

# ResultsPlus

Examiners' Report

June 2011

GCE Government & Politics 6GP04 4A

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## Introduction

This paper showed some noticeable gaps in candidates' knowledge- the cohort seemed well versed in issues connected with UK membership of the EU, and with the roles of the various institutions. However, there was less knowledge demonstrated, and some surprising misunderstandings, on the topics of integration and domestic policy.

It was pleasing to note that a sizeable number of centres are keeping up to date with current affairs within Europe, for example the impact of the recession and recent proposals in the UK to reform the CAP, and I would encourage centres to continue in this vein as the responses seen suggest that this helps to engage students more fully.

There is, however, still a discrepancy in the essays, between those candidates who are being able to tackle synopticity by analysing the issue at the heart of the question- such as whether or not monetary union has failed- and those who still treat essays as requiring very simple for/against or yes/no responses, and so gain very low or no synopticity marks. Centres may find it useful to spend more time on synoptic skills when preparing candidates for the examination, as many knowledgeable candidates are losing valuable marks by adopting the more simplistic approach when answering essays.

## **Question 1**

This was the most popular question, and allowed candidates to demonstrate a wide range of knowledge about the UK perspective on EU membership. The future of the UK in the EU is a subject that is almost constantly debated, not only at election time but whenever policies emerge from the EU which are challenged by UK Eurosceptics and the media- as a result, candidates were well versed in issues relating to national sovereignty and the Common Agricultural Policy. A number of stronger candidates were able to discuss the issues surrounding a two-speed Europe and the democratic deficit. There were also a number of excellent responses where candidates were able to demonstrate a good understanding of political party stances.

There were also a minority of candidates who used this question as a vehicle for anti-EU rants based on immigration, but most candidates who discussed this aspect of the argument were able to give a considered view of the issue.

One noticeable issue for candidates with this question, however, was the tendency of a sizeable number of usually stronger candidates to treat this like an essay question. Such responses often offered a fully balanced answer rather than focusing on the pro-withdrawal arguments, and generally spent far too much time on this one question. As a result, a number of very good candidates ran out of time later on, and so either missed out one or more of the other short-answer questions or had to resort to bullet points on their essay. This seriously limited their overall marks, so highlighting a need to emphasise the importance of timings on this paper.

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Britain being a member of the European Union has always been controversial among parties & public. Many say we would benefit from withdrawing from the EU.

Many believe that if we carry on being a member of the EU, we will lose our sovereignty as a country. It's also believed that the EU is becoming more integrated & supranational; The EU now has a president, its own currency (the euro), & it even wants its own constitution. Fear among the British public & parties feel that Britain may be overruled on certain policies. Also some policies may be implemented due to other countries needs, but not ours, people are scared that the cultures will clash & we will end up losing our nationality. It is also agreed that if we leave the

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EU we won't be overpowered by countries like France & Germany. It will also enable us to have better trading with non-EU countries & allow our economy to grow.

However if we do leave the EU, we will miss out on a lot of benefits. The EU is fast becoming a Super Power but if Britain were not a part of this then they couldn't benefit from the growth. Also within the EU the trade is free & much better than if you were a non-EU member. We won't be able to benefit from loans from the EU & will always be out of the loop with EU countries.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This is an example of a weak response, where the points made are more in line with the legacy AS Unit 3 paper rather than an in-depth A2 study. The main point is on sovereignty, but even that one point is very general and lacks depth.

It achieved level 1, and it was awarded 5 marks.

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There are a number of clear arguments that the UK should leave the EU. Championed by figures such as Nigel Farage of UKIP and Conservatives like Anne Widdecombe, its withdrawal is campaigned on the fact that it is expensive, erodes national sovereignty and is undemocratic.

The argument that it is expensive is ~~not~~ the most significant argument, as there is overwhelming evidence and media attention on the issue. For instance, in the past year the Common Agricultural Policy is estimated to have cost 56 bn euros to the member states (~~costing~~ <sup>to</sup> over 2 euros a week per citizen), despite the fact that CAP helps only 1.6% of the EU's population while providing only 1.6% of its total GDP. Regional policy, representing 36% of the EU budget, is also extremely expensive, with 1670 million wasted on bureaucracy alone in 2007. These statistics have been used to influence the electorate into voting on a more right wing

You should start the answer to your third question choice on page 9

stance; 28% now wish to leave the EU, and very little trust it.

However, this argument is weakened due to reforms to some of these policies, and to the fact that these policies do in fact help British citizens. Both <sup>Northern</sup> Ireland, Scotland and Wales receive regional funding from the EU, and regional funding has helped lift 34m out of poverty and create ~~3.75m~~ 1.5 million jobs, argues Dacian Cioloș, ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Commissioner for Regional Policy. Indeed, those in Scottish parliament like Alex Salmond and the Welsh assembly like Paddy Hingle are in favour of membership and observe EU benefits, weakening the argument in favour of leaving it.

Another reason why many figures like William Hague are Eurosceptic is due to the gradual erosion of sovereignty that has been observed in recent years. This reallocation of agenda has been perceived through the growth in the use of Qualified Majority Voting, outlined in treaties like Lisbon in 2009, which requires only 74% of a yes vote to pass proposals, giving national governments less power. Furthermore, proposals of Double Majority Voting, which requires only 55% of the vote representing 67% of EU population gives UK politicians and citizens even greater reason to worry, particularly as Federalists such as Guy Verhofstadt have been pushing for a

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agenda so passionately. This is recognised by the electorate too, and has resulted in the weakening of parties such as the Liberal Democrats who are heavily in favour of the EU at a number of levels.

The power of institutions such as the European Parliament and European Court of Justice has also raised complaints, particularly from more conservative nations like Norway, about the undemocratic nature of the EU. Figures like Tony Benn argue that it gives far too much power to unelected officials, particularly institutions like the Commission, which direct 90% of the Council of Ministers agenda, something which Mervyn Davies was also known to despise. Although checks and balances have been put in place, like the EP's power to remove the Commission (as with the former Commission, infamously the Handmaid activities of Edith Cresson) it is clear that the EU still has a long way to go to become accountable and until then, its undemocratic nature is a solid reason for the UK's withdrawal.



## ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

This candidate not only offers a range of developed arguments in favour of UK withdrawal, but also analyses the weaknesses of such arguments- demonstrating a clear and strong understanding of the issues at stake.

This is a clear level 3 for the depth of knowledge and analysis- 15 marks.

## **Question 2**

This was a two-part question, a common question-style on A2 papers, yet many candidates failed to address both sides of the question- indeed, many candidates failed to link the two key concepts of subsidiarity and integration at all. There were also a worrying number of candidates who confused the concepts of subsidiarity and subsidies, and so gained no marks at all.

A sizeable number of candidates chose to make this a question about integration, almost completely ignoring the subsidiarity aspect, and went on to gain marks almost by accident when discussing the importance of regional policy for integration.

Candidates who were able to link the two concepts largely argued the case that subsidiarity helped integration by reassuring Eurosceptics who feared losing too much national sovereignty. Nonetheless, few candidates were able to argue the case that subsidiarity can both help and hinder integration- the lack of understanding of this issue led to very few level 3 marks being awarded.

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~~Sub = decision @ lowest level pos. in EU most prevalent @ CoR seen as  
alternative to fed.  
4.int = 2 speed allowed euro scepticism? Planned vs. of fed state.  
v. 7.int = allowed bad countries to have 2 things in EU harmony. coexistence  
dem def by bringing citizens in (more european)~~

Subsidiarity means organising decision-making to occur at the lowest possible level. In the EU, subsidiarity is most prevalent at the Committee of the Regions, where policy deals with Europe as regions rather than central government. The introduction of subsidiarity at Maastricht was an alternative to federalism.

It has been particularly significant at harming European integration. It allowed for the creation of a 2 speed Europe, in which countries could choose the pace at which they were wanting to integrate and make Europe a federal state. It has allowed those in the outer ring such as the UK and Denmark to become "part-time partners" in the EU. Euroscepticism has

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Thrived in those countries where subsidiarity is favoured. It is the biggest threat to Jacques Delors' vision of a "federal Europe" and makes future integration in the ~~EU~~ EU which all members enthusiastically partake in seem bleak.

However, some may argue that subsidiarity has been significant at maintaining integration in the EU. ~~At~~ At Maastricht, it appeared the Eurosceptic UK and led to them signing the treaty. It offers countries who are worried about losing national sovereignty some form of comfort. It has helped to ease severe tensions between those in favour of federalism and those in favour of avoiding it. Therefore, it may be argued that subsidiarity has been significant at keeping the member states in the EU happy and prevented it from splitting. Furthermore, it is possible that without subsidiarity, integration cannot occur.

Overall, it is clear that in the face of ~~integration~~ integration, subsidiarity has real insignificance. Despite the principle's existence, huge integrationary measures have taken place. Since 1992, the single market has been expanded; Schengen representing the freemovement of people has been formalised and the single currency of the euro has been adopted in 17 countries. ~~12~~ 12 new countries have joined the EU since 2004 and I are committed to

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

integrating. Therefore, subsidiarity ~~is~~ seems ~~highly~~  
more significant in theory than in practice.



**ResultsPlus**

**Examiner Comments**

This is an example of a level 3 response where the candidate has demonstrated good quality of understanding of the issues at stake. The progress within the level, however, was limited by the knowledge displayed, which was relatively limited.

The candidate clearly defines the key concept of subsidiarity, and is able to follow this up with the arguments that subsidiarity both helps and hinders integration. The arguments on the necessity of subsidiarity for integration are very thin, however, which is the reason why this response remains at the bottom of level 3. It was awarded 11 marks.

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Subsidiarity, a concept introduced by John Major in the Maastricht treaty 1992, means to take decisions making to the lowest possible level, i.e. national to regional.

The significance of subsidiarity for integration is that it impedes it. Decisions making at the lowest level ensures that focus and influence is brought to a domestic level. It moves focus away from a European one as the locality of decision making is inherently focused on singular member countries and not relevant across the board of member states.

Subsidiarity is a stumbling block in terms of a federal Europe and supranational government. Power is loaned from supranational decision making, before decisions of member states are taken.

With regards to the enlargement in 2004, with the influx of 10 new countries, the CEECs,

You should start the answer to your third question choice on page 9

financial subsidiarity, looking to the anglo-saxon model and ~~the~~ across the clear blue waters of the USA. As these states were previously committed, they favored less central control at a european level and preferred low level decision making like the social models of the UK and the US. The support of the CEECS of the concept of subsidiarity worsened the impact of integration.



### ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

This extract begins by defining subsidiarity briefly, then gives a sophisticated analysis of how subsidiarity can have a negative impact on integration. If this argument had been as fully developed when discussing the positive impact of subsidiarity on integration, then this would have been a high-scoring level 3 response.



### ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

A question that asks for the impact of a given factor generally expects candidates to be able to explain the positive **and** the negative impacts of that factor. The response does **not** have to be fully balanced, but there should be consideration of both sides.

### **Question 3**

This was the least popular question, and a sizeable number of candidates seemed wholly unaware of what the role involved. Many candidates chose to only evaluate the performance of Baroness Ashton so far, but in generalities with little evidence to back up points about her lack of presence and inefficiency, so limiting their marks to level 1.

There were, however, a number of strong candidates who were able to offer a critique of Baroness Ashton's performance were also able to appreciate that her work has been limited by the fact that foreign policy is one power guarded by member states. There were also a number of responses where candidates were able to discuss the role of NATO with its military prowess as a comparison.

Many responses, however, were wholly negative about the role, and were unable to access level 3 because their arguments tended to rest on a "not significant" perspective.



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The post of High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs was established under the Lisbon Treaty in 2009. It amalgamated the positions of High Representative for Foreign Affairs from the treaty of Nice and the Commissions External Affairs Commissioner. The current holder is Cathy Ashton of the U.K.

The post represents considerable significance in the E.U as it tries to gain more transparency to the EU population and the world. The post held by Ashton represents the Foreign Policy of the E.U to the World stage. This gives the E.U a greater voice in Foreign Policy in world talks with bodies such as the UN and NATO showing its

You should start the answer to your third question choice on page 9

significance. The post however is arguably just a <sup>figurehead</sup> figurehead. The High Rep for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy is also the vice president of the European Commission. The Commission is the executive body of the EU seen by many as the engine of Europe. The post as established in 2009 gives greater coordination in the EU.

