

# Mark Scheme (Results)

## Summer 2007

GCE

GCE Government and Politics (6504) 01

**Government & Politics – 6504**  
**Unit 5D International Politics June 2007**

	A	AO2	AO3
<b>1. How effective have recent war crimes trials been?</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>4</b>
	<b>6</b>		

**Indicative Content**

A war crime is a punishable offence under international law for the violation of the laws of war. Crimes against humanity go further than war crimes; they can be committed against one's own population and are not confined to wartime. The Nuremberg trials were supposedly successful in that they helped societies which had perpetrated war crimes to return to stable diplomatic relations and the road to peace and prosperity. The success of Germany and Japan since 1945 could arguably justify claims that the trials served a purpose. Others argue that they, like all war crimes trials, were merely show case trials for imparting victors' justice.

Candidates should discuss recent war crimes trials, such as those of Saddam, Milosevic and others in The Hague, in Sierra Leone, Rwanda and S Africa, for example. The effectiveness of such trials is most relevant. Desmond Tutu argued against a war crimes tribunal in S Africa because he believed that no reconciliation or transformation was possible if the accused were not forgiven. War crimes tribunals arguably demonize individuals, even whole groups, and so separate groups rather than build peace.

**In making judgements consider the following:**

- Knowledge of war crimes trials. (AO1)
- Knowledge and understanding of war crimes and crimes against humanity. (AO1)
- Analysis of the extent to which recent trials have been effective. (AO2)

**Level Three Descriptor (13–20 marks)**

A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

**Level Two Descriptor (7–12 marks)**

A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.

**Level One Descriptor (0–6 marks)**

A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.

## **2. Assess the impact of the Doha round of negotiations on world trade.**

1  
6      10      4

### **Indicative Content**

The WTO is an international organization that attempts to referee international trade. It has 149 members, each with a veto over any final deal, and negotiating new or improved rules of trade is inevitably a complicated and difficult affair. The WTO was developed following the success of GATT in promoting trade amongst its members. But GATT could not force its members to allow free trade without significant tariff protection in agricultural goods and the service sector. The WTO was given stronger powers than GATT and in 2001 at Doha, Qatar, the WTO began a round of trade negotiations which aimed to open up agriculture and services to free trade. Unfortunately the Global North typically pays large subsidies to relatively inefficient farmers so that they can remain in business. Furthermore, farmers tend to be politically well organised and well supported, particularly in key EU states such as France and Germany, as well as in Japan. Thus the Doha round has been one of frustration for many agricultural states which require free trade access to rich N American, EU and Japanese markets.

Candidates should discuss the impacts of the Doha round, for trade itself, for LDCs and the G21, for example, and for the future of multilateral trade deals.

### **In making judgements consider the following:**

- Knowledge of the Doha aims (AO1)
- Knowledge of way Doha would threaten existing trade patterns (AO1)
- Analysis of the impact of the Doha round of trade talks (AO2)

### **Level Three Descriptor (13–20 marks)**

A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

### **Level Two Descriptor (7–12 marks)**

A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.

### **Level One Descriptor (0–6 marks)**

A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.

### 3. To what extent has Russia begun to reassert its power?

AO1 AO2 AO3

6 10 4

#### Indicative Content

Following the break up of the USSR Russia began to take a back seat in international politics. It threatened to veto any UN resolution condemning Serbia or Yugoslavia, but it was unable to stop NATO military intervention in 1995 and 1999. However, Russia concentrated most of its efforts on building a good relationship with the West and on attracting IMF loans. Recently though, Russia has become more prominent. It opposed the invasion of Iraq, it has improved its relationship with China, it has expelled British diplomats for spying, it has suspended the sale of low price gas to the Ukraine (seen by some as punishment for the Orange revolution) and it has helped Iran towards becoming a nuclear power. Candidates should discuss the extent to which Putin has brought about a shift in Russian foreign policy and once again is becoming a significant power.

The sinking of the Irkutsk submarine in August 2000, and the loss of all crew, was a clear example of Russia's military decline. However, since 2000 Russia has begun to recover economically and is now more willing to impose its will. Huge oil and gas reserves, combined with high world prices and a gas pipeline which serves much of Europe has given Russia both financial and geopolitical strength. Viktor Yushchenko, leader of the 'orange revolution' in Ukraine, has been forced to share power with the pro-Russian Yanukovich, and the Ukraine is critically dependent on Russian gas. Russia has apparently returned to 'Cold War' tactics with the expulsion of British diplomats accused of spying, and the poisoning of Litinenko in London. More significantly Russia has helped Iran in its quest for 'nuclear power' and Putin has talked of the need for Russia and China to resist US unilateralism.

