



Cambridge International Examinations
Cambridge Pre-U Certificate

COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

9770/03

Paper 3 Ideologies and Philosophies

May/June 2014

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, glue or correction fluid.

DO NOT WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

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

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

American Declaration of Independence, 1776

Passage B

The sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection. The only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over a member of a civilised society, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant.

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

- (a) Compare the views in the passages about the liberty of the individual in society. [15]
- (b) 'Classical liberalism is the true liberalism.' How far do you agree with this view? [35]

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

2 Conservatism and the Nation

Passage A

In such a condition [the absence of law and order], there is no place for industry; no culture of the earth; no navigation; no commodious building; no knowledge of the face of the earth; no account of time; no arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.

Adapted from T. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 1651

Passage B

Every society depends upon popular self-respect, respect in the citizen for the order of which he forms a part and for himself as part of that order. This feeling, manifest in patriotism, in custom, in respect for law, in loyalty to a leader or monarch, and in willing acceptance of the privileges of those to whom privilege is granted, can extend itself indefinitely. And it is from this feeling, which need be neither craven nor endlessly submissive, that the authority of the conservative statesman derives.

R. Scruton, *The Meaning of Conservatism*, 1980

- (a) Compare the views in the two passages on the importance of authority. [15]
- (b) To what extent have conservatives been guided by pragmatism rather than political principles? [35]

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

3 Socialism and the Common Good

Passage A

The Third Way stands for a modernised social democracy, passionate in its commitment to social justice and the goals of the centre-left. But it is a third way because it moves decisively beyond an Old Left preoccupied by state control, high taxation and producer interests; and a New Right treating public investment, and often the very notions of 'society' and collective endeavour, as evils to be undone.

Tony Blair, speaking in 1998

Passage B

The Third Way is something different and distinct from liberal capitalism with its unswerving belief in the merits of the free market and democratic socialism with its demand management and obsession with the state. The Third Way is in favour of growth, entrepreneurship, enterprise and wealth creation but it is also in favour of greater social justice and it sees the state playing a major role in bringing this about.

Niall Dickson, 'What is the Third Way?', BBC News Online Network, 1999

- (a) Compare the views in the two passages about the Third Way. [15]
- (b) Assess the reasons why socialists support equality. [35]

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

4 Democracy and its Critics

Passage A

Has a nation anything dearer than the speech of its fathers? In its speech resides its whole thought-domain, its tradition, history, religion, and basis of life, all its heart and soul. To deprive a people of its own speech is to deprive it of its one eternal good... The best culture of a people cannot be expressed through a foreign language.

Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Materials for the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, 1784

Passage B

When the language of its forefathers is lost, a nation, too, is lost and perishes. All speaking the same tongue naturally forms an indivisible whole; they are bound together internally by ties of mind and soul, mightier and firmer than every external bond. For language forms the spiritual, and land the material, boundaries of mankind; but the former is the stronger, because the spirit means more than material.

The Finnish nationalist, Adolf Arvidsson, writing in the early nineteenth century

- (a) Compare the views in the two passages on the importance of language in cultural nationalism. [15]
- (b) 'Nationalism is not a single political ideology.' How far do you agree with this view? [35]

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

5 Current Ideological Debates

Passage A

The elimination of sexual classes requires the revolt of the underclass (women) and the seizure of control of reproduction: not only the full restoration to women of ownership of their own bodies, but also their (temporary) seizure of control of human fertility – the new population biology as well as all the social institutions of child-bearing and child-rearing. The reproduction of the species by one sex for the benefit of both would be replaced by (at least the option of) artificial reproduction: children would be born to both sexes equally, or independently of either.

Adapted from Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex*, 1970

Passage B

In the first stage, our aim was full participation, power and voice in the mainstream. But we were diverted from our dream. And in our reaction against the feminine mystique, which defined women solely in terms of their relation to men as wives, mothers and homemakers, we sometimes seemed to fall into a feminist mystique which denied that core of women's personhood that is fulfilled through love, nurture, home.

Betty Friedan, *The Second Stage*, 1981

- (a) Compare the views in the two passages on women and the family. [15]
- (b) To what extent is environmentalism utopian? [35]

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