

**CAMOSUN COLLEGE**  
*School of Arts & Science*  
*Department*

**Political Science 210 – Fall 2004**  
**Political Thought**

**COURSE OUTLINE**

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**The Approved Course Description is available on the web**  
**@<http://www.camosun.bc.ca/calendar/psc.php#104>**

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Ω *Please note: This outline will not be kept indefinitely. It is recommended students keep this outline for their records.*

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**1. Instructor Information**

- (a) Instructor - Ross Lambertson
- (b) Office hours - Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, 2:00-3:00; and by appointment
- (c) Location – Paul Building, room 226A
- (d) Phone – 370-3373    Alternative (home) – 384-3390
- (e) E-mail – lamberts@camosun.bc.ca

**2. Intended Learning Outcomes** - At the conclusion of the course the student should be able to describe, explain, and critically assess:

- 1. the nature and functions of ideologies;
- 2. the history of a number of ideologies: liberalism, conservatism, socialism (including social democracy, communism, and anarchism), nationalism, feminism, and fascism;
- 3. a range of short readings which reflect the ideas of a number of major ideological thinkers, including Machiavelli, Locke, Burke, Wollstonecraft, Marx, and Mill.

**3. Required Materials**

- (a) Text: Roger Gibbins, Loleen Youngman, *Mindscapes: Political Ideologies Towards the 21st Century* (for sale in the College bookstore, and on reserve in the College library).
- (b) Reading: “Political Thought - Readings – 2004” (for sale in the College bookstore).

#### 4. Course Content and Schedule

Lectures: Tuesday and Thursday – 3:00-4:20 – Young 211.

#### 5. Basis of Student Assessment (Weighting)

- (a) Assignments – one term paper, worth 40% of the final grade; this paper can be rewritten and resubmitted after your instructor has graded it. The higher of the two grades will be official.
- (b) Quizzes – three multiple choice tests, each worth 20%, for a total of 60%.
- (c) Exams – none during examination week.
- (d) Class participation – an optional 2%.

#### 6. Grading System

The following percentage conversion to letter grade will be used:

A+ = 95 - 100%	B = 75 - 79%	D = 50 - 59%
A = 90 - 94%	B- = 70 - 74%	F = 0.0 - 49%
A- = 85 - 89%	C+ = 65 - 69%	
B+ = 80 - 84%	C = 60 - 64%	

### LEARNING SUPPORT AND SERVICES FOR STUDENTS

There are a variety of services available for students to assist them throughout their learning. This information is available in the College Calendar, Registrar's Office or the College web site at <http://www.camosun.bc.ca>

### ACADEMIC CONDUCT POLICY

There is an Academic Conduct Policy. It is the student's responsibility to become familiar with the content of this policy. The policy is available in each School Administration Office, Registration, and on the College web site in the Policy Section.

[www.camosun.bc.ca/divisions/pres/policy/2-education/2-5.html](http://www.camosun.bc.ca/divisions/pres/policy/2-education/2-5.html)

