

Examiners' Report
June 2014

GCE Government and Politics
6GP03 3D

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Introduction

A pleasing proportion of candidates had clearly been well-prepared for this examination and some were able to produce responses at the very highest level and marks.

Subject knowledge was a particular strength and there was, for the most part, a pleasing focus on the precise wording of the questions.

The most popular short questions were the responses on the main types of power in global politics and distinguishing between economic and political globalisation. The most popular long response was the question on the extent to which China has become a superpower. The least popular short response was the short question on Euro-federalism whilst the remaining longer questions had similar numbers of responses.

The usual advice stills holds true in preparation for future examinations in this subject area:

As usual, there were a few key differentiators between candidates' responses. The key to success in responding to the questions set is to recognize that not one, but in the case of the longer essay response, four marks, are being awarded for each script.

Whilst Assessment Objective 1 (A01) knowledge may help a candidate to achieve 12 of the available 45 marks, there are still 33 marks available for A02, synopticity and A03. A large proportion of candidates score well in A01 because they provide detailed and developed knowledge and understanding, with relevant and accurate work but they can fail to attain the marks that are available elsewhere. The intellectual skills required to perform at the highest level in A02 revolve around the ability to provide analysis, evaluation and parallels or connections. This can be a challenge for those candidates who rely primarily on production of learnt fact and knowledge.

Synopticity, where candidates are expected to provide an awareness of competing viewpoints or perspectives, can be a weak area for some. The longer questions are designed for debate and discussion of alternative viewpoints.

A03 can also be an issue for some candidates. There is a need to bring all of the earlier A0 elements into a structured and logical response, which provides balance and use of appropriate political vocabulary.

It is evident that most, if not all, teachers are aware of, and focussed on, the *Further Guidance for Route D* document. This was prepared by the previous Principal Examiner and can be found on the Edexcel website. This document provides additional content explanation and advice to support the initial specification document. It is also pleasing to note that teachers and students are making good use of recently developed resources.

It is worth noting the new Threshold Indicators, which have been added to Mark Schemes. They give some indication of the likely requirements of a Level 2 and Level 3 entry script.

Question 1

This was quite a popular question and managed to secure a range of responses at all levels. Understanding of the two key terms was good and the majority of candidates had clearly prepared definitions although these were of varying quality. Stronger candidates were able to go beyond definitions to a fuller explanation of the links between the two central terms. There were some particularly strong descriptions of the way in which regionalism can be seen as a defence against globalisation as well as an extension of globalisation.

A decent effort at dealing with this question. Definitions are followed by a number of clear arguments.

Regionalism is the process through which geographical regions become important political and economic units. Globalisation is the process through which there is growing interdependence and growing interconnectedness, meaning that developments in one part of the world affect developments elsewhere. In many ways therefore, regionalism is seen as a response to globalisation due to the ~~new~~ ~~to~~, for example, ~~the~~ 'new' regionalism emerging out of the greater integration of the USA in terms of NAFTA expansion. This instigated a flurry of EU accessions, the latest of which being Croatia in 2013. This was also aided by the technological revolution.

Furthermore, regionalism can be seen as a 'stepping-stone' or 'building block' for globalisation. In this sense, regionalism allows states to follow the 'one world / many worlds' approach to trade by, as put said by Geoffrey Underhill, letting regional give them "some

of the advantages put in train by the process of globalisation", but on a much smaller scale. Therefore, emerging economies will not get shunted by the full force of the global market. It is therefore a step towards globalisation.

Alternatively, regionalism has been called a 'stumbling block' for globalisation, an idea first put forward by Bhagwati. In this sense, regionalism, by creating specific free trade blocs, regionalism inhibits the multilateral trade liberalisation that the WTO offers. The near-simultaneous establishment of NAFTA, the EU and an Asean Free Trade Area created a 'fortress Europe'. Regionalism therefore threatens globalisation by splitting ^{the world} up into conflicting trade blocs. Examples of this can be seen in the EU through its establishment of a customs union that created an external tariff against the rest of the world, and their protectionist agricultural policy.

Moreover, cultural globalisation is inhibited by regionalism as it strengthens regional allegiances and encourages cultural conflict between regional blocs, as outlined in Samuel Huntington's 'Clash of Civilisations' thesis. Therefore, regionalism counteracts cultural globalisation as it restricts

the cultural homogenization offered by the globalisation. Thus, regionalism predominantly undermines globalisation despite sometimes aiding it.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

The 'stepping stone' or stumbling block' arguments are valid and clearly explained with examples which is enough to pull this response to a L3.



ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

The strength of this response Try to follow assertions with evidence. There is a clear knowledge

throughout and the introduction of discussion based on whether regionalism is 'globalisation in disguise' or whether regionalism is a weapon to 'combat globalisation in the world'. A realist perspective is investigated also.

Globalisation is the increasing interconnectedness in the world ~~that~~ through economic, social and political developments. It's widely believed that economic globalisation by product is social and political globalisation. Regionalism is where social, political and economic decisions are made in the same geographic area regarding a number of states. Critics argue that regionalism is merely globalisation in disguise whilst other critics argue that regionalism has been created to combat globalisation in the world. In this debate we see key theories emerge. Realists see globalisation and regionalism as a way of states gaining more power for themselves e.g. trade; this highlights the self-seeking behaviour of nation-states. Whilst Liberals are more pro-globalisation as they see it creating better economic power for all.

Firstly, regionalism is seen to be ~~of~~ the same as globalisation. Regionalism allows interconnectedness to

occur within nation states in the same geographic areas. Interconnectedness is a key hope regarding globalisation. This can be seen quite easily in the case of the EU. The EU introduced the Euro in 1999 to create a European currency. This ultimately created a connectedness between states as they shared the same currency. Interestingly, the UK didn't decide to enter the euro and since the eurozone crisis has occurred, that has been applauded. ~~Regionalism~~ Overall, regionalism has been linked to globalisation due to ~~the~~ similarities ~~between~~ being drawn.

