

LIBERTY UNIVERSITY
Helms School of Government
GOVT 302 – MODERN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEAS
Spring Semester 2017

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GH 1661T

Office Hours MWF 13:15-15:00; TR 12:30-13:45 by appointment

I. Course Description

Survey of political and economic thought since the 16th century including the Christian influence on the development of modern Western freedom and justice. Emphasis will be placed on the emergence and scope of the disciplines of economics, political science, public administration and public policy.

II. Rationale

The primary purpose of this course is to help the student gain an understanding of the main intellectual influences that have shaped our current political and economic culture. Significant philosophers will be examined from a Christian perspective with particular attention paid to the challenges some intellectuals have posed to a Christian worldview.

III. Prerequisite Statement

GOVT 200

It is the student's responsibility to make up any prerequisite deficiencies, as stated in the Liberty University Catalog, which would prevent the successful completion of this course.

IV. Materials List

Books are abbreviated on the Class Schedule for readings and again by test date. G. 5 stands for Glendon, The Forum and the Tower, chapter 5. The major reading assignments in bold print are covered on the objective portion of the tests. Shorter readings, many of which are linked to the syllabus or posted on Blackboard, are generally covered on the short essay options. See Grading Policies below.

Required:

Glendon, Mary Ann. The Forum and the Tower: How Scholars and Politicians Have Imagined the World, from Plato to Eleanor Roosevelt. Oxford, 2011 [G. 5-12]. ISBN: 978-0199782451

Ryan, Alan. On Politics: A History of Political Thought, vol. 2. [R] ISBN: 978-0-87140-465-7

Samson, Steven. GOVT 302 Workbook [S. 1-16]

Wootton, David, ed. Modern Political Thought [W. 1-8]. ISBN: 978-0872208971

Optional:

Mangalwadi, Vishal. The Book That Made Your World [M. 7-10] ISBN: 978-1595553225

V. Course Learning Outcomes

Measurable terms: Upon successful completion of this course, the student will be able to:

A. Identify the major concepts in modern political and economic philosophies.

- B. Compare modern political and economic philosophies showing where Christianity agrees and differs with the ideas of modern political thinkers.
- C. Analyze political concepts.
- D. Assess the impact various thinkers have had on our current political situations.

VI. Assignments/Requirements

1. **Reading:** a) Each student is responsible for completing reading assignments listed on the Class Schedule **prior** to class. b) The emphasis is on close and careful reading of the texts (what the French call *explication de texte*). c) Keeping a loose leaf notebook of class materials is highly recommended. d) The schedule may change from time to time requiring adjustment of the schedule along the way. Changes to the schedule on the syllabus will be posted on Blackboard with the date of the change.
2. **Study Aids** that are posted on Blackboard provide a summary of the structure and important points. Study questions are designed to help stimulate analysis. Bold-print calls attention to key concepts. Bracketed words, phrases, and sentences are inserted into the text to provide definitions, translations, contexts, and/or commentary. **Review** items are related to specific test questions. All of the readings and study aids are designed to elicit the three Learning Outcomes described above.
3. **Participation** is an essential part of class. a) Textbook chapters, readings posted on Blackboard, and other readings (posted on the class schedule from time to time) will be the subject of class commentary and discussions. b) Students should be prepared to discuss readings, applications, and current events material. c) The PowerPoint slides are designed to stimulate discussion and supplement (as well as summarize) the readings. Please focus your attention on the lectures and discussions in class rather than extensive note-taking. The slides will be posted on Blackboard (but without the pictorial illustrations) **after** each chapter or section is completed and at least two days before each test.

