

POLS 2023/3143

Introduction to Political Theory

Zap # 1653

Meets: MW 4:00-5:15 PM

Room: PH 314

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Credit Hours: 3

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Examination #2 Study Guide:

Unit 2: Machiavelli and Hobbes

A study guide is just that; a guide to study. This study guide is designed to help students focus their study efforts on the assigned material for the first examination. The examination covers material from Chapters One and Two of George Klosko's *History of Political Theory, Vol. 2*, and Chapters Seven and Eight of Sheldon Wolin's *Politics and Vision*. The examination is worth 100 points, which is worth slightly more than 16% of students' overall grade.

Chapter Outlines

I. Klosko

c. Chapter One: Niccolò Machiavelli

- i. Machiavelli's Life
- ii. Political Background
- iii. Morality and Politics
- iv. Machiavelli's Message
- v. Advice to Rulers
- vi. The *Discourses*
- vii. Machiavelli and Modern Political Theory

d. Chapter Two: Thomas Hobbes

- i. Hobbes's Philosophical Method
- ii. Social Contract Theory
- iii. The State of Nature
- iv. The Contract of Government
- v. Leviathan, The "Mortal God"
- vi. The Rights of Subjects and the Duties of Sovereign
- vii. Assessing the Argument
- viii. Hobbes and Liberal Political Theory

II. Wolin

a. Chapter Seven: Machiavelli

Politics and the Economy of Violence

- i. The Anatomy of Political Theory
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- ii. The Commitments of the Political Theorist
- iii. The Nature of Politics and the Categories of the New Science
- iv. Political Space and Political Action
- v. The Economy of Violence
- vi. Ethics: Political and Private
- vii. The Discovery of the Mass
- viii. Politics and Souls

b. Chapter Eight: Hobbes

Political Society as a System of Rules

- i. The Revival of Political Creativity
- ii. Political Philosophy and the Revolution in Science
- iii. The Promise of Political Philosophy
- iv. The Language of Politics: The Problem of Continuity
- v. Political Entropy: The State of Nature
- vi. The Sovereign Definer
- vii. Power without Community
- viii. Interests and Representation
- ix. Politics as a Field of Forces

Fill-in-the-Blank (20 Points)

This section will test students’ grasp of the assigned material by requiring that students accurately complete statements and word/concept associations. Generally, the questions will be comprised of direct statements or paraphrases of statements with crucial information withheld. Students will need to be aware of the connection between specific political theorists, their published works, and the ideas associated with them in order to master this section. The concept universe in the concept identification section below also serves as a concept/author universe.

Each correct response will be worth two (2) points.

Chapter 1: Machiavelli (Klosko)

1. At least in part, Machiavelli wrote *The Prince* to gain the favor of _____, to whom it is dedicated.
2. According to Machiavelli, “[I]he sole cause why Italy is not in the same condition [as France and Spain] and is not governed by either one republic or one sovereign, is the _____.
3. Machiavelli’s *The Prince* makes use of a form of reasoning to which we can refer as _____.
4. Machiavelli uses the example of _____, whose alleged cruelty brought peace and order to Romagna, as an example of his view that selective cruelty can be more effective than kindness as a strategy for princes.

5. According to Machiavelli, the unchanging essence of human nature is a propensity towards _____.

6. Identify the author of the following quotation:

“[I]t must be understood that a prince, and especially a new prince, cannot observe all those things which are considered good in men, being often obliged in order to maintain the state, to act against faith, against, charity, against humanity, and against religion.”

Author: _____

7. According to influential English political theorist _____, with whom Klosko agrees, Machiavelli’s message undermines one of our cherished conviction about the moral world: we like to believe that problems have solutions, and that with sufficient ingenuity and goodwill, humanity can overcome any obstacle and achieve a satisfactory outcome.

8. In addition to insuring the survival of the state and one’s power in it, Machiavelli believed that the particular end political and military leaders should pursue is _____.

9. According to Klosko, to “some extent, the essence of Machiavelli’s concept of _____ is summed up in the saying the French _____ during the French Revolution: “*Pour les vaincre, messieurs, il nous faut de l’audace, encore de l’audace, et toujours de l’audace et la Patrie sera sauvée!*” (Trans: “To defeat them, gentlemen, we need audacity, still more audacity, and audacity forever, and the Fatherland will be saved!”).