## TENTATIVE TIME-TABLE

Tuesday	Sept 7	Introduction to the course.
Thursday	Sept 9	Lecture 1: Lesson 1 of text - Ideologies; and Reading (A): selection from Machiavelli, <i>The Prince</i> .
Tuesday	Sept 14	Lecture 2 - Liberalism (p. 26 of text).
Thursday	Sept 16	Seminar on Reading (B): selections from Locke, <i>Second Treatise of Government</i> .
Tuesday	Sept 21	Lecture 3 - Liberalism (cont.).
Thursday	Sept 23	Seminar on Reading (C): selections from Mill, <i>On Liberty</i> .
Tuesday	Sept 28	Lecture 4 – Conservatism.
Thursday	Sept 30	Seminar on Reading (D): Burke, “Speech to the Electors of Bristol” and Reading (E): selections from Burke’s <i>Reflections on the Revolution in France</i> .
Tuesday	Oct 5	Review
Thursday	Oct 7	<b>TEST #1</b> - Lectures 1-4; seminars A-E
Tuesday	Oct 12	Lecture 5 - Conservatism (cont.).
Thursday	Oct 14	Seminar on Reading (F): Irving Kristol, “America’s ‘Exceptional’ Conservatism,” and Reading (G): David Frum, “Introduction,” to <i>What’s Right</i> .
Tuesday	Oct 19	Lecture 6 – Socialism.
Thursday	Oct 21	Seminar on Reading (H): Marx and Engels, <i>The Communist Manifesto</i> ; and Reading (I): G. Woodcock, “Anarchy Now.”
Tuesday	Oct 26	Lecture 7 - Socialism (cont.).
Thursday	Oct 28	Seminar on Reading (J): “The Regina Manifesto,” and Reading (K): James Laxer, “A New Canadian Left.”
Tuesday	Nov 2	Lecture 8 – Feminism.
Thursday	Nov 4	Seminar on Reading (L): selections from Mary Wollstonecraft, <i>A Vindication of the Rights of Women</i> , and Reading (M): Emma Goldman, “Marriage and Love.”

## TENTATIVE TIME-TABLE (cont.)

Tuesday	Nov 9	Review
Thursday	Nov 11	NO CLASS - Remembrance Day
Tuesday	Nov 16	<b>TEST #2</b> - Lectures 5-8; readings F-M
Thursday	Nov 18	Lecture 9 – Environmentalism
Tuesday	Nov 23	Seminar on Reading (N): “From One Earth To One World,” from the Brundtland Report, <i>Our Common Future</i> , and Reading (O): Andrew McLaughlin, “The Heart of Deep Ecology.”
Thursday	Nov 25	Lecture 10 - Nationalism – see also seminar readings P-Q.
Friday	Nov 26	<b>TERM PAPER DUE: 10:00 A.M.</b>
Tuesday	Nov 30	Lecture 11 - Populism
Thursday	Dec 2	Lecture 12 – Fascism – see also seminar readings R-T
Tuesday	Dec 7	Review
Thursday	Dec 9	<b>TEST #3</b> - Lectures 9-12; seminars N-T
Tuesday	Dec 14	<b>TERM PAPER REWRITE DUE: 10:00 A.M.</b>

## CLASSES

- Classes are usually either lectures (on Tuesdays) or seminars (on Thursdays). See the timetable for details. Each week's lecture and seminar will be based on "Lecture Notes" handed out earlier.

### A. LECTURES

- The lectures are based primarily upon the textbook, Gibbins and Youngman, *Mindscales*.

- Students are expected to read the material *before* the lectures so they will be ready to ask and answer questions.

- The purpose of the lectures will be:

- to explain the more difficult concepts
- to look at things from other perspectives
- to bring things up to date
- to express disagreement with the textbook
- to show connections with the term paper topic
- to give students a chance to ask questions
- to give students a chance to disagree

### B. SEMINARS

- The seminars are based primarily upon the mandatory readings in "Political Thought - Readings - 2004," but students are also expected to read the pertinent chapters of the textbook. Note that there are also some optional readings for students who want to supplement their knowledge.

- The purpose of the seminars is the same as the lectures, but to give students even more chances for participation.

- Note that the "Lecture Notes" that are handed out contain "Seminar Questions." Students are expected to come prepared to answer these questions.

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE TESTS

- VALUE - there are three multiple-choice tests, each worth 20%.
- DATE - See the time-table in this course outline.
- CONTENT - The tests will be based upon three things:
- the “Key Terms” in the “Lecture Notes” for the textbook
  - the “Key Terms” in the “Seminar Notes” for the readings
  - any additional information included in a pretest.
- the Lecture and Seminar Notes will be handed out at the course progresses.
- FORMAT - The multiple-choice tests will be done on special answer sheets (supplied by your instructor), which are marked by a computer. Please bring a soft-lead pencil and an eraser.
- Each question will be worth one point.
- AFTER - After each test you will be given the answers so that you will know immediately how well you have done. After the computer has marked the tests the grade will be posted outside your instructor’s door. Since the computer is not perfect, please check your grades to ensure that you have been given the grade that you deserve.
- MISSED TESTS - You are expected to write your tests at the scheduled times and place. A student will not be permitted to write at another time unless he/she has a reasonable excuse, such as illness, a death in the family, etc.
- Should you miss a test, and have a reasonable excuse, please consult with your instructor in order to arrange a make-up test. This should normally be done within one week of missing your test. A make-up test will normally not be a multiple-choice test, but will consist of a number of “Key Terms” that have to be defined and/or explained.

