

Mark Scheme (Results)

June 2011

GCE Government & Politics 6GP03 3D Global Politics

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June 2011
Publications Code UA028092
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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.

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

State sovereignty is the idea that states operate as autonomous and independent entities in world politics, sovereignty being the principle of absolute or unlimited power. Distinctions are nevertheless made between legal sovereignty, defined in terms of authority, and political authority, defined in terms of power.

The main implications of state sovereignty for international politics include the following:

- Sovereignty implies that there is no higher power or authority in international affairs than the state. This implies that states operate in conditions of international anarchy, suggesting that they rely for their security and survival on self-help and view other states as at least a potential threat.
- State sovereignty implies, at least in theory, that states are equal. Sovereignty suggests the norm of non-intervention in international affairs, which has been embraced as the cornerstone of international law.

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

• The ability to analyse and explain the implications of state sovereignty for international politics.

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 Good to excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Good to excellent ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Good to excellent ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	 Limited to sound knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Limited to sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Limited to sound ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.

(6.5	 Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Very poor to weak ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Very poor to weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.
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Calls for the reform of the UN Security Council have been made on a number of grounds, including the following:

- The fact that the fifteen-member Security Council is composed of five permanent members (the USA, the UK, France, China and Russia) and ten non-permanent members violates the principle of equality among states and therefore helps to perpetuate the great-power system.
- The veto powers enjoyed by the permanent members of the Security Council
 has been subject to criticism because it concentrates power in the hands of just
 five countries, giving them a broad range of control over the rest of the UN
 system.
- The composition of the permanent members is widely criticised as being outdated, reflecting the great-power system of 1945 rather than the distribution of global power in the twenty-first century. While the inclusion of the UK and France in particular has been controversial, calls have been made for the inclusion of new permanent members, such as Brazil, South Africa, Nigeria and so on.

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

• The ability to analyse and explain the criticisms that have been made of the UN Security Council and the proposed reforms.

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 Good to excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Good to excellent ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Good to excellent ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	 Limited to sound knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Limited to sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.

	Limited to sound ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	 Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Very poor to weak ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Very poor to weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

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

The EU is an example of supranational governance in that the Union does not function merely as a forum through which sovereign states can take concerted action. Instead, and to a degree, EU institutions can impose decisions on dissenting member states. This applies, in particular, through the power vested in the European Commission, the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice. Supranational government nevertheless does not necessarily imply that the EU operates as a 'super-state'.

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 Good to excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Good to excellent ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Good to excellent ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	 Limited to sound knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Limited to sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Limited to sound ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	 Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Very poor to weak ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Very poor to weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

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

Bipolarity is the tendency for the international system to revolve around two poles (major power blocs). Bipolarity is often associated specifically with the Cold War and the so-called 'superpower era'.

Two quite different views of the implications of bipolarity for global order have been developed:

- Realists have associated bipolarity with peace and stability. This is because a
 bipolar system tends to result in a balance of power as each of the major power
 blocs is concerned to consolidate control over its own 'sphere of influence'.
 Instabilities resulting from shifting alliances are therefore minimised. Conflict
 between major power blocs is accepted as counter-productive, as in the
 'balance of terror' during the Cold War period.
- Liberal theorists on the other hand, have sometimes argued that bipolarity is inherently unstable as it leads to intensifying rivalry between major power blocks, as demonstrated by sustained 'vertical' nuclear proliferation during the Cold War.

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

• The ability to analyse and explain the implications of bipolarity for global order.

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 Good to excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Good to excellent ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Good to excellent ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	 Limited to sound knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Limited to sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.

	Limited to sound ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	 Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Very poor to weak ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Very poor to weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

Cultural globalisation is the process whereby information, commodities and images that have been produced in one part of the world enter into a global flow that tends to 'flatten out' cultural differences between nations, regions and individuals.

Cultural globalisation has been criticised for a number of reasons, including the following:

- It has been viewed as a form of cultural imperialism, bringing about a process of global homogenisation that weakens indigenous cultures, values and ways of life.
- Cultural globalisation has been seen to serve the interests of economic globalisation, thereby advancing the interests of transnational corporations.
- Cultural globalisation has been associated with political extremism, as perceived western domination has stimulated the growth of forms of religious fundamentalism and ethnic nationalism.

The intellectual skills relevant to this question are as follows:

• The ability to analyse and explain criticisms that have been made of cultural globalisation.

DESCRIPTORS
 Good to excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Good to excellent ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Good to excellent ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
 Limited to sound knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Limited to sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Limited to sound ability to construct and communicate coherent
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	arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	 Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Very poor to weak ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Very poor to weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

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

The EU's significance as a global actor has been the subject of significant debate. Amongst the arguments that the EU is a major global actor are the following:

- The EU's continent-wide internal market gives it substantial economic influence, especially as European integration has embraced both political union and monetary union. The sheer size of the EU in economic, trade and financial terms makes it a key global actor. It is the biggest trading bloc, is home to the world's second currency and the EU spends over 7 billion euros a year on aid to developing countries.
- The EU has significant structural power, being the only non-state to be represented on a number of international and global bodies. These include the WTO, G7 and G20.
- The EU also exercises important diplomatic influence, particularly by virtue of its 'soft' power. This is evident, for example, in relation to Iran and nuclear proliferation and especially on the issue of global climate change.
- An attempt has been made to strengthen the Common Foreign and Security Policy through the creation of the office of the High Representative, designed to better coordinate the EU's foreign policy in conjunction with the President of the European Council.