10. Machiavelli’s historical theory was largely drawn from the Greek historian _____, who argued that the forms of government are distinguished by the number of rulers, whether they are one, few, or many, with good and bad forms of each.

11. Machiavelli was suspected by the _____ of involvement in a plot against them, and he paid a severe price: he was arrested, deposed from his political office, and tortured.

12. According to Machiavelli, if a state chooses to extend its borders it should follow the example of _____, and if it wishes to preserve itself but not to grow, the examples to follow are _____ and _____.

Chapter 2: Hobbes (Klosko)

13. _____ often regarded as the greatest English political theorist, was born in 1588, the year of the Spanish Armada.

14. Thomas Hobbes’ greatest work, _____, was occasioned by the outbreak of civil war between supporters of the English Parliament and King Charles I.

15. In arguing that Hobbes has a better claim to being the “first political scientist,” Klosko notes the impact that _____ had upon his philosophical thought, noting especially his emphasis upon a deductive system of thought which builds upon first principles.

16. According to the important English conservative political theorist _____ Thomas Hobbes’ *Leviathan* “is the greatest, perhaps the sole, masterpiece of political philosophy written in the English language.”

17. Thomas Hobbes, along with John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, is generally regarded as a _____ theorist.
18. The idea of a “state of nature” fundamentally presupposes basic assumptions about _____.
19. Although generally advocating political absolutism, Hobbes’s political theory also provided a strong justification for the right of resistance, which had been raised during the Protestant Reformation, and had prior non-Scriptural justifications, such as the _____ which was published pseudonymously, probably by Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, a Huguenot nobleman.
20. The French political theorist _____ (1529-96) is generally credited with introducing the concept of “sovereignty” to Western thought.
21. Klosko argues that in “large part the sovereign’s power is _____,” by which Klosko means that “the subjects authorize (the sovereign) to think for them.”
22. Based on Hobbes’ analysis of the covenant between the sovereign and his/her subjects, there are some rights that the subject cannot surrender, chief among them the right of _____.
23. In order to demonstrate a problem with Hobbes’ account of self-preservation and citizen loyalty to the sovereign, Klosko points to _____ in Thucydides’ *History of the Peloponnesian War* in order to illustrate Hobbes’ rather emasculated human psychology.

Chapter 7: Machiavelli (Wolin)

24. _____ had once written in a letter to statesman and historian Francesco Guicciardini, “I believe that the true means of understanding the road of paradise is to know that of hell in order to avoid the latter.”
25. Wolin notes that “none before had argued that it was the function of political knowledge to instruct rulers in the techniques of _____.”
26. According to Machiavelli, the symbol of man’s illusions was the _____.
27. According to _____, “it is the man who uses violence to spoil things, not the man who uses it to mend them, that is blameworthy.”
28. “One of the basic aims of Machiavelli’s _____ was to demonstrate that, while military action remained an unavoidable fact of the political condition, its costliness could be reduced by proper attention to strategy, discipline, and organization.”
29. Machiavelli’s most important insight into the problem of internal power politics came when he grasped the fact that _____ represented a form of social power which, if properly exploited, reduced the amount of violence directed at society as a whole.

30. According to Machiavelli, in a _____ (*commune consenso*), only the few had to be harmed.
31. _____ would write that “men are so simple and so subject to present needs that he who deceives them in this way will always find those who will let themselves be deceived.”
32. According to _____, “Some things seem to be virtuous (e.g. honesty), but if they are put into practice will be ruinous... other things seem to be vices (e.g. murder), yet if put into practice will bring the prince security and well-being.”
33. “In Machiavelli’s words, the ruler of a civic principality need not possess ‘pure ability or pure fortune’ (*o tutta virtù o tutta fortuna*), but only a _____ (*un ‘astuzia fortunata*).
34. According to Machiavelli, “the true prince would be one who, in the act of realizing his _____, would render himself superfluous.”
35. _____ charged that Christianity had originally been acceptable as a civic religion, but in his time taught the wrong virtues of self-abnegation, humility, and other-worldliness... A true civic religion ought to encourage a proper fear and respect for authority and help inculcate military valor.

