

Examiners' Report
June 2016

GCE Government and Politics 6GP03 3D

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Introduction

A pleasing proportion of candidates had clearly been well-prepared for this examination. Subject knowledge was particularly strong and there was, for the most part, a close focus on the wording of the questions. The questions worked well for differentiation and all were equally accessible to candidates. There were a number of outstanding responses across all eight questions.

The most popular short questions were the responses on state sovereignty, followed by the question on economic globalisation. The most popular long response was the question on hard power followed by the question on the United Nations. The least popular short response was the question on the Group of Eight. The least popular long question was on further integration within the EU.

The advice from the last series of questions remains valid. As usual, there were a few key differentiators between candidates' responses. A crucial key to success in responding to the longer essay questions is that candidates should recognise that four marks are awarded here, not one.

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 learned 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 here, enabling balance and the appropriate use of political vocabulary.

It is evident that most, if not all, teachers are aware of, and focus 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. There are numerous other valuable resources available including past papers and mark schemes. It is also pleasing to note that teachers and students are making good use of recently developed resources.

The following scripts are primarily used to highlight access to L3 marks.

Question 1

This was the most popular question in the 15 mark section of the examination paper this year. There were few weak responses as most candidates were able to discuss the central term with confidence and to put forward a number of reasons as to why sovereignty may now be of declining importance. The most popular reasons were the rise in humanitarian intervention, globalisation in all forms and the rise of international organisations and of regionalism. Stronger responses were able to provide well evidenced and convincing cases with a wide range of factors considered.

This response begins well with a clear explanation/definition of the key term.

You will be asked to indicate your second question choice on page 6.

Put a cross in the box indicating the first question that you have chosen. If you change your mind, put a line through the box and then indicate your new question with a cross .

Chosen question number: Question 1 Question 2 Question 3
 Question 4 Question 5

- 1) Plan:
- ↑ globalisation, economic
 - regionalism / global governance.
 - ↑ permeable borders
 - non-state actors ICC
 - collective dilemmas

State sovereignty, is based on the westphalian model of global politics, from the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648.

State sovereignty is the idea of states being independent and able to act autonomously^{within the world system}, having control over its territory and domestic affairs. * - see back of answer booklet!

State sovereignty may now be considered to be of declining importance for a number of reasons. Firstly, with the increase in globalisation and the world becoming more interdependent and interconnected it can be seen that states now rely more on other states. For example economic globalisation allows the free movement of goods and services, ~~the~~ the free movement of labour, capital investment and technology. With the increase in globalisation this has also led to the borders of 'sovereign' states becoming more permeable. Especially

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

due to the free movement of labour, for example in the EU.

Another reason state sovereignty may be considered to be of declining importance is due to the increase in non-state actors that are having an increasing influence in global politics, for example the International Criminal Court (ICC). But also regional blocs like the EU who have a place in the G7, G20 and WTO.

~~Another~~ The idea of collective dilemmas is another reason why state sovereignty is of declining importance, For example the world is having to work together to solve climate change, as it is in their best interests to do so. For example many states attended the 1997 Kyoto protocol and the Montreal protocol that both increased global awareness of climate change, and promoted global action. ^{goes against a self-help system with internationalism and cooperation.}

Finally, the last main reason why state sovereignty may be considered to be of declining importance is due to the increase in regionalism and global governance. For example the UN was created to help solve global disputes and to maintain international peace and security. Another example is NATO,

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

which was created in 1949 to help "keep the
Russians out, the Americans in and the Germans down",
but now works as a body that promotes international
peace.



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Examiner Comments

A particularly strong effort which mentions a wide range of factors including globalisation, interdependence/interconnectedness, non-state actors, collective dilemmas and regionalism.



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Examiner Tip

A real strength of this response is that whenever a point is made an example tends to follow.

This response also begins very well with a clear explanation of the key term including reference to Westphalia and a range of key elements.

Indicate your first question choice on this page.

You will be asked to indicate your second question choice on page 6.

Put a cross in the box indicating the first question that you have chosen. If you change your mind, put a line through the box and then indicate your new question with a cross .

Chosen question number: **Question 1** **Question 2** **Question 3**
 Question 4 **Question 5**

State sovereignty was first realised as a political concept at the Treaty of Westphalia (1648). Sovereignty, in its broadest sense, is the idea of unchallengeable and supreme authority. State sovereignty thus treats the state as the most important actor in global politics. State sovereignty ensures the territorial integrity and inviolability of each state, and no power can exist above that of the nation-state. States are treated as independent and autonomous entities, as illustrated by the billiard-ball model.

State sovereignty can be said to be of declining importance due to the erosion of economic sovereignty. The 1933 Montevideo Convention outlines economic sovereignty as one

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

of the key aspects of state sovereignty. The rise of trans-national corporations has now means capital can be transported across the world easily. John Burton's 'cob-web' model illustrates how states no longer have control over their economies because of the inevitable spread of financial crises. The rise of TNCs has led to the concept of supraterritoriality, whereby the economic power of TNCs has rendered economic sovereignty outdated. Additionally, the Transatlantic Investment Partnership between the UK and US means the UK no longer has control over determining its own regulatory standards.

State sovereignty can also be said to be of declining importance due to the rise of inter-governmental organisations. Kenneth Ohmae argued in 'End of Nation-State' that "the state was an unnatural, even impossible unit in global politics". He points to the rise of supranational

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

organisations such as the European Court of Justice. These organisations have overseen the concession of sovereignty by individual states to a body capable of imposing its will on individual states. For example, the ECJ ruled against the UK's ban on prisoners' voting, citing the fact that UK law is superseded by European law. The rise of UN War Crimes Tribunals shows how the enforcement of justice can be done supranationally, such as the persecution of Radovan Karadzic at the UN War Tribunal for Yugoslavia. The UN's R2P principle explicitly states that the "concept of sovereignty gives way to humanitarian intervention if there are breaches of human rights." These developments have led to what Kaldor described as a 'post-sovereign' world.

Thirdly, the "communications revolution" has led to the idea of "permeable borders." Communications travel at a rate that cannot be controlled, giving rise to "deterritorialisation."

(Total for Question = 15 marks)



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Examiner Comments

After a strong introduction the response discusses the so called 'cobweb model' and the actions of TNCs where economic sovereignty is concerned. International organisations, particularly where supranationalism is apparent, are referenced with a slightly confused example. International tribunals and the communications revolution are also mentioned but without the same level of focus. Still sufficient to ensure a L3 response.



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Examiner Tip

Again, a decent introduction makes clear that the candidate both understands the key term and the necessary direction of the response.

Question 02

This was the third most popular response from the 15 mark questions and provided a range of responses. Stronger responses were able to clearly distinguish between the concepts of superpowers and great powers with use of clear examples to support assertions. Weaker responses tended to confuse the terms and to discuss the general concept of hierarchy without being able to distinguish between them.

This response takes a methodical approach to dealing with the question by starting with a brief explanation of what the candidate believes to be the key elements of the two types of power.

Chosen question number:

Question 1

Question 2

Question 3

Question 4

Question 5

A great power can be defined as a power with power in terms of military, economic and ~~cultural~~ cultural influence. As Kenberry asserts, great powers "act as stakeholders in the international system". Great powers therefore ^{have} influence ^{on a} ~~national~~ ^{regional} scale.

