



Examiners' Report

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GCE Government & Politics 6GP03



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Introduction

The general standard of responses in this examination session was broadly in line with previous sessions. Two general issues would, nevertheless, be worth bearing in mind. In the first place, it is clear that a number of centres have not fully grasped the significance of the changed understanding of synopticity in the new specification. In particular, they need to place a heavier emphasis on ensuring that candidates recognise that, in view of synopticity, all essay questions are an invitation to debate or discuss a particular political issue. Effective responses in this respect not only highlight the nature of that debate in the introduction to their essays, but also structure their argument around the contending viewpoints or perspectives. Second, in doing this, candidates should not merely provide a descriptive account of rival stances or arguments that have been put forward. Instead, they should analyse and evaluate these arguments in order to reach a reasoned but clear conclusion, recognising that all questions require answers. How effectively their answer (or conclusion) stands up in the light of the foregoing debate and discussion very largely determines the candidate's marks in terms of Assessment Objectives 1, 2 (including synopticity) and 3.

A final general point is that centres should be aware that short questions (questions 1-5) continue to be marked 'globally', with only a single mark being given out of a maximum of 15, while the essays (questions 6-8) alone are marked by the assessment objectives, including synopticity. This reflects the fact that distinctions between AO1 and AO2 are often difficult to draw in the case of short questions, where the latter often refers to 'analysis' rather than 'evaluation', and therefore overlaps significantly with 'understanding' in AO1.

Question 1

This was a popular question, well answered by a high proportion of candidates. Very few responses failed to highlight the basic distinction between neoliberalism and its emphasis on free-market economics and the minimal state, and neoconservative support for a strong state. The strongest responses nevertheless highlighted the philosophical differences between neoliberalism and neoconservatism, noting, for example, the extent to which the former is rooted in atomistic individualism and economic libertarianism, while the latter draws from organic conservatism and supports social and state authoritarianism. However, some weak responses confused neoconservatism with One Nation conservatism, tending to suggest that it was distinguished by a concern about poverty and the need to expand welfare support. Some candidates also explained how and why neoliberalism and neoconservatism are compatible, although such points could not be rewarded as they did not fall within the remit of the question as set.

Question 1 ☒Question 2 ☒Question 3 ☒Question 4 ☒Question 5 ☒

Both neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism formed key strands of New Right Conservative Thinking, but take very different ideological approaches.

Neo-liberalism takes the view of society as atomistic, inhabited by individuals who have the ability to succeed or fail. This attitude is typified by Margaret Thatcher's quote "there are individuals and there are families but there is no such thing as society." In contrast, to this opt view of humans as rational and autonomous, neo-conservatism focuses on the more negative side of human nature, characterized by a semi-authoritarian attitude to law and order, favouring harsh sentences for crimes. This harks back to the conservative idea of humans as being psychologically and morally flawed.

Neo-liberalism tends to abandon concepts of order and security in favour of ^{an} extreme free market economic policy. Espoused by so-called Chicago school economists such as Friedman and

Hayek, neo-liberalism aims to maximise economic freedom with low corporate and personal taxation, privatisation of key industries, and restricting state involvement in economics to controlling the influx of money to the economy - a doctrine known as monetarism. Simultaneously the "dependency culture" fostered by the welfare state is also minimised. The neo-liberal view of a small state which maximises individual freedom comes into sharp contrast with the neo-conservative attitude towards the state, which allows for a high degree of interference in people's private lives and freedoms. By advocating a return to traditional moral values and lifestyles, the Conservative government under Thatcher introduced measures to restrict "alternative" lifestyles. Section 28, for example, ~~not~~ forbade the "promotion of homosexuality in schools". There is an essential paradox between neo-liberal and neo-conservative views of the state.

A final difference is the two strands' attitudes to Europe. Neo-liberals espouse greater economic integration in the cause of free trade, while neo-conservatives stave off nationalist fear the UK's further

political integration with Europe



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Examiner Comments

Question 1x was a good example of a candidate making a good distinction between the 2 traditions.

