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**THINKING SKILLS**

Paper 4 Applied Reasoning

**9694/41**

**May/June 2017**

**1 hour 30 minutes**

No Additional Materials are required.

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**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

An answer booklet is provided inside this question paper. You should follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

Answer **all** the questions.

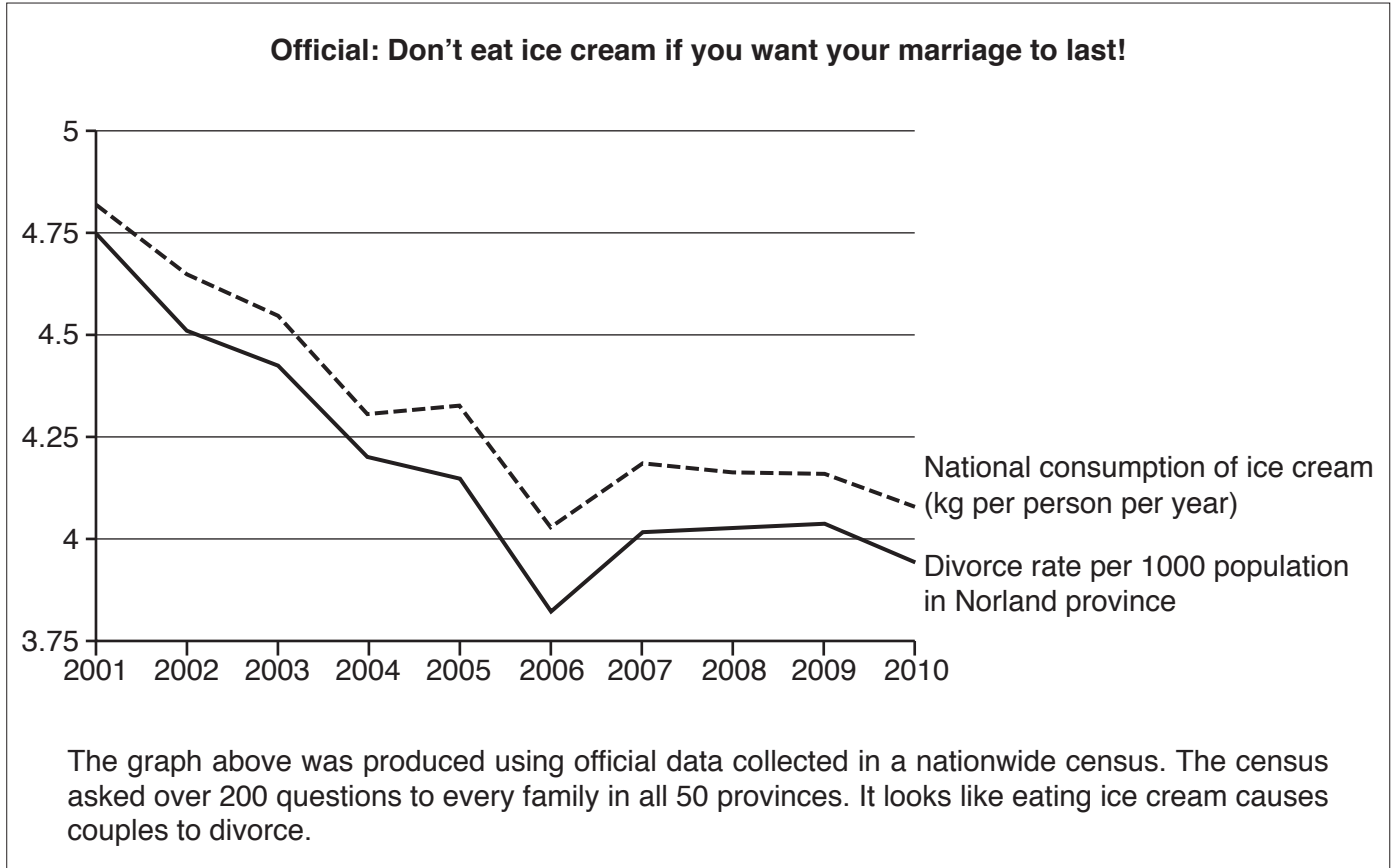
The number of marks is given in brackets [ ] at the end of each question.



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This document consists of **7** printed pages, **1** blank page and **1** insert.

