* 1950:180), he makes it completely clear that bypassing the law for powerful people will destroy the state in the times to come. It will lead to corruption and there will be no virtue and meritorious ruler to take care of the state. He writes, "No well-ordered republic should ever cancel the crimes of its citizens by their merits" (*Discourses* 1950:181).

In his view, inflicting violence continuously upon the people is of no use and in turn it affects the state and its stability in negative sense (*Discourses* 1950:227). When you are a ruler or the head of a state, you are the protector of the state. He is against divisive politics of ruler. In his view, the ruler should not give any special treatment to one group over another. If a crime is committed by the person from the most influential circle and you do not punish him you are destroying the state and people in turn will punish you. In democracies where there are different kind of ideological parties like India, and when right wing comes to power they try to finish the other group and when left comes to power they finish their opponents, it is not just the ideology but in the name of ideology satisfying their personal egos. By doing this they are destroying the state and leading it to ruins.



He warns state about the danger of not following the laws which they only made. In the case of Afzal Guru , Indian State did not follow the due process of law<sup>4</sup>. And this act of not following the due process of law has the potential to create the distrust in the minds of Kashmiris and Muslims that Indian state treats Muslim discriminately. If we ask Machiavelli on hanging of Afzal Guru by Indian State, he will reply that even if Afzal Guru was a terrorist, he should have been given the proper treatment. He writes in chapter XLV of Discourse I, “For I think that there can be no worse example in a republic than to make a law and not to observe it; the more so when it is disregarded by the very parties who made it” (*Discourses* 1950: 229.)

On inflicting continues injuries he thinks it is harmful to the state in the long run. By not punishing those military men who killed people in the North East and Kashmir, Indian government just harms itself and its resources. In the conclusion section of the chapter XLV he writes,

A government also does great wrong constantly to excite the resentment of its subjects by fresh injuries to this or that individual amongst them. It is dangerous for a republic or a prince to keep the minds of their subjects in a state of apprehension by pains and penalties constantly suspended over their heads. It is important, therefore, either never to attack anyone, or to inflict punishment by a single act of rigor, and afterwards to reassure the public mind by such acts as will restore calmness and confidence. (*Discourses* 1950:.230)

Role of the army is very central in his idea of state survival and glory. For him a state cannot survive with the help of others. A state needs to build a strong army of its citizen, an army, which is governed by state laws. Before him there was not much importance was given to the army and state survival. He rejected the usefulness of mercenaries. You cannot trust your so called friends for your survival and security (*Discourses* 1950:331, 344, 349). In the present context, it is very useful. Countries which are dominating world politics are not just those who dominate economically but

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<sup>4</sup> Afzal Guru was an accused in attack on Indian Parliament in 2003. He was awarded death sentence. He was hanged in the morning without following the due process. He was hanged before the date and his family members were also not informed, which was against the spirit of Indian Constitution.

militarily. And the military is not just about spending and producing more arms. It is about research in the arms sector. If you are capable of improving your arms technology, you are far, far ahead of other countries in the domination in world politics. Countries like India should think over it and stop being dependent on other countries for the arms technology and arms production. We need to build institutions which are good in advancing the research in the defense sector.

Machiavelli writes extensively on sustaining the democracy and government in a state. For him if a country wants an improvement in its domestic politics, it needs a strong support of the people. Without the help of people you cannot survive for a long time (*Discourses* 1950: 406). As he had already presumed about the human nature which is very selfish, he concluded that living in peace is also selfish for him. Human nature is corrupted, but it can be improved by education and setting a good moral example by observing the law of the nation (*Discourses* 1950: 243, 252). The education system has to be good. When he is talking about education system he is basically talking about injecting the idea of nationalism within them so that in all the conditions, people will support the state. But if the state does not support them; then why they should support the state. In his view creating an elite economic class which has a large amount of money is very dangerous for the ruler and the state. In his view people who own private property only think about their profits. If the ruler is a barrier in their personal gain they might eliminate him also. And their policies are most of the time anti people. So the ruler should always keep a check on these kinds of people who can be a threat to the people and ruler also.

In his view, religion helps the state in maintaining the order in the state (*Discourses* 1950:145,149,153). It works as a moral argument for the people to not to do bad things in life. So ruler should propagate the religion. But there is a problem here. When he is suggesting for the propagation of religion, he is talking about the use of religion for the prosperity and integration of the state.

## **Machiavelli's Idea of Morality**

In the above descriptions we have thoroughly studied Machiavelli's central concepts and some of the most important interpretations of his writings. Now it becomes necessary to summarize his idea of morality. His idea of morality can be summarized as follows-

His idea of morality is based on morality of the state (*The Prince* 1950, Meineke 1957, Skinner 1978). The state is the central focus of his discussion. Without the wellbeing of the state, there cannot be any wellbeing of the people. The good life of the people is not possible without the good life of the state. If, state is secure and progressing, people also have a possibility of progress and living in prosperity and happiness. In the introduction section of the first book of the *Discourses* he makes it clear that he is in favor of state survival and security at any cost,

Therefore a prince, so long as he keeps his subjects united and loyal, ought not to mind the reproach of cruelty; because with a few examples he will be more merciful than those who, through too much mercy, allow disorders to arise, from which follow murders or robberies; for these are won't to injure the whole people, whilst those executions which originate with a prince offend the individual only. (*Discourses* 1950:103)

In this paragraph he makes it clear that by being sympathetic to few, a prince or state gives space to disorder and anarchy to rise. After a few finds that they can do whatever they wants to others will also follow. So at times prince or the ruler has to be cruel and punish few to put in fear within them for the integrity and security of the state. Again in the *Discourses* III he writes,

When it is absolutely a question of the safety of one's country, there must be no consideration of just or unjust, of merciful or cruel, of praiseworthy or disgraceful; instead, setting aside every scruple, one must follow to the utmost any plan that will save her life and keep her liberty. (*Discourses* 1950:527)

For him, pagan idea of morality plays a great role in morality. For him pagan morality is virtuous morality and gives glory to the state (Berlin 2001). Other morality especially

Christian morality in his view led to the weakness of the state. Christian moral values like charity, mercy, love of God, sacrifice, forgiveness of the enemies only makes people weak and hence this weakness is a threat to the survival of the state. He writes that these Christian values would have been better in personal life, but in politics these values cannot be applied as politics is not about the survival of one individual but survival of the whole community (*Discourses* 1950:148). As men in general are not good and waiting for the opportunity for the success, the ruler cannot go by Christian values. He should go by pagan values of morality which include Power, magnificence, pride, austerity, pursuit of glory, vigour, discipline, *antiqua virtus* (Berlin 2001). All of this makes a state great and secure. Legislation and education should promote these values in his understanding. It is well known', says Benedetto Croce(1925) 'that Machiavelli discovered the necessity and the autonomy of politics, politics, which is beyond moral good and evil, which has its own laws against which it is futile to rebel, which cannot be exorcised and banished from the world with holy water '(Croce 1925 cited in Berlin 2001).

In the views of Berlin (2001) he is not condemning the Christian 'good' morality. He is not saying that saint is not a saint, but he is only saying that this kind of morality cannot create, maintain or secure a strong and vigorous society. Those who followed Christian morality have been destroyed, and those who follow pagan morality have won. Experience and success decided about the morality. (Berlin 2001: 49). He is saying that if you want to be a saint, you be a saint, he does not have a problem with that. But if you want to be a part of politics in state, you cannot be a saint at the same time. The rules of politics are different from the rules of being good in personal life. In the words of Berlin,

He is a writer about government ; he is interested in public affairs ; in security, independence, success, glory, strength, vigour, felicity on earth, not in heaven; in the present and future as well as the past; in the real world, not an imaginary one (Berlin 2001: 50).

Apart from paganism, necessity dominates his idea about what is moral and what is immoral (Witlin 2011).His idea of morality is based on necessity. For him, what is considered good is decided by necessity (*The Prince* 1950: 60, *Discourses* 1950: 406, 527). But this necessity should not be interpreted for the benefit of the few or for the

short term gain. In his view necessity is about action in any possible manner for the security, survival and glory of the state. Here there is a constitution between necessity and imperialism. There is a very fine line between necessity and imperialism. First, he talks about survival of the state. For the survival if necessity is asking for any brutal measure, the ruler should be ready to adapt to that measure. For state survival no action can be condemned. Everything is moral if it leads to the glory of the state. Here he adds another point; in the name of necessity a ruler should not commit those acts which contribute in the bad name and hatred of the nation.

International treaties are good till it serves the state and if it does not there is no point in being the part of that treaty or alliance, it about being fox and lion at the same time. A ruler should learn to be both and act out of necessity. In his view, Virtue is morality. Virtue for him is not about tradition virtue for being good but it is about being courageous and strong in mastering his or her fortuna (Mansfield 1996). It is about having the capabilities to face any situation, and survival. It is about preparing you and trusting yourself. It is about not risking your life and security with the help of others. Being virtuous means having military capability. Being virtuous means having the mental and diplomatic capability. Being virtuous means being a lion and fox, both.

Human nature plays a key role in his understanding of morality. For him state survival comes first because generally human nature is corrupted (Bass 2008, Spencer 2012). If you a state do not institute law and good education system it will lead to decadent of that society. He justifies killing of enemies because he believes that if you don't kill your enemies, your enemies will kill you. There is no guarantee that your enemies will not cheat you (*The Prince* 1950: 63). He goes further in *Discourses* that those whom you consider as neutral or friendly today can turn out to be enemies tomorrow and it will be difficult for you to handle all of them (*Discourses* 1950: 185). So there is no need to observe the traditional moral values at the cost of your survival.

He has a different set of moral laws for people and prince or state. If you are a general population, religious laws help in maintain the order in the society. It helps in building the society in his understanding. Honesty and keeping the promise of friendship are values encouraged and praised by Machiavelli (Benner 2009). If people are in constant

fear of each other, a society cannot progress and live a happy and stable life. So for domestic society an organized law and ethics should be there.

But politics has a different morality. Politics is about keeping the power in the hands and then organizing the society. Those who are in power circles, always wanting more power. So prince should always be aware of that. There will always be conspiracy against him so he should continuously keep an eye upon them. He admires deception as a moral strategy for the survival and progress of the society and state (*The Prince* 1950: 66, 68). In his views, it is not necessary that people should know everything about the political life. It depends on the quality of the society in a state. If a state is not well educated and not aware of crisis situation within and outside of state, a ruler should always use techniques of deception to maintain the support of the population. If you tell them the truth, they might not be able to handle the truth (*Discourses* 1950: 246). He is not against telling the truth, but in his view if telling the truth leads to more problem in solving the crisis, then it is moral to not tell the truth.

For him it is not just immoral, but disastrous to not follow the law in the domestic system. By not having a good law and not following if you have, you encourage the corruption within the state (*Discourses* 1950: 180). If state authorities do not punish those who are guilty, because they come from powerful spheres, all the sections of society will learn a bad lesson. They will not respect the state authorities and in turn, their love for the state will be vanished after some time. They believed in a prince and state because they expected a right regime, justice and protection of their resources. So a state should always follow the laws which it makes. He is asking both the ruler and the citizen to be good for the survival and progress of the state. In chapter IV of the *Discourses* III he is asking the ruler to take care of the citizen and let them live in happiness (*Discourses* 1950: 406). He is not a revolutionary. He gives preference to republics, but not at the cost of instability. For him instability will bring more chaos and immoral outcome than stability in principalities.

### **Machiavelli and morality in International Politics**

He was a man of foreign affairs and he has written a lot of security concern of a state and its maintenance in an anarchic international system. But still, there is not as enough literature on his understanding of international politics as is on his understanding of domestic power politics. War , peace, international law, treaties, Alliances, ethics of war and ethics in war, organizing the armies, treatment of people in the war, the role of diplomacy, imperialism, the rise and fall of states and handling of the great powers and threat perceptions are some of the core concerns in his writings. And every aspect of his writing has an ethical aspect. He just does not say that it should or should not be done, but he also says why it should and should not be done by illustrating some historical example. This section of the chapter is divided into two sections. The first section will try to summarize some of the most important interpretations of international aspects of his writings. And, second section will deal with Machiavelli's idea of morality in international politics.

#### **Interpretation of Machiavelli on International politics-**

From the above interpretations of his idea of morality a lot is clear about Machiavelli's conception of morality. For him, moral is what is good for the country. Morality is about the common good and common benefit. Morality is about the security of the state. Morality is about expansion of the state. Being virtuous to survive in all conditions is moral. Having capacity to do what necessity requires is moral. The morality of Machiavelli in the domestic arena is limited by keeping faith in the law and in the ruler for the maintenance of the state, if the ruler is acting for the common benefit of the people and not for his personal benefit. But in international politics there is only one yardstick of morality and that is the security of the state, and for that you keep the faith or don't keep, you kill people or do not kill, you break treaties or not, you use fraud or not. It does not matter. The only thing is which matters is security and stability of state. Every measure is just if it is about the survival and security of the state. In those days when every country was deciding the law on the basis of power, he advised not to observe the law if it is about the survival of the state.

Stephen Forde (1992) writes that Machiavelli's understanding of morality is linked to necessity. Ethical or moral duties are suspended in the wake of necessity. These necessities are rooted in human nature and structure of international politics. For him there is no distinction between just and unjust wars. Men act out of fear for the survival and security and when that fear is not there they act out of ambition (Forde, 1992). It is human nature to acquire more and more. In his view, there is no line between making war out of ambition and imperialism. Mansfield (1981) and Mindley (1985) consider this as extremism. In their view, it is not just realism, but something more. It is something which can be called machiavellism, which is about going out for the expansion for more and more, if you have power to gain it and capabilities to sustain it. In the views of Hulluing (1983:142) for Machiavelli, international law is nothing but just the manifestation of power. Laws are nothing but just rule of force. Strauss (1969) and wood (1972) interpret Machiavelli as someone who defines justice as something which depends on injustice, laws on force and human on the bestial (Strauss 1969 cited in Forde 1992). Hayward R. Alker, Jr. (1992), in *The Prince and Discourses*, finds a humanistic turn in International Relations. He argues that Machiavelli was propagating two values at the same time and these were republicanism and imperialism. He is saying that to be imperial you have to be republican and democratic at home. This is an interesting interpretation. Quentin Skinner (1978) writes,

He [Machiavelli] insists that "if you have in mind a Republic that looks to founding an Empire," then the people as a whole must be made the guardians of liberty; . . . "there has never been any other . . . Republic so well adorned [as Rome]... Should a Republic be so fortunate as frequently to have men who by their example give fresh life to its laws, and do not merely stop them from going to rack and ruin, but restore their former vigour, such a Republic would last forever. (Skinner 1978:160, 170ff, 180; internal quotes to Machiavelli, cited in Heyward 1992: 354).

