

POLS 2023/3143

Introduction to Political Theory

Zap # 1653

Meets: MW 4:00-5:15 PM

Room: PH 314

Fall 2009

Credit Hours: 3

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Examination #3 Study Guide:

Unit 3: Selected Moderns (Locke, Rousseau, and Burke)

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-Three, and Chapters Six and Seven of the 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

a. Chapter Three: John Locke and Liberal Political Theory

- i. Locke's Life and Intellectual Background
- ii. State of Nature and Law of Nature
- iii. Natural Rights
- iv. The State of War
- v. Civil Society
- vi. Government by Consent
- vii. Parental and Patriarchal Authority
- viii. The Right to Property
- ix. Resistance to Unjust Authority
- x. Locke and Liberal Political Theory

b. Chapter Six: Jean-Jacques Rousseau

- i. Rousseau's Life and Intellectual Background
 - ii. Rousseau's State of Nature
 - iii. The Original State of Nature
 - iv. The Dialectic of Reason
 - v. Corrupt Society
 - vi. *The Social Contract*
 - vii. Negative and Positive Freedom
 - viii. Self-Government
 - ix. Principles of Political Right
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- x. The General Will
- xi. Government
- xii. Civil Religion
- xiii. The Status of Women
- xiv. Rousseau and Practical Politics
- xv. Implications

c. Chapter Seven: Edmund Burke and Conservative Political Theory

- i. Conservative Political Theory
- ii. Burke's Life and Political Career
- iii. Burke and British Politics
- iv. Representation
- v. The American Revolution
- vi. The French Revolution
- vii. Historical Process
- viii. Reform and Revolution
- ix. Religion and the Limits of Reason
- x. Burke's Conservatism

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 3: Locke (Klosko)

1. Written in the years before the _____ of 1688, John Locke's _____ defends the rights of the individual against unjust political authority.
2. According to Klosko, because "Locke makes his case by arguing from an artificial state of nature, out of which people contract in order to establish government," his work is "readily compared to _____."
3. John Locke's fortunes were decisively influenced by his association with _____.
4. As a result of the political crises that ultimately led to the ending of the rule of the Stuart line in England, John Locke was compelled to flee for _____, where he stayed until 1688.
5. Locke's opposition to royal absolutism led him to attack _____'s *Patriarcha*, which defended the "divine right of kings."

6. As an exemplar of absolute power, Locke had the example of the English King _____, who attempted to rule without the consent of Parliament, which led to civil war culminating in the King's execution in 1649.
7. Klosko contends that Locke's insistence on the conditional nature of governmental power can be attributed to "the spectre of an absolute monarch in England, on the model of _____ of France," which provoked Locke to join in a political movement "opposed to this possibility."

Chapter 6: Rousseau (Klosko)

8. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, Rousseau was viewed as the apostle of feeling and emotion, as epitomized in _____.
9. _____ achieved literary celebrity in 1750, when he won an essay competition by the Academy of Dijoin, which would later be as *The First Discourse on the Arts and Sciences*.
10. For Rousseau, the process of civilization is, inevitably, a process marked by _____.
11. According to Klosko, of the four stages of civilization, Rousseau would argue that the happiest form of human life occurs at the _____ stage.
12. The differences between negative liberty and self-government are classically discussed in an essay by _____ (1767-1830), entitled "The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with that of the Moderns."
13. The famous 18th century English philosopher _____ caustically described Rousseau as "The insane *Socrates* of the National Assembly" in imputing to Rousseau considerable influence over the direction of the French Revolution.
14. Rousseau's influence on _____ and other architects of the Reign of Terror is well known.

Chapter 7: Burke (Klosko)

15. Edmund Burke's book _____ is widely considered the greatest work in conservative political theory.
16. In the well-known study *The Conservative Mind*, _____ identifies Burke's work as "the true school of conservative principle."
17. Edmund Burke enjoyed considerable political influence, owing to his relationship with Marquis of _____. He later found a position in Parliament and was described as a member of the "____-Whigs."
18. In *An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs* (1791), Burke takes pride that _____, "a genius not born in every country, or in every time," preferred the British Constitution to any other he encountered in his research.
19. The eloquence of this theorist's statement regarding representation, which includes the quotation that your "representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment, and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion," such that the model of

- representation – which states that the representative must act on his conception of the national interest,” is often referred to as _____.
20. In supporting the American Revolution, Burke argued that the colonists had taken up arms in support of the preservation of _____, which was threatened, not by the zealotry of the colonists, but by the incompetence of the British government.
 21. One of Burke’s favorite terms of opprobrium (def. “disgrace arising from shameful conduct”) is _____, by which he meant that the misguided person was interested in theoretical speculations rather than in the actual factors at work in political situations.
 22. Burke describes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as embracing the concept of _____ rights, which he characterizes as “merely wishes,” unless there is some mechanism in place to insure that these rights will be conveyed to individuals.
 23. Burke views the constitutional guarantee against double jeopardy (to be tried multiple times for the same office) as an example of a _____ right, because it is enforced by the practical workings of institutions, and that contribute to a stable system of government.
 24. According to Burke, _____ are “untaught feelings,” and are not bad but rather should be cherished because they reflect with wisdom of previous generations.