Question 2

Effective answers to this question recognised that links between anarchism and communism are evident in anarcho-communist theories and ideas, often providing a comprehensive and analytical account of these. In the best responses, candidates gave appropriate attention to the 'why' part of the question, explaining that the link between anarchism and communism is established by a shared view of human nature and the common belief that the collective ownership of wealth helps to establish harmony and social solidarity in the absence of a state. However, weaker responses were often unfocused, providing a generalised account of anarchism that said relatively little about its relationship to communism, except for references to the collectivist tradition within anarchism. Unfortunately, particularly on anarchism questions, some less able candidates spent too long outlining the general ideas and beliefs. In this case, a generalised account of anarchism did not say much, or, at times, anything, that was related to the question set. In a number of cases, candidates showed an awareness of links between anarchism and communism by examining Marxist thinking about the 'withering away' of the state and the nature of the future communist society. In many cases, this was done well except when candidates then turned the response into a discussion of differences between anarchism and Marxism.

Anarchism is linked to Communism primarily through two beliefs; that humans ~~nature~~ can be good in nature, and that there is no need for a defined state. The reasons as to why are simple, these basic ideas are not present in most ~~ideas~~ ideologies, and thus any that share qualities will be compared.

Anarchism's belief in the goodness that human nature can have is why they believe that a stateless society can exist. Through communal organizations, order can be upheld, and whilst Anarchists are anti-state, they welcome the idea of community-driven groups ~~where~~ where the commitment is optional.

Communism is similar to this. If twond believes that humans are naturally "good" beings, no and that a stateless society can exist. Where they differ is in their views on freedom; a Communist society would be compulsory, with individuals renouncing some personal freedoms in exchange for this life. Pro

Another point that is ~~used~~ to both ideologies can be linked is their preferred method of achieving these changes; & with the force. Both support a violent overthrowing of the current Capitalist/Liberal ideologies, but whilst Communists believe in a need for a transitional "Dictatorship of the Proletariat", Anarchists would want to go straight to the Stateless society.



In question 2x this candidate makes a sound and crucial point regarding human nature and stateless society, but does not pay the appropriate attention to the 'why' part of the question.

Question 3

A very large proportion of candidates recognised that at the heart of liberal disagreements over freedom are the rival ideas of negative freedom and positive freedom. Very few candidates have difficulties with the notion of negative freedom, some being able to offer an insightful and comprehensive explanation of the term. Although definitions of positive freedom appear to be improving, a number of candidates still have an unreliable grasp of the concept. In weaker cases, as on previous occasions, candidates failed to highlight differences between the two concepts of freedom, but, rather, illustrated these differences by reference to their implications for the state. Negative freedom was therefore defined as rolling back the state, while positive freedom was defined as rolling forward the state. Needless to say, such accounts are rudimentary at best. The strongest responses recognised the importance of 'extent' in the question, highlighting areas of agreement within liberalism over freedom as well as areas of disagreement. The very strongest candidates also recognised that this extends to negative freedom as well. In particular, they pointed out that although modern liberals have embraced a positive conception of freedom, this does not mean that they have abandoned negative freedom altogether; instead, they have justified positive freedom only in circumstances where individuals are unable, because of social injustice, to make wise moral judgements on their own behalf. Such responses demonstrated a high level of theoretical sophistication.

Liberals disagree over freedom to differing extents. Firstly, ~~modern~~ classical liberals promote negative freedom. This means freedom from state interference which is viewed as a lack of coercion, thus undesirable to liberals who promote liberty and individualism. They believe human nature is essentially rational and capable of defining their own best interests. Therefore they are best left to their own devices and free to do what they wish. This is linked to a minimal or "nightwatchman" state. The only purpose for which "power to be rightfully exerted is to prevent harm to others" (J.S. Mill). Moreover they promote the harm principle meaning that individuals are free to enact any self-regarding acts, but the government must intervene with other-regarding acts, which pose a threat to other people's lives. J.S. Mill argues "over his mind, body and soul, the individual is sovereign".

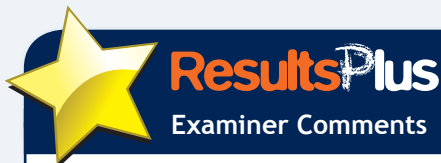
This leads to the classical liberal belief in egoistical individualism. Moreover individuals are free to prosper according to their own merit without government interference. The state saves individual initiative and the economy should be left

to their own devices. Thus a free market is an ideal form of economy, as it is the most productive form of subsistence. This has influenced neo-liberal thinkers such as Adam Smith and David Ricardo who argue that it is ideal to remove the "dead hand" of the economy. The individual is free to reach the top of society without external constraints. This is encapsulated in Adam Smith's belief that "it is not up to the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer or the baker that we should expect our dinner, but their regard to their own self-interest". Moreover individuals are free to prosper due to their self-interested nature.