VII. Grading Policies

1. **Tests** (1000 points): a) Students will be tested on the lecture and reading material through a series of seven tests and a comprehensive final exam composed of test questions from the first five tests. The seven regular tests will normally be taken during the last 25 minutes of class and consist of 35 objective questions. Two of these tests also include a short essay which will be collected when the test is passed out. b) At least seven tests, including the final test, must be completed in order to complete the course. c) The final grade will be calculated on the combined total of seven recorded test scores, including the final exam. The lowest test score of the first six regular tests is exempted from the calculation and hidden from view before the final exam period. d) In preparing for objective tests, please note the **review** section for the readings. The major readings in the workbook, those posted on Blackboard, and those linked to the syllabus have review sections at the end of the study aids for each reading or chapter. Each review item represents a specific question that may be on the test (and most likely will be on the test). e) It is always wise to check Blackboard or e-mail for possible schedule changes. f) One short essay each will be included on the third and seventh tests. A selection of essay questions (from which you may choose **one**) will be posted about a week in advance of each test. The questions will be drawn primarily from designated short readings (posted on Blackboard or on the syllabus). They are noted under **short essay** for each particular test. Advice for writing a good essay: Start with a thesis statement, develop an essay point-by-point using specific examples, and then draw a conclusion based on these points. Make sure you answer all parts of the question and pay attention to specific instructions. The idea is to integrate the material and show a command of the subject. Office of Disability Academic Support Accommodation Request or an

2. **Students with Disabilities:** Students with disabilities that require extra time or special accommodations for taking tests should obtain an accommodation request from the Office of Disability Academic Support or other appropriate office in order to have tests sent to Testing Services. Students are still required to attend the lecture portion of the period but may leave before the test is distributed. The test will usually be sent to testing services the following day.
3. **Makeup Tests:** a) Make-up tests have become a logistical nightmare due to the quantity of tests, university-sponsored activities, and other reasons for absence, especially due to receiving last minute requests via e-mail. Please do **not** e-mail me about make-up tests or absences (except for prolonged absences). So here is a set of procedures: 1) General rule number one: The test **must** be taken at the scheduled date and time in the scheduled classroom. 2) General rule number two: Unless you have an excused absence, the first test you miss will be counted as the low test score, which is automatically dropped before the final exam. The second test you miss will require you to take the optional test during the final exam period. 3) General rule number three: If you miss the test due to a required university-sponsored activity, military exercise, documented illness, or family emergency (for which you bring documentation from Student Affairs that I may keep for my records), please see me at the end of class on the date of returning to class. I can then arrange for a test to be sent to the Testing Center. If you fail to do this, general rules number one or two will apply. **For excused absences:** The make-up test must be taken within one week except in cases where I have been notified of a prolonged absence. I will not normally post the scores of make-up tests until at least a week after the regular test. Please do not request to take a test early. A replacement test will be made available during the final exam period.
4. **Test Scores and Final Grades:** a) Raw scores for the tests, including any extra points given to compensate for problematic questions and 0-4 points for short essays, will be multiplied by four and recorded in the Gradebook section of Blackboard. Raw scores for the short essays range from 0=Unacceptable or No Answer, 1=Poor, 2=Fair or Average, 3=Good, and 4=Superior. b) Each objective question is worth one point (raw score) and four points when multiplied. Regular tests are composed of 35 questions (or 33 objective questions and one short essay) and are worth 140 points maximum. d) Short answer points are included in the recorded score. e) Only six of the seven regular tests will be counted; the lowest score will be dropped following the seventh test (and before the final exam). f) The Final Exam is made up of test questions from the previous five tests. It will include forty questions and be worth 160 points. This test is **mandatory** and it may not be taken prior to the scheduled final exam period.
5. **Optional:** There is no extra credit, but students are permitted to take an objective test that substitutes for one low test score. Vishal Mangalwadi's *The Book That Made Your World*, chs. 7-10.
6. Students seeking **Honors** credit should read one of the suggested books or one on the bibliography and pass a special essay and short answer test (in some cases, an objective test is available) on it at the end of the term. Honors students are also strongly encouraged to follow the **Collateral** readings, which further develop some of the major themes of the course.
6. **Grades:** The grading scale is 1000-900=A, 899-800=B, 799-700=C, 699-600=D, 599 and below=F.