## TERM PAPER

- VALUE** - One term paper, worth 40% of your final grade.
- DUE** - See the time-table in this course outline. Either hand it in personally, or slip it under your instructor's office door.
- WARNING** - Any work handed in late without a *written* explanation of a reasonable excuse (i.e. illness, a death in the family, etc.) will be penalized.
- TOPIC** - "Political Ideologies and the Search for Truth"
- SOURCES**
1. Chapter Twelve of the textbook ("The Politics of Ideological Diversity").
  2. As many as possible of the chapters of the textbook that will be covered in class (Chapters One through Nine). This means that you may have to read ahead, since the paper is due before we examine all of these chapters.
  3. As many as possible of the seminar readings that will be covered in class (Seminars A through T). This also means that you may have to read ahead, since the paper is due before we examine all of these seminar readings.
- NOTE** - This is *not* a research paper, so you do not have to do a lot of background reading. (Of course, if you do want to read widely and use other sources, you will not be penalized.) Remember, however, in writing this paper you should be demonstrating **how much you have learned about ideologies in this course**. References to *only* the text (or no reference to Chapter 12), or to *just* one or two seminar readings, will result in a poor or failing grade.
- FORMAT** - all term papers must be *at least* three to six typewritten pages, written in #12 font, preferably Times New Roman, with citations in the form of **footnotes**, and a **bibliography** (refer to "Political Science Papers -- Guide to Footnotes and Bibliography" -- on reserve in the Camosun.
- NOTE** - As far as possible, your bibliography should list the original sources of the seminar readings, and your footnotes should refer to the original pages of those readings.
- HELP** - you may consult with your instructor before writing (bring him questions, a summary, or a rough draft).
- REWRITE** - you may rewrite the paper if you are not satisfied with your mark. This version should be marked "REWRITE" and stapled to the original version. Note that you will not receive a better mark unless you pay attention to most or all of the critical comments on your first draft. However, you will certainly not lose points by attempting a rewrite; the higher of the two marks will be used.

## EVALUATION

Your written work (except for your project report) will be graded as follows:

**“A” level work** (95-100% = A+ / 90-100% = A / 85-89% = A-)

1. AMOUNT OF WORK/RESEARCH - 8.5 to 10
  - the work is long enough (close to the maximum) and
  - it deals with all the prescribed reading materials (and additional research, if called for).
2. PRESENTATION (ORGANIZATION, GRAMMAR, SPELLING, PUNCTUATION, SYNTAX, FOOTNOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY - 8.5 to 10
  - the work is free or nearly free of elementary errors in spelling, punctuation, etc.,
  - the work is well organized, and
  - there are adequate footnotes, and a bibliography done according to the instructions.
3. UNDERSTANDING (BASED ON WHAT YOU SHOW ME) - 8.5 to 10
  - the student has demonstrated a superior understanding of all the prescribed materials.
4. IDEAS (INCLUDING CRITICAL ANALYSIS) - 8.5 to 10
  - the student has developed superior ideas.

**“B” level work** (84-80% = B+ / 75-79% = B / 70-74% = B-)

1. AMOUNT OF WORK/RESEARCH - 7 to 8
  - the work is not quite maximum length, or
  - the work deals with not quite enough of the prescribed reading materials.
2. PRESENTATION (ORGANIZATION, GRAMMAR, SPELLING, PUNCTUATION, SYNTAX, FOOTNOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY - 7 to 8
  - the work is at a high level, but there are still some errors in spelling, punctuation, etc., or
  - the work is well organized, but could be better, or
  - there are adequate footnotes, and a bibliography done according to the instructions, but they have not been done quite correctly.
3. UNDERSTANDING (BASED ON WHAT YOU SHOW ME) - 7 to 8
  - the student has demonstrated a high level of understanding of all the prescribed materials, but it could be better.
4. IDEAS (INCLUDING CRITICAL ANALYSIS) - 7 to 8
  - the student has developed some ideas that, although not yet superior, are at a high level.



