



Arts & Social
Sciences

School of Humanities and Languages

ARTS2384
Political Philosophy: Utopia, Violence & Free Speech
Semester 2, 2014

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1. Course Staff and Contact Details

Course Convenor			
Name	Dr James Phillips	Room	Morven Brown 322
Phone	9385 2987	Email	j.phillips@unsw.edu.au
Consultation Time	Mondays, 1- 2 (for other times, e-mail to make an appointment)		

2. Course Details

Units of Credit (UoC)	6		
Course Description	Historical introduction to political philosophy by means of close readings of texts by Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), John Locke (1632-1704) and Hannah Arendt (1906-75). Topics covered will include: the nature of political philosophy, the relation between moral and political values, the justification and limits of state authority, ideas of social contract, consent, power, rights, property, freedom, democracy, mechanisms of political change and conceptions of the public political sphere.		
Course Aims	1.	To instil a critical appreciation of central texts of Western political philosophy	
	2.	To build on students' existing knowledge of the history of philosophy	
	3.	To develop advanced skills in research and philosophical inquiry	
Student Learning Outcomes	1.	Identify and understand the theories and arguments of some of the major European political philosophers	
	2.	Apply critical and conceptual thought to existing and proposed political institutions	
	3.	Evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of different approaches within political philosophy	
	4.	Display skills associated with scholarly inquiry in the discipline of political philosophy, such as information literacy, critical analysis, argument and written expression	
Graduate Attributes	1.	Rigorous in analysis, critique and reflection	
	2.	Capable of effective communication	
	3.	Capable of life-long learning	
	4.	Culturally aware and capable of respecting diversity and acting in socially just/responsible ways	

3. Learning and Teaching Rationale

The course is structured around weekly readings, lectures and tutorial discussions. Preparation by reading the set texts is crucial for successful participation in the course. The challenge of understanding a text from the history of philosophy requires both sympathy and suspicion. It requires sympathy because in order to find our feet in a text we have to put aside our own philosophical preoccupations and orient ourselves with regard to the problem that the text sets itself. If we are sympathetic, we will not let ourselves stop too soon, judging the text by what we are inclined to find implausible, fallacious or insignificant. Without such sympathy we are at risk of never being able to step back from our own prejudices and the prejudices of our age: sympathy on one front can thus motivate critique on another. Yet sympathy turns into credulousness or condescension toward the philosophical text if it is carried too far. The text, inasmuch as it is philosophical, wants us to be suspicious and to judge it by how well it addresses the problem it lays out.

The history of philosophy is, for philosophy, never something done and dusted, since new interpretations keep arising in response to perceived disproportions between later readers' sympathy and suspicion. In this context of open-ended engagement, the history of philosophy is not so much a store of solutions to which we can resort or a cautionary tale about blind alleys as it is a means of throwing our current conceptions off balance as we attempt to arrive at truth and understanding.

What the three political thinkers we will be studying in the course have in common is that they all wrote in English. From there their paths diverge, for whereas Hobbes offers a philosophical defence of absolutist government, Locke advocates setting limits to government in the name of private property and Arendt champions a participatory and pluralist political realm. From an engagement with their thought, students can expect an initial orientation in the Anglophone tradition of political philosophy.

4. Teaching Strategies

Lectures are held weeks 1 - 12.

Monday 12 noon - 1 pm, Mathews 310 **and** Thursday 9 - 10 am, Mathews 312.

Lecture notes will be posted on Moodle.

Tutorials begin in week 2 and run to week 13.

Either Thursday 10 - 11 am, Mathews 308 **or** Thursday 11 am - 12 noon, Quadrangle GO26. Students are advised to read the set texts for the week before coming to class, including week 1.

Tutorials will be devoted to the set readings covered in the lectures of the preceding week.

5. Course Assessment

Assessment Task	Length	Weight	Learning Outcomes Assessed	Graduate Attributes Assessed	Due Date
Essay on Hobbes	1,600 words	30%	1, 2, 3, 4	1, 2, 4	5 September
Essay on Locke	1,600 words	30%	1, 2, 3, 4	1, 2, 4	26 September
Essay on Arendt	1,600 words	30%	1, 2, 3, 4	1, 2, 4	24 October
Moodle Posts	500 words	10%	1, 2, 3	1, 2, 4	24 October

Please Note: In addition to fulfilling the above assessment requirements, students are expected to attend at least 80% of their lectures and tutorials in order to pass the course.

90% of the course mark is drawn from three academic essays that students will need to write on the three thinkers dealt with in the course. Students are welcome to devise their own topics but must obtain the course convenor's approval of the topic prior to submission.