Chapter 8: Hobbes (Wolin)

36. According to Wolin, “there was another side to the dream of creativity: _____.
37. According to Hobbes, “_____ is the mother of *philosophy*, and _____ is the mother of peace...”
38. To Hobbes, the tumult of his age resulted in a world “where reason was being used as a destructive instrument to attack established institutions and beliefs. All of the competing claims to reason, which were so abundant at the time, were, in Hobbes’ view, mere appeals to _____, to opinion swayed by each man’s desire to seek ‘that which is good for him.’”
39. Part of the absurdity that Wolin finds in Hobbes’ view of the state of nature was that “under perfect freedom, man the freedom-loving animal becomes _____ (*Man is a wolf to man*).”

40. Hobbes' emphasis upon _____, the notion "that every man strive to accommodate himself to the rest," is viewed by Wolin as an important reason to "give pause to those who have interpreted Hobbesian society in exaggerated atomistic terms."

Concept Identification (40 Points)

This section requires students to accurately define and explain the significance of a universe of concepts. Students should note that this is a two-part exercise, and that effective definition is only part of the requirement; students must also explain how the concepts contribute to the understanding of political theory.

Several of the concept identification items are in fact people. Students attempting to write a concept identification on a person should be able to identify the person's historical context (ancient Greek, Roman, early Christian, etc.), and the principal ideas for which the person is known as an explanation of significance.

Each effective response will be worth five points.

Armed Fortress

Art of War

Bodin, Jean

Catholic Church

Cesare Borgia

Commonwealth

Complaisance

Consent

Danton

Discourses, The

Doctrine of Interests

Economy of Violence

Episteme

Epistemic

Fear

Fortuna

Fortunate Astuteness

Geometric Reasoning

Glory

Great Definer

Hobbes, Thomas

Homini Lupus

Human Nature

"Instrumental Rationality"

Laws of Nature

Leisure

Leviathan (1651)

"Lion and the Fox"

Medici, Lorenzo de'

Medici Family

Necessita'

Oakeshott, Michael

Pericles' Funeral Oration

Popular Consent

Polybius

Prince, The

Principato Civile

Private Reason

"Right to All Things"

"Right of Nature"

Rome

Romulus Legend

Self-Preservation

Social Contract Theory

Sovereignty

State of Nature

Sparta

Vindiciate contra Tyrannos (1579)

Venice

Virtu'

Short-Answers (40 Points)

This section will be comprised of brief factual questions that students should be able to correctly and completely answer with no more than one or two sentences. Most often, short answers prompt students to agree or disagree with the statement, and to offer a brief rationale for the statement's correctness or falsity. Each correct response will be worth five (5) points.

Chapter 1: Machiavelli (Klosko)

1. According to Machiavelli, should a ruler be generous or thrifty? How does he justify these seemingly immoral perspectives?
2. According to Machiavelli, should a prince be cruel or kind? How does he justify these seemingly immoral perspectives?
3. What was Hannibal's secret to success, according to Machiavelli?
4. Based on your reading of Klosko and Wolin, would Machiavelli have agreed with the Roman emperor Caligula's dictum, "*Oderint Dum Metuant*" ("Let them hate, so long as they fear")?
5. What must a prince learn in order to sustain him/herself, according to Machiavelli? Is he correct?
6. What was Machiavelli's attitude toward mercenary armies? What explains his attitude? Is he correct in his view of mercenaries? Does this have any implications for the U.S.'s reliance on independent military contractors?

Chapter 2: Hobbes (Klosko)

7. Briefly, respond to the claim that Thomas Hobbes is an advocate for an "absolutist" view of the state.
8. Would Hobbes agree that subjects must surrender *all* of their power to the sovereign? Why or why not?
9. What is the subject's main right, according to Hobbes? What central liberty do subjects always retain, in Hobbes' view?
10. What is the extent of self-interest, according to Hobbes?
11. Is Hobbes's view of the state congenial for the formation of an unbridled dictatorship of the type instituted by Hitler and Stalin, according to Klosko? Why or why not?
12. Was Hobbes a liberal? Why or why not?

