



UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS  
Cambridge International Level 3 Pre-U Certificate  
Principal Subject

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**COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**9770/03**

Paper 3 Ideologies and Philosophies

**October/November 2013**

**2 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Paper/Booklet

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**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.

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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

If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind.

John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859

### Passage B

Liberalism – it is well to record this today – is the supreme form of generosity; it is the right by which the majority concedes to minorities and hence it is the noblest cry that has ever resounded on this planet.

Jose Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses*, 1930

- (a) Compare the views on the importance of toleration offered in the two 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

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 Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 1651

### Passage B

I believe there is a golden thread which alone gives meaning to the political history of the West, from Marathon to Alamein, from Solon to Winston Churchill and after. This I dare call the doctrine of liberty under law.

Lord Hailsham, speaking in 1975

- (a) Compare the views on the importance of law and order offered in the two passages. [15]
- (b) Assess the reasons why conservatives value hierarchy. [35]

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

### 3 Socialism and the Common Good

#### Passage A

The antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a class struggle, whose most complete expression is complete revolution. It is astonishing, moreover, that a society founded on the opposition of classes should end in a brutal contradiction, in a hand-to-hand struggle, as its last act.

Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, 1847

#### Passage B

In the present socialist movement ... advocates of social reconstruction have learnt the lesson of democracy, and know that it is through the slow and gradual turning of the popular mind to new principles that social reorganisation bit by bit comes.

Sidney Webb, 'The Historic Basis of Socialism', in  
*Fabian Essays in Socialism*, 1889

- (a) Compare the views on bringing about change in society expressed in the two passages. [15]
- (b) How authoritarian is socialism? [35]

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

#### 4 Democracy and its Critics

##### Passage A

Even in the most democratic bourgeois states, the oppressed masses at every step encounter the crying contradiction between formal equality proclaimed by the 'democracy' of the capitalists and the thousands of real limitations and subterfuges which turn the proletarians into wage slaves. The toiling masses are barred from participation in bourgeois parliaments by thousands of obstacles, and the workers know and feel, see and realise perfectly well that the bourgeois parliaments are institutions alien to them.

Vladimir Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, 1918

##### Passage B

Therefore, for a democratic polity to exist it is necessary for a participatory society to exist; i.e. a society where all political systems have been democratised and socialisation through participation can take place in all areas. The most important area is industry; most individuals spend a great deal of their lifetime at work and the business of the workplace provides an education in the management of collective affairs that it is difficult to parallel elsewhere.

Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory*, 1970

- (a) Compare the views about the difficulties of achieving a democratic state offered in the two passages. [15]
- (b) To what extent can dictatorship be justified? [35]

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

## 5 Current Ideological Debates

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### Passage B

All ethics so far rest on a single premise: that the individual is a member of a community of interdependent parts. His instincts prompt him to compete for his place in that community, but his ethics prompt him also to co-operate (perhaps in order that there be a place to compete for). The land ethic simply enlarges the boundaries of the community to include soils, water, plants and animals, or collectively: the land.

Aldo Leopold, *A Sand County Almanac*, 1949

- (a) Compare the views on hierarchy in the natural world offered in the two passages. [15]
- (b) To what extent do anarchists demand the impossible? [35]

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