



Examiners' Report

June 2019

GCE Politics 9PL0 3B

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Introduction

A pleasing proportion of candidates had clearly been well prepared for the first examination paper on the 9PL0 Paper 3B specification and this showed in a number of very strong responses. Subject knowledge was particularly strong and there was, for the most part, a pleasing focus on the wording of the questions. The questions worked very well for differentiation and all questions appeared to be equally accessible to candidates. There were a number of outstanding responses across all six questions and it was pleasing to note that there was a level spread across the optional questions.

The first section, with a choice of two questions, provided the opportunity to tackle either a question on emerging powers or on the WTO and G7(8). The question on emerging powers was narrowly the most favoured question from this section. In section 2 there were some outstanding responses to the question relating to realism and liberalism. In the final section there were a choice of three questions and the most popular question was on globalisation and polarity with the question on humanitarian intervention, courts and tribunals narrowly in second place and not far behind came the question on regional bodies. Questions on regional bodies tended to be the least favoured questions on the previous specification for global politics so it was pleasing to note the relative popularity of this question on the new specification.

The key advice from the new specification is to understand clearly the demands of the new Assessment Objectives. As with the previous specification there were a few key differentiators between candidates' responses. An example is to recognise that different Assessment Objectives are expected in different questions with AO1 and AO2 expected in section 1 and section 2 of the examination paper whilst the final section demands not only AO1 and AO2 but also AO3. The key to success in responding to the longer questions set is to recognise that the performance level of an essay is decided by all three of the Assessment Objectives.

In the final extended essay section, whilst Assessment Objective 1 (AO1) knowledge may help a candidate to achieve a theoretical 10 of the available 30 marks, there are still 20 marks available for AO2 for analysis of political information and AO3 for evaluation of political information. A large proportion of candidates score well in AO1 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 AO2 revolve around the ability to provide an analysis with chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and differences within political information with connections between ideas and concepts. With AO3 the evaluation will at the highest level be based on fully effective arguments and judgements, which are consistently substantiated and lead to fully focused and justified conclusions.

Question 1 (a)

The question on criticisms that have been made of the World Trade Organisation and the G7/8 was covered quite well by the majority of candidates who had clearly been well prepared to deal with such a question. Knowledge and understanding of criticism of both bodies was stronger than analysis. A few students spent a significant amount of time providing historical backgrounds to the institutions without any relevance to the core demand of criticisms. A few candidates confused the WTO with the World Bank or G7 with G20. The better answers explain why the criticisms are an issue rather than simply stating what they are, thus earning AO2 marks as well as AO1. Some answers waste time countering the criticisms. There were very few candidates who referred to only one criticism or to only one of the two institutions.

This is a good example of a top level script which balances AO1 and AO2 effectively. There are a wide range of criticisms identified and explained.

The WTO has been criticised for its alleged ineffectiveness. Decisions in the WTO with regard to negotiating 'rounds', deciding on the specific rules that should govern international trade, often require unanimous consent among all WTO member states to pass. Recently, this has led to a significant degree of gridlock; the latest negotiating round, the Doha round, was effectively abandoned in 2015 after over a decade of negotiation, ~~has~~ with talks having broken down due to Western economies' refusal to compromise on lower agricultural subsidies. Indeed, many states have started to take action outside of the WTO, with multi and bi-lateral trade deals, such as ~~the~~ the proposed TTIP, becoming the modus operandi for trade negotiations among states. This requirement of unanimity, combined with realistic views on the self-interest of states, has led to ineffectiveness.

The G7/8 is often accused of being unrepresentative and limited in its capacity to deal with collective action issues. As a "steering group for the West", it excludes large economies such as China that do not conform to Western ideas or values; this was seemingly reaffirmed with Russia's expulsion from the G8 in 2014. With a limited membership of powerful Western states that comprise 46% of global GDP, there have been accusations of the G7/8 simply being an 'echo chamber' of a summit where all attendees are

fundamentally in agreement. Furthermore, this limited membership prevents the G7/8 from strongly responding to collective action issues, such as the damage done to the global commons via climate change; a liberal view on this would argue that collective action issues need collective responses, with most or all countries cooperating to resolve it, and the limited membership of the G7/8 means this is intrinsically impossible as other non-Western states are not included in decisions made. As such, the G7/8 is arguably limited by its tight membership, hindering its ability to respond to collective action issues.

finally, the WTO affirms and extends the liberal 'Washington Consensus' of free trade, free markets and economic liberalisation. This emphasis has come under some criticism, with some arguing that such principles of liberalisation will hurt developing economies, lead to exploitation by MNCs, and exacerbate inequality, with only limited trade benefits. As such, criticisms of the WTO have been made with respect to an apparent liberal economic 'agenda', that may do more harm than good.



This response tackles the ineffectiveness of the WTO voting process and the implications of this are explained. The script moves to the unrepresentative nature of the G7 with examples such as China used. There is also a discussion on the impact of the philosophy of both organisations with reference to the Washington Consensus, to free trade, free markets and economic liberalisation which support a perceived MNC exploitation. 12 marks were awarded.



With short responses it is important to get to the heart of the questions as soon as possible. Too long a descriptive background will take valuable time away from tackling the key element.

Following a very brief introduction we move to a range of criticism of both institutions with some pleasing use of examples in support. This helps the script to reach the higher level.

WTO promotes trade liberalisation across the world and helps to resolve any disputes between the states related to trade. G7/8 is comprised of the world's largest economies which are brought together to discuss global issues.

To start with, some argue that WTO, by promoting free trade across the world, increases inequalities between the states. Since countries agree to abolish any trade barriers, free trade is promoted. It gives an opportunity to the developed countries to sell their products to different markets at a really low price. So, developed countries exploit developing countries which contributes to an increase of the North-South divide. This makes developing countries dependent on their exports and they are unable to develop their industries as they have really cheap exports. So, rich countries become richer while poor countries cannot grow normally. Therefore, inequality is increasing.

Second issue with the WTO is that it represents only neo-liberal economic model where capitalism and free market appear to be crucial concepts. It means that any other

market structures are determined. For example, China is a communist economy which adopted free market principles but it is still different from the majority of states which is not taken into account. It is hard to force China to follow free trade principles as others follow because its leadership decides of its authoritarian state.

So, it can afford to follow only what is in its national interest. In addition, WTO has been criticised for the fact that it undermines trade agreements, such as customs unions (EU) which may involve a common set of protectionist measures for other states outside the customs union. All states are sovereign and it is their decision as to whether become more integrated.

As for the G7/B is concerned, it has been criticised for the nature of their talks. Some politicians called it a 'talk shop'. This is because states meet in order to discuss important global issues but the agreement made are not binding and cannot be enforced by authorities. Hence, the results of some discussions may be ignored as they do not have a legal power supported by law. For example, it has been discussed on these meetings to decide on policies to tackle climate change and reduce emissions.

However, it did not stop Donald Trump to leave Paris Climate Change agreement as ~~it is~~ he believed interest was more important than any discussions for him.

Second issue with G7/G8 is that it is currently representing the concerns from the 'North' - the most powerful economies. So, other emerging powers, for example, BRICS do not have a chance to participate in plans relating to important world issues. So, it undermines global south significance. In addition, there is still some overlap between G7/G8 and G20 which have the same aims ~~to~~ to discuss world issues but ~~the way~~ the number of members is different.



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There is discussion of the Neo-liberal economic model and the impact on other trade agreements. The script also covers inequalities and exploitation supported by the WTO. The G7 is described as a talking shop with non binding agreements and there is reference to the failure to make progress in areas such as climate change. The G7 is also described as having an unrepresentative membership and there is a mention of the potential clash with the actions of G20.
12 marks were awarded.

