



**General Certificate of Education  
June 2011**

**Government and Politics    GOV3B**

**Ideologies**

**Unit 3B**

***Mark Scheme***

Mark schemes are prepared by the Principal Examiner and considered, together with the relevant questions, by a panel of subject teachers. This mark scheme includes any amendments made at the standardisation meeting attended by all examiners and is the scheme which was used by them in this examination. The standardisation meeting ensures that the mark scheme covers the candidates' responses to questions and that every examiner understands and applies it in the same correct way. As preparation for the standardisation meeting each examiner analyses a number of candidates' scripts: alternative answers not already covered by the mark scheme are discussed at the meeting and legislated for. If, after this meeting, examiners encounter unusual answers which have not been discussed at the meeting they are required to refer these to the Principal Examiner.

It must be stressed that a mark scheme is a working document, in many cases further developed and expanded on the basis of candidates' reactions to a particular paper. Assumptions about future mark schemes on the basis of one year's document should be avoided; whilst the guiding principles of assessment remain constant, details will change, depending on the content of a particular examination paper.

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## **CRITERIA FOR MARKING AS/A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

### **Introduction**

AQA's revised Government and Politics specification has been designed to be objectives-led in that questions are set which address the assessment objectives published in the specification. The assessment objectives for A Level and AS are the same, but the weightings are different at AS and A2. Details of the weightings are given in Section 4.2 of the specification.

The schemes of marking reflect these objectives. The mark scheme which follows is of the *levels-of-response* type showing that candidates are expected to demonstrate their mastery of the skills required in the context of their knowledge and understanding of Government and Politics. Mark schemes provide the necessary framework for examiners but they cannot cover all eventualities. Candidates should be given credit for partially complete answers. Where appropriate, candidates should be given credit for referring to recent and contemporary developments in Government and Politics.

Consistency of marking is of the essence in all public examinations. It is therefore of vital importance that assistant examiners apply the mark scheme as directed by the Principal Examiner in order to facilitate comparability with the marking of other options.

Before scrutinising and applying the detail of the specific mark scheme which follows, assistant examiners are required to familiarise themselves with the general principles of the mark scheme as contained in the Assessment Matrix.

At A2, generally speaking, there is no unambiguously 'right' or 'wrong' answer to the 30-mark questions. Answers will be judged on factors such as quality of the argument, depth of knowledge and understanding, a synoptic grasp of the subject, appropriateness of the examples and internal logic of the discussion. Where candidates are presented with a proposition to be discussed they may support it, reject it or adopt a balanced position.

There are no limits to the areas of knowledge that candidates may feel able bring to the discussion. Therefore the specification of requirements outlined in the mark schemes can only be indicative. Candidates are not expected to include all the material presented in order to access the full range of available marks. At the same time they may successfully include material from their particular studies which is not indicated in the scheme.

### **Using a levels-of-response mark scheme**

Good examining is about the consistent application of judgement. Mark schemes provide a framework within which examiners exercise their judgement. This is especially so in subjects like Government and Politics, which in part rely upon analysis, evaluation, argument and explanation. With this in mind, examiners should use the Assessment Matrix alongside the detailed mark scheme for each question. The Assessment Matrix provides a framework ensuring a consistent, generic source from which the detailed mark schemes are derived. This supporting framework ensures a consistent approach within which candidates' responses are marked according to the level of demand and context of each question.

Examiners should initially make a decision about which Level any given response should be placed in. Having determined the appropriate Level the examiners must then choose the precise mark to be given within that Level. In making a decision about a specific mark to award, it is vitally important to think first of the mid-range within the Level, where that Level covers more than two marks. Comparison with other candidates' responses to the same question might then suggest whether the middle mark is unduly generous or severe.

In making decisions away from the middle of the Level, examiners should ask themselves questions relating to candidate attainment, including the quality of language. The more positive the answers, the higher should be the mark awarded. We want to avoid 'bunching' of marks.

Levels mark schemes can produce regression to the mean, which should be avoided. A candidate's script should be considered by asking 'Is it:

- precise in its use of factual information?
- appropriately detailed?
- factually accurate?
- appropriately balanced or markedly better in some areas than others?
- generally coherent in expression and cogent in development (as appropriate to the level awarded)?
- well presented as to general quality of language?'

