



UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
Cambridge International Level 3 Pre-U Certificate
Principal Subject

www.XtremePapers.com

COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

9770/02

Paper 2 Parties and Ideas (UK and/or USA)

For Examination from 2010

SPECIMEN MARK SCHEME

1 hour 30 minutes

MAXIMUM MARK: 100

This document consists of **17** printed pages and **1** blank page.



Generic marking descriptors for Papers 2 (short essays)

- The full range of marks will be used as a matter of course.
- Examiners will look for the 'best fit', not a 'perfect fit' in applying the Levels.
- Examiners will provisionally award the middle mark in the Level and then moderate up/down according to individual qualities within the answer.
- The ratio of marks per AO will be 3:2.
- The weighting of marks for each AO should be considered, but this is reflected in the descriptor: marking should therefore be done holistically.
- Question-specific mark schemes will be neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. Appropriate, substantiated responses will always be rewarded.

Level/marks	Descriptors
<p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <p>25–21 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL REPRESENT THE VERY BEST THAT MAY BE EXPECTED OF AN 18-YEAR-OLD.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excellent focused explanation that answers the question convincingly. Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively explained and argued. • Excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant political terms and/or institutions. Answer is comprehensively supported by an excellent range of concepts and examples that are used to sustain the argument. • Excellent substantiated synthesis bringing the explanation together. • The answer is fluent and the grammar, punctuation and spelling are all precise.
<p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <p>20–16 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW MANY FEATRURES OF LEVEL 5, BUT THE QUALITY WILL BE UNEVEN ACROSS THE ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A determined response to the question with strong explanation across most but not all of the answer. • High level of knowledge and understanding of relevant political terms and/or institutions. Answer is well illustrated with a variety of concepts and examples to support the argument. Description is avoided. • Good substantiated synthesis. • For the most part, the answer is fluent and shows an accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling.
<p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p>15–11 marks</p>	<p>THE ARGUMENT WILL BE COMPETENT, BUT LEVEL 3 ANSWERS WILL BE LIMITED AND/OR UNBALANCED.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engages well with the question, although explanation is patchy and, at the lower end, of limited quality. • Fair display of relevant political knowledge and understanding, but this tends to be used to illustrate rather than support the argument. Explanation starts to break down in significant sections of description. • Synthesis is patchy in quality. • The writing lacks some fluency, but on the whole shows an accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling.

<p style="text-align: center;">2</p> <p>10–6 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED LINK BETWEEN THE QUESTION AND ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some engagement with the question, but explanation is limited. • Limited explanation within an essentially descriptive response. • Patchy display of relevant political knowledge and understanding that illustrates rather than supports any argument. • Synthesis is limited/thin in quality and extent. • The answer shows some accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling, but contains frequent errors.
<p style="text-align: center;">1</p> <p>5–0 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A CLEAR SENSE OF THE CANDIDATE HAVING LITTLE IF ANY ENGAGEMENT WITH THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or no engagement with the question. • Little or no explanation. • Little or no relevant political knowledge. • Little or no synthesis. • The answer shows significant weaknesses in the accuracy of grammar, punctuation and spelling.

Generic marking descriptors for Paper 2 (full essays)

- The full range of marks will be used as a matter of course.
- Examiners will look for the 'best fit', not a 'perfect fit' in applying the Levels.
- Examiners will provisionally award the middle mark in the Level and then moderate up/down according to individual qualities within the answer.
- The ratio of marks per AO will be 1:2.
- The weighting of marks for each AO should be considered, but this is reflected in the descriptor: marking should therefore be done holistically.
- Question-specific mark schemes will be neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. Appropriate, substantiated responses will always be rewarded. Answers may develop a novel response to a question. This is to be credited if arguments are fully substantiated.