Question 1 (b)

The question on factors that have led to China and India being described as 'emerging powers' was an excellent discriminator with the strongest candidates able to cover the impact of globalisation as well as tackling the economic development of both states with increased wealth and spending power supported by very large home markets based on the population size of both states. Stronger candidates managed to cover a wider range of factors which have led to the idea of China and India as 'emerging powers' and these included structural power within international organisations as well as military and even increased cultural power which mirrors the decline of some of the traditionally significant powers. There were very few candidates who failed to progress beyond a single criticism or to refer to only one country but where they did so, it was invariably China that was discussed.

This is a strong response which covers a range of factors relating to both China and India. The focus is more on China but the range of factors is pleasing.

China, due to its rapid industrialization, cheap labour force of nearly 1.3 billion workers, and status of "factory of the world" has been labelled as an emerging power. As its economy is also set to overtake the economy of the US by 2030, and as traditional US allies such as the EU, and other states such as are beginning to become more Sino friendly and adopt Chinese economic ideas such as 5G and the planned "New Silk Road" motorway, the Chinese are also labelled economic powers. In terms of hard power, due to rapid Chinese military expansion and development, into the South China Sea, and the strengthening of control in outlying states such as Tibet, the Chinese are seen to be challenging the current world order. In soft power terms, the Chinese are also increasingly boosting their soft international image by taking a leading role in environmentalism efforts (employing 500,000 soldiers to replant areas of forest),

but also by extending links in Afr. Sub-Saharan Africa by investing in development programmes and investments, such as providing internet connection to rural villages and investing in the South African mining industry. In the developed world, China is also described to be an emerging power due to its increased investment in Confucius institutes, which allow for study of Chinese culture and further promotion of the Chinese image. Finally, due to its rising middle class and growing population and thus importing and exporting power, the Chinese are also said to be an emerging power.

India is described to be an emerging power in similar ways. After the diversification of the Indian economy and investment in the service industry the Indian economy was able to quickly develop and diversify from its agricultural roots. As well as this, the large Indian population, also with its growing middle class and heightened importation and exportation powers are another reason that it is described as an emerging power. As the Indian military becomes more technologically advanced and greater investments in nuclear capabilities, a policy pursued by the Modi Government, the country has also been described as an emerging power due to

As ~~not~~ increased regional strength. Finally, as the Indian government further becomes linked to the American government, as well as strengthening ties with the other ~~two~~ powers such as the Israelis, the Indian Government has been extending its international ~~image~~ and power by gaining allies, thus is described as ~~an~~ an emerging power.



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The Chinese economy is discussed with strong explanation and analysis before further discussion relating to the military aspect and the South China Sea as well as Tibet. Increased soft power development of China and investment in Africa as well as cultural spread are all discussed. Less time is spent with India but there is discussion of economic development as well as military.

11 marks were awarded.



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The key to AO2 is to develop the knowledge which forms AO1 as this script does.

This is a relatively strong script which again covers both states and attempts to do so by tackling them simultaneously rather than one at a time.

The first factor responsible for both China and India being described as 'emerging powers' is the significant increase in globalisation allowing for their markets as well as cultural influence to dramatically increase. Through the opening of foreign markets and increase in interdependence China's economy has significantly grown to the second largest in the world. Previously to the late twentieth century China's strong communist stand restricted its markets and closed them off. Now they are one of the biggest threats to US manufacturing power due to their significant transfer of goods with many other countries creating an interdependence that is only getting larger. Furthermore, due to globalisation India's natural resources are being more widely traded and their GDP is rising and their levels of poverty are lowering. As well as a significant trade increase they have more cultural influence with the increase in Chinese and Indian restaurants around the world and traditions based on such as Chinese New Year celebrated in most countries. Therefore, a factor for China and India being described as emerging powers is the increase in globalisation allowing them to have more economic and cultural influence.

Furthermore, as a result of this China and India are described as

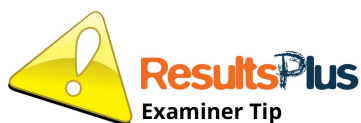
emerging powers due to their increased economic and military power. China has the fastest growing economy of all states and is set to overtake the USA by 2020. In 1980 its GDP was one fortieth of US's and in 2010 it was ~~to~~ one fifth. With such large growth it is set to be the most influential economic state. Furthermore, India's economy has dramatically risen recently putting it in the top 20 for economic wealth. Whilst its increase is not as significant as China's it is still very much an emerging power likely to take over other powers shortly. This is due to its abundance of natural resources such as tea and cotton. Additionally, China's increase in military presence makes it an emerging power as it has a fairly large army and available nuclear weapons. This makes it an emerging power as it is a significant threat to other states. Therefore, China and India are considered emerging powers as in recent years their economies and militaries have significantly grown.

Furthermore, China and India are considered emerging powers as their political influence has grown. With the ~~new~~ creation of the BRICs countries China and India as well as Brazil and Russia can pool their sovereignty and have significant power in balance to NAFTA and the EU. By creating a trading bloc they can protect their mutual interests and collectively battle Western imperialism. This

gives them far more bargaining power when decisions are made as together they account for a huge percentage of the world's population and is the largest economy. Additionally, through their investments in Africa to develop many countries they hold worldwide power. Furthermore, both being members of the UN and China being a permanent member they have large influence on decisions that take place everywhere and China even holds a veto. Therefore, China and India are considered emerging powers due to their increase of political influence.



The candidate begins with a discussion of globalisation and there is a focus on the cultural growth and significance of both states with comparison with the United States. There is further discussion of economic strength with statistical support. Reference is made to their inclusion in the BRICS acronym and to investment by China in Africa. There is also a relatively brief touch on structural power. 11 marks were awarded.



A number of candidates attempted to discuss both states simultaneously which worked well where they have common features and characteristics.

Question 2

Most candidates appeared to be at least reasonably well prepared for the question on how realists and liberals explain the likelihood of war and conflict. Almost all candidates were able to draw on their knowledge and understanding of relevant core political ideas with many candidates making reference to Hobbes in particular. Once candidates had made clear the difference based on inevitability of war, they were able to progress to the analysis of the role of human nature, anarchy and security dilemma compared with the notion of complex interdependence.

This is a pleasing response covering a range of reasons as to why realists and liberals disagree over the likelihood of war. There is also pleasing reference to core political ideas.

2 Analyse how realists and liberals explain the likelihood of war and conflict.

In your answer you must discuss any relevant core political ideas.

(12)

Realists and liberals adopt a completely opposing approach to ^{the likelihood of} war and conflict due to their differing opinions on human nature, global governance and security dilemmas.

Realists and liberals differ on the likelihood of war and conflict due to differing approaches on human nature. Realists argue a pessimistic view of human nature, ~~arguing~~ arguing that the individual man is inherently selfish. This concept was argued by Morgenthau who examined state egoism and power maximising to be at the core of states attempting to engage in war and conflict. This view on human nature is very similar to the traditional conservative view of individuals, such as Hobbes, who viewed human beings as self-seeking and self-interested individuals. The result of state egoism and selfishness is a desire to maximise ones ~~own~~ own position, hence ~~making~~ making the likelihood of war and conflict an inevitable factor in global politics.

However, liberals argue a more optimistic view of human nature suggesting that although state egoism is rife in the global sphere, states arguably have

means of cooperating with one another for mutual benefit. Some may argue that cooperation is not only possible but desirable due to globalisation, as argued by liberal thinker Ohmae.