As well as regionalism being seen to be disguised as globalisation, it's also been highlighted that regionalism has been developed to combat the growing globalisation in the world. Realists see this as states uniting of their own interests and grouping together to achieve things together which benefit each member state. Globalisation has also seen national identity become transparent as immigration increases. This once again supports the view of the realist debate, that states want to group together to stop this and create a sense of identity. By coming together as a region, smaller countries such as Latin America (who joined in 2006) can fight against the big powers of China and the USA.

USA is a major state in this debate. It's also been suggested that regionalism and globalisation have been linked due to the US projecting each worldwide. Through the use of globalisation USA has been able to spread Americanisation across the world and become the world's largest economy in terms of GDP. Obama has also supported multilateralism which will increase the influence across the world even more - dismissing Bush's unilateralism route. USA as mentioned above, have always supported regionalism. This can be seen after 1990, as they supported the growth of the EU to ~~initially~~ stop Soviet rule all together. In more recent times this can be seen by Obama supporting regionalism in the UK - he was strongly against Scotland becoming independent. This is where the USA here also been criticised how they have used more ways to increase their hegemony.



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Examiner Comments

Some useful knowledge and examples used throughout.



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Examiner Tip

In a short response, it is important to set out the line of discussion early.

Question 2

There were a wide range of responses to this question. It was important to show an awareness of the concept of power and to use a range of measurements. The majority of candidates focussed on elements of Hard and Soft power with discussion of military and economic power etc. A few candidates discussed structural power or took the approach of explaining power through a discussion of different polar periods and the elements which gave rise to labels such as Great power and Superpower. There were many superb, contemporary examples used in discussion.

Though lacking an initial definition, this script does discuss a range of different types of power, with examples.

There are many types of power in global politics, with the first, and probably the most fundamental, being hard power. When a state has strong hard power, it means they're militarily very capable. Hard power can equate to standing armies, fleets of aircraft, and for states looking to pursue elite hard power states, nuclear weapons. Neorealists would argue that in an anarchic state system, characterised by egoistic, self-seeking and self-interested states, hard power is the most important. An example of a state with exceptional hard power is the US: it is unrivalled in its hard power strength, nuclear capabilities (which are unrivalled) and ability to militarily "sovereign". The US, in 2007, spent 9 times more on its military than China, the world's second biggest military power.


hard power does not, however, just extend to military strength but economic strength as well. A state that claims to have strong hard power when it comes to the world economy and global financial flows is able to impose tariffs on states it considers non-compliant with its own aims (every state); it is able to block trade and impose heavy economic sanctions (huge jobs). Both the US and China have had economic power, both leading this in the world; China made up 50% of the ^{US} USA's export market, whilst there is the main credit of the US. Noah Polman is "cool man" argues that this economic ~~by~~ interdependence reduces the likelihood of conflict.

Secondly, there is soft power; this is the ability to attract and cause another state into doing what you want it to do. It is a type of power that involves "carrots" (rewards) rather than "sticks" (threats i.e. hard power). Joseph Nye agrees that this is the most

economic interdependence. Soft power is quickly eroding, according to Nye, especially hard power is its importance, probably due to information revolution, and technology which means the behaviour of states is seen more by the citizens, and they are more accountable; they would keep getting away with hard power abuse, and not resort to soft power. (The Bush administration in the early 2000s made terrible mistakes, for example the Iraq war - this was a great mistake, however, the soft power abuse of entering Iraq and Afghanistan).

Joseph Nye also coined the term "smart power", which is like a state with equally
 use soft power (it will attempt to
 attract, appeal and co-opt), but maintain
 had poor capabilities in case diplomacy
 needs to be replaced by military action. The state
 administration is notable for its attempts at
 employing greater smart power since 2009.
 Finally, the is structural power. This refers to
 the influence a state has in multilateral
 institutions and organizations, and the
 ways it can achieve its goals through
 its influence in these organizations. Notable
 examples would be the USA in G8 and
 the IMF, and Germany in the
 European union.

(Total for Question = 15 marks)



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 Examiner Comments

There is a reference to Hard and Soft power as well as to Smart power. Examples are appropriate and description is wide.

This certainly isn't a perfect response but it does have a number of strengths which ensure that it is well rewarded.

Power is the ability to influence somebody, or in the case of global politics, another actor into taking a decision which they would not normally have there are key types of power in global politics and the best way to look at this is how best they fit in with realist and liberal thinking.

~~Liberals believe that soft power~~

The first types of power in global politics are hard and soft power. Hard power is the ability to coerce another actor, through the use of military "sticks" and economic "carrots". This fits in very closely with the realist thinking of such theorists as Machiavelli who believe that the ability to have power over another actor is power in its greatest form. Liberals disagree and look to another type of power, soft power. This unlike hard power is achieved through a process of co-operation, it has increased in recent years; for example in 2007 China began an increase of its soft power

kickstarted by the 2008 Beijing Olympics, ~~As a result~~ this is because as the then premier said "China needs to increase its standing and reputation" and the use of co-operation through soft power, for example trade, with China to Africa trade up 700% in one year 2000-07, is seen as the most legitimate form of power in global politics.