1 Study the information below and answer the question that follows.



Give a critical evaluation of the data presented and/or its use to support the claim that “eating ice cream causes couples to divorce”. [5]

Questions 2, 3 and 4 refer to Documents 1 to 5.

2 Briefly analyse Max’s argument in Document 1: *Last refuge of a scoundrel?*, by identifying its main conclusion, intermediate conclusions and any counter-assertions. [6]

3 Give a critical evaluation of the strength of Max’s argument in Document 1: *Last refuge of a scoundrel?*, by identifying and explaining any flaws, implicit assumptions and other weaknesses. [9]

4 ‘All the countries of the world should unite as one.’

Construct a reasoned argument to support **or** challenge this claim, commenting critically on some or all of Documents 1 to 5 and introducing ideas of your own. [30]

**DOCUMENT 1****Last refuge of a scoundrel?**

Pride in one's country, usually referred to as patriotism, is widely seen as a good thing. National days are devoted to it, sports teams incorporate it into their names, and we often hear "unpatriotic" used as an insult.

However, if we examine the implications of patriotism it does not seem so universally beneficial. At least one dictionary defines patriotism as "loyalty to one's country", but loyalty to one's own country implies the absence of goodwill towards other countries. And therein lies the problem: patriotism encourages the belief that your country is different from all others. Thinking your country is better than others is not good for the world, and not good for your own country in the long term. What we need is less patriotism, not more of it.

The same dictionary defines nationalism as "loyalty to one's country". Any student of history knows that nationalism is responsible for more death and suffering throughout the world than anything apart from malaria. The "my country is better than your country" sentiment leads to national disputes which inevitably lead to war. One minute it's "our cheese is tastier than your cheese"; the next it's "pass the ammunition". So patriotism causes hatred.

Furthermore, it is a small step from nationalism to racism. Indeed, nationalism is often used as a euphemism for racism. The National Socialist Party was elected to power in Germany in 1933 on a wave of popular patriotism/nationalism and 50 million people died over the next 12 years. Patriotism has led normal individuals to commit terrible acts by believing that their actions are for the good of the country. The rise of nationalism around the globe is a real threat to peace.

It is often said that patriotism is good because it discourages treason, but what it really does is encourage unquestioning blind faith. If you are brought up to believe that your country is always right, you are much less likely to be critical of decisions taken by that country. As a result, government policy is questioned less by the population and bad decisions are made. A patriot is more likely to ignore atrocities and human rights violations committed by his own government. In some cases, treason might be just what the country, or the world, needs.

Patriotism supports pride in accomplishments in which you had no part. Ancient battles, in which some now-dead people who happened to live in one area defeated some now-dead people who happened to live in another area, are irrelevant to the world today. People often cite pride in great inventions or achievements by fellow countrymen. Such achievements, however, are not their own. Nobody alive now had any input into the nineteenth century development of the railways. All the pride that patriotism fosters is insupportable.

Those who promote patriotism tend to have a vested interest to do so. On this basis rested much of the imperialism of the past. The notion that our country is best and the world would benefit from being run by us is how imperialism was marketed to the public of the imperial powers. In reality, the leaders of these countries saw an opportunity to make money and needed some more public-spirited excuse to get people on their side.

**Max**

## DOCUMENT 2

### In praise of nationalism

It does not seem long ago that we imagined a new global age – a borderless world of e-commerce and communication where the traditional nation-state had become an anachronistic irrelevance.

On the contrary, in fact, the idea of nationhood is as popular as ever. On any continent one does not have to look far: the electoral success of Hindu nationalism in India; the emerging strength of right-wing populist parties in many member states of the European Union; the recent (and on-going) secessionist drives in Scotland, Catalonia and Quebec; Russia's annexation of the Crimea and its attempts to reclaim its empire elsewhere. Those supposedly out-dated concerns are driving politics everywhere you look. But there might be good reasons for this phenomenon.

Democracy needs a reasonable amount of the right kind of nationalism. The historical, cultural and ethnic ties that bind us together are surprisingly durable. There is no use pretending they don't exist, and attempting to suppress them would be draconian totalitarianism. Commentators have a point when they blame diverse 21st-century conflicts on former colonial powers having drawn straight lines on a map, with scant regard for the loyalties of the people affected by their decision. The ties of family, tribe and nation are not to be denied.