Furthermore, realists and liberals differ over the need for global governance to reduce ^{the likelihood of} war and conflict. Realists believe that states are security maximisers and hence are constantly looking for ways to defend their own national interests. The concept of global governance, through IGOs or regional groups, would undermine the sovereignty of the nation-state. Waltz, a defence realist, may argue that the concept of giving up sovereignty is unachievable as states are the only real actors in the global sphere. However, liberals believe global governance is a realistic, desirable aim for states. The creation of the EU and UN have suggested that means of global governance reduce the likelihood of war and conflict due to the complex interdependence between nation states. ~~Keohane~~ Keohane explains this complex interdependence as a 'web' of shared mutual interests. One may link this to the socialist idea of John Donne's quote 'no man is an island, entire of itself' ~~arguing~~ arguably suggesting that states depend on each other, hence reducing the likelihood of war.

Therefore, the concept of the security dilemma is a realist principle that argues states will attempt to protect their own self-interest and territory, and hence, making the likelihood of war and conflict an inevitable factor in global politics. One may argue that Hedley Bull attempts to ~~bridge~~ ^{bridge} the gap between realism and liberalism with the concept of a society of states which suggests that states do share common objectives, for example trade. However, liberals would argue that the only means of preventing war and conflict is through dialogue and cooperation between states in the form of global governance and international law. This protects states from causing clashes due to mutual interests in each other's foreign affairs.

(Total for Question 2 = 12 marks)



The candidate makes clear that they will cover a range of factors which include human nature, global governance as well as an explanation of the security dilemma. The discussion of human nature includes explanation of the pessimistic Realist perspective with reference to Hobbes contribution to conservatism and to other relevant thinkers. There is a contrast with the more optimistic Liberal perspective. The discussion on global governance includes reference to the EU and to the UN. The Realist security dilemma is referenced with a hint at the contrasting idea of complex interdependence. 12 marks were awarded.



It is important to remember the expectation of synopticity within question 2.

This example is an enjoyable read with a depth of focus on human nature and on the divide between the complex interdependence view against the idea of the Security Dilemma.

Realists, who see global politics as a field of competing sovereign states, contend that war and conflict ^{in effect} are inevitable. Because of a conservative, Hobbesian view of human nature, classical realists ~~would~~ would argue that leaders (and thus countries) share the same traits. Therefore, states will not amorally and be prepared to enter conflict in order to promote self interest. As Leo Strauss wrote of Machiavelli, it ~~was~~ ^{was} 'to act fair or foul' ~~in order~~ to ensure survival. Therefore, with scarce resources and an ~~independent~~ ~~towards~~ amoral attitude, states' selfish nature will ~~be~~ lead to war ~~as~~ for the sake of glory, or just to ~~ensure~~ ^{ensure} survival.

However, a liberal view of IR ~~is~~ sees greater opportunity for cooperation due to ~~the~~ seeing ~~a~~ ~~na~~ human nature as more altruistic. Humans are capable of expressing their rationality through preserving or altering balances of power with agreements. For liberals like Robert Keohane,

institutions can thereby help to avert conflict. ~~An example would be~~ This is because liberals see power in absolute rather than relative terms. States are able to increase their influence without, according to realists, diminishing the influence of competing powers in a zero-sum game. Therefore, without a Hobbesian fear of losing power, states can pursue self-interest without conflict being inevitable. Kant would point out that the lack of wars between democracies shows it is not, in states' rational interest to fight (Perpetual Peace, 1795).

For most realists, especially offensive neo-realists, the security dilemma presents a structural cause for the likelihood of war. Due to states' mutual distrust (backed up by game theory where it is rational to cheat on your partner in the Prisoner's Dilemma), any increase in arms or hard power capacity will be met by rivals responding accordingly. Therefore, according to Mearsheimer for example, states may end up in an arms ~~race~~ race (and thus war) despite never wanting it. The build up to the First World War would be ~~also~~ cited as an example.

To counter this, liberals think from the commercial school (like Adam Smith) suggest that ^{the} structure & presence of trade counter this. Complex interdependence may explain why countries who are mutually reliant on resources don't go to war (Keohane and Nye, 1977). The lack of any war ~~books~~ within the EU may explain this for liberals. Also, liberals ^{who see} ~~proving~~ multiple channels of communication as a factor behind the ^{success of the} internet and ~~business~~ ~~and~~ see greater transparency between nations to ~~de-~~escalate tension. The Iran Deal (2015) may be seen as an example.



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The response begins with reference to state sovereignty and then to Conservatism with Hobbes and human nature. Human nature is carefully linked to state action and there are numerous useful thinkers such as Machiavelli referenced in the response. There is a contrast with Liberalism and the more altruistic view of human nature. The candidate discusses the Security Dilemma with reference to the Prisoners Dilemma idea and contrasts that with the idea of Complex Interdependence with use of example in support.

12 marks were awarded.



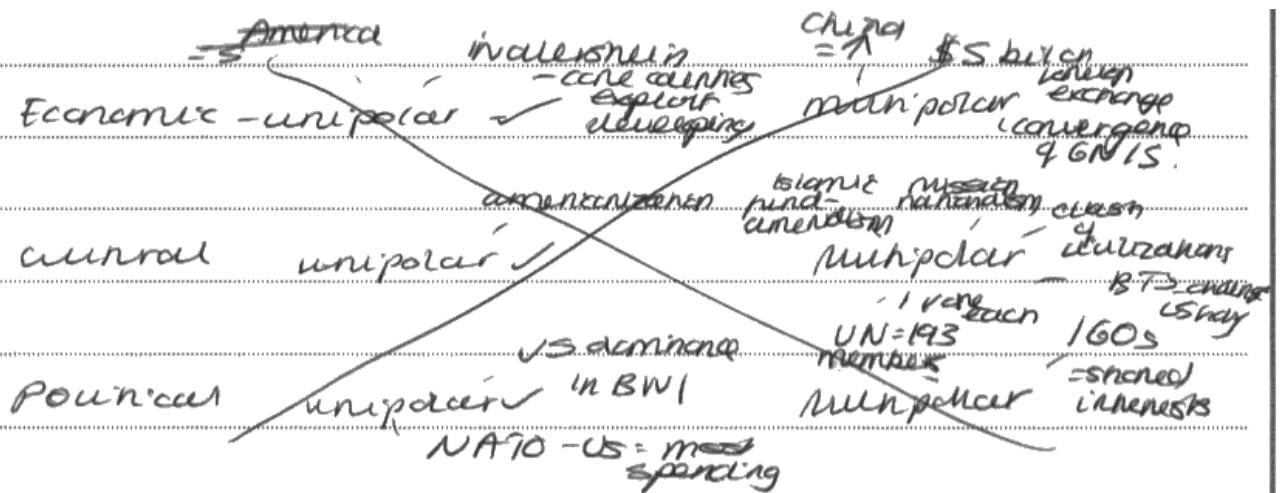
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Use of thinkers only works well when they are linked directly to the question.

Question 3 (a)

The question on the extent to which globalisation has made the world unipolar rather than multipolar was the most popular of the longer 30-mark questions and candidates produced some particularly strong responses which covered economic, political and also cultural globalisation. The rise in significance of both China and the EU were used to suggest by many that unipolarity had been replaced more recently by a multipolar system although a significant number of candidates were able to argue convincingly that a US or Western unipolarity was the actual result of the globalisation phenomenon. Unfortunately there were a few candidates who were keen to discuss globalisation without reference to any change in polarity or who were happy to discuss the arguments for and against unipolarity and multipolarity without any real reference to globalisation. A few candidates were distracted with lengthy discussion on bipolarity.

This is a decent response with strong AO1 and AO2 but slightly weaker AO3. There is convincing argument both for unipolarity and also for multipolarity as a consequence of globalisation. Unlike a number of responses this candidate does maintain the polarity globalisation link throughout.