Other types of power are the Liberal view, mainly Advocated by Susan Strange, of Structural Power. This ties in with the Post-Modernist view of power being a relationship and ties in closely to Liberal Institutionalism. It is the idea that Power is defined as an actors ability to shape and use the frameworks in which they operate in their favour. It is based on 4 Structures of power which are Knowledge, Production, Security and Financial and all of these elements both tangible and intangible will accumulate to your power in relation to other actors. Realists on the other hand look to a different form of power, as a capacity. This is the idea that power is a possession or attribute and therefore can always be measured. This classical Realist theory allows for the ranking and hierarchy of states in the system for example Hyperpowers and Superpowers. This form of power is also easily measurable and for realists focus at all key aspects, territory, population, GDP and Military.



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Examiner Comments

Hard and Soft power are explored and explained and there is reference to a Realist and Liberal perspective. There is also a reference to structural power. This is one of the scripts which provided either a definition or attempt an explanation of the concept of power.

Question 3

There were a range of responses to this question. Weaker responses tended to provide little over and above a description of NATO and an explanation that it had changed as a consequence of the end of the Cold War. Stronger responses provided development of the main criticisms of the organisation including that it has become outdated and irrelevant or that it is confrontational to states such as Russia and China and has become a tool of certain states to pursue their own interests and may even undermine the United Nations.

After a brief but appropriate introduction, this response explores and discusses a range of points which are relevant to the question.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) is the largest peacetime military alliance in the world with twenty-eight member states. NATO was formed in April 1949 to counter the Soviet threat but still operates today despite the end of the Cold War and is actively participating in operations in Afghanistan today. Despite its size and current activities there are several criticisms of the alliance.

Firstly, NATO has been criticised for straying from its original objective and manipulating its aims to remain in existence.

Many argue that due to the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union NATO no longer remains a relevant or necessary

force in the world. Many argue that operations such as ~~Op~~ Ocean Shield off the Horn of Africa are ways in which NATO has manipulated its objectives to remain active and some argue that operations such as that stated could be conducted by nearby forces, in this case the African Union. This shows that NATO are now operating beyond their original area and are also outside of their founding aim.

Secondly, a criticism of NATO is that it is a US alliance orchestrated by Washington. The US provide $\approx 75\%$ towards the finances of the alliance and showing that ~~the~~ the US has the most leverage over the alliance to safeguard its own interests.

Furthermore, although European forces have three times the amount of troops as the US, they can deploy just a fraction of these immediately, by relying on the US for rapid reaction and power.

the USA's dominance in the alliance. Indeed the example of current operations in Afghanistan has shown how the dominant force is American and the Super Commander is also American.

Thirdly, NATO has been criticised as many view it as a 'sub-contactor' for the UN Security Council. NATO has to go ^{to the} for Council for legitimacy and legality before commencing an operation showing that NATO ~~is~~ ^{is} unable to act on its own.

Finally, Operations in Afghanistan have shown how ~~a~~ the major military alliance has struggled to fight an asymmetric war and that all the technology and size that NATO possesses in these circumstances is redundant, and when fighting an irregular force NATO does not work.



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Examiner Comments

Operation Ocean Shield is used in a discussion linked to NATO irrelevance and there is also discussion linked to US dominance and effectiveness generally. This range of areas discussed, along with the introduction and use of examples ensures that this achieves a L3 score.



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Examiner Tip

Most questions demand a range of factors or elements to be discussed.

Question 4

This was the joint most popular response and again provided a range of responses in terms of quality and consequently score. Most responses were able to provide definitions of both terms but only the stronger responses could fully develop these definitions and explanations in order to compare and contrast the two terms.

Although relatively shorter than some of the other examples used in this report, the response is a very direct response. Definitions of both terms are followed by discussion of similarities and differences with the focus on how the two forms of globalisation differ. There are useful discussions relating to the depth of both and also to the willingness of states to engage in the processes.

Economic globalisation can be defined as the growing economic interconnectedness of the world, as no national economy is now an island as all have, to a greater or lesser extent, been absorbed into a single, interlocking global economy. Thus, production is internationalised and capital flows freely between all countries. A manifestation of economic globalisation is the advent of TNCs that operate all over the world.

Political globalisation can be defined as the transfer of decision-making from individual states to international organisations. Hence, state sovereignty has been increasingly 'pooled' by or relinquished to international organisations that may be intergovernmental or supranational, such as the UN and the EU. Political globalisation may also refer to the spread of political ideas, such as protection of human rights, or of political structures, such as liberal democracy.

One distinction to draw is that economic globalisation has been much deeper than political globalisation. This is seen in the clear emergence of a global economy of neo-liberal practices where national economies are clearly influenced by events that occur outside of its national borders. The global financial crisis was

a clear example of this as the crisis quickly spread from the US banking system to the UK banking system and to the 'Eurozone crisis'. In addition, states have been much more willing to engage in economic globalisation as it can benefit them, including the US via neo-colonialism through SAPs advocated by the IMF and World Bank and the ~~acceptance~~ liberalisation of China's now market economy. Also, there has been an emergence of regional organisations, such as NAFTA, APEC and ASEAN. On the other hand, states are less willing to engage in political globalisation as it means a relinquishing of national sovereignty. In an anarchic world system, as neo-realists Waltz and Waltz maintain, states do not wish to give up their right to supreme, unqualified and exclusive political and legal authority. This can be seen in the majority of intergovernmental organisations, where states take collective action without compromising national sovereignty, such as the UN, as opposed to supranational ones, where sovereignty is pooled, such as the EU. Another distinction is that political globalisation is a response to economic globalisation.



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Examiner Comments

Definitions and focus on a couple of key areas helps to ensure a L3 mark.



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Examiner Tip

A direct approach is a real strength to this response.

Economic globalisation can be defined as the growing economic interconnectedness of the world, as no national economy is now an island as all have, to a greater or lesser extent, been absorbed into a single, interlocking global economy. Thus, production is internationalised and capital flows freely between all countries. A manifestation of economic globalisation is the advent of TNCs that operate all over the world.

