

# Mark Scheme

## Winter 2008

GCE

### GCE Government and Politics (Unit 4D) International Politics

These instructions should be the first page of all mark schemes

## General Marking Guidance

- All candidates must receive the same treatment. Examiners must mark the first candidate in exactly the same way as they mark the last.
- Mark schemes should be applied positively. Candidates must be rewarded for what they have shown they can do rather than penalised for omissions.
- Examiners should mark according to the mark scheme not according to their perception of where the grade boundaries may lie.
- There is no ceiling on achievement. All marks on the mark scheme should be used appropriately.
- All the marks on the mark scheme are designed to be awarded. Examiners should always award full marks if deserved, i.e. if the answer matches the mark scheme. Examiners should also be prepared to award zero marks if the candidate's response is not worthy of credit according to the mark scheme.
- Where some judgement is required, mark schemes will provide the principles by which marks will be awarded and exemplification may be limited.
- When examiners are in doubt regarding the application of the mark scheme to a candidate's response, the team leader must be consulted.
- Crossed out work should be marked UNLESS the candidate has replaced it with an alternative response.

Question Number	Indicative content
1	<p>Supranationalism refers to the development of laws and institutions which are above the member state. That is, decision-making bodies such as The EU Commission, The European Central Bank or the European Court of Justice, which supercede or over-ride the sovereign authority of member states.</p> <p>Answers should define supranational and discuss the extent to which the EU has moved away from intergovernmentalism, dominated by the Council of Ministers, towards a supranational body. Clearly there are elements of the EU which are supranational, such as the European Central Bank and the European Court, but the key policy areas of foreign policy, defence and taxation, are still controlled by the individual member states and their elected governments.</p> <p><b>In making judgements consider the following:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Knowledge and understanding of supranationalism (AO1)</li> <li>• Knowledge and understanding of supranational institutions in the EU (AO1)</li> <li>• Analysis of the extent to which the EU has become a supranational body (AO2)</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	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.
Level 2	7-12	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 3	13-20	<p>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.</p> <p>Candidates will discuss both aspects of globalisation and the fact that there is debate over whether globalisation actually exists. They might also mention the effect on the nation-state.</p>

Question Number	Indicative content
2	<p>There is now widespread agreement that climate change, or global warming, is occurring. This is almost beyond dispute, thus there is a global environmental crisis. However there remain a number of significant areas in which there is dispute, including: the causes of global warming, how dire the consequences will be, and whether these negative consequences can be overcome using technology or whether the sheer cost of reducing CO2 pollution, for example, is greater than the cost of compensating those that will suffer from global warming.</p> <p>Achieving concerted international action on climate change is complicated since the tradition within International Relations is state-centric and states pursue their national interest. Because of the fundamental right of sovereignty, world politics is dependant on what governments choose to do and what rules they voluntarily support. The Kyoto agreement, for example, was not ratified by the USA, the richest nation and the largest polluter. Moreover, many states that did ratify the treaty have, so far failed to achieve their reductions in emissions. The debate is complicated further the dramatic, and continuing, increase in pollution in China. Rational decision makers will doubt the wisdom of introducing expensive environmental restrictions when pollution remains unabated elsewhere. International environmental problems tend not to be caused by deliberate acts of government policy, but are instead the unintended side-effects of broader socio-economic processes. Non-state actors are as least as important as states in that their activities will lead to environmental damage. Controlling such actors may require a political will that few governments currently possess.</p> <p><b>In making judgements consider the following:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Knowledge of the main environmental concerns (AO1)</li> <li>• Knowledge of attempts to address environmental issues (AO1)</li> <li>• Analysis of the difficulties encountered in tackling such issues (AO2)</li> </ul>

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3	<p>Polarity in the international system revolves around the distribution of power. Unipolarity occurs where international relations are dominated by a single state. Analysts such as Krauthammer and Nye have argued that the collapse of the USSR bequeathed a unipolar system where the USA was the unchallenged superpower. US hegemony is not merely based upon its military dominance, but also its economy, currency, language and culture. Others, such as Huntington have described the current international system as being a 'limited unipolar system', where one state dominates but there are many restraints on US power. Most notably would be the necessity for the US to be supported by other states. The War on Terror, for example requires the support of other states, the US economy is intertwined and its success depends upon the success of the global economy. Moreover, unipolarity requires the hegemon to play a dominant role in world politics, and some question the desire of the US to play such a role. Finally, it is perhaps inevitable that other states will try to counterbalance US power. Chirac, Putin, Hu Jintao and others have demonstrated a desire of the second ranking states to assert their own authority and to reduce US dominance. If these powers unite then unipolarity will be challenged.</p> <p><b>In making judgements consider the following:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Knowledge of unipolarity and the current international system (AO1)</li> <li>• Knowledge of attempts to counter US dominance (AO1)</li> <li>• Analysis of the extent to which the system is unipolar (AO2)</li> </ul>