Modern liberals, conversely, oppose this theory of freedom. They argue that negative freedom is an inadequate conception as it poses the threat of poverty on the many, whilst wealth on the few. They then argue that in order for equality of opportunity to exist in society, and for a truly free existence, the state must 'enable' humans to develop to their utmost potential. For instance T.H. Green argues that the state has a duty to "remove the social evils which cripple people's lives". This society has to play an active role to enable freedom. This created the foundations for the welfare state, as entitled in the Beveridge Report. By outlining the 'Big Five' that the state must tackle i.e. hunger, want, disease, the state enables qualified welfare i.e. helping people help themselves. Thus there is a distinct difference over the different brands of liberalism over freedom.

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

However a tension does exist over the state of welfare within modern liberalism. Rawls in "Theory of Justice" however outlines the 'difference principle'. He argues that 'equality is fairer' and that inequality should only exist in society if it benefits the worst-off (least wealthy). Moreover modern liberals have been criticised to be like socialists. However, unlike social democrats, they only provide welfare to help individuals help themselves, for their own individual initiative. This is not to enable class solidarity. Moreover they believe developmental individualism is the only way to have a truly free society.



This is a strong answer recognising the 'extent' part of the question.

Question 4

Very few candidates did not have at least a basic grasp of the distinction between fundamentalist socialism and revisionist socialism, usually highlighting the difference between the socialist desire to abolish and replace capitalism and the desire to reform, modify or 'humanise' capitalism. Stronger responses demonstrated analytical insight and theoretical sophistication. This applied in two main ways. In the first place, good responses often acknowledged that the fundamentalist/revisionist distinction is based on rival critiques of capitalism, the former viewing capitalism as an irredeemable system of class oppression, while the latter flags the tendency of capitalism to generate wealth effectively but distribute it unfairly or unjustly. The second way in which stronger responses distinguished themselves was through an explicit emphasis on alternative views of the future socialist society, in that fundamentalist socialists link socialism to common or collective ownership, while revisionist socialists associate it with social justice and a narrowing of social inequality. While many used Marx and Marxism to show an understanding of fundamentalist socialism, only the strongest responses were able to look at the ideas of theories such as Bernstein and Crosland to demonstrate theoretical insight into revisionist socialism.

Fundamentalist socialism is grounded on the belief that capitalism is irredeemable and flawed, it is a system of class oppression and exploitation. ~~They agree with~~ Therefore they wish to overthrow it through revolution e.g. Marxists used the Marx's theory of history to show how this would work, Leninists believed that the vanguard party to bring the working class to class consciousness and Stalinists said two revolutions was needed. Once capitalism is overthrown they wish to have a society where there is wholehearted common ownership but because they view this as just, wealth is produced by all so should be shared by all, the Marx private property creates class division and conflict and it is not for promotes selfishness and greed. Finally they see that common ownership is the natural way for human to live as we are collective and fraternal. Therefore they support ~~Therefore they support~~ an absolute social

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

equality and oppose individualism as they see humans should work together collectively. They support equality as they believe it is just and fair, creates a stable, peaceful society and allows people to have their basic needs met for positive freedom.

However a strand of revisionist socialism is social democracy and their views on capitalism differ, they see that it is the best way to generate wealth and the only flaw is that it redistributes income unequally. Therefore they support welfare social equality where they redistribute income from the rich to the poor through progressive taxation and the welfare state. They support common ownership in the form of nationalisation and mixed economy, where some industries are publicly owned and some are private. Despite they disagree on views of absolute social equality and full scale common ownership. Also they disagree have an accommodation with individualism, as they don't agree that everyone needs to be co-operative and work together collectively. They also disagree with

~~Further, another strand of revisionist socialism~~ and support the evolutionary approach to private socialism, rather than abolishing capitalism, in fact, the wish to humanise it, using the parliamentary route.

