

Mark Scheme (Results)

Summer 2017

Pearson Edexcel GCE in Government & Politics (6GP03) Paper 3D: Global Politics



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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.

Using examples, explain the difference between hard and soft power.

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

- Soft power (Joseph Nye) is the ability to attract and co-opt, to influence other actors by persuading them to follow or agree to norms and aspirations that produce the desired behaviour. Soft power operates through intangible factors such as the popularity of a state's values and institutions and its moral standing in the world.
- Hard power is exercised through threats or rewards, typically involving the use of military 'sticks' or economic 'carrots'. Russian actions in Ukraine illustrate hard power as do the economic sanctions which followed.
- Global interdependence and freer flows of communication and information encourage states to avoid hard power and to attempt to achieve goals by working together. Soft power is associated with the rise of globalisation and the establishment of `complex interdependence'.
- Hard power could be seen in the 'war on terror', in which an emphasis on military force and unilateralism weakened the USA's 'soft' power under George Bush. There were signs that Obama attempted to recover this US reputation after hard power was discredited. A 'hearts and minds' model is often considered to be more effective and realistic in certain areas and there is a view that at a global level, hard power has become unthinkable in the nuclear age.

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

- Likely to be limited explanation of both terms
- Limited use of examples

- Likely to be clear and quite detailed explanation of both terms
- Likely to be good use of examples to make clear the differences between the two types – presentation of specific differences

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<i>Level 3</i> (11-15 marks)	 Good to excellent: 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.
<i>Level 2</i> (6-10 marks)	 Limited to sound: 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.
<i>Level 1</i> (0-5 marks)	 Very poor to weak: 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.

How and why has the nation state declined in significance?

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

- A nation-state is an independent political community bound together by overlapping bonds of citizenship and nationality. Whilst a state is a political and geopolitical entity, a nation is a cultural and ethnic entity, even a political community wanting equal rights, justice, citizenship etc. The idea of the nation state is that the two are combined.
- Significance of the nation state may have been lessened by the advance of globalisation in all of its forms, which fosters deeper levels of interdependence and interconnectedness. State borders are increasingly porous and nation state identity and significance may be weakened.
- The strengthening of non-state actors, notably transnational corporations and non-governmental organisations has also transformed the significance of nation states.
- The trend in favour of regional and global governance, which erodes the independent authority of national governments.
- The growth of humanitarian intervention and international judicial bodies all serve to undermine the traditional concept of the nation state.

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

- Likely to be two limited factors identified with limited explanation as to their impact on the nation state
- Likely to be some attempt at a definition/explanation of the nation state

- Likely to be three good factors identified with good explanation as to their impact on the nation state
- Likely to be a good attempt at a definition/explanation of the nation state

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Explain the main reasons for regional cooperation and integration.

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

- Regional cooperation and integration usually involves a desire to coordinate social, economic or political activities within a geographical area. A tendency towards regional integration and co-operation has been evident, with the EU serving as the most advanced example worldwide, but with other examples including regional economic blocs such as NAFTA and ASEAN and regional political blocs such as the African Union.
- Interdependence and the rise of globalisation has been central to the process of integration and cooperation with regionalism seen as a defence against the negative elements of globalisation as well as an opportunity to take advantage of the process.
- Economic regionalism and integration can facilitate trade and give access to larger markets. There has been a significant increase in the number of regional economic blocs since 1990 as a response to economic globalisation. Regional blocs help to manage the integration of their regions into the global economy.
- Security regionalism and integration is based on the desire of states to protect them from their enemies, both near and distant and to provide a beneficial stability in a geographical area.
- Political regionalism and integration is based on an attempt to strengthen or protect shared values.

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

- Likely to be a limited explanation of two reasons with limited use of examples
- Likely to be a limited explanation and/or definition of the key terms

- Likely to be a good explanation of three reasons with good use of examples
- Likely to be a good explanation and/or definition of the key terms

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

- NATO was created in 1949 to safeguard the freedom and security of its members through collective security. Its initial purpose was to act as a deterrent against the threat posed by the Soviet Union and the collective military alliance, the Warsaw Pact. The end of the Cold War and demise of the Warsaw Pact has led to a questioning as to why the organisation still exists.
- The main criticisms to be assessed are that it is no longer relevant with the end of the Cold War and the demise of the Warsaw Pact and Soviet Union.
- It is confrontational where Russia and China are concerned. This has been evident in a number of cases including the Ukraine conflict 2014.
- There is a concern that NATO has expanded eastwards to include former communist states and that this has weakened the institution and its ability to function.
- NATO has expanded its involvement beyond the North Atlantic area, particularly through its association with the 'war on terror' and its command of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan and in operations in Libya.
- There is a suggestion that it has become a tool of certain states to pursue their own global interests and that it may even undermine the United Nations.

