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July 2013

# Kenneth Minogue: Politics: A Very Short Introduction Study Guide, 1996-2012

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## Recommended Citation

Samson, Steven A., "Kenneth Minogue: Politics: A Very Short Introduction Study Guide, 1996-2012" (2013). *Faculty Publications and Presentations*. Paper 417.

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**KENNETH MINOGUE:  
POLITICS: A VERY SHORT INTRODUCTION  
STUDY GUIDE, 1996-2012  
Steven Alan Samson**

## FOREWORD

Minogue explores the changing scope and character of politics by tracing its historical evolution through its classical, medieval, and modern stages of development as articulated by a handful of great political thinkers. The guiding purpose of this work is twofold. First, it introduces the ancient Greek concept of politics (from *polis*, which means "city-state") as a system of collective citizen participation in public affairs and contrasts it with *despotism* (from *despotes*, which means "master"), which is a centralized system of magisterial rule over a subject or slave population. Secondly, it is an extended commentary on and critique of the expanded role and meaning of politics in recent times (**political moralism**). This results from an abuse or corruption of *political science* which he associates with the age-old "*project of a perfect society*" and which requires the exercise of powers traditionally associated with **despotism**.

The modern idea of politics as the embodiment of a natural "will to power" is evident in these lines by William Cowper: "I am monarch of all I survey,/ My right there is none to dispute;/ From the center of all round to the sea/ I am lord of the fowl and the brute." This is the *libido dominandi* [lust to rule] noted in ancient times by St. Augustine. If we assume with Thomas Hobbes that political conflict is the result of everyone grasping for advantage – because of scarcity, passion for glory, or diffidence (p. 55) – the result may be easily expressed as a variation of Parkinson's law. To paraphrase C. Northcote Parkinson: "Politics expands to fill whatever medium (or receptacle) is available to it." It thus becomes unlimited and imperialistic in character.

There seems to be a natural desire on the part of political actors to *simplify* collective life and reduce its unpredictability by asserting greater control over whatever marginal factors might interfere with or deflect them from their goals. So politics -- individually and corporately -- becomes a grasping for ever greater power and/or preventing others from gaining the upper hand. Such political "realism" calls to mind the temptation in the Garden: "You shall be as God, knowing [determining] good and evil." Perhaps a good alternate for this book would be "The Despotism Temptation."

### Outline

- A. AUTHOR'S PURPOSE: TO PLACE POLITICS INTO A DISCIPLINARY AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT
  - 1. Problem: Academic Tendency to Extract a Political Message from Nearly Everything [cf. "Sub-Freudian" Sexual Determinism; see p. 50]
- B. THE COMMON SENSE VIEWPOINT: PROPOSITIONS
  - 1. Thesis: **Politics** Is the Activity That Sustains the Framework of Human Life But Should *Not* Be Confused with That Life
    - a. Politics sustains the common world of our conversation
  - 2. Antithesis: Philosophers Who Dissolve Experience into Abstractions Will Destroy That World [cf. **Goya's "Dream of Reason Produces Monsters"**]
    - a. Intrusion of visionaries into politics has not been happy
    - b. Experience shows that politics needs to keep its distance from such adventures
    - c. Activity of politics is "human life at a stretch," full of heroism and duplicity

## CHAPTER ONE: WHY DESPOTS DON'T BELONG IN POLITICS

Shakespeare wrote that "all the world is a stage." The question is: Who gets to direct the play and who writes the script? In other words: "Who's in charge here?" Politics gives a voice to all individuals, groups, and interests within a civil society. But a civil society is a rare achievement. More prevalent in history has been despotism, which vests that authority in the hands of a single master, who directs -- or tries to direct -- the actors as he wills. This is the Persian system of rule as regarded suspiciously by the Greeks, who contrasted the liberty of their system of citizenship (politics) with the slavery of the Persians. The Greeks prided themselves in their self-government, although from time to time they struggled with home-grown tyrants (from *tyrannos*) or despots of their own.

Yet the opposition of these two systems has been confused within the circles of modern political science by the recent view that despotism is also a form of government and not simply the negation or absence of politics. Merle Fainsod's *How Russia Is Ruled* was updated after his death under the title *How the Soviet Union Is Governed*. Increasingly, the language of public relations -- e.g., substituting "governed" for "ruled" -- takes the place of frank analysis. In fact, despotism has even been held aloft by some as an ideal for the sake of bringing order out of chaos and pursuing such worthy goals as peace, prosperity, economic and social justice -- all in the name of the people. As Edmund S. Morgan and others have pointed out, *the people* and the voice of the people (*vox populi*) are modern inventions. The idea of *the state*, as Minogue notes at the end of chapter five, is a modern invention. The political machinery of the modern state, as he shows later in the book, has enabled "enlightened despots" or "political moralists" to pursue their dreams of enhancing or reshaping society, economy, or culture. To cite the 1913 address (excerpted in a later section) of one such moralist, the Rev. Frederick T. Gates, who was the head of the Rockefeller-financed General Education Board: "In our dream we have limitless resources, and the people yield themselves with perfect docility to our moulding hand. The present educational conventions fade from our minds; and, unhampered by tradition, we work our own good will upon a grateful and responsive rural folk." Such dreamers are the ones who so often have replaced freedom -- by eroding the distinction between the private and public spheres -- with a subtle or even an open tyranny of regulations, subsidies, and petty bureaucrats for the sake of "progress" or "justice."

### Key Ideas

Despotism is the antithesis of politics, which is central to the definition of our civilization  
 Despotism is not a form of government (by implication, because prohibits self-government)  
 Politics has been magnified from a limited activity conducted by elites into an inescapable preoccupation  
 Despotism is an unequal relationship of master and slave in which the power of the master is unchecked  
 A civil order has been achieved only on three historical occasions: classical Greece, Rome, Christendom  
 The project of an enlightened despotism depend on that part of politics that is a theater of illusion  
 Private life is not possible without the overarching public world of the state [and *vice versa*, Rahe, p. 5]  
 Ever larger areas of private life have come to be publicly regulated ["the personal is the political"]  
 Totalitarianism destroys our inheritance of distinct and independent roles [Lieber's institutional liberty]  
 Participation in politics confers a kind of immortality [cf. Bastiat on the motives for legal plunder]  
 Contemporary skepticism {Lieber's historical relativism} is a false humility and a claim to superiority

### Outline

- A. NATURE OF DESPOTISM (1-4)
  1. **Despotism:** A system of order created by conquest, resting on fear, and issuing in

- caprice
- a. Illustration: Scheherazade and **Harun al-Rashid**, the Caliph of Baghdad [the Frankish emperor Charlemagne was one of his vassals]
  2. Despotism's Presuppositional Framework
    - a. Ultimate principle of order [**Structure**] is personal caprice
    - b. Terms of **Justice**: custom and natural law [idea of an organic **society**]
    - c. Concept of **Authority**: mandate of heaven
      - 1) Illustration: Old Testament King
  3. Historical Context of Despotism in the Western Imagination
    - a. Roman Empire and Non-European Civilization
      - 1) Despotism takes the seductive form of an **ideal** [see idealism, p. 40] in the modern [idyllic] imagination: Hitler and Stalin [see T. S. Eliot on the **diabolic imagination**]
  4. Classical vs. Modern Western Views of Politics: A Source of Confusion
    - a. Modern view that despotism is a form of government rather than the negation of politics is contrary to the Greek view
    - b. Significance: This viewpoint reveals the centrality of politics to modern civilization -- as well as its exaltation
      - 1) Modern view treats politics as an engine or agent of **change**: its meaning changes with circumstances
    - c. Historical Context: Evolution of politics from a limited activity conducted by elites to the inescapable preoccupation of mankind
  5. Continuity Between the Classical and Modern Western Views
    - a. Classical View: Admiration for oriental culture; disdain for master/subject relationship
      - 1) Rejection of prostration as an intolerable form of inequality
    - b. Modern View: Language of prostration is inappropriate except in the divine/human relationship
    - c. Classical **despotes** and **dominus** [master, lord] → Their modern counterparts are dictatorship and totalitarianism
  6. Essence of Despotism: No Appeal from Unchecked Power of the Master
    - a. Sole object of the subject is master's pleasure.
    - b. No public voice except that of the master [absence of independent institutions or Civil Society; no concept of **citizenship**]
    - c. Powerlessness generates spiritual enlightenment: Stoicism, Christianity
- B. CREATION OF A **CIVIL ORDER**: THREE HISTORICAL OCCASIONS (4-5)
1. City-States of Classical Greece Degenerated under Alexandrian Empire [see ch. 2: "How to Be a Citizen"]
    - a. Consequence of Failure: Stoicism, philosophies of withdrawal
  2. Roman Republic: Heterogeneity of Empire Required Despotic Rule [see ch. 3: "The Meaning of Patriotism"]
    - a. Roman Empire served as the seedbed of Christianity
  3. Evolution of Medieval to Modern Version of Politics [see ch. 4: "Christianity and the Rise of the Individual" and ch. 5: "The Modern State"]
  4. **Project of Enlightened Despotism**: Ambivalence of Modern Rejection of Despotism [again, cf. Goya and Lieber on Rousseauism] [MAJOR THEME: see pp. 40, 43, 52, 61-62, 81, 89, 101, 102-03]
    - a. Success of the *Enlightenment Project* depends upon disguise: politics as a *theater of illusion* [see ch. 8: "How to Be an Activist"]
    - b. Political laboratories of twentieth-century *totalitarianism* reveal profound tendencies in our civilization [see ch. 12: "Ideology Challenges Politics"]
    - c. Conclusion: Understanding politics requires probing beneath the surface of the *fault-lines* of our civilization [see ch. 13: "Can Politics Survive the Twenty-first Century?"]

5. Clue to an Understanding of the Modern Predicament: Current State of the Distinction between **Private** Life and the **Public** World [One vs. Many]
  - a. Private life is not possible without protection by the public world of the State [cf. Rahe's Don Corleone, p. 4]
  - b. Yet politics survives only if public law recognizes its own *limits*, that is, if it is **defined** and **confined** [cf. Bastiat on legal plunder; redistributive state]
  - c. Public vs. private spheres: fluidity of the boundary, *e.g.*, attitudes about homosexuality, religion, child abuse, etc.
  - d. Recognition of a boundary distinguishes politics from despotism
- C. EROSION OF THE PUBLIC/PRIVATE DISTINCTION (5-8)
  1. Public Regulation of Ever-Larger Areas of Private Life in the Modern World [cf. Paul Gottfried's *After Liberalism* on managerial state]
    - a. Classic Despotism: Everything in society was the despot's private property [cf. Livy's account of the rape of Lucretia; Naboth's vineyard in 1 Kings 21, 2 Kings 9]
    - b. Politicization of the controversial and the personal: therefore, nothing is left outside the scope of control by government [see ch. 13]
    - c. Consequence: **Destruction of distinct and independent roles within the state** [which is the basis of Lieber's *institutional liberty*, political pluralism, and the Catholic principle of *subsidiarity*] [see ch. 6: "Analyzing Modern Society," Budziszewski, ch. 4]
  2. **Eternal Vigilance Is the Price of Freedom** (Thomas Jefferson)
    - a. Need to pay attention to political rhetoric: proposals for action are disguised as truths about the world, *e.g.*, "the personal is the political" [see "spokesmanship," p. 67]
  3. **Confusion of Names with Reality** [Realism vs. Nominalism, One vs. Many]
    - a. Politics does not reveal its meaning to the careless eye: "What's in a name?" [see *Romeo and Juliet*, II, ii; p. 105 on names]
    - b. Illustrations: Japanese prime minister, Stalin's 1936 Constitution
  4. Reasons Why the Concept of Politics Has Been Magnified
    - a. **Competition to assign credit or blame** by governments and their opponents: *extending the sphere of politics* [political determinism] [cf. Lieber's gusts of passion]
    - b. **Theatricality** of the politician as an actor on the stage of history: a bid for immortality [see Baldassare Castiglione's "The Courtier"]
      - 1) Illustration: French Revolution became an avenue to fame [Note Hobbes' "passion for glory," p. 55]
      - 2) Revolutionaries are the graffiti artists of history
      - 3) Universal suffrage encourages **our inflated self-image** [and, as Bastiat noted, universal plunder]
- D. CONCLUSION: WARNING AGAINST THE PAROCHIALISM OF ONE'S OWN TIME (8-9)
  1. Prejudices of the Present Moment: *e.g.*, Doctrine of Progress, the Fake Humility of Contemporary Skepticism [**relativist humanism**] [cf. Lieber, Budziszewski, ch. 3]
  2. Politics Once Was Seen as the Core of Education to Guard Against the Parochialism of One's Own Time
  3. Need to Reconcile the Politician's Immediacy and the Don's Detachment

### Study Questions

1. Distinguish between the Greek conceptions of politics and despotism. Identify some characteristic effects of an individual lack of power. Note: Xerxes is depicted as an "oriental despot" in the reading by Herodotus below. His absolute power is also on display in the Book of Esther. Edward Said has challenged what he considered to be a Western cultural bias in his book *Orientalism*, which is an example of postmodern scholarship and deconstructionism. (1-3)

2. Identify three times and places in which a civil or political order was created. What have been their results? [cf. Lieber, p. 370] (4)
3. What have been the consequences of the modern project of creating a perfect society? [cf. Lieber on "democratic absolutism," 383-84] (4-5)
4. What is the relationship between public and private life? How do we keep politics in its proper channel and how fluid are its boundaries? (5)
5. What was the chief characteristic of classical despotism? How does the modern erosion of "distinct and independent roles" threaten the same? What do changes in political rhetoric and names tell us? Illustrate. (5-7)
6. How has the political sphere been extended? Has "theatricality" aided this? Why does Minogue call revolutionaries "graffiti artists of history?" (7-8)
7. What makes today's educated people unusually parochial: that is, locked into the prejudices of the present moment? (8)
8. Why might the study of politics be the core of one's education? (9)

### Review

civil or political order	despotism	extension of the political sphere
private life and public law	totalitarianism	theatricality and politics
contemporary skepticism as a fake humility		educational importance of politics
the project of despotism in Europe		

### Herodotus and Kapuściński Readings: Review

character of Xerxes	flogging of the Hellespont	Pythios
Demaratus	valor	attitude toward freedom and law
Thermopylae		

### Further Reading

Gellner, Ernest. *Conditions of Liberty*, pp. 1-12  
 Hanson, Victor Davis. *Carnage and Culture*, ch. 2  
 Macintyre, Alasdair, *After Virtue*, pp. 36-50 on the Enlightenment project  
 Rushdoony, R. J. *The One and the Many*, pp. 1-20, 58-62, 230-36  
 Wittfogel, Karl. *Oriental Despotism*, pp. 1-10, 447-49

## CHAPTER TWO: THE CLASSICAL GREEKS: HOW TO BE A CITIZEN

Minogue next turns to classical Greece, which represents the first of the three historical occasions in which a civil order has been created. He neglects to mention Old Testament Israel, which predates each of them, but does treat the influence of Christianity in subsequent chapters. The Greeks invented politics as an art of persuasion as opposed to the coercion associated with despotism. They also distinguished between the public and private realms of life, regarding the first as a higher calling. Greek humanism

promoted a view of life that placed man at the center (humanism), but regarded human nature as something buffeted about by fate and often brought low by pride (*hubris*). From such beginnings, Aristotle later developed a political science that strove to bring social classes and types of government into balance. But by the time he wrote the decentralized, cooperative, intramural order of the Greek city-states had broken down as two of the cities -- Athens and Sparta -- each jealously sought to impose its own hegemony. Eventually, stronger outside powers, notably Macedon and later Rome, imposed their own imperial sway on the Greek city-states and they soon disappeared from the stage of history. Aristotle himself served as a tutor to young Alexander the Great.

Chapters two through seven proceed step by step from the Greeks to the Romans to Medieval Christendom to Renaissance Europe to a consideration of the institutional structure of modern politics, and finally to a discussion of the modern system of states. This section may be considered the introductory or grammar stage of our inquiry. Classical Christian education in the **liberal arts** was divided into three stages known as the **Trivium**: grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric. The organization of this book approximates the developmental pattern of this pedagogical method. Special note should be made of the handful of political theorists whose names come up time and again. The imprint of their (and our) ideas will be evident in all the readings.

### Key Ideas

Politics is based on the persuasion (rather than the command) of citizens as equal, rational beings  
 The conditions of freedom are a life lived among equals under law, ruling and being ruled in turn  
 Pride (*hubris*) leads people to consider themselves gods and leads to destruction (*nemesis*)  
 Laws and policies emerge from discussions of equal citizen-householders in the marketplace (*agora*)  
 The household (*oikos*) is a world of natural necessity that may be transcended through political activity  
 Participation in the artificial world of the *polis* conferred a kind of immortality in history  
 History is the memory of words and deeds, thus the attention given to rhetoric  
 A constitution is the set of offices and laws by which a *polis* is governed, limiting and regularizing power  
 The secret of breaking the cycle of political decline is separating powers and balancing interests

### Outline

- A. POLITICS AND CITIZENSHIP (10-11)
  1. **Politics**: A Way of Thinking, Feeling, and Relating to One's Fellows as Citizens and Equals; the Activity Specific to a Citizen. Expectations:
    - a. Reliance on **persuasion** rather than **command** shows *respect for citizens as rational beings, equals* [politics is speech, palaver, parley-ment, see ch. 8]
      - 1) Illustration: Socrates' refusal to flee into exile
    - b. Free obedience offered to the law of the **polis** [city-state]
    - c. **Ostracism**: the exile of an Athenian statesman whose power was thought to threaten the constitution; a temporary form of civil death
  2. Conditions of Freedom: A Political Life Lived among Equals, Subject Only to Law, While Ruling and Being Ruled in Turn.
  3. Formal Opposite of Politics: **Oriental Despotism**
  4. **Form vs. Substance**: Complexity of the Reality of Greek Life
    - a. Strife between oligarchic and democratic factions, between cities
    - b. Passionate intensity and brilliance of a people who differ from us
- B. CHARACTERISTICS OF GREEK HUMANISM: POLITICS OF REASON (11-12)
  1. Basic Proposition: Man Is a Rational Animal; Passions Diminish One's Humanity
    - a. **Hubris** [insolence] → **Nemesis** [goddess of divine retribution: arrogance provokes the destructive resentment [envy] of the gods]
    - b. Secret of Life: self-knowledge and balance (**sophrosyne**: opposite of *hubris*)
    - c. Highest form of self-expression: political life of a city

2. Disturbing Implication: Less Rational Means Less Human
  - a. Institutionally (or operationally), *slaves* were considered less rational than *masters*; women less rational than men [see p. 87]
  - b. But Greek **imagination** could soar above everyday prejudices: Aristophanes could imagine women going on a sexual strike to stop a war.
- C. THE POLITICAL MARKET-PLACE (12-15) [12-14]
  1. Laws and Policies Emerged from Discussion in the **Agora** [Market]
    - a. **Isonomia**: equality before the law
    - b. Debates dominated by aristocratic students of *rhetoric*
    - c. Illustration: Debate between Cleon and Diodotus over the fate of Mytilene [the debate over Miletus had a less happy outcome]
  2. Participants Were Heads of Households [**Oikia**]
    - a. **Oikos** [household]: a natural system of orderly subordination
    - b. Philosophical tension between **nature** (the realm of *necessity*) and **artifice** (the realm of *freedom*) [Romanticism later reversed these]
  3. Aspiration for a Kind of Immortality: Transcendence of Natural Necessity
    - a. *Emancipation* of the male child from household into the *agora*
    - b. Self-consciousness of Greek **culture**
  4. Politics and History Were Born Together
    - a. Historical and cultural self-consciousness: **Greek sense of history** as the memory of words and deeds [cf. Lincoln's "mystic chords of memory"]
    - b. Politics is based on the art of speech, thus subject to open criticism and worthy of remembrance down the ages
    - c. **Sophists**: Teachers of rhetoric
    - d. Illustration: Thucydides's "History of the Peloponnesian Wars"
- D. THE DESIGN HYPOTHESIS (15-18) [14-18]
  1. Concept of **Ontology** Based on Rational Design
    - a. Founding Myths: **Lycurgus**, Theseus
  2. **Solon's** Reforms Illustrate Essential Features of Greek Politics
    - a. *Heterogeneous* territorial units used to break up *particular* loyalties to clans and tribes [nature vs. convention] [see ch. 12 preface]
    - b. Solon's self-exile emphasizes that leaders are not indispensable
      - 1) Duties are attached to *abstract* offices, not personal loyalty [contrast Don Corleone]
  3. Everyday Life Is Limited and Regulated by a Constitution That Circumscribes Official Power and Creates a Predictable Environment
  3. Science of Politics Is Possible Because It Follows Predictable Patterns
    - a. Despotism is subject to fixed, *natural*, cyclical rhythms
    - b. Classifications: oligarchic states vs. democracies
    - c. **Polybius'** theory of recurrent cycles
  4. Secret of Breaking the Cycle of Decline
    - a. Separation of powers between the *one*, the *few*, and the *many*
    - b. Mixed constitution to balance the interests of rich and poor [cf. The Federalist, no. 10]
  6. **Aristotle's** Best Constitution: **Polity**
    - a. Can a good citizen be a good man? Moral vs. political virtue
    - b. Fixity of human nature; finitude of political possibilities
    - c. Visions of the **ideal**: **Plato's** *Republic*, **Pericles'** *Oration*

