

Panel 2.2 Abstracts

Machiavelli's Timeless Political and Ethical Findings**Piotr Kimla**

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The presentation will be based on my research on Niccoló Machiavelli that I have been doing for many years (my habilitation is entitled *Historians-Politicians As a Source of Political Realism. Thucydides – Polybios – Machiavelli*, Jagiellonian University Publishing House, Cracow 2003). I aim at presenting in a synthetic way Machiavelli's political findings which have not been outdated. They continue to serve as the foundation for the key, relativistic tradition of political thinking (in constant dispute with the tradition of ethical absolutism) and for the practical politics functioning under the banner of political realism (in constant dispute with political romanticism). A number of extremely influential thinkers, who leave their mark on contemporary political theories, such as Thomas Hobbes, Baruch Spinoza, Charles de Montesquieu, David Hume, are outstanding continuators of the famous Florentine, creatively developing the threads contained in the works of the author of *Le Istorie Fiorentine*. At the same time, I will try to show how Machiavelli's uncompromising acceptance of the supremacy of the political sphere influenced the re-evaluation of the ethical universe. I will try to explain briefly how Machiavelli performs a kind of politicization of morality, emphasizing that morality is never "played out" in a vacuum, but always in a specific social relation, in the relation between man and another human being.

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Fear and Love - Two Emotions as the Basis of Politics**Monika Mazur-Bubak**

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In the period of the development of political philosophy, in which the paradigm of political liberalism, formulated by John Rawls [1971, 1993, 1999] from the discourse over political issues, ruled, the sphere of human emotionality was almost completely removed. Nowadays, the return to the subject of emotions, to which the position of one of the irremovable and essential components of humanity was restored, can be noticed in this field.

It is worth noting that it was Machiavelli who explicitly referred to this component by asking the question about political activity: "It is better to be loved rather than feared, or feared rather than loved?" [Machiavelli, 1515]. His answer to this question seems to work nowadays, as a objectified and confirmed recommendation. As he wrote – "both of them would be desired, but because it is difficult to combine them, then if one of them is to be missed, it is much safer to be feared than loved". According one of the interpretations the Florentine thinker recommended rather to arouse fear in enemies and external forces, and love in people towards the authorities.

In the light of these considerations, the question arises whether in terms of contemporary research on the role and significance of emotions in politics this type of constatations are legitimate? Certainly, it is impossible to overlook that these and other claims of Machiavelli have already moved to the canon of interpretations recognized in Western civilization as obvious. Since the days of Florentine Enlightenment, the social and political life has changed in a spectacular way. Therefore, is it reasonable to use theories and guidelines that referred to the socio-political reality definitely different from the contemporary one?

Undoubtedly, the simple application of the philosopher's thought to the present day should be considered controversial. On the other hand, he does not build his drawing conclusions about the role of emotions in politics only on the observation of the then political scene, but also refers to the category of human nature – which he himself regards as unchanging and independent of the imponderables. Regardless of this controversy, it is worth noting that after centuries of transformation of the political scene and subsequent successive paradigms in political philosophy, we return to the question and role and meaning of love and fear in the functioning of political communities – however, this time in the context of democratic order. This in turn, referring above all to the works of Martha Nussbaum – *The Monarchy of Fear* [2019] and *Political Emotions: Why Love Matters for Justice* [2015], whose author confronts stereotypes regarding the role and functioning of those extreme feelings in the reference to the functioning of a political system based on just liberal democratic institutions and the key role of the deliberative model. Differences and consequences of building policies based on fear and based on love/responsibility will be presented in the reactions to terrorist attacks of two politicians Jacinda Ardern – Prime Minister of New Zealand and Donald Trump – President of the United States.

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Machiavelli Between Reason and Madness**Alberto Simonetti**

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A central aspect that actualizes the figure of Machiavelli lies in the metaphor of the "river and good banks". The new biopolitical strategies have weakened the critical faculty of the collectivity (above all the new generations) by building barriers able to anticipate and foresee any deconstructive push. The overturning of Machiavelli's thought has brought the new power devices to avoid the flooding of the river through real places of defusing (the internet galaxy). The presumed expressive freedom of speech and thought, on the contrary, is the determination of a mystified space, which can avoid any conspiracy or, even better, predict it in its entirety. There is a progressive Machiavelli, a philosopher of conflict close to Marxism, and a Machiavelli used by the globalized order with the aim of preventing forms of revolt not through repression, but through the granting of a false space: the web. If the Duke Valentino had to enter "into evil" to govern, so today governance, above all financial, manages discourse and human resources, keeping them in quietism already in advance. Michele Ciliberto concentrates on this double reading in his *Niccolò Machiavelli. Reason and madness* (2019) where both concepts have changing aspects. Rationality is a model that imposes on the one hand an objective vision from which to start in the construction of reality, but it can be transformed into instrumentality (*religio instrumentum regni*). On the other hand, madness can be identified with the delirium of omnipotence of the individual (the prince as a tyrant) or can be based on criticism of current opinions. The ambiguous node of reason and madness in terms of power is fundamental for contemporary Machiavelli. This paper intends to clarify this relationship and to provide a non-sided reading of Machiavelli's work, both political and strictly philosophical.