Whereas, a superpower is a great power plus great mobility of power. The US epitomises this nation, with a geo-strategic outreach that stretches across the world. During the Cold War, in a time of bi-polarity, the USSR and the USA were the world's foremost powers with great nuclear, military and economic capability. Another difference between a superpower and a great power is

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

that a great power may only be dominant in one of these aspects. This idea is epitomised by China currently; arguably an economic giant, with over \$310 bn dollars spent on defence last year alone, but ~~arguably~~ ^{merely} not a superpower due to its regional and not global influence. For example, China's recent South Sea expansion (2016) has seen it gaining political clout, as well as Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014, though they are both illustrating military power, their ~~regional~~ attempts to gain mere regional dominance and not global dominance is what prevents them from rising to the superpower status unrivalled by the US, for example.

Finally, a superpower has forward foreign policy as Waltz asserted. The US is a strong example of this, with its extensive engagement in world affairs, such as the

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

recent migration crisis that has flummoxed Europe, as well as its engagement in Syria. Whereas, China for instance, might have regional clout, but its refusal to engage in geo-political issues as well as its poor record of human rights - ~~something that it stands~~ prevents it from rising to super power status. This is because superpowers usually have free speech, and advocate the neo-liberal idea of exporting democracy globally.



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Examiner Comments

A range of factors is attributed to great powers including military strength and economic power. The candidate explains that China may be considered a great power in some respects but not others. The military power of China is considered to be regional rather than global like the US. The key element that a superpower is often described as a great power with great mobility of power is explained, and the Cold War identified as a period where superpowers had global reach.

A particularly direct introduction which immediately tries to apply the key elements of great and superpowers.

Chosen question number: **Question 1** **Question 2** **Question 3**
Question 4 **Question 5**

A great power is defined as a state that is deemed to rank amongst the highest powers of the hierarchical state power system. This is based upon the factors that the state has 'forward' foreign policy, economic dominance, global spheres of influence and a ~~real~~ military force to protect its own territorial integrity. On the other hand, a superpower was a term coined by William Fox (1944) in the aftermath of World War II to symbolise a power that ~~is more~~ outranks a great power; 'a great-power with great mobility of power'. This is distinguishable from great powers on the basis of military ^{and} economic factors as well as its ability to act unilaterally.

Firstly, a great power will have substantial military power to defend its own borders. This is seen with China who has the second largest military spending, a military personnel of approximately 1.6 million and 260 nuclear warheads. However, what stops

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

China from becoming a superpower is that its military is confined to the state as it has no international bases. On the other hand, the USA has over 800 bases in 70 countries allowing it to intervene globally. As a result, they are seen as the 'world's police power' ^{as they} and have the military capacity of a superpower.

Secondly, a great power will have significant economic dominance. This can be seen with Britain who by 2008 had the fastest growing economy as part of the Group of Eight (G8). However, a superpower will take this further by using structural power (Susan Strange) of global economic governance bodies to their advantage to have a global influence. This can be seen with the USA and their dominance with bodies such as the IMF and World Bank as these institutions are based on the US concept of the 'Washington Consensus'. As a result, they act as a form of US imperialism and neo colonialism, as illustrated in Wallerstein's 'World Systems Theory', through SAPs (structural adjustment policies) which implements a US model of free trade to the global South. In turn, they have economic dominance globally which is the characteristic of a superpower.

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

Finally, a great power may have the ability to act unilaterally however this will have major repercussions on the world stage. This was recently seen with Russia's annexation of Crimea (2014) which resulted in ~~the~~ the state being suspended from the G8 and all cooperation being terminated with NATO. On the other hand, a superpower may act unilaterally however its dominance results in a lack of consequences. This ~~was~~ has been seen numerous times with the US who, in 1956, actively removed the democratically elected Iranian leader ^{as he planned} due to their fear to nationalise oil which was viewed as opening themselves up to the Soviet Union. In addition, they ~~recently~~ in 2003 they invaded Iraq without UN authorisation.

However, the term Superpower may not be used now as it is confined to the East-West rivalry of the Cold War between the USA and USSR.



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Examiner Comments

Great powers are considered to be in the first rank of states with economic and military power although on a regional basis. William Fox is referenced with the description of superpowers as great powers with great mobility of power with global reach and the ability to take unilateral action.

Question 03

This was a reasonably popular short 15 mark question and there were a number of very strong responses. Stronger responses tended to provide a clear definition/explanation of the central term and a wide range of reasons as to why regional organisations have become more important. The most common reasons included globalisation as a cause of regionalism with regionalism either acting as a defence against globalisation or as part of the process. Political, cultural, economic and security regionalism were some of the areas explored and explained.

Not the best response to this question in terms of introduction. Other responses gave a clearer definition and/or background but the strength of this response soon emerges.

Chosen question number: **Question 1** **Question 2** **Question 3**
Question 4 **Question 5**

Q3: The regional organisations have gained more importance in present times due to various reasons. Regional organisations have accelerated in the late half of the twentieth century ~~to~~^{due} in order to serve various social, political and cultural ends.

'New Regionalism', also known as economic regionalism has become more important in the form of powerful regional blocs like NAFTA and Mercosur (who are strictly economic blocs). This has happened in the face of rising ~~power~~ interdependence between countries due to the process of Globalization. The rapid industrialization, formation of monetary bodies like the IMF and World Bank have increased the interdependence ~~among~~ between nations. As evident by the financial crisis of 2008 ~~too~~, any financial crisis in one part of the world can act as a 'contagion' and transfer its effects on other part of the world too. Economic regionalism has gained more importance in order to both avail the opportunities created by globalization and counter its undesirable

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

impact. Bhagwati regards economic trading blocs as both "stumbling" and "building" blocs ~~of~~ in face of economic globalization. They can be regarded as stumbling blocs as many countries join to form trade unions in order to secure themselves from the uncertainties of the global economy. This also gives them considerable influence which was lost as a nation, due to rapid financial transaction and influence of economic bodies like IMF. ^{This is the case of all where countries have common external tariff.} The economic blocs can also be regarded as building blocks of globalization and have gained importance in today's world, due to the eagerness of many states to effectively engage within the ^{new} economic system characterized by free trade and specialization. Regional blocs can provide them with the leverage to influence major economic decisions while bargaining with WTO or other ~~not~~ states. Such impact would not be provided by a single state who does not have a back-up of a powerful regional bloc: This can be seen in the case of ASEAN whose members have harnessed great economic benefits while working within ~~the~~ the regional trading bloc.

Moreover, apart from ^{changing} economic conditions of the world, regional blocs have also gained importance as a way to counter excessive western

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

ideas and values that are being lost within their country via the media and 'brand culture' promoted by media. Groups like the African Union and Arab League aim to secure their traditional values that are under threat by the western ideas propagated by cultural globalization. Cultural globalization has a western face that teaches people to conform to western values of materialism, consumerism and individualism. In order to counter this, many regional blocs have been formed that secure the rights and values of countries with similar culture.

