

**COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**9770/03**

Paper 3 Ideologies and Philosophies

**May/June 2010**

**2 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Paper/Booklet

**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write your Centre number, candidate number and name on all the work you hand in.

Write in dark blue or black pen.

Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

This paper contains five options.

Answer **both** questions set on each of **two** options.

For each option, you are advised to spend 20 minutes on part (a) question and 40 minutes on part (b).  
The time allowed for part (a) includes time for reading the two texts.

Every part (a) question is marked out of 15 and every part (b) is marked out of 35.

This document consists of **6** printed pages and **2** blank pages.



If answering on this option, answer **both** sub-questions.

### 1 Liberalism and the Individual

#### Passage A

The healthy spirit of self help created amongst working people would, more than any other measure, serve to raise them as a class, and this, not by pulling down others, but by levelling them up to a higher and still advancing standard of religion, intelligence and virtue.

Samuel Smiles, *Self Help*, 1859.

#### Passage B

Liberalism is now formally committed to a task which certainly involves a new conception of the State in its relation to the individual life and private enterprise. From the standpoint which best represents its continuity with earlier Liberalism, it appears as a fuller realisation of individual liberty contained in the provision of equal opportunities for self development.

L. T. Hobhouse, *The Crisis of Liberalism*, 1909.

- (a) Compare the views expressed in the two passages. [15]
- (b) Assess the view that liberty and equality are not compatible. [35]

If answering on this option, answer **both** sub-questions.

## 2 Conservatism and the Nation

### Passage A

Those who destroy every thing certainly will remove some grievance. They who make every thing new, have a chance that they may establish something beneficial. To give them credit for what they have done in virtue of the authority they have usurped, or which can excuse them in the crimes by which that authority has been acquired, it must appear, that the same things could not have been accomplished without producing such a revolution. Some usages have been abolished on just grounds; but they were such that if they had stood as they were to all eternity, they would little detract from the happiness and prosperity of any state.

Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 1790

### Passage B

The desire to conserve is compatible with all manner of change, provided that change is also continuity. It has recently been argued with some force that the process of change in political life has become 'hyperactive'... [This] has led to a profusion throughout the public realm of a sense that anything can and should be altered.

Roger Scruton, *The Meaning of Conservatism*, 2001.

- (a) Compare the views expressed by both writers on the desirability of change in the political system. [15]
- (b) Assess the view that Conservatism is little more than the pragmatic response to events and should not be seen as an ideology. [35]

If answering on this option, answer **both** sub-questions.

### 3 Socialism and the Common Good

#### Passage A

To secure for the workers by hand and by brain the full fruits of their industry and most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible on the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry and service.

Clause IV of the British Labour Party Constitution, 1918.

#### Passage B

By the strength of our common endeavour we achieve more than we achieve alone, so as to create for each of us the means to realise our true potential and for all of us a community in which wealth, power and opportunity are in the hands of the many, not the few.

Clause IV of the British Labour Party Constitution, 1995.

(a) Compare the views expressed in the two passages. [15]

(b) How far does the 'third way' differ from the fundamental ideas of socialism? [35]

If answering on this option, answer **both** sub-questions.

#### 4 Democracy and its critics

##### Passage A

Another kind of democracy is where the mass is sovereign and not the law. This kind arises when decrees are sovereign instead of the law; and this happens because of demagogues. In law-abiding democracies the demagogue does not arise; on the contrary, the best of the citizens preside. But where the laws are not sovereign, there demagogues arise. This is because the demos becomes a monarch, one person composed of many; for the many are sovereign not as individuals but all together.

Aristotle, *Politics*, written in 4th Century BC.

##### Passage B

A majority taken collectively is only an individual, whose opinions, and frequently whose interests, are opposed to those of another individual, who is styled a minority. If it be admitted that a man possessing absolute power may misuse that power by wronging his adversaries, why should not a majority be liable to the same reproach? Men do not change their characters by uniting with one another.

When I see that the right and means of absolute command are conferred on any power whatever, be it called a people, or a king, an aristocracy or a democracy, a monarchy or a republic, I say there is the germ of tyranny.

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 1863.

- (a) Compare the views expressed in the two passages about the dangers of democracy. [15]
- (b) Assess the view that democracy and dictatorship have little in common. [35]

If answering on this option, answer **both** sub-questions.

## 5 Current Ideological debates

### Passage A

Economics is often seen as the most important facet of globalisation because all other spheres are dependent on rates of economic growth. For many the forces of globalisation cannot be divorced from the expansion of capitalism as an economic system. Indeed, it is the eradication of any other possible contender to capitalism that signals the completion of globalisation. The optimists argue that the expansion of capitalism across the entire world encourages more economic trade, stimulates more economic growth and results in greater profit for all of humanity.

Debbie Lisle, *Globalisation*, from *Political Concepts*, 2005.

### Passage B

In a globalised world, countries must accept the discipline of the market or not, but if they don't, they at the very least run the risk of falling behind in the competitiveness; they would not be able to resist the flight of jobs out of declining sectors, or the power of multinational companies. They would not be able to resist the money markets and financial traders. Accordingly, some have criticised globalisation as a 'drive to the bottom' in which countries facing cut throat competition sacrifice hard won social democratic changes, public sectors and welfare guarantees.

Robert Fletcher, *Globalisation*, from *Talking Politics*, 2006.

- (a) Compare the views expressed in the passages about the impact of globalisation. [15]
- (b) To what extent is environmentalism an ideology? [35]



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