The overall aim is to mark positively, giving credit for what candidates know, understand and can do.

**A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS****GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 10 marks**

<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<p><b>Level 4 (4 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate fully addresses the requirements of the question and provides developed and effective to comprehensive interpretation. The answer also provides clear to accurate evidence and, where appropriate, good to excellent examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (4 marks)</b> The candidate applies an excellent range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument.</p>	<p><b>Levels 3–4 (2 marks)</b> The candidate communicates clearly and effectively in a sustained and structured manner, using appropriate political vocabulary. There are few, if any, errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar, and the response should be legible.</p>
<p><b>Level 3 (3 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates good knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate clearly addresses the requirements of the question and provides sound interpretation and contextual awareness. The answer includes good examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (3 marks)</b> The candidate applies a good range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument.</p>	<p>The answer has a clear sense of direction, is focused on the question and, where appropriate, has a conclusion which flows from the discussion.</p>
<p><b>Level 2 (2 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates limited knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate makes a limited attempt to address the requirements of the question and provides little to partial, but reasonably effective, interpretation. Answers offer limited evidence and few, or inaccurate, examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (2 marks)</b> The candidate applies a limited range of concepts and makes limited use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	<p><b>Levels 1–2 (1 mark)</b> The candidate communicates explanations or arguments with limited clarity and effectiveness, using limited political vocabulary. The answer may lack either a clear focus on the question or a sense of direction.</p>
<p><b>Level 1 (1 mark)</b> The candidate demonstrates little knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate makes little attempt to address the requirements of the question and provides little interpretation. Answers offer little evidence and few, or inaccurate, examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 mark)</b> The candidate applies few concepts and makes little use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	<p>There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar, and legibility may be a problem. A conclusion, where appropriate, may be offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion is modest or implicit.</p>
<p><b>0 marks</b> No relevant response.</p>	<p><b>0 marks</b> No relevant response.</p>	<p><b>0 marks</b> No relevant response.</p>

**A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS****GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 30 marks**

<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<p><b>Level 4 (10–12 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. A synoptic approach is fully developed, drawing appropriately on knowledge, perspectives and examples from a wide range of studies in government and politics. The answer fully addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates excellent contextual awareness. The answer includes excellent examples to illustrate points made. The answer includes detailed and comprehensive interpretations or explanations, as well as accurate evidence and relevant examples, to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (10–12 marks)</b> The candidate displays excellent awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is an excellent and sustained focus on the specific question asked. There is clear and full evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and recognition of issues. Appropriate parallels and connections are clearly identified, together with well-developed comparisons. A wide range of concepts is used and developed.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (6 marks)</b> The candidate communicates structured and sustained arguments, explanations and conclusions with clarity. Excellent use is made of political vocabulary to construct cogent and coherent arguments and explanations. The response should be legible with few, if any, errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar. The answer has a clear sense of direction, culminating in a conclusion that flows from the preceding discussion.</p>
<p><b>Level 3 (7–9 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. A synoptic approach is well developed, using a range of knowledge, perspectives and examples gained elsewhere in the study of government and politics. The answer clearly addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates sound contextual awareness. The answer includes developed and effective interpretations or explanations and also clear evidence and good examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (7–9 marks)</b> The candidate displays sound awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is a clear focus on the question. There is a sound evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays good awareness of differing viewpoints and recognition of issues. There is good recognition of parallels and comparisons. Appropriate concepts are used and developed.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (4–5 marks)</b> The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions well. Good use is made of political vocabulary to construct clear arguments and explanations. The response should be legible but there may be occasional errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar. The candidate produces an answer with a conclusion linked to the preceding discussion.</p>