VIII. Attendance Policies

For the good of the Liberty University student body, a consistent attendance policy is needed so that all students in all majors will understand the expectations of faculty in all their courses. **In general, regular and punctual attendance in all classes is expected of all students.** At times, students will miss classes. Students will be permitted elective absences per the policy below. University-approved absences will not count towards these absences.

- Students who are late for class 10 minutes or less are considered tardy but present for the class. If a student misses in-class work due to tardiness, the faculty member may choose not

to allow the student to make up this work. Three class tardies will be counted as one absence.

- Students who are more than 10 minutes late for class are considered absent.
- Questions regarding elective absences must be addressed by the student with the professor within one week of returning to class. In cases where this is not possible, the student must notify the Professor in writing of the circumstances impacting his or her absence. The student may appeal the Professor's decision in writing to the respective Chair within one week. Final appeals may be made to the Dean in writing within one week of the Chair's decision and the Dean's decision is final.
- When circumstances result in excessive absences (e.g., serious medical illness, family crisis), upon return to campus the student shall communicate in writing with the Registrar's Office (Registrar@liberty.edu) and provide an explanation of his or her situation with appropriate documentation. The Registrar will consult with the faculty member before making the final decision and will notify, in writing, the student and the faculty member.

Student Elective Absences

While the University believes that consistent attendance in all classes is the largest contributor to students earning good grades, the University Attendance Policy allows students in upper-level classes the opportunity to make their own decisions concerning attendance.

It is the students' responsibility to ensure they are present for required classes and turn work in when it is due. Work missed for University-approved absences may be made up. University-Approved Absences include only Liberty University sponsored events, to include athletic competition or other Provost-approved absences.

Students are required to attend on all test dates. Test dates may change but everyone will be notified by e-mail if that occurs. Absence on a test date will require prior notification or a subsequent excuse from the university, a medical doctor, or a military unit officer for those who are in the military. This also applies to anyone who uses Testing Services to make-up a test. Prolonged absences without notice of a week or longer will result in a university warning. If the absence persists and no communication follows, it may lead to being dropped from the roster with an FN.

NOTE: Although you may not currently be concerned about it, in the near future you will need faculty members to give letters of reference, recommendations for employment, or letters of recommendation for graduate school. Your attendance, punctuality, appearance, and attitude will be areas of interest to those requesting these letters. In addition, some of you will need a security check for your future job. Be aware that cheating and plagiarism are causes for a permanent record being placed in your student folder, which will be consulted during a background security check.

IX. Other Policies

Dress Code

Students are expected to come to class dressed in a manner consistent with The Liberty Way.

Honor Code

We, the students, faculty, and staff of Liberty University, have a responsibility to uphold the moral and ethical standards of this institution and personally confront those who do not.

Limits of Confidentiality

Students are encouraged to share prayer requests and life concerns with the professor in this class. Not only will the professor pray for and care for students, but can guide students to appropriate University resources if desired.

However, in the event of a student's disclosure, either verbally or in writing, of threat of serious or foreseeable harm to self or others, abuse or neglect of a minor, elderly or disabled person, victim or witness of a crime or sexual misconduct, or current involvement in criminal activity, the faculty,

staff, administrator, or supervisor will take immediate action. This action may include, but is not limited to, immediate notification of appropriate state law enforcement or social services personnel, emergency contacts, notification of the appropriate program chair or online dean, or notification to other appropriate University officials. All reported information is treated with discretion and respect, and kept as private as possible.

Academic Misconduct

Academic misconduct includes: academic dishonesty, plagiarism, and falsification. See [The Liberty Way](#) for specific definitions, penalties, and processes for reporting.

Disability Statement

Students with a documented disability may contact the Office of Disability Academic Support (ODAS) in Religion Hall 1126 for arrangements for academic accommodations. For all disability testing accommodation requests (i.e. quieter environment, extended time, oral testing, etc.) the Tutoring/Testing Center (Religion Hall 119) is the officially designated place for all tests administered outside of the regular classroom.