First Essay: 1,600 words. Percentage of total mark: 30%

Topic: Hobbes

Due date: Friday **5 September** (week 6).

Essay questions:

- 1) Discuss and evaluate Hobbes's materialism in its bearing on his account of law and liberty.
- 2) What is Hobbes's view of religion? How does it inform his political thought?
- 3) What is the problem for which Hobbes proposes the sovereign as a solution? What are the merits/defects of this solution?
- 4) What is Hobbes's legacy for modern political thought?

Second Essay: 1,600 words. Percentage of total mark: 30%

Topic: Locke

Due date: Friday **26 September** (week 9).

Essay questions:

- 1) Discuss and evaluate Locke's arguments for limited government.
- 2) Discuss and evaluate Locke's impact on Western politics.
- 3) Analyse Locke's account of the relations between church and state.

Third Essay: 1,600 words. Percentage of total mark: 30%

Topic: Arendt

Due date: Friday **24 October** (week 12).

Essay questions:

- 1) How does Arendt define the political and the social? What follows from her definitions? What problems do these definitions surmount/create?
- 2) Discuss and evaluate Arendt's account of the French Revolution?
- 3) Discuss and evaluate Arendt's account of the American Revolution?

Rationale for Essays

Successful completion of the essays will help you to develop a number of the attributes that UNSW expects of its graduates, most notably scholarly methods, critical thinking, independent learning and effective communication skills.

Assessment Rubric/Essay Standards

	HD	DN	CR	PS
Exposition of issues	Conveys in a coherent manner a clear and profound comprehension of the issues.	Conveys in a coherent manner a clear comprehension of the issues.	Conveys in a coherent manner a comprehension of the issues.	Conveys a comprehension of the issues.
Analysis	Exhibits skills associated with the philosophical analysis of texts, offering innovative and insightful interpretations.	Exhibits skills associated with the philosophical analysis of texts, showing independence of thought.	Exhibits some skills associated with the philosophical analysis of texts.	Exhibits some reflection on the issues covered.
Disciplinary conventions	Demonstrates detailed	Demonstrates consistent use	Follows expectations	Attempts to use a consistent

	attention to and successful execution of a wide range of conventions particular to the academic essay in philosophy, including organisation, content, presentation, referencing, formatting and stylistic choices.	of important conventions particular to the academic essay in philosophy, including organisation, content, presentation, referencing, formatting and stylistic choices.	appropriate to philosophy and the academic essay for basic organisation, content, and presentation.	system for basic organisation and presentation.
Citations and quotations	Demonstrates critically reflective use of relevant sources to advance argument.	Demonstrates reflective use of relevant sources to support position.	Demonstrates an attempt to use relevant sources to support position.	Demonstrates an attempt to use sources to support ideas in the essay.
Syntax, punctuation and vocabulary	Uses graceful language that communicates meaning with clarity and fluency and is virtually error-free.	Uses straightforward language that generally conveys meaning to readers. The language in the essay has few errors.	Uses language that generally conveys meaning to readers with clarity, although writing may include some errors.	Uses language that sometimes impedes meaning because of errors in usage.

Moodle Posts. Percentage of total mark: 10%

All students are expected each week to post on Moodle a comment or question on the set reading. Forums have been set up on Moodle to accommodate these and the class divided into small groups. There will be a new forum for each book.

The point of this exercise is to help students feel their way into the arguments, terminology and aims of the prescribed texts. Comments and questions that are vague and/or simplistic are unlikely to generate discussion. By commenting on one another's posts, students will attain a better sense of the strengths and weaknesses of their responses to the set texts.

In week 12 each student is to submit his or her best five posts via Turnitin. The lecturer will then review them and assign a grade out of 10.

Grades

All results are reviewed at the end of each semester and may be adjusted to ensure equitable marking across the School.

The proportion of marks lying in each grading range is determined not by any formula or quota system, but by the way that students respond to assessment tasks and how well they meet the objectives of the course. Nevertheless, since higher grades imply performance that is well above average, the number of distinctions and high distinctions awarded in a typical course is relatively small. At the other extreme, on average 6.1% of students do not meet minimum standards and a little more (8.6%) in first year courses. For more information on the

grading categories see

<https://my.unsw.edu.au/student/academiclife/assessment/GuideToUNSWGrades.html>

Submission of Assessment Tasks

Assignments must be submitted before 4:00pm on the due date via Turnitin on Moodle. Assignments received after this time will be marked as having been received late.