Globalisation has become a significant phenomenon in recent years. It has greatly

Economic, cultural and political globalisation have each brought about different forms of influence. It has been greatly disputed as to how far these different forms have created a sense of unipolarity or multipolarity.

Firstly, when considering economic globalisation it has manifested a unipolar global order to an extent. Wallerstein's world systems theory represents this. This theory exposes how in the face of economic globalisation it is the core states that gain the most power from exploiting these coun-

ries in the developing world and maintaining their peripheral status. These means that countries such as the USA in particular can gain the benefits of economic globalisation, by outsourcing production to developing states cheaply. However in doing so the developing states are largely excluded and denied of any chance to grow their power in the multipolar system, thus a unipolar world in which only dominant, developed states such as the USA, have a chance of power. However, others argue that economic globalisation has more so led to a multipolar world. ~~in international~~ for example countries such as China and India have greatly benefited from the increase in the ease of trade, and economic goods being transported across the country. Indeed up to \$5 billion is exchanged everyday on global financial markets. This suggests that the increasing finances of countries allows them to compete with hegemonies in the global order. For example, China has become the world's 2nd fastest growing economy, ~~but is~~ thus placing it just behind the USA. Consequently this threatens

the unipolar status of America. Additionally, the growing convergence between the North and the South challenges the world systems theory of Wallerstein, and suggests that states are gaining more power. For example, SAPs that have been imposed on India have greatly encouraged them to diversify away from agricultural production, thus increasing their economic status and making them power contenders in the world. Additionally, Trump's isolationist US policies will ~~not~~ detract the benefits of economic globalisation away from the USA, drawing for a more multipolar world for countries of increasing economic influence.

Cultural Globalization can be seen to have created a unipolar world order through the notion of 'Americanization'. American TNCs and companies prove the most powerful in the global order. Indeed, 1/4 of the 200 most powerful TNCs are American. Thus, with TNCs benefiting most from cultural globalization, America has a great

advantage in the benefits it reaps from cultural globalisation making the world more unified. For example American companies such as McDonalds, Apple, Coca-Cola and Nike have spread across the global order, and have become instilled as key consumer brands in every corner of the globe. However, it can be greatly challenged as the multipolar world order has recently increased due to cultural globalization. South Korean music is becoming heavily dominant in the pop culture of the world. Indeed the boyband BTS have dominated American culture heavily, thus challenging the ~~the~~ influence of America's 'hollywood' industry, in which western culture proved to be the most widespread and well known. BTS are evidently challenging this, affirming that a multipolar world order is coming in to play. Furthermore the backlash to cultural globalization has led to the growing influence of non-western powers. In Russia, the militant Russian nationalism has soared, and nationalist news networks such as Russia Today have been established, thus Russia have become

more powerful due to their response towards cultural globalization. Furthermore in Islamic countries, Islamic fundamentalism has been on the rise, as a backlash to the western 'imposition' of cultural globalization. Indeed the \uparrow increasing number of terrorist attacks that have occurred throughout the years represent the growing influence of Islamic states as key powers in the world today. Indeed this challenges Samuel P Huntington's theory on his suggestion of a clash of civilizations. Rather than one civilization becoming dominant, the clash has continued, unlikely by creating a multipolar world order.

The dominant influence of the USA on many ^{1960s} ~~later~~ ^{1960s} ~~1970s~~, supports the notion that political globalization has led to unipolarity. The USA are heavily dominant in the Bretton Woods institutions. For example in the World Bank the president is appointed by the US president who is normally a US citizen. Additionally in the IMF ^{the} USA has 16.74% of the voting power, thus they can effectively veto decisions. ^{In regards} ~~to~~ ^{to} NATO

The USA spend a large proportion of their budget towards it, however other states fail to do so. Trump has recently called for NATO members to be more responsible in reaching the 2% threshold of spending, at his 2019 UK press conference, thus America's key input into the IGOs means that a ~~tripolar~~ ^{unipolar} world is created. On the other hand IGOs such as the UN represent the multipolar status of the world. The UN has 193 members and in the general assembly they each get 1 vote, thus no power has dominance affirming the multipolar nature of the world in regards to political globalization.

Furthermore on the UN security council, the permanent members are other key powers in the world such as Russia and China, as well as just the US. These states holding a large amount of veto power in the UN with important decisions exemplifies the multipolar world status brought about by political globalization.

In conclusion, the unipolarity of the USA has been challenged in more recent times, due to the benefits that other powers gain from globalization. Therefore with globalization only increasing it is certain to say that a more multipolar world is arising. Prior to globalization, the USA was able to uphold it's hegemonic status, however this has been challenged.



The candidate makes clear that they will discuss economic, political and also cultural globalisation. Economic globalisation is covered first with discussion focussed on the dominance of the US including the ability to outsource production for its own benefit as a consequence of globalisation. The contrasting view is explained with explanation focussed on the rise of China and India. There is an interesting discussion on the impact of President Trump.

Cultural globalisation is also covered with Americanisation and the dominance of US TNCs with a contrasting explanation of the rise of non-western culture. US domination of political institutions is also covered with a focus on the Bretton Woods institutions.
30 marks were awarded.



An introduction with AO3 and matching evaluation in conclusion is usually the sign of a focussed response with some scripts well able to do this but many candidates struggling to provide AO3 outside of their conclusion.

This is a further example of a candidate who, for the most part, retains a focus on globalisation and how it impacts on polarity. Different elements of globalisation are covered in the response and a clear decision is made by the time that the essay concludes.

Globalisation ~~is~~ is the shared economies, policies and cultures of ~~countries~~ ^{states} due to the rise of the internet and encouragement of interconnectivity and ~~inter~~ interdependence ^{of} states. Liberals would argue that the world is ~~still~~ multi-polar ^{due to} ~~despite~~ globalisation, because globalisation encourages the development of the Global South thus increasing power in ~~so~~ many countries. The more convincing argument is that of the realists, who ~~think~~ ^{argue} think globalisation enhances western power and agenda, making the world unipolar.

The most convincing argument from the liberal ~~stance~~ stance is that in its spread of culture, globalisation has made the world multipolar.

The rise of the internet and social media means cultures and traditions ^{of certain states} and can be viewed all ~~of~~ over the world. An example of this may be developing countries influence ~~in~~ over food or dance or music in western countries. For example K-pop ~~music~~ (Korean pop) is now one of the most popular music genres worldwide, ~~and~~ ^{and} Japanese sushi is ~~also~~ enjoyed globally. This

highlights the power that the internet ~~can have~~ ^{and} subsequent ~~on~~ ~~encourage~~ cultural globalisation can give to developing or less-developed states in sharing their culture and exerting influence. Similarly, though negatively, the internet's cultural globalisation has seen the rise of terrorist and extremist groups like ISIS. ~~Extremist~~ Extremist groups from Middle Eastern countries can influence young people in Western countries to join. This was most recently seen in the story of young Shamima Begum from England. This clearly shows the power that cultural globalisation gives to ^{all} countries ~~across~~, thus producing multipolarity. ~~In~~ In June 2017 terrorist attacks were committed within days of each other in London, Manchester, Kabul and Tehran, showing the power that ~~sets~~ ^{and countries worldwide} the internet gives to extremist groups. Cultural globalisation ~~is~~ ^{is} a strong argument for ~~why~~ how globalisation has made the world multipolar.

However, the ^{more} ~~most~~ convincing argument is that of realists, who acknowledge the impact of cultural globalisation but see it as ~~either~~ creating unipolarity. Realists ~~note~~ focus on the monoculture and homogenisation that cultural globalisation produces, with the main influence being the West (in particular USA). American companies like

Apple, Microsoft and Disney can now be found worldwide, and it is highly likely that any country you visit will have a McDonalds. This is developed in Barbra Barann "McWorld" which shows the undeniable influence that the West has over the world. Cultural globalisation might ~~enter~~ spread some elements of developing countries' traditions, but it ~~is~~ most notably enhances the power of the West over other countries cultures. Therefore, the stronger argument is that globalisation makes the world unipolar.