Markus Fischer (1995) argues that Machiavelli's writing has the capabilities to form a theory of foreign policy, but not much is done on that. He interpreted his writings as a republican quest for empire and glory, and he argues that foreign anarchy constrains the



space for virtue at the domestic level. In his view, Machiavelli's theory of foreign affairs is a neorealist theory of international politics with philosophical foundation and morale issues. Human nature and its desire to dominate is central in his understanding of foreign policy and in this background alliance are made and broken, war are fought out of fear and gain. In his view, Machiavelli's theory of foreign politics contains the possibility of institutions that mitigate conflict through cooperative habits (Fischer 1995: 249). Neorealist theory makes outside and inside completely separate but on the other hand, for Machiavelli this separation is not of kind but of magnitude. There can never be a complete separation (Fischer 1995: 257). In his view, outside world is more unstable and risky. Among individual at domestic level laws, contracts and agreements make them keep the faith but outside among countries only force does (Cesa 2014:2). And in this condition, deceit and fraud is not just acceptable, but laudable during the conduct of war and for security of the country (*Discourses* 1950:526, Cesa 2014:2).

Ambition, which has a negative connotation at home, take positive connotation when it comes to foreign policy, because it will help or give benefit to all the people of the country. In Pocock's (2003) interpretation the central concern of Machiavelli was to have a just system at domestic level for the success at the international level, as necessity requires it to be (Pocock 2003: 166, 213). Fear and ambition decides everything in international politics. As fear always rule over ambition and war is the result of not to be subjugated at the first place. When this fear is less then second aspect of human nature, ambition, also causes war. Desire to acquire more and conquest is the most natural and desire of the human beings and this comes from the glory and riches (*The Prince* 1950:6, *Discourses* 1950:518).

Most of these interpretations focused on international relations make it clear that for Machiavelli, in a world of no stability and uncertainty, imbalance of power and selfish nature of human beings, there was no other way to protect the lives of citizen, than force itself. For him war and killing are moral for a statement as this guarantee a good life at home.

**His central concern in International Politics-**

## **Morality and immorality of war**

Machiavelli in general is criticized for being the propagator of imperialism and immorality. He advises the principalities to acquire more and more wealth because it brings glory and riches to the country. In chapter VI, VIII and IX of Second book of *Discourses*, Machiavelli explains the causes of war. For him war fought either from fear or from ambitions (*Discourses* 1950: 298, 302, 306). Too much power of neighboring country can inject fear in another country as people love to gain and acquire. There is always a fear to be subjugated by foreign powers. And this subjugation cannot be called moral in any way. When Roman power grew and neighboring tribes did not recognize that they might face a threat to themselves, they slowly recognized that Roman power is a threat to their existence and liberty and in response they organized themselves for war (*Discourses* 1950; 212). It shows that a threat to the existence leads to war and there is no question of moral and immoral here. Fighting for survival and security is always moral in his conception. It is not some aggressive war for gain, but for the self-defense.

But what about the war, which are not fighting in self-defense? About these Machiavelli says that when men no longer obliged to fight from necessity, they fight from ambition. Ambition has always guided men to gain more and more and go to war. He writes in chapter VIII of DII,

The one spring from the ambition of princes or republics that seek to extend their empire; such were the wars of Alexander the Great, and those of the Romans, and those which two hostile powers carry on against each other. These wars are dangerous, but never go so far as to drive all its inhabitants out of a province, because the conqueror is satisfied with the submission of the people, and generally leaves them their dwellings and possessions, and even the enjoyment of their own institutions. (*Discourses* 1950: 302)

There is another kind of war that is out of necessity which results when the whole people search for a new land and their homeland is either struck by famine or too much populated. These war are result of necessity, hence they are moral. Here is the question of the morality of war in the writings of Machiavelli. In *The Prince* (1950:5-35) also he

talks about acquiring new principalities and how to keep them. In the first case where a war is the result of the rise of another power, is it just from all points of view to go to war as this war is for self-defense. But can a war for glory and enlarging the empire be justified? Machiavelli justifies every kind of war if it brings the reputation and glory to the country. You should never acquire more than which you can sustain. This is the simple logic of Machiavelli. He does not see just or unjust logic in war other than state's glory. If we see from today's perspective, we find these advice as immoral and unlawful and international community will condemn all kind of occupation. But if we see during the time of Machiavelli, we will find that whoever had the power will try to subjugate another, and in his view it is quite natural. So if you have the power to do so, you should not hesitate in doing so. In his view war should be sharp and shorter (*Discourses* 1950: 298). He writes in the I chapter of DII

So that it will be, as it were, at the option of that powerful prince or people to make war upon such neighbours as may seem advantageous, whilst adroitly keeping the others quiet. And this he can easily do, partly by the respect they have for his power, and partly because they are deceived by the means employed to keep them quiet. (*Discourses* 1950: 277)

### **Treating the population of newly acquired lands-**

In his understanding individuals as autonomous entity has no moral importance. He treats them just as means for a larger end of state. In chapter four of *Discourses* he discusses three methods of aggrandizement –forming a confederation, make associates of other states and make conquered people subjects immediately (*Discourses* 1950:290). He thinks that last method is of no use so he is denies making people subjects. He prefers second method over the first. In this method the winning power preserves the seat of empire and governors are appointed by a central authority. This is in sense imperialism. He could have preferred first where there is more equality to all powers, but he is not sure of the future where other might subjugate this power. He prefers to give space to new people in the country because they will give contribution to the progress of the state. He thinks that if you acquire new people who a have lived under prince earlier, you can easily control them (*The Prince* 1950:18) , but if you acquire those who have been under

republican system, it becomes difficult to hold them. And to control them the ruler has three options –setting up colonies there, sending the armies and going and living there. Sending the armies is the fools option and going and living there might be a difficult option as you have other places to rule so the best option is to setting up colonies out there of your original citizen there. (*The Prince* 1950: 19, 21, 27, *Discourses* 1950: 294)

From the above discussion, it is clear that he is in favor of enlarging the country; including as many people as you can rule and are not threat to your security. He is not advising violent methods, he is just advising the prudent methods available in front of a ruler. And from this, telling him as immoral will not be justice with him.

### **Deception, deceit and fraud as a tool for success in international politics-**

This section is the most critical in considering Machiavelli as an immoral philosopher. In *The Prince* (1950: 56-65), Machiavelli advises The Prince to learn not to be good when necessity demand as well as learning to be Lion as well as fox. Chapter 38 of *Discourses* I, chapter 13, 15, 14 and 26 of DII and chapter 6, 40, 41, 42 and 44 of D III are important chapters on conspiracies and fraud for the success in war and peace in international politics. In the chapter 15 of *The Prince* (1950:56), he uses the term ‘held to be virtues’, where he is asking prince to always be compassionate, trustworthy, humane, religious and upright (*The Prince* 1950: 63). In chapter 18 of *The Prince* he writes,

How laudable it is for a prince to keep good faith and live with integrity, and not with astuteness, everyone knows. It is not, therefore, necessary for a prince to have all the above-named qualities, but it is very necessary to seem to have them. I wo'ul'd even be bold to say that to possess them and to always observe them is dangerous, but to appear to possess them is useful. Thus it is well to seem pious, faithful, humane, religious, sincere, and also to be so; but you must have the mind so watchful that when it is needful to be otherwise you may be able to change to the opposite qualities. (*The Prince* 1950: 63)

He recognizes that it is always good to seem to have kept the faith but not necessary to keep them in the time of necessity. This will be called fraud and hypocrisy. But he believes that people are like this. They don't want to accept that they can do something

wrong so it is also necessary to deceive them for the security of the country (Grant 1997: 18) . He is openly advocating fraud, but at least he is open in advocating fraud because he knows that those who used fraud succeeds in maintain the security than who did not. He is honest in his understanding and accepts that fraud is not acceptable by moral law, but in necessity you have to use it for major moral ends, that is the security of the state.

In the DII.13, he writes that deceit and cunnings serve a lot for the state and force alone cannot help in maintaining security and glory,

I believe it to be most true that it seldom happens that men rise from low condition to high rank without employing either force or fraud, unless that rank should be attained either by gift or inheritance. Nor do I believe that force alone will ever be found to suffice, whilst it will often be the case that cunning alone serves the purpose. And that which princes are obliged to do in the beginning of their rise; republics are equally obliged to practice until they have become powerful enough so that force alone suffices them. (*Discourses* 1950: 318)

In chapter 6 of *Discourses* III, when speaking of conspiracies, he speaks about conspiracies in republics and principalities as a common phenomenon (*Discourses* 1950: 410). People who are in power circles will always want to have more power. These conspiracies come from two sources and against two objects. Two sources of conspiracy are his own people and people from other country. Conspiracies are planned either against the country or against The Prince. Conspiracies which are against The Prince are more successful if Prince is a hated figure. That's why in chapter 18 of *The Prince* (1950: 60) he asks prince not to be hated. That's why he should always use deceit, deception and fraud to be held as a moral figure in front of the people. People cannot understand real situation or conspiracies by others. If someone gives them hope for a better future, then they believe in him and might conspire against his ruler. But in the ends, many a times they end up being the slaves of the new ruler (*Discourses* 1950: 246). So a prince should understand the limits of people and use deception as a strategy..

In his view deceit is most laudable and honorable in the conduct of war (DIII.40). He writes,

Although deceit is detestable in all other things, yet in the conduct of war it is laudable and honorable; and a commander who vanquishes an enemy by stratagem is equally praised with one who gains victory by force. (*Discourses* 1950: 526)

In chapter XLI, DIII (*Discourses* 1950: 527), he advises the ruler and people to defend a country at any cost. He writes,

But the Legate Lentulus said, “That for the purpose of saving the country no propositions ought to be rejected. The safety of Rome depended upon that army, and he maintained that it ought to be saved at any price; that the defence of their country was always good, no matter whether affected by honorable or ignominious means. That if the army were saved, Rome would in time be able to wipe out that disgrace; but if the army were lost, even if they died most gloriously, Rome and her liberties would also be lost.” For where the very safety of the country depends upon the resolution to be taken, no considerations of justice or injustice, humanity or cruelty, nor of glory or of shame, should be allowed to prevail. But putting all other considerations aside, the only question should be what course will save the life and liberty of the country? (*Discourses* 1950: 527)

But one should not interpret from the above statements that every law and treaty should be rejected and only selfish gain should trump over all other things. He gives a lot space for maintaining the law and respecting the domestic law even during the war. And these laws should be applied to all peoples, and if it is not done, that state will be ruined in the future. In chapter three of DIII, Machiavelli cites the importance of punishing those who are guilty of treason. Brutus punishes his two sons and executes them because they joined the rebel camp and it was necessary for the maintenance for the security of the state. Brutus could have saved the lives of his sons, but he did not because for him his son comes after the state (*Discourses* 1950:405).

### **The morality of Alliances, Balancing, Expansion and Neutrality-**

He is been criticized as someone who does not believe in keeping faith in treaties and someone who advocates expansionism. But in my view he never rejected the usefulness of treaties or cooperation and diplomacy (Berridge 2001: 539). He never rejected the idea of treaties. He believed in moral importance and significance of keeping the faith. But this keeping of faith should not be a barrier in security goals of a country. In Meinecke's view, Machiavelli was the first person to discover the real nature of *raison d'état* (Meinecke 1924: 54). He knows it clearly that when you are weak country, you have no other option but to cry for the treaties and rule of law as this results from the fear of being subjugated (*Discourses* 1950: 34). Diplomacy was born out of necessity as states do not have the required strength to achieve these aims (Barridge 2001: 543). When you have enough power, it leads to desire of more glory for the empire and the state. When a power in an alliance becomes powerful it does not attack its partner directly, even weak powers does not show their fear directly but they question the interpretation of the alliance. They attack others who are considered as friends by the other party or a sign of threat to their survival.

Alliances, Balancing and Neutrality all have their moral logic, which have their roots in the survival and glory of the state. If a particular treaty is forced by a stronger power upon you, then there is no logic of observing it in the near future when you will be capable of denying it (*Discourses* 1950: 528). If a state is not benefiting from the treaty then there is no point observing the treaty. Neutrality is not good anyway when any of the parties can be a danger in the coming future and there will be no one to help you (*Discourses* 1950: 357). Hence, it is always right or prudent to take sides as early as possible in a conflict. It makes you a responsible and influential country in international politics. The action of a country will be judged on the basis of outcome. And if because of not taking sides you lose a lot your action are not moral in Machiavelli perspective.

Alliances which are bought by money are of no use and immoral because they are not virtuous. Alliances which are won by valor and strength are always worthy and states should always try to demonstrate their strength. (*Discourses* 1950: 384). Never try to attack a city with the help of internal people, because if it is republic it will only bring bad name and ruin to you, they will become united in the course to come (*Discourses*

1950: 371, 490). A ruler should always make treaties on the basis of strength and not on the basis of the reputation of the other partner. Reputation will not bring you help when you will be in crisis but the strength will always bring you help in the times of crisis. Three kinds of methods of aggrandizement have already been discussed and he is in support of creating an empire and making the other parts of the empire.

### **Conclusion-**

His morality is clear. He is in favour of a hegemonic power who will contribute in maintaining the peace all over the places. But you should acquire only that part which you can control. It is clear that there is something more than mere imperialism in his writing. Basically, he is advancing the idea of uniting the small power and create a strong central authority for the peace. He is not talking about creating a global hegemony. He knows that this global state cannot be maintained because of cultural, linguistic and religious differences. He believes that it is moral to live under a stronger power than to live in many groups in constant anarchy and fear of war and instability where there is no peace and luxury industry. He is advocating violence where it is necessary to solve the problem. Human nature always acts either out of fear or ambition. The only way is that it can be influenced by setting up institutions of cooperation and treaties of the better world but it cannot be solved completely. In his understanding, republics are better in keeping the treaties because of the domestic influence of people and it can contribute to the peace and progress. He understood the necessity of survival and rise and fall of the state which is inevitable. Those who acts out of necessity and virtue survives and those who don't, they dies. In a perpetual movement, nothing is stable and those who are on top will come down and those who are at the bottom will climb up with the help of virtues and Fortuna (Discourse 1950: 271). No situation last for forever and no arrangements can be safe and permanent. All arrangements are temporal and these temporal situation those who acts out of virtue remain powerful and at the top for a longer time. So fortune favours the brave and prudent rulers.

Hence, any act or any policy which harms the larger interest of the state cannot be virtuous, cannot be moral.



## Chapter 3

### **Kant and his idea of Morality in International Politics- Interpreting *Perpetual Peace and Metaphysical Elements of Justice***

Immanuel Kant is someone who cannot be ignored on morality. He is someone, who has been writing his entire life on one single question; what is the right thing to do? He is the philosopher of morality. Without him, there cannot be any conception of the idea of morality. He gave a new dimension to the study of morality through his deontological understanding of morality. He changed the discourses of morality by arguing in favor of the morality of act itself without giving importance to the consequences of the act. His criticism was against utilitarianism whose idea of morality was based on usefulness and consequences of the act. His philosophy rejected utilitarian conception of the individual as a means to achieve a larger goal for humanity; he emphasized the importance of every single individual by considering them as an end in itself.

For him, morality is related to doing the right act. Just do the right thing, without any interest and consequences in mind. Motives matter more than anything. Motives and intentions decide about the morality of an act and not its consequences. All human beings have dignity and it demands respect from others. We human beings are rational beings as well as autonomous beings. Our focus should not be on how the world is working, but how it should work. Our action should be guided by an a priori conception of morality and should not be based on *our* experience. Our action might be the results of our desires and those desires in some sense are not something which defines human beings as human beings. These desires and impulses are symptom of animal beings. Something which makes human beings as worthy is its capability to act rationally and act autonomously.