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

- Likely to be a limited explanation of the organisation
- Likely to be at least two valid criticisms identified and limited explanation and use of examples

- Likely to be a good explanation of the organisation
- Likely to be at least three valid criticisms identified with good explanation and use of examples

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<i>Level 1</i> (0-5 marks)	 Very poor to weak: 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.

Explain the key features of the realist approach to global politics.

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

- Human nature is a central element. Hobbes and Machiavelli contribute to a theory that human nature is fixed, based on a natural instinct and desire to gain power. Machiavelli considered humans to be insatiable, arrogant, crafty and shifting whilst Hobbes believed life to be solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. Conflict between self-seeking and egotistical humans is unavoidable. Classical realists believe that human egoism drives state egoism and conflict between states is therefore unavoidable.
- Realists portray the international system as anarchic and there is a belief that there is no actor above states which is capable of controlling them. States remain the most important actors in the system and act in a unitary way, pursuing self-interest and gain at the expense of others. The primary concern of states is survival which may lead to the security dilemma.
- The international system is therefore characterised by suspicion, fear and insecurity, creating an irresistible tendency towards conflict and competition. This is made worse by the security dilemma, in which a defensive military build-up by one state is depicted as potentially or actually aggressive by another state, leading to an arms race, growing hostility and the likelihood of war.

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

- Likely to be limited number of features identified and limited reference to realist thinkers
- Likely to be limited explanation of features identified with limited use of examples

- Likely to be good number of features identified and good knowledge and reference to realist thinkers
- Likely to be good explanation of features identified with good use of examples

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
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<i>Level 1</i> (0-5 marks)	 Very poor to weak: 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.

'US hegemony is in decline' Discuss.

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

- Hegemony can be defined as leadership or dominance. Hegemonic status is based on the control of power in a number of forms which would include structural, military and economic power. The collapse of the Soviet Union (1989-91) left the United States as the sole superpower, or even 'hyperpower'. Political commentators referred to the 'American empire' and 'global hegemon' and the USA appeared set for a period of unchallenged dominance.
- The USA still accounts for approximately 50% of world military spending with advantage in high tech weapons and air power. The USA has global military reach and an ability to operate in a number of theatres of conflict simultaneously.
- The USA has significant structural power with a disproportional role in most major international organizations whether political or economic.
- The USA model of liberal-democratic government is dominant and allowed the USA to establish a more unilateral policy which included selective humanitarian and other intervention.
- The USA remains the world's largest economy despite rising challenges. US multinationals continue to exert significant influence.
- However, US military power is weakened by a reduction in the significance of hard power. The USA has faced difficulties in asymmetrical wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. USA soft power has been weakened by the 'war on terror', extraordinary rendition and Guantanamo Bay incidents. The USA may suffer from 'global over-reach'. In a nuclear age, the USA hasn't always been able to use force to get its own way ie Ukraine 2014.
- US dominance of a number of institutions has been increasingly challenged. The rise of a number of other states seems to challenge this dominance and the USA has found that it is unable to tackle the global financial crisis alone
- There are a number of areas where the USA has been unable to exert significant influence such as the Russian invasions of Georgia and Ukraine, Chinese actions in Tibet, North Korea and Iranian nuclear ambitions.
- A number of economic competitors have seen significant economic growth which suggests that US economic dominance may be weakening. The Chinese economy, in particular, has grown at a remarkable rate and is expected to overtake the US economy. The economic model of the USA has been challenged by the global financial crisis.

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

- Likely to be an attempt at a definition /explanation of key term, even if limited
- Likelihood of some criteria for consideration of remaining US hegemony even if limited
- Likelihood of at least a limited debate covering both views with a limited use of factors/areas used for evidence and at least a limited structure

- Likely to be a good attempt at a definition /explanation of key term some context-history
- Likelihood of a good range of criteria for consideration of remaining US hegemony
- Likelihood of a good debate covering both views with a good range of factors/areas used for evidence and a good structure

A01	Knowledge and understanding
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<i>Level 1</i> (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
A02	Intellectual skills
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<i>Level 1</i> (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations

A02	Synoptic skills
<i>Level 3</i> (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
<i>Level 1</i> (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
<i>Level 3</i> (7-9 marks)	Good to excellent ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
<i>Level 2</i> (4-6 marks)	Limited to sound ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
<i>Level 1</i> (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 have the major global institutions provided peace
	and stability?