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 30 marks (continued)**

<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<p><b>Level 2 (4–6 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates outline knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and some awareness of the relationships between them. The answer makes a limited attempt to address the question and demonstrates contextual awareness covering part of the question. An attempt to develop a synoptic approach is made, using a limited range of knowledge, perspectives and examples gained more broadly in the study of government and politics. The answer includes a partial and reasonably effective attempt at interpretation or explanation, with some examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (4–6 marks)</b> The candidate displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question, resulting in a restricted focus. There is a limited evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour, which displays a partial awareness of differing viewpoints and issues.  There is some recognition of basic parallels and comparisons. Arguments and explanations are undeveloped, with a limited use of concepts.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (2–3 marks)</b> The candidate communicates arguments and conclusions adequately, with a limited use of political vocabulary. There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar, and legibility may be a problem. A conclusion is offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion may be modest or implicit.</p>
<p><b>Level 1 (1–3 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates a slight and incomplete knowledge and understanding of political institutions and processes and a limited awareness of the relationships between them. A very limited attempt at synopticity is made, sometimes using superficial or inaccurate knowledge, perspectives and examples cited from elsewhere in their study of government and politics. There is little attempt to address the requirements of the question. There is only superficial awareness, if any, of the context of the question, with little interpretation and few, if any, examples, often inaccurately reported or inappropriately used.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1–3 marks)</b> The candidate displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question, and focus is lacking. Evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour is superficial.  Analysis shows little awareness of differing viewpoints and issues. There is little, if any, recognition of parallels and comparisons. Arguments, explanations and use of concepts are superficial and naïve.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 mark)</b> The answer relies upon narrative which is not fully coherent. There is little or no use of political vocabulary. Errors in spelling, punctuation and grammar may be intrusive and the response may not be legible. A conclusion, if present, is not adequately related to the preceding discussion.</p>
<p><b>0 marks</b> No relevant response.</p>	<p><b>0 marks</b> No relevant response.</p>	<p><b>0 marks</b> No relevant response.</p>

**Topic 1 Liberalism****Total for this topic: 40 marks****(01) Explain the term 'libertarianism'.****(10 marks)**

This is an ideological stance that gives strict priority to liberty/freedom (specifically negative freedom) over other values such as authority, tradition and equality. Libertarians seek to maximise the realm of individual freedom and minimise the scope of public authority, typically seeing the state as the principal threat to liberty and viewing its role as merely a 'protection agency' or 'nightwatchman'.

At the lower levels candidates are likely to state that libertarianism is basically rooted in the idea of individual rights and laissez-faire economic doctrines. They could well support these claims by arguing that libertarians would oppose state action, against, for example, those who wish to take leisure drugs or to consort with prostitutes. They would also be likely to point out that libertarians are critical of the welfare state and of an extensive role for government in the economic sphere.

Top-level answers are likely to point out that whilst the term is usually associated with liberalism it is actually quite difficult to place on the political spectrum. New Right conservatives and anarchists also champion values which could be described as libertarian.

**(02) 'Liberalism is hugely influential in British politics, moulding the value systems and policies of all the mainstream political parties.' Discuss.****(30 marks)**

Candidates are likely to assert that whilst the Liberal Party assumed the status of a third party after 1922, liberalism, as a political philosophy, has nevertheless continued to play a significant role in influencing not only the values and policies of the Liberal Democrats but also those of the other mainstream political parties.

In order to support such claims candidates will clearly need to establish the links which exist between the core values associated with liberalism and the ideas and programmes possessed and promoted by the mainstream political parties. Liberalism is associated with liberty, freedom, constitutional reform, the free market and, in its progressive format, an expanded role for government so as to achieve equality of opportunity for the nation's citizens. These core values continue to drive the Liberal Democrats. The better candidates are likely to point out that progressive liberalism appears more influential than classical liberalism in this case, supporting these claims with policy evidence. Progressive liberalism clearly influenced the economic and social policies of the Attlee governments of 1945–51 and the Conservative governments which held office between 1951 and 1964. Candidates would be expected to discuss the significance and influence of such liberal giants as Keynes and Beveridge here. Indeed, it could be argued that much of the potential agenda of the Age of Consensus was indebted to liberalism.

