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Mark Scheme (results)

Summer 2018

**Pearson Edexcel GCE Government and Politics
(6GP04) Paper 4D**

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Summer 2018

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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	Explain the main arguments in support of humanitarian intervention.
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Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

Humanitarian intervention is based on the idea that states and people have a moral responsibility and obligation not merely to one's own people or state but to 'save strangers', if the resources exist to do so and the cost is not disproportionate.

- The Responsibility to Protect doctrine makes clear that state sovereignty cannot justify government abuse of its own people; as sovereignty ultimately resides with the people. Abuses forfeit a government's legitimacy, justifying intervention by other states. States thus have a 'responsibility to protect', supporting the argument for HI.
- Humanitarian and strategic considerations often go hand in hand, especially in view of growing global interconnectedness. Humanitarian intervention can be justified on grounds of self-interest; for example to prevent a refugee crisis that may create strains in other countries, i.e. Syria where intervention may be a means of preventing regional instability and helping to make regional wars less likely, so supporting HI.
- Humanitarian intervention also helps to build soft power status, therefore supporting HI.
- Humanitarian intervention may also, but not necessarily, lead to regime change; insofar as it does, a concern to promote democracy and strengthen respect for human rights, therefore supporting HI.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

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LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<p><i>Level 3</i> (11-15 marks)</p>	<p>Good to excellent:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
<p><i>Level 2</i> (6-10 marks)</p>	<p>Limited to sound:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
<p><i>Level 1</i> (0-5 marks)</p>	<p>Very poor to weak:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

No. 2	Using examples, explain what actions the international community has taken to deal with the environmental crisis.
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Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

International agreements have been used to attempt to deal with environmental concerns, such as the 1987 Montreal agreement which brought states together to reduce CFC gases that were contributing to ozone depletion, a clear international community action.

- The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change founded in 1998 brings together international scientists and researchers to provide advice and reports to decision-makers, as a further sign of international action.
- Global summits- the most significant of these include the Rio Earth Summit of 1992, which established the Framework Convention on Climate Change. G8 and EU summits have also considered the issue. Actions of pressure groups and social movements are further signs of action.
- The Kyoto Treaty of 1997 set binding targets for developed states to limit or reduce their greenhouse gases by 2012 based on 1990 levels, as well as introducing emissions trading. Copenhagen in 2009 and Paris in late 2015 made further promises to control climate change including money for a climate fund, further signs of international action.
- Individual states have made voluntary commitments to reduce carbon emissions with some of these commitments enshrined in law. There has also been action at regional level with the EU establishing an EU emissions trading system and providing support for carbon capture technology, as a further sign of international action as well as international efforts to restrict trade in a wide range of plants and animals. Creation of marine protection zones.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<p>Level 3 (11-15 marks)</p>	<p>Good to excellent:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
<p>Level 2 (6-10 marks)</p>	<p>Limited to sound:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
<p>Level 1 (0-5 marks)</p>	<p>Very poor to weak:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

No. 3	What is meant by nuclear proliferation, and why is it so difficult to prevent?
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Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

Nuclear proliferation is the spread of nuclear weapons either by acquisition by more states or actors (horizontal proliferation) or accumulation by established nuclear states (vertical proliferation). There are several reasons as to why proliferation is so difficult to prevent:

- The possession of nuclear weapons is seen as the ultimate guarantee of non-intervention by more militarily powerful states. The USA thus intervened against Iraq but did not do so against North Korea. This has major implications for Iran's pursuit of nuclear weapons. The Security Dilemma and Zero Sum theory are applicable here, causing difficulties as does the upgrading of missile technology by established nuclear states.
- The acquisition of nuclear weapons is seen to mark out a state as a great power, as indicated by the nuclear weapons possessed by the 'veto powers' of the UN Security Council. States may be given higher regard if they have a nuclear capability with enhanced prestige and status, again causing difficulties.
- Nuclear proliferation safeguards may be considered weak and criticism has been made of the Non-proliferation Treaty of 1968 as well as the International Atomic Energy Agency. There is recent evidence of cooperation between states attempting to develop a nuclear capability which makes prevention difficult.
- Regional tensions have been a powerful driver behind the acquisition of nuclear weapons. This applies both in the case of India and Pakistan and in the case of Israel and Iran as clear examples of the difficulty in prevention.

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A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<p>Level 3 (11-15 marks)</p>	<p>Good to excellent:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
<p>Level 2 (6-10 marks)</p>	<p>Limited to sound:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
<p>Level 1 (0-5 marks)</p>	<p>Very poor to weak:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

No. 4	Using examples, explain the main criticisms directed at international aid.
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Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

There is little reliable evidence that aid boosts 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.