Before going in detail it is necessary to understand that he is not an easy philosopher to understand. Because his theory of philosophy is based on a priori conception of morality and this forces us to see and think beyond our common sense and naked reality. To understand his theory of morality we have to understand some of the fundamental concepts used in his theory. These concepts are as follows- idea of duty,

categorical imperative, liberty, violence, freedom, state, and law, human beings as rational and autonomous beings, individual as an end in itself, justice and necessity.

Our purpose of this chapter is more than just his idea of morality. Our purpose of this chapter is to understand his idea of morality in international politics. When I am talking about international morality, I am talking about the morality involved in the conduct of international politics. What is the right way to conduct your behavior, when you have disagreements with other states? What should be the guiding principle for world peace? Why international peace is necessary and how it can be achieved and can be maintained for a long period of time? What duties do states have for the promotion of world peace and why do they have such duties? Do states have any say in the affairs of other states? What international community should do for the protection of the rights of every single individual on the earth? What is the conception of international justice?

His idea of international morality is an ideal. He admits himself in the opening paragraphs of the *Perpetual Peace* that whatever he is writing is an ideal situation. It is far, far different from what is the reality of today's world. But he thinks that today's realities should not decide the future of prosperous and peaceful world, as a human being have the capabilities to make this world better and more peaceful, because they have the rational capabilities to do so.

This chapter is divided into two parts, as was the last chapter on morality in Machiavelli. First part will deal with Kant's general idea of morality with reference to an individual as an agent. This part of the chapter will try to explain some of the basic and fundamental conception used in his idea of morality.

Second part of the chapter will deal with his idea of morality in International Politics. for this purpose, this paper will interpret two key texts of Kant on international politics namely *Perpetual Peace* and *Metaphysical Elements of Justice*. These two texts will be reinterpreted with reference to his idea of war and peace, Alliances, Role of state and morality, solution for war, International Law, International Society, Protection of human rights and intervention in the domestic affairs of the other countries.

## **Idea of morality in Domestic Politics**

Kant identified something important, the individual and categorical imperative, at the heart of the theory of morality. He identified and provided a philosophical defense of our core moral conviction. Acting out of duty, Categorical imperative, freedom, Autonomy and individuality of individual, importance of motives and rationality which we human beings possess are some of the central aspects in his theory of morality (Wood 2002:157). It is Kant who for the first time gave importance to the act in itself and not the consequences. In his views, act in itself has moral worth if they are performed with right motives. Individual autonomy and dignity cannot be sacrificed at any cost. Before we go further, we should keep in mind one thing that he is a philosopher of liberty and freedom. There cannot be any idea of morality without an idea of freedom and liberty. He argues in Groundwork that if we want to realize something as morality, then we must be free first. Freedom is the basis of morality (Groundwork 2002: 65 Cited in Kagan 2002: 113).

He was writing in a time when religion was the key player in deciding what is moral and immoral. There has been a constant change in the perception of morality over the decades as new religions and empires came into place. Most of the religions glorified war and supported them. Monotheism became one of the main sources of hate. Each community was considering another community as degraded people (Campbell 1903: 8-9). In their view enemy did not have a right to live and winners gave them relaxation by making them slaves in the name of civilizing them. So he was writing at a time when religious morality was the law and the rule of the land. Morality was conceived as the obedience to God's will. And here comes the decisive step in the history of morality when he leaves the spirit of moral authoritarianism and says that our own rational will to be the author of morality's commands. So he moved away from religious morals to personal, rational morality (Wood 2002:158).

Morality is about obeying the law which we give to ourselves. In Kant's view, morality involves law and obedience to law and this law is given by our own reason. This law is not based on desires, but based on our rational capacity and we have a duty to do that. We have a duty to respect the individual dignity to give him autonomy and dignity. So morality depends on our recognition that each of us is a law giving member of a

society where others also obey the moral law. So each of us is both to legislate the law and obey it (Schneewind 2002:84). We create morality and legislate it by our own rational will. And to achieve this moral good for ourselves other than controlling our desires and passion, we have to act thoughtfully and justly towards others (Schneewind 2002:85). And whatever we do, we should not do out of inclination or interest. An act out of interest and inclination cannot be considered as a virtuous act, as this defeat the basic foundation of the categorical imperative and concept of duty of morality.

Acting out of duty is not about acting to help other person, but is about our rational capacity which guides us to act out of duty. In his understating, acting out of duty is not tied to social expectation, but to rationality (Baron 2002: 92-93). In his views, we have the duty to cultivate our compassionate impulses, duties of gratitude and duties not to be envious and duties not to gloat over other's misfortune. So in this process even if we hate or harm one single human being we defeat the purpose of our rationality and act out of our desires and inclination. We should not be slaves to our desire, we need to act autonomously and independently.(MS 6: 455- 60 cited in Baron 2002: 97)

To understand his idea of morality, we have to first understand his key concepts in his theory of morality; and these concepts are as follows-

### **Human Nature**

Like Machiavelli, Kant also gives importance to human nature. For Kant individual is the most important unit of society, be it domestic or international. So to deal with individual rationality, impulses and desires, he had t deal with human nature. In opposition to Machiavelli, Kant recognized the capabilities human beings have to be good. In his views, human faculty is capable of being good. Kant insisted that we are not merely natural beings. We are more than animal. We have free will so we should defend human dignity (Schneewind 2002: 87). In the words of Allen W. Wood (2002:160),

Kant had a conception of human nature that was in many ways dark and cynical, but that only made him the more insistent that we must not give in to the temptation to treat what is done as the proper standard for what should be done. Kant's moralistic rhetoric, I submit, is not offensive (but is even appealing) if we

perceive it as a reflection of his recognition that human affairs are very far from being what they should be, and an attack on the self-complacency with which too many people rationalize their shortsighted and selfish ways of life (Wood 2002: 160).

In his view humans have dual nature. And this can be considered animal nature and rational nature of human beings (Friedrich 1949: 373). Desires are the product of animal nature of human beings. This animal nature is responsible for self-preservation, living in community, maximization of pleasure and minimizing the pain. It is sensuous part of human nature (Kant 1964 cited in Barkley 2000). This animal nature is inherently self-interested, maximize the pleasure and avoid the pain even at the cost of hurting others. This animal side of human nature can be tamed through use of rationality and reason but it cannot be eliminated. In his view it is the exercise of reason and moral law which distinguishes them from animal (Friedrich 1949: 118, Wood 1984: 33). Rational side of human nature, in contrast to animal side, takes decision on the basis of reason, which is a priori, universal and objective. These universal principles are the basis for the moral law or laws of nature.

Our action should be taken in the light of the fact if they can be making universal or not. And, if our action can be taken universally then it is a moral law and action is moral action. All people have reason and can understand morality correctly. This capacity to use reason gives humans dignity and value. So the sides, animal and ration are there in human nature. Which side affects more depends on the individual and his capacity to use reason. In his view, animal side is more attractive as it gives more pleasure but at the same time rational side and duty gives him dignity. Neither can be eradicated from human nature. But by developing reason, human can resist and overcome desire and impulses for the dignity and duty. It is difficult, but it can be done (Barkley 2000).

M. Campbell Smith (1917) writes in the introduction of *Perpetual Peace*,

He starts from the same point: his theory of the beginning of society is practically identical with that of the older philosopher. Men are by nature imperfect creatures, unsociable and untrustworthy, cursed by a love of glory, of possession,

and of power, passions which make happiness something for ever unattainable by them. He looks beyond man the individual, developing slowly by stages scarcely measurable, progressing at one moment, and the next, as it seems, falling behind: he looks beyond the individual, struggling and never attaining, to the race. Here Kant is no pessimist. The capacities implanted in man by nature are not all for evil: they are, he says, “Destined to unfold themselves completely in the course of time, and in accordance with the end to which they are adapted.” (Idea of a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Point of View 1784. Prop. I.) This end of humanity is the evolution of man from the stage of mere self-satisfied animalism to a high state of civilisation. Through his own reason man is to attain a perfect culture, intellectual and moral. In this long period of struggle, the potential faculties which nature or Providence has bestowed upon him reach their full development. The process in which this evolution takes place is what we call history (Smith 1917: 46).

## **Duty**

As an individual, what duties to us have towards ourselves and towards others in a society? What does he mean by duty? And what is the source of this duty and why we should go by the duties which we consider as good? These are the questions which will be answered in this section. In his view, Duty is about keeping the desires in control and use reason in conducts. It is coercion and it can be of two type-internal coercion and external coercion.

When we think of duty, the first thing which comes to our mind is about following the law and reaching to the expectation of the society. When someone says that it is your duty to come on time in the office then it is about the prescribed code of conduct and expectations of others. But Kant’s theory of morality is not about postfecto or consequence based. His theory is an a priori theory of morality, and there duty does not emanate from any external law or expectations of the society. In utilitarianism duty is about minimizing the pain and maximizing the happiness of all. But for him the duty is about setting the limits within so that it is permissible for us to seek our own happiness and to help others pursue theirs (Schineewind 2002: 90). Acting out of duty is good if it

has come out of a good will and motives. If an act is not done out of good will, then it cannot be considered the good act or duty of the individual. Acting out of duty should not be based on our desires or inclination but should be a product of our reason and rationality. So all of those actions which are done in contrast to inclination can be considered as moral, and those with inclination are not moral. Marcio Baron (2002) interprets him slightly in a different way. He thinks that for Kant, acting from inclination, no matter how laudable the inclination, is in some important way not as good –not as morally worthy–as acting from duty (Baron 2002: 94).

It is necessary to understand, that in Kant's theory of morality duty is tied to rationality and not to social expectations or laws. For him duty means what someone does if one is fully rational. So an act done either for our pleasure or for others' pleasure cannot be considered as good or out of duty because that act is done out of consequences to feel pleasure and not out of rational mind and duty. Acting out of duty should have a purely non-empirical foundation. It should be based on categorical imperative and universality clause. Acting out of feelings, emotion and inclination does not make an act moral but its use of reason and rationality makes it moral. In the words of Baron,

A careful reading of the text makes it plain that someone who helps from duty does not care only about doing his duty. Kant emphasizes that what distinguishes an action done from duty from an action done from inclination is not its purpose, but the maxim by which it is determined—that is, why the person chose so to act (G 4:399). Both the agent who acts from duty and the agent who acts from inclination want to help the person they are helping, but only the former sees the person's needs as making a moral claim on him (Marcia Baron 2002: 98).

We, human beings, are different from animal beings on the quality of being the rational beings, in his view. And this quality of being a rational being should always be used in all of our actions to form a moral act. So acting out of duty is about following the rationality. We are autonomous beings and should give a law to ourselves for the moral conduct and we all have the capabilities to do that. And these legislations, in his views, can be differentiated in two parts—external legislation and internal legislation (Ladd 1999: xix). External legislation or judicial legislation is about the external coercion and forces

an individual to do what is expected and required from him. On the other hand internal or ethical legislation is about me coercing myself. This coercion is against the desires and inclinations which come in the way of ethical motives. Some duties might be qualities of both coercions. We might keep promise merely out of ethical obligation as our rationality does not allow breaking the promise as well as with effect of some external coercion. So if I don't keep my promise, some higher authorities will be there to punish me (Ladd 1999: xix). That's why we see Kant does not have much faith in law and its relations with justice.

In Kant's view law is just a part of duty and it cannot lead to lasting peace and justice. For a longer peace and justice, we need to focus on internal legislation or ethical legislation as this is more permanent and it can be achieved as all of us have the rational capacity to do so. He categorized duties into four sections- perfect duties to oneself (Keeping promises), imperfect duties towards oneself (Benevolence, charity) , perfect duties towards others ( justice and law) and imperfect duties towards others. Hence, ethics and justice are two mutually exclusive concepts. Justice or law is about external legislation and ethics is about internal legislation, law is about duties of justice and it is applicable to others only. He prefers later over earlier (Ladd 1999: xx). He writes,

Duty is that action to which a person is bound. It is therefore the content [Materie] of obligation. As such, (as far as action is concerned), duty remains the same, although we can be obligated to it in different ways (MEJ 1999: 16).

### **Categorical imperative**

Without Categorical Imperative (CI), Kant's philosophy cannot be understood. Categorical imperative is something which provides the foundation or base for his moral philosophy. It is categorical imperative which sets him apart from other philosophers in the realm of moral philosophy. It says, that act according to that maxim by which you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law (*Foundation*<sup>5</sup> 1959: 39 cited in Ladd 1999: xvi ). In the simple language it would mean that Act so that you should always treat humanity and human beings, whether in your person or or in that of another,

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<sup>5</sup> Foundation is Short form for Foundations of the Metaphysics of Morals, written by Immanuel Kant.



as an end and never as a means only ( *Foundation* 1959: 47). Each individual is a sovereign legislator in the real of ends, which is moral realm. He writes in *Metaphysical Elements of Justice*-,

The categorical (unconditional) imperative is one that does not command mediately, through the representation of an end that could be attained by an action, but immediately, through the mere representation of this action itself (its form), which the categorical imperative thinks as objectively necessary and makes necessary. Examples of this kind of imperative can be supplied by no other practical discipline than the one that prescribe obligation (moral philosophy). All other imperatives are technical and altogether conditional. The ground of the possibility of categorical imperatives lies in the fact that they relate to no determination of will (through which a purpose can be ascribed to it) other than its freedom (MEJ 1999: 15-16).

In *Groundwork* (2002), he defines categorical imperative in the context of formula of humanity, “Act so that you use humanity, as much in your own person as in the person of every other, always at the same time as end and never merely as means.” (Wood 2002: 46, cited in Shelly Kagan 2002: 151)

In the context of formula of the realm of ends he states categorical imperative as follows-“That all maxims ought to harmonize from one’s own legislation into a possible realm of ends as a realm of nature.” (Wood 2002: 54, cited in Shelly Kagan 2002: 151). In the context of formula of universal law he describe CI as, "Act as though the maxim of your action were by your will to become a universal law of nature” (*Groundwork* 2002).

So, for him categorical imperative is about giving the command to exercise our will in a particular way, and not just follow our inclination or interests. It is about making a decision on the basis of a priori condition, not based on our experiences. It considers human beings as autonomous and rational beings. It believes in universality and objectivity of rationality. It has to transcend desires and wanting. In short moral imperative is not conditional and it is not based on some if. And reason dictates categorical imperative for moral action (MacCornic 2005).

