Mark Scheme (Results)

Summer 2010

GCE Government & Politics (6GP03) Paper 3D

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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	Distinguish between economic globalisation and political globalisation.

Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

- Economic globalisation refers to the process whereby all national economies have, to a greater or lesser extent, been absorbed into an interlocking global economy, meaning that no national economy is now an island. In this global economy, production is internationalised and financial capital flows freely and instantly between countries. However, economic globalisation should be distinguished from internationalisation. The latter results in 'shallow integration', in that increased cross-border transactions lead to intensified interdependence between national economies, while the former marks a qualitative shift towards 'deep integration' as territorial borders are transcended through the construction of a consolidated global marketplace for production, distribution and consumption.

- Political globalisation, by contrast, is associated with the shift of decision-making from states to international organisations. Such organisations may have regional jurisdiction (such as the EU) or global jurisdiction (such as the UN). Most international organisations are modelled on the principle of intergovernmentalism rather than supranationalism, in that states take collective action without sacrificing national sovereignty. Political globalization is often seen as a means of managing or regulating economic globalisation. However, political globalisation could legitimately be understood to refer to the global spread of political ideas (such as human rights) or of political structures (such as liberal democracy).

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	• Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	• Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	• Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

No. 2	Why has it been difficult to develop an effective EU foreign and security policy?

Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

The key obstacles to developing of an effective EU foreign and security policy include the following:

- Member states have, to a greater or lesser extent, been deeply reluctant to cede control of foreign and defence policy to the EU. This is primarily because control over military and diplomatic affairs is usually considered fundamental to the independence and identity of a state, the practical expression of its sovereignty. Co-operation in matters of foreign affairs and defence is therefore politically more sensitive than co-operation in matters such as the economy and trade. This reluctance is reflected in the fact foreign and defence matters continue to be protected by the national veto.

- Co-operation in foreign and security matters is also difficult to achieve because of rival loyalties towards NATO. Throughout the post 1945 period, European states have treated NATO as the cornerstone of their defence policy. Progress in developing a common EU foreign and defence policy is therefore seen as downgrading the influence of NATO, and weakening the diplomatic and defence links between Europe and the USA.

- A common foreign and security policy is also hampered by the EU's limited military capability, a weakness that became particularly evident in relation to the EU's inability to act over the former-Yugoslavia in the late 1990s. The European Defence Agency (EDA) was set up in 2004, but the creation of a European army still looks to be many years away.

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No. 3	Define hegemony, and explain its significance to global order.

Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

- Hegemony, in broader terms, means dominance or leadership. Within the international system, a state may be considered a 'hegemon' if it is so powerful economically and militarily that it is a dominant influence on the domestic and foreign policies of other states. Following Gramsci, hegemony also implies ideological leadership and the domination of an actor's values and ideas, creating 'hegemonic consent' amongst other actors. It is possible to have a regional hegemon or a global hegemon (as many believe the USA has been since the end of the Cold War).

- Hegemony may have one of two implications for global order. Realists and some neo-liberals have argued that a hegemon is necessary to create stability and order within a liberal market economy, thereby bringing benefit to all the states within such an economy. It does this by enforcing the rules of the economic game, the USA could be said to do this through the role of the dollar as an international currency and by its influence over the institutions of global economic governance. This is called hegemonic ability theory. By contrast, hegemony can be said to stimulate resentment and hostility, particularly amongst second-level powers, who may have an incentive to unite to undermine the hegemonic power. In this case, hegemony may lead to conflict and disorder, possibly through shifting patterns of alliances. Hegemonic powers remain dominant in part through their ability to prevent anti-hegemonic alliances being formed amongst second-level powers.

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No. 4	What have been the implications of the enlargement of the EU since 2004?

Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

In 2004, the EU undertook its most dramatic enlargement, incorporating 10 new members, mainly former communist states of central and eastern Europe. Two further members were added in 2006 (Bulgaria and Romania), bringing the total membership to 27, compared with 15 before 2004. EU enlargement since 2004 has had a number of implications:

- EU enlargement has had a profound impact on the politics of central and eastern Europe. In many ways, it completed the process started by the end of the Cold War in 1989, by reuniting eastern and western Europe, overcoming the political, economic and ideological tensions that had been dominant since 1945. Enlargement has therefore helped to consolidate the process of post-communist restructuring across much of the former-Soviet bloc.
- EU enlargement has had key implications for the decision-making process within the EU. A large number of member states, and a changed balance between major states and smaller ones, has threatened to make EU decision-making yet more unwieldy and problematic. This has created pressure for a streamlining of the decision-making process, hence the proposal to introduce an EU constitution and, subsequently, the reform proposals encompassed in the Lisbon Treaty.