A key significance of the post is the fact that it seeks to unite the 27 members of the EU in a foreign policy consensus this is key in global conflicts such as Libya. Prior to the post the EU had weak coordinate on the 'war on terror'. The high representative for Foreign and Security Policy changes this. As head of the European External Action Service the post allows for key negotiations in order to establish peace settlements.

The post however arguably has little significance as it is not democratically elected. The European Council chooses the choose Cathy Ashton. This lowers the legitimacy of her

You should start the answer to your third question choice on page 9

position. Also Member states have the right to veto foreign policy and security decisions giving the post little significance. There is also limited military capabilities attached to the powers of the post showing that it goes little beyond showing a united front.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This candidate clearly understands the role as established under the Lisbon Treaty, and does attempt to balance their discussion of the significance of the role. A wide range of points is offered, though not in any great depth- but sufficient understanding of the role's significance is shown to enter the bottom of level 3. It was awarded 11 marks.

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How significant is the post of High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy as established in 2009?

~~The post~~

The post of the High Representative has indeed been highly controversial since 2009. Its significance is debatable as it has not had much power or assertive to make a mark on the EU.

Firstly it is debatable as to whether or not a common foreign <sup>& security</sup> policy is feasible or necessary in the EU. Since all EU members are also members of NATO it seems ridiculous to attempt to compete with NATO. If for example the EU wanted to make a differing judgement than NATO it would be unlikely that the EU, without the help of USA, could compete.

Secondly many nation states prefer to keep their sovereignty

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

over foreign and security policies. For example Northern Ireland are pacifists who refuse to fund or partake in any form of war and therefore preserve their right to abstain from all wars.

Cathy Ashton as the High Representative has had to deal with all these problems and issues whilst trying to fulfil her job which is to present one face, one view over ~~foreign~~ foreign affairs and security.

In the international community, the post of the 'High Representative' has not been very significant. For example the recent uprisings in Egypt and Libya were addressed by nation states attending the UN. Cathy Ashton's position was not of great importance to the world when considering solutions ~~or~~ over the matter.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This is a typical example of a level 1 response where the candidate tries to answer the question in generalities, with almost no knowledge of the role other than the name of the postholder and the aim of creating a unified voice for the EU.

It was awarded 4 marks.

## **Question 4**

This question allowed candidates to explore a range of impacts on the judiciary- candidates were able to recall points they had learned for AS Unit 2, so gaining credit in the lower levels for more limited responses, but also build on this with their more advanced A2 knowledge and access the higher levels. Most candidates were able to explain at least 2 arguments with examples and attempted balance- usually how the ECJ is now the highest court with the example of Factortame or pensions, and the fact that not all areas of UK law are affected by EU membership.

There were, however, a sizeable number of mostly one-sided responses, focusing on the bad effects of EU membership. Such responses tended to focus only on the Factortame case and the negative over-ruling of UK law by EU courts, with little development of any other points.

Worryingly, many candidates are still unable to distinguish between the European Court of Justice and the European Court of Human Rights- resulting in a large number of candidates wrongly citing the recent ECHR furore surrounding prisoners' votes.

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EU membership has affected the UK ~~for~~ in a number different ways. Firstly the Judiciary now have to use EU laws that affect Britain because they are superior. When the European Court of Justice ruled that it was legal for the Spanish to fish in British ~~waters~~<sup>seas</sup> the Judiciary had to now use the EU fishery policy instead of the UK's.

Furthermore the Judiciary in the UK is no longer the highest court in the UK. Citizens can now effectively go to the ~~UK~~ ~~in order to~~ ~~complain~~ European Court of Justice if they believe that the way they have been treated or rulings ~~are~~ are not compatible with EU law.

In addition, EU membership has affected the Judiciary in the UK as some laws have now had to change. For example competition policy and immigration policy. ~~It has~~ affected the Judiciary because it has ~~made~~ ~~that~~ ~~has~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~now~~

The social chapter has also significantly affected the UK Judiciary because it now means that workers have more rights in which the Judiciary will have to now take into consideration because of membership in the EU.

However it can be argued that EU membership has not affected the <sup>UK Judiciary</sup> ~~EU~~ because on important matters such as law and order the UK <sup>govt</sup> still has full power.

In addition the ECJ rulings do not have to be extended to, the ECJ ~~has~~ ~~no~~ ~~power~~ can not enforce their rulings. ~~everything~~ It is up to the country whether they want to listen or not for example France



didn't water to the ECT ruling about  
British beef start buying British beef.

In Conclusion it can be argued that that  
EU membership has affected the UK  
Judiciary in a number of different  
ways for example E the most  
significant reason is because EU laws  
are superior to British laws; However  
the UK still holds the power over  
no power over law and order or  
Common, foreign and security policy  
and so UK Judiciary hasn't been  
affected significantly



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This candidate covers a range of points and clearly attempts to balance their answer, and is able to include some evidence. More exemplification would progress this within the level.

Level 3- 11 marks.

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plan - 70% law Brussels

- European law overrules UK law - fines
- change law re - factortame shocked British judiciary 1990.

Membership of the EU has greatly affected the UK judiciary. ~~This~~ A main reason being because now 70% of our British law now comes directly from Brussels.

furthermore European law overrules British law and therefore if they go against it they can expect extremely heavy fines.

If British law is forced to go against European law then it must be changed. An extremely famous case of this was the 1990 factortame case. The European Court of Justice (ECJ) ruled that Britain's 1988 Merchant Shipping act which banned foreign ships, fishing in European British water was illegal under European law.

many people in the UK judiciary were shocked by this ruling, which highlighted the strength of that European law and the ECJ has over member states including Britain.

More recent cases include the *Ruvo* over prisoners' right to vote which the UK gov't did not want to allow yet the ECJ says is illegal.

EU law does sometimes work in favour of the UK when after the BSE crisis the French refused to buy British Beef but the ECJ ruled they couldn't do this and so had to start buying British beef.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This is a very limited response, covering 3 points- on EU law, Factortame and the highest court. These points are covered very briefly, with little development. This response also includes the very common error that many candidates made, assuming that the prisoners' votes issue was an ECJ rather than an ECHR ruling.