## **Freedom, Coercion and Individual dignity**

Kantian philosophy begins with the assumption that we are free. It assumes that we are autonomous being and this autonomous characteristic comes from rationality which every single individual possesses (Kagan 2002: 112). In the Groundwork he argues that there cannot be any idea of morality without an idea of freedom. Freedom is the basis of morality (G4:446-47 cited in Kagan 2002: 113). And this freedom depends on our rational capacities. Kagan writes on theoretical rationality and freedom,

As a theoretically rational being, I am capable of examining my various beliefs and seeing whether it makes sense for me to hold them. Thus, in the first place, I have standards for evaluating beliefs, in the light of which I can ask whether or not I am justified in holding a given belief. I might, for example, appeal to various principles of logic, discovering that some of my beliefs commit me to accepting still other beliefs; or I might appeal to various rules of scientific methodology, finding that, given the available evidence, I am unjustified in accepting some further belief. But rationality in the theoretical domain goes beyond the mere evaluation of my beliefs: I can change my beliefs in light of my judgments concerning the extent to which they meet (or fail to meet) the relevant standards. Normally, that is, when I see that the evidence better supports one claim rather than another, my beliefs change accordingly. Roughly, then, theoretical rationality consists in my ability to evaluate my beliefs in light of the standards relevant for evaluating beliefs, and to alter my beliefs in the light of those evaluations. (Kagan 2002:113).

Dignity of individual is very central in his philosophy. It is his concept of dignity, which gives individuals moral worth. And this intrinsic dignity gives right to freedom. All other rights depend on right to freedom. Hence he is the philosopher who defends the right of individual par excellence as compared to any other writer. He rejects social utility by rejecting utilitarian philosophy which considers individual as a means for a larger social ends (Ladd 1999: XV). From the dignity of individual and his right to freedom he drives all of civil and political liberties of individuals. On individual freedom he builds theory of republican form of government, abolition of war and need to establish an international

organization of states. Every single individual has an inalienable right to be free, and his own master to live in peace. Freedom and peace are demands of justice (Ladd 1999: xvi). Every single individual is not just subject but is an autonomous free being which has the right to legislate to him in the realm of ends. And moral realm cannot be built without an autonomous and free realm for the individual. In the *Foundation* he writes that freedom must be presupposed as the property of the will of all rational beings (*Foundation* 1959: 39).

In the *Foundation*, there are two types of freedom namely positive and negative freedom. Positive freedom is related to individual will. It is about giving a law to him or her and acts according to that. Positive freedom is about not to be the slaves of your desires and inclination. On the other hand negative freedom is about being free from external coercion and constraints. Positive freedom makes individual a moral being. But, without negative freedom, there is no possibility of positive freedom. There has to be peaceful conditions first, for a better and moral world. Politics and law are part of negative freedom and they set the foundation for the positive freedom and moral order. In other words, state, law or any other institution cannot make people moral; it can only provide the liberal space and liberty for individual to build a moral world through their rational capacity. You can't force morality. You can only make a better space and conditions for morality (*Foundation* 1959: 447)<sup>6</sup> Ladd writes,

Nevertheless, morality demands that persons be negatively free, and in this sense, therefore, the demand for liberty is a moral one. A person's innate right to liberty has its basis in the negative freedom that is demanded as a condition of moral autonomy, that is, of morality itself (Ladd 1999: xvii).

War and external coercion threatens the possibility for positive freedom. Only those coercion which are in accordance with liberty can be legitimate. And only these legitimate external coercion, established by law and for the purpose of justice, can be useful for a moral world. No other external coercion is moral, and it will be illegitimate coercion. It is violence, and violence erodes all the possibility for a moral world.

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<sup>6</sup> Cited in Ladd 1999: XVII

Violence kills the space for liberty and without liberty there cannot be a space for positive freedom. Being free from violence is an individual's innate right. Violence takes away an individual's lawful liberty. Coercion is justified if it is used to protect liberty which means if it is used to prevent violence. War and conflicts are bad; not just because it kills people, but also bad because it takes away both the negative as well positive liberty. It places individual in state of nature where there is always a possibility of threat of hostility. In the conditions of war, individuals possess the lawless liberty without having enforceable rights. Here state, in the form of civil society (society subjected to political authority), works as a provider for a negative freedom. This establishment of a civil society at the domestic level is first step for peace, liberty, freedom and morality. A possibility to have a civil society at international levels provides opportunities for a more peaceful, liberal, free and moral world at international as well as world level.

In short Kant's morality has three features (Wood 2002: 163). The first feature is related to the categorical imperative. In his views imperative of moral deliberation is categorical rather than hypothetical. From here, Kant formulates first formula of the principle of morality, which is a formula of universal law (FUL) and the formula of the law of nature (FLN) (wood 2002: 37, 164). The second feature is related to the reason which every individual possesses. In Kant's view, we have the reason to take care of our well beings as well as of others. We have the reason to respect the dignity and autonomy of others. We as rational agents have good reason to respect the others, their dignity, thoughts, and well beings in an objective way as I have for myself. From this idea he formulates second formula of the principle of morality, the formula of humanity as an end in itself (FH) (Wood 2002: 37). The third feature is linked to our identity and self-worth. It is about who we are. It leads to his third formula of moral law. It is basis of formula of autonomy (FA) and formula of the realm of ends (FRE) (Wood 2002: 49-50, 164).

## **Kant and Morality in International Politics**

After providing the foundation for his idea of morality, we will now go in search of his ideas of morality in international politics. He is very important philosopher for international and world politics as he transcends the boundaries of the state. His morality, like Machiavelli, is not tied to the state. He is not constrained by any necessity based justification for bypassing the moral guidelines.

His work on morality is substantial which includes *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals* (2002), *Critique of Practical Reason* (1949), *The Metaphysics of Morals* (*The Metaphysical Elements of Virtue* (1964a) and *The Metaphysical Elements of Justice* (1999), *Lectures on Ethics* (1963b), “On the common saying: ‘This may be true in Theory, but it does not apply in Practice’” (1971a) and *Perpetual Peace* (1903). All of them deals with issues of morality at different levels, but all of them are linked with each other and helps in understanding each other. But our concern here is not much to his understanding of morality, of individuals in an abstract sense. Our concern here is about international morality.

Two writings, *Metaphysical Elements of Justice* (1999) and *Perpetual Peace* (1903) are of great importance in helping us to understand the international morality.

There is not much disagreement on his understanding of individual morality, which is deontological in nature. His conception of morality gives priority to individual. It is agent-centered, allows principles to trump consideration of consequences and places emphasis on moral motives (Donaldson 1993). The act in itself is more important than the consequence. It is not the consequence, but the duty itself, which guides the action of an individual. Every individual has the capacity to use it reason to act morally, which is universal in nature. Two concepts maxim universalizability and notion of rational beings as having value as ends in themselves, are core ideas of Kantian understanding of morality. From observation of human nature, the fact about morality cannot be established and moral issues should be separated from what is as it is about what ought to be.

When Kant is used in international political theory, it becomes very difficult to understand his idea of morality. There is a tension between his state centric view of morality when he supports nonintervention in the affairs of other nations on the one hand and his cosmopolitan view of human rights on the other (Doyle 1983, Wilkins 2007).

Michael Doyle in his article, *Kant, Liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs* (1983), argues that there is a tension or contradiction within his conception of Morality. In his understanding, Kant seems to be caught between his commitment to state as moral personality and his commitment to his cosmopolitan view of human rights. Kantian Cosmopolitanism affirms the cross cultural moral truths, at least to the point of affirming a cross cultural basis for moral truth, and stands opposed to cultural relativism or extreme realism because cultural relativism, even does not give space to tolerance which it claims (Donaldson 1993). Hence his categorical imperative is the only option. It is a cosmopolitan doctrine that treats all humans by virtue of their shared rationality as citizens of a single moral order.

R.J. Vincent (1986) in his book *Human Rights and International Relations* suggests that the existence of universal human rights may be predicated on the recognition of the existence, or future emergence of, a “single cosmopolitan culture”. This cosmopolitan culture is spread is across all indigenous cultures, and which is carried to each of them what are in, in some at least geographical sense, global human rights. This global human rights are the product of the process which Kant proposes.

In Donaldson’s (1992) view, there are three guiding concepts in Kant’s writing on international morality and these can be summarized as:

1. The view of state as a moral person- living in a condition of natural freedom and subject to a social contract with other states.
2. The original communal ownership of the earth and its resources by all persons- on the basis of which he condemns the colonization of primitive people all over the world because there is no voluntary contractual agreement from all sides.
3. The demand to strive for Perpetual Peace- where he condemns all acts which prevents or have the possibility to prevent the future Perpetual Peace (*Perpetual*

*Peace* 1795, 1907). In his views we should always act in accordance of Perpetual Peace even if it is appears unlikely to be realized (Donaldson 1992: 146). He is very much hopeful of Perpetual Peace and in his views we should not neglect or reject the idea of Perpetual Peace only on the basis that it is not possible in near future.

His international morality is not different from domestic morality, unlike Machiavelli. For him, there cannot be any separation between domestic morality and international morality. For him, categorical imperative is also the source of morality at international level. Moral law is the source of the idea of the Perpetual Peace. This idea informs national and individual obligation of foreigners and foreign nations. By considering state as a person, he expect the states to behave with other state in a respected way so that your action gives dignity to others, as rational agents and never considering state as mere means to ends (Donaldson 1992: 148). We should start reformation at home for the Perpetual Peace. We should always work towards a republican form of government.

In his views, there should always be perfect honesty in international affairs, good faith in interpretation and fulfillment of treaties (Kant 1795, 1907: 107), and a republican form of government. We should start at our home by reforming our culture and education. We should develop a culture and education system which gives a huge importance to morality. Until and unless we do this, we cannot expect peace and moral order at international level. But what does he mean by morality at international level is still not clear. For that, we will have to deal with some of his concepts which are related to international politics and morality. These concepts includes Morality of state and individual, Morality of war, Morality of treaties, foundation for Perpetual Peace- articles on peace, intervention in other states international justice, international law, republican form of government, cross cultural moral etc.

### **Morality of state**

There are multiple views on Kant's understanding of state and morality. For Kant, human beings can only enjoy the moral freedom in an organized society, regulated by law. Such a society is the precondition for moral progress and indeed it is the means by which morality is reflected in history (Hurrell, 1990). But for him that is not the end of

moral progress. In Hurrel's view, for Kant there is no moral progress and peace at the international level until and unless international anarchy is mitigated or its effects are reduced as each and every time international anarchy will provide grounds for immoral behavior at the domestic level in the name of survival and security. He gives preferences to republican states over other states for a moral progress.

B. T. Wilkins (2007) goes even further on the interpretation of state morality in Kant by arguing in complete support of state morality. In his view, Kant considers state as a moral actor in itself. It is a moral personality. He considers Kant as teleologist. The state is moral personality same as the individual is a moral personality. His morality of the state is derived from the morality of the individual, and the morality of an individual is a matter of dignity and respect which cannot be violated for Kant. Kant defines a state as a union of a multitude of men under the principles of justice. Kant defines moral personality as nothing but the freedom of a rational being under moral laws, while a psychological personality is simply the ability to be conscious of one's self-identity. Under the law of nations (which Kant thinks is a misnomer for the law of states) a state is a moral person living with and in opposition to another state in a condition of natural freedom which itself is a condition of continual war (B. T. Wilkins 2007).

On the contrary of this understanding, Michael Doyle (1983) interprets Kant differently on state morality. For him a state which does not respect the human rights of its subjects cannot expect other states to respect its sovereignty. But Kant believed the duty of non-intervention in the affairs of a state by other states is a perfect, i.e., exception less, duty. He believes that until and unless all states will become the republican in nature, which will happen in the future in his interpretation of Kant, there will not be a lasting peace in the international system (Doyle 1983).

State is a moral actor but not at the cost of individual morality. It is the duty of the state to abide by morals at domestic level as well as international level. We have to start with reformation at home by improving the morals of our citizens and then moving to international affairs and other states. It is not just about ethics but also about self interest for the states. Commercial success of a state depends on civil and religious liberty. In his view, those states which does not gives importance to freedom, liberty and enlighten of



its own citizens will fail the race of progress in international politics. The more highly developed individuals of a state lead to more high level of morality and obligation towards other states (Smith 1903:56). Hence, if states are moral in conduct, it will lead to peace and morality at international level.

His conception of state is different from Hobbesian conception of state. For Kant, the main function of state is to maintain the law and order, to guarantee and protect the rights of its subjects. In Kantian conception these rights are not given or created by state but protected by state (Ladd 1999: xxxviii- xxxix). His state is a civil state, a republican state which gives enough freedom and liberty to individuals to make choices according to their reasons. State is necessary for negative freedom. State has the legitimate authority to use violence in the sense if it helps in negative freedom and peace and to protect liberty. This is the most important function of state. If state is not working towards this end then there is no point of having a state. In the words of John Ladd (1999: xxxvi),

This political order, or civil society, as Kant calls it, is a necessary condition of the rule of law. The foundation of political authority, then, is a person's innate right to live in peace and freedom, which, incidentally, includes the right to have one's property secure and guaranteed. Everyone has a duty to obey the political authorities because they represent the rule of law, and, in obeying them, a person is ipso facto respecting the rights of others to live in peace and freedom. Accordingly, it is the rule of law that provides the final basis of political authority and political obedience, rather than, as for Locke, a presumed contractual relation among the citizens or between the people and the ruler. (Kant doubts that such a contract ever took place and maintains that, even if it had taken place, it could not provide the basis of political authority (Ladd 1999: xxxvi),

A state is required because the lawlessness in the state of nature is incompatible with the a individual's right to liberty. And without liberty there is no possibility of moral progress in individual and society. For him, a state is a civil state, which is a society subject to political authority. In *Perpetual Peace*, he proposes six preliminary articles and three definitive articles for Perpetual Peace. All of these articles are concerned with the behaviors of the state and their moral implication. Any act which is a hindrance towards

Perpetual Peace is immoral. In the preliminary articles, Kant talks about negative conditions. He is in favour of abolishing all those conditions which threatens the peaceful coexistence of nations. These six articles are as follows:

1. No peace treaty is valid if it was made with the **mental reservation** that could lead to a future war.

In this article he is focusing on the intentions of the state. He is not interested in just peace but more concerned about Perpetual Peace. Anything which is done for temporary gain cannot be considered as moral. If two states are forced to choose an option then it is not freedom and liberty for the states. Conditions and mental reservation gives ample scope to not accept the treaty. So intentions of the states should be clear during signing the treaty. In his view, having mental reservation is beneath the dignity of a sovereign. (Article 1 *Perpetual Peace*)

2. No independent states, large or small, are to come under the dominion of another state by inheritance, exchange, purchase or gift.

This article considers state as an autonomous moral being. For him state is not a piece of land which can be given to someone any time. It is a society of human beings. And being the society, no one else has the right to decide about its way of life other than that state. It has its own specificity. In his words,

Like the trunk of a tree, it has its own roots, and to graft it on to another state is to do away with its existence as a moral person, and to make of it a thing. Hence it is in contradiction to the idea of the original contract without which no right over a people is thinkable. (*Perpetual Peace* : 109).

So here, the state and morality are related to each other. State like an individual is a moral actor. It is an autonomous being which composed of its citizens. It is more than a piece of land.

