

# Mark Scheme (Results) January 2010

GCE

GCE Government & Politics (6GP04)  
Paper 4D Global Political Issues

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January 2010

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## General Marking Guidance

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

No. 1	What are human rights, and why do they have implications for global politics?
Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Human rights are rights to which people are entitled by virtue of being human; they are a modern and secular version of 'natural' rights, which were believed to be God-given. Human rights are therefore universal, fundamental and absolute. They are universal in the sense that they belong to all humans everywhere regardless of nationality, ethnic or racial origin, social background and so on. They are fundamental in that they are inalienable: human rights can be denied or violated but a human being's entitlement to them cannot be removed. They are absolute in that, as the basic grounds for living a genuinely human life, they cannot be qualified.</li> <li>• The chief implication of human rights for global politics is that they establish a framework of standards to which all states and other bodies should conform and which has higher moral authority than national legal systems. As such, the doctrine of human rights has profound implications for the principle of state sovereignty. The most authoritative attempt to outline human rights is found in the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which has implications for international law and bodies such as the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court. Human rights also impose obligations on states in their dealings with other states, implying that a concern to pursue self-interest should be balanced against a duty to protect and uphold human rights. This has been reflected in demands that trade relations and membership of intergovernmental bodies should be conditional upon a state's human-rights record. Perhaps the most controversial implication of the doctrine is in the trend towards humanitarian intervention, whereby states or international bodies intervene militarily in the affairs of another state in order to uphold human rights.</li> </ul>	
AO1	Knowledge and understanding
<i>Level 3</i> (4-5 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<i>Level 2</i> (2-3 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<i>Level 1</i> (0-1 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates

<b>A02</b>	<b>Intellectual skills</b>
<i>Level 3</i> (5-7 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
<i>Level 2</i> (3-4 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
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<b>A03</b>	<b>Communication and coherence</b>
Appropriate vocabulary in this question may include terms such as ...	
<i>Level 3</i> (3 mark)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
<i>Level 2</i> (2 mark)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
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No. 2	Why have some modern wars been classified as 'new' wars?
Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The category of 'new wars' has been applied to conflicts particularly since the mid 1980s (Kaldor). These wars differ from traditional, inter-state wars in a number of respects. In the first place, armed conflict increasingly takes place within states rather than between them. New wars are therefore civil wars, often related to the disintegration and collapse of states, sometimes linked to the pressures generated by globalisation. Second, these wars are often associated with questions of identity and culture, a major cause of wars since 1990 being the demand of various groups for national self-determination. Third, new wars are characterised by the use of guerrilla or insurrectionary tactics, often involving the use of informal fighters and serving to blur the distinction between the 'soldier' and the 'civilian' in terms of both military personnel and military targets. Such wars are also very difficult to end, even when one of the participants is economically much more advanced than the other. Fourth, the 'military/civilian' divide is also weakened by the association of such wars with corruption and criminality.</li> <li>• So-called 'post-modern' wars may also be seen as new, in the sense that they rely heavily on the use of modern technology and 'smart' weapons, greatly reduce the casualties from warfare (hence the idea of casualty-free or virtual wars), and often take place between combatants with very different levels of development (asymmetric warfare).</li> </ul>	
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No. 3	Why do states find it difficult to cooperate over environmental issues?
Indicative content ( <i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i> )	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The difficulty of fostering co-operation between and amongst states over environmental issues can be illustrated by slow progress in tackling climate change despite growing agreement that global warming is occurring. The limitations of the Kyoto Protocol, and the difficulty of developing a successor to Kyoto, provide evidence of this.</li> <li>• The key obstacle to ensuring concerted environmental action over climate change and other issues is that a healthy environment is a collective or public good, in which states share a common fate if they fail to deal with the problem, but individual states have an incentive to be 'free riders', in that they hope to enjoy benefits without having to pay for them. This is often illustrated by the idea of the 'tragedy of the commons' (Hardin). In this, pasture that is held in common tends to be destroyed as herdsmen, intent on achieving maximum gains, over-graze the land to the detriment of all. Individual ends therefore conflict with the collective or public good. In environmental affairs this is reflected in a desire of self-seeking states to do as little as possible whilst hoping that other states will act on their behalf. Such tendencies are strengthened by the fact that, over climate change in particular, the states that contribute the most to the problem are the ones that must pay the highest price if concerted action is to be brought about.</li> </ul>	
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No. 4	Explain the 'orthodox' (economic liberal) approach to development.
Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the 'orthodox' view of development, poverty is understood as a situation in which people suffer because they do not have the money to satisfy their basic material needs. It is often therefore calculated in terms of GDP per capita, implying that development is closely linked to economic growth.</li> <li>• In this view, development is seen as a process through which 'backward' traditional societies are transformed into 'modern' ones through a process of industrialisation and a spread of market or capitalist economic structures. As the principal source of economic vigour is the free market, development occurs as obstacles to competition and entrepreneurialism are removed (often linked to traditional values and authoritarian government). The 'orthodox' approach is therefore often associated with a 'top-down' reliance on expert knowledge and external intervention in order to stimulate market reforms. Such an approach has been particularly associated with the IMF and the World Bank through the dominance of the so-called Washington consensus.</li> </ul>	
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No. 5	How and why has religion become more important in global politics?
Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Religion has become more important in global politics through the growth and growing significance of religiously-inspired social and political movements. This has been particularly evident in the Moslem world through the growth of Islamic fundamentalism and the upsurge in Islamism as a politico-religious ideology. Manifestations of this can be seen in the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the Taliban in Afghanistan, the activities of religiously-based insurgency groups such as Hamas and Hizbollah, and in religiously-motivated terrorist organisations such as al-Qaeda. However, it is a phenomenon that extends beyond Islam and, for example, affects Hindu and Sikh militancy in India (as well as relations between India and Pakistan), Singalese nationalism in Sri Lanka, the Christian New Right in the USA and so forth.</li> <li>• The growing importance of religion in global politics is usually seen as part of a larger trend in favour of the politics of identity and culture. As such, it has been explained in various ways, including through the decline of revolutionary socialism since the 1970s, as a backlash against neo-colonialism (religion providing people with a non-western or even anti-western political identity), and as one of the consequences of globalisation, which has both strengthened anti-westernism and undermined the capacity of 'civic' nationalism to establish secure and stable political identities. The rise of religious groups has also been explained in terms of the 'clash of civilisations' thesis, in which the decline of ideological conflict associated with the Cold War would give rise to conflict between 'different civilisations', with religion often serving as the basis of civilisational identity.</li> </ul>	
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No. 6	To what extent is countering terrorism compatible with upholding human rights?
Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The relationship between human rights and terrorism has become a major issue of debate as a result of the 'war on terror'. While some argue that the infringement of human rights is a necessary 'lesser evil' compared to the 'greater evil' of terrorism, others argue that infringements of human rights are simply unacceptable and may also be counter-productive in terms of countering terrorism.</li> <li>• Infringements of human rights as part of the larger campaign to contain the threat of terrorism can be justified on both practical and ethical grounds. In practical terms, terrorism poses particular difficulties, in that it is a covert military threat posed by people who often have fanatical views and beliefs. Unconventional threats require unconventional responses. This is why the USA created an internment camp at Guantanamo Bay, where it interned hundreds of people without trial, subjecting some of them to forms of torture such as 'waterboarding' (simulated drowning). The practice of 'extraordinary rendition' also allowed for the easier violation of human rights. Detention without trial has also been introduced by other states fighting terrorism; for example, through a number of anti-terrorist laws in the UK. Sensitivity to issues of human rights would put governments at a grave disadvantage in confronting an enemy that has no concern itself for human rights. The moral argument supporting this view is based on the balance of the suffering cause. For example, the murder of 3,000 innocent civilians in the 9/11 attacks was itself a major human rights violation. Restrictions of terrorist suspects' political and civil rights can, by contrast, be regarded as a 'lesser evil' (Ignatieff).</li> <li>• On the other hand, abuses of human rights in such circumstances can be seen to make no moral or practical sense. Human rights groups such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have condemned Guantanamo, the use of torture and detention without trial on the grounds that human rights are inviolable. Human rights cannot be ignored or set aside for matters of political convenience, as human rights establish absolute moral values. The 'war on terror' is therefore not a 'just war' as it has not been fought using just means. The practical argument against violating human rights in the cause of anti-terrorism is based on the damage done to a state's moral authority and global influence. The USA's 'war on terror' has been more difficult to win because its own behaviour has weakened global support, particularly in Moslem countries damaging the USA's 'soft' power. This helps to explain the Obama administration's decision, for example, to close Guantanamo Bay.</li> </ul>	

<b>A01</b>	<b>Knowledge and understanding</b>
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<i>Level 1</i> (0-4 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>A02</b>	<b>Intellectual skills</b>
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
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<i>Level 1</i> (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
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<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a reliable awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
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A03	Communication and coherence
Appropriate vocabulary in this question may include terms such as ...	
<i>Level 3</i> (7-9 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
<i>Level 2</i> (4-6 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
<i>Level 1</i> (0-3 marks)	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