DROP/ADD POLICY

A Fall/Spring course may be dropped without a grade, tuition, and fee charges within the first five days of the semester. From the sixth day until the end of the tenth week (see academic calendar for exact date), a Fall/Spring course may be withdrawn with a grade of W.

Classroom Policies

The inappropriate use of technology, such as cell phones, iPods, laptops, calculators, etc. in the classroom is not tolerated. Other disruptive behavior in the classroom is not tolerated. Students who engage in such misconduct will be subject the penalties and processes as written in [The Liberty Way](#).

Helms School of Government Policies

Plagiarism and Multiple Submissions of Papers:

Plagiarism is a serious offense and utilizing the work of others without proper citation is a clear violation of University policy. However, no clear directive has been established within the Helms School of Government as to the permissibility of a student submitting substantially the same paper to satisfy writing requirements in different courses.

Effective spring 2007, any writing assignment required for a Helms School of Government course must be an original composition drafted specifically for the individual course. When a course requirement in an upper division course builds upon a previously researched topic, and the student desires to utilize his/her prior submission as a foundational document for the new course assignment, he/she may bring a copy of the previous paper to the current professor. The professor will review with the student the additional research and writing elements needed to complete the current assignment without violating this policy.

Christian Service:

For those students not already involved in Christian Service, see the professor for details and other information if interested.

X. Calendar for the semester/term

CLASS SCHEDULE

(Subject to Revision)

Key to Readings: Readings for objective questions are indicated by **any Bold color**

Red = Printed readings and/or study aids, e.g., N. 1 or S. 8.

Green = Readings posted on Blackboard

Blue = Clickable links to Readings on Internet

Light Blue = Handouts

Brown = Audio and/or visual presentation

Collateral = Suggested readings that often help provide short essay answers

Preliminary Reading

Natelson, Rob. [The Greatest Constitutional Document of All](#)

Solway, David. [The Death of the Individual](#)

Collateral

Lewis, Hyrum. [What Is Happening in Europe and Is the USA Next?](#)

Nelson, Eric. [Religious Origins of Religious Tolerance](#) (Josephus, Erastus, Grotius, Hobbes, *et al.*)

January

FIRST UNIT

Mon. 16

W. 1 Machiavelli and the Renaissance

W. 1 Niccolò Machiavelli, The Prince: Dedication, 1-4

S. 2 **G. 4**

Collateral

Kanfer, Stefan. [Them Damn Pictures](#)

Wed. 18

W. 1 Machiavelli, Prince, 5-9

G. 4

Collateral

Kimball, Roger. [A Lesson from Machiavelli](#)

Fri. 20

W. 1: Prince, 10-14

M. 3 **Angelo Codevilla Editor's Introduction to *The Prince***

Collateral

Maurizio Viroli. *The Great Theater of Politics*

Mon. 23

W. 1: Prince, 15-19

Codevilla: Words and Power (follows Editor's Introduction)

Grygiel, Jakub. [Two Princes](#)

Collateral:

M. 4 Kupelian, David. [How Gay Rights Is Being "Sold" to America](#) (from *The Marketing of Evil*)

Wiker on Machiavelli

Wed. 25

W. 1: Prince, 20-26

R. Preface to Book Two

S. 5 Marvin Olasky. *Political Liberalism and Mass Psychology*

Collateral

Levinson, William A. [Climate Parasites: The Answer to "Climate Change Deniers"](#)

[Illustrates Codevilla's "Words and Power"]

Sunshine on Machiavelli

SECOND UNIT

Fri. 27

W. 2 Hobbes, the Reformation, and the Scientific Revolution

W. 2 Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, Introduction, 1-4

G. 5

Collateral

S. 6 Renè Girard *Introduction and Crisis of Degree*

Mon. 30

Hobbes Leviathan, 5-7

G. 5

Collateral

Denby, David. *Hobbes and Locke*

Hull, Gordon. [Hobbes's Radical Nominalism](#)