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This response really would have benefitted from a definition of each of the central terms although their investigation of the areas in which they differ does provide some explanation of the terms.

E	P
1) More developed / prevalent	Reaction to loss of sov
2) Economic def	Political def
3) Opposed by Marxists	Opposed by sceptics + nationalists.

* such as agricultural subsidies

The first difference between economic and political globalisation is the areas they effect. Economic globalisation is the integration of states into a global economy ~~through~~ by lowering national economic borders, ^{through} allowing the free movement of goods, services, labour and capital on a global scale. As a result it only affects the economy of a state and has no implications for its ideological or political nature. Political integration on the other hand, is the integration of states

into a complex network of global governance with state and non-state actors including IGOs. As a result it ~~is~~ affects the policies, ideology and sovereignty of a state as opposed to its economy.

The second difference is that economic globalisation is far more prevalent and developed. States are largely focused on economic success and this is by and large the result of free trade and the lowering of most, if not all, economic borders. As a result there are many more countries that are fully economically integrated such as members of the IMF as they ~~to~~ will states will comply with economic globalisation for economic gain. Political globalisation is far less developed. Most states will agree to play by the same economic rules but are far less likely to agree to a ~~set~~ set of common political ideals or policies. This is why there are fewer politically focused IGOs such as the UN compared to economic ones such as the WTO, IMF and WB.

The final difference between the two is their critics. Economic globalisation tends to be opposed by neo-marxist critics such as Noam Chomsky

who described globalisation as free trade as communism for the rich and capitalism for the poor. The basis of these critiques is that economic globalisation is merely a way of transferring ~~power~~^{money} and resources from the exploited periphery (such as Zambia) to the exploitative core (such as the USA or Europe). Political globalisation however, is criticized for being by ~~state~~^{groups} parties such as Eurofederalists or those with nationalist tendencies as it transfers sovereignty from the state to IGOs such as the UN. This undermining of the core principle of the Treaty of Westphalia ~~is~~ it has resulted in political globalisation being less widely accepted by these groups.



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Examiner Comments

The script makes reference to areas of impact, scale of development and to critics of both terms and the different ways in which they are open to criticism.

Question 5

This was the least popular of the short responses but there were a number of very strong responses to the question which covered a range of controversies linked to Euro-federalism. There were some excellent examples used and a clear understanding of the central term.

This response just secures a L3 score. There are a couple of questionable assertions but also strengths. Better definitions were provided elsewhere but this script does explain the key concept and is quick to identify areas of controversy.

The European Union has been argued as being federalised in recent years, due to the rise in integration and surrender of greater sovereignty. Federalism is, in the EU's case, where sovereignty is 'pooled' from member states, and shared among the EU itself, and its peripheral bodies, such as the European Court of Justice and the European Commission. Euro-federalism is controversial due to the implications it could have for state sovereignty, democracy and cultural identity of states.

With a completely federalised system, member states of the EU would need to surrender some of their state sovereignty to the EU, in an increased area of policy. This has seen some opposition - for example, the desire for a common EU foreign and defence policy has been opposed by member states as they would lose total control of their military and defence - which is

seen to represent individualism of a state. As only two states in Europe hold nuclear capabilities, this would also cause implications for proliferation and would technically break the NNPT (Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty), as they would be forced to share their capabilities with the rest of Europe. To liberals and realists argue, all states are self-interested and are dominated by state-egoism, which means they are unlikely to agree to these more federalist (or surrenders of sovereignty) changes.

Federalism also causes issues for democracy, as some theorists claim that in a large market democracy cannot function well - meaning it can't function above nation-state level, due to self-interest. Hobbes argues that states are in a system 'of war by all against all', meaning democracy is unable to function properly due to the protectionism that is carried out by states.

Although aspects of the EU are elected democratically, such as the Parliament (which is voted for by all citizens of Europe), other areas, such as the ECJ would be more difficult to elect in the same way, meaning they are not a democratic body on such.

Similarly, there are implications caused to the cultural identity of states, as sovereignty

has been surrendered in areas like the economy - with 26 EU members being signed to the Euro (which some may see as abandoning of tradition.) Great Britain is the only EU member state which maintains its currency. Due to the growing interconnectedness of an 'ever closer Europe' (declared at the Treaty of Rome in 1957) there has been increased globalisation of cultures among European states.

The EU is a mixture of supranationalism and intergovernmentalism, as states work together but are controlled by the EU in some areas of policy - e.g. agriculture and economy. As states do not wish to surrender further sovereignty in specific areas, a federalist EU has been declared as being too controversial to be implemented.



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Examiner Comments

Areas covered in the response include the impact on state sovereignty, questions relating to democracy and also to cultural and nationalist identity.

Question 6

This was the most popular of the longer questions. There were several very strong responses where a focus on the key term remained throughout the response and where there were clear signs of synopticity. Weaker responses tended to be very one sided and a fair proportion of responses failed to provide either a definition of the central term or an explanation as to what it might imply. These responses quite often focussed on strengths and weaknesses of China without that analysis of the central term and discussion of global reach and influence.

This is an example of a response which has strengths and weaknesses.

PLAN	
CHINA SUPER	NO
- tangible assets - UN seat, size of population etc.	- Politically unstable and economic fragility.
- Economic power is unmatched.	- Can't quite match up the hard power of America.
- Challenges America and takes global responsibility - enviro	- Regional rather than global. - unilateral ability.
- Relations with Africa.	- Exploitation and Human Rights

The rise of China has been a key feature of 21st century politics. Not only has China's ~~rise~~ emergence as an economic powerhouse challenged American power, it has allowed an alternative economic model to emerge without the need for democracy. ~~However~~ For several such reasons, many have referred to China as a newly emerged superpower. However, it may rather premature to suggest that China is a superpower due to ~~several~~ ~~reason~~ reasons to do

with political instability and economic fragility that have the potential to bring China down from this pedestal. Therefore, it can be suggested that while China has the potential to be a superpower, it is lacking some key features in comparison to the US, to obtain that status.