Analysis of UK politics from the mid-1970s onwards ought again to focus on the impact and influence of liberalism, albeit classical liberalism, which provided the foundation for the New Right and what came to be called Thatcherism. One would expect answers to cover/focus on economic and social policies in particular, noting the influence of thinkers such as Adam Smith and the desire to create a low-inflation economy managed by supply-side methods so as to create and promote a thriving free market and a strong enterprise culture. The New Right's



desire to end the 'nanny state' and to restore 'individual responsibility' in the social sphere also reflects a strong commitment to liberal individualism and personal freedom.

Analysis of the post-Thatcher era is likely to be dominated by examination of New Labour's pronouncements and programmes, particularly during Blair's leadership and Cameron's attempts to 'rebrand' and reposition the Conservative Party since 2005. When evaluating the influence of liberalism on New Labour, candidates are likely to discuss the impact of economic liberalism (the rewriting of Clause IV, the acceptance of the market and programmes such as PFI) and progressive liberalism on programmes such as the Third Way. Labour's numerous constitutional reforms could also be said to owe more to liberalism than they do to socialism. Much of Brown's political agenda also reflected what is essentially progressive liberalism in the social policy sphere and neo-Keynesianism (quantitative easing, for example) in the economic arena.

When discussing Cameron's brand of conservatism the continued influence of economic liberalism should be emphasised. Yet his social policies appear to owe more to social liberalism than to social authoritarianism. Similarly, his advocacy of strong government in such public policy fields as education and health would also appear to be significantly influenced by core progressive liberal values and objectives in his quest to achieve a fairer and more inclusive society.

Candidates would also be expected to examine the contention of the question in the light of the parties' 2010 election manifestos.

Some candidates could include the nationalist parties in their answers, and they should receive credit for this when the analysis is accurate and relevant. Marks in the Level 4 band could nevertheless be secured without discussing such parties.

Candidates are likely to conclude that liberalism has influenced, and indeed still does, not only party politics in the UK, but that it has permeated the entire political culture. The skill in the answer is in utilising evidence in a focused and constructive manner so as to arrive at a reasoned conclusion.

Examples (if appropriate) of how and to what extent the coalition's programmes and policies since May 2010 have been influenced by Liberalism, should be suitably rewarded. Also the same should be rewarded regarding Labour in opposition.

**Topic 2 Socialism****Total for this topic: 40 marks****(03) How do socialists view human nature?****(10 marks)**

Socialists basically hold an optimistic view of human nature. Furthermore, they believe that most people have a natural desire to help others and to be valued members of society. Socialists would contend that true humanity comes about through social interaction. Human behaviour largely reflects the economic and political structures within which individuals are socialised. They assert that, given the appropriate structures, the human instinct to co-operate will flourish and individuals will achieve their full potential.

Top-of-the-range answers are likely to assert that capitalist structures foster selfish individualism and create social divisions. In contrast, socialist political and economic structures are likely to create social environments which lead to co-operation and support, producing social harmony rather than conflict.

**(04) 'In practice, Labour has always been a pragmatic rather than an ideological party.'**  
**Discuss.****(30 marks)**

Responses ought typically to begin with explanations of the terms 'pragmatic' and 'ideological'. When explaining the former, candidates would be expected to point out that the term 'ideology' was first used at the beginning of the 19th century and that it comprises a guiding set of core political, economic and social beliefs and values shared by a group of people. Furthermore, it provides a coherent blueprint for how governmental structures should operate and how such institutions should develop policies in accordance with these core values. In contrast, pragmatism eschews such blueprints, advocating instead an approach to problem-solving based on reason, practicality and common sense.

Having defined the terms, candidates ought then to elaborate upon an analysis of the Labour Party's track record, particularly when in power, so as to ascertain the extent to which its actions have been driven more by what is practical and achievable rather than by socialist idealism.