3. Standing armies shall be abolished in the course of time.

It should be abolished because it is a constant threat to the survival of the other nations. Constant threat or fear is against the idea of freedom and liberty. Until and unless

we deal with this fear and threat in international politics, there cannot be peace at international level. Here one question arises, why peace? In the first section it has been explained that war creates chaos in the society, and in chaos there is no possibility of morality or right conduct. States should not have standing armies for another reason and that are- by having standing armies we treat individuals merely as machines and instrument. And treating the individual as a means and not an end is against the idea of individual dignity, liberty and freedom. When a state is fighting, it is not fighting for land, but fighting for the security of collection of individual. By having armies ready for war, we create the possibility of killing people, our soldiers or others.

4. No national debts shall be contracted in connection with the external affairs of the state.

When money is given to another state for purpose of war or other external affairs then it works as tool of great hindrance towards perpetual peace. Easy availability of money makes one state dependent on outside forces, which will leads to crisis of autonomous status in international politics. This is immoral because this is against the autonomy of the state in domestic affairs and international affairs among the states.

5. No state is to interfere by force with the constitution or government of another state. And here he is very specific about the intervention in domestic affairs of the state. Every single state has the authority to conduct its domestic and international affairs autonomously. No other state has the right to interfere in her affairs. Interfering in the domestic affair of a state is an attack on the dignity of the state and it is immoral. It does not matter if the other state is dictatorship or democracy. Use of force for spreading any idea can never be considered moral. You can propagate your ideas but should not force the ideas. Ideas of democracy promotion are good enough till they are spread with the agreements of the all. They should not be forced.

There is only one condition where he thinks that you can interfere on the matters of others and that is when the other state is no more a state. If it has been torn apart by internal conflict and there is anarchy within that territory and there is nothing left to be called as state. If people are killing each other, groups are killing each other and there are multiple centers of authority and no one is listening to no one. So interference is allowed

only if the state has reached to that critical level of anarchy. It should not be misused. Its misuse will always give ample opportunities to powerful state to interfere in other states domestic affairs for gain.

6. No state during a war is to permit acts of hostility that would make mutual confidence impossible after the war is over-e.g. the use of assassins and poisoners, breach of capitulation, incitement to treason in the opposing state.

All of these activities in his views kill the spirit of peace. Anything which cancels or kills the spirit of peace cannot be considered as moral. By employing these evil techniques a state might achieve the desired goal temporarily, but by doing that she sows the seeds for future conflicts and war. By doing so, it prepares the ground of mistrust and fear in the cooperation. So states which does not follow the moral guidelines cannot be considered moral even if they succeeds in their goals.

In his view article 1, 5 and 6 requires urgency and should not be delayed in any circumstances. Article 2, 3 and 4 can be delayed according to the situation but not to the extent that it loose the purpose of the article (Kant 1795, 1907).

Next section of *Perpetual Peace* deals with definitive articles, which are a step further for Perpetual Peace and moral order. For him Perpetual Peace is not just about the absence of hostilities of war but it is about pledging of one individual to not harm others whether they are the part of the state in which we live or are the part of foreign country. Individual are individuals and they deserves freedom, liberty and dignity all over the world. And this liberty is not possible for individual without entering into a civil state. Someone who lives in state of nature cannot live in peace and security because the others are always a constant threat to him. The other is not bound by any law and s/he has the limitless freedom which leads to anarchy. So to get out of this situation, either you have to enter with the others in a civil constitution or get rid of the others by asking them to leave their place. And this way a state comes into effect. But here the question is of morality of state, democratic and undemocratic. He is not in favour of democratic state in modern sense. He is in favor of a republic. There are three definitive articles, which are as follows-

1. The civil constitution of every state is to be republican-

Republican constitution helps in Perpetual Peace. Because it is republican, people have a say in the decision making. It functions according to the constitution of the state and not on the will of the ruler. It gives the state true freedom to choose and follows the reason rather than ambitions or desires of one individual or mob. If it is just a democracy, where decisions are just made on the basis of majority, then there is always a possibility of mobocracy, and people might follow their passions which can be easily ignited by state machinery.

Today in the age of mass media, it has become very easy to indoctrinate people in the name of nationalism. So, democracy can always lead to a mobocracy and later into despotism. But if a state has a good constitution, a civil constitution, to which all the people agreed to follow because they made it themselves in the peace time with lot of reason and hard work. But only a good constitution is not enough, for that you need participation of the people. So, in his view republican form of government is the best form of government. He thinks that only republican form of government can guide towards Perpetual Peace (Kant 1795, 1903: 133).

2. The law of nations is to be founded on a federation of free states.

Federation of states guarantees peaceful settlements of disputes as well as trust among the member states. . So in the first place you need a free state. Then arise the need of a league of nations for lawful solutions of the problems. He is not in favour of international state because in his views that is not feasible. But in his views, morality is very inherent in individuals as well as in state. Having the law and justifying the law always sends a message that people and states don't want to return to the state of nature. He writes in second definitive article,

This homage which every state renders-in words at least-to the idea of right, proves that, although it may be slumbering, there is, notwithstanding, to be found in man a still higher natural moral capacity by the aid of which he will in time gain the mastery over the evil principle in his nature, the existence of which he is unable to deny. And he hopes the same of others (Kant 1795, 1903: 132).

3. The law of the world citizenship is to be united to conditions of universal hospitality. This article is about the right of the individual all over the world. In his view, a visiting foreigner should not be considered as an enemy at any cost. All men have the right to visit every part of the earth by virtue of their common possession of surface of the earth. So they can go anywhere if they are not a danger to that society. But acceptance into that society is matter which depends on that society. They can refuse to accept that individual if they consider that the other person is danger to their society. They are not bound to accept him/her into their society. But if his/her life is in danger then it is necessary that he/she should be given a place to stay in that society. This article is the foundation for justice and humanitarian assistance and providing relief to the refugees. (Kant 1795, 1903: 137)

### **Morality of War**

Those who consider him as deontologists in some sense (Hurrell 1990; Donaldson 1994) believe that for Kant war cannot be a mean for moral progress and peace. War in itself is an evil. It is the source of all evils and corruption (Hurrell 1990). So every war is a path backward in the progress of peace. It destroys the foundation for peace and progress for a moral behavior of states and individual. There are two views on the war, especially on the question of going to war. There can be a war if other state threatens the balance of power, every state has a right to do so, but that will, in a long run, work against the idea of Perpetual Peace and moral behavior of the states.

On the other hand B. T. Wilkins (2007) considers him as the statist. In his interpretation of Kant, every state can wage war, without any moral consideration, out of necessity as state in itself a moral personality and guarantor of the security of its citizens (Wilkins 2007). But if some other states attack you, then what are the options you have in that situation? Should you also go for war? By declaring war, aren't you taking away the individual freedom of your own citizens? What are the moral conducts and behaviours, under which a state can enter into a war? How that state should behave with other state, during the war and after the war? How should the winning state should behave with the people of the defeated states? The next few pages will try to answer these questions.

In Kant's understanding, individuals created state to come out of anarchy and state of nature. So, individuals own the state because they made the state. And those individuals choose a few people and a civil constitution for the for the purpose of lawful conduct and security of the individual. No one wants to live in the state of nature. Citizens are the colegislative members of the state (Kant 1797, 1999: 153-154). Protecting that state is duty of every individual because it is their property and it is their right to protect that property. But protecting or not protecting is their own decision and it should not be imposed in his views. Going for a war should not be decided single handedly by monarch and it also should not be decided on the basis of majoritarian decision (Kant 1795, 1903 and 1797, 1999).

In his view every single war demands the consent of the citizens of that country and that consent should be supplanted by a rational constitutional setup. And if representative of the people, by following the constitution, thinks that it is necessary to go for war then it is necessary and moral for the state to ask its citizens to go for war. They are going for a war, for something which they have created, now it's time to protect that and it is moral to protect that. A state can always wage a war against another state if it threatens the balance of power and common security of the region. But going for a war to just punish someone cannot be considered as moral. In the state of nature, if one state, builds more military strength makes new alliances, disturbs balance of power, then preventive war can also be justified. And if two or more countries indulge in war, then it is necessary to declare the war. War can never solve the problem, but when there is no option left then it becomes the necessary part (Kant 1797, 1999: 154). There should always be some principle in conduct of war. He writes,

The war must be conducted according to such principles as will not preclude the possibility of abandoning the state of nature existing among states (in their external relations) and of entering into a juridical condition...No war between independent states can be a punitive war (*bellum punitivum*), for punishment takes place only where there is a relationship of a superior (*imperantis*) to a subject (*subditum*), and no such relationship exists between states. Nor can any war be a war of extermination (*bellum internecinum*) or a war of subjugation

(bellum subiugatorium), inasmuch as such wars result in the elimination of a state as a moral being by absorbing its people into one mass with the people of the conqueror or by reducing them to slavery (Kant 1797, 1999: 155).

All kind of defensive measures can be adopted against another state in a war if it does not degrade the other state and citizens of that state. States should not employ its citizen as spies, assassins or poisoners, guerrillas, and spreading the rumours, as such measures will destroy the faith for the future peace and Perpetual Peace. During the war, plundering the resources of the country, killing the civilians and making them slaves is immoral and unjust because by doing that you are taking away the dignity of those individuals. Even making of colony without their consent is illegal and unlawful if it is not done through a contract (Kant 1797, 1999: 156-157). If the winning country asks for compensation from the defeated country then that will be considered as a punitive action because then you send the message that the other state was unjust in her conduct of war (Kant 1797, 1999: 156).

You can put some restriction on the military capability of that state, but you should not restrict its activity. If you make them colony or province, then let them have their own constitution and executive body through a governor from the mother country. During the war between the two countries, other neighbouring countries have the rights of neutrality, rights of guarantee of continuation of peace and right of common defense against any possible attack. A state can employ any means to defend herself against an unjust enemy, except inhuman acts against the people (Kant 1797, 1999: 158). In his words, an unjust enemy is someone who's publicly expressed will disclose a maxim that, if made into a universal rule, would make peace among nations impossible and would perpetuate the state of nature forever. But even there are some limits against the unjust enemy. The winning coalition should not share the resources and land of the defeated country because it would be injustice against its people.

So in the first place, war is immoral because it creates the conditions of state of nature where survival becomes the priority. War takes away individual dignity and freedom and forces people to live in anarchy and chaos. But some time fighting against an unjust enemy becomes necessary. We should fight to preserve something which we ourselves have created. Fighting to maintain balance of power and to maintain the



common security is moral because it helps us not to go into state of nature. But a defeated country and its citizens should not be treated as winning stuff and should not be divided among the winners. That will be against the human spirit. Atrocities should not cross a limit from where it will be impossible to come closer for the future generations. This, in long turn, will work as a hindrance in Perpetual Peace, moral and just world order.

### **Solution for war- An International law or International State**

In *Perpetual Peace* (1795, 1903), Kant suggests three definite articles for a world peace and moral progress which includes—republican nature of the civil constitution of states, loose federation of states with laws of states and The Law of World Citizenship Limited to Conditions of Universal Hospitality. His support for a republican state system is grounded in his belief in the capacity of individuals to think rationally. In his view people are more naturally inclined to peace than their bellicose rulers. Peace will be more likely in a republic because of the power of the citizens to restrain the aggressive tendencies of their leaders Kant is being portrayed as someone who proposes formation of world state to solve the problem of international anarchy. He recognizes the influence of anarchy in the interaction of states in the international system, but he never proposed to form an international state to transcend the same as to get out of domestic anarchy by forming a state at the domestic level (Hinsley 1961; Hurrell 1990). In *Power and the Pursuit of Peace* (1961. Hinsley (1961) stresses that Kant did not see the solution to the problem of war in terms of a merger of the states. In the words of Hinsley:

It was no more logical to hope to solve the international problem by the suppression of the states than it would have been to try to end the civil strife by the abolition of individuals. (Hinsley 1961: 62)

Everybody knows that he did not advocate world government or the complete but less universal merger of the states: he explicitly rejects this solution. But because of his use of such phrases most people firmly believe that he advocated international federation in our modern sense of the term as the only alternative . . . This is not the case. He derived these phrases from the word foedus and used that to mean 'treaty', which is what it still means. Like the Founding Fathers when they

constructed the American Constitution, he was envisaging the replacement of the existing imperfect, customary international law by a structure of international society based on a treaty between independent states (Hinsley 1961: 66, cited in Hurrell 1990).

For those who interpret more cosmopolitan inclination in Kant (Bull 1966, 1976, 1979; Wight 1987) find the sources of international society in his writings. According to Bull (1966), Kant “does hold out a universal republic as an ideal, in which, following the domestic analogy, the international anarchy would be resolved by the creation of a *civitas gentium* and only reluctantly comes to accept the 'negative substitute' of a pacific federation” (Bull 1966).

International society is the source for a moral progress in international society by mutual respect and mutual coexistence. But still there are unresolved tension on the nature of international society and international or world state. Kant himself doubted the feasibility and applicability in the international system and he rejects this option by coming up with a loose federation of state. The working of this federation is not very clear on the issues of use of force for a common purpose as he himself contradicts his position at many places (Hurrell 1990). To have a mutual respect for a moral progress, international law is also a matter of consideration for him.

### **International Law and Morality**

His philosophy is centered around categorical imperative, which is acting out of laws which we give to ourselves. And every individual has the rational to give a law to itself, to act morally and this is then guided by reason which every individual possesses. In the same way, states are like individual and moral actors. International law does not attract Kant. He is aware of the issues of power intertwined in international law. A treaty among republican states is a way toward a moral and peaceful world in his views (Donaldson 1993). But this law cannot be enforced in any interpretation of Kant (Wilkins 2007). On the other hand, Andrew Hurrell (1990), Doyle (1983), Bull (1966) and Martin Wight find a source for a mutual respect in international system which emanates from International Society. Doyle (1983) suggests that international law helps the cause of peace by providing a guarantee of respect. Julie Barkley (2000) brings the human nature

argument and the role of international law by suggesting that Kant suggests that human nature needs to be tamed for a better world and learning could help with this project, hence there is a larger role for international law in international relation.

In Kant's view, laws play a role at three different levels. At the first level it plays a role in domestic politics and conduct of state activities with relations to its citizens. Individuals agree to come out of state of nature and want to live in a more secure society, that's why they enter into a contract and form a state. At the second level, there should be a law of nations among the nation state (Kant 1795, 1903: 128). In domestic society, individuals submit to a supreme authority, state, and come out of anarchy through a civil constitution. But among the state, it is not about having a supreme authority over them or having a world state because that is not feasible. They are the sole decision making authority on international affairs. They don't pay attention to peace treaties when it is not in their interests. But even if they don't follow the treaties, they give the arguments if the other state did not follow the law.

It shows that law matters and it is coming from the higher natural moral capacity in the man (Kant 1795, 1903: 131). Normally in the absence of a tribunal, states prosecute their rights through war and not through law. Peace treaties are just the temporary solutions which just stop the war and nothing else. But peace treaties are the first step in that progress towards morality and Perpetual Peace. Even after a peace treaty, there exists a constant threat or fear of war, because states are living in the state of nature. So states should form leagues of peace. And they have the capabilities to do so, as humans are rational beings. Forming a civil constitution is the good example of their rational capacities. Forming a league of peace after the treaty of peace, they can solve the issue at a larger level. League of peace aims to make an end to all wars forever. Purpose of this alliance is not to gain power but to preserve the security and freedom of the state and its alliances (Kant 1795, 1903: 134). In the words of Immanuel Kant,

For states, in their relation to one another, there can be, according to reason, no other way of advancing from that lawless condition which unceasing war implies, than by giving up their savage lawless freedom, just as individual men have done, and yielding to the coercion of public laws. Thus they can form a State of nations

, one, too, which will be ever increasing and would finally embrace all the peoples of the earth (Kant 1795, 1903: 136).