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

- The central institution is the United Nations but the role of other institutions may include the Bretton Woods bodies of the IMF, WTO and W Bank as well as the Group of Eight (G8) and NATO.
- The UN has helped to preserve peace. Global war has been avoided since the formation of the UN. Collective security remains and the ICJ operates in some cases.
- The UN has attempted to reduce conflict and instability through attempts to construct a body of International Law and through a highlighting of human rights abuses in agencies and positions such as the Human Rights Council.
- The UN has brought states together to tackle areas such as nuclear proliferation and environmental degradation which helps to provide a degree of peace and stability.
- The Bretton Woods institutions were created to achieve peace and security by attempting to ensuring stable exchange rates, free trade etc. All three institutions could be argued to have provided support and assistance to states in what might otherwise be an anarchical society.
- Supporters argue that the world would be in a far weaker position without the guidance, economic support and intervention of these institutions.

However-

- Despite the actions of the UN, conflicts have cost many people their lives in Rwanda, Yugoslavia, Libya, Iraq, Syria and Ukraine etc. Certain states dominate and may weaken peace and stability.
- UN structure may be criticised and there is both success and failure in bodies like the ICJ.
- Nuclear proliferation and environmental degradation continue along with other global issues such as poverty and disease.
- The B Woods institutions have been found wanting on numerous occasions such as the global financial crisis and global recession 2007. There are criticisms of the philosophy on which the Bretton Woods Institutions have operated and suggestions that the bodies serve the interests of the West rather than ensuring stability and order for all.
- Other international institutions have less of a global reach than the UN and Bretton Woods institutions but their role in providing peace and stability is relevant and can be mentioned.

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

- Likelihood of at least a limited explanation of the term
- Likelihood of at least a limited consideration of two major institutions
- Likelihood of at least a limited use of valid examples and at least a limited structure

- Likelihood of at least a good explanation of the term
- Likelihood of at least a good consideration of a wide range of major institutions ie. possibly including political, economic and judicial
- Likelihood of a good use of valid examples and a good structure

A01	Knowledge and understanding
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
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A02	Intellectual skills
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A02	Synoptic skills
<i>Level 3</i> (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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'The EU is too disunited to be effective' Discuss.

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

- There have been great strides as the EEC has transformed to the EU with economic, monetary and political union. The establishment of a Parliament and moves towards Qualified Majority Voting were important and the Maastricht and Lisbon treaties set in motion the transfer of power of key areas to the federal centre with a corresponding increase in effectiveness.
- Macroeconomic power is largely held in the centre, by the ECB for all member states of the Euro-zone but not all member states are members of the Euro-zone. There have been remarkable developments but the EU does appear to suffer from a lack of unity at times which, it could be argued, impacts on effectiveness.
- The EU is both an intergovernmental organisation through institutions such as the Council of Ministers, the European Council and to a certain extent the European Parliament and a supranational one through institutions such as the European Court, the European Central Bank and the Commission. It is worth noting that in state centred federal structures the key powers are held at the core with lesser powers at the periphery whilst in the EU these powers are mostly still held at the periphery.
- The EU has become a significant entity in global politics through the WTO and G20 and through issues such as the environment. At times the EU has been able to operate effectively with a single voice. The remit and scope of EU activities continues to grow.
- Although the EU bears some of the hallmarks of an effective institution/superstate, ultimate power is still held by member states. Significant disagreement between member states over a wide number of issues includes widening versus deepening, foreign policy including Iraq war, Syrian intervention, response to Russian aggression and immigration policy.
- Global recession, the European sovereign debt crisis, and the impact on a number members, particularly Greece, has been a particular challenge for unity. There is a great deal of disagreement as to the role and purpose of the EU which adds to the difficulty in assessing effectiveness.

- Likelihood of at least a limited explanation of EU unity/disunity and impact on effectiveness
- Likelihood of at least a limited argument two sided- that effectiveness has been impacted by disunity
- Limited use of examples to support the argument and a limited structure

- Likelihood of at least a good explanation of EU unity/disunity and impact on effectiveness
- Likelihood of at least a good argument two sided- that effectiveness has been impacted by disunity
- Good use of examples to support the argument and a good structure

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