## EVALUATION (cont.)

### **“C” level work (65-69% = C+ / 60-64% = C)**

1. AMOUNT OF WORK/RESEARCH - 6 to 6.5 out of 10.
  - the work is satisfactory, but fairly short, or
  - the work does not really cover enough of the required readings.
  
2. PRESENTATION (ORGANIZATION, GRAMMAR, SPELLING, PUNCTUATION, SYNTAX, FOOTNOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY - 6 to 6.5 out of 10.
  - the work is satisfactory, but has too many elementary errors in spelling, punctuation, etc., or
  - the student misuses the apostrophe, or
  - the work is not well organized, or
  - there are few footnotes and bibliography; or they are not done correctly.
  
3. UNDERSTANDING (WHAT YOU SHOW ME) - 6 to 6.5 out of 10.
  - this work shows a satisfactory understanding of the material, but not much more than this; it is sometimes not clear or just plain wrong, or leaves out some important points.
  
4. IDEAS (INCLUDING CRITICAL ANALYSIS) - 6 to 6.5 out of 10.
  - the student has tried to develop some ideas, but they are not well-reasoned and/or they are not based on correct information.

### **“D” level work (50-59%)**

1. AMOUNT OF WORK/RESEARCH - 5 to 5.5 out of 10.
  - the work is unsatisfactory, it is below minimum length, or
  - the work shows inadequate use of the mandatory readings.
  
2. PRESENTATION (ORGANIZATION, GRAMMAR, SPELLING, PUNCTUATION, SYNTAX, FOOTNOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY - 5 to 5.5 out of 10.
  - the work is unsatisfactory; it is full of elementary errors, or
  - it is very poorly organized.
  
3. UNDERSTANDING (WHAT YOU SHOW ME) - 5 to 5.5 out of 10.
  - the work is unsatisfactory; the student has misunderstood several major points, or
  - has omitted several major points.
  
4. IDEAS (INCLUDING CRITICAL ANALYSIS)- 5 to 5.5 out of 10.
  - the student has made almost no attempt to develop ideas, or the ideas are inadequate.

## EVALUATION (cont.)

### **“F” level work (below 50%)**

1. AMOUNT OF WORK/RESEARCH - less than 5 out of 10.
  - the paper is below minimum length, or
  - the paper deals with less than half of the mandatory material.
2. PRESENTATION (ORGANIZATION, GRAMMAR, SPELLING, PUNCTUATION, SYNTAX, FOOTNOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY - less than 5 out of 10.
  - there are so many elementary errors that this is unacceptable, or
  - the student has committed an act of plagiarism or quasi-plagiarism.
3. UNDERSTANDING (WHAT YOU SHOW ME) - less than 5 out of 10.
  - this shows no real understanding of the main points.
4. IDEAS (INCLUDING CRITICAL ANALYSIS) - less than 5 out of 10.
  - there is no real attempt to develop any ideas.

### **All grades**

5. FINAL GRADE: \_\_\_\_\_ out of 40.

- The FINAL GRADE is *not* an average of the four grades. It primarily based on the lowest grade of the first three criteria, multiplied by 4. (Your grade for “Ideas” will also be taken into consideration, although primarily for papers which are B+ or A level.)

- Your instructor sees the term papers as involving a set of hurdles, each of which is equally important. To receive a passing grade you must pass each one of these hurdles -- to receive an “A” you must do first-rate work at each level, to get a “B” you must do at least second-rate work at each level, and so forth. This is not the usual way of marking papers, but it can be defended on the basis that each student can rewrite his/her paper for a higher grade, and in doing so can concentrate upon improvements where they are most needed.