Liberals also argue that ~~politically~~ economically, globalisation has made the world multipolar. Institutions like the IMF, World Bank and WTO enhance the democracies of developing countries to close the gap in the North-South Divide and thus create multipolarity. The IMF helps by giving loans and SAPs to countries such as the \$1.1 billion loan to Chad in 2011. This enhances economies outside of just the 'West' which encourages and increases power for countries worldwide. The best example of this is China, ~~the~~ which has rapidly industrialised and developed due to economic globalisation. Its pursuit ~~of~~ and adoption of free-trade ~~and~~ has caused it to monopolise consumerism, with the ^{most} well-known sticker on items sold worldwide being 'Made in China'.

China's economy has grown exponentially and there is talk of it being considered a developed country, ^{showing its power}

The accusation that the G7 ~~is~~ should grow to represent more of the powerful developing countries such as BRICS and MINTs highlights how ^{powerful} ~~powerfully~~ they are regarded to be, showing that globalisation has produced multi-polarity.

~~The~~ Globalisation has undoubtedly enhanced economies worldwide, and the notion that China is USA's ~~big~~ greatest opponent highlights that we do not live in a unipolar world.

However, despite global economic development, it can be more strongly argued by realists that economic globalisation has made the world unipolar. Whilst Bretton Woods institutions ~~may~~ be trying to enhance economies world-wide, they are in fact more

successful in furthering the agenda of the West. IMF ^{+ SPPs ~~and~~ and} loans ~~are~~ lead to dependency on the West because they owe them, and ^{World Bank advice} ~~SPPs~~ which attempts to help developing countries can also just lead to dependency.

For example, the WTO encourages capitalist economy, but many countries may not be ready for this yet, and this leads to dependency on the West. This furthers the power of the West, thus creating

unipolarity. Whilst globalisation encourages developing

countries to industrialise, ~~it is~~ the capitalist system is monopolised by the developed 'West' and thus Western countries exploit the cheap labour in developing countries in the 'race to the bottom'. This is harmful to developing countries, yet brings economic power to the West. This shows how ~~the~~ economic globalisation ~~of~~ ~~encourages~~ creates unipolarity in its encouragement of increasing Western power and furthering the North/South divide via 'Southern' dependency.

Liberals may argue that globalisation has given political power to countries worldwide, thus creating a multipolar world. Institutions like the ICT allow all countries to bring other states to account for their actions, thus furthering state power globally. Frameworks like the UNFCCC give all states a say in the ^{global} issue of climate change, which highlights how power is shared. ~~Finally~~ Most recently, the power of North Korea over USA can be seen in its refusal to give up nuclear power despite talks between Kim Jong Un and Trump. Clearly, globalisation has enhanced the political power of states, creating multipolarity.

It is more strongly argued by realists that despite political globalisation, ^{most} countries are still politically

inferior to the West and in particular to the USA.

The ICC have been ~~accused~~ criticised for only ~~arrest~~ convicting 3 African men in 2017, and nobody else, which prevents the power of the West over the world. Furthermore, states are not bound by convention, hence Trump pulling out of the TPP and Paris ~~the~~ climate convention in 2017.

This undermining of global consensus shows state sovereignty overrules ^{global} political institutions. This significantly decreases the power of smaller states and increases the power of USA over global matters.

~~the~~ Overall, it is more strongly argued that globalisation has made the world unipolar.

In conclusion, the strongest argument is the ~~the~~ realist viewpoint that globalisation has made the world unipolar rather than multipolar. Globalisation, despite attempts to enhance the power of all states, encourages dependency on the West and furthers the agenda ~~of the~~ ^{and} power of the USA as it monopolises the economy and spreads its Western culture.

Therefore, it is clear that globalisation has made the world unipolar rather than multipolar.



A definition is provided before discussion of different elements of culture take place with multipolarity arguments preceding the idea of the development of a monoculture and homogenisation. There is an argument that institutions like the IMF, WTO and World Bank help to close the gap and develop states such as China but then the counter view that Bretton Woods institutions further and support the agenda of the West with ideology imposed on others. The furthering of multipolarity through agencies such as the ICJ and through the actions of the UNFCCC are discussed before a counter argument built on US actions in the ICC and at the Paris conference on the environment. There is a clear conclusion. 28 marks were awarded.

Question 3 (b)

The question on the extent to which human rights are more effectively protected by humanitarian intervention than by international courts and tribunals was generally well answered where candidates were able to bring a wide collection of examples of both humanitarian intervention as well as international courts and tribunals. A sizeable number of candidates discussed the Responsibility to Protect concept as well as the immediacy of humanitarian intervention in comparison to the actions of courts and tribunals. They discussed the so called 'golden era' of humanitarian intervention and compared the relative success of it with the problems of courts and tribunals including sovereignty and 'opt out' states. Those candidates who supported the idea of courts and tribunals as more effective than humanitarian intervention tended to focus on the deterrent effect and the growing acceptance of such bodies compared with the concerns over a Western bias and selective actions in humanitarian intervention. There were some excellent contemporary examples as well as discussion of actions in Iraq, Rwanda and Sierra Leone though these examples very perfectly valid and often used very effectively. Some candidates missed discussion of tribunals.

This response covers a wide range of factors with some excellent examples throughout. A clear line is pursued from the start and supported in the conclusion although there are arguments in support of both Humanitarian Intervention and Courts and Tribunals.

Human rights are rights to which people are entitled by virtue of being human. While some commentators may argue that these rights (which are proclaimed, absolute and universal) are more better protected by humanitarian intervention due to it's ability to establish democratic states, no more convincing argument remains that courts and tribunals are in fact more effective as they extend international law.

To begin with, commentators may argue that humanitarian intervention can and has led to the establishment of democratic states in the place of those that were abusive towards their citizens. For instance, in Kosovo, NATO launched an aerial attack against Milosevic to hand over control to NATO, who later passed on control to Kosovo forces, KFOR. This is an illustration of how the human rights abuses happening in Kosovo were not only stopped, but their furthering was also prevented. By establishing a democratic system, the intervention was able to protect rights of citizens in the future. In way of evaluation, however, it can be argued that humanitarian intervention experienced its golden age ^{post-Cold War} particularly with the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the USSR. However, post-2001 and 9/11, Western states usually launch intervention - such as the USA - have distanced their focus from liberal human rights based global agendas to a security based one, significantly damaging the effects of humanitarian intervention.

In contrast, critics argue that humanitarian intervention is a concept abused by great powers to hide their own self interest. For example, the UN only authorised intervention to protect the people of Benghazi in Libya. However, this rapidly escalated to a plot to take down Gaddafi, an aim of the US. This illustrates how humanitarian intervention is often used by states to legitimise their actions to their own populations, while pursuing their own interest only - for instance, intervention in Libya compared to a lack of intervention in Syria may stem from Libya's Western desire for access to Libya's oil reserves. When taken into consideration alongside the civilian casualties that occur as a result of intervention, it can be seen that humanitarian intervention is ineffective - and in some cases actually detrimental - for human rights.

By extension, critics argue that courts and tribunals are more effective due to their ability to extend international law. For example, the ICTR was the first court to punish for rape as a war crime. This is an example of how tribunals can protect human rights by expanding the ~~crimes~~ ^{crimes against} humanity against which they can prosecute. Furthermore, the ICC, in places lacking the rule of law, can become that independent judicial body temporarily. This makes rights more accessible and therefore better protected. By extending international law, courts and tribunals also set a precedence for other states also, to show that these actions will not be tolerated within the international community.