Other implications of EU enlargement include the following. The less developed nature of the economies of accession states has created economic tension within the EU. A wider market creates the prospect of a strengthened EU in economic terms with greater influence on the world stage. EU enlargement has implications for immigration patterns, which have had an impact on both 'poorer' and EU 'wealthier' states. Immigration from poorer accession states to more prosperous western Eurpoean ones has also been an issue.

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No. 5	What is meant by supranationalism, and why is it controversial?

Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

- Supranationalism is the existence of one authority that is 'higher' than that of the nation-state and capable of imposing its will on it. It can therefore be found in international federations, where sovereignty is shared between central and peripheral bodies. The clearest example of a supranational institution, or an institution that has supranational features, is the EU, which has a common political structure authorised to make decisions, over certain issues, by majority voting. The UN, strictly speaking, is supranational in the sense that it is empowered to exercise executive policy in relation to peace and security matters (Article 25).

- Supranationalism is controversial for a number of reasons. In the first place, unlike intergovernmentalism, it is a form of co-operation amongst states that has significant implications for sovereignty. States that are members of supranational organisations cease to have full and independent control over what occurs within their own borders. Similarly, this may have implications for national identity. As most states are nation-states, independent self-government is a way of upholding and protecting their national distinctiveness. Supranationalism may erode this distinctiveness, creating, possibly, resentment and a nationalist backlash. Finally, supranationalism is controversial because it tends to have implications for democracy. As democracy is difficult to establish at a level higher than the nation-state, the growth of supranational authority tends to lead to a 'democratic deficit' as it constricts the functioning of democracy at lower levels.

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No. 6	Is conflict and war an inevitable feature of global politics?

Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

- The question about the inevitability of conflict and war in global politics has long been a matter of theoretical debate and discussion. It is perhaps the key issue that has divided realism from liberalism or idealism.

- Realist theorists have argued that conflict and war are permanent characteristics of international or global politics. Most basically, people are viewed as narrowly selfish and ethically flawed, intent on achieving self-advantage regardless of others. A lust for power and a desire to dominate others is an ineradicable feature of human nature. This implies that international politics boils down to a struggle for power, in Hobbes's words, 'a war of all against all'. The primary objective of every state is to promote its national interests, trying to achieve relative gains in the international system. International politics is thus, inevitably, a form of power politics, with war being used as an instrument of state policy. This tendency is strengthened by the anarchical character of the global system, in which, with no power standing above the sovereign state, states being forced to rely on self-help to achieve security in a context of mutual fear, suspicion and hostility. The dynamics of this anarchical system make long-term stability and international co-operation difficult, and perhaps impossible, to achieve. However, stability and peace can be achieved for temporary periods through the maintenance of a balance of power.

- Liberal theorists, on the other hand, believe that global politics can be characterised by harmony and co-operation, meaning that conflict and war occur for very specific reasons and are not inevitable. At the core of liberalism is a belief in reason and the possibility of progress. As individuals are moral creatures and not merely power-seeking ones, liberals believe that international and global politics can conform to ethical principles rather than merely power politics. They believe that conflict and war can be contained in at least three ways. First, free trade helps to establish economic interdependence between and amongst states, making war perhaps unthinkable and building international understanding between trading partners. International institutions can also be forged to ensure an international rule of law, helping to replace unstable balance-of-power politics with a system of collective security. Democratic government also reduces the tendency towards war, particularly as democratic states are accustomed to using compromise and negotiation to resolve disputes. Conflict and war may nevertheless occur, but they are usually associated with factors such as the rise of economic nationalism or the existence of authoritarian rule or imperial structures.

AO1	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes,

(0-4 marks)	political concepts, theories or debates
AO2	**Intellectual skills**
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
AO2	**Synoptic skills**
Level 3 (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
Level 2 (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
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited 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
AO3	**Communication and coherence**
Level 3 (7-9 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 2 (4-6 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 1 (0-3 marks)	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

No. 7	'The UN is now an outdated body.' Discuss.

Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

- The United Nations (UN) was set up at the end of World War II to maintain peace and security amongst states, the successor to the League of Nations. However, the UN has attracted a great deal of criticism, often based on the belief that it is an outdated body. However, such criticisms fail to take account of how the UN has adapted and developed since 1945.