- Your paper should be a very carefully written draft, representing your best effort without detailed help from the instructor. When you get it back, you will receive comments about how to improve it, and you can decide whether or not you want to put in the extra work required to raise your grade. The process of writing a paper for this course should, therefore, be seen as involving an extended conversation between your instructor and yourself.

## POL. SCI. 210 - LECTURE NOTES #1 - IDEOLOGIES

READINGS: “The Nature of Ideologies” (Chapter One of the textbook, *Mindscales*).

“Reading A: Chapter XIV of Machiavelli’s *The Prince*, in the course readings: “Political Thought - Readings - 2004”).

### KEY TERMS:

Note that terms marked with an asterisk (\*) are not clearly explained in the textbook. Your instructor will discuss them in class and in many cases will explain them in the “Additional Information” section at the end of the lesson

ideology

\*empirical / is / fact / science - political science

\*normative / ought / value / philosophy - political philosophy

\*epistemology

\*moral (or ethical) relativism

attributes of an ideology: - social construction - carriers of the creed  
- normative blueprint - broad scope  
- guide to political action - internal consistency  
- formally articulated - durability

functions of ideologies - simplification  
- legitimation or delegitimation

left vs. right - state ownership of businesses  
- minority rights  
- family values

political philosophers vs. ideologues

political culture / public opinion

Plato - *The Republic*\* (see lecture notes on the next page)

Machiavelli - *The Prince*\*

Locke - *Second Treatise of Government* (1690)\*

Marx - *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) and *Capital* (1867)\*

DISCUSSION QUESTION: Do you agree with Machiavelli about the proper role of a prince (or, in modern terms, a political leader)? Explain.

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## Additional Information

One way to define a political IDEOLOGY is to say that it is a belief system which tells us things about the way the world is and the way it should be. To put it another way, an ideology has both EMPIRICAL elements (beliefs about the way the world is) and NORMATIVE elements (beliefs about the way the world should be).

The terms empirical and normative are perhaps a bit confusing at first glance, but an understanding of them is essential if one is going to explore political ideologies (or, indeed, almost anything in social science).

**EMPIRICAL** - The term “empirical” refers to the world that is known to us through our senses (touch, sight, smell, hearing, and taste). Sometimes this is direct, and at other times it is indirect, through scientific instruments such as a microscope. An empirical statement or belief, therefore, can be tested; the evidence of our senses will tell us whether or not it is true. For example, one of the empirical elements of the ideology known as fascism was the belief that certain races were inherently more intelligent than others. Modern social science, however, has found evidence which refutes this. Such ideological beliefs about racial superiority exist as empirical facts, but they are scientifically invalid. (Conversely, one tenet of modern liberalism is that people of all races or ethnic groups are, on average, of equal intelligence – this is an empirical observation which modern science has demonstrated to be valid.)

Another way of defining “empirical” is to call it the realm of facts or fact statements. Or, to put it yet another way, it is concerned with explaining “what is.” While all of us are concerned with knowing facts, the experts in this field are scientists, who have developed very accurate methods of testing empirical statements and sifting out truth from error.

**NORMATIVE** - The term “normative” refers to the world of values, ideas about right and wrong, including conceptions of justice. This is a world not known to us through our senses. It is true that one can “feel” injustice in the sense that one has a “gut reaction,” but this is usually considered to be intuition, which may be valuable but it not the same thing as proof. For example, many people who consider themselves to be liberals have an intuitive feeling that laws restricting abortion are wrong, but many other people (many of who call themselves conservatives) have just as strong an intuitive feeling that laws restricting abortion are not wrong.

Therefore, just as the empirical world is the world of facts, or “what is,” so the normative world is concerned with values, or “what should be.” But the normative realm is not open to scientific investigation; scientists are concerned only with the empirical world. This is why social scientists (including sociologists, anthropologists, etc.) can evaluate the empirical elements of different ideologies, and demonstrate that in some cases they are plainly wrong, but they have no business evaluating their normative aspects. Scientists leave the study of values, and statements about moral truth, to philosophers and religious leaders.

