

Mark Scheme (Standardisation) Summer 2008

GCE

GCE Government & Politics (Unit 4D/6503)

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>Globalization entails both economic and cultural aspects. It speaks of an ever more interdependent world in which issues of sovereignty are increasingly less important.</p> <p>The world in the 21st Century is a much more interconnected place than it was 100 years ago. Messages and information can be sent anywhere in the world for very low cost. Email, the internet, telephones, TV and radio ensure that. International travel is both faster and cheaper than at any time in history. In all, geography is becoming less and less important. Stock markets could be located anywhere, indeed, traders could all work from home, and in the future they may do so. Products and firms are also becoming more international. A car can be assembled in one location, but its components tend to be sourced from a variety of countries. The place of assembly could be moved quite easily, perhaps to take advantage of relaxed labour laws elsewhere or lower tax rates. People are also more willing than ever to relocate. Mobility is a key factor. As people move around the globe ideas move with them. Globalization impacts upon every aspect of the political and economic system. What was once described as a myth, is now widely accepted. What is debatable, however, is whether globalization is a new phenomenon or merely the continuation of the process of increasing interconnectedness which began in the colonial period.</p> <p>In making judgements consider the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge and understanding of globalization (AO1) • Knowledge and understanding of globalization past and present (AO1) • Analysis of the extent to which globalization is a new phenomenon (AO2)

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	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. Candidates will discuss different aspects of globalization and the fact that there is debate over whether globalisation actually exists. They might also mention the effect on the nation-state.

Question Number	Indicative content
2	<p>The WTO is a multilateral organisation which monitors the implementation of trade agreements and settles disputes among trade partners. The WTO was developed from GATT as a free-trade organisation with 'teeth'. It extended the jurisdiction of GATT to include trade in agricultural products and services, its findings are 'binding' on all member states and its legislative powers have theoretically removed the need for prolonged negotiations which involve endless concessions and 'deals'. The WTO is the central institution governing trade and therefore almost all states want to participate in it. Membership currently stands at 144, including China finally joining after 13 years of negotiations.</p> <p>Candidates must explain the role of the WTO in promoting free trade and in settling trade disputes between members. Level 3 answers will include explained examples of such disputes, such as the EU - US disputes over steel protection and over aircraft manufacturing.</p> <p>In making judgements consider the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge of the aims of the WTO (AO1) • Knowledge of criticisms of the WTO (AO1) • Analysis of the effectiveness of the WTO at tackling such issues (AO2)

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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	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.

Question Number	Indicative content
3	<p>Intergovernmentalism refers to a structure of IGO where state sovereignty is protected as decisions are made by the leaders of member states. The European Council of Ministers is an intergovernmental body for this reason. Intergovernmentalists prefer a confederal structure which is, of course state-centric. Answers should 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. Intergovernmentalism has been defended because the alternative, supranationalism, entails the erosion of the traditional bastion of state sovereignty.</p> <p>In making judgements consider the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge of intergovernmentalism (AO1) • Knowledge of attempts to retain intergovernmentalism in the EU (AO1) • Analysis of the extent to which intergovernmentalism has been retained and why (AO2)

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Question Number	Indicative content
4	<p>The rise of emerging nations refers to the rapid growth, both economic and political, of nation states such as China, India and Brazil. China's record of 10% annual GDP growth since the early 1990s has meant that China is an emerging superpower. Clearly a second superpower will have significant implications for world politics. The USA will no longer be the sole superpower and so the unipolar era post 1990 will be replaced by one of bipolarity or even multipolarity. Candidates should discuss the impact of this growth in China's power and influence, including the weakened hegemony of the USA and the reduced ability of the West to dominate world politics. China's willingness to buy oil and gas from states such as Iran, Libya, Sudan and Angola are useful examples.</p> <p>The emergence of states such as India and Brazil may also change the balance of power in international trade at WTO talks, for example.</p> <p>In making judgements consider the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge and understanding of the increasing power and status of emerging nations. (AO1) • Knowledge and understanding of how the international system is affected by the number of great powers (AO1) • Analysis of the extent to which the international system has been affected by the emergence of nation states such as China and India. (AO2)

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Level 3	13-20	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.

Question Number	Indicative content
5	<p>The belief that people have rights because they are human beings is a relatively recent concept. Traditional thinking on international law is that it applies to states and not individuals. Moreover, state sovereignty prevents intervention in the domestic affairs of other states; International law being between states, and municipal law between individuals. However, the 'society of states' concept has been challenged by the 'global society' approach which gives equal status to individuals as to states, and where human rights are as legitimate a policy concern as peace or economic well-being. The UN Commission on Human Rights was established in 1946 and in 1948 the UN General Assembly passed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.</p> <p>Thus there is a code of established human rights. There have been attempts to create a judiciary which investigates and punishes infringements, but enforcement remains difficult and problematic. At least there is something against which states can be compared and criticised. There have also been a number of regional measures, some of which have had more success. The European Convention on Human Rights, for example, should be identified, not only identifies rights but also tries to enforce them. There have also been a number of NGOs which have sprung up in defence of human rights, most notably Amnesty International which specialises in fighting for prisoners of conscience.</p> <p>However, increasingly, the nation-state is becoming vulnerable to outside interference as economic markets and telecommunications become global. Human rights and the right to self-determination are becoming international concerns. The failure of the international community to stop genocide in Rwanda, and in the first years of conflict in Yugoslavia lead to a change in western attitudes towards the supremacy of state sovereignty. State sovereignty was repeatedly challenged, in Bosnia, Kosovo and Iraq, for example, as some western leaders began to argue that severe violations of human rights warranted military intervention. Sovereign equality, it seems has waned. Moreover the EU has introduced the concept of pooled sovereignty.</p> <p>In making judgements consider the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge of state sovereignty and its relevance (AO1) • Understanding of how state sovereignty impacts upon justice and human rights (AO1 and AO2) • Analysis of the extent to state sovereignty over rules concerns over human rights (AO2)