The understanding that membership of the EU has more than one impact on the UK allows this to enter level 2, but only getting 6 marks.

## **Question 5**

This was another two-part question, which many candidates failed to appreciate. Consequently, these candidates would focus on describing the Social Chapter alone.

Many candidates who did try to address the 'controversy' part of the question often focused on describing the UK opt-out as the only controversy, with little understanding of the impact of the Social Chapter since its inception. This limited their marks to the bottom of level 2.

A definition of the Social Chapter and at least 2 reasons for controversy were required to access level 3- the controversies usually discussed were the UK opt-out and why the Conservatives feared the Social Chapter, and the impact it might/has had on businesses.

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The social chapter was created from Maastricht in 1991. These were 12 principles ~~were~~ which was established under the President of Commission Delors. The social chapter was rejected by John Major ~~to~~ as he opt out of it, thinking it would ruin the economy. However, in 1997, Tony Blair signed the social chapter, in hopes it will create a more friendly nature between Europe and Britain.

It ~~can~~ has been controversial as it ~~&~~ created a 'level playing field' and ~~made~~ ~~all~~ ~~EU~~ ~~countries~~ depromoted competition. However, when countries opted out of the social ~~chapter~~ Chapter, it caused a 'two speed' Europe with countries working at different paces.

It also caused controversy because Trade Unions in Britain saw this as a good idea, however John Major didn't sign it.

effectively meaning what little ~~rested~~ relationship they had with the trade unions.

In addition, it has also been controversial as it states that there should be a minimum wage and equal pay, however, it fails to mention what the minimum wage should be.

Furthermore, it fails to mention job security and this is one of the most important aspects which citizens would want.

In addition to this, the Social Chapter states ~~is~~ that hours per week of work should ~~be~~ not risk health and safety and believe ~~is~~ Britain's 48 hours a week is ~~is~~ a health and safety risk.

In conclusion, although the Social Chapter is a step towards further integration and there are issues that the Social Chapter should be ~~do~~ done by subsidiarity, it is a step towards a more democratic and ~~social~~ social harmonious Europe.



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### Examiner Comments

This response is quite limited, describing aspects of the Social Chapter that caused controversy without fully developing them. For example, the candidate states that "it caused a two-speed Europe" but does not explain how or why.

The lack of development limits the marks awarded to a low level 2. It was awarded 6 marks.

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(all countries have diff soc mod)  
(limit compete)

The social chapter was part of the Maastricht Treaty of 1992. It put forward measures that increased the social dimension of the EU. They included economic, social and political measures that massively increase the breadth of EU affairs. It has proved controversial for a number of reasons - particularly those who see social policy as lying in the national domain.

The most controversial aspect of the social chapter is the ceding of national sovereignty it implies. John Major therefore opted out of it in 1992. He saw the EU as a 'zero-sum game', as more and more powers were transferred to Brussels less were retained by national governments. The Conservative party are

largely  
Euro-sceptics (to various extents) and David Cameron still expresses a desire to take Britain out of the Chapter which Blair signed into.

Secondly is the intergovernmental argument of the EU which believes the EU should largely remain an organisation of governments working together and a Common social model will be increasing supranationalism.

All countries have different social models which suit them, therefore aspects of a Common social policy may be undesirable. For example the Working Times Directive in the UK and the measures on maternity/parental leave have angered some in the British government and have fuelled a Euro-sceptic media and various ~~groups~~ groups such as UKIP and France's 'Movement for France'.

There is also the criticism that social measures will limit the international competitiveness of nations. With increased protection for workers it may result in



problems for businesses and their profits. It also raises the question of whether the EU is losing sight of its original intentions. It was conceived as a trading bloc of nations, a 'capitalist club' as Thatcher stated. However is this a step too far?



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This is an excellent response that explains the aims of the Social Chapter before explaining a range of controversies. These are clearly explained and with specific examples as evidence. The clarity of understanding of the issues at stake merit a top level 3 award. It was awarded 15 marks.

## **Question 6**

This question allowed candidates to use combine their most recent knowledge on Lisbon and the workings and purpose of the EU- the idea of a superstate is one that is obviously well taught, and allowed candidates to demonstrate their analytical and synoptical skills well.

However, it also showed up weaknesses in the teaching of synopticity, where candidates presented very simplistic yes/no responses with no discussion of how true the premise given was. A discussion about whether or not the EU is a superstate in general was also often seen, with little understanding or knowledge demonstrated of Lisbon and its effects. Such responses were limited to a low level 2 at most.

Many candidates also generally accepted that the EU was a superstate, with little balance other than stating that members can still ultimately withdraw. Responses showing these aspects would be limited to level 2- the position within the level would depend on the depth of knowledge and understanding of the arguments presented in favour of the EU being a superstate.

There were, however, a number of excellent answers where candidates gave a balanced response discussing the extensions of QMV, new positions, continuing opt-outs and the lack of tax harmonisation/military force were usually seen. Many candidates were able to suggest that the treaty was only a 'tidying-up exercise', and contrast this with the idea that it was merely a watered-down version of the Constitution treaty.

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Chosen Question Number:

Question 6

Question 7

Question 8

There are many arguments for and against the belief that the Treaty of Lisbon has created a European Superstate.

Firstly, the most evident point that supports the argument that the Treaty has created a superstate is that it created a President for <sup>the</sup> European Council and a High Representative for the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. Eurosceptics argue that this has established the European Union as a superstate, and that it has diminished the sovereign perspectives of member states on international affairs because the ~~Foreign~~ High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy represents the European Union as one voice, from one perspective. ~~It~~ It is argued by some that this indicates that the ~~the~~ the Lisbon Treaty has created a superstate because it allows it ~~to~~ the European Union to behave like a single nation: represented by a president, and Commissioners for ~~refer~~ referable policies to interact with ~~the~~ other nation states.

Secondly, some people believe that the Lisbon Treaty is simply a "repackaged" version of the Constitutional Treaty that was rejected in 2005 by France and ~~the~~ the Netherlands. The Constitutional Treaty also had plans to establish a President of the European Council and a representative

for foreign Affairs and Security policy, and would have made massive progress in establishing the European union as a superstate. It is argued by some that the Lisbon Treaty has many similarities with the Constitution Treaty and it has even been labelled as "federalism by stealth".