The best candidates are likely to point out that from the outset (1901) the Labour Party's main inspiration was not the ideology of socialism but 'labourism' – the promotion of the interests of the working class by vigorous trade union action. Most candidates will assert that whilst Labour has often been associated with the rhetoric of socialism, championing such lofty ideals and objectives as equality of outcome, a classless society, Clause IV-based public ownership, a world community based on fraternity and co-operation, in reality the party's goals, particularly when in office, have been far more limited. Herbert Morrison was unequivocal – 'Socialism is whatever Labour does'. Thus, Labour's actions in government, whilst motivated by high ideals, have usually been determined by what can be done in reality. Candidates would be expected to support such claims by presenting policy examples from the 1945–51 Attlee governments and the 1964–70 Wilson governments, which were heavily influenced by Crossland's revisionist ideas. Ideological spats were certainly evident during the Wilson/Callaghan governments of 1974–79, when these pragmatists, aided by the likes of Healey, took issue with Benn, Foot and their supporters, who criticised the general line taken on economic and industrial policies from a firmly left-wing perspective, albeit without much success. The top-level candidates are also likely to point out that ideology certainly dominated much of the Labour Party's thinking and policy during the period of Foot's leadership between 1979 and 1983. The period since then, in

contrast, has largely been dominated by pragmatism, however, and candidates would be expected to provide hard policy evidence to underscore this point. The points one would expect to see covered should include Labour's drift to the centre ground from the left under Kinnock and Smith and Blair's New Labour project, which was steeped in pragmatism so that 'Middle England' could be won over to the cause in 1997 and would stick by a party which was socially democratic rather than a democratic socialist movement. When discussing the Blair years, candidates are likely to focus on the revision of Clause IV, which by rejecting state ownership (an ideological shibboleth) clearly returned the party to its ethical roots at the expense of economic dogma. Thus, socialism came to be explained and presented, not as a set ideology, but as a form of politics by which to fight poverty and prejudice so as to create a tolerant, fair and inclusive society where equality of opportunity was the prime goal rather than equality of outcome.

Candidates are likely to conclude that under Gordon Brown's watch even the most modest forms of socialism were largely invisible. At the highest levels some candidates could well point out that the Labour Party has never accepted Marxism as its guiding philosophy, leaving theorising to intellectual middle-class groups such as the Fabians. The key point, however, is that Labour has preferred to practice 'the art of the possible' instead of striving to create an idealistic, but in reality unachievable, socialist utopia.

The best candidates could well refer to the policies and programmes developed and advocated by Ed Milliband during his first year as party leader.

**Topic 3 Conservatism****Total for this topic: 40 marks****(05) Explain the term 'paternalistic conservatism'.****(10 marks)**

This is a mode of conservative thought which developed in the 19th century and which is closely associated with One-Nation conservatism. Its basic features are as follows:

- The relationship of those who govern to the governed is compared to that of father and children. Many conservatives would view this as being positive, given that paternalistic rulers normally have the best interests of the people at heart, just as parents care for their children.
- The role of the ruling elite is to provide for the needs of the governed, a power derived from their authority and superiority. In such situations the rulers believe that they understand what is best for the people to a greater extent than the people do themselves.

At the top end of the range, candidates might well point out that in modern political life such paternalism has largely been rejected in favour of popular democracy, whereby the people have a major input into the decisions which affect them.

**(06) 'Thatcherism has fundamentally altered conservative ideology in Britain.' Discuss.****(30 marks)**

In order to assess the extent to which Thatcherism has transformed conservative beliefs and values, candidates first need to address themselves to the question 'what are core, traditional beliefs and values?' In answering this question virtually all candidates should be able to make the following points:

- Conservatism desires to conserve – it seeks to defend existing social and political order and traditional institutions.
- It is very suspicious of abstract principles.
- Instead it prefers to place faith in traditional experience and history.
- It reveals a strong belief in social duty.
- It is prepared to support pragmatic intervention.
- It supports what has been termed 'middle-way' economics – in the 1950s and 1960s most British Conservatives accepted Keynesian demand management, a mixed economy and even some economic planning.

These positions need to be compared with/contrasted to the essential features of Thatcherism, namely neo-liberalism rather than the beliefs and values associated with One-Nation conservatism. These include:

- The acceptance of ideological blueprints, basically the ideas championed by the New Right.
- A radical rather than conservative approach to change.
- A rejection of the idea of organic communities and societies in favour of rugged individualism and personal advancement. Thatcher's claim that 'There is no such thing as society', ...etc.
- The desire to create a more limited state (rolling back the frontiers of the state).

