

Examiners' Report

June 2017

GCE Government and Politics 6GP03 3D

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June 2017

Publications Code 6GP03_3D_1706_ER

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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 pleasing focus on the wording of the questions. The questions worked well for differentiation and all questions appeared to be equally accessible to candidates. There were a number of outstanding responses across all eight questions.

The most popular short questions were the responses on hard and soft power, followed by the question on the key features of the realist approach to global politics. The most popular long response was the question on the decline of US hegemony followed by the question on global institutions. The least popular short response was the question on regional cooperation and integration and the least popular long question was the one on the EU. Questions on regionalism and the EU do tend to be the least popular questions even though some students can produce outstanding responses on questions relating to these areas.

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

Whilst Assessment Objective 1 (A01) knowledge may help a candidate to achieve 12 of the available 45 marks, there are still 33 marks available for A02, synopticity and A03. A large proportion of candidates score well in A01 because they provide detailed and developed knowledge and understanding, with relevant and accurate work but they can fail to attain the marks that are available elsewhere. The intellectual skills required to perform at the highest level in A02 revolve around the ability to provide analysis, evaluation and parallels or connections. This can be a challenge for those candidates who rely primarily on production of learnt fact and knowledge. Synopticity, where candidates are expected to provide an awareness of competing viewpoints or perspectives, can be a weak area for some. The longer questions are designed for debate and discussion of alternative viewpoints. A03 can also be an issue for some candidates. There is a need to bring all of the earlier A0 elements into a structured and logical response, which provides balance and use of appropriate political vocabulary.

Question 1

Although this was a particularly popular question, it wasn't always tackled effectively. There were a significant number of candidates who were able to explain both terms and to provide excellent examples to illustrate the differences between hard and soft power. Some candidates appeared to have a weaker understanding of soft power and believed that hard power was military whilst soft power was economic. Other candidates spent a significant amount of time explaining the idea of smart power rather than making clear the difference between hard and soft.

An example laden response that makes clear the difference between the two types of power

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 Question 4 ☒ Question 5 ☒

Hard power has been defined by Wilson as 'military intervention, coercive diplomacy and economic sanctions'. It is markedly different from soft power, which is characterised by 'attraction rather than coercion' (Nye). One could argue, explore military intervention as a key characteristic of hard power. States have been known to use military intervention on numerous occasions, ~~both~~ for strategic, security and humanitarian purposes. A key example is the actions of the US-led 'coalition' which, after 9/11, entered ^{Iraq (on} ~~the grounds that the~~ ^{the} weapons of mass destruction which threatened lives were being kept there by terrorists). Another example is the NATO-led bombing of Kosovo, which is an example of humanitarian intervention as this was carried out in ^{order} ~~order~~ to prevent

the ethnic cleansing of Kosovar people by Serbians.

~~Coercive~~ ~~Kosovar~~ ~~diplomacy~~ 'Coercive diplomacy'; another aspect of hard power, could refer to threats made by states to other states. ^{This is most unlike} ~~United~~ soft power, which advocates peaceful, cooperative diplomacy, ~~hard power~~. A recent example of coercive diplomacy may be ^{U.S.} President ~~Trump~~ Trump's threats

against North Korea after it was announced that the nation had progressed with its development of nuclear weapons.

A third aspect ^{of hard power} is economic sanctions. These ~~sanctions~~ ^{are classified} as 'hard' power as ~~sanctions~~ ^{rather they are coercive,} are not inherently peaceful,

and are used to send a 'warning' to nations upon which they are imposed. ^{examples include} Key examples ^{of} the economic sanctions imposed by the U.S. on Russia, the trade embargo imposed by the West on China ^{after the Korean War began} in the 1950s, and the sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council on Yugoslavia during the ^{Yugoslavian} ~~conflict~~ of the 1990s. Hence, overall hard power is characterised by force, threats and coercion.

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linked to hard power, with ~~in~~ the Iran Nuclear Deal of 2015 or the Paris Agreement of 2015 being an example. It has been argued that soft power is replacing hard power ^{in importance,} ~~known~~ often as hard power ^{usage} often gains a negative reputation in the media for aggressive behaviour. Film Park Geun-hye, former South Korean leader agreed, stating that 'in the 21st century, culture is power.' Hence, the key differences between hard and soft power are that hard power is concerned with coercion and aggression, whereas soft power is concerned with ^{peaceful} cooperation and may be ^{overriding} ~~replacing~~ hard power.