A primary reason for China's potential as a superpower is its growing economy. China surpassed Japan in 2007 as the world's largest economy and according to statistics, is well on its way to beating the US by 2020. By opening up its economy to liberalization and direct foreign investments, China has been able to rapidly secure itself the title of economic superpower. This point was illustrated by its swift protection from the 2009 Financial Crisis, which it survived relatively unscathed despite heavy interdependence. These factors suggest that China has the potential to be a superpower, particularly on economic terms. Moreover, China's economic prosperity is seen as beneficial for the entire world as its economy provides a huge market for both the US and ~~and~~ EU. In particular, EU exports to China are around 28% while the US is 38%.

suggesting a high level of interdependence resulting in economic development between the North and South. From the evidence provided, it is clear to see why some view China as a global superpower with benefits for the entire international community.

Another key reason for why China is viewed as a superpower is a lot to do with its global role, not only on economic terms but diplomatic political relations. China has repeatedly demonstrated that it is interested in peace and stability that facilitates more trade and consequently, more development. This is particularly evident in its growing relationship with Africa. China, instead of investing billions of dollars in Africa, has chosen to invest through social reconstruction, infrastructure and industries that create jobs in Africa. Not only does this promote economic prosperity in relatively stagnant nations, but also enables the resolving of certain social tensions that have led to civil wars and in areas like Sudan and Zimbabwe. ~~In particular~~, the contentment of the African people with China was demonstrated in a 2007 survey in which more people saw China as having a positive impact than America. This clearly suggests that

era of power politics and acquiring them means China can be considered a superpower to some extent.

While these factors are all significant in providing evidence for why China can be seen as a global superpower, particularly in terms of its economic prosperity, it is important to note that there are ^{certain} ~~significant~~ essential restraints to its overall power, which acts as hindrances to its acquisition as a superpower.

In particular, China can't be seen as a superpower just yet because of its economic and internal political ~~prosperity~~ fragility. Internal conflicts involving Tibetans and Uighan Muslims asserts the need for reform internally, before China can begin to project its power externally. Moreover, severe human rights abuses and adverse working conditions within China have also been cited as problem that ~~hinders~~ hinders its superpower prospects. Aside for social conflict, China's economic prosperity has also been criticized. In particular, critics of China believe that it has all the ingredients for

a devastating ~~post~~ recession. China is heavily reliant on debt-aid & borrowing from the US as well as a property bubble. ~~Over~~ As these factors are susceptible to significant fluctuation, China's superpower status is too, as a recession could be catastrophic for the economy as well as those who are ~~and~~ interdependently linked to it. Therefore, it can be suggested that China cannot qualify as a superpower just yet due to its subtle yet dangerous internal problems.

In addition to this, it can be argued that in order to qualify as a superpower, ~~one~~ a state has to be significantly powerful militarily and should have the ability to act unilaterally on the global stage. While America demonstrated its power through the war in Iraq, China has not shown any real global power. Indeed, its ~~se~~ power was demonstrated through the annexing of air space ~~in~~ in the South China Sea and its tense relations with Japan and Taiwan. However, these relations remain at a regional level, close to its borders where it can easily

exert power. Unlike America, China has yet to demonstrate its unilateral abilities. Therefore, it can be suggested that it is not yet a superpower.

~~*that~~ * that has 700 military bases in over 100 countries.

Moreover, China's hindrances to diplomatic action has shown that it may not be suitable as a superpower. In particular, the watering down of sanctions in Sudan as well as hindrances to Western efforts of reconciliation in Iran due to its self-interested needs for natural resources suggest as realists would argue, that China is too self interested to take a global responsibility and may not be ~~beating~~ as ambitious as it may seem. Due to the lack of projection of a world ideology unlike the US, it can be suggested that China is not concerned with being a superpower but more concerned with its own development and interests.

To conclude, it is clear that in areas of economic development and prosperity, China has a leading role and can be considered a superpower to some degree as it's set to challenge American

capabilities. However, it is clearly evident that China lacks the global influence and determination required by countries who are superpowers to exert their influence. ~~due~~ Therefore, China is not quite a superpower yet as it continues to pursue self interest, lacks global responsibility and faces economic tensions. However, the continuing emergence of globalisation means that it contains the seeds to one day develop into a superpower if it waited.



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Examiner Comments

There is a wide ranging discussion of central elements such as economic power, influence in Africa, soft power, structural power, internal weaknesses and military power but discussion of global influence is more of an undercurrent in the response than a main area of debate. The conclusion does discuss global influence and there are some references throughout. Strong responses often began with a definition of the central term as a way of setting up further debate relevant to the question.

The strengths of this response begin with an attempt to explain what is meant by the central term. There are better explanations in other scripts but this does set up later discussion.

A superpower can be defined as a state having supreme economic, military and cultural influence on an international scale. Superpowers tend to have a direct sphere of influence and dominance of cultural norms and values^①*. The term emerged during the Cold War to describe the USA and Soviet Union. Recently, China's emergence as a key global actor, but its superpower status is highly debated.

* along with a responsibility to maintain global order.