The ^{regional} ~~regional~~ blocs have also gained importance in today's world as a means to protect political interests of many nations. Regional blocs like the EU have great political influence that can be used by its members to voice their own opinion in face of great powers. This has given them greater political control, which they could not achieve on an individual nation.

The above are the various reasons why the ^{regional} ~~regional~~ organizations have become more important in today's world.



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Examiner Comments

A range of factors are identified and there is significant detail on the economic element with reference to globalisation and interdependence. Regional blocs are described as both stumbling and building blocs of globalisation and there is plenty of detail here. A pleasing reference to numerous regional blocs is made. Cultural protection and protection of and promotion of political interests are also discussed with further examples.



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Examiner Tip

Regionalism responses usually benefit from specific examples of regional bodies over and above the EU.

Question 04

This was the second most popular short 15 mark question which often led to very clear and well defined explanations of the central term. A range of controversial elements were covered, with many candidates providing a focus on perceived inequalities through a discussion of neo-colonialism, dominance of the international financial institutions by certain states, and the actions of TNCs. The impact on state sovereignty and problems associated with economic globalisation such as consumerist materialism and environmental degradation were also explored and explained by some candidates.

A definition and explanation of the key term is clearly required in this question and is delivered immediately in this introduction.

Chosen question number: **Question 1** **Question 2** **Question 3**
 Question 4 **Question 5**

Economic globalization is referred to the process whereby all national-economies to, a greater or lesser extent, are absorbed in an interlocking global economy. The OECD (1995) thus defined globalisation as a 'shift from world to distinct national economies to a global economy in which production is internationalized and financial capitals flow freely and instantly between countries.' However Globalisation should be distinguished from Internationalization. Internationalization holds that, increased cross-border transactions leads to intensified interdependence between national economies. Whereas, Globalization, on the other hand, marks a qualitative shift towards 'deep-integration' through the construction of consolidated global marketplace where production, distribution and consumption takes place.

The first reason which makes economic globalization controversial is that the realist argue that economic globalization is actually westernization and particularly

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

Americanization. They argue that economic globalization benefits west and particularly USA because they force developing countries to open their markets and hence developed countries get a chance to abstract all the resources from developing countries. An African lawyer described Globalization as a 'giant octopus sitting on Africa and sucking it dry'. Offensive realists argue that western world has adopted the policy of 'do as we say, not as we did' and ~~they~~ apply this policy by applying this policy they ask developing countries to open their market.

Another controversy of economic globalization is that some commentators believe that it is a game of winners and losers. They highlight that the winners are the developed countries, particularly America, and the TNCs. Whereas the losers are the developing and poor countries. The commentators point out that the rich become richer with the help of economic globalization, and it makes poor more poorer. However the supporters of economic globalization or the hyperglobalists

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

point out that economic globalization reduces poverty. They give example of China and India. After opening its market, China's economy was boosted and hence the poverty was reduced.

The third controversy of economic globalization is that it threatens state sovereignty. Transnational Corporations (TNCs) play a major role in policy making and foreign role is also evident in the policy formulation of a state. This directly undermines the state sovereignty and it goes totally against the treaty of Westphalia.



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Following a clear definition and lengthy explanation there is an attempt to deal with controversy. A range of factors is considered which includes what is called westernization. There is an interesting reference to an octopus and to double standards. The argument that economic globalisation inevitably is a game of winners and losers is made with the suggestion that the rich get richer and the poor poorer before a brief argument against this view. The response concludes with an explanation as to how economic globalisation may be seen as a challenge to state sovereignty. The strong first part of the response and range of factors helps to ensure a L3.



ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

Some questions specifically ask for definitions/ explanations of key terms and this candidate came prepared.

This response relies on a far more brief initial explanation of economic globalisation although the explanation is enhanced by later comments.

Put a cross in the box indicating the second question that you have chosen. If you change your mind, put a line through the box and then indicate your new question with a cross .

Chosen question number: Question 1 Question 2 Question 3
Question 4 Question 5

Economic globalisation is, according to the OECD, the transformation of self contained national economies into a global economy, characterised by ~~free~~ more outsourcing of production and instantaneous and free flow of capital. This model is seen as controversial for a number of reasons.

The first ~~is~~ ~~one~~ complaint made against economic globalisation is that it is just a cover for a process of economic "neo-colonialism", characterised by ~~a~~ exploitation of the developing world by already advanced industrial world. Critics of economic globalisation might point to the economic role China has

You should start the answer to your third question choice on page 9

played in Asia and West Africa; investing money, usually in infrastructure schemes, ~~that~~ with conditionalities that Chinese labour and goods are used, and China receives a share of the profits. Unprofitable and unsustainable Chinese investment in Sri-Lanka necessitated an IMF bailout, and support with loan repayments.

A second critique of economic globalisation is its close ties with neo-liberal, free market ideology. Critics of the economic globalisation have claimed that the USA, in conjunction with various international bodies like the IMF and World Bank, have been pushing the drivers behind a wave of global economic liberalisation, especially noticeable in the so-called "shock therapy" transition of ex-Soviet states from central planning economies to market states following the breakup of the USSR in the 1990s. Whilst

You should start the answer to your third question choice on page 9

such measures were designed to bring prosperity, in many cases it has resulted in lower living standards, rampant corruption and cronyism.

Finally, ~~only~~ ~~one~~ many realist theorists who oppose economic globalisation argue that instead of ~~market-led~~ ~~political~~ interdependence of economically globalised market states bringing peace and prosperity, as per Liberal ~~the~~ theory, it instead brings "mutual vulnerability".³ This, they claim, was exhibited perfectly during the 2007/8 global crash; where lax economic discipline and sub-prime mortgages in the USA created a global economic storm, the effects of which are still being felt today. They might also point to the ~~even~~ recent economic slowdown in China, which has devastated export driven economies from Australia to Brazil, as well as influencing monetary policy in the USA; delaying promised interest rate increases.



Neo-colonialism allegations are investigated initially with suggestions of exploitation and Chinese actions in Africa applied as evidence. A second argument has a focus on links with neo-liberal free market focus and western dominance via bodies such as the IMF and W Bank. The final argument references the perceived mutual vulnerability of economic globalisation and the evidence applied in the consequences for all of the 2007/8 global crash.

Question 05

This was the least popular short 15 mark question and provided a wide range of responses. Stronger responses had a clear understanding of the organisation and of developments over the course of the existence of the G8, including the relatively recent loss of Russia. Stronger responses provided a wide and in-depth explanation of central criticisms. Criticisms such as the unrepresentative make-up of current members, the development of the more representative G20, failure to deal with the global economic downturn, as well as failure to deal with poverty, inequality and climate change issues were explained by some candidates.

Quite a brief but clear introduction which introduces us to the G8, to membership and to three highlighted criticisms.

Indicate your second question choice on this page.
You will be asked to indicate your third question choice on page 9.

Put a cross in the box indicating the second question that you have chosen. If you change your mind, put a line through the box and then indicate your new question with a cross .

Chosen question number: Question 1 Question 2 Question 3

Question 4 Question 5

Group of Eight is included the world leading industrialised countries namely US, UK, France, Italy, Canada, Japan, or Germany and Russia (expelled in 2014). This organisation has been subject to criticism for its lack of representation, self-interest motives and ineffectiveness in resolving transnational issues.