No. 7	To what extent is international aid effective?
Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Foreign aid refers to aid provided to support poverty reduction and development in other countries. It is either a multilateral aid, provided through international bodies or NGOs or bilateral aid which operates on a government-to-government basis. There is nevertheless considerable debate about whether foreign or international aid works, in the sense of reducing poverty and stimulating development.</li> <li>• The key argument in favour of foreign aid is that its purpose is to help poor countries overcome structural biases within the global economy that threaten to lead to perpetual under-development. A reliance on free trade and market forces, in other words, is not sufficient; it will not 'raise all boats'. Some, indeed, argue that it is a moral duty to provide foreign aid, based on the recognition that the wealth and prosperity of the North has been, in substantial part, built on its treatment of the South. Foreign aid is most effective when it is targeted on long-term development projects and is orientated around capacity-building for the future. Examples include aid provided to improve the economic infrastructure, boost food production and improve health service and education, particularly primary education. Major recipients of aid in the past such as China, India, Brazil and Thailand have developed strategic aid programmes themselves. Aid can also be justified in the form of emergency relief, when it has a direct impact through alleviating a humanitarian crisis.</li> <li>• However, foreign aid has also been criticised as ineffective and even counter-productive. There is little reliable evidence that aid boosts economic growth and contributes to poverty reduction. Aid, indeed, may entrench patterns of global inequality rather than challenge them, discouraging initiative and self-reliance within recipient countries and strengthening a culture of dependency. Moreover, aid distorts markets, even 'hollowing out' an economy by effectively displacing local businesses and industries, or at least constraining their growth. The plight of sub-Saharan Africa is commonly used to illustrate such points. Corruption and authoritarian rule also often prevent aid getting through to the people who need it; instead, aid may foster corruption and deepen oppression, as autocratic rulers use aid funds to support their own affluent lifestyles and to strengthen political control and subvert opposition. Finally, foreign aid is often structured by donor state self-interest rather than the needs of recipient countries. Aid is often linked to the extension of political influence, trade agreements or the 'dumping' of surplus produce.</li> </ul>	

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No. 8	'Global warming sharply divides political opinion.' Discuss.
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**Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)**

- Climate change through global warming has become one of the most prominent issues in global politics. While there has been growing agreement that climate change is happening and that it is anthropogenic or human-induced, there continues to be a major debate about how pressing or serious the problem of global warming is.
- Environmental groups have highlighted the pressing importance of global warming in a number of ways. In the first place, they have underlined the steep rate at which climate change is taking place, and therefore the seriousness of its impact. It is widely argued that any temperature change of 3°C or above will have profound implications for weather patterns and human populations worldwide. Increased tropical cyclone activity creates a greater risk of death and injury from flooding and from water- and food-borne diseases, and also leads to major displacement of populations. The increased evidence of extreme high sea levels causes a greater risk of death and injury by drowning, especially in the world's great river deltas and in low-lying island groups. Drought and the advance of desertification are likely to lead to an increased risk of food and water shortages, malnutrition and disease. Although climate change will particularly affect Africa and the Arctic, its impact will be felt across the globe - an estimated 200-850 million people could be forced to move to more temperate zones by 2050 due to water shortages, sea level crises, famine, conflict and so on. Furthermore, the problem of global warming is acute because of the radical nature of the strategies needed to address it. In this view, effective action on climate change requires urgent agreement on bold targets to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, which will only be implemented through significant economic restructuring and an extension of 'green' interventionism by the state. Fossil-fuel economies need to be transformed into carbon-neutral economies, and this may also have profound implications for levels of economic growth and consumption levels.
- On the other hand, climate change sceptics argue that the problem of global warming has been exaggerated in a number of ways. Some, although a diminishing number, continue to question whether climate change is happening and argue that it is more a natural, than a human-induced, phenomenon. Others point out that predictions about global warming and its impact have often been exaggerated by environmental NGOs in order to promote fear and anxiety, even a kind of environmental hysteria. Furthermore, the effects of global warming are by no means always negative and that human communities have a remarkable capacity to adapt to changing circumstances. Sceptics certainly favour adaptation strategies over ones that seek to mitigate the impact of global warming. Finally, reformist or modernist environmentalists argue that the strategies to contain climate change are readily to hand, notably in the form of so-called 'green' capitalism and through technology that is already being developed, such as new forms of renewable energy, hybrid and electric cars, 'clean' coal and so on.

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