However, the EU's external influence has been reduced by a number of factors, including the following:

- Progress on establishing a Common and Security Policy has been limited by the desire of member states to retain control of their own foreign and defence policies, seen as key symbols of sovereign independence.
- This has particularly applied in the EU's failure to develop a significant military arm that enables it to project power within Europe and beyond. This was particularly demonstrated by the EU's weakness in the 1990s in relation to atrocities in former-Yugoslavia and in 1999 in relation to the Kosovo war. The EU's military influence extends little beyond the EU Battlegroups Initiative and the deployment of peacekeeping missions in parts of Africa, the former-Yugoslavia and the Middle East.

The intellectual skills relevant to this question are as follows:

- The ability to analyse and explain the nature of the EU's global influence.
- The ability to evaluate the overall significance of the EU as a global actor.

Synopticity in this question refers to the following:

The ability to recognise debates between those who believe that the EU has developed into a major global actor and those who raise doubts about its global influence.

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

AO2	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
<i>Level 2</i> (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

Global economic governance refers to the framework of coordination and management that is facilitated by bodies such as the World Trade Organisation, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. This framework was established by the 1944 Bretton Woods Agreement, with the orientation of these institutions being shifted as a result of the collapse of the Bretton Woods system in the 1970s and the emergence of the 'Washington Consensus' in the 1980s. Other key actors in this process include the G7/8 and increasingly the G20.

The purpose of global economic governance is to provide a stable framework for sustainable growth in the world economy. Those who argue that it has been effective in these respects make a number of points, including the following:

- The Bretton Woods system was effective in the early post-1945 period in ensuring no return to the 'beggar thy neighbour' policies of retaliatory protectionism that had contributed to the Great Depression of the 1930s.
- The end of the Bretton Woods system and the rise of market-orientated policies under the 'Washington Consensus' laid the foundation for the accelerated globalisation that saw a significant expansion of the world economy from the 1980s through to 2007-08.

However, global economic governance has been criticised as ineffective on a number of grounds, including the following:

- It has been viewed as inefficient as there are too many agencies involved in global economic governance with too little coordination among them.
- The agencies tend to impose a 'one size fits all', neoliberal blueprint, which does not allow for sufficient flexibility to suit different circumstances.
- In line with its free market principles, global economic governance provided a weak framework for regulating the world economy from the 1970s onwards, allowing unsustainable global imbalances to develop. This was most evident in the global financial crisis that started in 2007/08 that led to a sharp down-turn in the world economy. Global economic governance had failed, in particular, to regulate financial markets and banking systems, allowing unsustainable debt to accumulate with dramatic consequences. Some have therefore called for a 'new Bretton Woods'. However, this has so far led to little more than a change in voting arrangements on the IMF.
- Global economic governance has also been criticised in a wider sense for, for instance, promoting inequality, damaging human rights, lacking transparency and democratic accountability, and for being an instrument of transnational corporations

and international banking conglomerates.

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

- The ability to analyse and explain the workings of the framework of global economic governance.
- The ability to evaluate the effectiveness of global economic governance in delivering growth and economic stability.

Synopticity in this question refers to the following;

• The ability to recognise that the effectiveness of global economic governance has been subject to a debate between its supporters and its critics, with its supporters usually adopting a liberal, pro-globalisation viewpoint, while its critics have often identified structural injustices in the global capitalist economy.

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

AO2	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		
<i>Level 2</i> (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		
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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		

Military power has traditionally been viewed as the chief currency of international politics. However, some argue that it has become redundant for a variety of reasons, these include the following:

- Military power is redundant because large-scale high-intensity conflict has disappeared in many parts of the world, linked to the expansion of democratic 'zones of peace'.
- There has been a general shift from war to trade, as globalisation has increased economic interdependence and encouraged states to advance national prosperity through strategies of increased competitiveness.
- Many wars appear to be unwinnable because of the wider use of strategies of terrorism, insurrection and guerrilla warfare, meaning that economically-dominant powers can no longer easily get their way through military might.

On the other hand, military power has been viewed as of enduring significance, for reasons including the following:

- War is endless, as realist theorists argue, implying that military power remains the only sure guarantee of a state's survival and security. The irresolvable security dilemma means that fear and uncertainty will always persist in international affairs.
- New security challenges have emerged, notably terrorism, that cannot be contained by non-military means alone.
- Military power has increasingly been used for ethical purposes, notably to facilitate humanitarian intervention and to support peacekeeping and peacebuilding initiatives.

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

- The ability to analyse and explain how and why military power is used.
- The ability to evaluate the significance of military power in modern global politics.

Synopticity in this question refers to the following:

• The ability to recognise that there is a debate in global politics about the possible obsolescence of military power, in which the disagreement is at least partly between liberals and realists.

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

AO2	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		
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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		

SUMMARY A2 MARKING GRIDS

These grids should be used in conjunction with the fuller Level descriptors.

PART A - SHORT QUESTIONS (15 marks)

	Excellent	15	
Level 3	Very good	13-14	
	Good	11-12	
Level 2	Sound	10	
	Basic	8-9	
	Limited	6-7	
Level 1	Weak	4-5	
	Poor 2-3		
	Very poor	0-1	

PART B - ESSAY QUESTIONS (45 marks)

AO1 / AO2 / Synopticity		
Level 3 (Good to excellent)	9-12	
Level 2 (Limited to sound)	5-8	
Level 1 (Very poor to weak)	0-4	

AO3	
Level 3 (good to excellent)	7-9
Level 2 (Limited to sound)	4-6
Level 1 (Very poor to weak)	0-3

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Order Code UA028092 June 2011



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