

# Mark Scheme (Results) January 2011

GCE

## GCE Government & Politics (6GP03) Paper 3D

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January 2011

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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.

1	Why do liberals believe that global politics is biased in favour of cooperation?
<b>Indicative content</b>	
<p>Liberals believe that global politics is biased in favour cooperation for a number of reasons, including the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Liberals believe that the principle of balance applies to international affairs, and that it is reflected in the overlapping interests of states.</li> <li>• Cooperation amongst states is encouraged by economic interdependences, particularly in the form of international trade, which also helps to promote general prosperity.</li> <li>• The trend towards democracy also promotes cooperation and reduces the incidence of war because democratic states share the same culture and values.</li> <li>• The trend towards global governance supports cooperation among states by establishing norms and increased trust, helping to facilitate rule-governed behaviour.</li> </ul> <p>The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question include the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The ability to analyse and explain why liberals believe that global politics tends towards cooperation rather than conflict.</li> </ul>	

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<p><b>Level 3</b> <b>(11-15 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Level 2</b> <b>(6-10 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Level 1</b> <b>(0-5 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>

2	What is the balance of power, and how effective is it in preventing war?
<b>Indicative content</b>	
<p>The balance of power can be defined in a variety of different ways, including the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An even distribution of power between rival power blocs.</li> <li>• The existing distribution of power, which may be even or uneven. A policy designed to achieve an even or more even balance of power.</li> <li>• An inherent tendency in international politics to produce an even distribution of power.</li> </ul> <p>Views about the capacity of the balance of power to prevent war diverge, however:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Realists argue that the balance of power is the surest, and perhaps only, guarantee that war can be avoided. Its value is that an even distribution of power, whether brought about naturally or as a consequence of statecraft, prevents the triumph of dominant powers. Powers will be deterred from attacking others only if they have reason to believe they will be unsuccessful.</li> <li>• Liberals, on the other hand, believe that the balance of power merely legitimises state egoism and fosters the growth of military power. In this view, the balance of power is a cause of intensifying tension and possibly war, based upon a mind-set of competition, rivalry and distrust.</li> </ul> <p>The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The ability to analyse and explain the relationship between the balance of power and the likelihood of war.</li> </ul>	

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3	Explain the relationship between regionalism and globalisation.
<b>Indicative content</b>	
<p>Regionalism, particularly in the form of ‘new regionalism’, has been linked to globalisation in a number of ways. These include the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Regional economic blocs have tended to be formed in part because of the impact of globalisation on the economic independence of states. As borders have become porous and economic sovereignty has declined, states have been inclined to work more closely with other states in the same region.</li> <li>• One motive for the formation of regional economic blocs is that these help states to resist pressure from intensified global competition. These blocs therefore function as customs unions, ‘fortresses’ against the pressures from the wider global economy.</li> <li>• In an increasingly interdependent global economy, states seek prosperity through the establishment of free trade areas that give them access to larger markets and facilitate economic specialisation.</li> </ul> <p>The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The ability to analyse and explain the relationship between globalisation and regionalisation.</li> </ul>	



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4	<b>Distinguish between intergovernmentalism and supranationalism.</b>
<b>Indicative content</b>	
<p>Intergovernmentalism is any form of interaction between states that takes place on the basis of sovereign independence. These includes treaties and alliances as well as leagues and confederations. Sovereignty is preserved through unanimous decision-making that gives each state a veto, at least over matters of vital national importance.</p> <p>Supranationalism is the existence of an 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. Certain EU bodies have supranational authority.</p> <p>The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The ability to analyse and explain key differences between intergovernmentalism and supranationalism.</li> </ul>	

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5

Is China a superpower?

**Indicative content**

A superpower is a state that possesses great power 'plus great mobility of power'. The term superpower was coined to refer to the USA and the Soviet Union in the early Cold War period. The features usually associated with a superpower include the following:

- They enjoy a leadership role in the international system and are able to impose their will on smaller states within their sphere of influence.
- They possess enormous military resources, enabling them to project effective military power far from their territory.
- Some argue that superpowers have a special responsibility to maintain international order and thus enjoy a privileged status in international forums.