On the other hand, humanitarian intervention is argued to be more

effective than such ad hoc tribunals because the latter lack the ability to retrieve those that are charged. For instance al-Bashir has been wanted by the ICC for several years yet Sudan refused to give him up. Further still, South Africa, a member of the ICC, refused to give al-Bashir to the Court despite a high court ruling in their own country. This clearly illustrates how the power of the Court is constrained by state sovereignty. Therefore, one may argue that the effectiveness of the Courts is heavily curtailed in protecting human rights. In contrast, humanitarian intervention is effective in how it can disregard sovereignty temporarily due to their responsibility to protect.

However, in evaluating the pro-posit, one must recognise the lack of action taken by states to intervene in recent years, largely due to great power interests. For instance a lack of intervention in Sudan on behalf of the international community following the riots that arose after the removal of al-Bashir has led to thousands of deaths and multiple rape reports. Similarly, the lack of intervention in ~~Myanmar~~ ^{Myanmar} has led to the ~~prosecution of the~~ Chinese "concentration camps" punishing Muslims and force feeding them pork (halal) has been unaddressed. The years after especially in a direct result of China by ~~Myanmar~~ ^{great power} and other states being unwilling to take action on it's military might. Therefore, one can clearly observe how the effectiveness of humanitarian intervention is greatly dependent on the type of state being intervened in. As a result, intervention is a weak protector of rights as it fails to address some of the biggest human rights abuses, such as the ethnic cleansing in Myanmar.

In contrast, however, courts and tribunals are accused of bias in their proceedings, which makes sovereign states usually to engage with them. For instance, during the Nuremberg trials, the Allied forces were not punished for any of the war crimes they committed. In the ICTY, the states also accused that they were also disproportionately punished, in comparison to their counterparts. This is similar to how the African Union is criticised with how the ICC appears to only intervene in Africa, to justify to take action against Western powers such as the US for human rights abuses in Guantanamo Bay such as extraordinary rendition and "enhanced interrogation". The accusations of bias faced by the courts and tribunals can weaken their influence as states are less willy to comply with what they view as an unfair trial. However, in way of evaluation, humanitarian intervention is argued to be counterproductive a form of imperialism with Western states that were they in colonial time intervene heavily in ex-colonies. Unlike meanwhile the bias of the courts can be contrasted with the challenge to impunity, of them going after heads of state such as Ben Ali the vice president of the DRC, for justify to prevent war crimes. Therefore, the ^{rejection} of humanitarian intervention as much more controversial than those of the courts and tribunals.

In conclusion, the issue that exist to which human rights are more effectively protected by humanitarian intervention than by international courts and tribunals, though posing strong arguments, is easily outweighed. The failure of intervention in the case such as Libya - which resulted in a failed state, clearly outweighs the

argued that it could, at one time, establish democratic state
Furthermore, the ability of the courts and tribunals to extend human
international law and set a precedent for other states is a clear direct
benefit to the protection of human rights. Although courts are weakened
by state sovereignty and a lack of sufficient judicial funding, they are
currently more active than human rights tribunals, which has
largely been dormant post-2001. Therefore we can see that courts and
tribunals are in fact more effective in a modern, globalised world.



A clear introduction leads the argument that HI spreads democracy and therefore protects human rights although the point is made that the so called 'golden era' of human rights is over and in more recent years has seen US action in support of a US security agenda rather than to protect human rights. There is use of the example of HI in Libya where civilian casualties were possibly the price of the US pursuing its own interests.

There is the argument that courts and tribunals extend international law and that the ICC can protect human rights in places where the rule of law is lacking. The failure of the ICC to prosecute Bashir in Sudan is discussed with reference to state sovereignty and the argument that HI can avoid state sovereignty when pursuing the R2P.

There is explanation of the accusation of bias from courts and tribunals with examples such as the tribunal for Yugoslavia and further discussion of alleged ICC bias and inability to take action where major powers breach human rights such as Guantanamo Bay and with Extraordinary Rendition. Further arguments lead to a conclusion which supports the initial assertion.

28 marks were awarded.

This script maintains a constant consideration of the positives and negatives of both Humanitarian Intervention and the actions of Courts and Tribunals with pleasing levels of AO2 and AO3 throughout.

International courts and tribunals have so many limitations on their effectiveness that humanitarian intervention must be considered the most effective method of defending human rights. With only moral authority and illusions of power derived from unenforceable international law, the International Court of Justice^(ICJ) cannot even initiate its own cases, and the International Criminal Court (ICC) struggles mightily with enforcing its rulings. Meanwhile unilateral humanitarian intervention can swiftly and successfully liberate citizens without operating within the constraints of bureaucracy.

One of the key limitations of international courts and tribunals is jurisdiction. The ICC, for example, whose jurisdiction is recognised by signatories of the Rome Statute, does not have influence in India, China, Russia or the USA, leaving 85% of the world's population out

of IHL protection, as well as 3/5 members of the UNIC (reducing its reputation). In comparison, all states may be subject to humanitarian intervention. Millions have occurred across the world, from as close to home as the Balkans to Somalia, East Timor and Sierra Leone. With limitations of the ICC, and other international courts, mankind has not effectively protected human rights. For example, the ICTY trials had the authority to investigate Israeli forces after Palestine was made an observer member of the UN. However, Israel has a history of ignoring ICTY rulings, for example in the case of the wall built in the Gaza region of the West Bank, which Israel has ignored since 2003. It cannot be argued that humanitarian intervention does not also suffer when governments do not comply. For example, the success of the operation in East Timor by Australian forces is largely down to the presence of a compliant government in Uteuy. On the other hand, in Somalia there is no such government, and humanitarian intervention here has failed. However, the ability of humanitarian

intervention to be deployed anywhere, while multilateral and court struggle for jurisdiction, is a clear strength.

Where humanitarian intervention can clearly be anticipated in its tendency to be imposed by western powers ~~rather~~ in order to advance their national interests. For example, the USA had had a friendly relationship with Saddam Hussein for many years, while his human rights abuses were well known no humanitarian actions were taken, including when over 100 people were killed in a chemical attack in Gauda. Only when he invaded Kuwait, and the USA saw an opportunity to replace him with someone better aligned with American interests was the invasion of Iraq initiated. However, the altruistic, pure morality argument cannot be applied to cases like this, who are largely accused of delivering vicious justice rather than mere accountability. In the case of the special tribunal for the former Yugoslavia Serbia has argued that Serbs are being unfairly prosecuted

upon, meanwhile in ^{regards to} ~~the~~ Rwanda, only ~~the~~ ~~only~~ ~~have~~ ~~been~~ ~~tried~~, while the
Tutis, who now form the government, have escaped conviction. Not all humanitarian
intervention is simply driven by realist desires of power maximisation. Much is
true liberal optimism and altruism, as were the interventions in Somalia, Sierra
Leone and the Balkans. ~~As~~ This is an
advantage of humanitarian intervention as it aims ^{*}
~~The~~ ~~clearer~~ ~~advantage~~ of humanitarian
intervention is that it is a proactive,
rather than reactive response. While courts
and tribunals try individuals after crimes
have already been committed, humanitarian
intervention has the capability to protect
lives and preserve global security and
stability. For example, successful action in
East Timor reinstated a democratic govern-
ment and averted a migrant crisis to
Australia. In Sierra Leone a bloody civil
war was ended, and now their ~~armies~~
military help to train ~~reimburse~~ ~~forces~~
There are clear positive impacts. Meanwhile
international courts and tribunals, who
convict and convict criminals, do not recover

ne lines of action, or make up for the failure to respond from the international community, for example in the case of the Rwandan genocide. However, humanitarian intervention can be accused of worsening crises which it does not resolve. When American forces entered the conflict in Somalia they did not understand the complexity of the clan warfare occurring, and when they withdrew they simply left a better equipped insurgency. Furthermore, failures in nation-building in Afghanistan and Iraq mean many people are worse off, and thousands displaced. This is always a risk with proactive intervention, and when losses are least then further atrocities can be prevented. The decline of humanitarian intervention represents a recognition that when nations are unprepared, or commitment is not complete, it is not worth it. Additionally, evidence that losses of nation building can be seen, for example in the failed UN peacekeeping process remained many years after intervention, when applied properly humanitarian intervention can save lives, while international courts and tribunals

attempt to provide justice after the fact.