#### In making judgements consider the following:

- Knowledge and understanding of Russian power (AO1)
- Knowledge of the ways in which Russia is asserting its power (AO1)
- Analysis of the extent to which Russia is attempting to influence international politics (AO2)

#### Level Three Descriptor (13–20 marks)

A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

#### Level Two Descriptor (7–12 marks)

A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.

#### Level One Descriptor (0–6 marks)

A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.

#### **4. Why has the issue of permanent membership of the UN Security Council become more controversial?**

##### **Indicative Content**

The most controversial proposal for changes to the UN are the models for reformation of the Security Council. Kofi Annan believed that the Security Council must be broadly representative of the realities of power in today's world, extending more seats to African and Asian countries who were not represented in 1945 when the structure was defined. Specifically this would mean extending permanent membership to India, S Africa and/or Nigeria, Brazil and Japan. There have been a number of proposals for the future Security Council. Two extend the Security Council from 15 seats to 24. They differ, however, in the number of permanent seats offered, versus long-term (four-year) renewable seats. Neither proposal extended the veto.

Candidates should discuss the controversial nature of extending permanent membership. The existing P5 are reluctant to see their own powers reduced, which would be inevitable if their own permanent status were to be withdrawn, but even if more members were simply created, some may believe that power is a zero-sum game, and if Japan, for example were to be granted more power by gaining a permanent seat on the security council, then China would inevitably suffer a reduction in power.

Similarly there is dispute over the granting of veto powers. The veto makes decision making more difficult, and if more states were to be given the power of veto then resolutions would be even more difficult to achieve. However, new members may be reluctant to take on a secondary seat without a veto, whilst states like the UK and France continue to enjoy a veto which reflects their influence in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and not now. Of course neither France nor the UK would willingly give up their own veto in preference for an EU veto, for example.

##### **In making judgements consider the following:**

- Knowledge of the importance of permanent membership of the UNSC (AO1)
- Knowledge of impact of reform of the UNSC and the veto (AO1)
- Analysis of the extent to which permanent membership of the UNSC has become more controversial (AO2)

##### **Level Three Descriptor (13–20 marks)**

A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

##### **Level Two Descriptor (7–12 marks)**

A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.

##### **Level One Descriptor (0–6 marks)**

A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.

## **5. 'The "war on terror" has been counterproductive.' Discuss.**

### **Indicative Content**

George Bush declared a 'war on terror' shortly after the attacks of 9/11. He was given overwhelming support by the international community and by US citizens. However, Bush has concentrated on winning this 'war' using hard power. Military victories in Afghanistan and initially in Iraq did not result in successful, democratic, peaceful states which would be pro-American and prosperous. Instead violence has created more violence. Hilary Benn claims that the UK government does not use the term 'war on terror' because it encourages insurgents, making them 'feel part of something bigger.'

The 'war on terror' has also been counterproductive in that the USA and its allies have lost much of the moral high ground. A war against the perpetrators of 9/11 is understandable, but instead the term has been used to fight a much larger, and harder to define conflict. Iraq had no links to Al Qaeda, nor to the Taliban, yet Iraq was invaded as part of the 'war on terror'. The legitimacy of the Iraq war, both in international law and in morality was extremely doubtful. At various times different reasons have been given for the war. The war was supposedly carried out in order to prevent Saddam Hussein from attacking neighbouring states, as he had previously done (Iran and Kuwait). The war was a pre-emptive strike against Iraq, which 'supposedly' had been a major protagonist in the Sept 11 attacks. The war was necessary, it was argued, because Iraq was close to developing nuclear weapons, after which the cost of engaging in war against Iraq would be too great. The war was necessary to enforce the will of the UN, which Saddam had repeatedly flouted. It was necessary to rid the Iraqi people of a terrible dictator who had committed atrocities against the Kurds, and the Shi'ites. It was important to bring democracy to the Iraqi people. However, instead of democracy bringing peace and prosperity to Afghanistan, Iraq and Gaza, democracy has brought conflict. Perhaps it is too early to say if the 'war on terror' has failed, or indeed if it has been counterproductive, but it has not brought peace, at least not yet.

### **In making judgements consider the following:**

- Knowledge of the 'war on terror' (AO1)
- Understanding of how the 'war on terror' is expected to be successful (AO1)
- Analysis of the extent to which the 'war on terror' has proved counterproductive (AO2)

### **Level Three Descriptor (39–60 marks)**

A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

### **Level Two Descriptor (21–38 marks)**

A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.

### **Level One Descriptor (0–20 marks)**

A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.