### Study Questions

1. For the Greeks what was the only proper relation between citizens? Why? How were social



- offenders punished? (10)
2. How did the reality (substance) of Greek political life differ from its form? (11)
  3. Identify the chief characteristics of Greek humanism. Who was included in the class of citizens? Where did women and slaves fit into this scheme of things? Did the Greek imagination reach beyond this reality? (11-12)
  4. How was citizenship exercised? Describe the debate over the fate of Mytilene. [The Miletians did not fare so well] (12-13)
  5. What was the place of the household (*oikos*)? What was the relation between this world of nature and the political world of artifice? (13-14)
  6. What sort of immortality did Greek citizens seek? [cf. pp. 7-8 on the politician or revolutionary as actor]. What did history mean to him and how did it reflect the idea that everything is the result of deliberate design? (14-15)
  7. Identify some essential features of Greek politics and constitutions. (15-16)
  8. What were the chief characteristics of Greek political science? How did Polybius reflect this view? (16-17)
  9. How could this vicious circle be broken? What contributions did Aristotle make to political science? (17-18)

### Review

proper relation between citizens		characteristics of Greek humanism
<i>hubris</i>	<i>agora</i> and <i>isonomia</i>	<i>polis</i> vs. household ( <i>oikos</i> )
Solon's reforms		functions of constitutions
Greek sense of history	breaking the cyclical rhythm of politics	

### Thucydides Readings: Review

Athenian character traits	Athenian democracy	citizenship
Melian dialogue		

### Further Reading

Aristotle. *Nicomachean Ethics*  
 Danford, John W. *Roots of Freedom*, ch. 1  
 Durant, Will. *The Life of Greece*, pp. 245-67  
 Gress, David. *From Plato to NATO*, pp. 68-69 on Herodotus and Thucydides  
 Kagan, Donald. *On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace*, ch. 1  
 Morris, Tom. *If Aristotle Ran General Motors*  
 Nemo, Philippe. *What Is the West?* ch. 1  
 Plato. *The Republic*, Book 8  
 Rushdoony, R. J. *The One and the Many*, pp. 63-74

## CHAPTER THREE: ROMANS: THE REAL MEANING OF

## PATRIOTISM

The Roman civil order was the product of a political revolution that replaced the early monarchy with a republic. The republic was destroyed during a century of intermittent, then almost continual civil warfare after the city-state began acquiring an empire and, with it, corporate farms (*latifundia*) that displaced the class of independent farmers who were the foundation of the civil order. The great achievement of the Romans was a very simple, logical system of language (Latin) and law that reflected a high sense of order. As Francis Lieber and others have noted, the Greeks were brilliant but lacked a strong root while the Romans were accomplished borrowers who created a magnificent synthesis. The Romans were concerned with such issues as the legitimacy of rule, distinguishing *potentia* (physical power) from *potestas* (the right to exercise it). **Authority** was a spiritual quality -- a "moral fluid" -- that derived from a patriotic attachment to tradition, the pride of a noble ancestry. Later, Augustus became emperor he commissioned the poet Virgil to write a defense of the new system by basing it, like a good lawyer, on historical precedent. Thus revolutions came disguised as restorations of the older ways. The Roman religion was a civil religion but as Rome became more cosmopolitan its vacuous ceremonies failed to satisfy the people and they became increasingly susceptible to the mystery religions of the East.

### Key Ideas

As St. Augustine observed, the politics of Rome was based on love of country (patriotism)  
 Latin is the language in which ancient politics was preserved and transmitted to us  
 Rome served as a model for Dante's imperial peace and Machiavelli's republican *virtù*  
 The Roman republic preserved the scaffolding of the monarchy, including the *imperium* and *auspicium*  
 The republic reconciled patricians and plebeians through a treaty (*foedus*) [creating a mixed government]  
 Two types of power are distinguished: *potentia* (physical, coercive) and *potestas* (official, legitimate)  
*Auctoritas*: a reservoir of ancient custom or ancestral precedent entrusted to Senate oversight  
 Virtue and freedom declined together when the republic fell into corruption  
 Machiavelli believed a conflict of interests was healthy if subordinated to the public interest

### Outline

- A. ROMAN PATRIOTISM: THE POLITICS OF LOVE (19-20)
  1. **Greek vs. Roman Character:** Centrality of Reason vs. Love
  2. The City as a Family
    - a. Founding myth of Romulus and Remus
    - b. **St. Augustine:** Patriotism as the guiding passion of the Romans
    - c. Horace: *Dulce et decorum est pro Patria mori*
  4. The City That Grew into an Empire
    - a. Christianity emerged out of Its decline
    - b. Practical bent of the Romans
    - c. *Political* vocabulary of Greeks vs. *civic* vocabulary of Romans
- B. LATIN: THE *LINGUA FRANCA* OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION (20-23) [20-22]
  1. Roman Vocabulary of Politics in the West
    - a. Rise of the spiritual empire of the Papacy
    - b. Holy Roman Empire from Charlemagne to Napoleon
    - c. **Niccolo Machiavelli:** Roman model adopted for modern politics
    - d. Marx: *French Revolution* a charade played out in Roman dress
  2. Variety of **Roman Models**
    - a. **Dante Alighieri:** *Pax Romana* [Roman peace] of the empire
    - b. Machiavelli: Admired *virtù* [man-liness, worth-iness] of the early republic
  3. Evolution of the **Roman Republic**
    - a. Etruscan monarchy ended with expulsion of Tarquin the Proud by Junius Brutus

- [following the rape of Lucretia by the king's son]
- 1) Kingship identified with servitude [cf. Thomas Paine]
  - b. Constitution recast; monarchical scaffolding was left to stand though the government now devolved upon the **patricians**
    - 1) **imperium** [authority to govern conferred by inauguration, the taking of auspices] was held jointly by two consuls under the Republic
    - 2) **rex sacrorum** [king of the sacrifices]: vestige of monarchy
    - 3) [Correction: *Augurs* – not the Senate – performed the **auspicia** (*lit.* birdwatching), which had to do with “divination;” Minogue may mean *auctoritas*]
  - b. Secession of the **plebeians** [following the rape of Virginia by a *decemvir*'s son]
    - 1) Popular assembly and **Tribunes** created by treaty (**foedus**)
  4. Collapse of the Republic and Rise of the **Roman Empire**
    - a. Forms of the republic survived
  5. Roman Conception of Power
    - a. Distinction between **potentia** [physical power] and **potestas** [legitimate power issued as orders]
    - b. **Auctoritas**: This was the reservoir of religious prestige exercised by fathers or founders (*auctoris*) that guided the ratification (decree) of public decisions [**res publica**] [See Rahe, p. 4, on authority and tutelage]
- C. LASTING INFLUENCE OF ROME (23-24) [22-24]
1. Polybius: Rome's Hegemony Based on Its Mixed Constitution
    - a. Result: The union proved strong in adversity
      - 1) Illustration: Rome's response to Hannibal after the Battle of Cannae (216 BC) [Contrast this to recent hostage crises]
  2. Moral Strength of the People
    - a. Bribery a capital crime; oaths were sacred
  3. Corruption through Success and Wealth
    - a. Virtue and freedom declined together
  4. **Auctoritas**: Moral Fluid That Upheld Public Weal over Private Advantage
    - a. Dedication, morale strengthened through stories of heroes
    - b. Antipathy between patricians and plebeians provoked quarrels
      - 1) Machiavelli: Conflict may strengthen liberty and civil rights when subordinated to public interest
  - c. Lesson: Harmony results when conflict is resolved by **free debate** and free acceptance of the results [cf. Madison, *Federalist*, No. 10]

### Study Questions

1. What was the guiding passion of the Romans, as shown by Augustine and Horace? How did the Roman character differ from that of the Greeks? How do the Greek "political" and the Roman "civic" differ? (19-20)
2. What resulted from Latin becoming the language of politics in Europe? What practical models did the Europeans inherit from the Romans? (20-22)
3. How did the Romans limit political power? What was *auctoritas*? (22-23)
4. Describe the moral dimension of the Roman character. What was the practical significance of *virtue*? (23-24)
5. In Machiavelli's view, what is the significance of permitting dissent to be expressed within the state? What kind of harmony is expected? (24)

### Review

Roman vs. Greek character <i>potentia</i> vs. <i>potestas</i>	Roman political models inherited by the Europeans <i>auctoritas</i>	Polybius
Machiavelli on the importance of permitting dissent	Lucius Junius Brutus	Tarquin the Proud
Servius Tullius	causes of the revolt	Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus
Lucretia		

### Livy and Machiavelli Readings: Study Questions

1. These are some of the stories Romans told of themselves. Others include Coriolanus, Horatius at the bridge, and Cincinnatus. While their authenticity and accuracy are open to question, they provide considerable insight into the Roman character and their concept of virtue. How does the behavior of Tarquin the Proud illustrate the Greek idea of despotism? [Tullia, by the way, was Tarquin's wife and Servius Tullius's daughter]. What was the relationship of Lucius Junius Brutus to the king? How did he avoid the fate suffered by the leading senators? What folkloric or mythological aspects of the story identify him as a type of divinely-chosen "savior-hero"?
2. How does the story of Collatinus and Lucretia illustrate René Girard's point about mimetic desire and mimetic rivalry? Thought question: How would you apportion the blame in a case like this? [Remember what Girard says about "scandals"]. How did the sins of the son, Sextus Tarquinius, resemble those of the father? The subsequent revolt illustrates what Girard calls a mimetic contagion. Consider how Lucretia herself provoked the final crisis by deliberately choosing to be the scapegoat and sacrificial offering.
3. Who was behind the conspiracy to restore the monarchy? Why? How did the consuls and the senate deal with the threat? How were the plebeians tied closer to the new republic? Half a century later, what incidents led to a plebeian uprising that ultimately broke the power of the decemviri? This strife led finally to the secession of plebs to the Sacred Mount (Aventine Hill). An earlier secession had led to reforms a decade after the Republic was launched. New reforms now gave the plebs their own assembly, the Council of the Plebs. Their rights were protected by the appointment of ten tribunes who could exercise a *veto* ("I forbid") to prevent harm to a pleb. "The plebs swore to treat as accursed and to execute without trial any person who disregarded the tribune's veto or violated the sanctity of his person."
4. These revolutionary and near-revolutionary changes illustrate what **Vilfredo Pareto** called the "**circulation of elites**" concerning how new elites supplant old ones. A few years earlier, **Gaetano Mosca**, another Italian sociologist, had developed a theory of the ruling or political class. A third Machiavelli-inspired political sociologist, **Robert Michels**, developed the so-called "**iron law of oligarchy**" (rule by powerful minorities), which is well illustrated by the behavior of the leading Roman magistrates in Livy's account.
5. Machiavelli developed his own political ideas in *Discourses on Livy*. The first three chapters of Book III, for example, are entitled "If One Wishes a Sect or a Republic to Live Long, It Is Necessary to Draw It Back Often toward Its Beginning," "That It Is a Very Wise Thing to Simulate Crazy at the Right Time," and "That It Is Necessary to Kill the Sons of Brutus If One Wishes to Maintain a Newly Acquired Freedom." As to this last subject, Machiavelli was here, as elsewhere in *The Prince*, especially ruthless in his advice for dealing with members of a displaced ruling family or elite. Niccolò Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, trans. Harvey C. Mansfield and Nathan Tarcov. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
6. Cincinnatus twice distinguishes himself in these excerpts. What aspects of the personal

character of Cincinnatus might so commend him that George Washington would seek to emulate his example?

7. Machiavelli's interpretation of Livy appears to both draw upon and break with Plato's discussion of democracy and tyranny, which is excerpted following the outline of Bastiat's *The Law*. Those who are governed by honor, ambition, or virtue (in the Roman sense) figure prominently in both pieces. How do Plato and Machiavelli differ in tone and emphasis? Machiavelli's positive view of a struggle between classes – as a safeguard of liberty and a check on tyranny – is developed by later thinkers, notably James Madison's justification of a federalist system of checks and balances in *The Federalist*, especially nos. 10, 39, and 51. Paul Rahe returns to the need for what Thomas Jefferson called "eternal vigilance" in "Don Corleone, Multiculturalist." As to which side, the haves or the have-nots, causes the greatest tumults, Machiavelli gives his answer in the following (5th) section of *The Discourses*.

### Livy and Machiavelli Readings: Review

Tarquin the Proud	Servius Tullius	Lucius Junius Brutus
Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus	Lucretia	causes of the revolt
Titus and Tiberius	<i>decemvirs</i>	<i>Twelve Tables</i>
Sicculus	Appius Claudius	Verginius
Icilius	bulwarks of liberty	Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus
tumults	tribunes	

### Further Reading

Durant, Will. *Caesar and Christ*, pp. 21-33  
 Kopff, E. Christian. *The Devil Knows Latin*, pp. 25-32  
 Machiavelli, Niccolò.. *Discourses on Livy*, Book I, sec. 5  
 Madison, James. *The Federalist*, nos. 10, 39, 51  
 Nemo, Philippe. *What Is the West?* ch. 2  
 Rahe, Paul. "Don Corleone, Multiculturalist" and *Republics Ancient and Modern*  
 Rushdoony, R. J. *The One and the Many*, pp. 90-92, 106-12

## CHAPTER FOUR: CHRISTIANITY AND THE RISE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

The third civil order to arise was born out of the crumbling remains of the western Roman Empire through the spiritual challenge to the imperial order posed by the Christian faith. Over a period of centuries the influence Christianity and the struggles between church and state -- as the empire receded and nation-states arose -- brought the individual into his own. The recognition that individuals are beloved of God gradually -- very slowly at first -- encouraged a restructuring of the political order to ensure the rule of law, both civil and ecclesiastical. This enabled, first, the barons and bishops of the land to be represented in government (the rise of parliaments) and, later, enabled individuals of all classes to win economic and civil liberty and self-government.

### Key Ideas

Elements out of which medieval civilization was constructed: love of freedom, decentralization, Christianity  
 Tribal law was inherited; relationships were bound by oath; kings were guardians of the law  
 The law of the land evolved from extension of the king's peace over a territorial realm  
 Civil order was constructed by agreement between kings and their most powerful vassals (magnates)

The story of freedom is one of institutions and laws that balanced the demands of the dominant powers  
 Parliaments evolved out of the necessity of kings to secure cooperation of nobles, clerics, and townsmen  
 Christianity, as a religion of the book, set a premium on education and literacy [cf. Lieber on interpretation]  
 Beliefs are fragile, requiring custodians of their purity and orthodoxy [issue of toleration and intolerance]  
 Christianity is a religion of moral challenge [note Budziszewski on natural law and classical apologetics]  
 The value of each individual lay in a personality that responded to the challenge of sin  
 Christianity turned attention to the cultivation of the inner life; its influence is still to be found in modern life

## Outline

- A. EMERGENCE OF THE MEDIEVAL CIVIC ORDER: INTRODUCTION (25-26)
  - 1. Successive Waves of Westward Migration by Barbarian Tribes
  - 2. Conversion of Barbarian Kingdoms to Christianity
    - a. [All but the Franks at first adopted Arian Christianity]
  - 3. **Feudalism** [Fee-for-Service System] Began with Temporary Land Grants by Kings to Their Magnates; [Manors Later Became Hereditary]
    - a. Illustration: Succession of Anglo-Saxon, Danish, and Norman conquests in England
      - 1) Origin and spread of Normans [Norsemen, Vikings]
  - 4. **Civic Order** Had to Be Reinvented: Three Elements Account for Re-emergence of Politics [**Foundations of Medieval Civilization**]
- B. LOVE OF FREEDOM (26-27)
  - 1. Identity of the People with Their Inherited Tribal Law
    - a. People bound to each other by oath: emphasis on community
    - b. Kings as guardians of the law
    - c. Christianity and the morality of courtly love gradually overcame a *particularistic* ethic with a *universal* one [One vs. Many]
    - d. Idea that law could be legislated came later with the *revival of the Christianized Roman law* [Code of Justinian, 12th century]
  - 2. Limited Scope of Politics
    - a. Traveling circuit of the royal court involved the king and his more important *vassals* (barons, magnates) [system of common law is based on personal allegiance -- cf. Rahe's Don Corleone]
  - 3. Rule of Law: Extension of the King's Peace as the **Law of the Land** [The Church had earlier sought to limit warfare through the Truce of God]
- C. DECENTRALIZATION: CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED (27-30) [27-29]
  - 1. Civil Order Had to Be Constructed by Agreement with Independent Magnates [Idea of the State vs. Dependency, p. 112, 117]
    - a. Well-watered European terrain did not require dams and canals or agriculture [in contrast with the *hydraulic civilizations* of Asia]
      - 1) Centralized despotism not required for mobilization of labor
  - 2. Mosaic of Principalities by the Eleventh Century
    - a. Treaty of Verdun, 843
    - b. Emergence of courtly romance in Provence [site of the Albigensian heresy and crusade]
  - 3. Royal Extension of Dominion Internally and over Neighboring Territories
    - a. *Institutional liberty* and *common law* balanced demands of the dominant powers
    - b. King of England as the *fountainhead of justice* appointed sheriffs and circuit-riding judges
    - c. Nobility held king accountable to the rule of law: *e.g.*, Magna Carta
    - d. **Rights** and interests that were first elaborated by the nobility and wealthy townsmen eventually devolved upon the people
    - e. Culture of freedom developed organically and was tested before the movement toward democracy extended these rights to all

4. Essence of the System: Cooperative Partnership [Separation of Powers]
  - a. Origin and development of French and English *parliaments*
- D. CHRISTIANITY: ITS CENTRALITY AS A RELIGION OF THE BOOK (30-33) [30-32]
  1. Contrast to the Civic Religion of Greece and Rome
    - a. Distinction made between church and state
    - b. Membership conferred by adoption or conversion based on belief rather than by birth
    - c. As a religion of the book it sets a premium on education and literacy, resulting in
      - 1) intellectual reflection
      - 2) custodians and church councils to elaborate and protect the purity of belief
      - 3) combination of intolerance and intellectual vitality
  2. **Christianity** as a Religion of Moral Challenge
    - a. The Gospel message and its implications
    - b. Inescapability of the individual accountability of every soul
    - c. Elevation of the humble -- in contrast to the elitist classical ideal
  3. Social and Political Implications: **Rise of the Individual**
    - a. Machiavelli and Nietzsche criticized this elevation of the lowly as an enfeebling pietism in contrast to the haughty martial virtues
    - b. A turbulent and rebellious people were encouraged to seek peace and humility, but crusades were also preached
    - c. Value of the individual is based on a *personality that responds to the challenge of sin*
    - d. But philosophers reverted to the classical view in the Renaissance that the moral life is a contest between reason and the passions.
    - e. The result reflects the Protestant Reformation: A dynamic, modern individualism that conceives man in terms of **will** and is concerned with cultivating the inner life as a right
    - f. Among its detritus (debris): popular self-help books, popularity of the idea of human rights
- E. CONSEQUENCES (33-34) [32-33]
  1. Transformation of the Roman Empire into the Roman Catholic Church
    - a. Provinces converted into dioceses, inauguration into coronation, marriage into holy matrimony
    - b. Absolute spiritual monarchy: regulation of life, spread of cathedrals
    - c. Structure of European politics indelibly marked by papal power even during its decline after 1305 ["Babylonian Captivity," Avignon]

### Study Questions

1. How important for modern civilization was the emergence of civic order under the system of feudalism out of brutality and violence? (25-26)
2. Identify three elements on which medieval civilization was built. (26-34)
3. How was the rule of law expressed and the king's peace extended? How did the king acquire a realm" and cease being a mere tribal leader? (26-27)
4. How did geography favor the separation of powers, the growth of freedom, and government by consent? What role did Magna Carta play? How did parliamentary institutions differ in Britain and France? [27-30]
5. Why was religion the most important element of medieval politics? As a "religion of the Book," how did Christianity restructure civilization? How did the Christian moral challenge differ from

Greek and Roman views? (30-34)

6. How did Christianity transform human values in terms of individuals and their inner life? How did it transform social and political institutions? (32-34)

### Review

importance of the emergence of civic order through feudalism	foundations of the medieval civilization
tribal law vs. Roman (code) law	role of kings and the king's peace
influence of Christianity and the morality of courtly love	parliaments
story of freedom as the balance of institutions and law	essence of medieval politics
importance of education and literacy	moral challenge of Christianity vs. Greek and Roman elitism
transformation of human values and transformation of the Roman Empire	
cultivation of the inner life as a dynamic process	idea of human rights

### Augustine, Rushdoony, Calvin, and Rutherford: Study Questions

1. Why did Scipio fear the erection of theaters? Augustine's story of the pirate and Alexander should remind readers of Bastiat's observations on legal plunder.
2. How did the two cities originate from two kinds of love? What does he mean by *libido dominandi* and how does it differ from Christian citizenship? How does St. Augustine use the story of Cain and Abel to develop his theme of the two cities?
3. What was God's reward for the natural morality of the Romans? How did their virtues serve as an example to the saints? How do the aims of human civilization stand in relation to the blessings of God? What are the areas of agreement and the areas of disagreement between the two cities?
4. Thomas Aquinas raises the issue of glory (as does Hobbes) and recognizes a connection with tyranny. In fact, Christian theories of resistance to tyranny and even tyrannicide were already extant in the Middle Ages at least a century before Thomas. John of Salisbury, who went into exile for a time with Thomas à Becket (later murdered in the cathedral at Canterbury), is an early contributor to the literature. Examples of such resistance abound: the Lollards, the Hussites, the Huguenots, the Pilgrims, John Knox, John Hampden, Algernon Sydney, and many others. The doctrine of interposition is well-developed in the Huguenot tract *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* and was implicated, for example, in the resistance to the Sugar and Stamp Acts, the Declaration of Independence, the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798, and many other instances. What is the difference between fealty and obedience? The Investiture Struggle over the appointment of high church officers led to what Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy called the Papal Revolution of the 11C. What Rushdoony calls the revival of Romanism was accompanied by the reintroduction of Roman law (the *Institutes and Code of Justinian*) in the late 11C. This is ultimately the source of the *lex regia* (royal law) and inspiration for the later **divine right of kings** developed by **Jean Bodin** (who is discussed in Minogue, ch. 5).
5. What procedure is recommended by Samuel Rutherford early during the English Civil War, which Rosenstock called the real English Revolution? John Locke and the patriot-pastors of the American colonies also further developed the literature of resistance to tyranny. See Alice Baldwin's *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution* and Ellis Sandoz's *Political Sermons of the American Founding Era, 1730-1805*. Felix Morley devotes a chapter to interposition in *Freedom and Federalism*.