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Level 1	0-20	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	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.

Question Number	Indicative content
6	<p>The debt crisis has existed since 1982 when Mexico defaulted on its debt. It stems from international borrowing in the 1970s by many LDCs who struggled to stimulate development and cope with falling aid combined with rising oil prices. Banks from the North were often too willing to grant loans in the belief that sovereign states represented safe borrowers. However, as money was often misspent and the global economy drifted into recession, interest rates in the US particularly rose causing the US \$ value to rise sharply and debt repayments to present an ever burden.</p> <p>Traditional responses to the debt crisis have involved more loans (the 1985 Baker plan) or reform of economic policy in combination with IMF loans and the infamous SAP. Lower government spending, higher interest rates and higher taxes led to recession hurting the poor most and widening the income inequality gap. More recent solutions have included the debt for equity swaps, whereby state assets were exchanged for a reduction in debt. But clear sovereignty issues arise here. The IMF and World Bank have also implemented the Highly Indebted Poor Countries initiative (HIPC) targeting the poorest states which have an unsustainable debt situation. Though the HIPC initiative has had success, (eg in Bolivia, Burkina Faso and Uganda) some argue that it has not gone far enough since debt repayments still deprive people of even the basic needs and many impoverished states, such as Haiti are not even included. The charity Jubilee 2000 has pushed for the debts of all 41 HIPCs to be cancelled. They point to the costs of debt repayment, such as in Zambia more than 10% of GDP is spent, whereas less than half that figure is spent on all social services combined. Only cancellation of the debt will allow the Millenium Development Goal of halving extreme poverty by 2015 to be considered.</p> <p>Students should discuss the arguments against debt cancellation: such as it being unfair to those states that have repaid debt, and it rewards bad governance. Blair is a proponent of using debt relief to reward good governance and is opposed to blanket cancellation of the debt. Actions of Blair and Brown suggest that international aid has been ineffective because aid has been too small. In 2001 Britain urged the North to spend \$50 billion more on aid, which would bring aid towards the level of the Marshall Plan. Gordon Brown has argued that the safety of people in the North depends on the prosperity of those in the South. In March 2002 Bush proposed a 50% increase in US foreign aid, \$10 billion over 3 years, then in 2003 he promised \$15 billion to fight AIDS in Africa.</p> <p>Level 3 answers should give reasons for aid being ineffective, including the debt problem, and mis-spending such as on military projects, inappropriate technology, white elephants and corruption. Students should analyse trade as a more effective strategy than aid, and that states need access to markets in the North. Until then aid cannot hope to bring about large scale development and instead will be limited to emergency relief or</p>

	<p>localized development.</p> <p>In making judgements consider the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding of the use of aid to reduce poverty in LDCs (AO1). • Understanding of the role of free trade in reducing poverty (AO1) • Analysis of the extent to which poverty is best tackled by aid or trade (AO2).
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7	<p>The United Nations arguably represent a world government in that all sovereign states except for Taiwan have representation in the General Assembly. The Security Council is clearly dominated by the P5, but ten other states complete the SC and perhaps give it an element of representation. Candidates should discuss the extent to which the UN carries out the role of global parliament and legislator.</p> <p>The International Criminal Court and the International Court of Justice, together with <i>ad hoc</i> tribunals, arguably represent the judiciary, but candidates should discuss the impact of state sovereignty and the willingness of some states to reject the authority of the courts.</p> <p>The IMF, World Bank and WTO represent the financial and trade institutions set up to promote economic prosperity and stability throughout the globe. Candidates should discuss the extent to which these bodies contribute to the development of a world government.</p> <p>Answers should include discussion of UN peacekeeping powers and analysis of whether these powers are sufficient to carry out the UN aims of maintaining international peace and security. In recent years there have been calls for the Un to intervene in internal disputes, to prevent genocide and promote human rights. Advanced answers will analyse the extent to which these bodies contribute to the development of a world government.</p> <p>In making judgements consider the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge various international organisations (UN, WTO, ICC, ICJ etc) and their relevance with regards to a world government (AO1) • Knowledge of the conflict between state sovereignty, state centric policies and a world government (AO1) • Analysis of the extent to which various institutions and international law bring order and global governance (AO2) • Analysis of the extent to which such institutions have/ have not led to a system of world government, and reasons for this (AO2)

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