- There have been various allegations that the UN is outdated. Considerable criticism has focused on the make-up of the Security Council, which continues to reflect the great power politics of 1945, with the USA, Russia, China, the UK and France being permanent members with veto powers. Pressure to reform the Security Council has grown considerably, with suggestions that new permanent members should include either major economic powers and significant UN contributors such as Japan and Germany, or rising states that can represent a broader range of continents such as Brazil and South Africa. The UN has also been criticised because its budgetary position has historically been based on the ability to pay, creating tensions within and between the global North and the global South. Considerable resentment has grown up in the USA, the largest contributor to all the UN's budgets, as it is confronted by a General Assembly in which all states have equal voting rights. On the other hand, this budgetary imbalance has led to allegations that economically developed states are more favourably dealt with by the UN. A further line of criticism is that the UN largely operates as an intergovernmental body, which has very few means of enforcing its decisions and bringing transgressors into line. In that sense, the UN was formed by great powers that did not want it to develop the kind of authority which might limit their freedom of manoeuvre in the future. In an interconnected world in which challenges increasingly have a transnational if not global dimension, such weak intergovernmentalism may no longer be appropriate. This has been illustrated by the Rwandan genocide of 1994 and by difficulties in the UN carrying out its peacekeeping role.

- On the other hand, the UN can also be defended. In relation to peacekeeping, its primary limitations are not so much internal as ones that stem from the politics of great power rivalry. Nevertheless, after the end of the Cold War the UN supported the trend towards humanitarian intervention, responding to the rise of interdependence and underlining the importance of human rights in global politics. Indeed, the UN has remained remarkably up-to-date in its willingness to expand its agenda and broaden its concerns, especially in relation to economic and social questions. This can be seen in global conferences that have been arranged to address pressing problems such as the environment and development (Rio, 1992), human rights (Vienna, 1993), population (Cairo, 1994), women's issues (Beijing, 1995) and so on. The UN makes a major contribution to facilitating co-operation on development issues, by, for examples, its Human Development Reports and, since 2000, by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In these ways, the UN, despite limited resources, has responded to a growing sense of interdependence and the globalisation of human concerns.

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Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates

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AO2	**Intellectual skills**
Level 3 (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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No. 8	To what extent is the global system now multipolar?

Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

- Multipolarity refers to an international system in which there are three or more power centres. However, there is debate about whether the contemporary system is now best described as unipolar or as multipolar.

- A unipolar global system is one in which there is a single pre-eminent state. Many have argued that the end of the Cold War can be seen as the 'unipolar moment', the end of an era of superpower bipolarity and the birth of the world in which the USA stood as the sole superpower. Some have seen this as the creation of some kind of 'American empire', a trend resulting from US economic successors during the 1990s, coupled with the ongoing difficulties of other competitors, such as Japan, Russia and the EU. The USA's unassailable position in global affairs was evident in the unilateralist tendency of US foreign policy, particularly following the election of George W. Bush in 2000 and in particular by the so-called 'war on terror'. This has been interpreted as an attempt to preserve and reinforce the USA's 'benevolent global hegemony' through a kind of 'new' imperialism that was based on unrivalled military strength, the USA's strength in promoting democracy worldwide, and an interventionist foreign policy that was based on the idea of 'regime change', achieved by military means and possible through pre-emptive attack. These tendencies were a clear indication of the existence of unipolarity.

- However, the 'unipolar moment' in world politics may have passed, partly due to the tendency of the USA to succumb to the problem of imperial over-reach. Although the USA accounts for around 50 per cent of global defence spending, its proportion of GDP is well below 50 per cent and declining in relative terms. The economic fragility of the USA has been further illustrated by the global economic crisis that started in 2008. The rise of China, India and other new powers creates the prospect either of the return of some form of bipolarity, in which global politics in the twenty-first century will be characterised by Sino-US relations, or the emergence of a truly multipolar system consisting of five or possibly more major world actors. China's rapid economic progress, its growing military capacity and its greater involvement in global affairs, Africa and elsewhere all demonstrate that the global system can no longer be seen as unipolar. Other rising powers include India, Brazil and Russia. Trends towards multipolarity can also be seen in the implications of globalisation and the rise of non-state actors ranging from transnational corporations to terrorist groups and new social movements. In this view, globalisation has strengthened a tendency towards pluralism in global politics, highlighted by the permeability of the state and the dispersal of power amongst governmental and non-governmental actors. Finally, growing interdependence and the effects of the information and communication revolution have, arguably, changed the nature of power itself and made it more difficult for power to be concentrated in a small number of hands. This is evident in the declining significance of 'hard' power, particularly military power, and the growing importance of 'soft' power.

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