Primarily, China is thought of as a superpower due to its economic capabilities. Having the second largest economy in the world after overtaking Japan in 2010, China is a key player in global markets. After economic reforms during the 1980's

The Chinese economy has expanded its economy 90 times its size from 1987. Most significantly however, China became the world's largest exporter in 2009. This makes other states highly dependent on China for commercial goods. Although liberal theorists would argue the level of interdependency as good, realists state it will be manipulated into further dominance. In terms of China's superpower status, its vast economy is its main contender to advance its status. Their strength in this regard is undoubtable.

However, the Chinese economy is criticised. Its exports are dependant on its population and production levels - some would argue too dependant. ~~Things~~ With a population of 1.3 billion China has the world's largest population. But this limits the Chinese economy and it is not specialised in any ~~a~~ field ~~of~~ or has the level of advanced technology compared to Western counterparts to enable it

to advance to a supreme, dominant superpower level. China therefore has more of a great power status, but does have the future capabilities to become a superpower.*⁽²⁾

Politically, China operates under a communist ideology under the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) - making it a one-party, authoritarian state. This greatly conflicts with its Western rivals. Although, the authoritarian rule has created a productive attitude of the Chinese people. The Confucian attitude puts the Western attitude to shame. The USA for example is heavily criticised and its ^{remaining} superpower status arguably dependent on its military capability. However, China's political structure may put it at a distinct disadvantage in comparison to global governance and therefore international influence. As Joseph Nye described the international system as made up of "complex interdependence, China's opposing theory may restrict ~~their~~ their advance.

in this. Although a member of the UN Security Council as a permanent member, China's questionable approach to human rights in its occupation of Tibet near liberal democratic states are unlikely to integrate with China politically.

This has direct correlation with China's sphere of influence. In comparison to the levels of regional influence exercised during the Cold War - by which the Soviet Union especially had complete control over Eastern Europe. This being a defining factor of a superpower, China again does not possess it. Geographically it is surrounded by democratic countries showing its regional, let alone international influence is minimal. *such as India and Hong Kong

Military capability was also key in defining the US and Soviet Union superpower status. At the time they had the superior nuclear technology of nuclear weapons. China's military capability is huge - they have the largest army and are the second largest military spender; they are also part of

the "nuclear club" of states with nuclear weapons (one of 9). As realists dictate the Hegemonic Stability Theory, by which a supreme economic power is key to keeping international anarchy at bay, military power is key at supporting and building this structure. China's military capability therefore may set in on the path of rivaling the US hegemonic power, as well as a superpower status.

However, China's military has no example of expressing its military capability in a contemporary world. Its capabilities are also described as a generation behind that of the USA. This means that China has no supreme technology or approach to military that could make it dominant over the already dominant military states. Furthermore, China has expressed no interest in maintaining international order. Instead, suiting a realist viewpoint, it seems to only advance its own self interest. China's involvement in ^{Africa} ~~China~~ (600 firms in action) centre solely around

natural resources. This does suit the maintenance of stability that the US had in the West and the USSR in the East ^{during the} Cold War. Although it may present China as expanding its economic and international influence into China, it solely relies on economic interaction rather than the cultural and political influence expressed by the previous superpowers.

②* Furthermore, China's internal structure is criticised as its role in the capitalist markets and then its authoritarian political control is viewed as unstable. Many see the authoritarian rule difficult to maintain in the future and unstable - restricting China's role as a superpower as it can't influence others without a strong model to build upon.

To conclude, China in a contemporary world order is a great power rather than a superpower. Its economic strength is huge giving it opportunity in the future to ~~dominate others~~ become a superpower. Currently its lack of

regional and international influence in terms of political ideology make it difficult to compete with the current USA and previous structures of superpowers.



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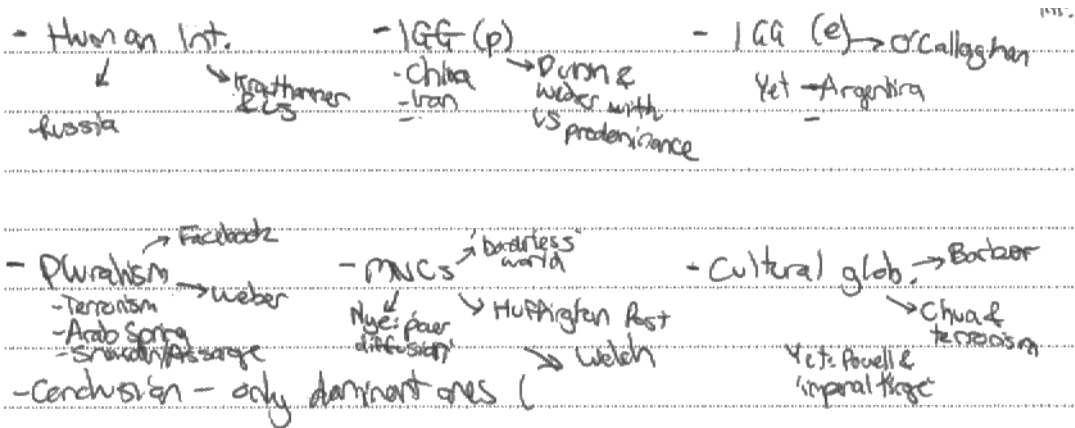
Examiner Comments

Relevant areas of discussion include economic power, global reach and influence and military power and there is an interesting perception that China lacks an interest in being a hegemonic power, responsible for ensuring global order.

Question 7

Although not as popular as the question on China, this still received a sizeable number of responses and there were a number of very pleasing responses which provided a high level of knowledge, analysis and particular;y synopticity.

This response is well worth a read. It is carefully considered and wide ranging in terms of areas of discussion and examples. The areas of analysis include interventionism, IGOs,NGOs, terrorism and globalisation. There is a very useful and interesting point made about the difference between perceived weaker and stronger states when discussing the relevance of the nation state.