### Augustine, Rushdoony, Calvin, and Rutherford: Review



Scipio	the pirate and Alexander	<i>libido dominandi</i>
Cain and Abel	two cities	aims of human civilization
German coronation-order	fealty and obedience	interposition
divine right of kings		

### Further Reading

Berman, Harold. *Law and Revolution*  
 Brutus, Stephen Junius (pseud.). *A Defense of Liberty Against Tyrants (Vindiciae contra Tyrannos)*  
 Bunyan, John. *The Pilgrim's Progress*  
 Danford, John W. *Roots of Freedom*, ch. 2  
 Eidsmore, John. *Christian Legal Advisor*  
 Evans, M. Stanton. *The Theme Is Freedom*  
 Ferdon, Gai. *A Republic if You Can Keep It*  
 Gress, David. *From Plato to NATO*, ch. 4  
 Morris, B. F. *Christian Life and Character of the Civil Institutions of the United States*  
 Nemo, Philippe. *What Is the West?* chs. 3-4  
 Rosenstock-Huessy, Eugen. *Out of Revolution*, pp. 516-19, 529-37  
 Rushdoony, R. J. *Christianity and the State*  
 \_\_\_\_\_ . *The One and the Many*, pp. 138-48, 158-89, 196-201  
 Silving, Helen. "Jurisprudence in the Old Testament" and "Oaths"

## CHAPTER FIVE: CONSTRUCTING THE MODERN STATE

One of the great debates among modern political theorists is to what extent our American political traditions reflect individualistic [liberal] or republican [communitarian] values. Minogue clearly favors the first position. A third option would be to emphasize the biblical or covenantal origins of the American polity, which kept the state limited to a caretaker role and permitted the blossoming of a culture receptive to Christian influence.

The key to understanding the transition from medieval to modern politics is the changed role of the individual. In the Middle Ages the individual was encapsulated in a web of communal relationships that permitted unity as well as diversity. The modern state simplifies the character of society by gradually weakening or dissolving rival social institutions.

### Key Ideas

Civil society in the 16th century was conceived of as an association of believers  
 Civil and religious warfare was part of a transition from medieval localism to the centralized modern state  
 The common response to civil war is an enthusiasm for absolute government; many feared despotism  
 The new politics revolved around a court, leading to the emergence of the courtier (and today's politician)  
 The high-risk politics of the early modern period resulted from the insecurity of rulers  
 Medieval rule as a moral relationship gave way to the practice of "policy" in managing turbulent subjects  
 [cf. Rahe's politics of friendship vs. politics of distrust]  
 The new politics became explicit in Italian city-states where civic republics gave way to insecure tyrants  
 The art of state focused attention of keeping power [political realism or *Realpolitik*]  
 Nostalgia for a lost world of the republic came to dominate Enlightenment criticism of monarchy [cf. Lieber on Rousseauism, Minogue on ideology political moralism, chs. 12-13]  
 Hobbes: Such idealism caused bloodshed by making young scholars the dupes of ambitious men  
 Two new problems: Dissension and ambition may cause civil war; individuality encourages diversity  
 Hobbes: fear of sudden death requires a sovereign power (*maiestas*, as described by Bodin)  
 Dilemma: How can laws be made that apply to all equally, including rulers?

Mitigating factors: natural law concepts, rights, consent, nationalism, idea of the general will  
 Modern technology has enhanced the actual power available to a ruler  
 Early liberals saw the function of the state merely to ensure the peace necessary for their own projects  
 Others, like Hegel, saw the state as a dazzling new machine that can enable men to pursue their dreams

## Outline

- A. TRANSITION FROM MEDIEVAL REALM TO MODERN STATE (35-36) [34-35]
  - 1. Protestant Reformation
    - a. Martin Luther, 1517
    - b. Spiritual enthusiasm of Reformation and Counter-Reformation
    - c. **Civil society** conceived of as an association of believers
    - d. Consequence: internal migration by dissenters
  - 2. Modern Politics Emerged out of Two Conflicting Movements
    - a. Fragmentation and consolidation of kingdoms [the One and the Many] [cf. Benjamin Barber's *Jihad vs. McWorld*]
      - 1) concentrated powers of *sovereignty* vs. entrenchment of *privileges* and usages as *rights* [checks and balances] [cf. Lieber's *institutional liberty*]
  - 3. Transition from Medieval Localism to the Modern Centralized State
    - a. Disorderliness of the nobility as an unproductive warrior class
      - 1) Wars of Roses (1455-85): consequence of aristocratic opportunism [known as "bastard feudalism"] [cf. samurais]
    - b. French wars of religion (c. 1559-89) [St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, 1572, provoked a literature of resistance to tyranny]
    - c. Thirty Years War (1618-48) and English Civil War (1642-49)
      - 1) Response: enthusiasm for absolute government with power vested in a single autocrat [cf. Hobbes]
      - 2) Counter-response: fear of despotism
- B. HIGH-RISK POLITICS OF THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD (36-38) [35-37]
  - 1. Royal Courts Settled into Permanent Capitals [state comes to be identified with territorial and national rather than personal allegiance]
    - a. Rise of the **Courtier**: assimilation of the nobility into the court
    - b. Hazards of the power game: treason laws and succession contests
    - c. Stirring of public opinion, stimulated by pamphleteering
    - d. Rise of the common people: *Putney Debates*, 1647
  - 2. Modern Court Life: Sinister and Melodramatic World [cf. Castiglione]: Examples of Sir Thomas More, Lady Jane Grey
  - 3. Cause: Insecurity of Rulers
    - a. **Authority** necessarily *distances* rulers from ruled
      - 1) Deification of rulers in a despotism
      - 2) Political activity specifically rejects this despotic option
    - b. Expedients that minimize this distance between ruler and ruled
      - 1) *Public-spiritedness* in the Greek *polis* and republican Rome
      - 2) *Moral relationship* binding the medieval realm, although royal **policy** meant ruthlessness and dissembling toward outsiders, including the magnates
      - 3) New politics: *policy* was extended to managing turbulent subjects in a heterogeneous, individualistic **Society**
- C. DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN POLITICS: THEORY AND PRACTICE (38-42) [37-41]
  - 1. Renaissance Italy: Civic Republics Give Way to Tyranny [e.g., Venice]
    - a. Insecurity of the *Signore*
      - 1) **Art of State: Justice** turned into a mere façade
    - b. **Niccolo Machiavelli's Prince**: handbook of the art of *policy*
    - c. Botero: **Reason of State**

2. **Realism:** Seen by Machiavelli as the Effective Truth of Politics
    - a. Many saw it as the sign of corrupt and degenerate times as measured by classical tradition
    - b. Idea of **classical republic** inspired a tradition of [idealistic] political thought (Cicero)
      - 1) Ruler's concerns: justice and virtue
      - 2) Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy*: idea of republican virtue
      - 3) Counterpoint of monarchical loyalty vs. **nostalgia** for the lost republic [see p. 43 on Idealism] dominated Enlightenment criticism of *ancien régime* [the Old Regime of the monarchy before 1789] [see p. 52 on resentment of Christianity]
    - c. Criticism of monarchy as wasteful, warlike, exploitative
    - d. Hobbes' *Leviathan*: **Idealists** seen as dupes of ambitious men
  3. **Thomas Hobbes** Was Responding to New Problems
    - a. Civil war caused by religious dissension and aristocratic ambition
    - b. He accepted fact of **individuality** and diversity of modern opinion [individualism]
      - 1) Republican model could be nothing but a seductive memory due to lack of consensus and sheer size of modern state
    - c. Only modern basis for consensus: fear of death as supreme evil
    - d. Solution: sovereign power needed to enforce agreement (**social contract** theory)
  4. Idea of **Sovereignty** in the State: Absolute and perpetual power vested in a commonwealth (*maiestas*)
    - a. **Jean Bodin's** state based on *families* [cf. Don Corleone]; Hobbes' on individuals torn between passion for glory and fear of death; [Althusius pursued a federal solution]
    - b. Source of **Authority**: consent of the governed
    - c. Appointment of sovereign creates or **invents the people**
  5. Position of the Lawmaker
    - a. Hobbes: Rule of law requires the discretionary powers associated with "policy"
      - 1) [idea of executive privilege, divine right of kings]
  6. **John Locke:** Spokesman of a More Confident People
    - a. State based on moral agreement among reasonable people, emphasizing natural law and **natural rights**
    - b. Hobbes criticized for having lions protect sheep against polecats
  7. Locke's Misplaced Confidence in a Consensus Based on Natural Law
    - a. Collisions persist between rulers and lawyers over "reasons of state," *i.e.*, **discretionary powers**
    - b. Democracy and separation of powers have helped transform *sovereign* power, restraining it from *exploiting* the state [Structure]
    - c. Other mitigating factors: concepts of natural law, rights, consent, nationalism, general law
    - d. The bottom line persists: Political power is necessary but dangerous stuff
  8. Role of Modern Technology: Ebb and Flow of Unification and Fragmentation [the One and the Many]
    - a. Power of rulers may be enhanced but also diminished through bureaucracy, passports, maps, armaments, censorship, surveillance, tourism, computers, mobility
    - b. Treaty of Westphalia, 1648 [Birth of the modern system of nation-states]
- D. CONCLUSION (42-43) [41-42]
1. Idea of Politics Is Thrown Topsy-Turvy by a Religious Change
    - a. Different conceptions of Human Nature
      - 1) Classical view: Service to state is the chief **end** of man
      - 2) Modern [*instrumental*] view: State is the *means* of securing peace for the

- pursuit of *personal projects* rather than the means of salvation
- b. Liberal state has proven tough and durable
    - 1) **Hegel's** hyperbole: State is the march of God on earth
  2. Ramshackle Realms of the Middle Ages Forged into "***the State***"
    - a. Dazzling new institutional machinery has swept the world
    - b. It is the nearest thing to omnipotence man can construct; it has become the focus of dreams [cf. Goya's *The Dream of Reason Produces Nightmares* -- see p. 4]
  3. Two Contrasting Attitudes Reveal the Rhythms of Modern Politics
    - a. **Liberal View:** The state sustains a civic order to be enjoyed [emphasis on diversity]
    - b. **Idealist View:** The state is a repressive thing that needs to be humanized [cf. political moralism, ch. 13]
      - 1) Consequence: The aspiration to transcend the state and create a perfect communistic utopia [emphasis on unity]
    - c. Modern politics is largely a dialogue between these alternatives

### Study Questions

1. When did the modern state emerge and what brought about its rise? What does Minogue mean by "internal migration?" Would the politics of the modern state be characterized as one of harmony or conflict? What were some of its sources? (35-36)
2. What circumstances help account for the rise of absolutism? Who was the "courtier" (gentleman) and at what historical point did he arise? Why was this such a dangerous role? When did the general public start playing an independent role? (36-37)
3. What lay behind the high-risk politics of the early modern period? Where did the new individualistic politics become explicit? How did the "art of state" (and "reason of state") differ from traditional concerns with justice? (37-39)
4. How was the idea of a classical republic preserved as well as transformed in modern political thought? How was modern political thought affected by "nostalgia for a lost world of the republic?" (39)
5. How did Thomas Hobbes view this attitude and what were the new problems to which he was responding? What solution did he offer? How did his concept of "sovereignty" differ from Bodin's? How is the lawmaker to be kept under the law? (40-41)
6. Where did Locke, who criticized Hobbes for supporting absolutism, place his confidence? How may the underlying problem -- the tension between the discretionary power of rulers and the limits of the law -- be mitigated without really being solved? (41-42)
7. How has modern technology aggravated the problem? How has "the modern state turned the whole idea of politics upside down . . . in response to a religious change?" How do modern Europeans (and Americans) differ regarding service to the state?
8. What two attitudes toward the state "reveal the rhythm of modern politics?"

### Review

civil society as an association of believers	fragmentation and consolidation of kingdoms
rise and role of the courtier	policy and the art of state and reason of state
individualistic politics	modern republican political theory
Thomas Hobbes vs. Jean Bodin on sovereignty	origins of the institutional machinery of the modern state

contrasting attitudes toward the state  
 Niccolò Machiavelli  
 liberal vs. repressive view of the state

Adam Smith  
 nostalgia for the lost world of the republic  
 medieval conception of freedom and kingship

### Hobbes Reading: Study Questions

1. How does Hobbes's theory of motivation resemble those set forth by St. Augustine and Girard? In what, according to Hobbes, does felicity (the pleasure principle) consist? Thought question: When all is said and done, where do these various motives and desires naturally lead?
2. Hobbes supports a secularized idea of human equality (based on nature but **not** traditional *natural law*) on at least two different grounds. What are they? Why does this equality of ability lead to conflict? [Hobbes's "equality of ability" may be compared with Girard's idea that rivals resemble each other as twins or doubles, as in the "double idolatry of self and other"].
3. What is the logic behind preemptive strikes (anticipation) and acts of conquest beyond what security requires (augmentation of dominion or, in the modern parlance, imperialism)? What is required for men to enjoy each other's company? What are the three principal sources of quarrel?
4. In what do war and peace consist? Where does the absence of a "common power to keep them [men] all in awe" (the State of Nature) lead? Are the desires and passions inherently sinful? [Think of Girard's answer, too]. What are the two cardinal "virtues" in war? [This theme in Hobbes is repeated in Minogue, chapter 7, along with an appropriate remark by Count Cavour; otherwise we would call both these "virtues" vices]. What is the necessary (and practical) context for defining justice and injustice? What are the passions that incline men to peace?

### Hobbes: Review

restlessness of human desire  
 war and peace  
 justice and injustice

three principal causes of quarrel  
 cardinal virtues in war  
 passions that incline men to peace

### Further Reading

Belloc, Hilaire. *The Servile State*  
 Butler, Joseph. *Five Sermons*  
 Danford, John W. *Roots of Freedom*, ch. 7  
 Gress, David. *From Plato to NATO*, ch. 6  
 Higgs, Robert. *Crisis and Leviathan*  
 Livingston, Donald. *Philosophical Melancholy and Delirium*, chs. 13-14  
 Nemo, Philippe, *What Is the West?* on the desacralization and resacralization of the State, pp. 71-75  
 Oakeshott, Michael. *Lectures in the History of Political Thought*, chs. 31-32.  
 Rosenstock-Huessy, Eugen. *Out of Revolution*, pp. 397-412  
 Rushdoony, R. J. *The One and the Many*, pp. 230-42, 269-76  
 Silving, Helen. "The Origins of Magnae Cartae"  
 Titus, Herbert W. *God, Man, and Law*  
 Toulmin, Stephen. *Cosmopolis*  
 Van Creveld, Martin. *The Rise and Decline of the State*

## CHAPTER SIX: HOW TO ANALYZE A MODERN SOCIETY

The modern penchant for specialization may be seen in the fact that, once the modern state emerged, other units of measure -- society, economy, culture -- were abstracted from this image of a civil body politic. The advent of Christianity as an "empire within an empire" meant that loyalties would henceforth be divided between this world and the next. The resulting tension would be a force for liberating the individual and encouraging the rise of new social entities, such as churches, guilds, and universities. Another, later, development was the development of modern social science as a study of man in his various roles or *personae* -- social, economic, cultural, etc. -- but with a tendency to reduce man to one facet or to a sum of these parts.

Modern social science is a child of the Enlightenment project. In *Cosmopolis*, Stephen Toulmin traces this use of science for utopian, idealistic social reforms to a reaction against the wars of religion that had culminated in the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). Many subsequent political thinkers deemed science and enlightened despotism to be the solution to the destructive madness of superstition. The rise of academic and professional social sciences in the nineteenth century reflects a kind of secular evangelism: an impetus to comprehensive social reform that is today described as **social engineering**.