Furthermore, another strand of revisionists is neo-revisionists ~~and they~~ and they see capitalism as the best way to generate wealth and care the closest to the closest to endorsing it. Their view is only problem is that it

weakens social bonds in society. Therefore they also wish to take the parliamentary route to create socialism. They accept the benefits of free enterprise and critics introduced industries as being inefficient as capitalism creates incentives for people to work and allows for the system of meritocracy. Therefore they also support individualism and capitalism helps to promote self-reliant humans. Therefore neo-conservatives support equality of opportunity and enjoy private property. However ~~therefore~~ they also support freedom in positive terms.

However, fundamentalist socialists and neo-conservatives can be argued to be still have the same values, for example, they still all strive for equality, just different types of equality. They also wish to improve society when it comes to economic matters and uphold the idea that capitalism creates conflict between the classes.



This candidate acknowledges the rival critiques of capitalism.

Question 5

This was a popular question, with a very large proportion of responses demonstrating a sound grasp of the links between conservatism and traditionalism. The major discriminators, in this question, were the range of conservative arguments examined and whether these were considered analytically or descriptively. For example, some less strong candidates merely pointed out that conservatives favour tradition because traditions have been 'tested by time', whereas stronger responses explained how and why conservatives reach this conclusion, often using the ideas of Burke, Chesterton or Oakeshott to support their discussion. Similarly, some more rudimentary responses placed a heavy emphasis on supposed examples of conservative traditionalism - the fondness of conservatives for red letter boxes being a particularly popular one - without necessarily explaining the thinking that underlies this traditionalism. In the case of strong responses, an emphasis was often placed on the conservative view of human nature, both the idea that human beings are limited and dependent creatures (and so crave the familiar) and that people are intellectually fallible (in which case history, tradition and experience are more reliable guides to human action than abstract principles and theories).

Tradition refers to the institutions, values and practices that have endured through time and thus have been passed on from one generation to the next.

Firstly, conservatives support tradition and continuity on the basis that it reflects their faith in religion. God is seen to be the creator, and therefore, all traditions and customs are considered to be 'God given'. Burke argued that 'society is shaped by the laws of our ancestors', meaning that by humankind's tampering with the world, they are not only challenging the will of God, and therefore are likely to cause more harm than good.

Additionally, conservatives support tradition and continuity on the basis that it reflects an accumulated wisdom of the past: traditions have stood the test of time and therefore are worth preserving. Traditions that have

survived, and still exist have done so because they
 have worked and have seen to be of value. This
 refers to an almost Darwinian approach in that
 traditions have been 'selected' through a process
 of 'natural selection' and demonstrated their
 fitness to survive. Therefore, change is not
 necessary and continuity is advocated.
 Instead, e.g. the monarchy who reflects
 historical wisdom and experience.
 Thirdly, Conservatives support tradition
 and continuity on the basis that it creates
 stability and cohesion. Traditions are ones
 that people recognize, so they are familiar
 and reassuring. Traditional customs
 link people to their past and so evokes
 a collective sense of unity. Change
 is seen to cause uncertainty and instability.
 Therefore, to dangers ^{human} happiness.
 An example could be the judiciary's
 insistence on wearing robes and wigs
 and campaigns to keep red letter boxes.
 However, the extent to which liberals
 support tradition and continuity varies.
 The New Right have distanced from
 tradition, evident in the radicalism.

(of rolling back of the State and promoting free market principle) which is most clearly ~~is~~ linked to neoliberals who draw on rational abstract theories and principles. This, obscuring tradition.

However, it's important to note that tradition certainly does exist in Neo conservatives who have run to so called "traditional values".

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Examiner Comments

This answer is a strong example of conservative support for tradition including "why" & with good examples.

Question 6

Candidates approached this question in a number of legitimate ways. In some cases, they looked at the nature of liberal democracy, considering differences between its 'liberal' features and its 'democratic' features. In weak cases, however, they were unable to recognise the difference between the two sets of features, constitutionalism and protections for individual rights simply being viewed as manifestations of democracy. This highlights a significant weakness in a number of responses, which was a failure to recognise that there is a debate about the relationship between liberalism and democracy, in that liberals have both feared democracy and supported it. When candidates only recognised either that liberals fear democracy or that they favour democracy, it was very difficult for them to demonstrate effective synoptic skills. The most common approach to the question was to examine the respective benefits and drawbacks of democracy from a liberal perspective. This was often done extremely well, with an awareness that liberalism has been associated with a range of arguments in favour as well as against democracy. Whereas weaker responses sometimes did little more than list these respective arguments, stronger responses tried to evaluate their significance, and also point out how the balance of the argument within liberalism has tended, over time, to become more clearly pro-democratic rather than anti-democratic.