Worden, Blair. [The Execution of Charles I](#)

February

Wed. 1

Hobbes, 8-10

S. 1 **R. 12**

Fri.	3	FIRST TEST: G. 4, Codevilla, W. 1 Machiavelli, Machiavelli Lectures R. 12 Colin Brown. Rational Religion and the Era of Deism Hobbes, 11-13 Collateral
Mon.	6	S. 7 Cristaudo, Wayne. Wisdom and Mastery in Shakespeare's The Tempest R. 12 Hobbes, 14-15 Collateral Mortimer Adler on Hobbes Montgomery, Zachariah. Poison Drops in the Public Schools
THIRD UNIT		
Wed.	8	John Locke Second Treatise, 1 W. 3 John Locke, David Hume, and the Right of Revolution Collateral Ernest Barker on Locke
Fri.	10	Locke 2 G. 6 Collateral
Mon.	13	Girard, René. Introduction and Self-Satire in the Tempest Locke, 3-5 G. 6 Collateral John Hallowell on Locke (review posted on Blackboard) S. 14 Criteria of Integral Liberalism
Wed.	15	SECOND TEST: R. Preface to Book Two; R. 12; G. 5, W. 2 Hobbes, Hobbes Slides Locke, 6-7 R. 13
Fri.	17	R. 13 Locke, 8-9
Mon.	20	Locke, 10-12
FOURTH UNIT		
Wed.	22	Locke, 13-15 R. 14 Rahe on Locke (review posted on Blackboard)
Fri.	24	R. 14 Locke, 16-18 Collateral Bishirjian on Locke
Mon.	27	THIRD TEST: G. 6; R. 13; W. 3 John Locke, David Hume, and the Right of Revolution, Locke 1-12, Locke 1 Slides Short Essay: Natelson, Solway, Lewis, Nelson, Codevilla, Viroli, Grygiel, Kupelian, Wiker on Machiavelli, Olasky, Levinson, Girard on Deceit, Hull, Girard on the Tempest, Denby, Brown, Cristaudo, Adler, Hallowell, Barker Locke, 19 W. 4 Rousseau, the Enlightenment, and the Age of Revolution Mark Levin on Montesquieu (review posted on Blackboard)
March		
FIFTH UNIT		
Wed.	1	W. 4 J.-J. Rousseau Social Contract, Book I R. 15 Gregg, Samuel. Envy in a Time of Inequality!
Fri.	3	W. 4 Rousseau Social Contract, Book I R. 15
Mon.	6	Rousseau, Book II G. 7

		Collateral
		Ernest Barker on Rousseau (review posted on Blackboard)
Wed.	8	Rousseau, Book III:1-7 G. 7 John Fonte on Perennial War of Ideas (review posted on Blackboard)
		Collateral
		Pera, Marcello. How Necessary Is Christianity to European Identity?
Fri.	10	FOURTH TEST: R. 14-15; Locke 13-19 and Locke 2 Slides, Levin on Montesquieu Rousseau, Book III:8-18 R. 17 Fonte on Perennial War of Ideas
Mon.	13	SPRING BREAK
Wed.	15	SPRING BREAK
Fri.	17	SPRING BREAK
Mon.	20	Rousseau, Book IV:1-5 R. 17 McCarthy, Andrew C. Jean-Jacques Jihad
		Collateral
		Younkins, Edward W. Rousseau's 'General Will' and Well-Ordered Society
Wed.	22	Rousseau, Book IV:5-9 R. 18 W. 4 Immanuel Kant
		Evans, William B. Understanding Right and Left, Part Two
Fri.	24	R. 18 W. 4 Adam Smith
		SIXTH UNIT
Mon.	27	R. 16 W. 3 Hume Holliday, Sam C. The Hegelian Dialectic: The True Culprit
Wed.	29	ASSESSMENT DAY
Fri.	31	R. 16 W. 5 Hume W. 7 Hegel: Philosophy of Right
		Collateral
		Mansfield, Harvey. The Crisis of American Self-Government
		Meroney, John. Left in the Past
April		
Mon.	3	R. 16 W. 5 Constitutionalism and the Redefinition of Liberty S. 8 W. 5 The Federalist Federalist, no. 39
		FIFTH TEST: R. 17; G. 7; Fonte, W. 4 Rousseau, the Enlightenment, and the Age of Revolution, Rousseau Books I-IV, Rousseau Slides, Kant Slides
		W. 5 The Federalist
Wed.	5	W. 4 Edmund Burke Reed, Lawrence W. Among a People Generally Corrupt, Liberty Cannot Long Exist (Burke)
		S. 16 Paul Rahe Don Corleone, Multiculturalist
Fri.	7	S. 16 Paul Rahe Don Corleone, Multiculturalist W. 7 Marx and Marxism Kirk, Russell. Ten Conservative Principles
		Collateral
		Black, Conrad. God, the Founders, and George Will
		Fernandez, Richard. Eich
		SEVENTH UNIT
Mon.	10	G. 10

