



UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
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Principal Subject

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COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

9770/03

Paper 3 Ideologies and Philosophies

May/June 2011

2 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Paper/Booklet

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

If you have been given an Answer Booklet, follow the instructions on the front cover of the Booklet.

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

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

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

The liberty of man, in society, is to be under no other legislative power but that established, by consent, in the commonwealth; nor under the dominion of any will, or restraint of any law, but what that legislative shall enact, according to the trust put in it.

(John Locke, The Second Treatise of Civil Government, 1690)

Passage B

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

(American Declaration of Independence, 1776)

(a) Compare these two views on consent and the limits to government power. [15]

(b) Assess the importance of toleration in liberal beliefs. [35]

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

2 Conservatism and the Nation

Passage A

What we need now is a far greater degree of personal responsibility and decision, far more independence from the government, and a comparative reduction in the role of government.

(Margaret Thatcher, Conservative Political Centre Lecture, 'What's wrong with politics?', 1968)

Passage B

[Our] mission is to advance and promote traditional American values that are rooted in the conservative principles of national sovereignty, economic patriotism, limited government, and individual freedom.

(Mission Statement of The American Cause, 1993)

- (a) Compare the views that these two extracts offer on New Right Conservatism. [15]
- (b) How far has neo-conservatism adopted traditional conservative ideology? [35]

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

3 Socialism and the Common Good

Passage A

It is clear that capitalism has to be pulled out by the roots. We cannot encourage or even permit selfish attitudes among men. If we don't want men to be guided by the instinct of selfishness, of individuality, by the wolf, the beast instinct; man as the enemy of man, the setter of snares for other men. The concepts of socialism and communism, the concept of a higher society, implies a man devoid of those feelings; a man who has overcome such instincts at any cost; placing, above everything, his sense of solidarity and brotherhood among men.

(Fidel Castro, Speech, 1968)

Passage B

The vision of a true opportunity society replacing the traditional welfare state can be realised only if we deepen the changes we have made... But now, on the foundations of economic stability and record investment, the third term vision has to be to alter fundamentally the contract between citizen and state at the heart of the twentieth-century settlement; to move from a welfare state that relieves poverty and provides basic services to one which offers high quality services and the opportunity for all to fulfil their potential to the full... There is a vast agenda of change to bring about... All of it based on a belief that today people want the power to change their lives in their own hands, not those of an old-fashioned state and government. All of it pervaded by a strong commitment to the values of social justice, equality and opportunity for all.

(Tony Blair, Speech to the IPPR and Demos at Beveridge Hall, University of London, 2004)

- (a) Compare the views of Socialism expressed in the two passages. [15]
- (b) To what extent is communitarianism a rejection of liberal ideas? [35]

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

4 Democracy and its critics

Passage A

The only way to erect such a Common Power... is, to conferre all their power and strength upon one Man, or upon one Assembly of men, that may reduce all their Wills, by plurality of voices, unto one Will.

(Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 1651)

Passage B

I cannot find any one place or text in the Bible where any power or commission is given to a people either to govern themselves, or to choose themselves governors, or to alter the manner of government at their pleasure. The power of government is settled and fixed by the commandment of 'honour thy father'; if there were a higher power than the fatherly, then this commandment could not stand and be observed... The supreme power, being an indivisible beam of majesty, cannot be divided among, or settled upon, a multitude. God would have it fixed in one person...

(Robert Filmer, *Observations upon Aristotle's Politiques*, 1652)

(a) Compare the views of the two passages on the origins of absolutism. [15]

(b) To what extent is nationalism illiberal and intolerant? [35]

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

5 Current Ideological Debates

Passage A

Fundamentalism operates on both psychological and social levels. Psychologically, its appeal is based upon its capacity to offer certainty in an uncertain world. Being religious, it addresses some of the deepest most perplexing problems confronting humankind; being fundamentalist it provides solutions that are straightforward, practical and absolute. Socially, while its appeal has extended to the educated and professional classes, it has been particularly successful in addressing the aspirations of the economically and politically marginalised.

(Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies*, 1992)

Passage B

The negative effects of modernization are equally important in understanding the Islamic resurgence. They include massive migration from villages and rapid urbanization of overcrowded cities; the breakdown of traditional family, religious and social values; and the adoption of a Western lifestyle, enthusiastically pursued as a symbol of modernity but also criticised as a source of moral decline and spiritual malaise, corruption, unemployment and maldistribution of wealth... Effective change is to come from below through a gradual social transformation brought about by the implementation of Islamic law.

(John Esposito, *Islamic Fundamentalism*, 1996)

- (a) Compare the views of the two passages on the nature and reasons for the growth of religious fundamentalism. [15]
- (b) Is anarchism merely an extreme form of liberalism? [35]

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