Liberalism is the belief in individual sovereignty. This is based on their view of human nature, which suggests that we all possess free will and are capable of making rational decisions for ourselves. Originally, liberals feared democracy as it imposed a collective will upon society and encouraged a big state. However, some liberals recognise that democracy enhances education and can protect the individual. Thus, there is reason to suggest that democracy is compatible with liberalism, though liberals are still aware that concentrated power can infringe individual liberty.

Liberals believe that individuals can be egotistical and self-seeking. As a result, those in power are likely to pursue their own interests at the expense of the electorate. This fear of concentrated power is attributed to

Lord Acton who warned that "power can corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely". Therefore, liberals fear that democracy can encroach individual liberty.

Furthermore, Tocqueville feared a "tyranny of the majority". Democracy tends to overlook the views and opinions of the minorities in society, which conflicts with the liberal belief in universalism and an individual's right to be free. Democracy can therefore restrict the liberty of the minority in society by only catering for the needs of the majority. This creates a fear of democracy as liberals believe every individual is of equal moral worth.

Since liberals believe that each individual has the right to be free, they regard the state as merely a "necessary evil". Classical liberals see the state as more evil than necessary, which leads to a belief in negative freedom; the absence of external constraints on the individual. As a consequence, classical liberals would only support a "nightwatchman state", which intervenes solely to prevent crime regarding acts. Modern liberals have a slightly different approach to the state. They believe an enabling state creates the real conditions for freedom by emphasising the capacity of humans to develop and allowing ~~break~~ ^{freedom} from "the social evils that cripple

people's lives". However neither modern or classical liberals support an extensive state. Democracy leads to a big state as it involves social and economic intervention. Thus, liberals fear democracy will produce a collectivist state that infringes individual liberty.

JS Mill put forward another argument against democracy. According to the "50 per cent plus one person" rule, political wisdom is unequally distributed. Therefore the uneducated should be disenfranchised so they do not vote according to narrow class interests. ~~The~~ This fear of democracy is based on the idea that the majority would not vote for a correct and able government.

However, the fear of democracy does not run throughout liberalism completely. Liberals have a Hobbesian view of human nature, which implies we are "selfish, aggressive and competitive" and if a state of nature were to emerge, there'd be "a war of all against all". Therefore, a "leviathan" must be imposed in the form of a sovereign government. It is for this reason that liberals support the Social contract Theory devised by John Locke. Locke proposed

that each individual should sacrifice a portion of their liberty and in return, the government will protect our "natural, universal and inalienable" rights. Thus, authority comes from below and people can vote to remove a tyrannical government.

Liberals have also accepted ^{democracy} ~~toleration~~ as it promotes toleration and pluralism. Democracy encourages debate and an acceptance of a multiplicity of views and opinions. It provides multi points of power as pressure groups can influence government policy. This ensures that the government remains accountable to the electorate as they have the fear of being replaced by another party with different ideas. In addition, toleration prevents dull conformity, which is important to liberals as it protects individual sovereignty. Therefore, liberals do not always fear the implications of democracy and debate.

In addition, liberals have accepted that democracy carries an educational value. J.S. Mill proposed that democracy promotes the "highest and most harmonious" development of human capacity. By engaging in politics, individuals

can develop themselves intellectually and morally, which is consistent with the modern liberal belief in developmental individualism. Moreover, Mill argued that in the absence of democracy, ignorance and brutality would prevail. Therefore, democracy can be considered to be the most efficient way of upholding individual liberty.

Finally, John Locke embraced democracy as it gave the propertied classes the opportunity to defend themselves against tax rises. Locke argued for "no taxation without representation", which implies that democracy is needed to represent the needs of the electorate.

To conclude, although liberals were traditionally opposed to democracy, there are those that acknowledge the merits of a democratic government. However, the attitude towards democracy remains to be largely ambivalent as liberals continue to fear a concentration of power and a tyranny of the majority.

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Examiner Comments

This is a good example of a strong answer, recognising both: the fear of democracy and liberal justifications for democracy.