### Key Ideas

The state is imagined as a body, a unified corporate structure [see Budziszewski on communitarianism]  
 Christianity both exploited and undermined the idea of harmony: demoting politics, elevating the individual  
 Christianity taught Europeans to live in a divided society: *sacerdotium* (church) and *regnum* (civil society)  
 The essence of modernity lay in the development of the new sentiment of individuality  
 Religious dissidence -- along with commerce and military service -- led to increased migration  
 The state became an umbrella for a great many social roles and organized entities  
 Society, economy, and culture are increasingly distinguished from the state by a process of abstraction  
 Economics seemed to be the key to a real science of man; Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* led the way  
 The industrial revolution in coal-rich England actually transformed the human condition  
 Mercantilism: a zero-sum game national competition to acquire wealth through trade monopolies  
 Britain gradually deregulated commerce, as Adam Smith recommended, and prospered through free trade  
 A culture is a kind of spiritual (*Volkgeist*) rather than political body that expresses itself in poetry and song  
 In state, society, economy, and culture we have the conceptual ground-plan of the social sciences  
 Until the economy and the state have been distinguished there can be no modern theory of socialism  
 Nationalism is the doctrine that every culture ought to be self-determining  
 Reductionists wish to simplify these abstract associations by supplying a single dominant motive for each  
 Self-interest is the duty an individualist society upon its members to be self-motivated and self-sufficient  
 Determinism: the idea that one or another of these associations determines the others  
 Political activists who make such arguments really seek the power of the state to transform these spheres  
 These strange endeavors arise from a nostalgic yearning to return to a unified body politic  
 The concept of alienation, as a diagnosis of what ails us, is part of a doomed attempt to restore that unity  
 [See Minogue, chs. 12-13; Budziszewski, ch. 5; Rosenstock-Huessy; K-L on identitarianism]

### Outline

- A. IMAGE OF THE BODY POLITIC (44-45) [43]
  1. Metaphor of the **Civil Body Politic**
    - a. Menenius Agrippa: senators (head), messengers (nerves), farmers (belly)  
 [imagery similar to that used in Plato's *The Republic*, Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*]
  2. Image of a Unified Corporate Structure [the One]
    - a. Individuals and groups seen as *creatures* [creations] *of the state*

- B. CHRISTIANITY INAUGURATED LIFE IN A DIVIDED SOCIETY (45-46) [44-45]
1. Christianity Shook the Foundations of This Conception of Civil Harmony
    - a. Source of Liberty: Tension between the ideal of civil harmony and turbulent adversarial politics of Greece and Rome [Machiavelli] [cf. Rahe's politics of distrust]
    - b. Politics demoted into an instrument for the sake of peace and justice; care of the individual soul elevated to the end
  2. Loss of Unity in Christendom: Individual Lived in **Two Corporate Bodies: *Sacerdotium*** [Church] and ***Regnum*** [Civil Society]
    - a. Bodies within bodies, such as guilds and universities [*collegia*]: sovereign state developed into a complex, highly articulated body
  3. Essence of Modernity: **Individualism** and the Dissolution of Traditional Stabilities [the Many]
    - a. Pioneering work of individualism done in the sphere of **religion**
      - 1) Reformation: duties of conscience led to migrations [cf. Rosenstock-Huessy on the free choice of profession]
    - b. Other motives: commerce, military, art
    - c. Migration, urbanization, and the pursuit of alternative lifestyles
  4. **Society** Seen as an Autonomous Mode of Association
    - a. Idea that subjects and citizens also have private lives; the state was merely an umbrella for a great number of societal activities [cf. Johannes Althusius's symbiotic *collegia*]
    - b. Thomas Aquinas: man seen as a political *and* social animal
  5. Society Born out of the **State** by a Process of Abstraction
- C. ECONOMY (47-49) [46-47]
1. Growth of Commerce
    - a. People also played roles as producers, distributors, consumers
    - b. New conception of economic man [See Peter Drucker, *The End of Economic Man*, pp. 46-58]: A regularity of economic behavior independent of the will of the participants was observed
    - c. Law of supply and demand
  2. **Economics** Seen as Key to a **Science of Man** [cf. Marx, pp. 56f, 102ff]
    - a. **Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*** (1776): Based on Newton's conception of natural law
  3. Political **Economy**: Greek household on a large scale
    - a. Achievement: It demonstrated that rising prosperity (progress) could be based on free labor rather than slavery
    - b. Progress: the fruit of analytical reason
    - c. Dismal reputation of economics: [David Ricardo], Thomas Malthus
    - d. Key to the Industrial Revolution: The accident of a highly rational, inventive collection of people with large coal reserves [the English]
    - e. Coal-power released the genie of limitless possibility
  4. Technological Impetus in the Pursuit of National Self-Aggrandizement
    - a. Risk of war and national bankruptcy
    - b. **Mercantilism**: international trade treated as a **zero-sum game**
      - 1) Trade monopolies, industrial secrecy [and espionage], rationalization of natural and human resources
    - c. Success of the British practice of **free trade**: Britain's inability to impose a centralized direction over trade contributed to its success [cf. Lieber's Anglican vs. Gallican Liberty]
- D. CULTURE (49) [47-48]
1. New **Identity** (Late 18<sup>th</sup> Century): Man as Bearer of Culture [Origin of Ethnic Nationalism, Anthropology] [cf. Models of Historical Interpretation]

- a. **Rationalism** → universal → emphasis on rights of man [the One]
- b. **Romanticism** → particular → emphasis on national identity, dialect, custom [the Many] [cf. Battle of Universals, Jonathan Swift's Big-Endians vs. Little-Endians]
- 2. **Culture: A Spiritual Rather Than Political Body** [*Volkgeist*=folk-spirit]
  - a. National artists
- E. CONCEPTUAL GROUND-PLAN OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES (49-51) [48-49]
  - 1. Manifold Modern Body Politic
    - a. Each association sustains a vast superstructure of theory and classification [political science, sociology, economics, anthropology, psychology]
    - b. Stage set for the dramas of modern political conflict
  - 2. Grid from Which Powerful Theories of Politics May Be Constructed
    - a. **Socialism** -- a reflection on the relationship between politics and the economy -- requires that they be distinguished from each other
    - b. **Nationalism**: Doctrine that every culture ought to be self-determining
      - 1) To be distinguished from the turbulent interstate relations that lead some idealists (see pp. 60-61) to promote utopian, rationalist internationalism
  - 3. **"Reductionism"** ["Reification" of Abstractions, Man Is "Nothing But"]
    - a. Varieties of "Attribute Determinism" [The "terrible simplifiers" reduce man to a single dominant drive, e.g., *homo politicus*, driven by a lust to rule; *homo economicus*, by a lust for wealth]
      - 1) Society seen as solidarity, economy as division [see ch. 12]
    - b. Reality: Interplay of a whole spectrum of human motives
    - c. Fallacy: Simple identification of motive and association [cf. R. J. Rushdoony on "selective depravity"]
  - 4. **Self-Interest** (as Opposed to Selfishness, a Moral Vice) Is the Duty That An Individualist Society Imposes on Its Members to Be Self-Motivated
- F. FOUNDING QUESTION OF MODERN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY (51-52) [49-51]
  - 1. Is Any One Form of Association More Fundamental Than the Others?
    - a. Centrality of the State: Hobbes and Hegel
    - b. Economic **Determinism: Karl Marx**
      - 1) Search for the philosopher's stone of modern social science
  - 2. Unreality of These Activists' Quest for a First Cause Outside the State
    - a. They seek to capture state power so they may transform these supposedly more fundamental spheres [see ch. 12 on **ideology**]
    - b. Paradoxes: Communists absolutizing the state, African nationalists invoking non-existent national identities in order to create them
  - 3. Political Role of **Nostalgia** for a Unified Body Politic [see p. 39]
    - a. Concept of **Alienation**: Resentments of classical republicans, socialists, nationalists, *et al.*, over divided allegiances
    - b. Modern politics as a doomed attempt to restore Humpty Dumpty

### Study Questions

1. Identify some of the implications of the image of the state as a "body politic." How did the advent of Christianity shake this conception of civil harmony to its foundations? What two corporate bodies divided medieval society and how were they multiplied? (44-45)
2. What is the essence of modernity? What role did the religious "conscience" play in transformations that accompanied and followed the Reformation? Identify some of the other inclinations that played a role in dissolving traditional stabilities. How have urbanization and immigration contributed to this movement? (45-46)
3. How did the greater mobility and self-reliance of individuals contribute to a detachment of the idea



of society from that of the state? How did this give rise to the idea of the economy as a distinct relationship or enterprise? How did it suggest the possibility of a "science of man?" (46-47)

4. Who were some of the thinkers and what were the circumstances that contributed to the notion that deliberate rational progress was possible? How did these developments contribute to a policy of national aggrandizement [*mercantilism*] as well as free trade? (47-49)
5. What are some of the roles that began to define the life of Europeans? What was meant by the new idea of *culture*? How did the division of the body politic into a number of bodies provide a "conceptual ground-plan of the social sciences?" How have these self-conscious associations contributed to modern political conflict? (49-50)
6. What was required for a modern theory of socialism? Of nationalism? What confusion has led to the notion that "the way to peace lies through the abandonment of national sovereignty in favour of the rule of international authorities?" What are some of the fallacious simplifications that lead to such confusion? (50-51)
7. What has been the effect of the idea that one type of association -- state, society, economy, or culture -- *causes* the others? What does Minogue mean when he says "a certain unreality" attaches to this kind of determinism? What role does nostalgia play in this thinking? (51-52)

**Review**

Christendom's two bodies: <i>sacerdotium</i> vs. <i>regnum</i>		state vs. society
science of economics	mercantilism	culture
socialism and nationalism	self-interest as a duty	determinism
Adam Smith	Karl Marx	alienation

**Locke, Webster, and Federalism: Study Questions**

1. What is the great and chief end of men united under a commonwealth? [Locke echoes the opening question of the *Westminster Shorter Catechism*: "To glorify God and enjoy Him forever"]. What three things are wanting in a state of Nature? What are two powers under a state of Nature? For what do men exchange these powers under a commonwealth? What are the limits (or extent) of this authority? What accounts for both the right and rise of executive and legislative power?
2. What is its source of authority? What is the source of its authority? [Something akin to Rousseau's "general will" may be surmised here]. What are some of the powers that cannot be transferred to anyone else because they cannot even be exercised by oneself? Here is the basis for "inalienable rights but set in the context of the "will of God." Identify three of the bounds placed on government by the "law of God and Nature."
3. The Seventeenth Amendment to U.S. Constitution, which had been promoted by the Progressive reform movement, provided for the direct popular election of senators. How does federalism as a form help limit government and make it more responsible? In view of the stipulations made at the Australian constitutional convention in 1891, what outcomes might have been expected? Given the observations of Lord Bryce, has the subsequent centralization of political initiative to the national level delayed or short-circuited (through what he calls external power) the healthy outworking of consequences that might otherwise force people to adjust their behavior?

**Thatcher Reading: Study Questions**

1. What are the distinctive marks of Christianity? Why is it important to nurture the roots of

Christianity? What do we gain from key elements of the Old and New Testaments? What is important to understand from the Tenth Commandment? What is the **nursery of civic virtue**? Why is intervention by the State a danger? Why does Margaret Thatcher believe that religious education is a proper part of the school curriculum? What makes her an enthusiast for democracy? What makes her concerned about the future of democracy? What is the role of the Church? Here she builds upon the idea of *subsidiarity*: that the Church performs public services that may not be provided by the State.

### Locke, Webster, Federalism, and Thatcher: Review

what is wanting in a state of Nature	two powers under a state of Nature
arbitrary power	bounds set by law of God and Nature
federalism	Law of God and Nature
	nursery of civic virtue

### Further Reading

Bryce, James. *The American Commonwealth*, Part I, ch. 27: The Federal System  
 Danford, John W. *Roots of Freedom*, ch. 8  
 DeMar, Gary. *God and Government*, 3 vols.  
 Dicey, A. V. *Introduction to the Study of the Law of Constitutions*, Part I:3  
 Eidsmoe, John. *God and Caesar*  
 Morley, Felix. *Freedom and Federalism*  
 \_\_\_\_\_ . *The Power in the People*  
 Nemo, Philippe. *What Is the West?* ch. 5  
 Rushdoony, R. J. *This Independent Republic*

## CHAPTER SEVEN: RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES: HOW TO BALANCE POWER

The ancient Roman *ius gentium* is the precursor of the modern "law of nations." Some of the pioneers in the field of modern international law, organization, and diplomacy include Hugo Grotius and Count Metternich. A young critic of the reactionary Metternichian system that held sway in much of Europe after the Napoleonic wars was Francis Lieber, whose lengthy correspondence with Bluntschli, Laboulaye, and others, helped launch a series of international conventions that led to the Hague and Geneva Conventions and, more recently, to the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Rights.

### Key Ideas

Morality, no less than its opposite, can lead to war; warriors developed an ethic of honor [see p. 36]  
 The mosaic of small dominions inherited from the Middle Ages was consolidated by war  
 Clausewitz: War is the continuation of policy by other means  
 Hobbes's state of nature is a state of war in which the life of man is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short  
 Hobbes on the causes of conflict: scarcity, passion for glory, diffidence  
 Hobbes argued that war is the natural relation between humans; the question is how to achieve peace  
 There are positive reasons why power tends to snowball: to those that hath more, more shall be given  
 Bandwagon Effect: Movements grow because everyone seeks to be associated with power and success  
 The negative reasons for the growth of power may be seen in attempts to subdue competitors  
 The modern economy is a positive-sum game in which everyone gets richer  
 The same logic underlies the balance of power strategy: states unite to frustrate an ambitious hegemon  
 A great power has no friends, merely interests, and national interest can change  
 The cold logic of politics requires that men and wealth should be sacrificed to protect the national interest

"Reason of state" (*raison d'état*) may require violence, deception, and breaking of promises  
 The medieval idea of Christendom as an international moral order drew on the natural law and *ius gentium*  
 War within Christendom acquired usages and conventions that mitigated its ferocity [cf. The Truce of God]  
 Idealists believe that interdependence makes sovereignty of national state an illusion  
 The moral thrust of internationalism is to identify the national interest with selfishness  
 Realists take national interest as their guide; monocausal theories of the causes of war have been refuted  
 Like Hobbes (p. 40) realists believe utopian aspirations absolutize conflicts and make them intractable  
 National interests are in some degree negotiable; rights, in principle, are not

## Outline

- A. WAR (53-54) [52-53]
  - 1. Need for Means of Self-Defense
    - a. Morality may lead to war, as may its opposite: Clovis
  - 2. Rationalists Blame the Passions
    - a. Warriors: Ethic of Honor [cf. Nietzsche on Good vs. Bad]
      - 1) Feuding by aristocratic protectors became the problem rather than the solution
      - 2) Feuding ended by ascendancy of absolute monarchs
    - b. Growth of the powerful states through royal marriage, diplomacy, and war [consolidation of nation-states]
    - c. Europe consolidated from a mosaic of small medieval dominions [Suggestion: Study the maps of a historical atlas]
  - 2. **Clausewitz**: War is the continuation of policy by other means [chess analogy of attack and defense]
    - a. Desperation of the losers in this international **game** [see p. 57]
- B. BEST EXPLANATION FOR POLITICAL CONFLICT: THOMAS HOBBS (54-56) [53-54]
  - 1. Hobbes' Thesis: State of Nature Is Always a State of War
    - a. Life of man in a state of nature is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short" [*Leviathan*, Book One, ch. 13]
    - b. Reasons why men must have a power to over-awe them all
      - 1) **Scarcity** of things men value [first premise of economics]
      - 2) **Passion** [lust, *cupiditas*] **for glory** [see *theatricality*, p. 7; Leo Braudy, *The Frenzy for Renown*]
      - 3) **Diffidence** [mistrust of others] [cf. Rahe's politics of distrust]
    - c. Terrifying logic of preemptive strikes
  - 2. Requirement: Formation of a Civil Association by Imposing a Superior or Overruling Power [**Social Contract Theory**]
    - a. Vulnerability forces sovereigns into the posture of gladiators
  - 3. Inescapability of the Insecurities of the Hobbesian State of Nature [a powerful explanatory model]
    - a. War is the natural human condition; issue is how to achieve peace
- C. EUROPEAN SYSTEM OF STATES: EXPLANATORY MODEL (56-57) [54-56]
  - 1. Why Has Europe Had a Practical **Balance of Power** for Centuries? [cf. Lieber, Hume]
  - 2. One Would Have Expected Emergence of an Empire over Europe
    - a. The logic of conquest ends when imperial overreach makes further conquest unprofitable]
  - 3. Positive and Negative Reasons Why Power Tends to Snowball
    - a. Positive: Movements grow because of the *bandwagon effect*
    - b. Negative: Impetus to reduce rivals to impotence -- Marx's view
  - 4. Why This Logic Has Failed to Generate a Single Imperial Power
    - a. Economics is a **positive-sum game**, not a **zero-sum game**
- D. BALANCE OF POWER AND THE FRUSTRATION OF HEGEMONS (57-58) [56]

1. Habsburg Spain blocked by Valois France in the 16th century
2. Louis XIV blocked by William III late in the 17th century
  - a. Role played by Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Sweden in the 18th
3. Napoleon's Bid for World Power Early in the 19th Century United His Foes
4. German Hegemony Blocked Twice in the 20th Century
5. Effort to Unify Europe by Agreement Rather Than Conquest [cf. European Union]
- E. COLDNESS AND BRUTALITY OF POLITICS (58-60) [56-59]
  1. Great States Have No Friends, Merely Interests, and Interests Change
    - a. Charles de Gaulle: "Blood dries quickly"
  2. **National Interest:** Whatever a State Judges Necessary to Its Security [Changeable]
    - a. Loss of India made the Suez Canal less important to Britain
    - b. Neighbors are commonly enemies; neighbors-but-one are allies
  3. Continuity of Perceptions of National Interest Despite Revolutions [Stalin followed traditional czarist policy in Central Asia: "The Great Game"]
    - a. Cardinal Richelieu's theory of the natural frontiers of France
    - b. Winston Churchill on sea and air supremacy ["fortress Britannia"]
  4. Sacrifice of Men and Wealth to the National Interest: Count Cavour
    - a. Idea of **reason of state**: violence, deception, broken promises [cf. Botero, ch. 5]
      - 1) Hobbes: force and fraud are the cardinal virtues in war
  5. Failures of Reason of State
    - a. International morality is a countervailing movement to national sovereignty [idealism vs. realism]
  6. Quest for an International Moral Order Derived from Medieval Idea of Christendom and Natural Law Philosophy of the Romans
    - a. Law of Nations: ***ius gentium***
    - b. Cosmopolitanism of the Stoics
    - c. Usages and conventions of war within the common culture of Christendom [*e.g.*, Truce of God]
- F. REALISTS VS. IDEALISTS (60-62) [59-60]
  1. Broad Popular Appeal of the Idealist Case
    - a. War has ceased to be rational due to weapons of mass destruction
    - b. Interdependence makes sovereignty of national states an illusion
    - c. Globalization requires international cooperation
    - d. Fear of Western cultural imperialism: no dominant global morality
  2. Identification of National Interest with Selfishness by Idealists
    - a. Caution: International morality itself may reflect particular interests, such as a prosperous **bureaucracy** of civil servants with powerful clients [cf. Paul Gottfried on the managerial state]
  3. Realists Ask: Who Benefits?
    - a. Mono-causal theories of the causes of war are refuted by the facts
    - b. Concern that *utopian aspirations* will absolutize conflicts and make them more intractable (cf. Hobbes on p. 40 [38])
    - c. National interests tend to be negotiable; rights are not

### Study Questions

1. Why cannot war simply be attributed to the passions? How did defense and war contribute to the growth and consolidation of modern states? (53-54)
2. What is Thomas Hobbes' three-part explanation for political conflict? What is the "state of nature?" What are its political implications? (54-56)
3. Why was Karl Marx wrong about the economy? Why is it *not* a zero-sum game but, instead, a positive-sum game? (56-57)

4. Why is it that Western Europe has not been united by a single dominant imperial power or hegemon? Who have been some of the contenders for that distinction? (57-58)
5. Why is the distinction between friends and foes in inter-state politics misleading? What is national interest? Does it tend to be stable or changeable, like regimes? How has "reason of state" been moderated somewhat? How has the idea of "an international moral order" influenced actual practice? (58-60)
6. Compare and contrast the idealist case with the realist case as standards for conducting international relations. Is internationalism based on universal truths or is it based on particular interests that are just as "selfish" as national interest? What is the danger of utopian aspirations toward a peaceful world order? (60-62)

### Review

Clausewitz	Thomas Hobbes's explanation for political conflict
Karl Marx on economics balance of power	frustrated attempts at hegemony
Habsburg Spain vs. Valois France	national interest
reason of state	views of idealists vs. views of realists
<i>ius gentium</i>	

### Hume, Codevilla, and Weil Readings: Study Questions

1. The rise of what power led the great orator Demosthenes to sound the alarm throughout all Greece? What does Hume mean by the phrase "wars of emulation"? [Such other phrases as "mimetic rivalry" and "the passion for glory" readily come to mind]. What was the same principle in domestic politics and how was it expressed there?
2. In what ways did the Romans prove to be the exception to this pattern? What happened to the countries that allied themselves to Rome [Massinissa, a Numidian (nomad) king, should have but did not make an agreement with the Cathaginians; his grandson Jugurtha later paid the price]. Why is Hiero of Syracuse accounted wise by Hume?
3. What were the weaknesses of Austria under the emperor Charles V? What made France a more formidable threat against the liberties of Europe? What characteristic of Great Britain made it foremost among France's foes? To what sort of excesses are the British prone? Where did Hume fear these excesses might lead? How do enormous monarchies tend to fall?
4. What resulted from the treaties of Westphalia? What are their consequences under international law? How does Simone Weil tie the *Iliad* with subsequent Greek tragedy?