Chapter Seven: Machiavelli (Wolin)

13. What was Machiavelli's principal criticism of political theories of the day?
14. What was Machiavelli's great innovation, according to Wolin? Briefly discuss the political implications of this innovation for understanding political knowledge.
15. Would Wolin agree with the argument that Machiavelli was the "philosopher of Himmlerism"? Why or why not?
16. What evidence does Wolin advance to support his claim that Machiavelli was not a fully modern figure? (p. 192).
17. What was the value of popular consent to Machiavelli?
18. Based on Wolin's analysis, why did Machiavelli frequently use the phrase *necessità* in describing political situations?
19. Was Machiavelli an advocate of monarchical absolutism, or did he advocate government by the people? What was Machiavelli's opinion of "the masses," and their manageability? What skills must the ruler of a civic principality possess?

Chapter Eight: Hobbes (Wolin)

20. What, in Wolin's view, is one of Hobbes' most original yet least noted contributions to political theory?
21. How does the frontispiece of the 1651 edition of *Leviathan* capture Hobbes' conception of sovereignty?
22. What are the crucial weaknesses of Hobbes' conception of political power, according to Wolin?

Discussion Questions (50 Points)

Class discussion will be oriented around questions related to the text, and the questions below will be used both to organize class discussions, and as the basis for the take-home essay assignment. Students should come to class prepared to discuss the relevant questions for assigned chapters, and should consider essay-writing strategies for answering the corpus of questions, which will be used to create the take-home examination that will be posted on the instructor's website.

Chapter One (Klosko): Machiavelli

23. What explains Machiavelli's dismal reputation among near contemporaries like Shakespeare?
24. Describe the circumstances that led Machiavelli to a life of political philosophy. How did his political travails affect his view of politics?
25. What was Machiavelli's view of the Papal States? What explains Machiavelli's attitude regarding the secular authority of the Catholic Church?
26. Evaluate Klosko's assertion that Machiavelli's view of the "state" marks him as a modern thinker. How does he defend this claim? Do you agree that Machiavelli is a modern thinker because of his understanding of the institutions of medieval Italy? What separates Machiavelli from other thinkers of his day?
27. Compare Machiavelli's and Luther's view of the connection between morality and politics. How does Machiavelli's analysis differ from that of the voluminous existent literature on how princes should behave?
28. Machiavelli contradicts the advice of Cicero, who attributed cunning to the fox and force to the lion, and admonishes princes to avoid both as "unworthy of man." What is Machiavelli's view of the qualities of the lion and the fox? Why does he view them as good qualities in rulers?
29. Klosko notes that Machiavelli's logic with regard to the "economy of violence" is analogous to "what is commonly encountered in military situations." Analyze Machiavelli's teaching on the strategic use of violence in light of military situations. Where does prudence lie, given this logical state of affairs?
30. According to Klosko, what is the essence of Machiavelli's political teaching? Please elaborate on the political implications of Machiavelli's approach to politics.

31. What is Machiavelli's view of human nature? What about his views of human nature mark him as a subversive figure? What role does evil play in Machiavelli's political philosophy?
32. Compare Machiavelli's view of morality and human progress with that of Callicles (pp. 14-15).
33. Machiavelli advocates that the particular end that princes should seek is "glory." How does Machiavelli define glory? How does the pursuit of glory affect the ends that a prince may (or must) use to achieve glory?
34. How does the quality of *virtú* contribute to the prince's success? What are the various qualities that contribute to a leader characterized by *virtú*?
35. Do you agree with Machiavelli's observation that "men forget more easily the death of their father than the loss of their patrimony"? What are the implications of that statement, if true?
36. What is Machiavelli's view of "commoners" (the non-noble majority of any citizenry)? How should a prince treat his/her citizenry in order to govern effectively?
37. What role does *Fortuna* play in Machiavelli's political philosophy?
38. Compare and contrast Machiavelli's purposes in writing *The Prince* vs. *The Discourses*. What type of government does Machiavelli generally believe is best? How does Machiavelli's view of history inform his political views? Based in particular on Machiavelli's conviction that all states are destined to go through periods of "virtue and decay," does Machiavelli believe in human progress?
39. How do Machiavelli's military views influence his preference for a particular form of government? What role does religion play in Machiavelli's view of the most desirable form of government?
40. Are Machiavelli's military lessons always correct, in Klosko's view? Which lessons does Klosko view as "almost certainly incorrect"?
41. What are Machiavelli's "lessons of betrayal"? What generally must occur in order for conspirators to dethrone a prince?
42. Based on your reading, what marks Machiavelli as a "modern" political theorist?