Question 7

Most candidates, appropriately, approached this question by looking at the rival ideas of revolutionary socialism and democratic, reformist or evolutionary socialism. In stronger cases, these rival means of achieving socialism were thoroughly analysed, with an emphasis being placed on explaining how and why the strategies were adopted. In the best cases, candidates recognised that the extent of socialist disagreement over means had changed considerably over time. In particular, the divide within socialism over means opened up only in the late nineteenth century, as the advance of political democracy created the possibility of a peaceful or non-revolutionary road to socialism. Similarly, as revolutionary socialism declined in the post-1945 period and, arguably, collapsed as a result of the East European Revolutions of 1989-91, disagreements within socialism over means substantially narrowed, if not disappeared. However, some candidates, unhelpfully, confused means with ends, writing, sometimes at considerable length, about the difference between fundamentalist socialism and revisionist socialism. Only the best candidates, however, were able to recognise linkages, insofar as these exist, between the fundamentalist/revisionist and the revolutionary/evolutionary divides within socialism. A number of strong responses nevertheless also noted that there had been, since the 1990s, something of a revival of revolutionary thinking within socialism, link to the advent of the anti-globalisation movement and growing support for direct action.

Put a cross in the box ☒ indicating the question that you have chosen.
If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒
and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 6 ☒

Question 7 ☒

Question 8 ☒

Socialism is essentially a reaction to Capitalism. All socialists seek to establish equality, some more than others. Socialists have been divided into Fundamentalists who support absolute equality of outcome and Revisionists who support - equality of opportunity. However the means at which they plan on achieving socialism greatly divide. This divide is viewed fundamentally by Revolutionists and Evolutionists. This essay will examine the extent to which socialists disagree about the means of achieving socialism.

Marx was a fundamentalist and Revolutionist socialist. He believed that socialism, and complete equality can only be achieved in a classless society. ^{This stems from his} ~~the belief~~ in Dialectical materialism. He believed that in every stage in history there has been class conflict, as the interests of both classes are mutually exclusive. For this reason he believed that there cannot be a state, He believed socialism can ~~be~~ only be achieved through Revolution.

According to Marx, ~~the~~ the state is part of the ~~super~~ superstructure. Marx believed that - the ruling class is in every age the ruling ideas. Thus believed that the bourgeoisie, ~~the~~ who are the ruling class own the economic base, thus ruling the superstructure, which essentially encompasses of the state. The state can thus never be a means of achieving socialism. The state puts the proletariat in a state of false consciousness.

Marx believed that due to the proletarians exploitation they will eventually gain class consciousness and have a revolution. The emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself. He believed that there would be a proletarian revolution for a short time in order to remove the power of the state. There would be 2 stages. The lower stage would be the proletarian dismantling the economic base, ~~and~~ (thus no need for state) then the higher stage of dismantling the superstructure. Thus removing the need for class. Once this is done, Marx believed that humans are self organised and rational and

would thus be able to recognise for their own good as collectivism is ~~pro~~ more productive than Capitalism (his ~~entire~~ there must be Capitalism before Communism).

This is a fundamental difference to the evolutionary way of achieving socialism. Evolutionists (especially ~~social~~ Democratic Socialists) were inspired by Fabians). Fabians believed that socialism could be established through ^{Parliamentary} means and the inevitability of gradualism. Like liberals the State could act as a 'neutral arbiter' enabling the economy to be nationally planned leading to equality. Fabians believed that socialism was the home to the working class, they thus saw that with the increase of the franchise it should be clear that they would vote for the socialist party.

^{Evolutionary}
~~Democratic~~ Socialists were additionally inspired by ~~the~~ Utopians as they embraced a moral critique rather than materialistic critique of socialism. Fourier was ^g against industrialisation unlike Marx who saw it as essential to humans who are materialistic. Saint Simon stated that Capitalism pits people together and tried to

establish socialism by centralising banks as well as education. Owen ~~also~~ established the New Lanark mill to establish socialism, creating greater equality by adopting a form of capitalism with essentially greater conditions. This worked for a while, though ~~it~~ was criticised by Marx who saw this as greater exploitation than capitalism. As the workers still do not get the value of their labour, Owen was much richer than the workers. ~~One~~ Utopian means of achieving socialism was this through small democratic political entities, eg, Robert Owen's 'New Lanark'.