Indeed, the persistence of group loyalty can benefit good governance and politics. It is not just inevitable, it is desirable. Democracy cannot work well in a unit that is not held together by a perceived shared identity. The nation-state serves a useful purpose in that it facilitates the possibility of willing group interaction in a population size that is conducive to good government. Even in the European Union (EU) – for some, the poster boy for a successful move away from the nation-state – the principle of 'subsidiarity'\* is an admission that some political entities are too big for effective democracy. Democracies prize participation and consent, and large entities remove that sense of involvement from the individual voter. The nation-state is a convenient, firmly entrenched and indispensable platform for individual participation in democracy. The recent electoral success of parties opposed to the EU does not reflect blind tribalism but the persistent failure of the EU to give sufficient importance to national priorities.

Each democracy needs just enough nationalism/patriotism (whatever you want to call it, the sentiment is the same) – to unify its people but not so much as to make them hostile to outsiders. It is worth noting that friendly relations between countries are the norm these days. I could easily imagine Scotland and the rest of the UK as close friends and allies, just as an independent Texas would be unlikely to declare war on the United States. Yes, nationalism exists in the US too – and we should be grateful. America would be much weakened without it, with diminished influence in the world – and that would not be good news for the world. Canadians are patriotic and there is no suggestion of any hostility between Canada and the US.

Nationalism becomes pernicious only when it paints foreigners as the enemy – but it would be a gross exaggeration to say this is the norm. Racist nationalism isn't the typical case.

\* 'subsidiarity': the principle that the central authority should perform only those tasks which cannot be performed at a more local level

**DOCUMENT 3****A selection of comments on a web forum**

- A. We need to quit defining ourselves by our nationality or religion and start defining ourselves as equal members of the human race, each worthy and deserving of freedom and opportunity.
- B. It is worth noting that definitions of nationalism vary. Civic nationalism – as seen in the US – is the idea of a nation as a shared constitution and political culture, open to newcomers without regard to ethnic origin. Ethnic nationalism, on the other hand, sees nation as a matter of tribe, language or even religion. Outsiders are rarely welcomed. Civic nationalism is a good thing but ethnic nationalism is to be feared.
- C. National patriotism stamps out local culture. Everyone in Scotland is now supposed to aspire to play the highland bagpipes, wear a kilt and speak an ancient (Irish!) language. All these things were once associated only with a minority population in the north of Scotland. The rise of Scottish nationalism means that alternative cultures within Scotland, particularly in the south, have been suppressed.
- D. Patriotism helps to keep the peace within a country. The national anthem, flag and other national symbols are often regarded as sacred. When people see these symbols in the streets, deep emotions are aroused in them. There are few cases of civil war in countries that use patriotism. This is because people greatly respect their country and each other, and thus they will not do anything that will jeopardise their nation.
- E. Patriotism is not *believing* that your country is the best. Patriotism is *doing* everything to make your country the best, even if it already is.
- F. Patriotism places emphasis on collective identity so that people will work together for their own benefit and also to enhance their nation. In other words, nationalism encourages people to work harder, which is good for the productivity of a country.
- G. In the past, nationalism has helped countries overcome colonial rule. Arab nationalism contributed to the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire and African nationalism accelerated the break-up of European colonial rule in Africa.
- H. Nationalism creates competition between nations, spurring scientific and technological advances.
- I. I'm all for community involvement, loyalty, and service, but the concept becomes corrupted when it is expanded to a nation. We have a direct effect on our community's character and leadership, but very little real impact on the nation's direction and governance.
- J. It's ridiculous getting over-excited about what country you belong to. Borders are not set in stone. Parts of France used to be Germany and vice versa. Germany itself was, until the nineteenth century, a collection of many small independent nations.

**DOCUMENT 4****A selection of well-known historical and literary quotes**

Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel.

*Samuel Johnson*

Loyalty to country always. Loyalty to government, when it deserves it.

*Mark Twain*

The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure.

*Thomas Jefferson*

Here is your country. Cherish these natural wonders, cherish the natural resources, cherish the history and romance as a sacred heritage, for your children and your children's children. Do not let selfish men or greedy interests skin your country of its beauty, its riches or its romance.

*Theodore Roosevelt*

I love America more than any other country in the world and, exactly for this reason, I insist on the right to criticise her perpetually.

*James Baldwin*

A love for tradition has never weakened a nation; indeed, it has strengthened nations in their hour of peril.

