

COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

9770/03

Paper 3 Ideologies and Philosophies

May/June 2013

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 the part (a) question and 40 minutes on the part (b) question.

The time allowed for each part (a) includes time for reading the two passages.

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

Liberty comprises, first, liberty of thought and feeling; absolute freedom of opinion and sentiment on all subjects, practical or speculative, scientific, moral or theological ... Secondly, the principle requires liberty of tastes and pursuits; of framing the plan of our life to suit our own character; of doing as we like ... Thirdly, from this liberty of each individual follows the liberty, within the same limits, of combination among individuals; freedom to unite, for any purpose not involving harm to others.

Adapted from J. S. Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859

Passage B

Liberalism stands for liberty, but it is an error to think that a policy of liberty must always be negative, that the state can help liberty only by abstaining from action, that invariably men are freest when their government does least.

Liberal Party report, 1929

- (a) Compare the views about freedom expressed in the passages. [15]
- (b) Assess the view that liberty means doing exactly what one wishes. [35]

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

2 Conservatism and the Nation

Passage A

They who destroy everything certainly will remove some grievance. They who make everything new, have a chance that they may establish something beneficial ... I would not exclude alteration neither, but even when I changed, it should be to preserve. I should be led to my remedy by a great grievance. In what I did, I should follow the example of our ancestors. I would make the reparation as nearly as possible in the style of the building.

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

Passage B

To the rationalist, nothing is of value merely because it exists (and certainly not because it has existed for many generations), familiarity has no worth, and nothing is to be left standing for want of scrutiny. And his disposition makes both destruction and creation easier for him to understand, and engage in, than acceptance or reform.

Michael Oakeshott, *Rationalism in Politics*, 1947

- (a) Compare the views about the dangers of change expressed in the passages. [15]
- (b) Assess the reasons why conservatives value authority. [35]

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

3 Socialism and the Common Good

Passage A

The general diffusion of manufactures throughout a country generates a new character in its inhabitants; and as this character is formed upon a principle quite unfavourable to individual or general happiness, it will produce the most lamentable and permanent evils, unless its tendency be counteracted by legislative interference and direction.

Robert Owen, *Observations on the Effects of the Manufacturing System*, 1815

Passage B

The difference is that the enemy is more subtle and stealthy than before. Capitalism remains the oppressor it has always been, but the inequality and humiliation which used to stare out at you at every street corner is now harder to see, even possible to miss altogether.

A delegate speaking at the Labour Party Annual Conference, 1973

- (a) Compare the views on the exploitation of workers by the capitalist system offered in the two passages. [15]
- (b) To what extent do socialists agree about equality? [35]

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

4 Democracy and its Critics

Passage A

Young Italy recognises therefore the universal association of the peoples as the ultimate aim of the endeavours of all free men. Before they can become members of the great association it is necessary that they should have a separate existence, name and power.

Giuseppe Mazzini, a leading member of Young Italy,
a nationalist movement, writing in the 1860s

Passage B

We have created a myth. The myth is a faith, a passion. It is not necessary for it to be a reality. It is a reality in the sense that it is a stimulus, is hope, is faith, is courage. Our myth is the nation; our myth is the greatness of the nation. And to this myth, this greatness, which we want to translate into a total reality, we subordinate everything else.

Benito Mussolini, the Italian dictator, 'The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism', 1932

- (a) Compare the views on the role and purpose of nationalism expressed in the two passages. [15]
- (b) How similar are democracy and dictatorship as forms of government? [35]

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

5 Current Ideological Debates

Passage A

The problem lay buried, unspoken for many years in the minds of American women. It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children ... lay beside her husband at night – she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question – is this all?

Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, 1963

Passage B

For unless revolution uproots the basic social organisation, the biological family ... the tapeworm of exploitation will never be annihilated. We shall need a sexual revolution much larger than – inclusive of – a socialist one to truly eradicate all class systems.

Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex*, 1970

- (a) Compare the views about the development of feminist ideas expressed in the passages. [15]
- (b) To what extent is religious fundamentalism only a rejection of modernity? [35]

BLANK PAGE

Copyright Acknowledgements:

- Question 2b © Michael Oakeshott; *Rationalism in Politics*, in Daniel Woodley; *Conservatism*; Philip Allen Updates; 2006.
Question 5a © Betty Frieden; *The Feminine Mystique*, in Neil Mc Naughton; *Political Ideologies*; Philip Allen Updates; 2005.
Question 5b © Shulamith Firestone; *The Dialectic of Sex*, in Ian Adams; *Political Ideology Today*; Manchester University Press; 2001.

Permission to reproduce items where third-party owned material protected by copyright is included has been sought and cleared where possible. Every reasonable effort has been made by the publisher (UCLES) to trace copyright holders, but if any items requiring clearance have unwittingly been included, the publisher will be pleased to make amends at the earliest possible opportunity.

University of Cambridge International Examinations is part of the Cambridge Assessment Group. Cambridge Assessment is the brand name of University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES), which is itself a department of the University of Cambridge.