Democratic socialists tried to establish socialism through the state and ~~also~~ established the original 1918 clause 4 - 'Common ownership of the means of ~~of~~ production distribution and exchange'. Thus the economy would be completely collective with no private ownership.

However, Social Democrats who are seen as revisionists, saw that this means of achieving socialism was unsuccessful. J. Keblett, as proved that there was an 'Contented majority' in the capitalist society who are unlikely to change. According

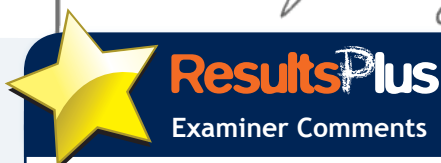
In Bernstein, ~~the~~ Capitalism has adapted and changed and so should Socialism. This went against Marx who greatly believed the Capitalism contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction. He was backed up by ~~Ernest~~ Antony Crosland who understood that we must change the means in order to establish Socialism. He stated that ~~Capitalism was no longer~~ there was a rise of new classes and experts, and technocrats, who are not the bourgeoisie, and do not own the means of production but are however increasingly prosperous. For this reason Social democrats moved from their founders who adopted complete equality and moved on to supporting 'equality of opportunity in the form of ~~the~~ welfare and Keynesian economics. This was created by John Maynard Keynes and created demands and therefore jobs. It consisted of a partly nationalised and part private economy. Nationalising the 'commanding heights' of the economy, eg, coal. They believed this means ^{of Keynesian} would achieve the closest thing to Socialism in the modern day.

However the greatest disagreement can be seen with the views of the third way. Three means of achieving socialism have been watered down to such a degree that many view it as

tilting towards modern liberalism. They differ from Marx as they are evolutionary Socialists, and differ from democratic socialists as they have abandoned completely the idea of nationalisation to the extent that they embrace ~~social~~ capitalism. This was most evident by their change to the Clause for replacing it to a 'dynamic market economy' and 'opportunity in the hands of the many'. Their means of achieving socialism is pragmatic in the sense that they had only nationalised ~~banks~~ banks ~~due to~~ to save the economy (1920/11). It is clear that they have departed from their founders, however they have been evidently one of the most successful. ~~Whilst~~ ~~Socialist view equality~~

Whilst Socialist view equality the 3rd way have tried to establish socialist values through regimes such as 'Inclusion and 'Communitarianism', this ensures that community stays together. They additionally 'support welfare to work' this ~~not~~ making a more meritocratic society. They ~~say~~ give a 'help out' rather than 'hand out'.

To conclude It is clear that ~~and~~ it is to a great extent that socialists have disagreed about the means of achieving Socialism. The main divide is evident in the Revolutionists and Evolutionists. ~~The~~ Marx (Revolutionists) believed that the state could never be a 'neutral arbiter' and that there must be a revolution. Whilst Evolutionary Socialists saw socialism being achieved through the inevitability of gradualism. However though the means of ~~gradualism~~ parliamentary means remained, there were further divides on the extent of which socialism can be achieved. Revisionists had no choice but to adapt Capitalism, thus through the means of Keynesian Economics ~~social~~ a weakened socialism was adopted. Whilst the third way did even less to keep a minimal form of socialism existing.



This candidate makes a good attempt at distinguishing between the 2 approaches.

Question 8

Many candidates chose to answer this question by providing a broad account of anarchist ideology, worked their way through the key features of individualist anarchism and collectivist anarchism, often also showing an awareness of divisions within each sub-tradition. Although such an approach enabled candidates to demonstrate good knowledge and understanding of anarchism generally, it only enabled them to answer the question implicitly, being weak on analysis, evaluation and synopticity. Stronger responses considered the nature of free market liberalism more explicitly and recognised its links to anarchism, usually by examining the ideas and theories of anarcho-capitalism, sometimes in impressive depth. These responses then highlighted both finer distinctions between free market liberalism and anarcho-capitalism as well as more substantial differences between this pro-market and pro-capitalist tendency within anarchism and anarchism's more collectivist ideas and theories. However, a general, and concerning, weakness was for candidates to turn the question into one that they had anticipated, namely one on differences between anarchism and liberalism generally. This highlights a worryingly common tendency for weaker candidates to sometimes reproduce responses in the exam based on rote learnt material, rather than to be able to adapt and reshape their knowledge and understanding on the basis of the specific questions asked.