Level/marks	Descriptors
<p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <p>50–41 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL REPRESENT THE VERY BEST THAT MAY BE EXPECTED OF AN 18-YEAR-OLD.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excellent focused analysis that answers the question convincingly. • Excellent sustained argument throughout with a strong sense of direction that is always well substantiated. Excellent substantiated conclusions. • Excellent understanding of relevant political knowledge (processes, institutions, concepts, debates and/or theories) illustrated with a wide range of examples. • Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively argued. • Candidate is always in firm control of the material. • The answer is fluent and the grammar, punctuation and spelling are all precise.
<p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <p>40–31 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW MANY FEATURES OF LEVEL 5, BUT THE QUALITY WILL BE UNEVEN ACROSS THE ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A good response to the question with clear analysis across most but not all of the answer. • Argument developed to a logical conclusion, but parts lack rigour. Strong conclusions adequately substantiated. • Good but limited and/or uneven range of relevant knowledge used to support analysis and argument. Description is avoided. • For the most part, the answer is fluent and shows an accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling.
<p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p>30–21 marks</p>	<p>THE ARGUMENT WILL BE COMPETENT, BUT LEVEL 3 ANSWERS WILL BE LIMITED AND/OR UNBALANCED.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engages soundly with the question although analysis is patchy and, at the lower end, of limited quality. • Tries to argue and draw conclusions, but this breaks down in significant sections of description. • Good but limited and/or uneven range of relevant political knowledge used to describe rather than support analysis and argument. • The writing lacks some fluency, but on the whole shows an accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling.

<p style="text-align: center;">2</p> <p>20–10 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED LINK BETWEEN QUESTION & ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited engagement with the question, with some understanding of the issues. Analysis and conclusions are limited/thin. • Limited argument within an essentially descriptive response. Conclusions are limited/thin. • Factually limited and/or uneven. Some irrelevance. • Patchy display of relevant political knowledge. • The answer shows some accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling, but contains frequent errors.
<p style="text-align: center;">1</p> <p>9–0 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A CLEAR SENSE OF THE CANDIDATE HAVING LITTLE IF ANY ENGAGEMENT WITH THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or no engagement with the question. Little or no analysis offered. • Little or no argument. Assertions are unsupported and/or of limited relevance. Any conclusions are very weak. • Little or no relevant political knowledge. • The answer shows significant weaknesses in the accuracy of grammar, punctuation and spelling.

Section A (UK)**1 Explain what conservatives mean by the idea of ‘organic society’. [25]**General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for ‘best fit’, not ‘perfect fit’. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the relevance and quality of explanation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

Conservatives mean that society changes through an evolutionary process of natural development, which reflects their pragmatic approach (in contrast to those who make ideologically-driven changes so as to create their ideal society). The idea of society developing organically is one of the key points which distinguishes the conservative view from others. Whilst the focus of the answer must remain on organic society, connections need to be made to other related concepts (e.g. hierarchy and authority). Some may develop the point that conservatism is now a divided ideology and that New Right liberal ideas are at variance with belief in an organic society; and point out the paradox of the conservative New Right’s continued belief in an organic and hierarchical society. Credit should be given for making comparisons between the conservative view of society and the view of other ideologies. Answers that misinterpret the question as being all or mostly about the Conservative Party will not get beyond the lower levels.

2 In what different ways has support for ‘the collective’ been given expression in the Labour Party? [25]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for ‘best fit’, not ‘perfect fit’. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the relevance and quality of explanation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

Labour’s commitment to the collective reflects its ideas as to how society and the economy should be organised. This is rooted in the Party’s socialist/social democratic foundations and answers could make reference to the importance of class analysis, the idea that human nature is fundamentally benign when supported by positive interdependent relationships and the superiority of collective to individual action. Answers which briefly contrast this with the liberal model built around the individual and the conservative model built around the local community should be credited. Support for these ideas has been given expression in the Party’s commitment to social and economic justice. Reference could be made to matters such as: welfare, redistribution, progressive taxation, public ownership, state regulation and intervention, close relationships with the trade unions. This explanation could take one of a number of forms: for example, reference to the competition of ideas within Labour (e.g. between socialist and social democratic), or the Party’s reaction to changed social, economic and political circumstances (e.g. new Labour ideas being partly a reaction to globalisation and the New Right economic policies of Conservative governments).

3 Explain the functions of political parties in the UK.**[25]**General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the relevance and quality of explanation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

A strong answer will include a range of points with examples and some assessment as to how well these functions are performed. Key functions of political parties which could be covered include:

Policy: the development of new ideas for presentation in a manifesto.