Late Submission of Assignments

Late assignments will attract a penalty. Of the total mark, 3% will be deducted each day for the first week, with Saturday and Sunday counting as two days, and 10% each week thereafter.

The penalty may not apply where students are able to provide documentary evidence of illness or serious misadventure. Time pressure resulting from undertaking assignments for other courses does not constitute an acceptable excuse for lateness.

6. Attendance/Class Clash

Attendance

Students are expected to be regular and punctual in attendance at all classes in the courses in which they are enrolled. Explanations of absences from classes or requests for permission to be absent from classes should be discussed with the teacher and where applicable accompanied by a medical certificate. If students attend less than 80% of their possible classes they may be refused final assessment.

Students who falsify their attendance or falsify attendance on behalf of another student will be dealt with under the student misconduct policy.

7. Academic Honesty and Plagiarism

Plagiarism is presenting someone else's thoughts or work as your own. It can take many forms, from not having appropriate academic referencing to deliberate cheating.

In many cases plagiarism is the result of inexperience about academic conventions. The University has resources and information to assist you to avoid plagiarism.

The Learning Centre assists students with understanding academic integrity and how to not plagiarise. Information is available on their website: <http://www.lc.unsw.edu.au/plagiarism/>. They also hold workshops and can help students one-on-one.

If plagiarism is found in your work when you are in first year, your lecturer will offer you assistance to improve your academic skills. They may ask you to look at some online resources, attend the Learning Centre, or sometimes resubmit your work with the problem fixed. However, more serious instances in first year, such as stealing another student's work or paying someone to do your work, may be investigated under the Student Misconduct Procedures.

Repeated plagiarism (even in first year), plagiarism after first year, or serious instances, may also be investigated under the Student Misconduct Procedures. The penalties under the procedures can include a reduction in marks, failing a course or for the most serious matters

(like plagiarism in an Honours thesis) even suspension from the university. The Student Misconduct Procedures are available here:

<http://www.gs.unsw.edu.au/policy/documents/studentmisconductprocedures.pdf>

8. Course Schedule

To view course timetable, please visit: <http://www.timetable.unsw.edu.au/>

Week Starting:	Lecture Topic	Readings
28 July	Hobbes	Hobbes, <i>Leviathan</i> , pp. 75-149
4 August	Hobbes	Hobbes, <i>Leviathan</i> , pp. 150-222
11 August	Hobbes	Hobbes, <i>Leviathan</i> , pp. 223-94
18 August	Hobbes	Hobbes, <i>Leviathan</i> , pp. 294-363
25 August	Hobbes	Hobbes, <i>Leviathan</i> , pp. 363-408 and 717-29
1 September	Locke	Locke, <i>Second Treatise</i> , pp. 1-56
8 September	Locke	Locke, <i>Second Treatise</i> , pp. 57-112
15 September	Locke	Locke, "Letter Concerning Toleration", pp. 113-53
22 September	Arendt	Arendt, <i>On Revolution</i> , pp. 1-48
6 October	<u>Public Holiday/</u> Arendt	Arendt, <i>On Revolution</i> , pp. 49-131
13 October	Arendt	Arendt, <i>On Revolution</i> , pp. 132-206
20 October	Arendt	Arendt, <i>On Revolution</i> , pp. 207-73
27 October	Tutorial only	

9. Course Resources

Textbook Details

There are three required texts for this course. All are available for purchase from the UNSW Bookshop.

- 1) Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. C. B. Macpherson (London: Penguin, 1985).
- 2) John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government and A Letter Concerning Toleration* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2002).
- 3) Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (London: Penguin, 2006).

Additional Readings

Suggested further reading on Hobbes:

- Aubrey, John. "Thomas Hobbes" in *Brief Lives*. There are multiple editions of this celebrated early biography.
- Baumgold, Deborah. 2008. "The Difficulties of Hobbes Interpretation." *Political Theory* 36: 827-55.
- Cromartie, Alan. 2008. "The God of Thomas Hobbes." *The Historical Journal* 51: 857-79.
- Curran, Eleanor. 2002. "A Very Peculiar Royalist: Hobbes in the Context of his Political Contemporaries." *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 10: 167-208.
- Hamilton, James J. 2009. "Hobbes the Royalist, Hobbes the Republican." *History of Political Thought* 30: 411-54.
- Hardin, Russell. 1991. "Reading Hobbes in Other Words: Contractarian, Utilitarian, Game Theorist." *Political Theory* 19: 156-80.
- Hill, Christopher. 1997. "Thomas Hobbes and the Revolution in Political Thought." In *id.*, *Puritanism and Revolution: Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the 17th Century*, 248-68. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Mintz, Samuel I. 1962. *The Hunting of Leviathan: Seventeenth-Century Reactions to the Materialism and Moral Philosophy of Thomas Hobbes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Skinner, Quentin. 2008. *Hobbes and Republican Liberty*. Cambridge: Cambridge