Although many hyperglobalists have eagerly hailed the emergence of a 'post-sovereign' world order, globalisation has not merely eroded state sovereignty and the significance of nation-states - that is governmental bodies acting on the global geopolitical stage. While indeed weaker states have become subject to neoliberal and Western forces, nation-states that dominate ^{the} modern political system, whether with hegemonic prestige such as the US, or regional superiority, as evinced by Russia and China, do indeed remain the dominant actors, shaping and manipulating the global dynamic and direction to their own will.

The emergence of neoimperialistic interventionism somewhat epitomises the residual importance of nation-states as sources of pragmatic 'hard-power' as Nye notes. While the Gulf War of 1991 not

only began to safeguard the territorial inviolability of Kuwait, it equally served to epitomise the powers nation-states such as the US have. Indeed, the unmandated, Anglo-American invasion of Iraq in 2003 equally serves to highlight the power of hegemonic powers, though equally it should be noted that the violation of Iraqi sovereignty somewhat undermines the notion that states remain significant. While Kravtchammer has placed great emphasis on US authority, he somewhat neglects Russian hard-power, as evinced by its invasions of Georgia in 2008 and annexation of Ukraine currently. Nevertheless, while Russian state-centric self-interest seems to indicate the dominance of nation-states, Obama's recent calls for 'restraint' in US foreign policy, indicates a tactical shift to cultural soft power, such that mere military might of states is no longer sufficient - 'culture is power' according to their Cline, even if culture is beyond its state's control.

Nevertheless, the emergence of international institutions of global governance (IGA), also highlights that states remain crucial. Not only has China been able to veto the economic sanctions on Zimbabwe in 2008, as well as Syrian intervention in 2012, but also the establishment of the ICJ has somewhat asserted the existence of state sovereignty and significance, as evinced by the 1992 Honduras vs. Salvador case. However, although Dunn has insisted that 'the state remains the principal institutional site of the political experience', he equally neglects the pooling of sovereignty in regional powers. Indeed, the creation of the High Commissioner in the EUS 2009 Lisbon

Treaty, coupled with its confirmed legal identity, undermines ~~the~~ its member states' individual authorities on the world stage, with its collective representation as the WTO. That said, Finnegan has equally highlighted that France and the UK purely act out of self-interest on the UN Security Council. In contrast to this political sphere, however, O'Callaghan has posited that 'the notion of domestic economic policy managed by the state is now obsolete' - an argument affirmed by both the IMF's intervention in Jamaica and the UK in 1976, as well as by ~~the~~ its \$1 billion loan to safeguard a collapsing Mexican economy in the 1990s. As such, while its political authority remains, globalisation and the emergence of the Bretton Woods system has subverted nation-states' economic authority.

In contrast to this insistence on state authority, however, Held, a transformationalist, has drawn particular attention to the 'Communications Revolution' and its concomitant pluralism. Not only was the Arab Spring of 2011 due to social media coordination, but also the vast forces of 'bottom-up' ^{processes} ~~forces~~ of political activism - from the UK's 'e-petition' to Lisbon's 'Citizens Initiative' - highlight the increased importance of citizens before states. Nonetheless, Powell's emphasis on the 'darker imperial tinge of American support for democracy' strenuously suggests that the Arab Spring, with its attempted emulation of western democracy, is merely an manifestation of America's soft power, ideological 'outreach'. On the other hand, the emergence of whistleblowers such as Snowden and Assange due to the Communications Revolution suggests that even America is susceptible to the common man in the 21st century, while the

cultural backlash of religious radicalism in the East, as argued convincingly by Huntington, ~~and~~ indicates that terrorism is equally central to modern geopolitics; indeed, the attack on Karachi airport today epitomises this. As such, while Western 'soft power' is notable, the emerging backlash, alongside independent actors such as civilians, indicates a rising force beyond that of nation-states.

Finally, the rise of MNCs has also led to a decrease in the significance of states. Not only does the 43% rise in MNCs between 1992 and 2002 emphasise the sheer plethora of additional non-state actors, but also Walmart has become the 25th largest economic power, surpassing that of Norway and Israel, a nuclear power. Indeed, Heywood celebrates the emergence of a porous 'borderless modern world', in which MNCs are perhaps as powerful as states. Although Obama has declared 'we are trying to build a multipolar world', his emphasis on states neglects the rise both of TNCs and of international pressure groups and institutions, such as Amnesty and Medecins Sans Frontieres. That said, Walsh has astutely noted that financial aid of these groups by states often render them 'shadow states', again suggesting the financially dominant states remain significant.

As such, the nation-states cannot be dismissed in the current geopolitical system, both as central sources of economic and military 'hard-power', and ~~as~~ as realist entities that often



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Examiner Comments

There are excellent contemporary examples used in this script.



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Examiner Tip

Try to ensure that an introduction gives an indication of where the rest of the essay is likely to go. Conclusions tend to act as a reminder of where the essay has been with, often, a personal view or assertion.

Question 8

Most responses tended to focus on the peacekeeping role of the United Nations and the make up of the United Nations Security Council. There was a great deal more that could be discussed here and stronger responses tended to take a wider survey of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations.

This response has a bold, interesting, attention grabbing and unusual introduction.

The United Nations has set itself goals that are near impossible to achieve and so one must evaluate the UN in terms of the success it has achieved relative to the unachievable targets it set itself. This was summed up in Time magazine, "Failure was built into the UN by an extraordinary orgy of exaggerated expectations".