- Aid may distort markets, “hollowing out’ an economy by displacing local businesses and industries, or at least constraining their growth. The plight of Sub-Saharan Africa is commonly used to illustrate such criticism.
- Corruption and authoritarian rule in countries like Zimbabwe may prevent aid getting to the people who need it; instead, aid may foster corruption and deepen oppression, as autocratic rulers use aid funds to support their own affluence and to strengthen political control and subvert opposition as a further criticism.
- Aid is often linked to the donor state developing selfish interests and can be linked to the extension of political influence, trade agreements or other influence rather than to meeting the specific needs of recipient countries. China has been accused of such action in Africa. The UK was accused of providing Tied Aid to Malaysia to fund a dam project linked to arms sales in the 1990s as a clear example of criticism.
- There is a view that not enough aid is provided. Although wealthy countries have committed themselves to meeting the UN’s target of donating 0.7 per cent of their GNP to aid, donation levels have lagged far behind which is a further reason for criticism.

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LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<p>Level 3 (11-15 marks)</p>	<p>Good to excellent:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
<p>Level 2 (6-10 marks)</p>	<p>Limited to sound:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
<p>Level 1 (0-5 marks)</p>	<p>Very poor to weak:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

No. 5	Explain the main obstacles preventing cooperation over climate change.
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Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

Conflict between the national interest and the collective good has been identified as a central cause. This may be linked to the Garret Hardin Tragedy of the Commons idea and the concept of the free rider, explaining why global environmental treaties have disappointed many.

- The developed and developing states have clashed over responsibility for climate change and also for actions required to slow or halt this change. This disagreement includes measurement of responsibility/ CO2 emissions and is a clear obstacle.
- There are economic, national, cultural and ideological obstacles that are difficult to overcome. A culture of trade liberalisation, freedom for transnational corporations and consumerism adds to the obstacles to prevention.
- Some prefer mitigation strategies compared with those who favour adaptation as a more realistic proposition. There is a view that the primary obstacle remains state sovereignty and the lack of a supranational body able to enforce effective action on a global scale, a further obstacle.
- States who hold the greatest historic responsibility for climate change can be least likely to feel the consequences of this climate change. Politicians have been accused of taking actions and making decisions for short-term gain rather than longer-term benefit with a reluctance of governments to accept the economic consequences of dealing with climate change, as a further obstacle to cooperation.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<p>Level 3 (11-15 marks)</p>	<p>Good to excellent:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
<p>Level 2 (6-10 marks)</p>	<p>Limited to sound:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
<p>Level 1 (0-5 marks)</p>	<p>Very poor to weak:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

No. 6	'International courts and tribunals have proved to be ineffective in dealing with abuses of human rights.' Discuss.
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Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

- Effectiveness may be measured in numerous ways, including acting as a deterrent and in punishing those responsible for abuse. International law institutions are criticised for a Western bias, based on values and legal traditions that may be rejected in other parts of the world. There is a lack of a global consensus and a view that they are structurally dominated by Western states, suggesting ineffectiveness.
- Examples of ineffectiveness in protecting human rights may include discussion of extraordinary rendition, Guantanamo Bay, Abu Ghraib and more recent examples such as the actions of Islamic State and the Assad regime in Syria. Sovereignty remains a central obstacle to the protection of human rights, suggesting ineffectiveness.
- The application of double standards with human rights abuses unpunished in certain circumstances, dependent on the view and actions of the significant powers, suggests an ineffectiveness.
- The ICC lacks universal membership, is subject to P5 control and was initially accused of a focus solely on the actions of African individuals rather than alleged human rights elsewhere. Special tribunals were set up in some circumstances such as Rwanda but not others, i.e. Sri Lanka, suggesting ineffectiveness.