First, G8 has been accused as a tool for elites to maximise their interests rather than contribute to ~~some~~ bridge the rich-poor gap. Realists may claim this ~~was~~ is justifiable because states are egoistic and self-interested while liberals tend to see institutionalism should bring benefit for all. G7 Greengates Conference aimed to reduce debt for the South but did not come to any actual significant outcome. This was to be repeated in 2000 Jubilee Programme where some G7 countries like UK pledged to 100% cancel debt for Southern ~~g~~ the global south while Japan and Germany remain

You should start the answer to your third question choice on page 9

along. This showed G8 was only operating towards their own benefits, widening North-South divide highlighted by Brundt.

Second, G8 was also blamed for not being truly representative. It excludes the economically emerging countries such as Brazil, India, especially China. These countries accounts for more than 25% of global GDP and their voices should be included in decision making process. The poorest countries in Africa should also be considered for membership as G7 agenda involved a lot of development projects on this area. Without including these actors, G8 is a non being seen as a neoliberal club, not representing for all!

Third, G8 ^{has} proved quite incompetent in addressing challenges facing modern world! In the wake of 2007 Global Crisis, it was busy dealing with its own split with Russian expulsion while neglecting to solve the damaging effects of GFC. This gave rise to the profile of G20, a more dynamic and representative organisation which came

You should start the answer to your third question choice on page 9

to rescue global economy with \$500m in
stimulus package. In the battle against
climate change, G8 member ^{als} showed reluctance
while president George Bush underlined
his government's rejection of Kyoto Protocol
at Genoa Summit.



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Examiner Comments

Failure to deal with the North South divide is discussed with a particular criticism of the Gleneagles summit which had a focus on debt relief. The second argument relates to the exclusion of certain states from membership. Emerging economies such as Brazil and India and even China are mentioned. The lack of an African member is also lamented. The response finishes with a scattergun of other criticism from failure to deal effectively with the 2007/8 global crisis to Russian loss of membership and failure to resolve issues such as climate change.

Question 05

This response begins with an interesting reference to the collapse of the Bretton Woods system and a brief explanation as to what the G8 is.

Indicate your third question choice on this page.

Put a cross in the box indicating the third question that you have chosen. If you change your mind, put a line through the box and then indicate your new question with a cross .

Chosen question number: Question 1 Question 2 Question 3

Question 4 Question 5

The Group of 8 (G8) ~~has~~ is a group made up of the leadership of 8 of the world's largest economies, and was established against the backdrop of the collapse of the Bretton Woods system as a forum for decisions to be made regarding the global economy (as the previous system had fallen apart). Despite some early success, it has met with severe criticism.

One of the major criticisms is that the G8 is highly unrepresentative and therefore not legitimate. Its members include only countries from the developed world and excludes the whole continent of Africa. Despite this, it still has the potential to wield a great deal of influence over the global economy. Neo-Marxists ~~see~~ view this as an example of the developed world ~~possibly~~ taking advantage of

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

its wealth to maintain the status quo of global inequality, allowing them to keep their dominant positions in the international system.

Another important criticism is the fact that the G8 no longer reflects the state of the global economy. A major issue is the fact that it does not include China, which as of 2010 is the world's second largest economy - predicted by some - such as Jim O'Neill, to become the largest economy by 2020. Its absence from the G8 is therefore a major flaw to the group. In fact in the last decade, the rise of the BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India, China) has made the G8 look extremely outdated, as only Russia is a member. All 3 of the other members have larger economies than Canada - which remains a member of the G8. The fact that it does not include a number of the world's largest economies is therefore an important criticism, as it no longer on any level represents the global economy.

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

A final criticism of the G8 is that it can now be viewed as unnecessary due to the rise of the G20. During the 2007-9 financial crisis in particular the G8 was unable to be of any use due to the scale of the problems. The G20 therefore became hugely important, as was the main forum where a global solution was worked out. The G20 is far more representative than the G8, therefore has a preferable international reputation, and proved itself to be a more valuable tool in managing the global economy. The very existence of the G8 can therefore be criticised as being rather redundant.



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Examiner Comments

The key arguments in this response are that the G8 is, first of all, unrepresentative. The lack of an African member state is mentioned and the suggestion that the G8 represents western dominance in what is still a very powerful body. The fact that China isn't a member despite the size of its economy is also an area of focus and this is linked to the weakness of some existing members such as Canada. The final argument relates to the rise of the G20 which is considered to have been far more valuable and effective in attempting to deal with the 2007 financial crisis and economic downturn.

Question 06

This was the second most popular of the longer 45 mark questions and many candidates had been well prepared for this type of question with a wide range of knowledge and examples used in response. A number of strong candidates provided clear criteria by which to judge the organisation, and provided a balanced consideration of achievement. Candidates discussed peace and security, human rights, economic and social development, as well as international law, the environment and attempts to stop nuclear proliferation.

Although not always free from error this response begins with an attempt to set out a criteria for assessing UN achievement. Broad aims such as peace and security, economic and social development and human rights protection are identified.

Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross . If you change your mind, put a line through the box and then indicate your new question with a cross .

Chosen question number: Question 6 Question 7 Question 8

The United Nations was set up in 1945, as a means to prevent WWII. Now 193 countries are members, the only states that don't participate are 'failed' states e.g. North Korea. The UN's main aim was to 'banish the scourge of war', through encouraging peace keeping, and ~~maintaining~~ The UN has developed other aims such as, promoting economic and social development and protecting human rights through international law. ~~The extent to which the UN has achieved it's aims can be measured by~~ Some argue the UN has made huge progress to in achieving their aims, while others argue the problems the UN sought to prevent are still prominent in the world today.

The UN's main aim to ~~banish~~ encourage peace and stability has been achieved to some extent.

There is yet to be a third world war, whether that is due to the UN it is debatable but that was the aim ^{with} which it was set up.

From 1967 to 2003 the UN had carried out 67 peacekeeping missions. In Sierra Leone in 2003 the UN disarmed 75,000 soldiers, of which 10% ~~to~~ were children.

In Namibia they assisted in demanding free and fair elections and in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1960 they helped maintain peace and regime change. The Rend Corporation in 2007 did a report on the effectiveness of 8 UN peacekeeping missions, they found 7 had achieved their aims and 6 had helped promote democracy.

However, the UN has also faced some large peacekeeping failures. They failed to prevent the 1994 Rwandan genocide after sending troops once two Belgian soldiers were killed. The genocide resulted in 800,000 deaths.

only 100 days. They also failed to prevent the Srebrenica massacre during the Serb-Bosnian crisis.

Srebrenica was supposedly a safe-zone due to the presence of UN peace-keepers but the massacre still took place. Furthermore, some argue there is more civil and ethnic conflict today than ever before, such as the Syrian civil war and the rise of ISIS. The UN is yet to put forward a coherent plan to deal with new security challenges. Therefore, the UN has achieved their peacekeeping aims by preventing conflict in several instances, however ensuring international stable place is an impossible aim and one they are very far from achieving.