- University Press.
- Sreedhar, Susanne. 2010. *Hobbes on Resistance: Defying the Leviathan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Strauss, Leo. 1952. *The Political Philosophy of Hobbes: Its Basis and Its Genesis*. Translated by Elsa M. Sinclair. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Sussmann, Naomi. 2010. "How Many Commonwealths Can 'Leviathan' Swallow? Covenant, Sovereign and People in Hobbes's Political Theory." *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 18: 575-96.
- Taminiaux, Jacques. 1987. "The Hobbesian Legacy." *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 13: 1-15.
- Tuck, Richard. 1993. "The Civil Religion of Thomas Hobbes." In *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*, edited by Nicholas Phillipson and Quentin Skinner, 120-38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vaughan, Geoffrey M. 2001. "The Audience of Leviathan and the Audience of Hobbes's Political Philosophy." *History of Political Thought* 22: 448-71.

Suggested further reading on Locke:

- Brown, Vivienne. 1999. "The 'Figure' of God and the Limits to Liberalism: A Rereading of Locke's 'Essay' and 'Two Treatises'." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 60: 83-100.
- Brubaker, Stanley C. 2012. "Coming into One's Own: John Locke's Theory of Property, God, and Politics." *The Review of Politics* 74: 207-32.
- Darmstedt, Benjamin G. 2003. "Limiting Locke: A Natural Law Justification for the Fair Use Doctrine." *Yale Law Journal* 112: 1179-221.
- Grant, Ruth W. 2012. "John Locke on Custom's Power and Reason's Authority." *The Review of Politics* 74: 607-29.
- Moots, Glenn and Greg Forster. 2010. "Salus populi suprema lex: John Locke versus Contemporary Democratic Theory." *Perspectives on Political Science* 39: 35-45.
- Myers, Peter C. 1995. "Between Divine and Human Sovereignty: The State of Nature and the Basis of Locke's Political Thought." *Polity* 27: 629-49.
- Pasquino, Pasquale. 1998. "Locke on King's Prerogative." *Political Theory: An International Journal of Political Philosophy* 26: 198-208.
- Powers, Thomas F. 2007. "The Act/Belief Doctrine and the Limits of Lockean Religious Liberty." *Perspectives on Political Science* 36: 73-83.
- Simmons, A. John. 1989. "Locke's State of Nature." *Political Theory* 17: 449-70.
- Schwartzman, Micah. 2005. "The Relevance of Locke's Religious Arguments for Toleration." *Political Theory* 33: 678-705.
- Stevens, Jacqueline. 1996. "The Reasonableness of John Locke's Majority: Property Rights, Consent, and Resistance in the *Second Treatise*." *Political Theory* 24: 423-63.
- Tate, John William. 2009. "Locke and Toleration: Defending Locke's Liberal Credentials." *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 35: 761-91.
- Tierney, Brian. 2005. "Historical Roots of Modern Rights: Before Locke and After." *Ave Maria Law Review* 3: 23-43.
- van der Schaar, Maria. 2012. "Locke on Judgement and Religious Toleration." *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 20: 41-68.
- Vogt, Philip. 1997. "Locke, Eden and Two States of Nature: The Fortunate Fall Revisited." *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 35: 523-44.
- Waldron, Jeremy. 1989. "John Locke: Social Contract versus Political Anthropology." *The Review of Politics* 51: 3-28.
- . 2002. *God, Locke and Equality: Christian Foundations of Locke's Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Suggested further reading on Arendt:

- Barnouw, Dagmar. 1986. "Speech Regained: Hannah Arendt and the American

- Revolution." *Clio: A Journal of Literature, History and the Philosophy of History* 15: 137-52.
- . 1990. "Speaking about Modernity: Arendt's Construct of the Political." *New German Critique* 50: 21-39.
- Bernasconi, Robert. 1996. "The Double Face of the Political and the Social: Hannah Arendt and America's Racial Divisions." *Research in Phenomenology* 26: 3-24.
- Breen, Keith. 2007. "Violence and Power: A Critique of Hannah Arendt on the 'Political'." *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 33: 343-72.
- Demirović, Alex. 2003. "Revolution and Freedom." Translated by Kurt Hirtler. *Parallax* 9: 42-55.
- Feher, Ferenc. 1987. "Freedom and the 'Social Question' (Hannah Arendt's Theory of the French Revolution)". *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 12: 1- 30.
- Flakne, April N. 2002. "Beyond Banality and Fatality: Arendt, Heidegger and Jaspers on Political Speech." *New German Critique* 86: 3-18.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. 1965. "On Revolution, by Hanna Arendt." *History and Theory* 4: 252-57.
- Honig, Bonnie. 1995. *Feminist Interpretations of Hannah Arendt*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- James, Barry. 2007. "The Growth of the Social Realm in Arendt's Post-Mortem of the Modern Nation-State." *Telos: A Quarterly Journal of Radical Social Theory* 138: 97-119.
- King, Richard H. 2011. "Hannah Arendt and the Concept of Revolution in the 1960s." *New Formations: A Journal of Culture/Theory/Politics* 71: 30-45.
- Kristeva, Julia. 2008. "Refoundation as Survival: An Interrogation of Hannah Arendt." *Common Knowledge* 14: 353-64.
- Magun, Artemy. 2007. "The Double Bind: The Ambivalent Treatment of Tragic Passions in Hannah Arendt's Theory of Revolution." *History of Political Thought* 28: 719-46.
- Villa, Dana Richard. 1999. *Politics, Philosophy, Terror: Essays on the Thought of Hannah Arendt*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Visker, Rudi. 2009. "Beyond Representation and Participation: Pushing Arendt into Postmodernity." *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 35: 411-26.

Students are strongly advised to venture beyond these recommendations. An engagement with the secondary literature will assist students in orienting their own interpretations of the primary texts covered in the course. Each of the three thinkers with whom we will be dealing is the subject of a vast secondary literature that continues to grow. It is a feature of an academic essay that a position is adopted in relation to previous commentaries.

Websites

Students seeking resources can also obtain assistance from the UNSW Library. One starting point for assistance is:

<http://info.library.unsw.edu.au/web/services/services.html>

The database "Philosopher's Index" is one recommended research tool for exploring the scholarly literature on political philosophy.

10. Course Evaluation and Development

Courses are periodically reviewed and students' feedback is used to improve them. Feedback is gathered using various means including UNSW's Course and Teaching Evaluation and Improvement (CATEI) process.

11. Student Support

The Learning Centre is available for individual consultation and workshops on academic skills. Find out more by visiting the Centre's website at:

<http://www.lc.unsw.edu.au>

12. Grievances

All students should be treated fairly in the course of their studies at UNSW. Students who feel they have not been dealt with fairly should, in the first instance, attempt to resolve any issues with their tutor or the course convenors.

If such an approach fails to resolve the matter, the School of Humanities and Languages has an academic member of staff who acts as a Grievance Officer for the School. This staff member is identified on the notice board in the School of Humanities and Languages. Further information about UNSW grievance procedures is available at:

<https://my.unsw.edu.au/student/atoz/Complaints.html>

13. Other Information

myUNSW

myUNSW is the online access point for UNSW services and information, integrating online services for applicants, commencing and current students and UNSW staff. To visit myUNSW please visit either of the below links:

<https://my.unsw.edu.au>

<https://my.unsw.edu.au/student/atoz/ABC.html>

OHS

UNSW's Occupational Health and Safety Policy requires each person to work safely and responsibly, in order to avoid personal injury and to protect the safety of others. For all matters relating to Occupational Health, Safety and environment, see

<http://www.ohs.unsw.edu.au/>

Special Consideration

In cases where illness or other circumstances produce repeated or sustained absence, students should apply for Special Consideration as soon as possible.

The application must be made via Online Services in myUNSW. Log into myUNSW and go to My Student Profile tab > My Student Services channel > Online Services > Special Consideration.

Applications on the grounds of illness must be filled in by a medical practitioner. Further information is available at:

<https://my.unsw.edu.au/student/atoz/SpecialConsideration.html>

Student Equity and Disabilities Unit

Students who have a disability that requires some adjustment in their learning and teaching environment are encouraged to discuss their study needs with the course convener prior to or at the commencement of the course, or with the Student Equity Officers (Disability) in the

Student Equity and Disabilities Unit (9385 4734). Information for students with disabilities is available at: <http://www.studentequity.unsw.edu.au>

Issues that can be discussed may include access to materials, signers or note-takers, the provision of services and additional examination and assessment arrangements. Early notification is essential to enable any necessary adjustments to be made.