### Hume, Codevilla, and Weil: Review

wars of emulation	ostracism	national spirit
Austria under Charles V	mortgage on revenues	perils of enormous monarchies
sovereign autonomy		

### Further Reading

Alvarado, Ruben. *A Common Law*  
 Barber, Benjamin. "Jihad vs. McWorld"  
 Codevilla, Angelo. *Advice to War Presidents*  
 Curry, Dean. *A World Without Tyranny*, ch. 5

Gottfried, Paul. *After Liberalism*, pp. 3-29  
 Lieber, Francis. "Nationalism and Internationalism"  
 Huntington, Samuel. "The Clash of Civilizations?"  
 Muthuswamy, Moorthy S. *Defeating Political Islam*  
 Strausz-Hupé, Robert, *et al. The Protracted Conflict*, ch. 1  
 Weil, Simone. *The Need for Roots*  
 Film: "Yojimbo"

## CHAPTER EIGHT: THE EXPERIENCE OF POLITICS: I. HOW TO BE AN ACTIVIST

The next three chapters are concerned with the practical aspects of political life. Here theory and practice may seem to diverge but the theory is not meant simply to describe, but also to prescribe, evaluate, criticize. Here also we move from the grammar to the dialectic stage of the *Trivium*, which is designed to confront students with problems of evidence and bring them to a practical application of the rudiments of their knowledge. Mental exercise is required to build intellectual muscle. The point of studying political theory is to develop a greater understanding how it is and may be practiced.

In this chapter, Minogue examines the building blocks of public life in modern times, including the practical knowledge (prudence) that equips citizens for effective participation. Spokesmanship and office are the two poles of a public official's political life.

### Key Ideas

Politicians need more of the same kind of knowledge needed by citizens  
 A tradition (or political culture) must be the central object of understanding in any political system  
 There are many variations on the ideas of justice and freedom [see ch. 10; Budziszewski]  
 Since politics is talk, political skill requires wit, and politicians are remembered for their phrases [see p. 14]  
 Citizens once attended like connoisseurs to long and complicated political speeches  
 The culture of oratory has been destroyed by the trivializing effect of the mass media  
 Spokesmanship and office are the polarities within which politicians must live  
 In office, the raw brutalities of power are largely converted into the "suavities" of authority  
 The reasons a politician decides on a policy are distinct from the reasons by which he publicly defends it  
 The three dimensions of a political act are its practicality, consequences, and effect on the politicians  
 Politicians as a class constitute an oligarchy whose tendency is at odds with the population it rules  
 This tendency is more pronounced in countries whose electoral system requires voting for party lists  
 The politician must be a special type of person capable of keeping his deepest convictions to himself  
 Statesmen: politicians who can balance inner conviction with a talent for turning opportunity to advantage

### Outline

- A. THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF THE EXPERIENCE OF POLITICS (63-67) [61-64]
  1. Theatricality: Politicians and Actors Belong to Related Tribes
    - a. Styles of public architecture reflect classical inspiration
  2. Most Political Drama Is Local [cf. Tip O'Neill]
    - a. Logistics: Typical career path is a trajectory from periphery to center
  3. Requirement: Knowledge of the History and Metaphors of Politics
    - a. Necessary knowledge [*scienda*] for an American politician
  4. **Traditions** of Politics Vary Greatly, as Politics Differs from Despotism
    - a. Centrality of **political culture** to understanding a political system
    - b. Differences of political attitudes varies with customary experiences

- c. Difficulty in translating some political concepts, such as fairness (**John Rawls**) and freedom
- 5. Most Political Knowledge Generalizes Experience
  - a. Lessons of the past: *e.g.*, Machiavelli's attention to ancient Rome
  - b. Necessary knowledge for a British politician: *e.g.*, significance of appeasement, more recent revisionist criticism of Churchill
  - c. The past hangs more heavily in France because of the Revolution
  - d. Irish politics is also haunted by memory
- 6. Politics as Talk: Politicians Remembered for Their Phrases [Sound-Bites]
  - a. Churchill on Attlee, Lincoln's wit and oratory [another example: Alice Roosevelt Longworth's description of Thomas Dewey as the "man on the wedding cake"]
  - b. Political speeches once relished by connoisseurs
  - c. Trivializing effects of media have destroyed that culture
- B. POLARITIES OF THE POLITICIAN'S LIFE: SPOKESMANSHIP AND OFFICE (67-69) [64-66]
  - 1. **Spokesmanship** Is Representation
    - a. **Representation** is the skill of constructing a consensus position, some essence of an issue that harmonizes conflicting desires
    - b. This technique is the tact which permits accommodation, as well as coexistence of very different groups within one society
  - 2. Responsibilities of **Office**
    - a. Raw brutalities of power [potentia] are converted into the **suavities of authority** [*potestas, auctoritas*]
    - b. **Power**: Skill by which a ruler uses his authority to get things done
    - c. Abuses of authority and "logrolling" in politics [co-dependency]
- C. CENTRAL IMPLICATION: REASONS FOR SUPPORTING A POLICY DIFFER FROM THE REASONS GIVEN IN ITS PUBLIC DEFENSE (69-73) [66-70]
  - 1. First Dimension of a Public Act: Issue of Its Practicality
    - a. The real test of an act is the long-term
  - 2. Second Dimension: Consequences of a Particular Type of Policy
    - a. Failure is not normally considered grounds for abandonment [nothing succeeds like failure]
    - b. Typically, greater controls are demanded to deal with anomalies
  - 3. Third Dimension: Effects on the Prospects of Its Promoter [see ch. 11 and Michael Munger's piece]
    - a. Illustration: Gentrification of working class through welfare policies
  - 4. Public Interest Is Not Measurable in Terms of Individual Costs, Benefits
  - 5. Role of Craftiness in Politics
    - a. Examples: framing the issues, trading on name recognition, passing the buck
  - 6. Politicians Form a Kind of Club
    - a. Friendships are often warmer across parties than within them
    - b. Dominant ideas of politicians may run counter to popular opinion
    - c. Politicians: an oligarchy that tends to be at odds with the populace; widening this gap leads to distrust, sophistry, demagoguery
  - 7. Problem of Persuasion: Find Reasons That Are Decisive to the Audience
  - 8. Politician Must Keep His Deepest Convictions to Himself
    - a. Politicians must carefully weigh the effects of their opinions
    - b. Opportunism may be necessary but is not sufficient for success
    - c. **Statesmen**: those who can balance inner conviction with the talent of turning every opportunity to advantage
      - 1) Illustrations: de Gaulle, Churchill, Goldwater
      - 2) Secret of politics is to care about success but not too much

## Study Questions

1. How does politics resemble the theater? What sort of knowledge is necessary to an American politician? How do political traditions differ from each other? How do languages reflect deep-seated cultural differences? (63-65)
2. What sort of knowledge is necessary for a British (or French) politician? Why are wit and the ability to produce a well-turned phrase important political skills? How has the old political culture based on oratory been destroyed? (65-67)
3. What are the two poles of a politician's life? Why is the politician's skill at "spokesmanship" an important unifying force? How is office-holding a further constraint on the exercise of power? Why is power described as a "moral relationship?" (67-69)
4. Why are the reasons for deciding on a policy distinct from those used to publicly defend it? (This raises the problem of dissimulation or lying in politics). Identify three dimensions of a political act. What might be some of the unforeseen or unintended consequences? (69-70)
5. Why is there an oligarchic tendency among politicians as a class? How does this affect public attitudes? What makes the art of persuasion a difficult one? What attribute is essential to the statesman? (70-73)

### Review

background for an American and a British politician  
spokesmanship and office

decline of oratory  
three dimensions of a political act

### Lincoln, Polybius, Roberts, and Bagehot: Study Questions

1. Identify some of the classical Greek and Roman themes as well as echoes from the Bible that are evident in this selection from the very start. Why does Lincoln believe that the maintenance of the government "in its original form . . . is not much to be wondered at"? How was the ambition of the founding generation accomplished? [Consider Solon]
2. What does Lincoln mean by saying "This field of glory is harvested"? Who are the new reapers? How might they accomplish their ambitions? Who had a stake in the original founding and how was its authenticity [and *auctoritas*] preserved? What then would be the best defense for their descendents? [This advice might be profitably compared with Burke's "cheap defence of nations" in the next reading].
3. Both Roberts and Bagehot address the spiritual dimension of politics. Roberts illustrates what Bagehot called the dignified part of government butaments that it is becoming debased. In his judgment, what has changed? What does Bagehot mean in the last two sentences of his excerpt?

### Lincoln and Bagehot: Review

Abraham Lincoln  
history

reverence for the laws  
passion and liberty

new reapers  
dignified and efficient parts

### Further Study

Bagehot, Walter. *The English Constitution*

Bradford, M. E. *A Worthy Company*

Chambers, Whittaker. "A Letter to My Children," in *Witness*



Evans, M. Stanton. *The Theme Is Freedom*  
 Forgie, George B. *Patricide in the House Divided*  
 Gellner, Ernest. *Conditions of Liberty*, pp. 53-60  
 Hyde, Douglas. *Dedication and Leadership*  
 Rushdoony, Rousas John. *Nature of the American System*  
 Sowell, Thomas. *A Conflict of Visions*  
 Wilson, Edmund. *Patriotic Gore*

## CHAPTER NINE: THE EXPERIENCE OF POLITICS: II. PARTIES AND DOCTRINES

From the personal attributes needed to effective public influence, Minogue turns to the arena of politics itself. Here he considers the character of modern politics as a struggle played out between factions that seek to shape the direction of public policy, the ways political parties are themselves shaped within a larger political culture, and the techniques they use to influence public opinion. After introducing the traditional liberal/conservative tension early in the chapter, Minogue discusses the origins of modern liberalism, conservatism, and socialism and their interpenetration.

### Key Ideas

In modern politics liberal and conservative tendencies are basic  
 A party that monopolizes power and talks only to itself can only be despotic  
 In every liberal democratic state there will generally be two dominant parties with others on the margins  
 William James: Human beings are either tough-minded or tender-minded  
 The idea of the class war is a covert way of recommending an end to politics  
 Principles and programs are important in politics, but both are trumped [outbid] by circumstance  
 The Whigs and Tories originated in the debate over the Exclusion Bill in 1679  
 Locke's doctrines: government by consent; men have a natural right to life, liberty, and property  
 Burke warned that the French Revolution would subject France to the brutalities of an abstract blueprint  
 Burke's conservatism opposed liberalism's failure to distance itself from utopian schemes  
 The political distinction of left and right originated from the seating in the French National Assembly  
 Burke: Politics arises out of the present circumstances rather than abstract ideas of social perfection  
 Socialism arises from the fusion of the idea of society as a factory with the idea of universal suffrage  
 Parties steal each other's ideas and poach each other's supporters with little concern for consistency  
 Although a socialist party has failed to take root here, American "liberalism" comes close to socialism

### Outline

- A. LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC POLITICS MEANS TAKING SIDES (74-76) [71-72]
  - 1. Liberal and Conservative Tendencies Are Basic
    - a. Party labels tend to be opportunistic, not substantive
  - 2. "One-Party State" Is a Confused Concept
    - a. A "party" that monopolizes power is despotic, totalitarian
    - b. Norm: two dominant political parties connected with other groups
  - 3. Parties Seek to Win Elections
    - a. Parties are often captured [co-opted] by the state
    - b. Experience of government tends to mitigate the noisy contrasts of political debate
    - c. Burke on the benefits of competition in politics
- B. INNATENESS OF POLITICAL PARTISANSHIP: UNIVERSAL DISPOSITIONS (76-78) [72-74]
  - 1. **William James:** Tough-Mindedness vs. Tender-Mindedness

2. Promoting vs. Resisting Change
  3. Rich vs. Poor: **Karl Marx's** Idea That Modern States Are the Arenas of Class Warfare Suffers from Two Major Disadvantages
    - a. War seeks total defeat of opponents; debate is competitive
      - 1) Idea of **class war** is a covert war of recommending an end to politics for a higher end [**enlightened despotism**] [cf. Lieber: democratic absolutism]
    - b. Failure to account for exceptions like blue-collar Republicans [or Reagan Democrats] and Tory working men
    - c. Rejoinder: Politics is about persuasion, not brute facts
  4. Erroneous Identification of Parties with Doctrines [Ideologies]
    - a. Principles and programs are trumped by circumstance
    - b. Variability of circumstance forces students of politics to focus on doctrines despite their limited role in the exercise of authority
- C. THE RISE OF THE BRITISH PARTY SYSTEM (78-82) [74-78]
1. Full Consideration of the Place of Socialism Is Deferred to Chapter 11
  2. First Recognizable Political Parties: Whigs and Tories, 1679
    - a. Predecessors: Roundheads and Cavaliers of the English Civil War
    - b. Fight over the Exclusion Bill to Prevent Accession of the Duke of York (who acceded to the throne as James II in 1685)
      - 1) **Tories** stood for order and obedience
      - 2) **Whigs**: Aristocratic faction based on electoral consent
      - 3) [They cooperated in deposing the king in 1688] [cf. M. Stanton Evans]
  3. **John Locke**: Philosopher of the Whigs [Liberals]
    - a. **Natural rights** philosophy
      - 1) Declaration of Independence: inalienable rights
      - 2) Doctrine challenged inherited tradition and appealed to the disposition to reform politics and society
      - 3) Rationale: Freedom from whatever restraints cannot meet the test of reason
    - b. Two meanings of **Liberalism**
      - 1) As a specific tendency vs. conservatism and other doctrines
      - 2) Archetypical attitude of modern politics
  4. Naming of Liberalism and Other Ideologies in the 1830s [cf. Spain's *Liberales*]
    - a. Bifurcation of British politics in response to French Revolution
      - 1) **Charles Fox** the 1688-style liberal who mistook its character vs. **Edmund Burke** the 1789 conservative
  5. Burke's **Conservatism** and Diagnosis of Liberalism's Flirtation with Utopianism
    - a. *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790)
    - b. Politics vs. confusions of despotism: left and right, revolution and reaction are equally anti-political
    - c. Politics is based on preservation and reform of existing circumstances, not on abstract ideas of social perfection
  6. **Socialism**
    - a. Fusion of two 19th century phenomena: the idea of society as a factory and suffrage for industrial workers
    - b. Goals: redistribution of wealth and equality of condition
  7. Interpenetration of Socialist, Liberal, and Conservative Policies
  8. Conclusion: Parties Steal Each Other's Clothes [cf. Girard on the Eighth Commandment]
    - a. Examples: Liberal abandonment of free trade in the 1890s; Thatcher's classical liberalism; socialism of the Democrats
    - b. Mutual adjustment of concrete policies and abstract doctrines
  9. Problem of Socialism: Entrenched Tendency or Utopian Scheme?

- a. Question whether socialism is merely a form of egalitarianism and redistributivism or whether it is a belief in a fully just society and thus a “project of perfection” [see ch. 12 on ideology]
- b. A fully just society would need no serious politics
- c. Social democracy emphasizes the first view; socialism the second

### Study Questions

1. What accounts for the polarity -- liberalism vs. conservatism -- that characterizes politics? Why is a “one-party state” a misnomer? Do parties capture power in the state, or does the state capture them? Does the experience of government tend to reduce the rhetorical differences associated with electoral campaigns? (74-75)
2. Identify some of the polarities to which some people attribute two-party competition. What are two major disadvantages of the Marxist idea of class warfare? (76-77)
3. What is the origin of two-party politics in England? What basic inclinations distinguished Whigs and Tories? Identify some doctrines associated with Locke's liberalism. What is the double meaning of liberalism? How did the French Revolution change politics? What is the basis of Edmund Burke's conservatism? (78-80)
4. What is the origin of socialism? How is it distinguished from liberalism and conservatism? Illustrate how their positions change. What, as opposed to socialism, is social democracy? (80-82)

### Review

reasons for two dominant parties  
 origin of two party politics in England  
 Edmund Burke  
 William James

Karl Marx's idea of class warfare  
 distinguishing conservatism, liberalism, and socialism  
 Charles Fox  
 John Locke on natural rights

### Burke Reading: Study Questions

1. Burke's contrast between the age of chivalry and that of “sophisters, economists, and calculators” is reminiscent of the contrast between realism and nominalism in the medieval debate. What does Burke mean by the “unbought grace of life?” How does he depict the age of chivalry [see chapter 4 on courtesy] and the character it gave to modern Europe? Does his “sentimental” description of “the wardrobe of a moral imagination” strengthen or weaken his case? [See the concluding paragraph]. How “realistic” is his analysis of the slippery slope of moral relativism?
2. What does he mean by saying that “on the principles of this mechanick philosophy, our institutions can never be embodied, if I may use the expression, in persons”? Thought question: What are some of the ways in which “publick affections” are created and sustained? Burke's “system of manners” would include styles of public architecture [cf. chapter 8]: “To make us love our country, our country ought to be lovely.”
3. What does Burke suggest when he remarks that “power . . . will survive the shock in which manner and opinions perish”? Does he mean *potestas* or *potentia*? What may be expected when fealty [personal loyalty to one's liege lord] yields to the expediency of “policy”? The last sentence of this paragraph encapsulates the lessons of chapter 5 in the Minogue book.
4. Identify the two spirits that produced European civilization (the natural protectors of learning).

How were they once given institutional form and kept alive? Scholarship [learning] paid back the nobility and priesthood with interest [e.g., in the development of modern science and the arts]. But what does Burke mean by suggesting that learning “aspired to be the master”? [It should be noted that Mary Shelley wrote *Frankenstein* only a generation later].

5. What does modern life generally, and not just “modern letters,” owe to “antient manners”? Idolatry appears to be an important theme of Burke’s *Reflections*. In fact, in this paragraph – “the gods of our oeconomical politicians” – Burke makes an allusion to Rom. 1:25: “Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed forever. Amen.” William James saw “tender-mindedness” as a kind of idolatry. But it appears that Edmund Burke says the same thing of such “tough-mindedness.” Who is right? Or, could it be that both are right?
6. In the section that follows, how does Burke illustrate what he means by “the spirit of a gentleman” and “the spirit of religion?” As to the first, he recounts the treatment of the French king (probably John II, who was captured by the Black Prince in 1356 and lived out his days in luxurious captivity). Burke’s disregard for the French *philosophes* is evident. How does he contrast the English with the French character? How does he regard religion?
7. Rhetorically, Burke uses considerable irony, particular when he discusses how English gentlemen would treat the king and queen of France if they had been captured. He also mocks the limits of “private reason” and the anti-religious character of the Enlightenment and the Revolution. What sort of “social contract” does Burke exalt? A selection from Rousseau’s *Social Contract* follows the notes for chapter 10.

A very moving illustration of the moral imagination at work during the French Revolution is recounted in an Appendix to Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn’s *Leftism*. It is entitled “The Tragic Life of Charles-Armand Tuffin, Marquis de la Rouërie.” Tuffin is also a forgotten hero of the American War for Independence. Elsewhere in the book, the author is detailed and unsparing in his depiction of the monstrous depravities inflicted by mobs and tyrants on their victims, such as the hundreds of members of the Swiss Guard who protected the royal family but who were ordered by Louis XVI to surrender to the mob.

### Burke: Review

chivalry

fealty

private stock of reason

moral imagination

tyranny and rebellion

social contract

mechanick philosophy

natural protectors of learning

### Peter Osborne on the Triumph of the Political Class

The most important division in Britain is no longer the Tory versus Labour demarcation that marked out the battle zone in politics for the bulk of the 20th century. The real division is between a narrow, self-serving and increasingly corrupt governing elite and the mass of ordinary voters. The distinction between those in and out of ministerial office has become blurred, and general elections have become public stunts, whose primary purpose is an ostentatious affirmation of Political Class hegemony.

-- *Spectator*, 2007

### Further Reading

Babbitt, Irving. *Democracy and Leadership*, ch. 3.

Brinkley, Wilfred E. *American Political Parties*

Kirk, Edmund. *Edmund Burke*, ch. 4.

Kuehnelt-Leddihn, Erik von. *Leftism Revisited*, pp. 15-44.

Madison, James. *The Federalist*, no. 51.  
 Reichley, A. James. *Life of the Parties*  
 Zeigler, Harmon. *Political Parties in Industrial Countries*

## CHAPTER TEN: THE EXPERIENCE OF POLITICS: III. JUSTICE, FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY

Finally, Minogue examines some of the goals of politics: the big ideas -- such as justice, freedom, and democracy -- that often become the building blocks for the ideologies he considers in chapter twelve. Our perception of each of these goals is so highly influenced by our experiences, interests, and beliefs that we become sharply divided over their definition and application. The classical liberal emphasis on civil and economic liberty has been countered by the contemporary liberal/socialist demand for industrial democracy and social justice. The popularity of the words themselves have made them ripe for ideological colonization and redefinition. The intensifying ideological struggle or culture war reveals a rift that J. Budziszewski addresses in *The Revenge of Conscience*. Minogue argues that by converting them into ideals we distort what could be called the natural law or reality of justice, liberty, and democracy as it already have it.