Chapter Two (Klosko): Hobbes

43. What role does fear play in Thomas Hobbes' philosophy? How did historical events shape Hobbes' worldview?
44. How important is geometry for Hobbes' view of human behavior?
45. Why does Klosko view Hobbes as a "pioneer" in the development of the field of political science?
46. What role does social contract theory play in Hobbes' *Leviathan*? What are the crucial elements of social contract theory?
47. How important is the **state of nature** for social contract theorists like Hobbes? What is Hobbes' view of the state of nature?
48. What role does power play in Hobbes' philosophy? Does Hobbes' view of power mark him as a modern or an antiquarian thinker?

49. What role do **laws of nature** play in Hobbes' philosophy? How is Hobbes' understanding of laws of nature distinct from the traditional understanding of the term? How are laws of nature distinct from the **"right of nature"**?
50. Hobbes' view of the state of nature powerfully conditions his view of why and how human beings leave the state of nature. What kind of contract allows communities to leave the state of nature, and what kind of state is required to overcome the state of nature, according to Hobbes?
51. Ideas are rarely completely original. Trace the origins of contract theory as related by Klosko. What are the crucial components of the contract? What is the origin of the king's authority? What did Hobbes contribute to the existing body of literature related to the contract between the sovereign and his/her citizens? What are the obligations of the ruler to the ruled? What are the obligations of citizens to the sovereign?
52. How does Hobbes justify his view that the rights of conquest apply equally to relationships in the family?
53. Trace the origins of the concept of "sovereignty," as Hobbes understood it, as describe by Klosko. What are the necessary components of sovereignty? Contrast Hobbes' view of the powers of sovereignty with that of other conventional views of sovereignty.
54. How is Hobbes' view of natural law distinct from most conventional views of natural law? What explains Hobbes' somewhat unconventional appropriation of natural law?
55. Does Hobbes envision a right of revolution? What would be the basis for a just revolution in Hobbes' view?
56. How is Hobbes' view of sovereign power similar to that of Machiavelli's?
57. Based on Klosko's assessment of Hobbes' argument for a near-absolute monarch, what are the strengths and weaknesses of Hobbes' political philosophy? Where are the weaknesses in Hobbes' argument for his desired form of state?
58. In what ways does Hobbes stand as a sort of "proto-liberal," using liberal assumptions and principles to defend an illiberal view of the state?

Chapter Seven: Machiavelli (Wolin)

1. Assess Wolin's claim that Machiavelli is the first great experimenter in a "pure" political theory. According to Wolin, what latent factors prevalent among the sixteenth-century Italian city-states prefaced Machiavelli's writings?
2. In what ways are Machiavelli's theorizing uniquely "modern," according to Wolin?
3. What was Machiavelli's view of human nature?
4. To what extent does Machiavelli "appropriate and sublimate" the language of moral passion to make his case for a departure from existing modes of political theorizing?
5. Compare and contrast Augustine's view of the Romulus legend in the founding of Rome. What does Wolin think the difference between the two theorists' attitudes toward violence signal?
6. What does Wolin make of Machiavelli and Guicciardini's response (in letters exchanged to one another) of the attribution of disorder in politics to important "non-rational elements"?

“The picture that emerged from their writings was of a political nature efflorescent with occult signs and mysterious portents, decipherable by auguries, and haunted by unpredictable *Fortuna*. It was, in short, a political universe inhabited at its very center by magic” (p. 189).

