



COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

9770/03

Paper 3 Ideologies and Philosophies

May/June 2012

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 in this sense is simply the area within which a man can act unobstructed by others. If I am prevented by others from doing what I could otherwise do, I am to that degree unfree.

Isaiah Berlin, *Two Concepts of Liberty*, 1958

Passage B

The positive sense of the word liberty derives from the wish on the part of the individual to be his own master. I wish my life and decisions to depend upon myself, not on external forces of whatever kind. I wish to be the instrument of my own, not other men's, acts of will. I wish to be a subject not an object.

Isaiah Berlin, *Two Concepts of Liberty*, 1958

- (a) Compare the views about liberty expressed in the passages. [15]
- (b) Assess the reasons why liberals support constitutionalism and consent. [35]

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

2 Conservatism and the Nation

Passage A

If there were no political nostrums, fixed beliefs, there would be no need for Conservatism.

Michael Portillo, *speaking in a television interview*, 1996

Passage B

If the main strength of Conservatism is adaptability, its main enemy is ideology.

Francis Pym, *The Politics of Consent*, 1984

(a) Compare the views on ideology and its role within Conservative thought expressed in the passages. [15]

(b) How important is the role of tradition in Conservative ideology? [35]

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

3 Socialism and the Common Good

Passage A

From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.

Karl Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, 1875

Passage B

All social values – liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the bases of self-respect – are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any, or all, of these values is to everyone's advantage.

John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, 1971

- (a) Compare the views about equality expressed in the passages. [15]
- (b) How far have socialists disagreed about the role of the state? [35]

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

4 Democracy and its Critics

Passage A

The majority represents not only ignorance, but cowardice. And just as a hundred blockheads do not equal one man of wisdom, so a hundred weak individuals are incapable of any line of action that requires moral strength and fortitude.

Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 1925

Passage B

It is possible for the leader, in the name of the true will of the people which he serves, to go against the subjective opinions and convictions of single individuals within the people, if these are not in accord with the objective destiny of the people.

Ernst Huber, *A Nazi theorist and political spokesman, in a speech*, 1935

- (a) Compare the views about democracy expressed in the passages. [15]
- (b) How far is nationalism anti-democratic? [35]

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

5 Current Ideological Debates

Passage A

The essential function of government everywhere in all times, whatever title it adopts and whatever its origin and organisation may be, is always that of oppressing and exploiting the masses, and of defending the oppressors and exploiters; and its principal characteristic and indispensable instruments are the policeman, the tax collector, the soldier and the prison.

Enrico Malatesta, *Anarchy*, 1891

Passage B

I see liberty of the individual not only as a great moral good in itself, but also as the necessary condition for the flowering of all other goods that mankind cherishes: moral virtue, civilisation, the arts and sciences, economic prosperity. But liberty has always been threatened by the encroachments of power, power which seeks to suppress, control, cripple, tax and exploit the fruits of liberty and production.

Murray Rothbard, *Conceived in Liberty*, 1975

- (a) Compare the views about why the state should be abolished expressed in the passages. [15]
- (b) To what extent is feminism no more than a collection of doctrines and beliefs about issues faced by women? [35]

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