### Key Ideas

Politics, being largely talk, must dramatize itself (theatricality)  
 Politics (governing=*gubernaculum*) is the art of navigating the ship of state  
 The supreme navigational tool of politics -- the star to steer by -- is an ideal: justice  
 Justice in Plato's *Republic*: Workers, warriors, and philosopher-kings each stick to their own tasks  
 Politics is endless public disagreement about what justice requires  
 Justice can also supply a philosophical explanation of what we already know [Budziszewski's natural law]  
 Justice as a formula for demanding reform can be cheapened and trivialized, leading into civil disorder  
 St. Augustine: "What are great kingdoms without justice, but great robberies?"  
 Freedom functions as a term of self-identification: distinguishing those ruled politically, not despotically  
 Freedom is best defined as the condition of living under the rule of law rather than arbitrary command  
 Our character and our culture at a given time limit what is possible for us  
 The paradox of freedom is the fact that it can only be a possession we already have  
 Democracy, which began as a humble constitutional term, now threatens both freedom and justice  
 Democracy illustrates the way ideals have expanded beyond politics and been set up as criteria of value  
 These ideals not only describe our philosophical foundations but also indicate new directions to take

### Outline

- A. POLITICS MUST DRAMATIZE ITSELF (83) [79]
  1. Civil Order in Monarchy Requires Dramatization of What It Is to Be a King
  2. Most Political Expression Is Metaphorical
    - a. Ship of State Metaphor: Guidance by Rudder (**Gubernaculum**)
  3. Idea That Politics Should Be Guided by Ideals [Stars]
    - a. Tradition for conservatives; freedom for liberals; equality for socialists
- B. JUSTICE: SUPREME NAVIGATIONAL TOOL OF POLITICS (83-87) [79-82]
  1. **Justice**: The Regulative Virtue in **Plato's Republic**
    - a. **ius** means both law and right: giving to each his due
    - b. Imaginary *polis*: people fitted into place according to their nature [this is the principle of complementarity, similar to subsidiarity]
    - c. Workers, warriors, and philosopher-rulers each have their own task
  2. Justice is an Ideal, a Star to Steer by, a **Normative** Concept

- a. Plato's republic [a "city-in-speech"] differs from a utopia
- b. Multiple functions of **ideals**
- 3. Questions of Justice
  - a. Content of justice depends to some extent on current opinion
  - b. Idea of progress and arrival at decently absolute moral and political judgments are both illusions
- 4. Circumstances Influence the Degree of Citizen Participation
  - a. Moral and cultural relativism of recent generations
- 5. Politics Is Endless Public Disagreement about What Justice Requires
  - a. Aristotle: Passion for equality destabilizes constitutions; it is justice to distribute honor and office according to actual contributions
  - b. A true **polity** is a mixed government
  - c. Justice is not a destination but a basic prerequisite for society
- 6. Changing Circumstances Provoke Demands for Reform
  - a. "Justice" in its rhetorical role can be cheapened and trivialized
  - b. Grievance-mongering, such as vying for "victim" status, can focus passions that lead to civil disorder: *e.g.*, the English and American civil wars [cf. Samuel Huntington, *American Politics*; Kevin Phillips, *The Cousins' War*]
  - c. Hobbes' and Augustine's mundane conceptions of earthly justice
  - d. Justice is inflammable material ignitable by the sparks of passion
- C. LIBERTY OR FREEDOM (87-88) [82-84]
  - 1. **Freedom** Functions as a Term of Self-Identification
    - a. Class of masterless or free men; freedmen [Liber (a Roman god)→libertine]
    - b. Freedom distinguishes those ruled politically vs. despotically
    - c. Like justice it is a prerequisite that should be kept in good repair
  - 2. Negative Construction of Freedom: Lack of Restraint
    - a. Sophists see poverty as a lack of freedom that requires correction by a **benign despot** [cf. T. H. Green's "positive liberty"] [see p. 117]
    - b. Hobbes' definition of freedom: the silence of the law
    - c. Standard definition: *Condition of living under the rule of law* [Hayek]
      - 1) Hobbes and Bentham objected; but a law, unlike a command, leaves the discretion unfettered
  - 3. Illusion of Idealism That We Can "Have It All"
    - a. Character and culture limit our capacities; freedom depends on forms of self-control that are not easily acquired [idea of civil society] [see Budziszewski, ch. 4, on the scarcity of virtue and strategies for "stretching" it out]
      - 1) Liberation: a pipe dream of reckless and visionary theorists
      - 2) **Jean Jacques Rousseau**: slaves in revolt will only change masters
    - b. Paradox of freedom: it can only be a possession *we already have*, not an ideal to navigate by [As with virtue, there are no substitutes, only ways of stretching it]
- D. DEMOCRACY (89) [84-85]
  - 1. Its Humble Origins and Subsequent Magnification as an Ideal
    - a. Rousseau: freedom requires participation in law-making
    - b. Rousseau also thought democracy would require gods to make it work
    - c. Democracy may devour justice
  - 2. Its Expansion beyond the Arena of the State as a Criterion of Value
    - a. Democratic society reduces everything to similitude
    - b. Democratic culture is liberated from elite standards of "taste"
    - c. Democratic economy ["industrial democracy" or socialism]: converts factories into worker cooperatives [cf. the League for Industrial Democracy]
    - d. **Tocqueville**: Democratic manners supersede aristocratic customs
- E. SUMMARY (89-90) [85]
  - 1. Justice, Freedom, Democracy: Our Philosophical Foundations
    - a. One type of politics is navigation by idealizations of these ideas, such as social

- justice, liberation, strong democracy  
 b. Problem: navigation requires a single fixed star

### Study Questions

1. What was Plato's concept of justice? What purpose is served by an ideal? How do our ideals reflect the influence of circumstances? What can ideals be cheapened or trivialized and lead to civil disorder? What was Hobbes's solution to this problem? (83-87)
2. What is the meaning of freedom? How did Hobbes define freedom? Why is a negative view of freedom considered inadequate? What is the prerequisite of freedom? Why does it fall short as an ideal or "quick fix?" (87-88)
3. How has the name of democracy been magnified in modern times? How is it used as a criterion of value in each of the four associations? What is the problem with navigating by ideals? ([89-90])

### Review

Plato's concept of justice	justice considered as an ideal
definitions and prerequisites of freedom	different meanings and uses of democracy
expansion of modern ideals beyond arena of the state	Jean-Jacques Rousseau

### Rousseau, Talmon, Stackhouse, Kinneking, and Robert Reilly Readings: Study Questions

In his prize-winning essay *On the Origins of Inequality*, Rousseau anticipates the anarchist and utopian socialist, Pierre Proudhon, who famously said that all property is theft. In his pedagogical novel, *Émile*, Rousseau reversed the Greek prejudice and equated what is natural with what is good. But all of this leaves us with more questions: *e.g.*, why does everything degenerate in the hands of man? In *The Social Contract*, we find that it is society's fault, on the one hand, but also that "the social order is a sacred right."

1. Identify the problem for which the Social Contract is the solution. The contract is conditional upon the performance of what? [Hint: Each member consents to becoming an organ within a civil society]. What is the general will?
2. Rousseau's Sovereign may be compared with Hobbes's Leviathan. To other Sovereigns [nation-states], the Sovereign is an individual. Who or what can bind the Sovereign? Anything that violates the original contract has what effect? The Sovereign may have no interest of its own contrary to the individuals who compose it; but the reverse is not the case. How may the Sovereign have security that the individuals would fulfill their obligations (to the general will)?
3. What does Rousseau look for in a legislator? [Perhaps something akin to Plato's philosopher-king]. To what sort of deceptions must fathers of nations resort? [cf. Plato's noble lie].
4. How does Talmon picture Rousseau's ambivalence. Is there possibly a link between his personal quirks and his totalitarian Messianic temperament? What are some of the consequences of this temperament [Eric Hoffer's "true believer"]?
5. According to Stackhouse, Rousseau took the English contract theory and moved in a Machiavellian "realist" direction. What did he object to in the "English model?" What kind of contract did he prefer? His corporate model, in fact, anticipated both fascism and socialism. How does the general will favor altruism? What is the character of law? What does he think of natural law? What is the serpent in Rousseau's garden? [cf. Girard on mimetic rivalry]. Why did he find pluralism objectionable? What were his objections to Christianity? Why does he endorse a

permanent revolution? What role is to be played by a civic religion? How did the French Revolution reflect Rousseau's ideas?

6. How does the randomness of Cage's "music" reflect Rousseau's non-teleological view of nature? How does his view differ from Aristotle's? How does man become alienated from himself? How can he overcome this? What is the problem with subsidiary social relationships? [Budziszewski later discusses the Roman Catholic social doctrine of "subsidiarity"]? Why, on this view, is dependence on the state liberating? How does his spiritual nihilism end up embracing a Maoist model?

### Rousseau, Talmon, Stackhouse, Kinneking, and Reilly: Review

founder of civil society	total alienation	general will
Sovereign	legislator	fathers of nations
Rousseau's ambivalence	plan to denature man	totalitarian Messianic temperament
English model	law	organized religion
civic religion	French Revolution	John Cage
non-teleological view of nature	alienation	dependence on the state
spiritual nihilism	Maoist model	

### Further Reading

Babbitt, Irving. *Democracy and Leadership*, ch. 2.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Rousseau and Romanticism*

Durant, Will and Ariel. *Rousseau and Revolution*

Elshtain, Jean Bethke. *Sovereignty*, pp. 130-35 on the resacralization of political life

Johnston, Steven. *Encountering Tragedy: Rousseau and the Project of Democratic Order*

Hoffer, Eric. *The True Believer*

Kinneking, Andreas. *Geography of Good and Evil*

Kuehnelt-Leddihn, Erik von. *Leftism*

Reilly, Robert. *Surprised by Beauty*, pp. 51-57 on Rousseau and John Cage

Scruton, Roger. "Rousseau and the Origins of Liberalism" in *The Betrayal of Liberalism*, ed. Hilton Kramer and Roger Kimball

Stackhouse, Max. *Creeds, Society, and Human Rights*

Talmon, J. L. *Romanticism and Revolt*

Toulmin, Stephen. *Cosmopolis: The Hidden Agenda of Modernity*

## CHAPTER ELEVEN: STUDYING POLITICS SCIENTIFICALLY

Minogue here gives a capsule summary of some of the intellectual tools and foundational concepts of modern political science as well as the purposes and schools of thought that have guided its development. They include systems theory, behavioralism, and rational choice theory, each of which is dealt with in more detail by Heineman's *Political Science: An Introduction*.

### Key Ideas

Seeing politics scientifically requires a complete change of perspective

The way we experience politics is as a drama of character, convention, and circumstance

Political science requires that we forget particulars and construe politics, over time, as a process

The idea of a system -- a set of mechanical components in fixed relation -- is central to political science

Political science: a study of the process fused with an ambition to use such knowledge for our ends

A system constituted by race, gender, class, or history cannot predict how people are going to act



The aim of political science is to find causal connections between systems described by the data  
 The project of political science is limited by assuming that human conduct is essentially non-rational  
 Science turns whatever it studies into a natural process which is not affected by thinking  
 Behavioralism, which focuses on psychology, has fallen behind rational (or public) choice theory  
 Public choice theory deals with the relative rationality of cooperation versus pursuing individual advantage  
 Concepts: the prisoner's dilemma, the free rider phenomenon, [and the tragedy of the commons]  
 In the game of life trust is risky but it can have the greatest pay-off  
 Human beings seek both to realize their desires and to conserve a chosen identity

## Outline

- A. SHIP OF STATE METAPHOR DOMINATES MODERN POLITICS (91-92) [86]
  - 1. Illusion of a "We" That Can Determine the Future [Issue of Collective Identity] [cf. the Idea of "Inventing a People," p. 40]
    - a. *Pork barrel* politics solves problems at the cost of creating new ones [and also creates new demands]
    - b. Some dream of political salvation while others are more pragmatic
  - 2. Need for Reliable Facts and Sound Explanations: Politics as a Science
- B. SCIENTIFIC VIEW OF POLITICS (92-95) [87-89]
  - 1. A Change of Perspective Is Required
    - a. We experience politics as a drama of character, convention, and circumstance
    - b. By contrast, **political science** requires that politics be construed as a process, forgetting about individual differences
    - c. The ancients did this by studying cross-generational cycles [cf. Machiavelli and Polybius]
  - 2. Idea of a **System** Is Central to Political Science
    - a. New metaphor: Politics as a mechanism, politician as an engineer
    - b. Endogenous vs. exogenous influences [cf. Solon's reforms, p. 15]
  - 3. Technological Ambition to Use Scientific Knowledge as a Means to Achieve Specific Ends
    - a. Difficulty in fixing the boundaries between the **endogenous** (the system itself) and the **exogenous** (outside forces, manipulators)
    - b. Illustration: Charles DeGaulle played the role of *deus ex machina* [the god-of-the-machine contrivance used in ancient drama] [Contrast Solon's self-exile]
    - c. The American founders established the system of rules within which their successors have operated, [although they have also stretched this framework]
  - 4. Determinism: People Reduced to Fixed Characteristics [**Reductionism**]
    - a. When we deliberate about a system we view ourselves outside it
    - b. Determinism would be interesting only if it could predict behavior
      - 1) Instead we are left with a vacuous determinism
  - 5. **Rhetoric** of Political Science
    - a. Image, stereotype, fiction, and myth [subjectivity, culture, artifice] are contrasted with fact, evidence, reality [objectivity, nature]
    - b. Its object is to build a grand edifice of theory with its **data**: the set of facts used to construct and test **theories**
      - 1) Data may be drawn from history for a theory of revolution
    - c. Modern world exhibits a progressive intoxication with data
    - d. Hazard of information overload
  - 6. Summary: Political Scientists Study Systems Thickened with Data with the Aim of Finding Causal Connections between Them
    - a. Analysis of societies into distinct associations is an invaluable framework of thought but it risks destroying political science itself
      - 1) If determinism is correct, politics is merely a set of effects
      - 2) Thus politics loses its autonomy as a free and self-determining activity

- [supporting the rationale for despotism]
- b. Consequence of such **reductionism**: There would be nothing in politics *per se* for a science to study [see pp. 49-52 on Marx and other determinists]
- C. AUTONOMY OF POLITICS (95) [90]
- 1. Politics Is Autonomous but Closely Related to Other Human Activities and Structures [See ch. 6 on Society, Economy, Culture]
    - a. Basic question in political science: What causes the phenomena?
      - 1) Political scientists search for endogenous as well as exogenous explanations
  - 2. Illustrative **Hypothesis**: Governments Get Reelected on a Rising Curve of the Trade Cycle [Exogenous Economic Explanation]
    - a. Consequence: If true, all the government need do is engineer an economic boom to win an election ["Wag the Dog" is an alternative scenario]
  - 3. Problems with the Hypothesis
    - a. Economy is not a domesticated pet that will respond to command
    - b. Hypothesis is false: the correlation of the data is interesting but the causal **nexus** (connection) is feeble [too weak to prove hypothesis]
- D. ISSUE OF HUMAN RATIONALITY (95-99) [90-93]
- 1. Another Problem: Early Project for Creating a Modern Political Science
    - a. First wave of academics political scientists attacked predecessors [and rivals] for presupposing human rationality
      - 1) Criticism aimed at politicians and theorists who used rational argument to appeal to voters
      - 2) New Hypothesis: New political scientists saw **irrational** factors as the main determinants of political behavior
    - b. The two sides were at cross-purposes: Confusion of a **normative** (subjective, value-oriented) with a **factual (objective)** argument
  - 2. Assumption That Human Behavior Is Essentially Non-Rational Limits the Project of Political Science
    - a. Science turns what it studies into a **natural process** which is not affected by thinking: **objectivity** [see C. S. Lewis' *Abolition of Man*]
    - b. Human thought is the capacity to construe (interpret) the world in a variety of ways: **subjectivity**
    - c. How people act depends on these unpredictable constructions
    - d. Consequence: Human conduct lacks the regularity found in nature
    - e. Flaw in economic boom hypothesis: Man is reflective and perception is multifaceted. Prosperity is only one factor
  - 3. **Psychologists** Study a Variety of Forms of Irrational Behavior
    - a. **Behavioralism** has generated hypotheses and indispensable cross-cultural methods, but has been otherwise disappointing
  - 4. Newer Model: **Rational Choice** [or Public Choice] Theory
    - a. **Expected utility** can be studied through formal logic by examining players' strategies [see p. 57 on **game theory**]
      - 1) Question: When is it more rational to cooperate with others [politics] rather than pursue one's own advantage? [cf. Landes on the initial Dutch commercial strategy: "in union, strength" (*Wealth and Poverty*, p. 141)]
      - 2) **Free rider** issue [cf. Frederic Bastiat on "legal plunder"]
  - 5. Sample Scenario: **Prisoner's Dilemma**
    - a. Trust is risky but can have the greatest payoff
  - 6. Propensity of Political Science to Be Colonized by Economists
    - a. This shows that political science can accommodate rationality
  - 7. Reconciliation of These Opposing Positions
    - a. Classical concept of **reason** [normative, value-oriented approach] vs.

- instrumental rationality** [utilitarian, factual, practical approach]
- b. Human action is both **goal-seeking** and **identity-conserving**
  - c. Rational choice theory can turn the first [objective] element, *desire*, into a formula because it can be *quantified* and rank-ordered
  - d. The second, **identity** [personal, social, ethnic], which is qualitative and subjective, is more prominent in politics than economics
8. Conclusion: Political Science Is a Powerful But Limited Achievement
- a. It escapes these limits by ignoring strict scientific requirements
  - b. Much of its material is historical and descriptive [**qualitative** and "subjective" rather than **quantitative** and "objective"]

### Study Questions

1. In what way are we seduced by the ship-steering metaphor? Minogue says we experience politics "as a *drama* of character, convention, and circumstance." In what does seeing politics scientifically require a complete change of perspective? How did the ancients (and Machiavelli) understand the political process? (91-92)
2. What does the idea of a system and its mechanical metaphor indicate about political science? What does seeing the politician as engineer suggest? Does this scientific approach toward politics imply a political technology? What makes it difficult to fix the boundary between endogenous and exogenous influences? Is the political engineer free or inescapably part of the determining system? (92-93)
3. What does the political scientist hope to do with the bottomless mine of data? How does the necessity of homogenizing the data "defeat the many ingenious attempts which are made to incorporate complexities?" Why does the analysis of modern societies into distinct associations risk destroying political science? (94-95)
4. Why is an endogenous explanation for a political phenomenon, such as an electoral victory, so appealing? What is wrong with the idea that economic events cause political events? How do modern political scientists differ from their theoretical predecessors? How is the project of political science limited? (95-96)
5. Why has the behavioral form of political science (*behavioralism*), which focuses on irrational human behavior, been a disappointment? What is the nature of rational choice theory? What is "expected utility?" What is the "free rider" phenomenon? How does "the prisoner's dilemma" illuminate the dynamics of political choice? Why does this model of politics prove especially inadequate? (96-98)
6. What limits the scientific study of politics? How does political science escape this limitation? (98-99)

### Review

political science: seeing politics as a process  
 the science and technology elements of political science  
 early project of creating a modern political science  
 behavioralism

rational choice theory

idea of a system

free rider

prisoner's dilemma

### Sumner Reading: Study Questions

1. Otto von Bismarck and Benjamin Disraeli introduced the first modern "welfare states" in the

1880s. What does Sumner mean by the Forgotten Man? By the paternal theory of government? The advent of public choice theory and the concept of **rent-seeking** provide a much more systematic treatment of the issues raised by Crockett, Bastiat, Sumner, and many others down through history.

### Sumner: Review

philanthropists

Forgotten Man

paternal theory of government

### Synopsis of William Mitchell's *Beyond Politics*: Study Questions

1. How does the authors' discussion of the "private agendas" of politicians and government bureaucrats illustrate Bastiat's concept of legal plunder? **Log rolling** is the term used for political favors in the interest of "political conciliation." The rationale of log rolling is simple: "You support my bill and I'll support yours." But the reality is summed up in the title of a book by former California state senator H. L. "Bill" Richardson: What Makes You Think We Read the Bills?
2. What "**perverse mechanism**" operates largely out of view? (Think of the Wizard of Oz). Who has a vested interest to protect government largesse? If well-organized pressure groups are parasites, who then are the hosts? In a narrowly political context, **rent-seeking** refers to "legitimate, non-voting actions that are intended to change laws or administration of laws such that one individual and/or group gains at the same or greater expense to another individual or group." According to Thomas DiLorenzo, "a **political entrepreneur** succeeds primarily by influencing government to subsidize his business or industry, or to enact legislation or regulation that harms his competitors."
3. What is meant by "the **tragedy of the commons**," a term coined by Garrett Hardin? Why would the prevention of markets and property rights be the chief source of **negative externalities**? ("A negative externality occurs when an individual or firm making a decision does not have to pay the full cost of the decision. If a good has a negative externality, then the cost to society is greater than the cost consumer is paying for it.") How did the **Clean Air Act** create negative externalities rather than positive incentives to reduce pollution?
4. What is the argument in favor of government providing **public goods**? What are some of the flaws in the argument? Rather than avoiding the **free rider** problem, how does government provision of public goods merely shift the expense to those who are politically less powerful? Why does this common practice operate as a **negative-sum game**? Why does it tend to result in a "pay to play" arrangement on the part of political entrepreneurs? What are the **hidden costs**? (The Wizard of Oz himself is a hidden cost: note what is said about **parasitism** near the end). R. J. Rushdoony is even more pointed about parasitism:
 

. . . Deficit spending can be financed only by legalized larceny in one form or another, a stealing from the industrious and thrifty members of the population.