However, there are many arguments against the belief that Lisbon has created a superstate. Firstly, the President is the "President of the European Council" and not "President of the European Union". The representative does not have a large amount of political power and the head of the position rotates after a short period of time. The president is not democratically elected, either. Secondly, the representative of the EU for foreign Affairs and security policy represents a policy that has been formulated through intergovernmentalism and consultation with representatives from ~~sovereign~~ national governments of member states. The post represents the beliefs of all the individual ~~sovereign~~ EU members in one policy.

Secondly, it is argued that the Lisbon Treaty has not made any major changes to the way the European union works; it has merely increased its efficiency by ~~created~~ creating these two posts. The rest of the Treaty is more of a "tidying up exercise", organising the policies and workings of the union.

To summarise, the Lisbon Treaty of 2009 has not created a European superstate; however, it has created posts that are familiar to sovereign nations when dealing with foreign policy and "heads of state", such as a president.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This candidate demonstrates an understanding of one approach to answering A2 essays- they start with a very basic introduction, outline arguments in favour of the premise offered by the question, then give counter-arguments against the premise, before finishing with a brief overall conclusion.

However, the response is let down by a lack of depth in both the knowledge displayed and the analysis of the points made. There are few attempts to address synopticity here- which is a common problem with essays that give a simplistic yes/no response. Had the candidate drawn their arguments together by using the counter-points to assess the strength of the first half of their essay, they could have entered level 2. The stark 'for' and 'against' approach offered here limits the candidate's synopticity mark to level 1, as there is no evidence of an understanding of why there are contradictory theories about the impact of the Treaty of Lisbon on the EU.

The candidate does, nonetheless, directly address the question. They also demonstrate sufficient knowledge about the provisions of the Treaty of Lisbon and the extent to which the workings of the EU now differs to be able to access level 2 on AO1, AO2 and AO3.

Overall marks awarded: AO1 6, AO2 6, Synopticity 4, AO2 5.

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

Q6)

① What is it? Treaty of Lisbon rather than 2009.  
 use a european cabinet.

Treaty of Lisbon → ② Yes - superstate because implies further

No - ability for countries  
 exit altogether no loss  
 of sovereignty / legal protection

integrations  
 creation of President of Commission possible all powers  
 presidential in nature!  
 implications of overstepped authority already going this  
 way  
 fear reviving creation of TEC which was previously  
 endorsed by ECJ  
 did not address debt deficit in EU institutions  
 payment for SEM - part of superstate laws!  
 increase in QMV - loss of sovereignty

noted  
 for pro  
 capital

Q6)

The Treaty of Lisbon was ratified in 2009 amidst a large amount of controversy and several initial rejections of the proposal ~~especially in redrafting~~ <sup>the</sup> Many, particularly euro-sceptics, argued that the Treaty was simply a rewording of the highly and widely unpopular TEC, a proposal for a European Constitution, and was most definitely a suggestion that the EU was quickly moving beyond its supranational organisation status and towards the creation of a single 'superstate', similar to the system of the USA.

There is a suggestion that the Treaty of Lisbon is in effect establishing a 'superstate' within the EU because of the degree of further integration of which it implies. This argument by euro-sceptics is one partially shared by some pro

capitalist ~~EU~~ European Unionists who see that the Lisbon Treaty could be the direction towards an eventual Single European Social Model (SESM), part of the basis of a 'superstate', and in conflict to free market principles; although some argue a SESM would only help towards promoting a stronger economy, others see the SESM concept as an invasion upon national sovereignty, a detourance for worldwide trading and as a flawed concept. ~~failure~~ <sup>failure</sup> to comprehend the complexities of the different types of economy that are present amongst the EU member state countries.

The Lisbon Treaty offers more evidence towards ~~a movement~~ the establishment of a 'superstate' and ~~total~~ federalism because of the increased use of the Qualified Majority Voting system (QMV) that it implicates. For member states this effectively ends their ability to veto controversial legislation, and the increase in areas that the QMV can now be used over has resulted in ~~anti~~ eurosceptics making the case that the Lisbon Treaty has secured a significant loss in national sovereignty; the ability of Britain to ~~prevent~~ <sup>prevent</sup> the implicate of legislation it does not support has been reduced <sup>to</sup> by 30% due to the wider use of the QMV since the Lisbon Treaty. Yet ~~other~~ those that see the Lisbon Treaty as simply strengthening the <sup>of the EU</sup> unification and ~~also~~ offering further integration for a more efficient and effective EU as a result would suggest that such a eurosceptic argument is not valid. Although a nation's ability to veto issues has gone, there is instead an orange card system that member states

can use to 'flag up' controversial issues which it feels are concerns of 'subsidiarity' nature. Moreover the fact that the Lisbon Treaty has introduced the ability for member states to leave the EU altogether with an exit clause is evidence to contrary the argument that the Lisbon Treaty has had detrimental implications upon national sovereignty. Such a viewpoint instead argues that through the Treaty sovereignty becomes instead 'pooled', 'shared' or even 'pooled' through the EMU system - smaller countries potentially influence a decision in a more powerful way than was perhaps possible through EMU. The exit clause in effect negates any loss of <sup>national</sup> sovereignty in the sense that ~~part~~ national sovereignty can be instantaneously regained through the exit clause if a member renounces its parliamentary sovereignty to be ended through its membership. Such an opinion also sees the Lisbon Treaty and the 'deepening' of integration that it brings about as an effective trade-off; what is gained in terms of economic growth and security is more than worth any loss in national sovereignty. Yet even with such a perception there is an acknowledgement, however justified, that the Lisbon Treaty has had implications that are suggestive of the EU as a 'superstate'.

Fears of such an actuality are further reinforced by eurosceptics who argue that the creation of the position of the president of the Commission and of the post of High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy are suggestive of the creation of



an all-powerful presidency in the future, much like the president of the USA. Additionally, the entrance of the powers of the ECJ can likewise be viewed by sceptics as a 'deepening' of integration too far, and the securement of the role of an effective and strengthening 'superstate'.