For global citizens there should be respect and dignity. No state should refuse a place to someone who has a danger of life in his/her native state. He/she has the right to go anywhere in the world if he/she is not a threat to domestic politics (Kant 1795, 1903: 140). In his view it is the right of every single individual to visit all the places all over the world and it should not be curtailed at any cost (Kant 1797, 1999: 160).

### **International Society, Moral Progress, Role of Education and the abolition of war-**

Andrew Hurrell (1990) interprets three imperatives to abolish war in Kant's writings. The first imperative is about the immorality of war itself as war produces heavy suffering in the lives of people in the loss of property and individual, even the winning side in a war loses a lot of people. This is an immorality about war, which in long run shapes the normative environment of the international system. The second moral capacity that Kant stresses is the ability to learn from experience and to act on the realization that unless the international anarchy is reformed, increasingly destructive conflict is inevitable. The third kind of moral improvement concerns the gradual process by which individuals become increasingly able to see themselves as part of a global community of mankind, a 'universal cosmopolitan existence' (Hurrell 1990).

### **Interventions in the domestic affairs of other states**

Kant does not support the intervention in the domestic affairs of the state. For him it is an immoral act and works as a hindrance in achieving perpetual peace. State is like an individual and they have their own dignity and autonomy in relations to each other (Kant 1795, 1903: 114). If citizens of the neighbouring state behave differently, and if you think that it is a threat to your population and security, you still can't intervene. It is their domestic affair. Interfering in their domestic politics by supporting one group over another, helping them by arms and information is unlawful and immoral. In his views, American and Russian assistance to different rebel groups in Syria is immoral. It is harming the nation rather than helping it to be normal. Another state's form of government can be your concern but forcing it to adopt your way of life is immoral.

Intervening in domestic affairs of others is possible only if state has split into two parts. And when there is no constitution or head of the government is at the top (Kant 1795, 1903: 112-113). Then it is not state. It is anarchy. He writes in *Perpetual Peace*,

If a state undergoes internal dissension that splits it into two parts, each claiming to be a separate state and laying claim to the whole, it may be all right for another state to help one of the sides; this isn't an infringement of article 5 because doing this doesn't count as interfering with the constitution of another state—it's not a state, it's an anarchy. But until the internal dissension reaches this critical point, such interference by foreign powers would infringe on the rights of an independent people struggling with its internal ills. It would itself be a scandal, and would render the autonomy of all states insecure (Kant 1795, 1903: 113).

### **Humanitarian Intervention**

Interfering in the domestic affairs of other nations is not a norm. It is considered as an exception. It is against the non intervention principle of definitive article 5 of *Perpetual Peace* of Immanuel Kant and quite similar to article 2(4) of the United Nations Charter. It is about the integrity and respect of other country. It is about their sovereign authority. Being independent is necessary in international politics. Acceptance to the intervention norm might give more than enough power to powerful countries to misuse that doctrine. But taking nonintervention as sacred might give space for the state authorities to ill treat its citizens. And then we will also not be able to defend Kant's conception of human dignity and individual freedom. How to save the lives of people when there is gross human rights violation within a state, becomes the issue of debate on intervention and non intervention. In this situation moral dilemmas are at constant play.

On the one hand we should respect the other nation and its principle of self determination and should not interfere in the domestic affairs because it will be immoral to intervene in the matters of other. On the other hand there is the question of human rights. We should always stand against the inhuman treatment of the people all over the world, no matter to which states those people belong. By not helping those individuals we

degrade the humanity. So there is the conflict between the morality of state integrity and universal morality of individual dignity and freedom (Bagnoli 2006).

Humanitarian intervention and Kant have a very complex relationship. Sometimes it seems that Kant is contradicting himself on state sovereignty, individual rights and freedom. If citizens of a state are tortured, killed, and exploited by their own state, then what is the responsibility of other states and the international community? Preliminary article five of *Perpetual Peace* suggests a non interventionist approach of Kant. There he considers intervention in the domestic affairs of the other state as immoral. But that is not the full truth. If we read preliminary article 1 and 2 with article 5 then the picture is different. In article 1 he is talking about civil constitution and republican state. It is about freedom and representativeness.

What he consider as republican form of government can be equated by today's liberal form of democracy (Lillich 1996 ). By liberal democracy he means a society that provides full respect for human rights, freedom, due process, and equality. Apart from democracy, free states also play a key role in his conception of *Perpetual Peace* and morality. The second definitive article stresses on a federation of free states. So if we read these three articles together, we find that he is not an absolute noninterventionist. Article 5 stands only when it is among the peaceful democratic nations. These conditions should be fulfilled first. And after that if a state is violating human rights and threat to international community and other states have every right to intervene in other states and protect the rights and dignity of the individuals living in those territories (Lillich 1996: 403).

Increasingly, worldwide, the right to democratic government is becoming a basic human rights and a violation of that would be considered as a potential threat to peace. But it should not be imposed on other countries. Because the other country is free to practice its form of government except it is not violating human rights and threat to peace of other countries. In Antonio Franceschet's (2010) view, his political theory in *Perpetual Peace* and other writings provides the elements of a compelling analysis of humanitarian intervention. He gives conditional support for humanitarian intervention. This support is given to the condition of progress in law within the state and among the states with a

hope for a cosmopolitan culture. It should be a question of enforcement of law rather than an ethical duty to save the lives of the strangers (Franceschet 2010).

## **Conclusion**

Kant's idea of morality in international politics is no different from his idea of morality in domestic politics. For him, unlike Machiavelli, there is no separation between domestic and international politics for moral behavior. Sameness of moral behavior comes from his preferences to individual as the only and only unit for analysis and concern. For him, there is nothing more important than dignity and integrity of individual. Individual should not be treated as means in any condition. They should always be an end in itself. Considering them as means will be degrading the humanity, as it will be rejecting their mental faculty and rational capacity to think autonomously, independently and freely. To achieve this moral ends, the state plays a key role by helping individual to come out of state of nature. The state is created by people, owned by the people and work with the consent of the people; hence it is a moral entity. When he is taking about people, it is about every single individual. It should not be utilitarian interpretation. A republican form of constitutional and free government is most useful in moral progress of the state. Quality of law in the state helps to raise the moral status of its citizen. Observance of law and maintenance of order in the state helps individual to realize their potential to think and act rationally.

So having a democratic and republican form of state is moral necessity for Perpetual Peace. War is the enemy of peace and morality. Conditions of war create the state of nature and destroy all the possibility of higher moral standard. So it is not morally permissible. But defending one's country is morally permissible because you are defending something which you have created and it is your right to defend something which you own. But still, in the war and after the war, some moral behavior should be observed. War does not solve the problem. It only signals that problem has become more serious. Nobody wins the war. Even those who so called emerges as victors, loses people and resources. So victor's state also goes backward in moral progress. Unjust means like spies, treachery, and plundering, rapes, killing of civilians, and unnecessary violence should not be used. These activities act as the hindrance in the future

possibilities of peace. Intervention in the domestic affairs of the other state is morally and legally not permissible. But for the protection of human rights and helping people to come out of state of nature and anarchy, where there is no state left practically, state or a group of state can intervene. But they should not acquire the territory of other state, doing that will be equal to considering people as only some kind of property. It will be degrading the humanity.

International law and international state cannot be solution for the mitigation of anarchy and state of nature at international level. But a form of federation of state, with some agreed laws and cooperative terms can be helpful to achieve the Perpetual Peace and higher moral standard. Once there is less distrust at international level, states is less fearful of each other, they can solve their problem by discussing. It builds more platforms other than state - state cooperation. Absence of war and hostilities provides the opportunities to people to people interaction and cosmopolitan culture, which is a necessity for world peace, not just the absence of war and all form of violence, a Perpetual Peace and a higher level of morality where the dignity and integrality of individual is respected and they think and act not on the basis of their animal instinct but use their rational capacities. These rational capacities of individuals help to build more peaceful and moral world order.



## Chapter 4

### Machiavelli, Kant and Morality

In popular HBO drama series, Game of Thrones (Series one: Episode 5), Robert Baratheon asks Ned Stark to kill the pregnant Daenerys Targaryen, a claimant to the throne Baratheon sit upon. Ned questions his decision on the grounds of honor and morality.

Robert Baratheon: The whore is pregnant.

Eddard Stark: You're speaking of murdering a child.

Robert Baratheon: I warned you this would happen, back in the North. I warned you, but you didn't care to hear. Well, hear it now: I want them dead. Mother and child both and that fool Viserys as well. Is that plain enough for you? I want them both dead.

Eddard Stark: You'll dishonor yourself forever if you do this.

Robert Baratheon: Honor? I've got Seven Kingdoms to rule! One king, Seven Kingdoms! Do you think honor keeps them in line? Do you think it's honor that's keeping the peace? It's fear! Fear and blood!

Eddard Stark: Then we're no better than the Mad King!<sup>7</sup>

In episode 7 of season one of Game of Thrones, Cersei Lannister also puts Machiavellian point of survival in politics. She gives importance to survival and power over morality and good behavior and intentions. Ned stark asks Cersei to leave the kings landing otherwise he will tell the truth about her affair with her brother. He asks her to leave because he does not want her to die, though there is no love lost between them. But she is tells him about the mistake he did by not taking control of the realm when the mad king died:

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<sup>7</sup> (David et al & Brian Kirk. 2011. The Wolf and the Lion. Huffam, Mark et al., Game of Thrones. USA: HBO)[footnote or if in-text, then in proper format]

Cersei Lannister: You should have taken the realm for yourself. Jaime told me about the day King's Landing fell. He was sitting on the Iron Throne and you made him give it up. All you needed to do was climb those steps yourself. Such a sad mistake.

Eddard Stark: I've made many mistakes in my life, but that wasn't one of them.

Cersei Lannister: Oh but it was. When you play the game of thrones you win, or you die. There is no middle ground.<sup>8</sup>

In season 2 episode 1 when Littlefinger says that knowledge is power, she orders his guards to cut his throat and later stops them. She goes close to him and says that power is power. There is nothing more powerful than power.

In Melian Dialogue (History of Peloponnesian War), Thucydides makes it clear that morality and ethics are not matter of concern in politics. In Melian Dialogue, Athenians are asking Melians [Melians are also Spartans, but it is more accurate to call them Melians] to surrender; otherwise they will be crushed and destroyed. But the Melians do not listen to their advice. They give a moral argument for not destroying them.

Melians: Then in our view (since you force us to leave justice out of account and to confine ourselves to self-interest) — in our view it is at any rate useful that you should not destroy a principle that is to the general good of all men — namely, that in the case of all who fall into danger there should be such a thing as fair play and just dealing, and that such people should be allowed to use and to profit by arguments that fail short of a mathematical accuracy. And this is a principle which affects you as much as anybody, since your own fall would be visited by the most terrible vengeance and would be an example to the world.

Athenians: As for us, even assuming that our empire does come to an end, we are not despondent about what would happen next. One is not so much frightened of being conquered by a power which rules over others, as Sparta does (not that we are concerned with Sparta now), as of what would happen if a ruling power is

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<sup>8</sup>.(David et al & Brian Kirk. 2011. You Win or Die. Huffam, Mark et al., Game of Thrones. USA: HBO)

attacked and defeated by its own subjects. So far as this point is concerned, you can leave it to us to face the risks involved. What we shall do now is to show you that it is for the good of our own empire that we are here and that it is for the preservation of your city that we shall say what we are going to say. We do not want any trouble in bringing you into our empire, and we want you to be spared for the good both of yourselves and of ourselves. (Thucydides 432 B.C., Warner 1984: 400-408)

In the next paragraphs Melians ask Athenians to be lenient and not make them slaves. But Athenians are very 'Realist' and they argue that the strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept what they are forced to accept. In the views of Athenians that is the true morality.

If we observe both the incident, where one is fiction and one is from history we find the similarities in the human behavior and the same responses. , then we find that idealists die and realists survive. Melians are destroyed and killed by Athenians, Ned Stark is killed by Joffrey. Hence, Machiavellian advice of being prudent seems to have an edge over Kantian principle of categorical imperative in the fiction on politics and history. This chapter is an attempt to bring both Machiavelli and Kant together on international politics and morality. What are their basic assumptions where they meet with each other? What are the points of contention where they diverge? Why is Machiavelli's conception of morality different from Kant's conception of morality? Why end and means have different connotation in their writings? Why is survival the most important moral thing for Machiavelli? With these questions in mind, this chapter will explore the connection of human nature, state of nature, anarchy, democracy, individual freedom, war, alliances, Law, Duty, Virtue, Human Rights, Humanitarian Intervention, Military capabilities and role of state with morality in the writings of Machiavelli and Kant.

Most important thing which should be remembered is that none of them rejected the idea of morality or what is considered as good. Kant gave preference to categorical imperative and individual dignity over consequentialist' morals of Machiavelli, but Machiavelli also never rejected the importance of moral in politics. In *The Prince*, he writes that the prince should always appear to follow the moral law even if he is not

actually following it. This suggests that he has given some moral importance in human nature.

### **Human Nature and Morality**

Moral questions are questions which are related with individuals and their actions. Why do certain people consider something as moral, and why some people don't? Why even after accepting some rule of law, few observe the law and few don't? Why do they do that? When they do that, what is the key factor contributing to that action?

In the writings of both, Machiavelli and Kant, Human nature has very important role to play. They both agree on the corruption in the human nature (Lesser 2014). If Machiavelli considers men as self-centered, liars, ungrateful, deceivers and avoiders of danger (*The Prince* 1950: 61), Kant also considers them as having the content of animal nature. This animal nature is the root of desires and pleasures. By nature, in his understanding they are imperfect creature, untrustworthy, mad for glory, power and possessions (Smith 1917: 46). They both recognize the basic elements in human nature and on the basis of that they formulate their theories. Recognition of animal nature is the similarity in their writings. They also agree that people recognize some basic moral principle as just and unjust but they differ in observing them. They are also not sure if the others will observe the faith (Lesser 2014). But after that they make their ways apart. For Machiavelli, because human nature is untrustworthy, you should never trust people.

Machiavelli is pessimistic about the capabilities of human nature. And because human nature is not good, you should know how to be bad also. In chapter 15 of *The Prince* (*The Prince* 1950: 56), he advises prince to learn to not to be good. It is not that he is asking *The Prince* to be bad, but he is asking *The Prince* to know how to be bad also and use this according to need and necessity of the occasion. He is against the idea of keeping the promises. In his views, what is the point of keeping the promises if you are not sure if the others will keep promises or not. Keeping the promises is good thing in his views, but as there is no guarantee about the others and their evil nature, it is always prudent to not keep the promises (*The Prince* 1950: 64).