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.

Abstract Rights	General Will
Ancient Liberty	Glorious Revolution (1688)
“Armed Fortress”	Human Nature
Burke, Edmund	“Instrumental Rationality”
Burkean Representation	Kirk, Russell
Charles I	Locke, John
Commonwealth	Lord Ashley, Earl of Shaftesbury
Complaisance	Louis XIV
Concrete Rights	Marquis of Rockingham
Consent	Metaphysical
Corruption	“Natural Aristocracy”
Filmer, Robert	“Natural Man”

Negative Freedom
Original State of Nature
Prejudice
Positive Freedom
Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790)
Revolution by Consent
Robespierre
Romanticism
Second Treatise of Government

Social Contract Theory
Sovereignty
Stages of Civilization
First Stage: Village Life
Second Stage: Introduction of Property
Third Stage: The Formation of Government
Fourth Stage: The Degeneration of Government into Tyranny
Virtual Representation

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 3: Locke (Klosko)

1. Did Locke write *The Second Treatise of Government* to justify a successful revolution, or to bring a revolution about? How would you justify your view?
2. According to John Locke, what is the main flaw in human nature that requires leaving the state of nature?
3. Based on Locke's analysis, is it correct to say that people *consent* to an unequal distribution of property in the state of nature?
4. According to Klosko, "in setting up a government, people confront *two* problems..." Briefly, what are those two problems?
5. What is Locke's view of majority rule?
6. In Locke's view, could an Englishman seize lands owned by a Native American? How would Locke justify his view?
7. What is the distinction between "natural" and "legal" rights, based on Klosko's discussion of Locke?
8. Who is responsible for punishing malefactors in the state of nature, according to Locke?
9. Are people "entirely rational," in Locke's view? Why or why not?
10. Locke uses the phrase "Appeal to Heaven" as a euphemism for...? What is Locke's view of the right of the people to judge the use of royal prerogative?

Chapter 4: Rousseau (Klosko)

11. Did Rousseau have a favorable view of civilization?
12. Briefly explain the importance of Klosko's somewhat wry remark that Rousseau "often writes *too* well."
13. Did Rousseau agree with Hobbes and Locke that humans within the state of nature were reasoning creatures?

14. Was Rousseau a socialist?
15. What is the defining feature of civilization for Rousseau, as he found it?
16. Briefly, describe Rousseau's "natural man"?
17. Briefly, how does Rousseau use the term "natural"?
18. Write an essay exploring the various paradoxes that characterize Rousseau's political thought. What are some of the central paradoxes that make Rousseau simultaneously so captivating and frustrating?
19. Could Rousseau be considered as a liberal? Why or why not?
20. Is Rousseau an advocate of direct democracy?
21. Was Rousseau religious?
22. Did Rousseau believe in gender equality?

Chapter 5: Burke (Klosko)

23. Klosko argues that a central imperative of Burke's political theory as it relates to the potential of human reason is to explain... what?
24. Does Burke view human beings as reasonable?
25. How does Burke distinguish monarchy from despotism? What is it in the nature of despotism to seek, according to Burke?
26. According to Burke, are the nobility solely suited for the role of representative's of the good of the rest of society? Briefly, how does Burke view the nobility?
27. Briefly, did Burke support or oppose the American Revolution? Why?
28. What was Burke's view of theoretical speculation? Why?
29. Is real liberty easily achieved, according to Burke? Can real liberty be secured by conscious effort?
30. What is Burke's view of "prejudice"?
31. Briefly, is Edmund Burke an irrationalist? Why or why not?
32. Burke likens lovers of abstract values to... ?
33. Explain Burke's general opposition to democracy. What would be the two principal reasons that would cause Burke to believe that democracy is not a practical system of government?