For, a nation lacking saving individuals would have no surplus; without a surplus there would be no creditors; without creditors there would be nobody for government and private debtors to plunder. In order for *anyone* to be prodigal, *someone* must be thrifty.

Thus, this Gambler State, a larcenous state, is parasitic. Every socialist state is a parasite. After destroying its own wealth, it must feed on another nation's wealth, and thus socialism is by nature driven to imperialism. It offers paradise on earth to other countries by means of socialism and seizes them to enable itself to survive. When the host body dies, the parasite dies [Rousas John Rushdoony, Politics of Guilt and Pity. Fairfax, VA: Thoburn Press, 1978 [1970], p. 224].

5. Why does government intervention tend to destroy social harmony? Here it would be useful to review the excerpt from Plato's *Republic* that follows the Bastiat review and the Livy excerpt that tells the story of Spurius Maelius. Remember: Politics is supposed to be a public exercise of the art of persuasion. Private schemes of coercion, including the many forms of corruption, are the tools of despots and tyrants.

### Munger Rent-Seek and You will Find: Study Questions

1. According to Micharel Munger, why are the benefits of "free money" dissipated by rent-seeking? (Also consider the costs to **political entrepreneurs**, especially in terms of time, talent, and treasure). **Robert Tollison** regards rent-seeking as an "artificially created transfer." What might he mean by this? How might this resemble as well as differ from the use of advertising to create an artificial "need" (think of Girard's mimetic desire!)?
2. What are the **perverse costs** of the system of distributing grants, using the HUD-grant game as an example? According to **James Madison**, where is political competition healthy? What is wrong with competition for grants in this context? It is the old question: *Cui bono?* Who benefits? Knowing that all the games in a gambling casino are rigged in favor of the house, how is the political system of grants and regulations rigged? Thought question: Can we have a genuine two-party system "when Congress keeps a lot of the ticket receipts?"

### Mitchell and Munger: Review

log rolling	perverse mechanism	rent-seeking
political entrepreneur	tragedy of the commons	negative externalities
negative externalities	free rider	negative-sum game
Robert Tollison	James Madison	

### Crockett: Not Yours to Give: Study Questions

1. What was the occasion of Crockett's speech? What vote earned Horatio Bunce's disapproval? Why? How did the members of Congress respond to Crockett's speech? Here a comparison might be made with William Gladstone's 1852 speech quoted earlier. How does Crockett's remark that the people's money is "trash" in the eyes of Congress resemble Sumner's comments about the Forgotten Man? How does it illustrate both rent-seeking and Bastiat's legal plunder?

### Further Reading

Anderson, Terry L., and Peter J. Hill. *The Birth of the Transfer Society*  
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 Heineman, Robert. *Political Science: An Introduction*  
 McLean, Iain. *Public Choice: An Introduction*  
 Mitchell, William C., and Randy T. Simmons. *Beyond Politics: Markets, Welfare, and the Failure of Bureaucracy*  
 Parkinson, C. Northcote. *Parkinson's Law*  
 Peter, Laurence J. *The Peter Principle*  
 Reagan, Ronald. *The Speech: "A Time to Choose"*  
 Shlaes, Amity. *The Forgotten Man*  
 Warren, Charles. *Congress as Santa Claus*

## CHAPTER TWELVE: IDEOLOGY CHALLENGES POLITICS

Having already provided the elements for constructing an ideology in chapter six, Minogue now supplies the formula. Ideology often begins with the perception of things being wrong or oneself being somehow different and estranged or oppressed because of that difference. An ideology offers a comprehensive explanation of the world and a plan to correct perceived injustices or restore the proper order of things. It may feature a taxonomy of oppressors (often "them") and victims (usually "us"). Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn discusses the phenomenon of modern "identitarian" politics, which he calls *nostrism* (us-ness), at considerable length in his book *Leftism* (1974). Such ideas, including nationalism and communism, have had terrible consequences. Similarly, J. Budziszewski shows that what he calls demonic communitarianism (similar to the "diabolical imagination") can result in a terrible despotism.

In more recent years, the term *multiculturalism* has become a major political issue over what or whose values should shape our political culture. The modern world is torn between an appeal for unity and the desire for diversity (or to preserve identity), as Benjamin Barber notes in *Jihad vs. McWorld* (1996). Both may lead to despotism. James M. McPherson's *Is Blood Thicker Than Water?* (1998) contrasts **civic** with **ethnic nationalism** and discusses their conflict in the American Civil War and currently in Quebec.

These two ways of collective self-identification -- civic and ethnic -- correspond to two methods of determining citizenship: *ius soli* (right of soil), which prevails in the United States, and *ius sanguinis* (right of blood). Karl Marx added a third option: class. The civic and ethnic variants of the politics of identity represent two poles of modern political thought, as reflected in the title of a 1997 conference: "America: An Idea or a People?" Much of the world is in turmoil over the issue of which should prevail: soil or blood? Or, might we add: faith? Once again we see the politics of love and loyalty, such as St. Augustine noted with regard to the ancient Romans and Christians. But it is good to remember that in the pursuit of our visions of the good each of us is subject to the moral errors outlined by Budziszewski. We must learn not to confuse the City of Man with the City of God.

## Key Ideas

Millennial (chiliastic) hopes have often erupted among the poor on the margins of politics  
 Intellectuals are also susceptible: the *philosophes* could not distinguish reform from revolution  
 The idea of progress spread from theology into philosophy and history: Smith, Ferguson, Hegel, Marx  
 Marx detected the fall of man in the institution of private property following a primitive communism  
 Marx revealed to his followers that formal freedom was the most subtle form of oppression  
 Marx claimed that his was the first scientific socialism [earlier forms he scorned as utopian]  
 Marx: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world; the point is to change it."  
 Marxism has served as a model for later "revelations" of the same kind  
 For Destutt de Tracy ideology is a science of ideas; for Marx, false ideas; or political science, "isms"  
 Ideologies, by contrast with political doctrines, claim exclusive truth and seek to create the perfect society  
 The logical character of ideologies is revealed in the actions of their followers when they come to power  
 The constitutive illusion of ideology: a society is possible in which rational actors create a happy world  
 Recipe for an ideology: Identify oppressed victims, mobilize them for the struggle, then liberate them  
 Politics assumes that a responsive political order must make it possible for people to follow their own bent  
 Ideology challenges politics in the name of an ideal in which only approved desires (needs) are satisfied

## Outline

- A. POLITICAL MILLENNIALISM (100-04) [94-97]
  - 1. Politics Seen as a Curse
    - a. If there must be government, so the argument goes, "Why Not the Best?" [Title of a campaign book by Jimmy Carter]
    - b. High hopes among marginalized groups have sometimes captured the center [secularized theology, militant religiosity]

- c. Explosive consequences of millennial versions of Christianity [Eric Voegelin's idea of Gnosticism as "*immanentization of the eschaton*"]
- 2. Millennialist Precursors to Modern Totalitarianism
  - a. Anabaptist Commune in Muenster, 1534 [cf. Igor Shafarevich]
  - b. Puritan tendency toward religious despotism during the English civil war after 1642
- 3. Project of a Perfect Society Has a Powerful Tradition
  - a. **Plato's** allegory of the cave in *The Republic* and his idea of a philosopher-king [wedding knowledge and power]
- 4. Enlightenment Project of Eighteenth-Century **Philosophes**
  - a. Some writers sought to sweep away the *ancien régime* [theme of genuine nature vs. spurious convention] [cf. Marx's *false consciousness*]
  - b. These writers abandoned the western loathing of despotism and made a **Faustian bargain** [cf. the Hermetic tradition, Gnosticism]
    - 1) Knowledge + unlimited power sought to institute a new order
- 5. **Francis Bacon** Prepared the Soil for These Ideas [Science-Based Order: "The New Atlantis"]
  - a. Purpose of human life is **amelioration**: to accumulate useful knowledge to improve the human condition [cf. Toulmin's *Cosmopolis* and Tawney's *Acquisitive Society*]
  - b. Technological **progress** inspired "the dreams of reason"
  - c. French Revolution [which indeed swept away the artificial *ancien régime*] was the first adventure of such "advanced thinkers"
- 6. Search for Magical Power [cf. C. S. Lewis' *That Hideous Strength*]
  - a. Spread of ideas about progressive revelation [process theology] and **pantheism** [this culminated in Hegelian idealism]
  - b. Progressive view of history [Scottish Enlightenment]: **Adam Smith** and Adam Ferguson [cf. **Karl Marx**]
  - c. Adam Smith's **invisible hand** and G. W. F. **Hegel's** progressive historicism
- 7. Apocalyptic Strivings of the Young Hegelians
  - a. Karl Marx's fusion of Hegelianism with socialism
    - 1) Marx's version of the Fall: institution of private property after a primitive communism [theme of **alienation** from nature]
    - 2) Marx's *eschatology* (vision of a future restoration): creation of the communistic idyll in an advanced technological form
    - 3) This **Garden of Eden motif** is a theme of civil religion [cf. Emma Lazarus' huddled masses yearning to be free]
- 8. Reasons for Marx's Influence
  - a. Hegel argued that slavery had been superseded by freedom for all
  - b. Marx argued that formal freedom was a subtle form of oppression
    - 1) One interpretation of *The Communist Manifesto*: Men are puppets moved by the mysterious force of capitalism
    - 2) Economic determinism: concealed logic of the capitalist **mode of production** [man is *alienated*, made an object]
  - c. Remedy: Marx's **scientific socialism** [knowledge + revolution]
- 9. Marx's Brilliant Vulgarization (Popularization) of Long-Standing Themes
  - a. Combination of simple melodrama (soap opera) to mobilize the proletariat and an apparatus of ideas to excite intellectuals
  - b. Marx projected Hegel's "*end of history*" theme and projected it into the future, as a project to be struggled for [teleology, eschatology]
    - 1) State was to be consigned to the "dustbin of history"
    - 2) Morality, law, philosophy were to be replaced by a direct, unmediated consciousness of human reality [cf. 1 Cor. 13]

- 3) Interpreting the world gives way to *changing* it [cf. copy vs. convention theory of knowledge] [cf. *false consciousness*]
  - 4) Significance: Complicated abstractions or conventions, such as the state, would yield to a realm of nature *and* freedom
- B. THE NATURE OF IDEOLOGY (103-05) [97-99]
1. Marxism Is a Model for Subsequent "Revelations" of the Same Kind
    - a. Such "revelations" must be distinguished from political writing
    - b. Marxism as an economy package fusion of politics, religion, and moral identity [cf. Eric Voegelin on **gnosticism** and Budziszewski on communitarianism]
    - c. Political doctrines give reasons (persuade); Marxism can only declare (command, reveal) the truth, making it an **ideology**
  2. Origins of "Ideology"
    - a. **Antoine Destutt de Tracy**
      - 1) **Ideology**: a science designed to put concepts to the test
      - 2) "Ideology" came to be equated with utopian schemes
  3. Ideology as **False Consciousness**
    - a. Marx and Engels associated it with their Young Hegelian foes
    - b. Ambivalent usage of the word by Marxists and radical feminists
      - 1) What is false on its merits *and* false because of class or gender bias; Rushdoony calls this last *selective depravity*
    - c. Consequence: Ideology exhausts the entire field of truth and error
- C. FURTHER ADVENTURES OF THE WORD (105-07) [99-100]
1. Marx's Distinction between Bourgeois Ideology and Proletarian Truth
    - a. Paradox: Where did true (*i.e.*, communist) ideas come from?
    - b. Lenin: The ideology of the rising proletariat is *true* because it leads the vanguard of history [*i.e.*, it is on the "cutting-edge"]
  2. Political Scientists Found the Word Useful to Express the Whole Ensemble or Miscellany of Political Beliefs
  3. It Supports a Whole Academic Industry
    - a. Its utility despite its "nomenclatural mysticism" [a type of word magic]
      - 1) Serviceability or fungibility as an all-purpose diagnostic tool
    - b. Ideologies claim exclusive truths that *both* explain the world *and* reveal the false consciousness of opponents
    - c. Ideologists know how to abolish politics and create the perfect society
  4. Putting This Claim to the Test
    - a. Marx believed theoretical problems find their solution in *praxis* [practice]: *i.e.*, the proof of the pudding is in the eating
    - b. Logical character of Marxism is revealed by the actions of its followers when they achieve hegemony
      - 1) Marxists in power institute a "reign of truth" [political correctness; cf. **Robespierre** role as "the Voice of Virtue" during the French Revolution's "Reign of Terror"]
      - 2) Discussion disappears and opposing ideas are excluded [This is characteristic of Isabel Paterson's "the humanitarian with a guillotine"]
      - 3) This is a universal characteristic of Marxism
- D. CONFUSION OF IDEOLOGIES AND POLITICAL DOCTRINES (107-08) [100-02]
1. How They Look Is Partly Determined by Audience and Context
    - a. Doctrinaires operating in liberal democracies disingenuously present their dogmas as policy options [cf. Dwight Murphey on liberalism as **dissimulation**]
    - b. Enthusiasms may infect any political doctrine with messianic pretensions
      - 1) *e.g.*, libertarianism and democracy
  2. The **Constitutive Illusion of Ideology**
    - a. Possibility of a structure of society whose achievement would allow rational actors



- to create a happy world
3. **Tripartite Structure** of Ideological Theory: A Recipe or Formula for Ideology
    - a. The past is the history of **oppression** of some abstract class [some version of original sin]
    - b. The duty of the present is to mobilize the oppressed class in the **struggle** against the oppressive system
    - c. The aim or future goal of this struggle is **liberation**, a fully just society [political salvation]
  4. Politics Is Pluralistic in Its Assumptions
    - a. One implication: Most of life is not about politics
    - b. Doctrine that *everything* is political [p. 6] is a sign of the ideological project to replace **rule of law** by **management of people**
    - c. Another implication: Society will necessarily be imperfect
  5. Ideology Challenges Politics in the Name of an Ideal
    - a. It does so through radical simplification of the issue
      - 1) **Community** often stands for a simple way of life
    - b. The classical ideologists dreamt of the drama of revolution [review pp. 7-8 on theatricality and the graffiti artists of history]
    - c. The dream, which is far from dead today, mingles with deeper currents of contemporary thought

### Study Questions

1. If politics is a curse, what have been the consequences of seeking to create earthly governments in the image of heaven? Why did the *philosophes* of the 18th century Enlightenment abandon "the traditional Western loathing of despotism?" (100-01)
2. How did Francis Bacon prepare the ground for these ideas? [cf. Rahe's essay] Identify some of the streams of thought that fed this "search for magical power?" What did Smith and Ferguson, Hegel, and Marx contribute to this project? (101-03)
3. Illustrate how Marxism is "a vulgarization of long-standing religious and philosophical themes." What makes Marxism and its successors different from political writing? What is ideology? What are its positive and negative poles? Where does this sort of dialectical and polarized thinking lead? (103-05)
4. What did Lenin contribute to the meaning of ideology? How is the word used by modern political scientists? What makes Marxism an ideology? What is the "constitutive illusion" of an ideology? What is its tripartite structure? How does it contrast with politics? (105-08)

### Review

Anabaptists of Münster	search for a magical power
Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson	Hegel
Marx on capitalism	Marx's scientific socialism
Destutt de Tracy and Marx on ideology	totalitarianism
ideologues in power: instituting a reign of terror	constitutive illusion of ideology
tripartite structure of ideology vs. the assumption of politics	

### Marx and Engels Reading: Study Questions

1. How are Communists distinguished from other working-class parties? What did the French Revolution accomplish? Marx and Engels studied and were certainly sympathetic with the more

radical wings of the French and earlier revolutions but regarded these efforts to be premature. Historical forces were not yet sufficiently developed. How may the Communist theory be summarized? What does wage-labor create? By calling capital a collective product, Marx and Engels are reifying (making concrete) some implications of Rousseau's general will, which is akin to Hobbes's Leviathan. Social contract theory is here radicalized and applied to property relations. The State is regarded as a collective entity. What is left unstated here is how the proletariat is strengthened until the point is reached that, by revolutionary means, it captures control over the State, which has served to protect the property of each dominant class in turn. Some of the measures that can be expected to be taken are listed. Which of these measures have been adopted since the manifesto was written in 1848?

### Marx and Engels: Review

class struggle  
proletariat

abolition of private property  
revolutionary measures

wage-labor and capital

### Sowell: Speech on *The Quest for Cosmic Justice*: Study Questions

1. Summarize in three propositions the message of *The Quest for Cosmic Justice*. What is cosmic justice (based on the "unconstrained vision" of life) and how does it differ from traditional concepts of justice or fairness? How did John Rawls distinguish "fair" from merely "formal" equality of opportunity? In terms of "social justice," what would be a fair fight? Who is presumably to blame for the vast ranges of undeserved inequalities? [cf. Rousseau on society and the general will].
2. How did Thomas Sowell manage to avoid the bad habit of misspelling words? What if his teacher "had been imbued with the present-day conception of 'fairness'?" Would not such carelessness have been an injustice?
3. What are some of the costs of the quest for cosmic justice? How does Sowell's point about the consequences of trying to redress myriad inequalities the rule of law resemble Minogue's point about substituting political moralism for politics? See also the last question in the next paragraph.
4. How is cosmic justice marketed so that supporters of traditional justice will confuse it with the latter? What, according to the economist Joseph Schumpeter and others, will a man do for his ideals? How is victimized by the pursuit of cosmic justice? What type of inequality is required to promote greater economic and social equality?
5. Despite Anderson's off-handed remark, "secular religions" or ideologies are far from dead. The green, feminist, and radical Islamist movements owe much of their influence to their religious aspects. Arne Naess, Betty Friedan, and Sayyid Qutb, respectively, are representative theoreticians. What Anderson calls "the dream of transcending politics" is synonymous to what Minogue calls "political moralism" in chapter 13.
6. The title *Passing of an Illusion* is an oblique reference to Sigmund Freud's *The Future of an Illusion*, which is an attack on revealed religion. What are the two weaknesses of liberal democracy? Anderson's model may be compared with J. Budziszewski's critiques of communitarianism, liberalism, and conservatism. What are the psychological corollaries to these weaknesses? Here Budziszewski's understanding of the ramifications of sin put the problem into sharper perspective. What is "jarring" about the sources of hatred of the bourgeoisie? The reading by the former Leftist, Ralph de Toledano, which is appended to chapter 13, focuses on how revolutionary Marxism was transmitted into higher education in the 1920s.