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Examiner Comments

The response immediately attempts to define both terms and then provides numerous examples of the use of hard power, particularly military power including the US in Iraq, NATO in Kosovo and the threat of hard power against N Korea by Trump. Economic sanctions are also explained.

Soft power is explained in terms of peaceful diplomacy and cultural globalisation with a remarkable observation on the translation of the film 'Frozen'.

The response concludes with an attempt to specifically identify differences such as that soft power is replacing hard power.



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Examiner Tip

Stronger short responses tend to get straight to the heart of the question as this does.

This is a strong script which makes clear the difference between hard and soft power. There is a real focus on the requirement of the question.

Indicate your third question choice on this page.

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Hard and soft power can be defined differently. ~~Hard~~
~~hard power is getting state to do~~ Power in terms of
international politics is getting state to do something it otherwise
would not have done. Hard power does this by using
military 'sticks' and economic 'carrots'. Hard power is the
traditional form of power, usually associated with countries
such as Russia or China. For example, Russia annexed Crimea
in 2014 using its military in order to gain access to the warm
water port. ~~Therefore the West's subsequent~~
economic sanctions ~~is~~ also an example of hard power. By
contrast, Joseph Nye's soft power (1990) is getting one state to
do something it otherwise would not have done "through
attraction" rather than coercion. Measures of soft power include
a state's culture, the attractiveness of their institutions and their
foreign policy. For example, Germany ranks highly on foreign
policy in terms of soft power, as according to the Economist, they
are "trusted to do the right thing".

Another distinction between hard and soft power is
their longevity. Whilst hard power is effective in achieving

short-term ~~of~~ goals, soft power is more effective in influencing and attracting over a longer period of time. For instance, the USA's invasion of Iraq, a display of hard power, overthrew ~~the~~ the dictator Saddam Hussein, within weeks. However, their attempts to build democratic institutions have taken a lot longer as they have struggled to win over Iraqi "hearts and minds". The 2011 Arab Spring shows how the attractiveness of Western democracy (soft power) could bring about long-term change. Indeed, in Tunisia, Ben Ali had his power curbed.

Another distinction between hard and soft power ~~is the~~ ~~effectiveness~~ ~~then~~ ~~their effectiveness~~ ~~depending~~ who controls them. Whilst ~~it~~ it is clear that hard power is clearly state-controlled, as states have monopolies on the use of force, soft power can be either state or non-state controlled. Soft power is ~~more~~ however more effective when it is non-state led, unlike hard power. For instance, despite China's ~~an~~ incredible state-led initiatives to improve global soft power, including the creation of Confucius Institutes worldwide, and the so-called "panda diplomacy", ~~this remains~~. China still ranks low in terms of their soft power due to their poor human rights record - it is public knowledge that they executed more people than the rest of the world combined. Hard power, in the form of arms, economic sanctions etc., by contrast remains firmly in control of the state. The USA's soft power is down to largely non-state enterprises, TVCs, Hollywood etc.



ResultsPlus **Examiner Comments**

Hard power is explained in terms of military sticks and economic carrots with the examples of Russian military action in Crimea and the subsequent economic sanctions imposed on Russia by the West.

Soft power is also explained with examples and then there is an attempt to make clear particular differences between the two types of power including which is more effective in the short and long term.



ResultsPlus **Examiner Tip**

Once more, examples make explanation clearer.

Question 2

Most students were prepared for a question on the decline of state significance in global politics and the strongest students were able to explain what is meant by the term 'nation state' and to explain exactly why certain developments have weakened nation state significance.

This response follows the standard formulae of trying to define/explain the central term and then providing a number of explained and exemplified elements that may explain the declining significance.

~~Here~~ Now + why N's declined in signy?

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Question 4 ☒

Question 5 ☒

A nation-state is an autonomous political community bound together by overlapping bonds of citizenship and nationality. The birth of the modern sovereign nation state can be traced back to ^{the} peace of Westphalia 1648. However, many have questioned whether the state still holds a level of significance in the current day and age.

One reason why this idea is popular is because of the acceleration of globalisation since the 1970s-80s. Hyperglobalists believe nation-states are bound by a ~~complex~~ 'complex interdependence' (Keohane and Nye) and that states can be affected by occurrences that happen a great ~~distance~~

distance away from them, meaning they do not have control over what happens within their borders. This is largely because of economic globalisation as states have

integrated their national economies into the global economy. For example, the financial crisis in 2007/8 which largely originated in U.S. stock markets spread globally and especially affected EU economies, creating a widespread recession.