Another key aim of the UN is to encourage economic and social development. In order to achieve this in 2000 they launched the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to be completed by 2015. The goals were extremely

ambitions, and ~~achieved to have~~
~~extreme poverty~~ same were
successfully achieved. They halved
extreme poverty 3 years before
the 2015, and halted the spread
of malaria and aids. Although they
did not necessarily achieve all
the MDGs they made huge progress.
They achieved universal primary
education to 90% and unpaid
infant mortality and maternal
healthcare by the 2000s. The UN
development programme was
set up in 1965 and had a peace
charter (70 countries). Although there
is more to be done the UN had
been very successful in encouraging
economic and social development.

However, others have a more
pessimistic view, they argue the
UN failed to reach the majority
of their 15 MDGs by 2015. Some
are ^{also} very critical of the UNDP as
it is an ever diverging and
broadening programme. They are
constantly adding new aims and

goals that they don't have the funding to maintain. In 2006 the UN was owed \$7.3bn of which 43.5% was owed by the US. Some argue the UN should limit their goals to achievable ends and only to ones they have the resources to fulfil.

Although overall the UN has achieved a huge deal and are the single largest contributor to development, although their goals may not be 100% complete they are still making huge progress ~~for the best~~ with improving the lives of the most vulnerable.

Another aim of the UN is to protect human rights, this is carried out through international law. In 1948 the UN Declaration of Human Rights was passed with the aim to prevent ~~the~~ atrocities of WWII from happening again. This was followed by two covenants on civil, political, and social rights and economic and solidarity rights in 1966. Simply classifying human rights law goes some way to protect human

rights. Although the Srebrenica and Rwandan genocides were not prevented by the UN, some justice was served through the use of ad-hoc tribunals. The Rwandan tribunal convicted 25 people of genocide, whilst the Yugoslavia tribunal saw Milosevic, the first head of state to be indicted for genocide. These were huge successes and led to the 1997 Rome Statute to set up the International Criminal Court, all of which was overseen by the UN. The ICC has been successful at protecting human rights, by convicting individuals, often high-profile cases, it clearly indicated that human rights abuses will not be tolerated. They convicted Thomas Lubanga, a warlord, and tried Milosevic. Therefore, the UN has made huge progress in protecting human rights through developing international law.

However, some would argue the UN has failed in it's aims as

human rights abuses still take place. Saudi Arabia executed 40 people in January and February of 2014. Max vanishingly is that they are currently head of the human rights committee in the UN. Also China continues to suppress their people and there is little that ~~can~~ has been done to control them. It is estimated 40 million people to endure modern ^{forms of} slavery today. Furthermore, the manuals were extremely inefficient with the Amazon manual costing \$2bn and only causing 25 people in 12 years of production. The ICC has also been criticised as being ineffective. Key states such as the USA, China and Saudi Arabia are not members. ~~This means that~~ are ~~prohibited~~. Therefore, human rights are not universally protected and so the UN has failed to achieve their aims.

Overall, I do not feel the UN has completely achieved its aims. The key reason being that

They are so ambitious, stable peace, economic development and protecting human rights. Although they have made huge ~~of~~ progress and improved millions of lives. Therefore the UN has not achieved its near impossible aims but it does not mean it shouldn't keep striving to make more progress. As the aims it has achieved e.g. MDGs are huge have had a huge impact.

* At of these spheres the UN has been most successful at promoting economic and social development through the MDGs.

* Some argue the MDG of halving extreme poverty was only achieved due to the growth of China, which alone lifted 500 million out of poverty. Many of the UN's aims are achieved through economic growth as opposed to direct UN action.

(Total for Question = 45 marks)



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

Following identification of some of the key aims of the United Nations this response provides a lengthy consideration of peacekeeping and the role of the UN. Successes are contrasted with failure in cases such as Rwanda, Srebrenica and Syria. Economic and social development has a focus on the Millennium Development Goals and there is discussion of human rights protection including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN linked establishment of ad hoc tribunals and the International Criminal Court. There is a pleasing use of examples and the response fluctuates between both sides of the argument.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Tip

Questions with a focus on assessment often benefit from an initial set of criteria on which assessment can be based.

Question 07

This question was the least popular in this section but not by a wide margin. A few candidates decided to focus almost exclusively on the Brexit debate and a UK perspective on the value of further integration. A number of candidates provided particularly one-sided responses, typically arguing against further integration rather than providing an awareness of the counter view. Criticism of further integration tended to focus on the impact on state sovereignty, a perceived democratic deficit within the EU, the issues focused on financial crisis and immigration/free movement of labour. Support for further integration often tackled the same areas, often arguing that further integration could solve a number of these issues. A clear argument was often used to illustrate the benefits of current integration and those which could ensue from further integration.

The introduction to this first response is content heavy and illustrates a clear knowledge of structure and development of the organisation.

Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross . If you change your mind, put a line through the box and then indicate your new question with a cross .

Chosen question number: Question 6 Question 7 Question 8

The European Union is a regional organisation that acts as a governing body over Europe. It has ~~an~~ intergovernmental and supranational features. The European Union emerged after the second world war, in the form of the European Steel and Coal Area, and later, via spillover effect, turned in the European Economic Area, and ~~the~~ later the European Union. The creation and responsibilities of the EU were fleshed out via a number of treaties, such as the Nice and Maastricht treaties. Integration within the EU extends to direct election from the peoples of ~~most~~ member states into the European Parliament, the common 'Euro' currency, and the Schengen free-travel area. However, many argue that further ~~is~~ integration into the EU is no longer desirable. While the EU is considered ~~a~~ ^{an} economic giant ~~with~~ in the world, it is possible that some of its economic policies may be failing. The Euro is considered by some as a ~~in~~ ^{an} inevitable currency, destined to fail. The common point of interest, as described by the European

The introduction of qualified majority voting, through which the vetoes of states may be overridden by vote, has undermined the luxury compromise. This is due to greater integration. Thus, the political interests of states may force them to oppose EU integration, as it makes it harder to implement policies not in line with the EU's, and more difficult to get away with if they do, due to not only the ECT, but the ~~the~~ threat of sanctions.

Political instability in the EU also makes it less desirable for further integration. The veto power awarded to member states means that the dissent of one state can derail policies desired by, maybe even, all member states. An example of this was the move, supported by Denmark, for a European Constitution, which would lead to unprecedented integration of all member states within the EU. However, after a referendum, this move was rejected by France, and later Netherlands, proving not only the instability of a system where unanimous vote is required for proceeding, but the population of the country itself, through referendum, has rejected great (at least political) integration with the European Union.

However, ~~the~~ greater EU integration cannot be said to be wholly undesirable.

While the euro and the EU may not be completely economically sound, it is irrefutably an economic giant. One-third of the world's production is controlled by the EU, and with ~~with~~ less than half a billion people, it is, population-wise, ~~and thus~~ a dominant power, thus providing a larger market for goods.

Increased regulation may result in the ECB controlling financial crises in member states. Thus, a case for ^{further} economic integration may be made.

The political complaints may also not be completely sound. The EU, although not wholly ~~created~~ composed of inter-governmental bodies, is composed of various supranational bodies which are, ultimately, derived from the ~~states~~ member states and their populations. The European Parliament itself is a body elected by the population of the EU, therefore warnings about its ~~increased~~ ^{increasing} legislative role may be unfounded due to the mandate it derives by being elected.