In conclusion

Due to lack of bureaucratic constraints and the ability to make prosecutive impact when defending human rights, humanitarian intervention is clearly superior to international courts and tribunals. The limitations of state sovereignty and the restricted jurisdiction of the courts mean they are largely ineffective, and in the end the tendency to provide 'nicer justice' means they do little to enhance human rights, appearing largely ceremonial rather than functional. On the other hand humanitarian intervention, while not always successful or for the right reason, at least attempts to enforce standards of human rights which protect the lives of citizens.

* not to show bias or deliver justice or punishment based on moral autonomy, but to protect human life in a way that can be recognized as essential and therefore justified by all.



The candidate makes the assertion that HI is more effective due to the ability to take swift action in comparison to Courts and Tribunals with some very useful examples. The International Criminal Court and Tribunals are criticised for jurisdiction problems, particularly as not all states are members. There are lots of examples of Humanitarian Intervention with cases to both support and oppose the idea that Humanitarian Intervention is more effective. The response discusses the idea that Humanitarian Intervention is often used for selfish interest with the US relationship with Saddam Hussein used as an example. Ultimately it is decided that Humanitarian Intervention is superior as it is proactive rather than reactive with examples in support. 28 marks were awarded.

Question 3 (c)

The question on the extent to which regional bodies are effectively able to challenge individual states for influence in global politics produced a varied collection of responses. At the top end there were candidates who had an excellent knowledge of a range of regional bodies and were able to carefully assess their influence in global politics in comparison with states. Candidates understood the growing significance of some regional bodies at a political level with the EU usually considered to be the most significant regional body when comparing the power of regional bodies with states. The strength of the EU as an economic entity was covered by most as well as the role it plays in issues such as global warming and within bodies such as the WTO. Arguments against the view that regional bodies are able to challenge states tended to focus on the realist perspective and the prevalence of intergovernmentalism rather than supranationalism within regional bodies with regional bodies tending to focus on economic rather than wider matters. It was pleasing that numerous candidates were able to go well beyond the EU to discuss further regional bodies and in particular the African Union and NAFTA as well as ASEAN. Stronger candidates were able to contrast the strength of regional bodies with the strength of states rather than simply discussing whether regional bodies were powerful.

This response covers a range of criteria for increased relevance of regional bodies and never strays from the central consideration. Although there is an EU focus there is some discussion of other regional bodies including ASEAN and the Arab League.

Regional bodies are becoming increasingly more significant in global politics allowing them to challenge individual states for influence; this is seen for example through the rise of the EU and its ability to yield influence economically, politically and militarily. However ~~regional bodies cannot~~ the intergovernmental nature of regional bodies means they cannot effectively challenge individual states for influence.

However, arguably regional bodies are effectively able to challenge individual states for influence in global politics given the power they can yield economically. For example the EU is the largest regional bloc in the world and is thus the largest single trading bloc. The EU's economic power means it can challenge individual states for influence as it has the pooled sovereignty of all its members and can therefore negotiate more favourable trade deals for all its members; for example a country like Malta which is 100 times smaller than Germany can negotiate within the same market as they are

Both members of the EU, similarly the EU has its own monetary union which most of its members have adopted bringing "an ever closer union".

This economic power is replicated with the regional bloc NAFTA which also negotiates a trading link between countries in the Americas region (Canada, Mexico). Therefore regional bodies are effectively able to challenge individual states for influence as the economic power they wield questions the extent to which regional blocs such as the EU are becoming superpowers given their ability to undermine other countries' power by presenting themselves as a unified trading bloc with the economic power of all its members. However ultimately regional ~~blocs~~ bodies cannot challenge individual states for influence as their economic power is unreliable and insecure. For example the EU's monetary union was dented by the euro crisis in 2010 after the financial crisis of 2007-08 as the euro crisis undermined the credibility of the euro. Countries such as Greece ~~would~~ could not ~~negotiate within the~~ trade with the economic region of the EU as they couldn't compete and pay to be in the market. Thus countries such as

the US had to bail out these indebted countries showing the inefficiency of regional trading blocs. Therefore the fact that the EU as a model for regionalism produced an unstable economic system and was reliant on other countries for help shows that the EU is ineffective at challenging individual states for economic influence.

On the other hand, perhaps regional bodies are effectively able to challenge individual states for influence in global politics as they can exert a great deal of political influence that is arguably more than other states.

For example the EU represents 508 million people with its 28 member states and thus represents the interests of a huge amount of the population (1/7). Furthermore, this idea is replicated in the Arab League (middle eastern countries) and ASEAN (countries such as Cambodia, Thailand, Vietnam) where these regional blocs possess the power to represent the ~~interests~~ collective interests of its members rather than just one nation-state. Furthermore, regional blocs therefore have a great amount of soft power as they represent common values

shared among many nation-states. For example every member state of the EU has to agree to the EU constitution which is 31 chapters (80,000 pages) which binds countries under democracy and rule of law. This allows regional blocs such as the EU to ^{give the perception that it} represents democratic countries thus increasing its soft power. ~~Despite this, individual~~
~~regional blocs cannot~~ Furthermore, the EU is a member of the ~~that model~~ G20 allowing it to discuss political issues of the day on an international scale much like dev states. However, ultimately ~~the~~ regional blocs are not effectively able to challenge individual states for influence as individual states have more power than ~~the~~ regional blocs. Member states retain a great deal of sovereignty and can ultimately leave a regional bloc as they please.

For example the UK recently voted to leave the EU via a Brexit referendum demonstrating the sovereignty nation-states have over regional blocs. This regional bloc cannot ~~challenge~~ challenge individual states for influence as their power is contingent on the willingness of states to give up their sovereignty.

Arguably, ~~regional~~ regional blocs are effectively able to challenge individual states for influence in global politics as they have a great amount of military power. For example the EU has the combined military power of all its members ~~representing~~ and spends 15-20% of its global GDP on ^{the} military. This idea of pooled sovereignty allowing for shared ~~resource~~ military resources is replicated within other ~~regional~~ regional blocs such as the Arab League who have the military power of Middle Eastern oil-rich countries. This military power allows for regional blocs to not only enter into military action but also act as a deterrent against other ~~major~~ nation-states as regional blocs such as the EU have much more power than individual states. However, ultimately regional blocs cannot effectively challenge individual states for influence as in reality their military force are weak and contingent on the willingness of individual states to allow for the use of military. For example within the EU member states have a veto over foreign policy matters, similarly the EU had to seek for military support from the UN when combating ~~pirates~~ pirates in Somalia in the 1990s. Moreover,

individual states have a greater amount of military equipment as every member state has a standing army (something every regional bloc does not have). For example NATO spends \$1 trillion on its military, China spent \$150 billion in 2016 whilst the US spent \$639 billion in 2018. This therefore demonstrates that regional blocs cannot effectively challenge individual states for influence as they do not adequately have enough military power, although they have the pooled military sovereignty of their members (this is not readily at their disposal).

