



Cambridge International Examinations
Cambridge Pre-U Certificate

COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS (PRINCIPAL)

Paper 3 Ideologies and Philosophies

9770/03

May/June 2015

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.

The syllabus is approved for use in England, Wales and Northern Ireland as a Cambridge International Level 3 Pre-U Certificate.

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

And thus every man, by consenting with others to make one body politic under one government, puts himself under an obligation to every one of that society to submit to the determination of the majority.

John Locke, Two Treatises of Government, 1689

Passage B

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

The Preamble to the Constitution of the United States, 1787

- (a) Compare the views in the two passages about the establishment of government. [15]
- (b) Assess the reasons why liberals support individual liberty. [35]

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

2 Conservatism and the Nation

Passage A

The office of government is not to impose other beliefs and activities upon its subjects, not to tutor or educate them, not to make them better or happier in another way, not to direct them, to galvanize them into action, to lead them or co-ordinate their activities so that no occasion of conflict can occur; the office of government is merely to rule.

Michael Oakeshott, On Being Conservative, 1956

Passage B

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 speaking at the Conservative Political Centre, 1968

- (a) Compare the views in the two passages on the role of government. [15]
- (b) Assess the place of individualism in conservative ideology. [35]

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

3 Socialism and the Common Good

Passage A

The labourer receives means of subsistence in exchange for his labour-power; but the capitalist receives in exchange for his means of subsistence, labour, the productive activity of the worker, the creative force by which the worker not only replaces what he consumes, but also gives to the accumulated labour a greater value than it previously possessed ... But it is just this noble reproductive power that the worker surrenders to the capitalist in exchange for means of subsistence received. Consequently he has lost it for himself.

Karl Marx, adapted from an article in Neue Rheinische Zeitung, 1849

Passage B

The more capitalism is developed, the more strongly the shortage of raw materials is felt, the more intense the competition and hunt for sources of raw materials throughout the whole world, the more desperate the struggle for the acquisition of colonies.

Vladimir Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, 1917

- (a) Compare the views in the two passages on exploitation. [15]
- (b) 'Socialists have disagreed more over means than ends.' How far do you agree? [35]

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

4 Democracy and its Critics

Passage A

Nationalism has two fatal charms for its devotees: it presupposes local self-sufficiency, which is a pleasant and desirable condition, and it suggests, very subtly, one's belonging to a place which is definable and familiar, as against a place which is strange and remote.

E.B. White, Intimations, 1941

Passage B

The condition of statehood need not be present when a nationality originates; but in such a case it is always the memory of a past state and the aspiration towards statehood that characterises nationalities in the period of nationalism.

Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism, 1944

- (a) Compare the views in the two passages about the origins of nation states. [15]
- (b) Assess the dangers of democracy. [35]

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

5 Current Ideological Debates

Passage A

The authority of government, even such as I am willing to submit to – for I will cheerfully obey those who know and can do better than I, and in many things even those who neither know nor can do so well – is still an impure one. To be strictly just, it must have the sanction and consent of the governed. It can have no pure right over my person and property but what I concede to it.

Henry Thoreau, Walden, 1854

Passage B

Nothing is as dangerous for man's morality as the habit of commanding. The best of men, the most intelligent, unselfish, generous and pure, will always and inevitably be corrupted in this pursuit. Two feelings inherent in the exercise of power never fail to produce this demoralisation: contempt for the masses and, for the man in power, an exaggerated sense of his own worth.

Mikhail Bakunin, Federalism, Socialism, Anti-Theologism, speech delivered in 1867

- (a) Compare the views in the two passages on the dangers of the power of the state. [15]
- (b) Assess the different types of environmentalism. [35]

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