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4	<p>International Law is usually defined as the rules that govern the conduct of states in their relations with one another. Therefore, by creating rules for peaceful interaction, interstate cooperation is encouraged. Neo liberals aim to promote institutions such as the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court, which promote political control of international conflict. However, even they would admit that there is no universal international law, no global sovereign, nor any effective enforcement mechanism which is accepted by all, and therefore, war continues to break out. Candidates should assess the ability of international law courts to bring order to international relations in an otherwise anarchical international system.</p> <p>Advanced answers will discuss the relative success of international courts, including war crimes tribunals, but will probably accept that most of the time sovereign states do abide by international law. Whether this is because of the international courts is debatable, of course.</p> <p><b>In making judgements consider the following:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Knowledge and understanding of the role of international law. (AO1)</li> <li>• Knowledge and understanding of international courts which attempt to apply international law (ICJ, ICC etc). (AO1)</li> <li>• Analysis of the extent to which international courts are effective in their roles. (AO2)</li> </ul>

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5	<p>Neo-colonialism describes the continued domination of the former colonies in the Global South by the Global North. Many regard the relationship between the South and the North as still being one of Dependency. The South is dependent on the North for foreign direct investment, manufactured goods, skills and technology, and states are forced to sell primary products such as coffee, cocoa and copper at prices which, even now, do not reflect their true value. International aid is given in order to obtain political concessions and financial institutions from the North provide highly conditional loans or use debt to force states to open their economies to trade and multinational firms. Thus, poverty in the South is a consequence of neo-colonialism. However, it can also be argued that poverty is a result of far more wide-ranging problems than neo-colonialism, and that only by increasing contact and trade with the North can the South prosper. Candidates should discuss reasons for poverty in the South, including war, bad governance and corruption, and natural disasters such as drought, earthquakes, hurricanes, floods etc.</p> <p><b>In making judgements consider the following:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Knowledge of global poverty and its causes (AO1)</li> <li>• Understanding of how neo-colonialism has affected the South (AO1)</li> <li>• Analysis of the extent to which poverty in the South is a result of neo-colonialism alone (AO2)</li> </ul>

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Level 2	21-38	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 3	39-60	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.

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6	<p>Power is a fundamental concept of international relations. The general meaning of power is the ability to change or influence the behaviour of others. The US could be seen to have power over the UK because the US was able to urge the UK to enter into a war in Iraq which was probably not on the UK's agenda. However, The UK could also be seen to have had influence over the US in urging the US to seek a UN Security Council resolution before engaging in war. Power has been measured by factors such as economic wealth (GDP or GNP figures), population size, land area, education levels, diplomatic skills, motivation etc. The relative size and strength of armed forces has been a traditional indicator, since the use of force is the ultimate way to impose one's will.</p> <p>Hard power, or coercive power is arguably becoming less important as military force becomes ever more expensive and as we have seen in Iraq, less effective. Economic sanctions have also proved to have limited success. In turn, soft power, or persuasive power, where characteristics such as moral authority enhance a state's image, and thereby its leadership, are becoming more significant; 'winning the hearts and minds' has been seen to be the key strategy in the war on terror, for example.</p> <p>Candidates should discuss the role of hard power in international relations and compare this to the apparently growing importance for soft power.</p> <p><b>In making judgements consider the following:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Understanding of the importance of power (AO1).</li> <li>• Understanding of the different types of power (AO1)</li> <li>• Analysis of the extent to which influence in international politics is still dependent on military and economic power (AO2).</li> </ul>

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7	<p>The World Bank was initially the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It originally provided loans for the rebuilding of war torn nations following WW2. Since then it has concentrated on development projects, providing long term loans to LDCs who are unlikely to obtain commercial loans.</p> <p>The IMF and the World Bank are key actors in the international political economy, and with particular relevance to development. Their formation stemmed in part because many believed that the Great Depression and World War II were partly caused by inflation, lack of currency convertibility and other economic problems that characterised the inter-war period (1919-1939). To address future economic problems the allies met in 1944 at Bretton Woods to set up the World Bank and the IMF. The IMF loans money to states that are experiencing problems which are harming faith in their currency. This lack of faith in the currency causes instability because people both abroad and at home become less willing to accept the country's money. To counter this instability the IMF loans a state hard currency (usually US Dollars) to support its currency or to restructure its international debt.</p> <p>The IMF has played an important role in restoring monetary stability, particularly in LDCs and CITs, but also in 'wealthy' states such as the UK in the 1970s. However, there are many critics of both the IMF and the World Bank, and in recent years they have become a focus of the struggle between the North and the South. There are two main controversies; vote distribution and Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP).</p> <p>Vote distributions are based on member-states' contributions funds. Thereby in the IMF, the US has 18% of the votes, the EU has 31% (EU15) and Canada has 3%. This gives control to a few countries that constitute less than 10% of the IMF membership. Similarly, LDCs have little power in decision making.</p> <p>The second criticism is that they impose unfair and severe economic conditions on already indebted and impoverished states. The SAP, to which recipients of IMF loans have to agree, require states to move towards capitalism by privatising state-run enterprises, reducing trade barriers and facilitating capital flows (thereby promoting foreign ownership of domestic firms), reducing social programmes to cut budget deficits (health and education thereby suffering) and devaluing currencies. Critics argue that the SAP violates state sovereignty and harms living standards by cutting social services and reducing growth in order to balance budgets. Defendants counter such arguments by stating that the existing policies caused the monetary instability or crisis in</p>

	<p>confidence.</p> <p><b>In making judgements consider the following:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Knowledge of the roles of the World Bank and the IMF (AO1)</li> <li>• Knowledge and understanding of the criticisms levelled against them (AO1)</li> <li>• Analysis of their strengths and weaknesses and of whether criticisms are justified (AO2)</li> </ul>
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