In conclusion, although regional blocs can ~~the~~ wield a large amount of influence in the international system for example most predominantly through their economic resources, regional blocs cannot challenge individual states for influence as they are wholly ~~inter~~ intergovernmental bodies and thus their power is contingent on the willingness of individual states to grant them power by giving up a degree of their sovereignty.



The candidate makes clear that there will be discussion of economic, political and military significance but quickly explains that intergovernmentalism weakens the ability of regional bodies to act as significant entities in global politics.

EU trade, monetary union and the idea of ever closer union are used in the argument as a contrast to factors which suggest economic weakness such as the euro-zone crisis and the impact on Greece which is used as a contrast with the US. Political significance is discussed with reference to ASEAN as well as the EU which is a G20 member although potentially weakened by Brexit. Discussion of military significance takes place with the EU and Arab League referenced and the EU compared with the military power of states such as the US and China. There is a clear view in the conclusion.

27 marks were awarded.



A question such as this will benefit from a wide range of regional bodies.

This is an interesting example which covers a wider range of regional bodies than the other example. The introduction appears more certain than the conclusion but there is some excellent discussion throughout.

Over the past few decades, regional bodies for states have appeared across the world, and have slowly become global powerhouses in some cases, posing challenges to large individual states, and overall, regional bodies have been able to effectively challenge individual states.

One example of a regional group is ASEAN. This group's purpose from its foundation in the 1950s was to ~~counter~~ counter Chinese and communist influence in south-east Asia, and to this day it has been able to prevent this, and has ~~grown~~ doubled in size from five, to ten states. ASEAN has clearly challenged Chinese influence in the region, and although rapid Chinese growth has put the group under some threat in recent years, it remains a strong and unified group within Asia. This shows how regional groups have been able to challenge global powers as ~~they have been able~~ smaller states have been able to challenge ~~smaller states~~ global powers, and resist their influence by being a part of a regional political union, as opposed to individual states that likely would struggle to effectively challenge the global powers on their own, and thus the example of

ASEAN shows us that regional bodies have been effective in challenging powerful states.

However, other regional bodies have been less effective in this regard, such as the African Union. The AU was set up to ~~try~~ try and promote African unity, and vastly improve living standards throughout the continent. Although they have had some success, ^{some} AU member states are still rife with corruption, such as Zimbabwe, and as such the AU has been very susceptible to larger powers. We can see this through China ~~been~~ becoming influential in Africa, and funding many development projects in the ~~poorest~~ poorest countries. This means that the AU has ~~become~~ become ~~further~~ further weakened by this, and will in struggle in the future to effectively resist Chinese influence, showing that regional bodies are not always able to effectively challenge global superpowers, and weaker regionalist bodies are easily taken advantage of by ~~the~~ the world's large individual states.

Another way in which regional bodies have been able to effectively challenge the global superpowers is by economic regionalism creating bigger markets, to effectively challenge the ~~global~~ economic power larger states possess. For example, the European Union has a combined Gross Domestic Product of US\$16 trillion, just ~~US\$~~ US\$2 trillion behind the USA. On top of this,

by coming together, the EU have created a massive regional marketplace of ~~500~~ around 500 million people, giving it a bigger marketplace than the US, and smaller than only India and China. This gives the EU a much stronger negotiable position than if it were 28 individual states, and so has very effectively challenged the global economic superpowers of the USA and China by securing trade deals that are beneficial to the EU. In this way the EU has been highly effective in challenging the largest individual states, showing that regional bodies can be incredibly strong in this regard.

However, another way that regional bodies have not been effective is the global lack of defence regionalism. To date, no regional body has ~~made~~^{taken} effective steps towards creating a regional army to effectively challenge the global military superpowers of the USA and Russia, however the EU has taken steps towards this, yet is still a long way away from possessing an EU army. This has allowed global superpowers to enjoy a ~~monopoly~~ triopoly in terms of defence, whereby almost every state relies on either the USA, Russia or China to ensure their protection should they be attacked. We can see this through the USA's dominance of NATO, ensuring that ~~at~~ although the EU is a very strong regional

organisation, it is still dependent on a large power for its defence. This clearly is evidently shows that regional bodies have not been effective in resisting ~~the~~ individually powerful states.

A third way that regional bodies have been effective in resisting the superpowers is by political regionalism. This has allowed some bodies, like the EU and, to a lesser extent, ASEAN, to have regional parliaments that citizens within the group elect representatives to. This has allowed for effective challenge of global superpowers because it has allowed for regional policy to protect the interests of the global regions. A good example of this is the EU ~~banning~~ ^{banning} chlorinated or chlorine-washed chicken from being imported to, made or consumed within the EU's member states. This was a clear challenge to the US, who wished to be able to sell their chlorine-washed chickens in the EU marketplace, however the EU member states did not want this, and thus effectively challenged the USA, and ultimately was that battle. This is evidence that regional bodies can be highly effective in challenging the global powers by creating a single, unified policy that clearly ~~opposes~~ opposes them.

A final point to suggest that regional bodies are not always able to effectively challenge global

superpowers is that internal division within the groups can lead to large ~~power~~ individual powers from taking advantage of the situation. For example, division in the AU has recently led to the suspension of Sudan due to the treatment of citizens. This internal conflict could potentially make the AU weaker and less unified, and allow superpowers like China and the USA to exert more influence and capitalise on the AU's further weakened state. This means that ~~the~~ regional bodies are sometimes not effective in ~~challenging~~ challenging global powers, as they are ~~the~~ divided and divided internally. It is clear that regional bodies are most effective when they all sing from the same hymn sheet, and that divisions make the weaker, and this a ~~reason~~ ^{reason} to suggest that regional bodies are not always effective in challenging global superpowers.

To summarise, regional bodies are, on the whole, somewhat effective in challenging ~~larger~~ larger individual states. Although the superpowers still can exploit smaller states in terms of security through ~~groups~~ organisations such as ~~NATO~~ ~~NATO~~ NATO, in recent years, regional groups have shown that they ~~are~~ ^{can be} very effective in standing up for themselves when they are unified and create a single policy, for example with the EU policy on chlorinated chicken. Regional groups providing

large and attractive marketplaces for superpowers has undoubtedly made them stronger in challenging their superpower status, but divisions within the groups has ~~sometimes~~ sometimes made regional bodies far less effective than when they take a single, unified approach. Despite this, regional groups have ^{mostly} been somewhat effective in challenging individual states for influence in global politics.



A clear introduction leads to discussion of the ability of regional bodies to stand up to states with ASEAN and China as an example. There is a contrast with the relative weakness of the African Union with the growth of China and of its influence in Africa.

Economic strength is discussed with the power of the EU explained as comparable to the power and influence of the US and other major powers in areas such as securing trade deals. Defence is also covered with the suggestion that regional bodies are less effective in this area when compared with states such as Russia although there is a suggestion that the EU is growing in influence here.

Political power is discussed with some successes for regional bodies mentioned. The EU battle over chlorinated chicken and the political power of ASEAN are explored. Internal divisions between regional body members is considered to be a significant factor in lessening the power of regional bodies. The summary is less clear than the introduction but does pull together the key areas of debate in the essay. 30 marks were awarded.



Reference back to the title is a good way of ensuring continued relevance.

Paper Summary

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

- stronger 30-mark responses tend to provide a clear sense of direction in introductions which can include definitions/explanations of key terms and key points for discussion that are likely to follow. The AO3 tends to flow throughout the response from introduction to conclusion;
- 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;
- longer responses will require, at the higher level, a debate or explanation of more than one side of the debate;
- it is evident that most, if not all, teachers are aware of, and focussed on, the support materials available on the Pearson Edexcel Government and Politics website which include sample examination papers and mark schemes;
- it is also pleasing to note that teachers and students are making good use of recently developed resources.

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>