Furthermore, the rise in non-state actors such as transnational corporations and Non government organisations has meant that the role of the state has been put into question. Transnational technological organisations, for example, ~~are~~ ~~some~~ have undermined the economic ~~sovereignty~~ have sometimes held more capital than some of the states they operate in. Apple for example, in 2015 had annual profits that were higher than the GDPs of Hong Kong and Chile put together. This huge economic power means that states are no longer the principle actors in global economics and their economic sovereignty has declined.

Following on from this point, ~~hyperglobalisation~~ globalisation critics highlight the 'Tyranny

of TNCs' whereby TNCs can undermine the state by forcing them to create business conditions (such as low tax) that work in their interests. If the state does not capitulate, the TNC can move its profits to a nearby state where tax is lower. For example, many of the TNCs such as Google and Amazon hold their ^{UK} profits in Ireland and Jersey. This is called 'transfer pricing' and once again undermines the economic sovereignty of the state.

Finally, the growth of global governance, particularly bodies that had supranational authority, has led to have meant that the role of the nation state is in decline. EU law, for example, is binding over its member states and takes control over a variety of areas such as environment and ~~moves~~ the movement of people. Therefore, many of the states functions are no longer in the hands of its highest law-making body, but in regional or global organisations.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

After an attempt at explanation/definition, the candidate explains the impact of globalisation, non-state actors and then global governance.



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Examiner Tip

Definition/explanation of the central term usually helps to provide a starting point in dealing with any question.

This is a further example of a script where the candidate began with a definition/explanation of the key term before moving to three reasons why they believe we have seen a decline in significance.

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the 'nation state' is a state that is sovereign and whose citizens share a sense of unity. The Montevideo convention defines a state as having a permanent population, a defined territory, an effective government and finally the capacity to enter relations with other states. ^{Requisite} ~~Some~~ believe that the nation state is still important due to sovereignty and security, however others argue that the

nation state has declined in significance due to factors such as globalisation, humanitarian intervention and the increase of international organisations.

The nation state is no longer as important as it once was due to the increase of globalisation. Globalisation creates a more interconnected world and operates across borders, creating what McLuhan refers to as a 'global village'.

Globalisation causes a decline in state ^{nationalism} ~~sovereignty~~ because it does not regard state borders as being there - for example McDonalds is present in 118 different countries, meaning that it causes less differences between each nation state. The nation state is therefore of declining importance because it creates what Friedman calls a 'flat world' - a world where there are less differences and so nation states are less important because everyone is more similar.

The second reason nation states are of declining importance is due to humanitarian intervention (H.I)

H.I means that the nation state is of less importance because it means that states intervene in each other affairs, such as in Iraq in 2003 or Afghanistan in 2001. This makes the nation state less significant because it goes against what the treaty of Westphalia

(1648) states, as it says states should not have involvement in each other affairs. Therefore humanitarian intervention causes a decline in the nation state as it operates across state borders, without regarding the nationalism and sovereignty of the state.

global governance international organisations are a third reason for the declining significance of the nation state. organisations such as the 3 Bretton Woods institutions - the

World Bank, WTO and IMF act across state lines and therefore diminish the nation state as they do not regard international borders. The World Trade Organisation for example has over 160 members and treats them all the same due to the 'most favoured nation' policy. Therefore the nation state is declining in significance as organisations treat them all equally.



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Examiner Comments

The three factors identified in this script are globalisation, leading to the development of a 'flat world', humanitarian intervention and an increase in international organisations.

Question 3

This was marginally the least popular of the short responses on the examination paper. Despite not being popular, there were some excellent responses and most candidates appeared able to identify a range of reasons for regional cooperation and integration. The economic benefits of regionalism and integration were the most discussed factor but many candidates also discussed security regionalism and even regional cooperation and integration as a protector of culture and identity or values.

This candidate provides an immediate response with identification of three central factors.

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Regional cooperation and integration usually occurs because of economic, political, and security gains from collective action.