- A rebuttal of Keynesian economics in favour of free-market, supply-side economics so as to create a thriving enterprise culture.
- Looking to individuals to solve economic and social problems; attacking the 'dependency culture' created and perpetuated by the welfare state.

The real discriminator in this question is the idea of fundamental transformation. For the highest marks, candidates need to undertake a focused comparative evaluation of the *extent* to which conservative values have actually been transformed by Thatcherism. In doing so, some reference should be made to Conservative thinking since Thatcher left office in 1990 through to Cameron becoming leader, but the bulk of the analysis is most likely to focus on Conservative thinking during the time of his leadership. Whilst all candidates are likely to insist that a Thatcherite legacy remains, it is the extent of its influence which will reveal the quality of the actual answer. Most candidates are likely to point out that a continued resistance to over-governing and excessive regulation remains a salient feature in contemporary Conservative thinking, as does continued opposition to high personal and corporate taxation. Furthermore, social disorder is still largely seen by most Conservatives as a consequence of limited individual responsibility rather than a product of poverty and social dislocation. Euroscepticism also continues to characterise contemporary Conservative thinking regarding the EU.

The best candidates, however, are likely to conclude that in many ways Cameron has moved mainstream Conservative thinking back to the centre of the political spectrum, using language which would appear to have more in common with traditional One-Nation Conservatism than it does with the New Right and radical neo-liberalism. Thus, there now appears to exist an acceptance on the part of many Conservatives of the view that laissez-faire policies have contributed to the economic crisis of recent years and to a 'Broken Britain' characterised by alienation and anomie. Cameron has argued for a more compassionate and inclusive form of Conservatism accepting that '...there is such a thing as society' and that some regulation is indeed required in the economic sphere, particularly with regard to the banking sector. Hard policy evidence following the 2010 election should also be utilised to arrive at a reasoned evaluation.

Details of the programmes and policies advocated and pursued by the Conservative/LibDem Coalition government will be used to assess the influence of Thatcherite thinking on conservative ideology in government, on the back benches and amongst grass-roots Conservatives since May 2010.

The best conclusions will use hard evidence to support and illustrate the propositions made, utilising relevant knowledge and presenting it in a measured way so that a strong case is made, or even a counter-case is presented, as to the extent of Thatcherite thinking on contemporary Conservative philosophy and actions.

**Topic 4 Fascism****Total for this topic: 40 marks**

(07) Explain why fascism is described as being anti-intellectual and anti-rational.

*(10 marks)*

One reason for supporting such a description of fascism lies in the roots of the ideology – essentially the voluntaristic idea that the will is prior to and superior to the intellect or reason. (This corresponds with Nietzsche’s critique of the view that humans act in accordance with reason; full marks can be gained for this question, however, even if this reference isn’t made.) Fascists preferred to ‘think with blood’, relying on intuition, action and emotion rather than on reflection and reason, acting from ‘the heart rather than the head’.

Secondly, fascists held the view that rationalism produced a politics based on government by consent, characterised by constitutionalism and the protection of human rights. Such systems were anathema to fascists, who saw liberal democracies as being weak and directionless.

These stances are also in accordance with the fascist desire for heroic, decisive action in the name of the state, behaviour that could not be easily realised through ‘sloppy’ democracies operating via a consensus. Such views are encapsulated in the fascist ‘will to action’.

Also, liberalism (a product of rationalism) underpinned capitalism, an economic system that brought about economic depression in the inter-war years and which those on the far right also blame for the banking crisis and economic recessions of recent times.

(08) To what extent could British far right political parties and movements be described as ‘fascist’?

*(30 marks)*

To arrive at a reasoned conclusion, candidates would need to reveal a sound knowledge and understanding of the core beliefs and values associated with fascism and of the policies and pronouncements made by and associated with fascist parties in the United Kingdom. Candidates could well cover the key ideas advocated by Mosley’s British Union of Fascists in the 1930s but the bulk of the analysis is more likely to be based on the policies and pronouncements of the National Front up to the late 1980s and, since then, the British National Party.