- Establishment of courts and tribunals is a significant step given the norm of sovereignty and represents a step in establishing a protection for human rights globally. Precedents have been set including indictment and prosecution of former and current heads of state. Significant sentences of 50 plus years have been passed, suggesting effectiveness.
- Perhaps the deterrent value of these courts and tribunals is the most important element of their creation. Maybe the atrocities carried out by Sudan in Darfur were tempered by the actions and convictions at international courts and tribunals. Leaders like Assad in Syria must consider their actions and a possibility of future prosecution by courts and tribunals.
- Although the special tribunals and courts have been accused of taking extended periods to carry out prosecutions, they have been dogged in pursuing those involved in war crimes, like Mladic and Karadzic no matter how long it takes. Perseverance suggests effectiveness.
- The increasing number of courts and tribunals and a growing number of indictments and prosecutions suggests that they are considered to be effective by the international community. Automatically, discussion will take place and pressure applied to begin proceedings whenever human rights abuses take place, suggesting effectiveness.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
A02	Intellectual skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
A02	Synoptic skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to 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
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a little awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions

A03	Communication and coherence
Level 3 (7-9 marks)	Good to excellent ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 2 (4-6 marks)	Limited to sound ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 1 (0-3 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

No. 7	To what extent is the North responsible for the poverty of the South?
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Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

- The terms North and South and the North-South divide were popularised in the Brandt Reports in the 1980s. There is a view that poverty in the South is based on global North dominance of military, political and structural power. There is evidence that major powers have structural dominance in bodies like the IMF, WTO and World Bank and the economic philosophy of the world is based on Western free market liberal ideas that may benefit the North rather than South, suggesting North responsibility.
- Reluctance to produce policy to the benefit of Global South has contributed to the failure of WTO rounds. The continuance of an imbalanced trading system as suggested by World-systems theory in which core areas enforce unequal exchange on weaker peripheral states suggests that responsibility lies with the North.
- Multinational companies may allow Global North dominance along with manipulation of international law and institutions by the North.
- Accusations of insufficient aid or the wrong type of aid to lift elements of Global South out of poverty have been levelled against the North.

- There is an alternative view that poverty in the South is caused by other factors such as environmental issues, conflict, overpopulation, corruption, debt etc. and that Global South should shoulder some, if not all, of the responsibility for its own weakness, rather than the North.
- Examples of the impact of corruption and a possible link to poverty may be relevant with examples such as South Africa, Nigeria and Pakistan. Accusations of ineffective government have been made against states such as Zimbabwe. A number of Global South states have crippling levels of external debt, which hinder growth and development and the ability to escape poverty, suggesting that the North isn't responsible.
- There are numerous examples of states in the Global South that have suffered as a consequence of conflict including DR Congo, Rwanda and Sudan. Internal Global South causation is an alternative to Global North responsibility.
- Arguably, far from being hampered by the free market philosophy of the major Western powers, the Global South has suffered from a reluctance to accept the ideas of the Washington Consensus and growth will take place as this is rectified. Examples of rapidly developing economies in South and East Asia would be used here. Perhaps responsibility is shared.

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A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

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Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
A02	Intellectual skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
A02	Synoptic skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to 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
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a little awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions

A03	Communication and coherence
Level 3 (7-9 marks)	Good to excellent ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 2 (4-6 marks)	Limited to sound ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 1 (0-3 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

No. 8	'Concerns about a "clash of civilisations" are justified.' Discuss.
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Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

- There is evidence that the Samuel Huntington thesis is correct as seen in the growing impact of culture and religion in global politics. There is evidence of a rise in religious fundamentalism and cultural awareness, suggesting a justification for concern.
- The rise of global terrorism and the 'war on terror' have been used to support the description of a clash of civilisations and growing rifts between states and peoples which is a concern.
- Tensions between different civilisations have emerged in a number of key areas such as sexuality, the role of women and human rights. There has been a backlash against a perceived Western dominance, supporting concern.
- Tension and rivalry between the USA and China can be used to support the idea. Tensions between Russia and the US and EU have appeared to have increased over a number of foreign policy issues. For those who argue that change to the existing polar order brings risk of increased conflict, this is a worrying development. Civilisational tension in a world of nuclear proliferation and limited safeguards should be a concern to all.
- Opponents of this view would argue that a polarisation based on civilisation is an unfair description of a world in which conflict and tension are actually reducing. Globalisation in all of its forms is creating a far more united world based on the cobweb model of increased interconnectedness. Cultural globalisation may represent a shift to the development of a monoculture of homogenisation where tensions are reduced, so no need for concern.
- Common values are developing in central areas such as human rights, international law, global governance and economic development, therefore reducing any need for concern.
- Civilisations, if they exist, tend not to be homogenous and unified entities. There are divisions within civilisations and too many examples of positive relations between countries representing apparently different civilisations. Cultural difference by no means necessarily leads to conflict, so removing any need for concern.
- There is a view that civilisations are still not as significant as states and that states will remain the principal actors in global politics, acting as they have always done. Arguably, most wars and international conflicts still take place between states from the same rather than different civilisations and concern should be applied to this rather than a possible clash of civilisations.

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A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
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Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
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