7. Wolin argues that one “of the significant aspects of Machiavelli’s political metaphysics was that it was unrelated to a systematic philosophy.” For Wolin, what is important about Machiavelli’s lack of philosophical pretension?
8. How does Wolin answer the following question: “Machiavelli’s approach [to political nature] can best be understood by way of a question suggested by Plato: what would be the consequences for political thought and action if man’s condition were that a permanent resident in the Cave? What would be the implications if a man’s whole existence were defined by a world of fleeting sense impressions and phenomenal flux, a world having precious little in the way of a firm foundation for knowledge?”
9. What is Machiavelli’s treatment of illusions, and what according to Wolin does Machiavelli’s view reveal about the new temper of political theory? How did Machiavelli recommend that human beings respond to illusions?
10. For Wolin, the aim of political action was “mastery.” What were the elements of political mastery?
11. What is the problem of space? How does Machiavelli respond to this problem?
12. How does Machiavelli respond to the problem of violence and the threat posed by the unconstrained power of the state? What does Wolin mean when he argues that Machiavelli was convinced of the need to create an “economy of violence”?
13. Why does Wolin compare Machiavelli to Georges Sorel?
14. Based on Wolin’s analysis, draw a portrait of Machiavelli’s prince. What type of person is s(he)? Why does Wolin believe that by “the nature of his situation political man must be an actor”?
15. Analyze Machiavelli’s critique of traditional moral theory in light of Wolin’s analysis. Were his ethical views founded on cynicism, based on Wolin’s analysis? Was it Machiavelli’s intent on divorcing political norms from those governing private relationships? Did Machiavelli believe that morality was nothing more than a useful factor in political manipulation?
16. Based on Wolin’s analysis, would Machiavelli have agreed with the ethical dictum, “The ends justifies the means”? Why or why not?
17. Was Machiavelli an advocate of monarchical absolutism, or did he advocate government by the people? What was Machiavelli’s opinion of “the masses,” and their manageability? What skills must the ruler of a civic principality possess?
18. What was Machiavelli’s response to the claim that no durable political system could be erected on so unstable a foundation as the people?
19. How does the concept *virtú* contribute to Machiavelli’s political theory?
20. Compare Machiavelli’s view of community with Plato’s conception of community. How is Machiavelli’s view of political unity distinctive from ancient assumptions regarding political unity?
21. What was Machiavelli’s view of religion? What, in Machiavelli’s view, had gone wrong with Christianity?

Chapter Eight: Hobbes (Wolin)

22. According to Wolin, what was the most glaring absence in Machiavelli’s political theory?

23. Describe the differences in Machiavelli's and Hobbes' approaches to political theory. What influences worked upon Hobbes to make him a much more fully modern thinker than Machiavelli?
24. Is Hobbes' application of scientific methodology to political philosophy misguided, in Wolin's view?
25. How important is language in Hobbes' view of political philosophy?
26. Wolin asks an important question about Hobbes' application of scientific assumptions to political theory: the reasoning of the geometer had produced infallible truths, but the reasoning of private men issued only in disagreement. Why was reason more "objective" in the one case?
27. How does the Hobbes employ the **state of nature** to answer the problems of the status of knowledge raised by his application of scientific method to political philosophy?
28. What are the implications of Hobbes' description of the state of nature as a state of subjectivity rather than as simply the absence of a sovereign power?
29. Why does Wolin describe Hobbes' sovereign as a "Great Definer"? What is the source of Leviathan's power?
30. Was Hobbes' use of the state of nature the mark of a dispassionate man of science patiently cataloguing the frantic movements of the human animal caught in a maze of his/her own devising, or the work of a sardonic moralist?
31. Consider Wolin's claim that Hobbes' use of the state of nature "did not belong solely to the past or even to the present." Is the state of nature a historical concept?
32. Why would individuals possessed of the kind of moral psychology that Hobbes assumed surrender nearly all of their political rights to an absolute sovereign?
33. How does Hobbes conceptualize justice within his political theory? Is Hobbes advancing a proto-liberal view of justice as "fairness"? What prevents Hobbes' view of justice from being considered liberal?
34. According to Wolin, what is the principal inadequacy of Hobbes' conception of political society?
35. What was Hobbes' conception of human nature? How did his assumptions of human nature affect the way he conceived political space, and institutions that support public order, like religion? How do these assumptions affect Hobbes' view of sovereign power?
36. How does Hobbes' **doctrine of interests** influence his view of sovereign power?