

# Mark Scheme (Results)

## Summer 2007

GCE

GCE Government and Politics (6497) 01

6497

Unit 4B June 2007

Mark scheme

1.

A distinction is commonly drawn between the liberal New Right and the conservative New Right, sometimes referred to as neoliberalism and neoconservatism. This tension between the two runs deep in both ideological and philosophical terms. The liberal New Right derives from classical liberalism and reveres the twin principles of the market and individualism. It seeks to expand individual freedom (understood in strictly economic terms) and has a consistently atomistic view of society, based on a model of rugged individualism. It is defined by a desire to 'roll back' the state, underpinned by a faith in free market economics. The conservative New Right, on the other hand, derives from traditional conservatism, or, more particularly, from pre-Disraelian conservatism. It calls for a restoration of order and authority in society, for a strengthening of traditional values, and advances a defence of the nation. It is grounded in an essentially organic view of society, emphasises human imperfection (in its psychological, moral and intellectual senses), and is associated with the notion of a strong (but minimal) state.

In answering this question, consider the following issues:

- Understanding of liberal New Right (AO1)
- Understanding of conservative New Right (AO1)
- Analysis and evaluation of differences between the two (AO2)

2.

Individualism is a belief in the primacy or supreme importance of the human individual over any group or collective body. Methodological individualism suggests that all statements about society should be made in terms of the individuals who compose it. Ethical individualism implies that moral priority should be given to the rights, needs or interests of the individual. Individualism is a core principle, even the defining principle, of liberalism. Individualism underpins most liberal beliefs, including those in freedom, equality (foundational, formal and of opportunity), justice, toleration, limited government and democracy. Classical liberals have endorsed egoistical individualism, which places a heavy emphasis on self-interest and self-reliance, implying atomism and minimal government. Modern liberals have, by contrast, embraced developmental individualism, which stresses individuality and the ideas of personal growth and human flourishing. This notion has been used to support positive freedom and qualified interventionism.

In answering this question, consider the following issues:

- Understanding of individualism (AO1)
- Analysis of role and significance of individualism within liberalism (AO2)
- Awareness of different approaches to individualism within liberalism (AO2)

3.

Lenin's theory of the party revised the ideas of Marx in important ways. Marx had implied that the downfall of capitalism would be brought about by a class conscious proletariat that had, as a result, little need for organisation and leadership - it would provide its own leadership. Lenin, on the other hand, argued that the impact of bourgeois ideology would prevent the proletariat from achieving revolutionary class consciousness ('social democratic consciousness') through their own efforts; they would only achieve 'trade union consciousness', an awareness of material deprivation that does not recognise that the source of economic inequality lies in the capitalist system itself. This gives rise to the need for a 'vanguard of the proletariat', a revolutionary party composed of the most class conscious elements in the proletariat (and progressive bourgeois elements) to lead and guide the proletarian class. The party was to be organised on the basis of democratic centralism. The party's leadership role, in Leninist theory, aimed to bring the proletarian class to revolutionary class consciousness.

In answering this question, consider the following issues:

- Understanding of Lenin's theory of the party (AO1)
- Understanding of Marx's views on political organisation (AO1)
- Analysis of differences between Lenin's views and Marx's ideas (AO2)

4.

Socialists view human nature in broadly positive terms. In particular, they believe that there is a social core to human nature, inclining people to be cooperative, sociable and gregarious. This also, however, encourages them to stress nurture over nature, and to recognise the extent to which people's attributes and characters are shaped by the social environment. Socialists thus highlight the prospects for personal and social development, associating individual fulfilment with social solidarity and equality. Social democracy has nevertheless diluted this collectivist vision through a partial accommodation with individualism and the need, for example, for material incentives. Conservatism has, by contrast a broadly negative view of human nature. Human beings are psychologically imperfect in that they are limited and dependent creatures. They are morally imperfect in that they are ruled by base urges and non-rational instincts, an assumption that reflects the conservative emphasis on nature over nurture. They are also intellectually imperfect in that human rationality cannot fathom the infinite complexities of society and the world in which we live. Neo-liberal conservatives nevertheless stress that human beings are rationally self-interested creatures with a considerable capacity for self-reliance.

In answering this question, consider the following issues:

- Understanding of a socialist view of human nature (AO1)
- Understanding of a conservative view of human nature (AO1)
- Analysis and evaluation of differences between the two views (AO2)

5.