Recruitment & support mobilisation: encouraging people to participate as voters, providing a vehicle for some to become activists, bringing together like minded people in a coalition which can have political impact.

Selection & leadership: ensuring the selection of appropriate candidates to present at elections. The process of campaigning for and holding political office provides experience and aids the selection of the best candidates for high office in the party (in and out of office).

The electoral function: parties provide the funds, personnel and ideas which form an election campaign and provide electoral choice. This process allows representatives for the legislature and an executive to be selected, in the process upholding the democratic principles of accountability and consent.

Education: parties' work, particularly during elections, through local campaigning and the media, informs and educates the public about issues and choices.

Representation: by bringing like minded people together, parties allow issues to be aired and particular groups in society to be represented in debate. Once elected as representatives, a party's councillors/AMs/MSPs/MEPs/MPs work together to speak both for their party and their constituency. Party systems and whips are central to legislative organisation and the effective running of institutions.

Government and executive leadership: manifesto ideas form the basis of a legislative programme for government, although the electoral systems at some levels produce coalitions in which policy pledges have to be negotiated/compromised.

4 How far are the ideas of New Labour and the ‘Third Way’ true to the principles of social democracy? [50]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for ‘best fit’, not ‘perfect fit’. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

A good answer needs to explain clearly the principles of social democracy as a reference point against which to assess how far New Labour and ‘Third Way’ ideas measure up to it. The inclusion of both New Labour and the ‘Third Way’ means both political and ideological ideas need to be assessed relative to social democracy. In establishing what social democratic principles mean for Labour, credit is to be given for consideration of the shifting ideological allegiance of the party during its history, providing this is done in terms of an explanation of ideas (not a historical narrative).

The principles of social democracy include social justice, collective action, a positive view of the state’s role, egalitarianism; credit should be given for an understanding of its relationship to socialism. The ideas of the ‘Third Way’ could be explained in terms of its accommodation with the market and neo-liberal economics whilst maintaining a commitment to core values of social democracy. Whether it is something distinctive (e.g. in its commitment to communitarianism and rights and responsibilities), a compromise between neo-liberal capitalism and socialism (or a modern adaptation of social democracy) may be considered. New Labour policies (e.g. PFI projects and the City Academy and Specialist Schools programmes) provide specific examples of these ideas. The ambition of New Labour’s founders to make the party electorally successful after long years in opposition might be seen as part of its social democratic tradition – or as desperation to win at any price, even by adopting Thatcherite policies.

5 Evaluate the significance of ‘modernisers’ within the Conservative Party from 1997 and the extent to which they now provide the leading ideas within the Conservative Party. [50]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for ‘best fit’, not ‘perfect fit’. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

A strong answer needs to address the changes in the Party from 1997 in terms of the different ideas which have shaped it, with reference to the people and events of the period to support this. Answers may explain the ‘modernisers’ ambitions for the Conservatives to win power again after the Blair/New Labour era by concentrating on their changes in ideas, although some reference to changes in image and campaigning are relevant. Answers may explain the ‘modernisers’ beliefs in various areas, e.g. society, the individual, the family, public services and economics. These may be related to earlier Conservative schools of thought, for example how they have drawn some ideas about society from the ‘One Nation’ tradition and ideas on economics from neo-liberal Thatcherism.

The significance of the ‘modernisers’ is that they have led the calls for change, for example during Michael Portillo’s failed leadership bid in 2001 and under David Cameron’s leadership since 2005. Recognition that not all Conservatives are ‘modernisers’ is important. The social authoritarian or ‘traditionalist’ wing remains influential. Some may evaluate the significance of the ‘modernisers’ relative to other groups within the party (e.g. Is the One Nation group still a force?). Further, one fruitful line would be to consider how far many of the leading ideas espoused by the Party under Cameron can be traced to One Nation and Thatcherite arguments.

6 To what extent are all three of the UK's main parties now liberal?**[50]**General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

Answers may consider what it means to be liberal, in terms of political theory and attitudes, e.g. towards the individual, the state and the market. Good answers will note different types of liberal theory, e.g. classical and modern or welfare liberalism and their influence on other ideologies, particularly the neo-liberalism of the New Right and the constitutional liberalism found in the social democrat and 'Third Way' tradition. Good answers will link such theoretical considerations to recent U.K. politics and include a balance of material on all three parties.