But Kantian idea of human nature is not just about the animal nature. In his view, human nature is consisting of animal nature and rational nature. He is not pessimist like Machiavelli. In Kant's view, human beings have the capabilities to be good and this capability to think rationally and autonomously give them worth and dignity. Animal nature cannot be eliminated in his view but it can be tamed through the realization that they have the mental capabilities to think rationally and this quality of thinking independently gives them dignity. We should not be just the slaves of our desires (Friedrich 1949: 118). In his view, in contrast to Machiavelli, we should always keep the faith with others. It does not matter if others keep faith with you or not. It is the moral duty of every individual to do that. And this moral duty is a virtuous duty because it is not just in your interest but because it helps humanity to make a bond of trust for future peace. This assumption that others will also keep their faith, can lead to individuals and state to come out of state of nature, and it is the duty of every single individual to come out of state of nature. To remain or return to state of nature is not in the interests of individuals and their progress as a society (Gregon, 1996). So in short, in Kant's understanding, individuals are capable to come out of animalism and reach a higher stage of civilization, where there is no fear of war, destruction and loss of loss, a condition of *Perpetual Peace* and moral world; at the same time for Machiavelli, they are not capable of come out of self-interests, only external force can do that.

### **State and Morality**

For both of them, state is a moral actor. Both realizes the importance of state and advantages it gives over living in a stateless society. But their arguments for supporting the state and its form of violence and powers of state are different. And this difference comes from there conception of state of nature. In Machiavelli's conception, state of nature is related to anarchy. There is no sense of justice in state of nature and it was characterized by frequent violence against persons and property (Lesser 2014: 6). Machiavelli is always afraid of falling back to anarchy and he does not want to go back that anarchic situation. For Kant also, state of nature is characterized by constant fear and insecurity of all against all (Ladd 1999: xxxviii). People are always in the condition of war or fear of war. This condition of lawlessness is not fruitful for moral progress and he

suggest a civil society as the solution for this. Purpose of state is different for both of them. For Machiavelli, the purpose of state is to maintain the stability and order in a society (*The Prince* 1950: 94). It is an end itself. And doing whatever measures to sustain the order is moral, no matter how cruel they are. In the final chapter of *The Prince*, he writes it explicitly, that whatever you do, it should be done for the unity and integrity of state. So it is the duty of the ruler, in Machiavellian conception, to work for strengthening the capabilities of state to make it unite and make it capable to be ready for any situation.

Kantian conception of state is not about just maintaining the order. He transcends Machiavellian instrumental logic of safeguarding the boundaries, his purpose is to take help from state in helping the individual to reach the higher stage of morality, which is *Perpetual Peace*. State does not give right to individuals but it just protects them and provides a scope where individuals can use their reason and rationality. Purpose of state is helping individuals in negative freedom (Ladd xxxvi). A state is required because lawlessness is incompatible with the individual's right to liberty. And it is there to help them in moral progress. Machiavelli is not interested in any of these issues. His only concern is to maintain the order at any cost (*The Prince* 1950: 56, 94). And this order is not to achieve any higher moral ends. Stability is an end itself. Regarding the means to achieve this stability, there is a wide gulf between Kant and Machiavelli. Machiavelli does not prohibit any means to achieve the end of stability. If people are not observing a law made by the ruler and which can lead to anarchy in the state, ruler can use any violent means to crush those people and ideas. But Kant does not support that. State is there to just protect the right, not to crush them. If people are not in agreement with a particular law then that law should be reviewed. Kant's state is a republican state, it belongs to the people. Role of state is not to just produce an order, but also a just order (Kant 1797, 1999: 154).

Machiavellian state, in *The Prince*, is by large a monarchy. In *Discourses*, he supports republic, only and only if they have reached a stable order. Kant is against violating the prescribed methods which is an attack on the dignity and integrity of the state. And state is like an individual who has its own integrity and dignity which cannot be violated.

When it comes to international federation of state and their behavior with each other, there seems to be no agreement between them. For Machiavelli, there is no importance of believing or keeping the faith with others. In anarchy, there is no guarantee that others will not attack you when you will be vulnerable. You should never trust them. In international scenario, there is no higher authority to enforce the agreements, and whenever it is not in your interest, you can always break the treaties. It is about survival and every single method is justified and moral, to protect the realm from outside forces. If it is in your interest to keep the promises, then you go by it. If it is not in your interest, you can give up your promises. In *Discourses* (1950) III chapter XLI, he writes,

When it is absolutely a question of the safety of one's country, there must be no consideration of just or unjust, of merciful or cruel, of praiseworthy or disgraceful; instead, setting aside every scruple, one must follow to the utmost any plan that will save her life and keep her liberty. (*Discourses* 1950: 527)

On the contrary of Machiavelli's understanding, Kant has his reservation on methods used for keeping the stability within the state and in the war also. In his view, state is a moral actor but not at the cost of individual morality. There cannot be two different moralities, which Machiavelli supports. Your domestic behavior should reflect at international level also. If a treaty is done with mental reservation and stops a particular war, then it is not a moral act. By doing that, you are behaving immorally and sowing the seeds for the future war and conflicts. So for the progress of morality within the state and in international sphere, state should not violate some basic moral principle like using the spies, using too much force is war, committing to much violence the war and not respecting the human rights. That state which does not abide by this categorical imperative will fail in the race of progress among the state and peace (Smith 1903: 56).

### **War and Morality**

Both of them have different conception of war and peace. In Machiavelli's view, war is moral and justified if it for the security and glory of the state. He considers gaining more as natural desires of the people. His first preference is about security and second is glory. For him, war is either fought from fear or from ambition (*Discourses* 1950: 298-

306). Expanding capabilities of others injects fear of defeat and subjugation and subjugation can never be moral. Hence it is moral and prudent to strike first before enemy becomes too powerful. Glory is related to expanding the empire, as much as you can. In that sense there is nothing immoral in going for a war for security and expansion. But Kant completely disagrees with him. He is not obsessed with security as much as Machiavelli is. Protecting what you have created is your right and duty, in Kant's view. And as state is created by people, so they should always be ready to fight to protect for it. But his main concern is with peace. And this peace is not just peace (absence of war), but it is about *Perpetual Peace*. Reaching to *Perpetual Peace* is his moral aim. War in his view, is incompatible with human autonomy and dignity, hence immoral (Hurrell 1990, Donaldson 1994). In his view it is the source of all evils and corruptions. It is a path backward in moral progress. On declaration of war, there is big disagreement between the two. For Machiavelli, prince can single handedly declare the war if he thinks so and he can also create the position of dictator to deal with the problems if the situation requires. All the citizens should abide by his orders. Kant disagrees on the declaration issues as well as with abiding issue. In his view, you have to take the views of the representative of the people, before going for war. In his view, every single war demands the consent of the citizens of that country and it should follow the legal route through civil constitution (Kant 1797, 1999: 153, 154). Both agree on the question of balance of power and war. If balance of power is threatened by a state, then war is justified. But assessment of disturbances in balance of power and its implication should also be done carefully.

There is a major disagreement on war and balance of power. In Machiavelli's view you should crush the enemy so that it cannot come against you in near future and that is the only prudent method. If you don't follow that method, then in the near future, the defeated power may become powerful and make strong alliances against you and it can be an existential threat for you (*Discourses*1950: 288-296). The defeated power will want to take revenge of his defeat. But Kant does not allow these methods. He considers them as immoral (Kant 1797, 1999). In his view, wars which are fought with the intention of teaching a lesson or to punish the others are always immoral. The purpose of war is security of the nation and region. You don't want your state and region to fall into state of anarchy and you go for war so that you can stop those who are contributing towards that



end. And in the war, you should commit the acts which in the future will be the cause of enmity for forever.

On sharing the winning resources, land and people, there seems to be no agreement between the two. For Machiavelli, going for war is a natural desire among the ruler. He is not interested in moral or immoral questions like Kant. After defeating a state in the war, Machiavelli has a full plan how to keep them and control them (*The Prince* 1950: 18-30). So he is supporting colonization. He is interested in investigating the best way to control them. Most of the chapters in *The Prince* are dedicated to that. For Machiavelli, individuals have no dignity, autonomy and integrity of their own. They are the part of state and their morality is part of state morality (*The Prince* 1950: 63). Individuals are considered as things in his analysis. They are just instrument to achieve a larger goal. But Kant does not support colonization of land and people. In his view no land and people can be transferred and subjugated by others. For him, to have a form of government over a piece of land, you should have consent of those people (Donaldson 1992: 145). Even if you make the winning land your colony, then you should let them have their own constitution and executive body for governing (Kant 1797, 1999: 156-157). On the contrary, Machiavelli is not in the favor of maintaining the old form of government. He sees a threat in that. In his view, a colony should have a new form of government whose work is completely dependent on the mother country (*The Prince* 1950: 6-19). Kant supports the colony in the sense of having a governor from mother country with the consent of people in day to day activity.

So war is immoral for Kant in all form. It is justified only and if only it is fought for maintenance of security of the nation as well as for the peace in the region. War for revenge and teaching opponent a lesson and for desire is immoral. Anything which is driven by desire and not from rationality is immoral. It does not have its own autonomous status and it should be rejected for a universal moral code and peaceful world. Disputes and disagreements should be solved with peaceful means. War is a step backward in moral progress. On the other hand, Machiavelli does not consider war either unjust or immoral. In his view, war is the manifestation of natural fears and desires of the human

nature. Man wants to gain more and more and it cannot be controlled other than threat. So the only option, in Machiavelli's view, a state has, to be secure is to be ready for war.

### **Morality and Immorality of standing armies**

Armies are necessary for protecting the border of the state. And it is the duty of every state to protect its citizen from outside threat. Both Machiavelli and Kant agree on this. Machiavelli does not support having mercenaries and armies of others. He is not sure of usefulness of these kinds of armies (*The Prince* 1950: 44-55). But standing armies are necessary for the autonomy of the state. In his view you cannot keep on relying on your partners because they can be your enemies anytime. It is the moral duty of state to work towards having strong and well trained armies. In his view army, which does not go for war, becomes useless over the time so it is necessary that they should always be engaged in some conflict and war (*Discourses* 1950: 331, 506). But overspending on armies is not prudent. They become the threat to state itself. Spending too much on standing army leads to fear among the others and they also start spending on the basis of that. There emerge a security dilemma and leads to a spiral and continuous increase in the spending of the state, which in long turn hurt the economic interest. So he is in favour of spending on standing armies but not too much for strategically reasons.

Kant, on the hand, opposes standing on moral grounds (Kant 1795, 1903: 110). In preliminary article 3 of *Perpetual Peace* he opposes standing armies on two grounds namely arms race, peace as a burden and paying men to kill others. It should be abolished because it is a constant threat to the survival of the other nations. Constant threat or fear is against the idea of freedom and liberty. Until and unless we deal with this fear and threat in international politics, there cannot be piece at international peace. In Kant's view, standing armies are the cause of aggressive war (Sullivan 2014). But here question arises, why peace? In the first section it has been explained that war created chaos in the society and in chaos there is no possibility of morality or right conduct. States should not have standing armies for another reason and that is by having standing armies we treat individuals merely as machines and instrument. And treating the individual as a means and not an end is against the idea of individual dignity, liberty and freedom. When a state is fighting, it is not fighting for land, but fighting for the security

of collection of individual. By having armies ready for war, we create the possibility of killing people, our soldiers or others, which is immoral.

For Machiavelli, the condition and options are different. He does not consider violence immoral. For Machiavelli violence is unavoidable and inevitable for the maintenance of the state. The option in front of *The Prince* is to use it once for demonstration so that others learn the lesson or use it regularly because others will oppose someone who is seen as weak. For him, using violence once is useful because it leads to less people being killed. If by killing few people who wants to harm the existing state, anarchy in the state can be saved then it is prudent to use it once. And standing armies help in doing that whenever necessity requires it (Lynch 2003: xiv). In his views, you don't know when your fortuna is against you. So whenever your fortuna is not with you, your virtue will help you in your necessity. And standing armies is a virtue, a capability of the state which helps in the necessity (*The Prince* 1950: 49, *Discourses* 1950: 506).

### **Morality and International law**

Kant realizes the importance of law at both domestic level and international level for morality. In his view, laws helps in building a more moral and peaceful world order. States, who organize their society on the basis of good and moral law, helps in building a moral law at international level also. Laws give them security against negative freedom. And negative freedom helps individual to reach positive freedom for autonomous and rational thinking at individual level. For Machiavelli, there is no such importance of law at domestic level. Laws are helpful in maintaining the order at domestic level and they should not be violet at any cost. Violation of laws at domestic levels leads to erosion of fear and respect for ruler which over the periods leads to moral degeneration (*Discourses* 1950: 201). This moral degeneration causes fight for power among the people in society, hence chaos and disintegration of the state. For Machiavelli law has just instrumental usefulness to maintain the status and order. He is not interested in just or unjust laws. But for Kant laws have something other usefulness. Laws need to be revisited from time to time and people should strive for a just law and just order so that they can realize their capabilities to think and act rationally.

At international level, for Machiavelli, laws are just manifestation of power and nothing else (D' Amato 1972: 209, Biagini 2009). In Machiavelli's view violation of international law is very common phenomenon (*Discourses* 1950: 378). They should be ignored whenever necessity demands. The most important moral duty of the statesmen is to protect and expand the state at any cost. Making the law and treaties is not product of any moral thinking. They are done only for self-interest. You make alliance when that alliance is in your interests. In international law, there is no one to enforce the law, so there is no need to observe them. Success matters most at international level. He focused more on treaties than international law. He knows it clearly that when you are weak country, you have no other option but to cry for the treaties and rule of law (*Discourses* 1950: 344). Alliances and international law are built by powerful and when weak becomes strong in the alliance, they do not question the alliances directly but start interpreting them differently and a disagreement arise which leads to conflict as there is no other war to resolve it. In chapter 42 of *Discourses* III, Machiavelli writes that if a particular treaty is forced upon you by a stronger power, then there is no logic in observing it when you will be capable of opposing it (*Discourses* 1950: 528).

Kant does not agree with Machiavelli on this point. He on the first point considers all those treaties as immoral which are done with mental reservation. There should be a transparency and sharing of facts in making the law (Kant 1795, 1903: 107). First that should be there for each other. Kant has international law at two levels. At one level he is interested in having the law of the nations where they agree to have a law for cooperation and solving the disagreements. But, this law of nations is not?? possible until and unless states are rational and democratic enough (Capps, Patrick and Julian Rivers 2010). At second level, there should be a law which can provide the universal hospitability (Kant 1795, 1903: 137). For Machiavelli, use of deceit, fraud and the immoral practices are just; if they are helping in security and glory of state (*The Prince* 1950: 63). In Kantian view, there is no one to force the international law and states are always free to not follow the international law, whenever it is not in their interest; but it should not mean that we keep on violating the international law which we have created. In his view doing this over and over will cost a lot to those states. They will lose their reputation and no one will ever trust them which can be resulted in common hatred among the nations in the region and

international system. It is immoral in the sense that violating international law again and again weakens the possibility of *Perpetual Peace* and moral world order which is the right of every state.