- W. 6 J. S. Mill: Feminism and the Pursuit of Happiness**
 Pearcey, Nancy. [Hegel's Deity](#)
- Wed. 12 **R. 20**
Alexis de Tocqueville. [Tyranny of the Majority](#) Parts 3-7
 Barone, Michael. [Tocqueville Said This Would Happen](#)
 Martin, Rod D. [Was the American Revolution Sinful?](#)
Collateral
 S. 12 **Francis Lieber. Anglican and Gallican Liberty**
 Kirk, Russell. The Framers: Not Philosophes, but Gentlemen
 McDonald, Forrest. [Philadelphia Society Keynote Address, 2003](#)
- Fri. 14 **R. 20**
Tocqueville. [Effects of Individualism Combated by Free Institutions](#)
Tocqueville. [Religion Avails Itself of Democratic Tendencies](#) and [Pantheism](#)
Tocqueville. [How an Aristocracy May Be Created by Manufactures](#)
Collateral
 Codevilla, Angelo. [The Old Regime and Arbitrary Rule](#)
 Rahe on Tocqueville
 Tocqueville. [Individualism Combated by Principle of Interest Rightly Understood](#)
- Mon. 17
 Wed. 19 **EASTER BREAK**
- G. 9**
 S. 10 **Bastiat. The Law or The Law**
Tocqueville. [Concentration of Political Power](#)
Tocqueville. [The Centralization of Government](#)
Tocqueville. [What Sort of Despotism Democratic Nations Have to Fear](#)
Collateral
 S. 9 **Frederic Bastiat.** [What Is Seen, What Is Unseen](#)
 McAllister, Ted. [The Remaining Western Illusion](#)
SIXTH TEST: R. 16, 18; G. 10; W. 7 Marx and Marxism, Hegel Philosophy of Right, W. 5 Constitutionalism and the Redefinition of Liberty, Federalist Readings and Slides, Rahe Reading and Slides
- Fri. 21 **R. 21**
Collateral
 W. 8 Nietzsche For and Against
 W. 7 Karl Marx Alienated Labor
 Siegel, Fred. [Nietzsche on Eggshells](#)
 Tocqueville. [Continuation of the Preceding Chapters](#)
 Rubin, Barry. [The Bizarre Case of Nietzsche](#)
- Mon. 24 **R. 21**
W. 7 Marx and Engels Communist Manifesto
Collateral
[Hallowell Crisis](#) (review posted on Blackboard
 Kupelian, David. [Americans Snapping by the Millions](#)
- Wed. 26 **FILM: POVERTY, INC.**
G. 11
 S. 14 **Hayek, Friedrich A.** [The Road to Serfdom \(condensed\)](#) or [The Road to Serfdom \(condensed\)](#)
Collateral: Video: Methodological Individualism Dramatized
[Keynes vs. Hayek in Epic Economic Rap Battle](#) (paired with Round 1) **and/or**
 Hayek, Friedrich A. [The Road to Serfdom \(Cartoons\)](#)
 Rothman, Josh. [Keynes vs. Hayek: The Epic Rap Battle](#) (includes some lyrics)
- Fri. 28 **G. 12**
 S. 15 **Benedict XVI.** [Faith, Reason and the University.](#) The Regensburg Lecture
Hayek, Friedrich A. [The Road to Serfdom \(condensed\)](#) **and** [Road to Serfdom Cartoons](#)
Collateral
 Manent, Pierre. [The Return of Political Philosophy](#)
 Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. [Templeton Address 1983](#)