## 6. To what extent is the USA an effective 'world policeman'?

### **Indicative Content**

It is argued by some analysts that superpowers have a duty to police their sphere of influence. In the absence of an official international police force and courts with comprehensive powers, it is necessary to prevent anarchy from destroying international order. Only superpowers have the ability to police the globe, since only they have the resources, whether military, economic or political, to punish and reward other states. Periods of peace tend to have coincided with active superpowers that have been willing to act as global or regional policemen. From *pax Romana*, to *pax Britannica*, *pax Sovietica* and *pax Americana* history has shown that stability requires an active power to create balance.

As the sole superpower and global hegemon it could be argued that the US has the right and the duty to act as the world policeman. In a hegemonic system leadership or primacy must be exercised. Clearly the most powerful state will typically be the hegemon and therefore global policeman. However as well as economic and military power the hegemon must significantly be seen as having the right to lead by virtue of what it stands for. The USA would argue that it stands for freedom and for democracy. As long as most other states recognise these values and agree that the USA pursues these values, then it is likely that the USA will be accepted as the world policeman. However, if a significant number of states or non-state actors disagree with these values, or if it is believed that the USA does not actually pursue such values consistently, then the right of the USA to act as the world's policeman is questioned.

The effectiveness of the USA's policing is complicated further by whether the USA is willing to take the world policeman role. Clearly, many US presidents have preferred isolationism. Clinton reluctantly took a policing role in Bosnia after his frustration at Europe's incompetence, and after feeling shame for atrocities in Rwanda and Srebrenica. Bush preferred an isolationist role, but felt that 9/11 made this impossible.

Candidates should address the extent to which the USA has been effective as the policeman, and whether it has the right to police the world simply because of its military superiority.

### **In making judgements consider the following:**

- Knowledge of the role of global policeman (AO1)
- Knowledge and understanding of US attempts to police the world (AO1)
- Analysis of the extent to which the USA has been an effective world policeman (AO2)

### **Level Three Descriptor (39–60 marks)**

A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

### **Level Two Descriptor (21–38 marks)**

A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.

**Level One Descriptor (0–20 marks)**

A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.



## **7. Discuss the extent to which the opposition to the EU constitution has derailed the process of achieving an 'ever closer union'.**

### ***Indicative Content***

The EU Constitution was seen by some federalists and anti-federalists as a significant step towards the creation of a European superstate. Others saw it as a watered-down document, designed to pacify the Eurosceptics, which should be rejected because it did not go far enough towards creating political union. Tony Blair described the Constitution as being merely a tidying up exercise which would simplify and clarify the powers of the EU without threatening the sovereignty of member states.

The EU Constitution was effectively derailed by the 'No' votes in referendums in France and The Netherlands, two founder states which were typically Euro federalist.

Strong candidates will discuss the extent to which 'ever closer union' has been derailed because even France and The Netherlands are losing their appetite for federalism, or whether 'ever closer union' will continue as the main elements of the Constitution are introduced in 'bit form'.

Candidates should also describe the meaning of the term 'ever closer union' and its relevance for political federalism. If candidates conclude that 'ever closer union' has been derailed, they may also discuss the extent to which this has occurred because of the 'No' votes in France and The Netherlands, or for other reasons, such as expansion.

### **In making judgements consider the following:**

- Knowledge of the process of 'ever closer union' (AO1)
- Knowledge and understanding of the purpose of the EU constitution (AO1)
- Analysis of the extent to which the movement towards EU federalism has been derailed (AO2)

### **Level Three Descriptor (39–60 marks)**

A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

### **Level Two Descriptor (21–38 marks)**

A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.

### **Level One Descriptor (0–20 marks)**

A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.

## Unit 4 Marking Grid

Levels	Performance Criteria	1-4 20 marks	5-7 60 marks
3	Excellent	17-20	51-60
	Very good	15-16	45-50
	Good	13-14	39-44
2	Sound	11-12	33-38
	Basic	9-10	27-32
	Limited	7-8	21-26
1	Weak	5-6	15-20
	Poor	3-4	9-14
	Very poor	0-2	0-8

## Unit 5

Levels	Performance Criteria	1-4 20 marks	5-7 60 marks
3	Excellent	17-20	51-60
	Very good	15-16	45-50
	Good	13-14	39-44
2	Sound	11-12	33-38
	Basic	9-10	27-32
	Limited	7-8	21-26
1	Weak	5-6	15-20
	Poor	3-4	9-14
	Very poor	0-2	0-8

## Unit 6

Levels	Performance Criteria	Essay 50 marks
3	Excellent	43-50
	Very good	38-42
	Good	33-37
2	Sound	28-32
	Basic	23-27
	Limited	18-22
1	Weak	13-17
	Poor	8-12
	Very poor	0-7