**Sowell: Review**

social justice  
what people will do for ideals

John Rawls

Joseph Schumpeter

**Brian Anderson: Outline**

- A. MOST TERRIBLE CENTURY
  - 1. Isaiah Berlin
  - 2. Secular Religions
  - 3. The Ruin Left in Their Wake
  - 4. Who They Wanted to Destroy: Bourgeois Liberal Democracy
  - 5. The Fall of Political Messianisms Has Not Assured the Future of Democratic Capitalism
    - a. Radical Islam
  - 6. The Hubris of Secular Religions: Claiming to Solve the Political Problem
  - 7. The Richest Current of Liberal Democratic Thought Makes No Such Claim
- B. THE DREAM OF TRANSCENDING POLITICS
  - 1. François Furet
    - a. Historian of the French Revolution
      - 1) Break with the Marxist view
      - 2) Rejection of historical inevitability
      - 3) Claim that the revolution released utopian hopes
  - 2. *The Passing of an Illusion*
  - 3. Communism's Seductive Appeal: The Coupling of Two Incompatible Ideas
    - a. Cult of volition
    - b. Certainties of historical science
  - 4. Berlin on Its Emotional Allure
  - 5. Two Political Weaknesses of the Bourgeois Regime
    - a. Egalitarian Outbidding
      - 1) Equality likened to an imaginary horizon
      - 2) Promise of Communism
        - a) Sacrifice of "formal liberties"
        - b) Egalitarian apocalypse
    - b. Liberal democracy's moral indeterminacy
      - 1) The sovereign individual
      - 2) Threefold liberation
      - 3) Deliverance from the past comes at a price
        - a) Existential questions become more difficult to answer as the self moves to the center
  - 6. Psychological Corollaries of These Two Weaknesses
    - a. Self-Doubt
    - b. Self-Hatred
      - 1) Leading Marxist thinkers originally came from bourgeois money

**Anderson: Review**

political messianisms  
two political weaknesses of the bourgeois regime  
psychological corollaries

François Furet  
origin of leading Marxists

incompatible ideas  
threefold liberation of the bourgeois city

**Havel: Parable of the Green Grocer: Study Questions**

1. Havel speaks of the "excusatory function" of ideology. What purpose is served by the "ideological

excuse” in binding the system together (which, remember, is the traditional function of religion)? A **transmission belt** is what conveys the ideology to the larger society. Sister Patricia McCarran wrote about one such conveyance in *The Fabian Transmission Belt*, which was suppressed and never published in the early 1960s, but which still exists in manuscript. A detailed Girardian analysis of this parable may be found in the following passage by a Girard scholar. Here Girard’s “scapegoating mechanism” is tied with Havel’s treatment of ideology as something that transforms the people into **accomplices** (or “co-conspirators”). That something is a “sacred myth” built upon the scapegoating of victims: *i.e.*, “enemies of the people.”

Here neither Girard's nor Havel's indictment of society at large can be ignored. Underlying Havel's gentle eloquence is his harsh insistence on responsibility. In *The Brothers Karamazov*, Dostoevsky expresses the revelation that if God is dead, then we can kill. In a somewhat analogous, albeit antithetical, fashion, Havel asserts that if powerlessness is illusory, then we are all responsible—in the case of Czechoslovakia, responsible for the communist regime, which, existing as the Girardian sacred, cloaks itself in ideology and thus conceals its true nature as transformed violence. This violence is not violence perpetrated exclusively by a dictator, but rather is violence whose origins and causes underlie the whole of society. While a dictator who usurped power through naked force bears the entirety of the responsibility for the oppression ensuing from his rule, the dominance of power by ideology requires that responsibility be dispersed throughout the population, including even those seemingly innocent such as the greengrocer. For it is the greengrocer and his peers who must continually give assent to the regime's power.

-- Marci Shore, “The Sacred and the Myth: Havel’s Greengrocer and the Transformation of Ideology in Communist Czechoslovakia,” in *Contagion* 03, pp. 176-177 (available on-line).

The existentialist philosopher Karl Jaspers addressed the same issues in *The Question of German Guilt*.

### Further Study

Anderson, Brian. *Democratic Capitalism and Its Discontents*  
 Chilton, David. *Productive Christians in an Age of Guilt-Manipulators*, 3rd ed., pp. 321-42  
 Cohn, Norman. *Pursuit of the Millennium*, pp. 307-19  
 Gellner, Ernest. *Conditions of Liberty*, pp. 93-97  
 Jaspers, Karl. *The Question of German Guilt*  
 Lewis, C. S. *The Abolition of Man: "Men Without Chests"*  
 Minogue, Kenneth. *The Pure Theory of Ideology*, pp. 181-200  
 Rushdoony, Rousas John. *The Nature of the American Republic*  
 \_\_\_\_\_. *This Independent Republic*  
 Ryn, Claes. "Cultural Origins of Politics: The Modern Imagination of Escape"  
 Schlossberg, Herbert. *Idols for Destruction*  
 Shafarevich, Igor. "Socialism in Our Past and Future" in *From Under the Rubble*, esp. pp. 54-56  
 Sowell, Thomas. *A Conflict of Visions*  
 \_\_\_\_\_. *The Vision of the Anointed*

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN: CAN POLITICS SURVIVE THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY?

As Minogue points out in his conclusion, politics is the business of the powerful -- of masterful men who

are free to dispose of their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, to paraphrase the sentiment expressed in the Declaration of Independence. In the absence of civil liberty and self-government, politics simply becomes a service industry rather than an arena in which public issues may be freely debated and decided. It is well to recall that the English colonists in America enjoyed considerable liberty. What animated them in 1775 was not a wish to gain but a determination to protect their liberties against a perceived threat. As Captain Preston, a veteran of the Battle of Concord (1775), remarked in 1842 it was not intolerable oppressions or abstract political theories that caused his contemporaries to take up arms. "What we meant in going for those redcoats is this: we always had governed ourselves, and we always meant to. They didn't mean we should."

### Key Ideas

The Romans cannot be fitted into the modern view that politics is merely a service industry  
 Modern politicians and civil servants augment their power by giving food to the starving and needy  
 Politics was born out of certain historical conditions and might well die in the same way  
 Political moralism would have society replace politics by moral judgment  
 Internationalism is a form of political moralism that claims that war results from bad institutions  
 The ambition to replace politics by morality involves abolishing individuals and nation-states as too selfish  
 Justice, it is said, has been blocked by the selfish interests of the dominant elites  
 Politics has always been the business of the powerful: citizens, nobles, property-owners, patriarchs  
 It was because the state was composed of masterful characters that it could not turn into a despotism  
 The state -- political, not despotic -- is distinguished by the right of people to dispose of their own property  
 Political moralism takes the independence of citizens not as a guarantee of freedom but as an obstacle to  
 the project of moralizing the world  
 States whose authority is constitutionally limited are imperfect instruments for redistributing life's chances  
 Moralizing the human condition (social justice) is only possible by instituting despotism  
 The new meaning of politics is that it covers every small detail of life; it is not defined by its limits  
 In this new sense politics has become "the authoritative allocation of values"  
 Charity in a political form has expanded to take over politics  
 Political moralism inculcates an attitude that the relief of suffering requires us to be managed by experts  
 It requires conduct to flow from the right attitudes -- setting up a contradiction between theory and practice  
 The poor and dependent are the lever by which governments accumulate power over everyone  
 The very character of the people must be changed, especially that of "oppressors" [political correctness]  
 Human beings are becoming the matter which is to be shaped according to the latest moral ideas  
 In an egalitarian world, everyone is equal, except the managers of equality [George Orwell's *Animal Farm*]

### Outline

- A. TENSIONS BETWEEN MORALITY AND POLITICS (109-10) [103-04]
  1. Machiavelli: Story of the Execution of an Ancient Roman Philanthropist (or Demagogue) [cf. Otto Scott's "Why the Ancients Hanged Do-Gooders"]; on the execution of Brutus's sons, see p. 21
    - a. Fear of tyranny with the beneficent servant becoming the master
    - b. Compare: Junius Brutus' execution of his sons for conspiracy
    - c. Roman example does not fit modern view that politics is a service industry [cf. Frederic Bastiat on *legal plunder*] or create a utopia
  2. Modern Politicians and Bureaucrats Augment Their Power by Servicing Public Needs (Philanthropy or Public Benevolence) [cf. Gottfried]
  3. Speculation about Trends Is a Major Element of Political Thought
    - a. Model of this argument: Issue of morality and politics
    - b. Question: What is the political significance of **philanthropy**? ["Humanitarianism," now a synonym, was originally a theological term for a denial of the deity of Christ, which is still implicit in all theological "liberalism"]
  4. Implication of the Question: Politics Was Born out of Certain Historical Conditions (The

Defense of Liberty against Tyrants) and May Die in Their Absence

- a. If the activity of politics were to die, the state would die with it
- b. **Society** can stand for a single system of life; the **state** can not [cf. ch. 6]
- c. Such a system would replace politics with **moral judgment** -- proper socialization would cure crime, poverty [cf. Horace Mann]
- d. Goal: moral perfection without effort [cf. Dostoevsky's "Legend of the Grand Inquisitor" in *Brothers Karamozov*]

B. THE PROJECT OF POLITICAL MORALISM (110-12) [104-06]

1. The Project of Replacing the Nationally Sovereign State with the Emerging International Moral Order [cf. NATO War in Kosovo]
  - a. Internationalism commonly seen as an inevitable, desirable trend
2. Internationalism Is Regarded as an Answer to the Problem of War
  - a. Theory that bad institutions (*i.e.*, nation-states) cause social evils
    - 1) Assumption: Human nature is plastic, malleable
    - 2) Corollary: If so, we can solve the problem of justice, too
    - 3) Some internationalists seek a just (equitable) distribution of material (goods) and moral benefits (rights) to all people
  - b. Solution: Ambition to replace politics by morality
  - c. Two central pillars of politics must be abolished
    - 1) the individual because of his self-interestedness
    - 2) the nation-state because of its selfish nationalism
  - d. Morality equated with unselfish giving; politics considered dirty
3. This Project Requires Identifying the Obstacle to Improvement
  - a. Justice said to have been blocked by the interests of elites
    - 1) Older version juxtaposed elites and masses
    - 2) Recent theory focuses on **relationships of oppression** see ch. 12; cf. Marx, William Ryan's *Blaming the Victim*
4. Central Feature of Politics Is That It Is the Business of the Powerful
  - a. Idea of the **state** required that it be an association of independent disposers of their own resources [p. 27 gives historical context]
  - b. Rights of elites were gradually generalized into universal rights but first became operational as the status enjoyed by the powerful few
  - c. Masterful men who composed the state prevented despotism by refusing to become instruments for projects of others [pp. 42, 45]
  - d. The state was distinguished by the right of the individual to dispose of own property [which includes liberty and conscience]
    - 1) Politics and despotism are precisely opposed at this point
5. **Political Moralism** Treats the **Independence of Citizens** as a Barrier to Its Project of Moralizing the World
  - a. Independent disposal of property is identified with selfishness [cf. Charles Finney's *Systematic Theology*]
  - b. Constitutionally limited states hinder the task of rational distribution
  - c. State must change its character to regulate the disposal of wealth

C. DILEMMA OF MODERN POLITICS: SOCIAL JUSTICE VS. FREEDOM (113) [106-07]

1. Transcending the Inequalities of the Past Requires a Despotical Social Order
2. The Politics of Evading Hard Choices: Semantic Abracadabra
  - a. Trivialization of politics by giving it a new sense, identifying it with "values" as a whole
3. Older Sense of Politics Was Defined by Its Limits

C. POLITICS AS THE AUTHORITATIVE (AND COERCIVE) ALLOCATION OF VALUES (113-16) [107-11]

1. New Sense of Politics: No Limits
  - a. Requirement that attitudes should be changed [indoctrination] [contrast James Madison's *Federalist*, No. 10 who may have erred in saying that removal of the

- causes of faction by changing attitudes and opinions is “impracticable”]
2. How Has This Transformation Been Achieved?
    - a. By focusing on the sufferings of the dependent poor as an indictment of our social arrangements [cf. Progressives' contrast of human rights with property rights; cf. Barbara Ehrenreich's *Nickel and Dimed*]
      - 1) Parishes were responsible for indigents under the Elizabethan Poor Law
    - b. Broadening of suffrage helped make welfare an issue
    - c. Foreign enemies and the poor became interesting politically because they justified use of the dazzling powers of government (see ch. 5)
    - d. New definitions of poverty made it an ever-present issue
    - e. New classes used poverty for leverage to extract benefits in redistributive states [cf. Bastiat's legal plunder; Gottfried's bureaucracy; William Graham Sumner's *Forgotten Man*]
  3. Consequence: the Discovery of **Dependency** [see Rahe, p. 12]
    - a. Charity [or philanthropy] is expanded to take over politics [note the nineteenth-century social reform movements]
      - 1) Christianity begins with dependence on God
      - 2) Atheists substitute dependence on society
    - b. Marxist version or inversion of Christian doctrine
      - 1) Bourgeois individualism exhibits the sin of pride
      - 2) Self-interest is a sin because it proclaims independence
    - c. New ideal: social altruism [amelioration of social ills]
  4. A Transformation of the State Affects Everything Else [The Same May Be Said of a Change of Theology]
    - a. Substance of political moralism: relief of suffering requires **management** by experts [cf. Gottfried, *After Liberalism*, pp. 50-51]
  5. The Style of Political Moralism: Theoretical and Abstract Rather Than Practical and Concrete
    - a. Politics since the French Revolution is commonly discussed in terms of doctrine and ideology rather than prudence
    - b. Restless concern with action to implement blueprints for progress
    - c. Thomas Paine vs. our more confident modern politicians [cf. the Declaratory Act's claim of a right to bind in all cases whatsoever]
  6. Building-Blocks of the New Order Are the Hearts of Individuals
    - a. Totalitarian use of flattery and cajolery paralleled by democracies
    - b. Citizens who elect the rulers are treated as if they were stupid
    - c. Consequence: A growing contradiction between the theory and practice of democracy
  7. Illustrations of Political Grundyism
  8. Significance: The Poor and the Dependence Are the Lever by Which Governments Accumulate Power over Everyone
    - a. Working assumption of political moralism: Everyone is both dependent and stupid [freeholds are non-existent in America]
    - b. Endeavor to change the moral character of the people, especially those identified as oppressors
- E. SUMMARY (116-17) [111]
1. Political Problems Are Reinterpreted as Managerial Problems
    - a. Human beings are becoming the clay to be shaped by the potter [cf. C. S. Lewis's *Abolition of Man*; Dostoevsky's *Grand Inquisitor*]
    - b. *Cui bono?* The managers of equality [cf. George Orwell's *Animal Farm*: All animals are equal but some are more equal than the rest]
    - c. Death of politics when everything becomes political

## Study Questions

1. Why did the Romans execute a “do-gooder”? How does this incident illustrate the tension between morals and politics? Why do we take such a different view of the matter today? (109-10)
2. Is politics the product of certain historical conditions? What would the death of politics mean for the existence of the state? How does internationalism exemplify political moralism? What does it assume about human nature? What two central pillars of politics would political moralism – e.g., internationalism -- seek to abolish? (110-11)
3. What, according to this view, has held humanity back from improving the human condition? What is the cause of injustice? What central feature of politics lends some credence to this ideological caricature? Who have been the chief players in the game of politics? How did property rights protect against despotism? (111-12)
4. How do political moralists look at the independence of citizens and the existence of constitutional limits? What is the dilemma of modern politics? How has the meaning of politics been expanded in an effort to evade hard choices? [cf. Paul Rahe on “the personal is the political”] Contrast the old with the new sense of politics. (112-14)
5. Why did foreign enemies and the poor become so *interesting* politically? What has been the effect of politicizing charity? How is dependence on the power of the state reflected in modern religious tendencies? How does the style of political moralism reflect its substance? What are its building blocks? (114-16)
6. How are the theory and practice of modern democracy coming into conflict? Illustrate. What is the political significance of the poor and the dependent? What then is the goal of political moralism? Who benefits? (116-18)

### Review

political moralism	internationalism	role of oppression in ideology
politics: the business of the powerful		opposition of despotism and politics
property	political moralism vs. independence of the citizen	
dilemma of modern politics		totalitarianism
the expanding (limitless) domain of politics and the transformation of the state		
the poor and the discovery of dependency (politicized charity)		
reinterpretation of political as managerial problems		

### Tocqueville Readings: Study Questions

More than a travelogue, anthropological study, or political essay, Tocqueville’s *Democracy in America* is a profound work of philosophy that provides, to a considerable degree, both a reorientation from and an antidote to Rousseau’s secular communitarianism. Many scholars assume Tocqueville was a religious skeptic, but, like Abraham Lincoln, he drew heavily on the Christian tradition, wrestled with the faith, and may well have been or become a believer. Remember what C. S. Lewis said about the formidable unity of Christianity: the “familiar smell” of which he abhorred while he still hated Christianity.

1. Tocqueville recognizes the limits of reason and the practical importance of dogmatic belief for individuals as well as communities. Why is a guiding principle of authority needed? What are some of the consequences of religious doubt or skepticism? Why do men turn to masters? Can complete religious independence and entire political freedom be reconciled? Why is religion even more necessary to bind people where equality of conditions prevail [*i.e.*, democracies]? What is religion’s great (secular) advantage?



The second essay is one of the most profound in the literature of political theory. Its political implications are well-matched with what Benedict said in his meditation on the Eighth Beatitude in *Jesus of Nazareth*, p. 89: “The people who are persecuted for righteousness’ sake are those who live by God’s righteousness – by faith. Because man constantly strives for emancipation from God’s will in order to follow himself alone, faith will always appear as a contradiction to the ‘world’ – to the ruling powers at any given time. For this reason, there will be persecution for the sake of righteousness in every period of history. This word of comfort is addressed to the persecuted Church of all times. In her powerlessness and in her sufferings, she knows that she stands in the place where God’s Kingdom is coming.”

2. Why does despotism favor selfishness? [Grinding poverty can be used for this purpose, but so can rising prosperity, as in today’s China]. Who does the despot stigmatize as “turbulent and unruly spirits?” [Herodotus is an excellent source of insight here: Note the attitude of the young aristocrats toward the Tarquins and compare the attitude of *decemvirs* like Appius Claudius toward would-be reformers and those who stood in the way of satisfying their desires]. Why is despotism more to be feared in democratic ages? How are the artificial divisions introduced by rulers counteracted when the public rules? What is then required of rulers? Why are the evils associated with electioneering still preferable to those associated with despotism?
3. How have Americans combated the tendency of equality to keep men separated? [Despotism and Girard’s undifferentiated state associated with mimetic rivalry both have the same tendency]. Why was the adoption of federalism a wise measure? What draws people out of their private concerns and directs their attention to public issues? Here Tocqueville articulate and applies the logic of a free market system to political theory. Just as religion binds a people morally and culturally, so local self-government inspires the development of a civil society. What advice does he give to rich citizens? What gives life in America its dynamism and drive? Entrepreneurship requires a great degree of liberty. How does the American system help reconcile private interest with public welfare?

“How an Aristocracy May Be Created by Manufactures,” which is readily available on-line, has been omitted from this selection, although it is one of the most familiar parts of the text, as was Tocqueville’s prediction at the end of Volume One (1835) about Russia and America: “Their starting point is different and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe.”

4. .What are the novel features of a democratic form of despotism? [cf. Lieber on democratic absolutism]. The reference to perpetual childhood is evident in many critiques of modernity; it is given a satiric turn in Spengler’s “Midnight in the Kindergarten [Child’s Garden] of Good and Evil.” The very idea of **kindergarten** in Rousseauian in provenance. [cf. “The Kindergarten: Model for a New Eden” in *The Messianic Character of American Education* by Rousas John Rushdoony; and *The Leipzig Connection* by Paolo Lionni and Lance Klass]. What are the effects of bureaucracy on personal initiative? Tocqueville’s description of bureaucracy as a “network of small complicated rules” gets right to the point. [The term “red tape” dates back at least to 1696]. Jonathan Swift satirized this aspect of politics in the capture of Gulliver by the Lilliputians. The result is a state of servitude or dependency, which is shaken off briefly from time to time by what means? Here Tocqueville himself takes a satiric turn, one that is worthy of Bastiat, who later served in the Assembly at the same time Tocqueville served in a high government office.
5. What are the two conflicting passions that excite our contemporaries? [The New Deal, global institutions, and plans for universal health coverage all have tended to promote further centralization]. How is oppression relaxed by permitting representation? What is the particular danger associated with subjection in minor affairs? How is character enervated? How do you believe this might ultimately endanger the security of the whole political order? Once this “short-lived monster” reaches a point of crisis, what options are available to the people?

It should be evident by now how much Minogue's over-all argument is anticipated by Tocqueville. This resemblance extends to the concluding chapter.

### **Tocqueville: Review**

first principles	reason	authority
doubt	advantage of religion	despotism
public goodwill	electioneering	free institutions
general indifference	opulent citizens	increasing wealth
private interests and public welfare	novel features of modern despotism	
network of small complicated rules	conflicting passions	representation
subjection in minor affairs	self-government	short-lived monster

### **Further Study**

Carey, George W. *A Student's Guide to American Political Thought*

Gottfried, Paul. *After Liberalism*, pp. 49-71

Mansfield, Harvey C. *A Student's Guide to Political Philosophy*

Milkis, Sidney M. *The President and the Parties*, pp. 125-46

Nisbet, Robert. *The Present Age*

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Quest for Community*

Ortega y Gasset, José. *The Revolt of the Masses*

Rahe, Paul. *Soft Despotism, Democracy's Drift*

Scott, Otto. "Why the Ancients Hanged Do-Gooders"

Stone, Brad Lowell. *Robert Nisbet*

Zimmermann, Carle E. *Family and Civilization*