May

- Mon. 1 Scruton, Roger. [Totalitarian Sentimentality](#)
SEVENTH TEST: R. 20-21; G. 9, 11-12; W. 6 J. S. Mill: Feminism and the Pursuit of Happiness, Tocqueville Reading and Slides, W. 8 Nietzsche For and Against, Bastiat, Hayek
Short Essay: Rahe on Locke, Bishirjian on Locke, Levin on Montesquieu, Gregg, Barker on Rousseau, Fonte, Pera, McCarthy, Evans, Holliday, Mansfield, Meroney, Kirk (2), Hume (2), Smith, Kirk, Pearcey, Barone, Reed, Martin, McDonald, Burke, The Federalist, Tocqueville, Rahe on Tocqueville, Siegel, Rubin, Hallowell Crisis, Manent, Solzhenitsyn, Scruton, Bastiat (2).
- Wed. 3 READING DAY
- Mon. 8 **FINAL EXAM:** 1-3 PM

XI. Bibliography

See the separate Bibliography file.

On-Line Sources

The Foundations of Western Civilisation. <http://westerncivilisation.ipa.org.au/>
Revelation Movement. <http://www.revelationmovement.com/>
The Sun Rises in the West. <http://sunrisesinthewest.org/>

QUOTATIONS

"This inversion of the structure of the State which, instead of being built up from below, is organized from above, is the one great iniquity of our time, the iniquity which overshadows all others, and generates them of itself. The order of creation is turned upside down; what should be last is first, the expedient, the subsidiary, has become the main thing. The State, which should be only the bark on the life of the community, has become the tree itself." – Emil Brunner <http://acton.org/emil-brunner>

"We are living in a condition of permanent revolution... revolutions are here to stay and will grow much worse in scope and intensity unless men can be persuaded to return to Christianity, to practise its precepts and to obey the Gospel in its full implications for human life and civilized society. Barring such a revival, the future would belong to socialism and communism, which on this view were but the most consistent sects of the new secular religion. To Groen, therefore, the political spectrum that presented itself to his generation offered no meaningful choice. "In terms of his analysis, the 'radical left' was composed of fanatical believers in the godless ideology; the 'liberal centre,' by comparison, by warm believers who warned against excesses and preached moderation; while the 'conservative right' embraced all those who lacked either the insight, the prudence, or the will to break with the modern tenets yet who recoiled from the consequences whenever the ideology was practised and implemented in any consistent way. None of the shades or 'nuances of secular liberalism represented a valid option for Christian citizens." Groen called for a rejection of the entire available spectrum of political positions, calling for a "radical alternative in politics, along anti-revolutionary, Christian-historical lines" – Henry van Dyke on Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer

"Rousseau and his disciples were resolved to force men to be free; in most of the world, they triumphed; men are set free from family, church, town, class, guild; yet they wear, instead, the chains of the state, and they expire of ennui..." Russell Kirk

"They were given the choice of becoming kings or the kings' messengers. As is the way with children, they all wanted to be messengers. That is why there are only messengers, racing through the world and, since there are no kings, calling out to each other the messages that have now become meaningless. They would gladly put an end to their miserable life, but they do not dare to do so because of their oath of loyalty." – Franz Kafka, "The King's Messengers," 1917

"I will add, as a fifth circumstance in the situation of the House of Representatives, restraining them from oppressive measures, that they can make no law which will not have its full operation on themselves and their friends, as well as on the great mass of the society.