In describing core fascist beliefs and values, candidates would be expected to discuss the following:

- An extreme and aggressive xenophobic nationalism.
- Worship of the state, to which the individual must be subordinated.
- Contempt for liberal democracy because it leads to division and conflict.
- Support for a totalitarian state.
- Adulation of the leader and acceptance of the leader’s will as the nation’s will.
- Taking a Social Darwinian view of mankind and human behaviour which sees society and politics as a struggle for survival in which the best succeed and elites naturally dominate. Such a position also sees war and conquest as being totally justified and necessary for the health of a nation.

In addition, candidates are likely to point out that the German variant of this ideology, National Socialism, stresses racial superiority (the idea of an Aryan nation) as well as virulent anti-Semitism.

The best students would be expected to add corporatism to this list.

These views and ideas were certainly championed by Oswald Mosley in the 1930s and again in the immediate post-war period, but then without much success.

The most prominent extreme right-wing parties over the last 40 or so years have been the National Front and the British National Party. At the top end of the scale, however, candidates could well refer to the plethora of fringe extreme right movements which operated in the 1950s and 1960s prior to the creation of the National Front in 1967. The best candidates are also likely to refer to far right movements which championed similar views; these could include the Racial Preservation Society, the League of Empire Loyalists, the White Defence League, the League of St George, Column 88 and Combat 18, to cite but a few past and current groups.

Such movements articulated views and opinions which were vehemently fascist, emphasising conspiracy theories associated with Jewish domination of international finance and world Communism and strong advocacy of charismatic leadership and single-party totalitarian political state structures. In contrast, the National Front was less overtly racist, emphasising instead its desire to keep Britain white so as to prevent the dilution of a race which had evolved over thousands of years and which was superior to non-white peoples. Some might interpret this as populism, although the party's desire to 'stop immigration and start repatriation' and to instigate racial laws to prevent marriage between whites and non-whites certainly mirrors the racist stance held by German fascists in particular. Again, it could be argued that the party's desire to withdraw from the then EEC (now the EU) and to create tougher law-and-order policies and schemes to protect 'British jobs for British people' and provide social housing for 'native Britons' would not be out of place on the right wing of the Conservative Party, particularly those members who belonged to the Monday Club. Yet hard-core members of the Front remained avowedly fascist, covertly celebrating Hitler and his extreme variant of fascism. The top Level 4 answers might allude to their desire to introduce the compulsory sterilisation of the physically and mentally handicapped and their ongoing assertion that a Zionist (sic Jewish) plot continued to be deployed whereby 'Semites' criticised their money power to render the British economy dependent on 'loan capital' and to finance communism which promotes internationalism.

Under Nick Griffin's leadership, the BNP has attempted to present itself as a radical nationalist movement which is committed to parliamentary democracy. It places less emphasis on the threat to Britain posed by 'black aliens' (the rhetoric of the National Front in the 1960s and 1970s) but its racism is still evident in its refusal (until 2010) to admit non-white members and in its savage criticism of Islam as a religion and Islamic lifestyles, a new slant on conspiracy theory. So, whilst the BNP is keen to disassociate itself from overtly fascist views and causes, its policies and pronouncements would certainly appear to have more in common with traditional fascist beliefs and values than they do with the ideas associated with modern democratic political movements and parties.

Candidates are also likely to discuss how movements like the English Defence League reveal aspects of fascism, although this is a pressure group rather than a political party.

The arguments presented are therefore likely to lead to the conclusion that, while most contemporary far right parties would like to present themselves as nationalist populists, closer scrutiny of their policies reveal strong parallels with fascism.

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**ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVE GRID**

<b>A2 Assessment Objective</b>	<b>Marks allocated by Assessment Objective 10-mark questions</b>	<b>Marks allocated by Assessment Objective 30-mark questions</b>	<b>Total Marks by Assessment Objective</b>
<b>AO1</b>	4	12	16
<b>AO2</b>	4	12	16
<b>AO3</b>	2	6	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>40</b>

**Converting Marks into UMS marks**

Convert raw marks into Uniform Mark Scale (UMS) marks by using the link below.

**UMS conversion calculator** [www.aqa.org.uk/umsconversion](http://www.aqa.org.uk/umsconversion)