Modern liberalism is a theoretical development within liberal ideology that has revised some of the ideas of classical liberalism. Some classical liberals highlight the differences between classical and modern liberalism, even suggesting that modern liberalism does not belong within the liberal tradition as it has effectively abandoned individualism and embraced collectivism. The alternative view emphasises the similarities between classical and modern liberalism, the latter being seen to have built on core liberal ideas (and sometimes revised them) rather than abandoned them. Classical and modern liberals disagree over issues such as individualism (the former supporting egoistical individualism and the latter favouring developmental individualism), freedom (negative versus positive freedom), the state (minimal state versus enabling state), social welfare (individual responsibility versus social responsibility) and economic policy (laissez-faire versus Keynesian economic management). The notion that the similarities are greater than the differences reflects the belief that modern liberals accept much that classical liberal support, the only difference being the recognition that under certain social and economic conditions the minimal state favoured by classical liberalism is not compatible with human flourishing. Certainly, all liberals hold similar views about limited government and democracy.

In answering this question, consider the following issues:

- Undertaking of classical liberalism (AO1)
- Understanding of modern liberalism (AO2)
- Analysis and evaluation of differences between classical and modern liberalism (AO2)

6. Conservatives have traditionally supported pragmatism over principle. Pragmatism is a tendency to make decisions on the basis of practical circumstances or outcomes rather than theoretical or principled considerations. The traditional conservative preference for pragmatism is based upon a number of grounds. These include the belief that ideas, principles and theories are inherently unreliable because the world is simply too complex for human beings to fully understand, and that pragmatism allows decisions to be made on the basis of experience, tradition and history and therefore on the basis of 'what works'. Pragmatism has allowed conservatives to steer a 'middle way' between ideological extremes, for example, endorsing either state intervention or market forces when it is prudent to do so. However, the rise of the New Right has weakened conservative pragmatism and introduced a strong emphasis upon ideological conviction and principle. This is most clearly evident in relation to neo-liberal economics which is based upon a consistent and principled belief in the free market and economic individualism. The extent to which principle has displaced pragmatism depends on the extent to which neo-liberal convictions have displaced traditionalism within conservatism.

In answering this question, consider the following issues:

- Understanding of competing conservative traditions (AO1)

7. There is much evidence that the history of socialism has been marked by a retreat from traditional principles. Early or nineteenth-century socialism was characterised by fundamentalist and often revolutionary principles. These were associated with ideas such as common ownership and absolute equality achieved through the abolition and replacement of capitalism. Marxism and anarcho-communism were the clearest expressions of this form of socialism. The advent of evolutionary or parliamentary socialism from the late nineteenth century onwards can be seen as a retreat from traditional principles in that it resulted in an accommodation with liberal constitutionalism, political pluralism and electoral democracy. Traditional principles were further undermined by the advent of revisionist socialism in the mid-twentieth century. Social democracy came to practise the politics of social justice rather than the politics of ownership, collectivist principles being replaced by an emphasis on redistribution and welfare, meaning that social democracy increasingly overlapped with modern liberalism. Further retreats can be associated with the collapse of communism, and therefore the declining significance of Marxism, in the 1989-91 period, and the renewal of revisionism in the 1980s and 1990s which witnessed either the modernisation of social democracy or its replacement by 'third way' ideas and positions that have a post-socialist character. Some socialists nevertheless argue that socialism may have changed its 'means' but its 'ends' remain the same.

In answering this question, consider the following issues:

- Understanding of broad features of history of socialism (AO1)
- Awareness of core values and goals of socialism (AO1 & 2)
- Analysis of extent of socialist retreat from core values and goals (AO2)

## Unit 4 Marking Grid

Levels	Performance Criteria	1–4 20 marks	5–7 60 marks
3	Excellent	17-20	51-60
	Very good	15-16	45-50
	Good	13-14	39-44
2	Sound	11-12	33-38
	Basic	9-10	27-32
	Limited	7-8	21-26
1	Weak	5-6	15-20
	Poor	3-4	9-14
	Very poor	0-2	0-8

## Unit 5

Levels	Performance Criteria	1–4 20 marks	5–7 60 marks
3	Excellent	17-20	51-60
	Very good	15-16	45-50
	Good	13-14	39-44
2	Sound	11-12	33-38
	Basic	9-10	27-32
	Limited	7-8	21-26
1	Weak	5-6	15-20
	Poor	3-4	9-14
	Very poor	0-2	0-8

## Unit 6

Levels	Performance Criteria	Essay 50 marks
3	Excellent	43-50
	Very good	38-42
	Good	33-37
2	Sound	28-32
	Basic	23-27
	Limited	18-22
1	Weak	13-17
	Poor	8-12
	Very poor	0-7