Liberal elements of the Labour Party might include consideration of its constitutional liberalism (e.g. devolution), social liberalism (e.g. introduction of civil partnerships) and to some extent its accommodation with the neo-liberal economics of the Thatcher period. This is the main claim to liberalism of the Conservative Party since 1979, although under Cameron some concessions to social liberalism are being shown. To New Liberalism and Welfare Liberalism, the Liberals/Liberal Democrats have added a focus on community politics which reflects liberal suspicion of centralised state direction as well as continuing strongly to support constitutional and social liberalism. Answers might refer to the 'Orange Book' liberals and the extent to which this reflects some return to classical liberal economic values or the fact that the modern Liberal Democrat Party is also descended from the social democratic tradition of the SDP (and Labour).

Section B (USA)**7 Explain the main sources of party funding.****[25]**General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

Candidates may present a fairly comprehensive list of the 'sources of party funding' while others may wish to locate their answer in the wider context of what US political parties are and what they do. Candidates may note that parties are amorphous organisations not easily defined. Party funding can focus upon candidates or election funding, funding from local party organisations or from the national party organisation (although much of the money raised nationally is actually spent by state and local party organisations). Presidential candidates can apply for federal match-funding, but this carries with it its own limitations. Some may wish to explore the limits placed upon party funding. The Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) and its subsequent amendments, and the 2002 BCRA (Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act, known as McCain-Feingold) might be discussed when considering 'hard' and 'soft' money. Those who discuss attempts to circumvent campaign finance laws might highlight the role of PACs and 527s.

8 Explain the term 'iron triangles'. Why are they important?**[25]**General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

Some may start by explaining what Douglass Cater meant by the term 'iron triangle' and will be able to define the groups which occupy each corner of the triangle. Answers may demonstrate that the iron triangle represents one attempt to explain policy formulation within government – with an iron triangle for each of the major policy areas (some may refer to Eisenhower's discussion of the military-industrial complex). Some knowledge of who is at the heart of a specific iron triangle (e.g. the Bureaucracy, Congressional Committees and Interest Groups) may help to clarify the answer. Candidates are free to probe beyond the question and consider whether iron triangles are important. Iron triangles represent one attempt to capture the idea of 'policy sub-governments' and candidates may want to discuss how and whether these act in the public interest (Pluralism) or against it (Elite Theory). Whether or not candidates accept the iron triangle metaphor or widen their discussion to include Hecló's less rigid metaphor (the 'issue network'), answers need to discuss whether or not the idea of a policy sub-government matters.

9 Explain who the key figures are in providing leadership within a US political party. [25]General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

Many may note that party leadership can be considered at local, state and national levels. Parties have local party personnel (ward, precinct), personnel at city level, then county level, then Congressional district level, then state level. There are also national party leaders in the House, the Senate and, perhaps, the White House. Candidates are not to be expected to provide detailed coverage of all of these levels, though some may want to. Candidates do, however, need to give some sense of whom they consider to be the key leaders within the party (so judgements can be made here). Some may focus on national party organisations – perhaps the DNC and the RNC (as well as the Democratic Leadership Council and similar Republican organisations). Candidates may choose to describe the leadership provided within the federal government by leaders in Congress: the Speaker in the House, the minority and majority party leadership, chairs of powerful committees (e.g. House Rules), whips, the party caucuses in each chamber, the role of party chairpersons. Some answers might discuss changes to national and state parties and their roles (e.g. the impact of primaries on candidate selection and election). Some might consider how far it is possible to lead a US party: e.g. Gingrich's failed attempt to lead with the Contract for America, Pelosi's current attempt after the recent mid-terms.

10 'Full racial equality has now been achieved in the USA.' How far do you agree with this view? [50]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

Candidates need to suggest their own criterion for deciding what exactly constitutes full racial equality. Candidates will also decide the scope of the question: to focus solely on African Americans or to widen the debate to include other racial groupings (including Caucasians).

There are many valid approaches both to defining this term and to assessing how far it has been achieved. One approach would be to distinguish *de jure* from *de facto* equality. It would seem reasonable to suggest that the various amendments, plus the role of the Supreme Court and the role of the elected branches, have established *de jure* equality in the US. Against that foundation, candidates could then assess how far *de facto* equality exists.