James Traub in his study of the EU, "Best Intentions" that one of the most delectable weaknesses of the UN is that it is not an independent power because it is only as powerful as the Security Council allows it to be. Moreover, the Secretariat is unable to circumvent the will of the organisation's most powerful states. Thus the "Secretary General is more of a Secretary than a General". The place to lay blame for this is the Security Council, the organisation's executive branch ~~where~~ where the P5 have become paralysed over Darfur and Sudan in 2008 instead of Iraq in 2003. This, James Traub encapsulated when he drew an anecdote ~~to~~ from 1965 where Secretary General U-Thant began to ~~to~~ open up back channel ties with the North Vietnamese before ^{US} Secretary of State at the time, Dean Rusk called him up saying "Who the hell do you think you are, a country?".

One must also note that the UN could be seen as being an ineffective organisation because of the fact that the P5 is representative;

of a 1945 world Order, not ~~the~~ world order of 2014. The Security Council lacks a Black or Muslim country and interestingly, Obama's call for adding India to the P5, would change this.

Furthermore, one must take into account that the ~~the~~ UN could be seen as an ineffective organisation due to it not being as proactive as it should have been. ~~if~~ This is down to ~~the~~ the fact that only a certain number of countries are willing to be proactive in international relations, namely the US, UK and Canada whereas countries such as Germany are more worried about such foreign entanglements. This is also down to the fact that the UN is chronically underfunded. "Each year we spend \$500 billion on the military and \$2bn on the UN."

Finally, ~~the UN~~ despite the UN being proactive on a number of occasions in interventions and working with other institutions such as the African Union (UNAMID) there is still the problem of the P5 putting their national self interest first shown by their ~~if~~ lifting the arms embargo on Sudan so they can sell more arms.

Nevertheless, despite the lack of proactiveness and the Security Council being ill represented of today's world order, one must also note how the UN has been a successful organisation. firstly, there have been a number of peace-keeping missions where the UN has done good, ~~despite~~ when self-interest has been overriden by ~~a~~ ~~the~~ ~~principles~~ of human rights. An example is in Sierra Leone in 2000 and in Mali and the ~~the~~ Ivory Coast in 2011 (Although one must bare in mind that they failed to stop 200000 being killed in the Rwandan Genocide in ~~the~~ 1994).

The UN has also been successful in international law where the UN war crimes tribunals, ^{and the ICC} have convicted Thomas Lubanga, Congolese warlord, as well as indicting President Omar Al-Bashir of Sudan and also many Balkan war criminals such as Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, also sentencing Charles Taylor, former president of Liberia to 50 years.

Furthermore, the UN World Court (International Court of Justice) has been successful in a number of cases such as the Honduras and El Salvador border dispute in 1992. Thus, one could argue that despite arch neo-conservatives such as John Bolton and Richard Perle criticising the UN, it is the only real forum for debate.

The effectiveness of the UN as a forum for debate is ~~not~~ though ~~not~~ criticised because of both corruption but most importantly, expense of effectiveness. For example \$550 million was spent on UN war crimes tribunals in Rwanda and yet in 12 years only ~~25~~ 25 people have been convicted.

Nevertheless, the UN as an effective organisation is shown by the decision of the IAEA in condemning Iran's uranium enrichment of 90% in order to build a nuclear ^{bomb} and thus sanctions by the EU and the US has forced Iran into negotiation, although one must note that once again this outcome has been hindered by the sovereign self-interest of P5 members as China and Russia have voted against more rigorous sanctions on Iran.

One must also note that despite the ridiculous and almost impossible tasks set under the Millennium Development Goals, progress has been made in them. Malaria is down by 38% in the last 10 years and AIDS cases are down by ~~43~~ 43% in the last 13 years. Nevertheless despite this progress one must also recognize that in ¹⁹⁸⁰ ~~1980~~ China and India accounted for 62% of global poverty and so the progress made in the MDGs, which Kofi Annan called "a milestone in global cooperation" that has helped hundreds of millions of people around the world has all been down to the performance of both China and India.

In conclusion, as I have shown, when peace-keeping operations have been properly mandated and national self-interest does not take precedence, ~~the~~ peace-keeping operations have been effective and the UN has also been an effective organisation in achieving its two main aims of promoting international values and maintaining global ~~the~~ peace and security through the IAEA and the MDGs. Moreover, the ICC, World Court and the UN War Crimes Tribunal have been effective in imposing international law although one must note that Saddam Hussein following Kuwait in 1991 was tried in an Iraqi Court and Slobodan Milosevic following Srebrenica was tried ~~by~~ by The Hague, showing there is not yet an international standard of Justice that all are accountable to. Despite this, I feel the main issue holding the UN back from being a truly effective organisation is the conflict between articles 1 and 2 of the UN Charter (conflict between protecting sovereignty of states ^{or} ~~and~~ safeguarding human rights of people within those states) and nowhere better is this disastrous lack of clarity illustrated

better than in Darfur where UNAMID want to protect the citizens but without ~~the~~ "prejudice to the responsibility of the government of Sudan". For this reason, I feel that at times the UN ~~is~~ is an effective organisation but until this conflict between articles 1 and 2 of the UN Charter is resolved, the effectiveness of the UN will always be undermined.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

Discussion does focus on the Security Council but then develops to include examples of both success and failure including the role of the United Nations in international law through, particularly, the ICJ. The response moves beyond peace keeping to discuss the role of the United Nations through bodies such as the IAEA, discussion of Millenium Goals and the age old United Nations issue of a respect of state sovereignty balanced with protecting human rights.



ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

A bold introduction grabs the attention and provides an expectation of a strong response to follow.

Paper Summary

A pleasing paper with a good range of responses across all questions. The questions were good discriminators.

Grade Boundaries

Grade boundaries for this, and all other papers, can be found on the website on this link:

<http://www.edexcel.com/iwantto/Pages/grade-boundaries.aspx>

Ofqual



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