Put a cross in the box ☒ indicating the question that you have chosen.
If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒
and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 6 ☒

Question 7 ☒

Question 8 ☒

Anarchy comes from the greek word which translates as "without rule" and can be divided into two strands; individualist anarchism and collectivist anarchism. But is anarchism merely free market liberalism taken to the extreme?

Anarchists believe that human nature is perfectable; humans are ~~not~~ inherently good and want peace and harmony within society. Because of this they follow four core principles; the first is anti statism. Anarchists believe the state is evil and oppressive and should be abolished because humans don't need any control.

The second is anti clericalism; for an anarchist religion is a pillar of the state and used to corrupt humans.

The third is natural order because humans are perfectable there is no need for a state to keep order in society, law and order will develop naturally. The final principle is that of economic freedom, people should be able to spend their money as they wish.

Individualist anarchism is also referred to as ultra liberalism because many of its ideas derive from liberalism.

They believe that the individual is of the most importance within society and support the idea of competition over

cooperation. Individualist anarchists also believe in letting the free market dictate, the market will restore order so there is no need for a state.

Individualist anarchy can also be divided down further into three sub groups. The first being egoism, which follows the idea of autonomy and the individual. Egoists believe that the individual is sovereign within society and reject the ideas of conventional politics because they push that the state is sovereign. In the case of egoism, anarchy is closer to new right conservatism rather than liberalism.

Libertarianism is the most closely linked form of anarchism to liberalism. It believes in the freedom of the individual and there should be no state to infringe on these freedoms. They take the liberal concept of freedoms to the extreme saying that humans should have complete freedom, so in that sense anarchy is an extreme form of liberalism.

The final strand of individualist anarchy is anarcho-capitalism, this the most extreme of the three strands. Within anarcho-capitalism the free market dictates, there is no need for a state because of the market. They also believe in privatisation, but not the privatisation of businesses that Thatcher implemented, they want to privatise everything. In their eyes the courts and the police should be privately owned because they are corrupted under state control. This is the most extreme

strand of individualist anarchy, but again it is a more extreme version of Thatcher and new right ideas than liberalism.

But there are key differences between individualist anarchy and liberalism. Liberals ~~believe it~~ although they don't like the idea of a state believe it to be necessary because without it citizens rights could be infringed upon. This is because liberals believe that human nature is selfish. Whereas anarchists think that humans are perfectable and because of this there is no need for a state to protect citizens rights. Liberals also firmly agree with the idea of democracy and a constitution, anarchists particularly ~~don't~~ reject the idea of constitutionalism. For an anarchist constitutionalism is the practice of a small state, but an anarchist would argue there's no need for a state in the first place.

An argument against the idea that anarchy is liberalism taken to the extreme is the other strand of anarchy, collectivist anarchy. Collectivist anarchy can also be described as ultra socialism and believes in common ownership over the free market, and collectivism over individualism.

Again collectivist anarchy can be divided into three strands, the first being mutualism. Mutualism is the idea of working together to achieve the common good. For a mutualist humans are social animals.

who want to work together and use collective action. This idea is a direct argument against the ideas of free market liberalism, and is evidence that anarchy is not just liberalism in an extreme form. Anarcho-syndacalism is the ideas of trade unions and the working class. Through trade unions and other syndicates the working class will have a spontaneous revolution in which the state is overthrown. Liberals do not believe in revolution (unless the social contract is broken) and therefore anarcho-syndacalism is evidence that anarchy is not free market liberalism taken to its extreme.

The final strand of collectivist anarchy is anarcho-communism which is closely linked with the ideas of Marxist socialists. They believe that a revolution will result in the destruction of the state and a communist society. Communism is strongly opposed by capitalist supporting liberals and a revolution to achieve this is not agreeable. Anarcho-communism is the furthest away from liberalism anarchy goes, and is therefore an argument against that anarchy is liberalism in an extreme form.

In conclusion anarchy has two opposite ends and individualist anarchy is essence is liberalism and the support of the free market in an extreme form. But it is also very similar to the ideas of New Right conservatives. Whereas collectivist anarchy is the

ideas of socialism taken to the extreme. Because of these two opposite ends anarchism is not "merely free market liberalism taken to its extreme".

**ResultsPlus**

Examiner Comments

This is a strong answer on knowledge and the competing traditions, but a less developed analytically.

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