~~to the~~ The ECJ, furthermore, ~~has the~~ ^{majority} of only has the mandate to ~~and~~ make decisions relating ~~to~~ to European

law; and thus does not directly infringe on domestic law.

Furthermore, the idea of greater integration, such as through the formation of a Constitution, would go a long way to stabilising the European Union. Therefore, greater political integration may be the solution to an otherwise economically strong but politically weak EU.

Furthermore, the need for integration is highlighted through the lack of an effective governance by the EU. This is due to the patchy character of the EU, regarding an actual fleshing out of a form of government. This is best showcased by Kissinger's remark 'who do I call if I want to call Europe?'. There is no ~~the~~ decisive channel or leadership that solidifies the EU and its identity, due to the lack of integration in Europe. Post such as the High Representative for Foreign Affairs have been introduced, but these are largely unsuccessful, and these Representatives have no real power or authority to be representing the ~~the~~ EU.

Thus, it is evident that while cases can be

made both for and against further EU integration, greater political integration, at the very least would go a long way in solidifying the EU and ensuring that it is a less unstable, more cohesive and representative institution.



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Examiner Comments

This response is very strong on knowledge which is particularly evident in the early part of the response, The candidate moves to a consideration of arguments against further integration with a criticism of existing integration in areas like the economy and impact on state sovereignty including supranationalism in the ECJ. The counter argument has a focus on the economic benefits of integration and the benefits of further integration for stability generally including economic and political.



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Examiner Tip

A clearer focus on the specific question would strengthen what is already a good response.

This script has quite a direct introduction with a brief overview of the development of the organisation followed by an introduction to both sides of the central debate.

Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross . If you change your mind, put a line through the box and then indicate your new question with a cross .

Chosen question number: Question 6 Question 7 Question 8

The European Union is a regional body formed of 28 members which formerly became the EU in November 1993 after the Maastricht Treaty. Prior to this, the EU was the European Steel and Coal Community (1951) and then the EEC (1957) after the Treaty of Rome. Integration within the EU is controversial as whilst more people believe it is of greater benefit and mutual gain, notably liberal thinkers, eurosceptics would argue that it is diminishing our national identity.

One way in which further EU integration is not desirable is the problems with the development of a European Foreign and Defence policy, as has been attempted. States believe defence policy to be a physical example of their national sovereignty and 'unity through diversity' [2009 Lisbon Treaty] on this issue would be a step too far. As well as conflicting with their existing commitments

for defence policy, NATO, since 1945, the EU lacks military capabilities as seen by their failure in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Therefore further integration would reduce national sovereignty but draw further on the military of states, a sacrifice that few are happy to make. Many argue that the European Defence Agency (2004) is as far as military cooperation/integration should go within the EU.

On the other hand, in a world embracing interdependence and interconnectivity, whereas some argue that further integration is desirable to achieve greater influence on the world stage. As already displayed by the EU's role in the WTO, it is not inconceivable that further integration would allow the EU to become a military force that other states desire to work with and respect. Although liberals would support this with the hope of peace and harmony, a realist could arguably support this in the hope of greater state power and the possible

spread of nuclear capabilities from the two European countries that already own them, despite going against the NNPT.

Further integration does not appear to worry euro-sceptics however because they already dislike the overwhelming supranational, if not federal, nature of the regional union. Supranationalism is the existence of a higher authority which is able to impose ^{its} will on others, and this is seen within multiple bodies of the EU; the ECJ is supranational as European law is superior, as seen in the Factortame case and 1996 ENEL v Costa, whilst the European Commission is supranational because the 28 commissioners are appointed rather than elected and work to create policy in the interests of the EU. The European Central Bank is also supranational because of its convergent criteria that restricts the state's finance minister or chancellor; the bank does not allow the state to print money, and therefore controls inflation, and the Bank decided interest rates which directly alters lending, mortgages and so forth.

On the other hand, someone who is in favour of further EU integration may argue that the intergovernmental features will not be eroded and the ability to 'opt-out' or veto remains. The Council of Ministers remains an intergovernmental body with a mixture of decision-making through QMV and unanimity, whilst the ministers are elected and therefore accountable to the state government that they represent. The ability to 'opt-out' remains, as seen by the UK's rejection of the Euro, and the fact that the Eurozone only had 19 members and so there is not, and not close to, a generalised tax system. However despite Denmark and France voting against an EU constitution in national referendums, some argue that the 2009 Lisbon Treaty effectively acts as a constitution. Furthermore multiple treaties appear to be limiting the ability to use the national veto, as seen in Rome (1957), Amsterdam (1997) and Nice (2001).

Euro-sceptics are also hesitant to accept further EU integration because of the existent migrant and refugee crisis as well as deepening the EU with this integration, it appears that widening is also on the horizon with Turkey possibly gaining membership. Conservative MP Priti Patel has warned of the consequences of this membership, with reports suggesting a possible additional 750,000 refugees to be taken care of. Despite only 5 of the ten 10 EEC members accepting the Schengen agreement, many nationalists fear that further integration will result in fewer borders and an overspill of the current crisis. This was been a key factor in the rise of nationalist parties, most notably close to home with UKIP.

In contrast, those in favour of further integration would highlight the strength of cooperation that is better spread and globalisation of norms. The EU has already been praised in promoting opposing human rights records, as seen by the Copenhagen criteria, and it is believed by some that further integration

will push these western liberal values further and encourage peace and harmony. They would also cite the existence of subsidiarity, the idea that decisions must only be made / taken by the EU if that is the most suitable level, in the Treaty of the European Union. This means that if any action breaches subsidiarity, and could have been achieved effectively at a national or local level, then the action can be annulled or withdrawn by the Commission, blocked by the European Parliament and each member has the right to veto. This guarantees that decisions made effectively at a national level will still occur at a national level following further integration.

Functionaries believe that further integration will result in the further weakening of territorial or national sovereignty, and therefore Europeans fear ~~national~~ integration. Realists believe that to be the most important entities in the international political system and that they should strive

to acquire their national interests in a world that is a 'war of all against all' (Hobbes). This means that in a system of self-help they should not rely upon the EU or sacrifice power to a higher authority, especially when they believe there are 'permanent interests, but not permanent allies'.

Neo-functionalists such as Hoerster however recognise that functionalists ignore the lack of evidence that an organisation can rival the popular legitimacy of the nation-state, and therefore focus on the economic and political interplay. Instead of viewing it as a loss of power, it is viewed as the pooling of sovereignty whereby at the loss of some parliamentary sovereignty, a greater amount of sovereignty and influence is obtained.

To conclude, whilst some are sceptical about the loss of sovereignty to a supranational body and the possible human consequences of integration, liberals believe it to be an opportunity to seize cooperation, peace and harmony.



The response moves to a knowledgeable explanation of the structure of the EU including key institutions and there is some debate about their effectiveness linked to further integration. The response becomes stronger as it discusses key areas of debate such as the extension of a foreign and security policy with historic failings in Yugoslavia highlighted. There is an argument that integration brings a host of benefits including greater influence on the world stage. The perceived negative elements of supranationalism are explored with a particular reference to the ECJ and there is debate relating to the migrant and refugee crisis. Prospects for enhanced peace and stability are measured alongside impact on state sovereignty. There is enough debate and knowledge to help this script to achieve a L3.