Economic integration prompts states to form economic blocs, and of which single markets and customs unions are common. This can exacerbate growth, with trade barriers removed, thus allowing capital and production to flow freely between states. It is viewed by many states that regionalism offers better economic opportunities, with the World Trade Organisation in 2000 finding

only Mongolia was not part of a regional association. Also, in forming large single markets, states can gain increased economic polarity, with the EU's integrated market now larger than America's. As regional cooperation and integration allow economic growth and increased economic polarity, regionalism is popular.

states can also form regional blocs for security reasons; either to ensure integration and cooperation reduce the likelihood of war, or to form blocs against common enemies. NATO was formed against Soviet Russia and Communism in 1949, whilst the EU's creation as the ECSC in 1952 aimed to ensure a future war became unlikely.

Regional peacekeeping can also play a role, with the African Union peacekeeping in Somalia to ensure stability within the failed state. In forming regional blocs in security, states can ensure collective and multilateral action in

Fighting enemies, or stability with
intended coexistence promoting peace and
therefore opportunity to grow and develop.

Political Integration plays a role in
regional cooperation and integration,
with pooling of sovereignty to ensure
a greater diplomatic voice. The EU
28 hold a great deal of structural
power at home and abroad - with
Germany, Britain and France holding great
power status. This allows the EU to
influence world order, with the US
~~is~~ attempting to sign a free trade deal
- TTIP - with the EU, a demonstration of
its importance to the hegemon state.

States can also integrate to protect
shared values and beliefs - the Arab
League's creation in 1945 to protect
Muslim interests demonstrates such. In
protecting values and gaining greater
reliance with pooling of sovereignty,
regional integration and cooperation
holds great political advantage.

To conclude, states may pursue regional co-operation and integration to exacerbate economic growth, to provide security within and from external threats, or to seek a greater diplomatic voice.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

The candidate has an initial focus on economic factors and uses the EU as an example with reference to the growth and success of the EU single market. The candidate moves to security factors, with NATO used as the primary example. The final area covered by this candidate is political factors with both the EU and Arab League used as examples.



ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

This candidate begins by identifying three factors and their answer to the question is set out clearly for development.

This is a particularly well exemplified response with pleasing levels of regional body knowledge.

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Regionalism is for the most part driven by regional states who share civilizational values and traits, and believe it's to the benefit of their strategic self-interest to co-operate, in order to take better

advantage of the opportunities provided by globalisation or secure peace within the region.

Regionalism in pursuit of peace and security is exemplified by institutions of global governance such as the Arab League, OSCE, Shanghai Co-operation Organisation and African Union. Foremost, the African Union sought help from UN peace-keepers in 2007 for UNAMID (Darfur) and in addition tried to stabilise Somalia with AMISOM, also in 2007. Furthermore, the SCO and OSCE both share intelligence between member states in order to combat collective dilemmas of security, such as

terrorism and drug trafficking. Additionally in 2015 the Arab League formed the JAF (Joint Arab Force), a military unit to secure peace within ~~the member~~ states, such as Syria. the Middle East, such as in Syria - an ex-member state expelled in 2011.

On the other hand, states also pursue regionalism in order to take advantage of the opportunities of globalisation, such as the free market. This is exemplified by the European Union, which formed a single market and currency within the eurozone in the 1992 Single European Act. As a result the EU is the largest single market in the world, and has a larger economy than the US, at \$22 Trillion. Therefore the 28 member states of the EU are able to take advantage of this large single market which expanded rapidly in 2004, when ~~the~~ 10 new member states joined such as Malta and Cyprus, who wanted to gain ~~access~~ access to the single market,

whereas preexisting states companies wanted to expand the single market in order to gain access to a larger, cheaper market and have the ability to sell goods to an expanded market of now over 500 million people.

In addition states can form regional organisations in order to combat the influence of regional great powers. This is exemplified by ASEAN, whereby states such as Singapore, Myanmar and Vietnam, to name but a few, felt threatened by Japan and China, who has increasingly been exerting her influence over the South China Sea, with reef building, in order to secure her "near abroad". In comparison, Russia felt threatened by the EU expanding eastwards and formed the Eurasian Customs Union, in 2014, to be a counter-balance to the EU on the continent, and prevent more ex-soviet states looking Westwards for help.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

A less direct introduction than the previous example script with some general observations about the benefit of regional cooperation and integration. There are a wide range of examples used to support the idea that regionalism takes place as part of a desire for security. The candidate moves to discussion of globalisation and the free market advantages that come about through agreements such as the 1956 Single European Act. The response concludes with the idea that regionalism can be an attempt to combat the influence of regional great powers as may be the example with ASEAN.