This has always been deemed one of the strongest bonds by which human policy can connect the rulers and the people together. It creates between them that communion of interests and sympathy of sentiments, of which few governments have furnished examples; but without which every government degenerates into tyranny. If it be asked, what is to restrain the House of Representatives from making legal discriminations in favor of themselves and a particular class of the society? I answer: the genius of the whole system; the nature of just and constitutional laws; and above all, the vigilant and manly spirit which actuates the people of America, a spirit which nourishes freedom, and in return is nourished by it. If this spirit shall ever be so far debased as to tolerate a law not obligatory on the legislature, as well as on the people, the people will be prepared to tolerate any thing but liberty. Such will be the relation between the House of Representatives and their constituents. Duty, gratitude, interest, ambition itself, are the chords by which they will be bound to fidelity and sympathy with the great mass of the people." -- James Madison, *The Federalist*, no. 57

"[A] notable paradox of twenty-first-century Western life is that while our moral sentiments tend to follow the principle of 'anything goes,' institutional life has never been more tightly controlled. Tolerance is a foundational liberal virtue, but bad trouble awaits the slightest hint of attitudes that might be described as racist, sexist, discriminatory, xenophobic, or homophobic – a bestiary to which additions keep on being made. Intolerance is thought to be the fertile mother of vices. Speech must be free, but not discriminatory speech. Rights grow in every corner of life, yet every liberation we acquire augments the march of regulation." – Kenneth Minogue, *The Servile Mind*, p. 14

Thomas Babington Macaulay, in a review (1839) about the recently-published book by William Gladstone, *The State in its Relations with the Church*, wrote:

Mr Gladstone conceives that the duties of government are paternal; a doctrine which we shall not believe till he can show us some government which loves its subjects as a father loves his children, and which is as superior to its subjects in intelligence [experience] as a father to his child.

He tells us in lofty though somewhat indistinct language that 'Government occupies in moral the place of *to pan* ["the everything", if my Greek is correct] in physical science'. If government be indeed *to pan* in moral science, we do not understand why rulers should not assume all the functions which Plato assigned to them.

Why should they not take away the child from the mother, select the nurse, regulate the school, overlook the playground, fix the hours of labour and of recreation, prescribe what ballads shall be sung, what tunes shall be played, what books shall be read, what physic shall be swallowed? Why should they not choose our wives, limit our expenses, and stint us to a certain number of dishes of meat, of glasses of wine, and cups of tea?

**Diana Schaub, "The Souls of Free Men," *National Review*, September 20, 2010, pp. 46-47.
Review of *The Servile Mind: How Democracy Erodes the Moral Life* by Kenneth Minogue.**

"Political correctness' is one widely recognized facet of this centralization of moral authority. Orthodoxy returns. There is only one right thing to do, as specified not by religious revelation or the ancestors but by social activists, celebrities, media elites, and bureaucrats. Save the planet; eradicate poverty; end war; celebrate diversity; don't discriminate; reduce your carbon footprint; eat more fiber; think globally, act locally. One feels churlish objecting.

"And yet, as Minogue shows, there are serious costs when correctness is determined socially rather than individually. When government becomes the agent of human improvement, coercion and bribery replace self-discipline and good manners. Projects of social control proliferate; behind the

'rhetoric of rights and freedoms' is 'a reality of attitudinal engineering.' Imitation replaces deliberation or judgment (hence the mania for 'role models'). Education morphs into propaganda. Power shifts from representative institutions to unaccountable international bodies (the NGO is another hallmark of the politico-moral movement). Sentimental moralism—the moral posturing of the woefully uninformed—gives rise to disastrously unsustainable public policies.