The current debates on Affirmative Action might form the centrepiece of some answers, given that the debate is, at heart, about the extent to which one pursues *de facto* equality having achieved *de jure* equality. Also relevant could be the questions of how far one seeks to undo the legacy of 75 years of segregation (and two centuries of slavery) and how far one focuses on racial equality when other forms of equality may be relevant (e.g. socio-economic equality). Some candidates may use landmark Supreme Court cases in their answers, e.g. Gratz and Grutter (2003), to focus on the manner in which Affirmative Action has affected Caucasian Americans.

11 To what extent are the neo-conservative ideas of President George W Bush consistent with established Republican principles? [50]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

Candidates may start by addressing some of the following questions: How do we identify established Republican principles? What are neo-conservative ideas? What variant of neo-conservative thinking does the President best encapsulate – if any? They may view the Republican party as having a two-dimensional cleavage: the first separates members along a 'welfarist-market' axis, with those at one end suggesting the state can/does have an interventionist role in providing welfare; those at the other end, often termed Fiscal Conservatives, viewing big government as bad government (Reagan, at least in his rhetoric, illustrating the latter). The second axis is 'liberal-authoritarian' – those at one end accepting a multilateral role for the state while those at the other are unilateral (although, crucially, accepting an interventionist foreign policy). The term Social Conservatives would cover many. Some may note 'neoconservatives are likely to be authoritarian and free-market' Neoconservatives argue they are free-marketeters and authoritarian, but interventionist in foreign policy.

Analysis of how Bush's approach is consistent with established Republican principles will need to consider various dimensions, such as: social issues (e.g. education reform; health and also welfare policy), fiscal matters (tax cuts in his first term), foreign policy (e.g. Axis of Evil speech, Doctrine of Pre-Emption, War on Terror). Some may question how consistently neoconservative Bush has been during his two terms. The removal of Paul Wolfowitz and John Bolton from within the inner circle might be cited as one example of his lukewarm embrace of neoconservatism.

12 Assess the impact of the green movement on the development of ideas within US party politics. [50]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

Candidates may want to work from the evidence that suggests the two major parties have adopted positions that reflect the pressure brought to bear by the activities of the green movement. They may also discuss whether we can assess how the activities of the green movement have shaped party policies, and/or consider the role of pressure groups and the influence of the media in shaping party policies.

While it is not necessary to present a long-term historical perspective, candidates may be rewarded for some context, e.g. noting the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) created in 1970. Nixon was no advocate of the environment and was conscious of the need to avoid placing what he saw as an undue regulatory burden upon business. Yet he created EPA after a growing body of pressure from the environmental movement, e.g. Carson's *Silent Spring*, the Torrey Canyon oil spill, toxic waste found near Niagara, the first Earth Day conference. In short, EPA was created because of the pressure of the environmental movement.

Candidates may note that while the electoral system militates against the success of the green movement, the two major parties have, arguably, adopted of late many of the issues placed centre-stage by the green movement.

The Democrats:

Candidates may build a picture that suggests the green movement has shaped more recent Democrat thinking. Gore, in 2000, gave a great deal of weight to the environment, partly because of the influence of the Democrat Leadership Council (DLC) over the previous decade, and in large part because of the influence of Ralph Nader. Nader made a big impact in the 1996 campaign – despite his meagre electoral successes (largely restricted to the Pacific states where he gained half of his entire votes). In 2000, Nader seemingly pushed Gore to discuss environmental issues, though Gore may have alienated some of his moderate Democrat support in so doing. In 2004, the state Democrat parties placed environmental issues within their mission statement. Gore won the Nobel Prize for *An Inconvenient Truth* and leads criticism of US failure to tackle climate change.

The Republicans:

George W. Bush has, arguably, avoided the influence of the green movement. He did not sign the Kyoto protocol and used Executive Orders to weaken environmental standards that EPA had put in place. In his second term, Bush made legislative proposals to expand use of the Arctic Wildlife Reserve in Alaska. However, other Republicans have engaged with environmental issues, e.g. the Tuesday Group (moderate Republicans favouring bipartisanship) have debated green issues.