Pro-European Unionists would regard the Treaty of Lisbon however as essential to strengthening the goals of the EU in terms of the Single Market, and the 'deepening' it has secured would be esteemed particularly by <sup>those of</sup> pro-socialist EU stances as a positive thing for the future of the EU, as it offers a greater degree of security for the individual and protection of civil liberties, having made binding the Charter of Fundamental Human Rights.

In conclusion there is significant evidence that the measures within the Treaty of Lisbon are suggestive of the creation of a ~~single state~~ 'superstate', a federal EU, as there is apparent loss of national sovereignty and an increase in terms of the supranational ability that the EU as an organisation now possesses. What is perhaps most

significant is the suggestion certain policies have made towards the exhalation of a federal European state system and SESM, however as of the moment national sovereignty remains over many crucial issues such as direct taxation, and the controversy existent member-wide over the original proposals for a European constitution suggest that a federal 'superstate' EU is not as yet a reality. ~~There is remain many barriers~~



**ResultsPlus**  
**Examiner Comments**

This is an excellent response, where the candidate clearly understands the main provisions of the Treaty of Lisbon and is able to develop an argument both agreeing with and questioning the premise given. The candidate is able to evaluate the strength of the arguments that they present in a coherent, structured essay and so scores highly across all assessment objectives.

Overall marks awarded: AO1 10, AO2 10, Synopticity 10, AO3 8.

## **Question 7**

This was the most popular essay question, and one which allowed candidates to display a wealth of knowledge about the roles of the various institutions of the EU.

The majority of candidates understood that the question required them to outline the main powers of the Council of Ministers, and evaluate the extent to which this made them the most powerful institution of the EU. However, weaker candidates often took their answers no further, with little or no reference to other institutions, thus limiting their marks to the bottom of level 2 across all assessment objectives.

This essay also pinpointed a number of weaknesses in the teaching of how to tackle AO2 and synopticity, as a significant number of candidates described what each institution could/could not do without any direct comparison or evaluation.

The weakest responses tried to turn this in to a question on other institutions, eg the power of the Commission, with little comparison to the Council of Ministers- again limiting their marks to the bottom of level 2 at most. Detailing the powers and significance of the other institutions is, of course, relevant and indeed necessary for this question- but the main thrust of the question dealt specifically with the significance of the Council of Ministers, and so candidates were required to focus their responses on directly comparing and contrasting this institution with the other EU bodies.

The best responses were able to compare the powers of the Council of Ministers with at least 2 other institutions- usually the Parliament and the Commission- and could directly compare the contrasting powers/weaknesses of each institution, before coming to a clear conclusion about how powerful the Council of Ministers is.

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

The Council of Ministers is the last point of EU legislation, ratification. From its birth in the treaties of Rome in 1957, it has been a powerful institution acting in intergovernmental interests and greatly influences decision making in the EU. However, over time, its power has been incrementally relinquished, both by the needs for greater exercise of democratic power in the E.P. and ~~also by~~ it is ~~greatly~~ a greater focus on supranationalism and European decision making through the <sup>and other</sup> treaties. As well as this, much of the powerful decisions are made by closed door deals by COREPER and the work of the Commission to initiate decisions making still stands.

The Council of Ministers is an extremely powerful decision making body. It is the last point of legislation and therefore this institution can make or break EU law. The make up of domestic officials from each nation state ensures that the interests of nation states are preserved and also that agreement is made. It is accountable as all the key decision makers are from nation states, elected democratically, this strengthens

the decision making process. As well as this, the rotating six monthly presidency means that agenda for decision making is varied and not dominated by the agenda of large states.

However, there is much to dispute the growing weakness of the Council as a decision making body. Since the inception and extension of QMV from Maastricht in 1992 onwards, intergovernmental interests have been ~~reduced~~ <sup>suppressed</sup> ~~reduced~~ <sup>suppressed</sup> and the use of the veto has been ~~reduced~~ <sup>reduced</sup> ~~reduced~~ <sup>reduced</sup>. Although the effectiveness of decision making has improved, it has rendered some states feeling that decision making and national sovereignty has been wrested from them, and their decisions are less accountable from a national government view. Conversely, QMV could be seen as a faster way of decision making explaining smaller and less dominant states, with much backscratching negotiations before votes, causing bigger members to trust the smaller EU way, QMV has rendered the Council less control/power over decision making.

Another factor demonstrating that the Council isn't the most powerful decision maker is the existence of COREPER. The role of COREPER holds much more power with regards to decision making. Even though it lacks transparency, it is permanent, therefore members of COREPER have much more influence over decisions than

a 6 monthly rotating presidency. Also, especially more recently, ~~cooper~~ tends to have already sealed up functions of legislation and hold precursor meetings ~~and~~ discussions and reviews before it calls the council. ~~cooper~~ has already influenced legislation before the council can form opinion on it.

An increasing block ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> the powers of decision making in the council is the increasingly more powerful role of the European parliament. Its role has increased from cooperation on legislation, which previously could be ignored by ~~the~~ the council to codecision powers from early treaty from Maastricht to Lisbon. The treaty to the role of the council was greatly enhanced by the constitution which ~~was~~ proposed to give powers <sup>or freedom</sup> to ~~create~~ ~~areas~~ ~~with~~ the E.P. Despite this not being passed, its mere presence suggests that the E.P. is becoming more important to the decision making process, particularly due to cries of a democratic deficit amongst the ~~country~~ of low voter turnout in the EU elections. As the EU ~~was~~ forced, the E.P. ~~was~~, the only democratic link to the EU citizen ~~was~~ has no choice to hold precedence in decision making over the council in the future. Also, the E.P. holds the power of the purse with the council and commission. The fact that the ~~council~~ council has to share the power of the budget with two other institutions represents its loss of power.

Lastly, the power of the commission fully challenges the commission's status of power in the EU. The commission can initiate legislation, which is its role and not the council, therefore has more power in development of legislation and creating it. The role of formulating legislation only proceeds after merely verifying it. Furthermore, the commission's overall mission to promote European interests overrides the importance of intergovernmental decision making. The power of both formulation and development of policy, as well as a more powerful advisory mission of common interest holds strong that the council's surface omnipotence is lacking in powerful substance.