China's status as a superpower depends on a number of considerations:

- China can reasonably be described as an economic superpower, in view of its sustained very high levels of economic growth and the fact that it became the world's leading exporter in 2009 as well as the world's second largest economy in 2010.
- Although China is the world's second largest military spender and possesses the world's largest army, it may not yet qualify as a military superpower as it does not have a proven capacity to project military power well beyond its territory.
- China does not yet have a clear sphere of influence in the sense that the USA and the Soviet Union clearly did during the Cold War period.
- There is uncertain evidence that China has accepted its superpower status in terms of being willing to shoulder responsibility for maintaining international order.

The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:

- The ability to analyse and explain the extent to which China meets the criteria of a superpower.

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6

**‘Globalisation is simply Americanisation in disguise.’ Discuss.**

**Indicative content**

Globalisation can be viewed as ‘Americanisation in disguise’ for a number of reasons. These include the following:

- The USA remains the world’s largest economy and so is deeply implicated in economic globalisation. The period of accelerated globalisation that commenced in the 1980s was linked to a significant improvement in the USA’s economic position relative to key rivals, notably Japan and Germany.
- Globalisation and free trade advance the interests of powerful states, and the USA in particular, by forcing other states to open up their market.
- Globalisation has been structured by ideological forces that have their origin in the USA. This is reflected in the extent to which the institutions of global economic governance support neoliberalism as dictated by the so-called ‘Washington Consensus’.
- Cultural globalisation is closely linked to the spread of ‘Americanisation’, in that a large proportion of global goods, films, television programmes and global celebrities are American in origin. Cultural homogenisation therefore facilitates the spread of US ideas, images and institutions.

However, globalisation is not just an ‘American game’. This applies for a number of reasons, including the following:

- Globalisation can be seen to benefit all states that participate in it, not just economically powerful ones such as the USA. This is reflected in the progress made in recent decades by newly industrial states and emerging powers.
- The US version of globalisation has been revealed as unsustainable by the global financial crisis of 2007-08, badly damaging, for example, the status of the dollar and the relative strength of the US economy.
- If accelerated globalisation benefited the USA in its early decades, since the 1990s it has increasingly benefited China, which is projected to overtake the USA in economic terms, perhaps by 2025. Globalisation can therefore no longer be viewed as simply Americanisation in disguise.

The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:

- The ability to analyse and explain the ways in which globalisation has benefited US interests.
- The ability to evaluate the impact globalisation has had on the USA relative to other powers.

Synopticity in this question refers to the following:

- The ability to identify rival arguments over the relationship between globalisation and the ascendancy of the USA.

<b>A01</b>	<b>Knowledge and understanding</b>
<b>Level 3</b> <b>(9-12 marks)</b>	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>Level 2</b> <b>(5-8 marks)</b>	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>Level 1</b> <b>(0-4 marks)</b>	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>A02</b>	<b>Intellectual skills</b>
<b>Level 3</b> <b>(9-12 marks)</b>	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>Level 2</b> <b>(5-8 marks)</b>	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>Level 1</b> <b>(0-4 marks)</b>	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations

<b>A02</b>	<b>Synoptic skills</b>
<b>Level 3</b> <b>(9-12 marks)</b>	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
<b>Level 2</b> <b>(5-8 marks)</b>	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
<b>Level 1</b> <b>(0-4 marks)</b>	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
<b>A03</b>	<b>Communication and coherence</b>
<b>Level 3</b> <b>(7-9 marks)</b>	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
<b>Level 2</b> <b>(4-6 marks)</b>	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
<b>Level 1</b> <b>(0-3 marks)</b>	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary



7

**'The European Union is a unique example of regional integration.'** Discuss.

**Indicative content**

The European Union shares features with a range of other regional economic blocks. These include the following:

- The EU like other regional economic blocs serves as a free trade area, giving member states access to a larger internal market.
- Like most regional economic blocs, the EU establishes common tariffs that enable it to protect member states from competitive pressures beyond their borders.