Question 08

This was the most popular question from this section and allowed candidates to provide a clear understanding of hard and alternative types of power. A sizeable number of candidates were able to explore the value of hard and other types of power in detail, providing excellent contemporary examples. A number of political commentators were referenced, and candidates often discussed the realist and liberal perspectives involved.

This response begins with a clear explanation of the key term and immediately makes clear the direction that the response will follow.

Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross in the box . If you change your mind, put a line through the box and then indicate your new question with a cross .

Chosen question number: Question 6 Question 7 Question 8

Hard power is defined as a coercive power, it relies on threats (sticks) and rewards (carrots). A realist would argue that hard power is necessary in today's world, with the rise of revisionist powers and the shifting of the balance of world power. However the relevance of hard power can be questioned, with a fall in interstate war, arguably hard power has become redundant. Hard power relies on bribes, threats and sanctions, however it may be argued that these measures are no longer effective. The rise in soft power and even smart power challenges the dominance of hard power in global politics.

Hard power can encompass both economic and military power. Arguably hard power remains dominant due to powers such as China and Russia, threatening to step destabilise regions. Two areas both vital for US security, the EU and Asia, have been treated by an increasingly assertive and muscular foreign policy from Putin, with a weakening of the Eurozone, Russia may seize this chance to expand, and a rise in China's naval sea power may threaten allies such as Japan and Taiwan. Thus US hard power is necessary to reassure allies in these regions and deter against aggression. Japan actively relies on US hard power in face of territorial disputes with China and

South Korea relies on American naval presence to protect Seoul from Pyongyang. Taiwan's existence as a state relies on American hard power thus it is evident that hard, military power is necessary in today's world to display a show of strength against powers threatening to tilt the balance of power and world order. The US was and respected as the world's hegemon for its hard power, over 50% of global military spending was by the US and it retains a global inferno, able to sustain military operations worldwide and multiple ones at the same time, retaining a huge nuclear arsenal and 10 aircraft carriers. Therefore arguably, in order to be respected, a state must retain hard power, arguably Iran's pursuit of nuclear weapons was just this. Nuclear weapons are seen as a sign of prestige and cement a state's place in global politics e.g. PS.

Economic hard power also remains extremely prevalent. Having influence in the IMF and World Bank is important to securing a state's interest. For example the US retains a 16.5% voting share in the IMF, giving it power and influence within the organisation. The world's trading currency is the dollar and the US remains the largest economy in the world, ~~60%~~ 50% of financial transactions are made in the dollar and this gives it significant influence in the global economy. Moreover, the rise of the East has also demonstrated economic power extremely relevant in today's world. The BRICS have

Challenges: Western hegemony with their strong economic growth and global growth would only equal 4% if it was not for them. The BRIC's have presided over a shift in economic power, transitioning from stagnation western economies (2-3% gpp) to the countries of rapidly developing countries. For example the Chinese Yuan is due to become included in the IMF's basket of currencies and has risen from being used 2.3% to 27%. Spectacular Chinese growth has given it much influence in global politics, it has global reach and many countries depend on China for cheap exports, as the manufacturing hub of the economy. Thus economic hard power is clearly still relevant in today's world, China is often immune to criticism on human rights due to countries fearing economic consequences, demonstrating how desirable economic hard power is. The Chinese economy is predicted to overtake the US's economy by 2030 and double it by 2050, ~~may~~ maybe there may even be a rival for US hegemony - displaying the effectiveness of hard power.

Nevertheless, the ineffectiveness of hard power in recent years has challenged this debate. The use of new wars has led to a decline in interstate conflict, thus the need for a large military has become less important. To fight terrorism for example, the military hard power is not effective nor suitable. Fighting new wars requires either technology or complex political/military/economic solutions, as seen

in the shift from peacekeeping to peacebuilding. Many of today's conflicts and problems cannot be solved by hard power. Pressing issues such as the environment does not require a large military, nor does promoting economic development. Many of the solutions to global problems today require understanding the root cause of the problem, rather than resorting to military power. For example, solving the conflict in Syria requires complex political solutions. Moreover, hard power may also have a negative effect, for example the Iraq war in 2003, sparked a wave of anti-Americanism as the hearts and minds of Iraqi citizens certainly were not won through drone strikes and military power. The decline of economic hard power is also evident through the growth of economic global governance, fewer countries are dependent on the US for example, instead they turn to the IMF or World Bank for debt relief or aid.

Alternatively, Joseph Nye, often known as the father of soft power, proposed that the decline of military hard power was due to the growing prominence of soft power in today's world. Soft power has become increasingly prevalent due to globalisation and increased flows of information, 24/7 media and access to the internet. People can more easily make judgements about the cultures and foreign policies of other countries, making soft power more important to consider. This was seen in 2011 just before Xi Jinping took power in China.

A whole party session was dedicated to the issue of soft power and China has consequently invested billions in improving soft power, promoting Chinese TV stations worldwide and exporting Chinese culture across the globe through the establishment of Confucius Institutes. Soft power enables a country to persuade other states to carry out policies or actions it otherwise would not have, a desirable trait as it is much more cost effective than hard power.

Nevertheless, Joseph Nye developed the concept of Smart Power in 2003 to counter the belief that soft power alone can act as an effective foreign policy. He stated that a combination of both hard and soft power is desirable to produce an effective outcome, either on its own will prove to be futile. This has been evident and utilised in China, Russia and the US. In order to maximise the success of the War on Terror, to compliment military power, the US stated the terrorists as an enemy of both Muslims and Christians, so as not to promote anti-Muslim sentiment. Additionally, whilst intervening in Syria it has done so with the help of Arab coalition and on invading Iraq in 2003, it made it publicly known it was to the request of Baghdad. Russia has also utilised smart power, complementing the annexation of Crimea with propaganda on TV stating that the Ukrainian rebels posed a threat to Russian security. Therefore it is evident that military power, along with alliances and

creation, proven to be the most effective type of power.

In conclusion, hard power, both economically and militarily has proved to be of use in today's world, military power allows states to assert dominance and economic power allows states to have a great deal of influence in the world economy, all desirable features. Structural power, developed by Susan Strange in 1987 has also been important, allowing states ~~to outcome to~~ to shape the outcome of events within structural institutions, however this hard military, economic and structural power must also be complemented with soft power to be ~~used to maximum~~ utilised to its maximum. The creation of smart power encompasses both the positives of hard and soft power and has been adapted to today's world order and nature of global politics. In order to produce an effective foreign policy, the two powers must be combined.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

There is an exploration of hard power, both historic and contemporary with a focus on the muscular foreign policy of both Russia and China in recent years with examples. A convincing argument for the continued relevance of hard power includes an explanation of US hard power and the Iranian quest for nuclear hard power capability. Economic power including US dollar strength and the international financial institutions is also relevant to this question with the rise of China again used. The case against hard power has a focus on hard power failings including against terrorism as well as the possible discrediting of hard power in Iraq. Hard power is also considered possibly irrelevant in dealing with newer global issues such as the environment. An explanation of the value of soft power linked to globalisation and growing interconnectedness is relevant and linked to the rise of China again.



ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

Again, an example of an introduction that makes clear the direction of the response and doesn't waste too much time on background.

A convincing two sided debate begins with an attempt at a brief explanation of hard power including the Realist and Liberal perspectives.

Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross in the box . If you change your mind, put a line through the box and then indicate your new question with a cross .

Chosen question number: Question 6 Question 7 Question 8

Hard power is the use of economic 'carrots' - usually in the form of bribe or reward and military sticks. It is the power of inducement and compulsion. Realists argue it is the most important power in global politics, due to human nature - with Waltz stating in 1999 that you have 'misunderstood international politics until you have misunderstood human nature'. Further argument for hard power is provided by Chairman Mao, stating that 'political power grows from the barrel of a gun'. However, idealists state that hard power has become an unviable tool of state policy, with rise of complex interdependence, the existence of the under age and the rise of asymmetric warfare.

On the other hand, soft power has arguably become dominant in global politics. Soft power was first proposed by Joseph Nye, stating that the world has reached a 'stage of complex interdependence'. It is the use of persuasion to coerce states/actors into following the desired trends/norms. It is the power of identification and attraction. Soft power operates through intangible factors such as diplomacy, culture & foreign policy. It is arguably however, with the rise of complex

interdependence and new security challenges such as terrorism, states must adopt smart power - a combination of hard / soft power where appropriate.

Soft power has arguably become more dominant with the spread of democracy. This is shown through the widening 'zones of peace' such as the EU and the Arab Spring in 2011. Democratic states do not seek conflict, as highlighted by the initial ^{blow} common loss for airstrikes in Syria + discontent for the Iraq war. Democracies instead seek peace - ultimately leading to Fukuyama's 'end of history'.^{↑ a turn of global conduct} Furthermore, the rise of international law since 1945 such as the Geneva convention have changed moral attitudes of conflict, making wars of plunder illegitimate. Democracies also more resources away from conflict to things of social welfare + provision. The UK 2014 budget consisted of 68% Education, healthcare + social services and only 5% defence. This highlights how soft power has become more dominant.

Furthermore, the rise of economic globalisation has also made hard power now unviable. With the growing interconnection of financial markets, conflict has so great an economic impact. Conflict discourages FDI + destroys trade partnerships between states. Furthermore,

globalisation brings prosperity without the necessity for conquest, as supported by JFK's 'a rising tide lifts all boats'. The economic cost of conflict has been clearly illustrated in Benghazi, Libya. A once popular seaside resort, flourishing w/ tourism, has been destroyed by the grips of civil war in the state. Economic globalisation and the increased economic interaction between states also increases cooperation + diplomacy, avoiding conflict and the need for hard power. This is shown by the resolution of the Anglo-Icelandic 'cod wars'.

Furthermore, the rise of asymmetric warfare highlights how HP is an unviable tool of foreign policy. The growth of terrorism + insurgency have meant that military might doesn't guarantee victory - as shown by the Vietnam war. The failure to win hearts + minds and the blurring distinction between civilian + combatant make hard power ineffective. This has led to an illustrated change in global politics, with the Obama administration moving away from a HP dominated foreign policy. The existence of MAD with the existence of nuclear weapons clearly underlines how HP is unviable in the modern political era.

However, realists argue that hard power remains the dominant power in global politics, due to human nature - which Machiavelli describes as 'incurable, arrogant, crafty + subtle'. Furthermore, the belief in zero sum theory, that an ~~is there a~~ finite amount of power is in the world and for one to gain another must lose, highlights how HP is the only means to further the promotion of the state's interests. ~~Realists~~ Realists believe that conflict is inevitable, with the security dilemma existing between states. As one state grows in strength, this shall be met by suspicion from another state, and may ultimately lead to an arms race. This fundamental inevitability of conflict results in hard power remaining dominant in the global system, with states looking to retain + grow in power. Furthermore, 'zones of peace' may contract + economic globalisation roll back, when w/ a rise in economic nationalism + increasing great power rivalry may bring war. This is shown by a 'resurgent Russia', with its use of HP w/ the invasion of Ukraine + Crimea.

Furthermore, hard power remains dominant with its successes in humanitarian intervention, ^{now} more commonly known as R2P. This has had clear successes in states such as Yugoslavia, bringing to an end genocide and civil war.

The lack of the use of hard power has also brought problems, such as in Syria & the subsequent impacts of the failure of soft power, namely the growth in terrorism w/ ISIL, the migrant crisis and regional instability. This highlights how HP remains dominant.

Furthermore, despite hard power being unviable militarily, with the rise of economic globalisation & asymmetric warfare, economic hardpower is still very much viable as a use of power. This is shown by the use of sanctions by the US/EU to bring about nuclear disarmament in Iran - a clear success. Furthermore, the USAs use of hard power through the promotion of the Washington Consensus & IMF conditionality has had clear successes. The spread of neo-liberal free trade globally has brought increased profit to American TNCs & increased its ideological advancement w/ capitalism & consumerism.

The rise of terrorism, ^{and new security challenges} has also ~~shown~~ reinforced the importance of HP globally. The recent growth of ISIL has highlighted how only hard power shall defeat ~~terrorist forces~~ ^{Islamic fundamentalism} - not soft diplomacy. The death of Osama Bin Laden in 2011 and the subsequent demise of Al-Qaeda further supports

how only hard power effectively combats new security challenges. However, arguably terrorism is a backlash to the use of hard power globally, such as the recent Paris attacks against by ISIS. This was in response to coalition airstrikes in Iraq/Syria. This questions that with the increased use of soft power, the need for hard power diminishes.

To conclude, soft power has become more dominant than ~~hard~~ hard in global politics. With the rise of globalisation + complex interdependence, and the spread of nuclear weapons, and the discredit of HP in Iraq - HP has become largely unviable as a tool of foreign policy. As a result, states must adopt smart power, the use of both H/S power where appropriate. With the military ~~strengths~~ strengths of individual states lessening, the threat of force shall be met with the limited use of force and an emphasis on diplomacy. This is shown w/ a shift in the Obama administration away from HP - with diplomacy for example with the Copenhagen Accord.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

The argument for soft power is convincingly focused on complex interdependence, spread of democracy and zones of peace. The impact of globalisation is also discussed along with the failings of hard power in certain situations including, possibly, when fighting asymmetric war. The counter argument centres on examples of hard power including contemporary cases such as with a resurgent Russia in Crimea and Syria. Humanitarian intervention and use of hard power is also relevant here.

Paper Summary

Based on their performance on this paper, candidates are offered the following advice:

- Try to provide brief definitions/explanations of key terms, even in the short responses.
- Stronger 45 mark responses tend to provide a clear sense of direction in introductions which include definitions/explanations of key terms and key points for discussion to follow.
- Quotes can be very useful but not in isolation. Make clear the relevance of a quote.
- Reference back to the title usually ensures that a response is on target and remains relevant.
- Examples strengthen responses, particularly if they are contemporary.
- Beware the temptation to explain all that you know rather than what is actually relevant.

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>

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