It is difficult, however, to determine normative (moral) truth. If an individual wants to argue that abortion is wrong, and maintains that we have a moral obligation to forbid it, how can a liberal demonstrate that this value is wrong? What constitutes proof? How can we distinguish between mere opinion and fact? These are philosophical questions that are not easily answered, although every ideology consists of a series of arguments and points which are intended to persuade others of certain normative “truths.”

The branch of philosophy which examines how we can know things, and distinguish between truth and error, or fact and opinion, is known as EPISTEMOLOGY. This course is not an introduction to philosophy, but it does introduce students to the field of POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY, and it raises several important philosophical issues, including the epistemological question, “How can we know normative truth?”

Early philosophers (until fairly recently) firmly believed that normative truth could be attained as clearly and definitively as we obtain empirical truth. They were not always in agreement about the best means of achieving this knowledge, and often they disagreed about their conclusions, but they were almost universally in agreement that moral truth existed.

Modern philosophers, however, deny that normative truths can be proved in the same way as empirical truths, and some of them argue that this makes it impossible to know whether or not a normative statement is true. They therefore argue in favour of ETHICAL (or MORAL) RELATIVISM -- the idea that moral values are simply a matter of opinion, that they are equally true.

Obviously, moral relativism is the enemy of ideology. Each ideology attempts to persuade us of both its empirical and normative superiority. From the position of moral relativism, however, all ideologies are, normatively speaking, equally true (and equally false). Some of them may turn out to be more persuasive than others, but for a moral relativist the goal of “moral truth” is unattainable.

On the other hand, moral relativism is an uncomfortable position to maintain. One political philosopher has noted that “the seamy side of moral relativism” is the conclusion that if all morals are equally true, then Hitler’s ideas about Jews were neither right nor wrong, but simply different. Most people intuitively disagree with such a position, but *proving* that it is wrong is a difficult – perhaps impossible – task.

PLATO - a pre-Christian philosopher, famous for a number of works, including *The Republic*. Plato wanted to distinguish between truth and opinion, and *The Republic* is an extended analysis of the nature of political justice. Since Plato claimed to know what was just, the book also outlines his ideal (“utopian”) vision of a society ruled by “philosopher kings” who could make the distinction between truth and opinion, who also understood the nature of justice, and therefore were entitled to rule ordinary people. *The Republic* is often viewed as a work that is profoundly anti-democratic, perhaps even totalitarian, since Plato suggested that it is morally acceptable to force people to do things against their will as long as they are being forced to do what is just.

MACHIAVELLI - a fifteenth-century Italian thinker who is generally considered the first modern political philosopher. Unlike Plato and other earlier thinkers, Machiavelli did not

attempt to create a picture of an ideal political system which would be a model for political rulers to imitate. Instead, he attempted to find, in examples drawn from history, rules and guidelines for political success. In short, rather than telling his Prince what was just, he told him what worked.

LOCKE - a seventeenth-century English philosopher, whose major political work is his *Second Treatise of Government* (1690). Locke is viewed as one of the founders of the liberal tradition because of his insistence that government exists, and should exist, to serve the interests of the individuals who have created it. (This does not mean, however, that Locke was a democrat, for those entitled to rule themselves through the state were only those with considerable money and property.)

MARX - a nineteenth-century student of economics, whose most famous works are *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) and *Capital* (1867). Marx saw history in terms of class struggles, with his age marked by a conflict between capitalists (who lived off their investments) and workers (who lived by selling their labour to capitalists). According to Marx, the modern state was not a real democracy, because it represented primarily the interests of capitalists, and therefore it should (and would) be replaced by a political system representing the interests of the majority of people, the working class.

Marx also argued that the values of capitalists permeated society and were often unconsciously accepted by the workers. Since these values included notions about the legitimacy of capitalism and the political system, he saw them as an ideology which helped to create “false consciousness” and undermined the will of the workers to revolt against the “bourgeois democracy” of the modern state.