However, in a number of respects the EU is unlike other forms of regional organisation. This applies in a variety of ways, including the following:

- The EEC/EC/EU stemmed from unique historical circumstances, notably the overriding need to avoid a further European war by establishing peace between Germany and France.
- The EU is unlike other economic blocs in that it has developed a significant dimension of political union. This is evident in a variety of respects, including the supranational authority that resides in certain of its institutions, notably the Commission and European Court of Justice, the wider use of qualified majority voting and common citizenship rights that now extend across the EU. The EU is therefore no longer a confederation of independent states; it possesses unique federal-type features that are not found in other regional organisations and thus provides the only significant example of a political alternative to the nation-state.
- The EU is also unique in pursuing monetary union. This was designed to deepen the process of economic integration but it has also increased pressures for political union.
- The EU also conforms to a social model that seeks to make guarantees to EU citizens on a range of issues, including employment rights, working hours and so forth.

The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:

- The ability to analyse and explain the key features of the EU as a political body.
- The ability to evaluate the relationship between these features and those found in other forms of regional integration.

Synopticity in this question refers to the following:

- The ability to recognise that while some view the EU as a unique form of regional integration, others believe that the EU belongs to the wider category of 'new regionalism'.

<b>A01</b>	<b>Knowledge and understanding</b>
<b>Level 3</b> <b>(9-12 marks)</b>	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
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<b>Level 1</b> <b>(0-4 marks)</b>	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>A02</b>	<b>Intellectual skills</b>
<b>Level 3</b> <b>(9-12 marks)</b>	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>Level 2</b> <b>(5-8 marks)</b>	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>Level 1</b> <b>(0-4 marks)</b>	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations

<b>A02</b>	<b>Synoptic skills</b>
<b>Level 3</b> <b>(9-12 marks)</b>	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
<b>Level 2</b> <b>(5-8 marks)</b>	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
<b>Level 1</b> <b>(0-4 marks)</b>	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
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8

To what extent is the UN effective in ensuring peace and security?

**Indicative content**

The maintenance of international peace and security is the central aim of the United Nations, with responsibility being placed in the hands of the Security Council. The UN can be seen to be effective in promoting peace and security for a number of reasons, including the following:

- The decisions of the Security Council are binding on all member states. Through the Security Council, the UN can define and respond to security threats and enforce its decisions through mandatory directives to UN members.
- Peacekeeping, involving the establishment of a UN force under UN command in post-ceasefire circumstances, has been used since 1956 in places such as Suez, Cyprus and the Golan Heights. During the 1990s there was a rapid expansion in UN peacekeeping operations, with the development of classical peacekeeping into multidimensional peacekeeping, sometimes called peacebuilding or peace enforcement. This was in line with the report, *An Agenda for Peace* (1992) and reflected an increase in humanitarian intervention.

However, the UN's performance in these areas has also been criticised for a number of reasons. These include the following:

- The UN Security Council has often been paralysed as a result of great power disagreement. Concerted action to ensure peace and international security have therefore been the exception rather than the rule. This particularly applied during the Cold War period when the Security Council was paralysed by US-Soviet hostility. However, great power rivalry has somewhat reduced since the end of the Cold War.
- UN peacekeeping operations have widely been criticised. In some cases, the UN has effectively stood by as massacres and genocide have occurred. In other cases, peacekeeping forces have been ill-equipped and under-resourced to deal complex situations shaped by ethnic strife and breakdown of civil order. Peacekeeping mandates have also been unclear. The proliferation in peacekeeping operations is not, therefore, necessarily evidence of their success.

The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:

- The ability to analyse and explain how the UN seeks to carry out its responsibility of maintaining international peace and security.
- The ability to evaluate the UN's effectiveness in ensuring international peace and stability.

Synopticity in this question refers to the following:

- The ability to recognise that there is significant debate about the effectiveness of the UN in ensuring peace and security, UN operations having been subject to praise as well as criticism.

<b>A01</b>	<b>Knowledge and understanding</b>
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