*Winston Churchill*

"My country, right or wrong" is a thing that no patriot would think of saying except in a desperate case. It is like saying, "My mother, drunk or sober."

*GK Chesterton*

All wars are civil wars because all men are brothers. Each one owes infinitely more to the human race than to the particular country in which he was born.

*François Fénelon*

Patriotism is the willingness to kill and be killed for trivial reasons.

*Bertrand Russell*

We would rather starve than sell our national honour.

*Indira Gandhi*

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

*John F Kennedy*

True patriotism sometimes requires of men to act exactly contrary, at one period, to that which it does at another, and the motive which impels them, the desire to do right, is precisely the same.

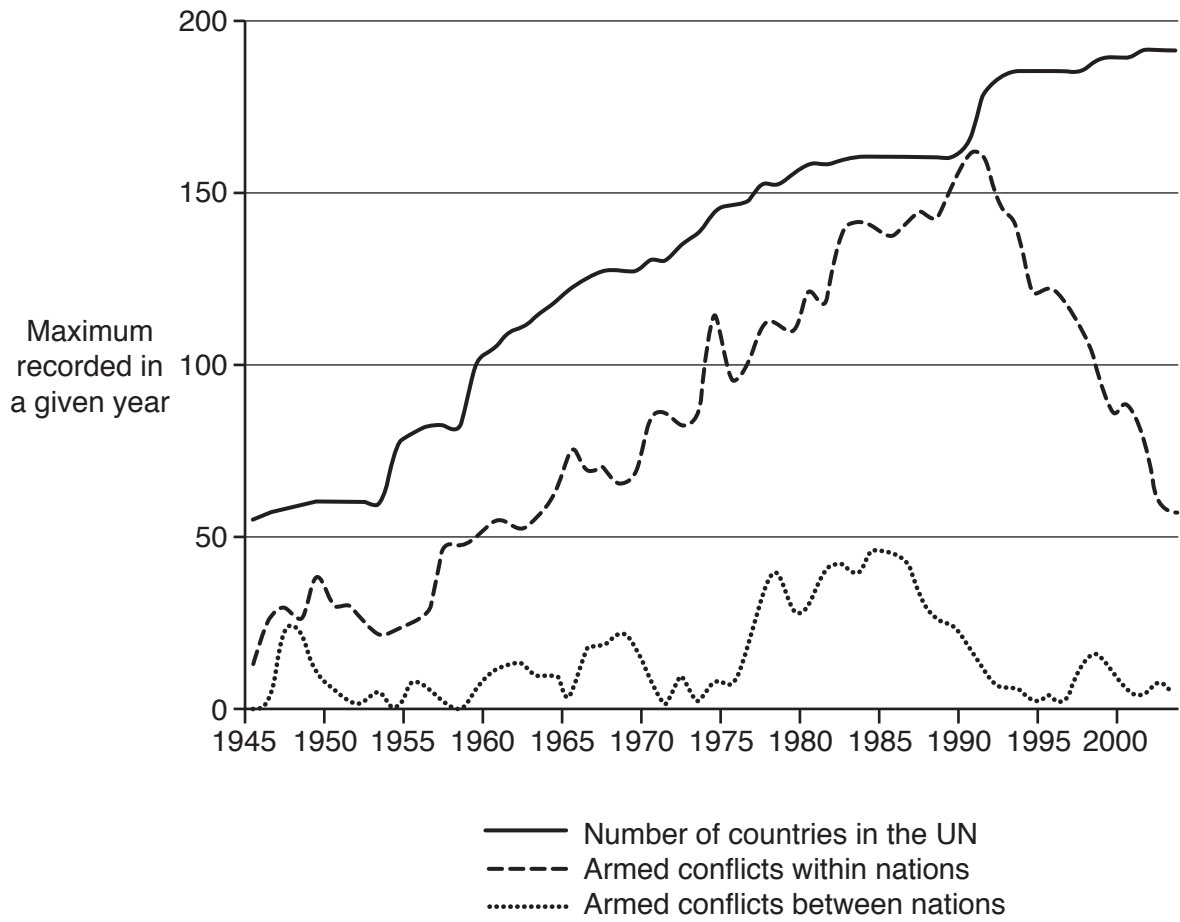
*Robert E Lee*

Nationalism is an infantile disease. It is the measles of mankind.

*Albert Einstein*

## DOCUMENT 5

## Wars and nation states in the 50 years following World War 2



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