Discussion Questions -- Take-Home Essay (70 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 Three (Klosko): Locke

1. Klosko argues that Locke's work was in opposition to Robert Filmer's divine right justifications for absolute royal authority. Please write an essay describing Locke's critique of absolutism founded on divine right.
2. Compare and contrast Locke's view of the state of nature with that of Thomas Hobbes. What common assumptions about the state of nature do they share? Where do their views of the state of nature diverge? What explains their different visions?
3. According to Klosko, "in setting up a government, people confront *two* problems..." Briefly, what are those two problems? Elaborate in an essay on how these two problems are resolved by Hobbes and Locke, and how they come to such disparate visions of the state.
4. Please discuss the role of consent within Locke's political theory. What are some of the different kinds of consent that Locke distinguishes among? What problems emerge from Locke's reliance on consent as a basis for forming government?
5. How does Locke's interpretation of parental and patriarchal authority differ from those of his opponents? How does his understanding of parental and spousal relationship relate to his understanding of political obligation, broadly considered?
6. How important is property in Locke's political philosophy? How does the right to property affect the broader political environment of Locke's period? What did Locke mean when he referred to property?
7. In Locke's view, do people have a right to resist unjust authority? What is the rationale for this view? Would Locke agree with the claim that his view his doctrine invites frequent rebellions?
8. Is Locke a liberal? Why or why not? What are the crucial distinguishing features of liberal political thought? How does Locke's political philosophy correspond to the central claims of liberal political philosophy?

Chapter Six (Klosko): Rousseau

9. Write an essay analyzing Jean-Jacques Rousseau's status as a figure of the Enlightenment. Was Rousseau an advocate of scientific progress? Is Rousseau, inevitably, an advocate or an opponent of the Enlightenment, or is Rousseau's relationship to the Enlightenment irresolvable?
10. How did Rousseau's view of the state of nature differ from Locke's? Write an essay contrasting Rousseau's view of the state of nature with Locke's, emphasizing the contrasting assumptions of human nature that guide both theorists. How is Rousseau's "Natural Man" distinct from other discussions of the state of nature?
11. Compare and contrast Hobbes' and Rousseau's contrasting view of human nature within the state of nature.
12. What are the origins of inequality, according to Rousseau? How can inequality be overcome?

13. Discuss the role of freedom in Rousseau's political theory. In what way is Rousseau's discussion of freedom distinct from conventional liberal assumptions about freedom? What is required of the state for Rousseau's vision of freedom to be realized?
14. Rousseau contends that in order to be self-governing, all citizens must be able to vote. What are the political consequences of this belief?
15. Write an essay exploring Rousseau's concept of the General Will. Is the General Will merely an expression of majoritarianism, or is it a preface to totalitarianism? Explore Rousseau's notion that individuals must sometimes be "forced to be free" by the General Will, both in the most generous sense and in the most critical sense. Which interpretation would you be most likely with which to agree?
16. Write an essay exploring Rousseau's views on education. To end should the state educate its citizens?
17. Describe Rousseau's critique of organized religion. What role does Rousseau see for religion in the working of the state? What kind of civil religion would Rousseau prefer?
18. What role should women play in society? Is Rousseau consistent in his analysis of gender relations? How would Rousseau educate women to fit their status in Rousseau's civil society?
19. Does Rousseau bear responsibility for the excesses of the French Revolution? Write an essay analyzing Rousseau as a revolutionary figure. Is Rousseau an advocate of a virtuous republicanism or the "architect of totalitarianism"? Is it possible for him to be both?

Chapter Seven (Klosko): Edmund Burke

20. Why is it generally viewed as difficult to draw a definitive view of "conservatism" with which most conservatives would agree (Alternatively, do you believe that there is a definitive general theory of conservatism?)?
21. How did Burke's practical experience in politics affect his political philosophy? Write an essay that highlights Burke's involvement in the political controversies of the day to suggest that Burke's political experiences influenced his philosophy. Feel free to compare Burke (the conservative) with Locke (the liberal).
22. Write an essay analyzing Burke's view of representation. What are the central concerns of those elected or delegated to represent the interests of others? What is distinctive about Burke's model of representation? Do you agree with Burke's model of representation? Based on your analysis, would you advocate either a more constrained model or a more unconstrained model of representation?
23. Write an essay exploring Burke's view of revolution, with an eye toward his support of the American Revolution and his opposition to the French Revolution. What about Burke's disposition and his approach to politics led him to support the one revolution but oppose the other?
24. Compare Burke's view of theoretical consideration with that of Machiavelli's. What is it about the dispositions of these two thinkers that led them to reject the utility of abstract reasoning? What are the weaknesses inherent in such an anti-theoretical bias?

25. How does Burke justify the claim that “manners are of more importance than laws”? Write an essay in which you use this conviction as a springboard into Burke’s general political philosophy.
26. Write an essay comparing – from a “Burkean” perspective – the Glorious Revolution and the French Revolution. Based on Burke’s analysis, what makes the former a “good revolution,” while the latter a “bad” one? What does this analysis suggest about the general utility of revolutions? Is Burke always against revolution?
27. To what extent is Burke’s view of human nature informed by religion?
28. Write an essay in which you explore Burke’s thought as a primary exemplar of “historical conservative” thought. How does Burke exemplify the central assumptions and principles of conservatism? In what ways would you say that Burke expresses non-conservative or even liberal beliefs? How would you defend Burke against the charge that he was not “conservative enough”?