The council of ministers began as the key verifier and decision maker of the EU. However, as time has passed and calls for accountability and democracy have increased, the increasing role of the European parliament has wrested vital power from the council and is sure to advance present and future scope of European development. The standing of the commission merely indicates a lack of substance of power, as the council's hands are tied by co-decision and QMV. Finally, it cannot be disputed that the role of COREPER is the invisible yet most powerful decision making body in the EU. Its permanence underlines this.

### ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

This is a classic example of how many candidates answer comparative institutions questions.

The candidate has a strong introduction, followed by an outline of the powers of the Council of Ministers and then the counter-argument that the institution is not as powerful as it first appears- so accessing level 2 synopticity marks.

This is followed by a discussion of the powers of COREPER, the European Parliament and the European Commission. This response has now accessed level 3 AO1 and AO2 marks for the knowledge displayed and the evaluation of the powers of the other institutions. A more direct and explicit comparison of the strengths and weaknesses of the Council of Ministers in comparison to each of the other institutions would have allowed this response to access level 3 on synopticity as well.

Overall marks awarded: AO1 9, AO2 9, Synopticity 7, AO3 6.

### ResultsPlus

Examiner Tip

If the question has a given factor- in this case the Council of Ministers- candidates should always directly and explicitly compare this given factor to any other aspect that they offer as an alternative viewpoint. This then allows candidates to access the higher levels on both AO2 and synopticity.

Put a cross in the box  indicating the question that you have chosen.  
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Chosen Question Number:

Question 6

Question 7

Question 8

The Council of Ministers is made up of representatives from all EU member-states who differ based on the topic at hand. And although the Council of Ministers is a powerful legislative decision-making body in the EU, it can be argued the Commission is equally as powerful whilst the Parliament has also recently become more powerful.

Firstly, the Council of Ministers is arguably the most powerful decision-making body in the EU as it has legislative powers over topics such as foreign policy and taxation. This is unlike the European Parliament, whose legislative powers are limited to less important issues.



Another way in which it can be argued the Council of Ministers is the most powerful decision-making body is that it is able to put forward potential commissioners for the Parliament to either reject or accept. Therefore, the Council are able to have a direct effect on the policy direction of the Commission by voting for favoured candidates.

Although the Council of Ministers have a hold over EU legislation, it is the Commission which initiates and executes policy. For instance, the Commission can initiate policy without the input of other institutions, whilst once legislation is passed, the Commission must uphold these laws and can even report member-states to the European Court of Justice.

Furthermore, it is the

European Commission that has the responsibility to represent the EU on the world stage. Also, the President of the Commission holds great importance in acting as a world leader, as well as setting policy direction like Jacques Delors did with the SEA of 1987.

Additionally, the Commission may be a more powerful decision-making body than the Council of Ministers because it works in the interests of the European Union and all of its citizens, whereas the Council of Ministers is intergovernmental in nature leading to disagreement between member states and what is known as "policy gridlock".

Although considered less important, there is a case for suggesting the European Parliament is an equally powerful decision-making body.

Despite having limited powers during the 1970s and 1980s, the Maastricht Treaty introduced what is known as the co-decision procedure. This procedure now means that the European Parliament has equal legislative powers with Council of Ministers on issues such as energy and transport. The co-decision procedure requires the agreement of both institutions for legislation to be passed.

The powers of the Parliament can however be disputed since they do not yet have legislative powers over more important topics including taxation and foreign policy.

Further evidence to suggest the European Parliament is becoming an increasingly important decision-making body is its input into the annual budget. Specifically, for a budget to be passed, this requires

the Parliament as well as the Commission to accept it.

Also, the Parliament's relations with the Commission highlight the increasing importance of the Parliament over the Council of Ministers.

Firstly, in 1999, the Santer Commission was forced to resign after a motion of censure was passed by the Parliament. This was due to suspected fraudulent activity within the Commission.

As a result of these actions, the Commission is now much more accountable to the Parliament. For instance, potential Commissions must be approved by Parliament (as was demonstrated by the rejection of Rocco Buttiglione in 2004).

Secondly, Commissioners must also face regular questioning over their decisions at parliamentary committees.

In conclusion, it is true that the Council of Ministers is a powerful decision-making body in the EU, yet it is disputable as to whether it is the most powerful. The Commission must also be taken into account as it is effectively the executive arm of the EU, initiating and upholding legislation. As for the European Parliament, this institution is becoming gradually more powerful, especially in scrutinising decision-making within the Commission and the Council of Ministers. Current talks suggest making the Parliament even more powerful by introducing a second chamber or even working with national governments when legislating.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This candidate begins well by outlining the powers of the Council of Ministers, then moves on to examining the European Commission and the European Parliament. However, the candidate severely limits their marks across all assessment objectives- particularly on synopticity- by treating each institution entirely separately with almost no reference at all to the Council of Ministers after the initial paragraphs.

Overall marks awarded: AO1 7, AO2 7, Synopticity 6, AO3 5.

## **Question 8**

This question was often well done (though by very small numbers of candidates)- poor responses, however, focused entirely on the failure of monetary union because of the recession, generally only looking at the bailouts.

A clear balance was seen, sometimes focusing mainly on how well the Eurozone has weathered the global recession, but more often contrasting the strength of the Eurozone before the recession to the current crisis.

Again, a clear conclusion as needed on perceived success/failure.

It was understandable that the question on monetary union should contain material relating to the circumstances in Greece and the possible contagion effect on the PIGS bloc. Candidates were able to offer some insights into the causal effects - the fudging of the terms of the Stability and the Growth Pact and the economic impact on Germany in particular and the contrast between Northern and Southern European economies. Answers attempted a balance but the arguments for and against the failure of the monetary union were indifferent.

Candidates clearly understand current issues within monetary union.

### **EBI**

Question on monetary union as a whole and not simply why the UK chose not to join. Candidates also tended to focus on the current PIGS issue rather than looking at the context of the monetary union as a whole.

Put a cross in the box  indicating the question that you have chosen.  
If you change your mind, put a line through the box   
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Chosen Question Number:

Question 6

Question 7

Question 8

The European Monetary Union, established partially through the Single European Act (1986) and then finalised in the Treaty of Maastricht (1992), is arguably the largest scale achievement of the European Union since its initial establishment as the European Coal and Steel Community over half a decade ago. It controls monetary policy of (most) member states, such as interest rates and has seen the implementation of the single currency, the Euro. However, many Euro-skeptics predicted the EMU would be destined to fail, due to a number of factors, some of which are arguably true.

