

M12/3/POLTH/SP1/ENG/TZ0/XX



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**POLITICAL THOUGHT  
STANDARD LEVEL  
PAPER 1**

**SCHOOL BASED SYLLABUS**

Monday 30 April 2012 (morning)

1 hour 15 minutes

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**INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES**

- Do not open this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- Read the extracts and then answer all the questions.
- The maximum mark for this paper is *[30 marks]*.

Read the extracts and then answer **all** of the questions that follow:

**EXTRACT A**            *Reflections on the Revolution in France* by Burke (1790)

We know that we have made no discoveries; and we think that no discoveries are to be made in morality; nor many in the great principles of government, nor in the ideas of liberty, which were understood long before we were born, altogether as well as they will be after the grave has heaped its mould upon our presumption ... We have real hearts of flesh and blood beating in our bosoms. We fear God; we look up with awe to kings; with affection to parliaments; with duty to magistrates; with reverence to priests; and with respect to nobility. Why? Because when such ideas are brought before our minds, it is natural to be affected ...

You see, Sir, that in this enlightened age **I am bold enough to confess that we are generally men of untaught feelings; that instead of casting away all our old prejudices, we cherish them to a very considerable degree**, and, to take more shame to ourselves, we cherish them because they are prejudices; and the longer they have lasted, and the more generally they have prevailed, the more we cherish them.

**EXTRACT B**            *The Failure of the Russian Revolution* by Goldman (1924)

Never before in all history has authority, government, the State, proved so inherently static, reactionary and even counter-revolutionary in effect ...

It remains true, as it has through all progress, that only the libertarian spirit and method can bring a man a step further in his eternal striving for the better, finer, and freer life ...

The STATE IDEA, the authoritarian principle, has been proven bankrupt by the experience of the Russian Revolution. If I were to sum up my whole argument in one sentence I should say: **The inherent tendency of the State is to concentrate, to narrow and monopolize all social activities**; the nature of revolution is, on the contrary, to grow, to broaden, and disseminate itself in ever-wider circles. In other words, the State is institutional and static; revolution is fluent, dynamic. These two tendencies are incompatible and mutually destructive.

**EXTRACT C**      *On Liberty* by Mill (1859)

The initiation of all wise or noble things comes and must come from individuals; generally at first from some one individual. The honour and glory of the average man is that he is capable of following that initiative; that he can respond internally to wise and noble things, and be led with his eyes open. I am not countenancing the sort of “hero-worship” which applauds the strong man of genius for forcibly seizing on the government of the world and making it do his bidding in spite of itself. All he can claim is freedom to point out the way. The power of compelling others into it is not only inconsistent with the freedom and development of all the rest, but corrupting to the strong man himself. It does seem, however, that when the opinions of masses of merely average men are everywhere become or becoming the dominant power, the counterpoise and corrective to that tendency would be the more and more pronounced individuality of those who stand on the higher eminences of thought. It is in these circumstances most especially that exceptional individuals, instead of being deterred, should be encouraged in acting differently from the mass.

**EXTRACT D**      *The Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels (1848)

Further, as we have already seen, entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress.

Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and, in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole.

1. **Extract A** *Reflections on the Revolution in France* by Burke (1790)

Explain the meaning and significance of:

“I am bold enough to confess that we are generally men of untaught feelings; that instead of casting away all our old prejudices, we cherish them to a very considerable degree.”

[10 marks]

2. **Extract B** *The Failure of the Russian Revolution* by Goldman (1924)

Explain the meaning and significance of:

“The inherent tendency of the State is to concentrate, to narrow, and monopolize all social activities.”

[10 marks]

3. **Extract C** *On Liberty* by Mill (1859) and **Extract D** *The Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels (1848)

Using the material in extracts C and D and your own knowledge, compare and contrast the ways in which Mill and Marx/Engels explain the part played by certain individuals in bringing about change in society.

[10 marks]