### **Intervention in the domestic affairs of the other state**

Machiavelli is very clear on intervention. He makes it clear in chapter four of *Discourses II*, when he discusses the methods of aggrandizement (*Discourses* 1950: 290). He thinks that desire to acquire more is very natural desire (*The Prince* 1950: 13). People and state will always try to acquire more and more. He is not asking about the consent of the people before making them the part of empire of winning side. He is just interested if it is prudent to keep the winning territory with the winner. *The Prince* talks about methods to retain the control newly acquired territory. So he is not into the question of morality and immorality of intervention. The only moral question for domestic intervention is about the benefit of acquiring and keeping the newly acquired territory (*The Prince* 1950: 15, 18, 19, 23, *Discourses* 1950: 138, 160, 288, 301, 371)

On the other hand, Kant is against interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries. Intervening in the domestic affairs of independent state is immoral because it will be intervening and attacking the individuality and dignity of a particular nation (Kant 1795, 1903: 114). No matter what the other state do internally in their domestic affairs, you don't have a right to intervene. Machiavelli does not support this claim of Kant. In Machiavelli's view if your neighbor state is preaching some ideology which might be dangerous for the stability of your nation then you should destroy that threat. Anything which has the possibility to create a disorder and instability within your state, you should destroy them. There is no right or wrong in this. You can use force, deception, money or spies for that (*The Prince* 1950: 56, 60, 63, *Discourses* 1950: 212, 318-322, 373, 410, 526-532). But for Kant using spies, deception or force is not a moral act. It destroys the possibility of future world peace. Every single cheating, in Kant's view is a step backward in the progress of morality (Ladd 1999: xx, Kant 1795, 1903: 107). Machiavelli supports helping the rebel groups within states to take advantage of instability in neighboring state. But for Kant that is immoral. You should always keep yourself away from any kind of, military or economic, assistance to any rebel group in other state.

## **Morality of humanitarian intervention**

Question of intervening on the humanitarian ground is nowhere in Machiavelli. He is only concerned about human rights and obedience of law in their own states. If that is not followed or obeyed then there might be instability. Cruelties should not be practiced. But in *Discourses*, he is in confusion what is to be done regarding cruelties. If cruelties are done by other states to its people, then you should not interfere if you have a danger of not gaining anything from intervention. Intervention and morality has nothing to do with each other in his writing. Interventions are always justified in his writing, if you have the capabilities to intervene and get some benefit out of this intervention. On the other hand, Kant portrays a complete different picture. For him humanitarian intervention should always be avoided because there is always a danger of misusing the arguments of human rights abuse (Kant 1795, 1903: 108).

But there are a few exceptions available also. If a state is violating human rights, killing its own people and threat to world security, then you with the help of confederation of state can intervene in the domestic affairs of the other states. If we read preliminary article 1, 2 and 5 of *Perpetual Peace* together we will find that he support intervention on humanitarian ground. States are free and autonomous unit till a limit if they do not degrade the individual dignity. We, as the world citizen, should always stand against the inhuman treatment of individuals all over the world, no matter to which state those people belong. In his view protecting the individual dignity and autonomy of the individuals is the moral duty of people (Bagnoli 2006). Another interpretation is becoming dominant that if other state does not follow the democratic form of government then also it is the duty and responsibility of world community to intervene for spread of democracy and free the citizens from all forms of dictatorship (B.Lillich 1996). But if we read both *Perpetual Peace* and *Metaphysical elements* together, he never supported intervention for the sake of altering one form of government by another form of government or spread of democracy by intervention (Franceschet 2010).

## **Deontological and Consequentialist morality**

“You cannot call it political skill to massacre your subjects, to let down your allies, to be untrustworthy and ruthless, and altogether unscrupulous. The methods may help you build an empire, but they don’t win glory.” (*The Prince* 1950: 31)

The question which arise after this quotation from Machiavelli is this- why he is talking about glory when it does not matter? Why are glory and expansionist successes compared? There is thus something which is moral in Machiavelli. It is again clear when he is talking about appears to have moral conduct and behavior by *The Prince* or ruler (*The Prince* 1950: 63-66). If it does not matter, why is there a need to have it? At another place he is very strict about obeying and following the laws which are created by them. What is the need to observe the law if you have the capabilities to bypass those laws. He says no to this question. It is because he is moralist, but not a Kantian moralist. He is a consequentialist but a ethical consequentialist (Mansfield 1996). This is about not for personal benefit. It is for common good. It is for state and its security and glory (*The Prince* 1950: 94). It is guided by certain ethical principles for the common benefit of state. In the above statement it is clear that by doing all the bad acts, you might get success in empire building and expansion but not the glory. So he thinks that glory is also having importance in the lives of individuals and states.

Kant, on the other hand is someone whose morality is against the consequentialism. He is a deontologist because his morality is not decided by the consequences (SEP 2012, Lippert- Rassmussen 2005, Bennett 1995). It is the act which in itself has to be moral no matter what is the consequence. Focus of his morality is also individual (Suprenant 2014: 26). His idea of morality revolves around individual and its liberty and freedom. Purpose of his theory is to reach a stage where individual is not slave of his desires and animal instinct, to reach a stage where individuals are not considered as means to achieve some end. His morality is about considering the individual as an in itself. Every act has its own morality and it should be followed with true human spirit.

## Conclusion

From the above comparison, there are few interpretations which have a importance for politics, both domestic and international. First of all, Machiavelli is someone for whom morality matters only at domestic level. For him, there cannot be any comparison between domestic and international politics. International politics is a jungle and there is no one to enforce the law. Men as well as state are always guided by their desire to gain more and more, hence you can never trust anyone. Human nature cannot be trusted at any cost, so is the case with states, because they are run by people. This nature cannot be changed and we have to live in constant fear and the only answer is acquiring the power to face any threat. On the contrary, Kant does believe in the capacities of rational side of human beings. In his view, under a democratic state, people can realize the badness of war and conflicts and they can overcome this by education. Anything which is a hindrance towards the *Perpetual Peace* and possible space for rational capacity is an immoral act. Morality and immorality are derived from different world views. For Machiavelli it is not immoral to kill someone if it helps to maintain the law and order within the territory. His morality is the product of the fear of falling in the state of nature where everyone is ready to kill each other. There is no security of life and property. This is what happening in Florence, when he was writing *The Prince*. He wanted a strong state to maintain an order for a better and moral world. In *Discourses*, his idea of good or moral becomes clearer. In *Discourses*, he supports republican form of government over monarchies. There he is against giving authority to one single individual. But his morality could not transcend this limit.

But the same does not apply for international politics in his view. Anarchy in international politics can never be mitigated because of bad human nature. Machiavelli is pessimist because in his life he saw so many failures in governance in Florence. Many a times it was invaded and destroyed and he know this happened because of corrupt nature of human beings. For Kant, human nature is corrupt to a certain degree but it can be modified through institution, practices and education. Morality should not be limited to what is. In his view moral question should search its answer in hidden capabilities of rational beings. It can transcend or control the animal nature of individuals and



cooperation is always possible at international level among the state and individuals, because they know that war and conflicts is immoral, it does not help in progress and it is sign of their backwardness and animal nature. And if they have the space to realize their rational mental faculties, they would never like to be called animal by future generations.

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion

Defining something as moral or immoral is context dependent. They cannot be judged either from the consequence or the motives alone. If we keep on following the consequentialist path, without any adherence to motives or the goodness of the act itself, we will reach to a situation where there will be no trust, no cooperation, and no life. Men, being the social animal, cannot live in isolation. Our lives depend on trust, love and care. Standard of any society are judged by the level of mutual trust; citizens have among themselves. Human beings, being selfish and liars, are always driven by their desires and interest. It is clear from most of the observations. But it does not mean that it is the truth about human beings. We see contradictory examples in the world. All the good characters in *Game of Thrones* dies, be it Ned Stark, Robb Stark or John Snow.<sup>9</sup> So does that mean that liberalism and goodness are bad? Does that mean that if you want to survive, you should always employ the bad methods to finish everyone around you; and there should not be any discussion about the morality? I don't think so.

Morality always played and still plays a key role in our daily lives as well as in international politics. This morality is not always driven by motives of gain and survival. There is a morality of sacrifice also, sacrifice of our natural desires and inclination, on which this world depends. There are millions of people, all over the world, who are speaking against the injustice of the powerful. They transcend their animal nature and natural desires to follow the demand of justice and duty. People in power are also afraid of these people. Powerful also always use the cloak of morality and justice to justifies their actions. So, if you are not afraid of repercussion of degeneration of morality, then why you use moral arguments every time? This hints towards the moral possibilities in the human beings. We are bad. But we cannot and should not keep on behaving to be bad. By remaining bad, we allow others also to be bad. By killing others, we also send a message that other can also kill him when they are powerful. By doing that, we created a threat for our survival and security. In this environment, there will be no trust and no life.

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<sup>9</sup> Ned Stark, Bobb Stark, and Jon Snow are the characters in the HBO drama series *Game of Thrones*. They live in the north of empire. They are idealist in comparisons to others in the empire.

It will be just a state of nature. History shows that we have come out of the state of nature. Brute power is not always the solution; neither at domestic level nor at international level. Today importance of ideas is recognized all over the world. They are not just the outcome of some power-driven approach. Feminist ideals are accepted all over the world. If you do not treat the women in your society well, then your society is considered as backward. How come that happened? How come racial discrimination is considered as a sign of backward society? How come untouchability became a criminal offence?

If we analyze Machiavelli and Kant in this context on international politics, I think they have a lot to offer. They are not as simple as they are considered. Machiavelli should not be interpreted as saying only that ends justifies the means. Kant also should not be interpreted as someone who did not recognize the realities of human beings and their societies. Kant is not an easy philosopher to understand. Most of the scholars who reject him do not read him thoroughly. Even if you read *Perpetual Peace*, you will understand his realistic understating about human nature and societies in which he lived. On the first page of the *Perpetual Peace*, he writes that the ideals of this book cannot be materialized today. He knows the limitations of the society and individuals. But in the name of limitations, he does not sacrifice the capabilities which human beings possess. He is not afraid of idealizing something. Kant believes that good is always good, even if you don't follow that. It is just a matter of stage of society and individuals. Once individuals come out of the state of nature, and lives in a peaceful state, they have the capabilities to reach the highest level of moral conducts at domestic level as well as at international level. He recognizes that, and he is hopeful of that. He knows that it will take time to reach there. Hence is not afraid of writing on ultimate good, the categorical imperative and perpetual peace.

For Machiavelli, morality is about well-being and security of the state. It is state because state provides the freedom and good life to citizens. In international system, actors cannot be trusted; there is no possibility of trust and cooperation on the basis of good will and morality. Machiavelli was writing in very chaotic and unstable environment. He was trialed and tortured by the regime. He had seen the horrors in

domestic politics and international politics. He is afraid of bad things in human nature, but still he has some hope. In *The Prince*, he is writing out of that horror. He wants stability. He wants a peaceful state. He wants law and order within the state and in that he supports all kind of measures. But in *Discourses*, the same Machiavelli, supports people over *The Prince*. That is the sign of his hope in the people and his fear of *The Prince*. We have to see his time. He was writing in 1514. And, a lot has changed over the last five hundred years. We should see that change in the continuity. He was the first person who freed the state and politics from the clutches of religion. He gave individual his own agency. He rejected the usefulness of the other world in politics and international politics. He recognized the importance of a state, a peaceful and republican state. And, in my sense, that was a very big moral advancement. He could not transcend the time in which he was living. He had his own limitation. But that does not mean that he was immoral. For Machiavelli, acting out of necessity was the only way for survival.. If he had lived in a more peaceful life, in a more peaceful state, he could have transcended the limits.

Kant was able to do that because he was writing in the second stage of Machiavelli. Second stage of Machiavelli was the first stage of Kant. So, where Machiavelli left, Kant starts from there. Kant also recognizes the first stage of Machiavelli, and he admits that expecting moral behavior in the first stage is not a possible. But under a stable state, you can expect a moral behavior from them. So what he (Kant) idealized in *Perpetual Peace* was his next stage. Those ideals can be idealized today. It is all over the places. All over the world, we recognize that war is a bad act. We recognize that state is a necessary actor for providing the stability and peaceful life. Both Machiavelli and Kant agree on that.

In short, if we evaluate teaching of Machiavelli from today's point of view, they might seem immoral as he advises to practice all kind of acts for survival. But if we see from the context in which he was writing, he provided the foundation, by freeing individual and state from the clutches of religion, for the morality of Kant and his individuality. He was not just writing for the prince, it was also telling the truths about *The Prince* and the people. He showed us the mirror. He showed us the badness within us, which we were hiding by the cloak of religion. Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Kant and

others build on that recognition. His advices might not be moral; because we have crossed that stage, but he played a great role. For some societies, which are still living in state of nature, he is very important. Here in the improvement of morals, Kant can play a greater role. People of all over the world, from developed societies, should take responsibility to fight for those ideals of Kant. Conduct among the states can never be guided by pure moral motives; Kant himself recognizes that. But a form of cooperation and trust among the member of the societies will help in raising the standard of moral all over the world by avoiding the ill effects of war. In that stage, his ideals of individual dignity, trump of principle over consequences and moral motives can flourish. The era of imperialism is over. It is a commonly accepted fact and Machiavelli will be immoral if he keeps on insisting that as a moral act. Machiavelli's point of fighting, either out of fear or glory, will be contested, and he has to accept that his time of complete anarchy and complete mistrust has gone. A new system has evolved where weak and small power also can survive with dignity.

It is a triumph of Kantian morals in international politics; but we should not forget that the ground for that was created by the immoral Machiavelli by making politics a separate arena, and showing us the mirror of our realities. He had a desire to live in a peaceful and moral world. He praised that world. But he was constrained by his time and space. If we ask Machiavelli about the murder of Ned Stark, Robb Stark and Jon Snow, he might reply, "You cannot call it political skill to massacre your subjects, to let down your allies, to be untrustworthy and ruthless, and altogether unscrupulous. The methods may help you build an empire, but they don't win glory" (*The Prince* 1950: 31). Ned, Jon and Robb will always be remembered no matter how many Joffreys comes to thrones. No matter how powerful United States of America is, G.W Bush Jr. will always be considered as the bad man, all over the world for his unethical interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan. So both Machiavelli and Kant had the desire to reach the ultimate human capabilities in moral field. Machiavelli could not transcend his time and his experience, whereas Kant did. He gave importance to capabilities which human beings possess to be moral. He dreamed of an international society where conflicts are solved by discussion and cooperation rather than war. His preference for individuality morality is gaining support all over the world. But it is not at the cost of state morality. States are still the key

actors and decision making authority in International Politics. Over the years, a consensus has been evolving between the state morality and individual morality, where both Kant and Machiavelli have to compromise. Moral question should not be limited to how the world is; it should engage with the question of how it ought to be. On this, a moral progress can be expected, where states and people will live in perpetual peace.

This opens up new possibilities to see Machiavelli in a new light. This research could not deal with the relevance of morality in today's world. There can be many other interpretations of Machiavelli and Kant on Morality and International Politics; which demands attention from the International Relations Scholars. This is just a humble attempt to understand both the scholars for future research in the field of morality in international politics.

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