Firstly, and most obviously, the recent financial climate of some member states, such as Greece with an estimated €120 billion national debt in 2009 and Ireland whose housing prices fluctuated due to a lending crisis both needed bail outs by the EMU's flagship authority the European Central Bank in order to return to normalcy. This would be seen as a failing by the EMU as it didn't intervene quick enough to control

its member states economies. However, the argument can be raised that the EMU and ECB are there to help during crisis and if they didn't ~~exist~~ exist both Greece and Ireland's situations would have only got worse.

The EMU is built ~~around~~ around the Stability and Growth Pact which outlines the targets for the economies of member states, for example no member state can run a budget deficit of more than 3% of its GDP or a Public Deficit of 60% GDP. The ECB would impose fines of upto 0.5% GDP if these criteria are broken. ~~However~~ This is seen as a successful mechanism in the controlling of member states economies as the guidelines are clear to member states. However, most member states are not matching at least one of these criteria. But due to the exemptions and loopholes of the pact are allowed to avoid fines. This makes the SGP unaffactive in essence as it is only a superficial element in controlling and securing economies.

Despite its downfalls however the EMU's SGP gives prospective member states clear goals.



and target to achieve if they are to become a member states, as the SGP is built into the Copenhagen Criteria. This aids to help prospering economies to improve to the Union's standards and can use tools to aid them.

The big achievement of the EMU lies in its creation and implementation of the Eurozone currency. This has undoubtedly removed barriers to trade, industry, business and tourism within the Union and the way traders like China and the USA see the EU's trade potential. The Euro has clearly been a success of the EMU as it has kept a continuous stability compared to foreign currencies.

One major failing of monetary policy in the EU has to be the low speed Europe established by the changes to taxation in the Treaty of Amsterdam. By attempting to achieve Tax Harmonisation across Europe the EMU failed to maintain a consistency between its economies. With Germany and France having far too much relative growth when compared to other, particularly eastern, member states. This is a clear failing of the EMU.

as it goes against its fundamentals as an 'ever closer union' and allows economies to fall behind the norm.

To conclude, either way, weighing up both positives and negatives, to say the EMU has failed would be an overstatement. They have supported failing economies, and attempted to bridge the gaps between the differing member states economies and succeeded in implementing one of the world's most powerful currencies. However, there is still clear work to be done in clearing the Euro speed Europe and returning to normality.



### ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

This response is based largely on recent events, but is very one-sided, arguing that monetary union has largely failed because of the problems caused by the global recession. This limits the synopticity marks to low level 2.

More development of the paragraph where very brief points are raised on enlargement and trade would have improved the AO1 and AO2 marks.

Overall marks awarded: AO1 7, AO2 7, Synopticity 5, AO3 5.

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Chosen Question Number:

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When the monetary union came into effect, there were a great deal of predictions from Eurosceptics that it would fail or would be disastrous for some countries. It must first be noted that thus far the Euro has survived but there is growing debate in world financial markets as to how the currency and monetary union will survive the current so-called 'crisis' engulfing some countries.

The first example which seems to show that the monetary union failing was a misplaced idea is the obvious fact that it has survived thus far. There were a great number of predictions that it would not survive a financial crisis, notably from some Tory MPs, but it emerged from 2008/9 stronger against Sterling than it was before.

Secondly, it must be noted that in many EU countries the recession lasted for a shorter period of time than it did in countries not in the Euro area, such as the UK. For example German economic growth this quarter is expected to exceed that of the whole year for the UK. The other 'big' countries in the monetary union, such as France are also experiencing strong economic growth.

These two points combined would seem to show that far from failing at the first crisis, the monetary union is in good health, and that predictions of economic doom from some Eurosceptics and economists were misplaced or even wrong.

A further reason which could indicate that predictions of failure

of the monetary union were misplaced ~~as to the fact~~ to the fact that inflation in the eurozone is much lower than in other parts of the world, including the UK. With inflation in the Eurozone much lower than the UK's 'eyebrow raising' 4.5% it could again be said that far from failing, the monetary union is doing rather well.

This being said however there is a large and growing school of thought which says that far from being in good health, the monetary union is actually heading for failure at work and the withdrawal of some members at best. This is perhaps best illustrated by the current economic turmoil currently engulfing Greece and some other 'periphery' countries including Portugal and Ireland.

The current situation in Greece, which can at best be described as tragic, <sup>→ for the people,</sup> is according to some economists caused solely by the fact that Greece became a member of the monetary union, and joined the Euro. The short theory says that in joining the Euro the Greek government got access to 'German' low interest rates for debts they could never hope to pay back. If the Greek crisis is a result of monetary union it seems that ~~either~~ the problems could be two-fold, not only causing a panic in financial markets and causing questions to be asked about the integrity of the whole monetary union, but also raising the same fundamental questions which caused people to question the monetary union in the first place.

The second problem with the monetary union would seem to be the growing uneasiness ~~is~~ of some Eurozone countries to fund future bailouts. Following the ~~electoral~~ electoral success of the TrueFems, a party opposed to more bailouts, it seems that

the general mood of the populace in the Eurozone seems to be becoming more anti-bailout. These questions obviously raise fears as to whether the monetary union can survive.

Finally, it must be noted that the Euro does seem to be losing some of its value as a result of the current Eurozone financial crisis. However there is some debate as to whether this is a real symptom of failure or actually a short term effect of instability. ~~Therefore~~ It should be noted however, that this is something that is concerning the European Commission with one commissioner commenting "the vultures are circling" when referring to market speculation over the future of the Eurozone.

Based on these arguments I feel that a fair conclusion to make would be that clearly whilst the Eurozone and monetary union have survived their first crisis, they are certainly not 'one of the woods' yet, and if the current crisis in Greece, Ireland and Portugal is not quickly resolved then there could be severe future repercussions.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This is an excellent response where the candidate is able to make points and then draw them together in a discussion about the extent to which they prove/disprove monetary union has failed - thus accessing marks on all assessment objectives.

## Grade Boundaries

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