Question 4

This question was perhaps surprisingly not as popular as might be expected. This is likely to be a consequence of the attractiveness of the other questions rather than any other factor. Those candidates who attempted this question, on the whole performed well with no real difficulty in identifying criticism of NATO. Some candidates provided a real depth in explanation and example of criticism.

This is an example of a decent response where a candidate identifies a range of criticism after a brief background to the organisation.

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NATO was established in 1949 ~~was~~ with the belief that it would protect against Soviet expansion. Following the fall of the Soviet Union its role has changed and the institution has been criticised. Its antagonism of a resurgent Russia and ~~the~~ the fact it prevents an EU foreign policy as well as increasingly supporting 'free loaders' has seen it criticised.

NATO is seen as antagonising Russia. The fact that following the fall of the USSR, NATO admitted former Warsaw Pact members such as Poland as members, is controversial as Russia increasingly believes these Eastern European states are within their sphere of influence. Former Russian foreign secretary Sergei Ivanov has highlighted the fact that NATO poses a threat to Russia due to the proximity of NATO controlled bases so close to Russia.

Malashanov, of the Moscow Carnegie Centre, has echoed this sentiment, noting that 'NATO is a threat, not because of the brass or the army but because it gives rise to radical nationalists.' The growing nationalist support in Russia, opposing NATO and the West, may well be seen as a direct consequence of NATO's decision to expand up to the

borders of Russia. The possibility of conflict also grows as Putin has pledged to protect the civil liberties of Russians in the Baltic states. Under Article 5 of NATO, 'Collective Security' may mean conflict between the two.

NATO has also been criticised due to the fact that, in the eyes of some, it has prevented an EU foreign policy. Many NATO members are also members of the EU, and fulfil their military commitment through NATO meaning they are unwilling to provide troops to an EU army. A State like Britain also recognises the importance that the US played in ~~peace~~ securing European peace in the 20th century and so do not want to undermine American support for NATO by supporting an EU foreign policy or army. Supporters of a federal Europe criticise NATO as they see it as something blocking a EU foreign policy.

The final criticism of NATO is that it is increasingly seen as permitting 'free loaders'. This in ~~itself~~ means that most NATO members do not contribute enough to warrant membership. This

is shown by the statistic that only 5 ~~more~~ of the 28 members spend the required 2% of their GDP on defence - France, UK, Greece, Estonia and the US. Furthermore, it is increasingly argued there is a two-tiered alliance within NATO. For example in Afghanistan only the US, the UK and Canada were willing to commit troops, whilst others

created caveats, such as their troops would only participate in nation building. This is seen as ^{unjust} unfair and is a major criticism of NATO.



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The candidate discusses the original foundation of NATO and the turning point of the collapse of communism before hinting at the range of criticisms they will explore later. They begin with an explanation of the relationship between NATO and Russia and the tensions caused by the growth of NATO to include a number of E European states including former Warsaw Pact members. The impact of NATO on the likelihood of an EU force is then explored before general discussion about contributions to NATO including controversy over the target of 2% GDP.

This candidate manages to provide a very brief introduction and then explores four factors as criticisms of NATO.

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North Atlantic treaty Organisation (Nato)

~~Nato~~ is an organisation created in 1949, which became a vital mechanism to prevent the spread of Communism throughout the Cold war. ~~that~~ ~~the~~ Although Nato has some positives, since the end of the Cold war ~~the~~ ~~it~~ it has been the centre of attention for profound criticisms by many in the global society.

A key criticism of Nato is that it serves the interests of states. The USA is the largest member of nato and is known therefore to be the most influential state within the organisation. Criticisms have emerged that the USA uses Nato as a cover for state interests and actually ^{caters for} ~~follows~~ what the state is attempting to achieve. The ~~the~~ Nato soldiers in Afghanistan have been deployed there since the onset of the 'war on terror'. This has led to critics suggesting that the troops are only in Afghanistan because that's where American interests lie. ~~After~~

Critics suggest that NATO allows for states to engage themselves in places without having to cover any justifications as NATO is able to act for humanitarian reasons.

Another criticism of NATO and perhaps the most common criticism, is that NATO is an outdated body.

~~Lord~~ Lord Timmerman ~~and other officials~~ ~~concerning a NATO~~

suggested that NATO aimed to keep 'the Americans in, the Germans down and the Russians out'. NATO acted as opposition to the Soviet Union's Warsaw Pact, however the end of the cold war - highlighted by Gorbachev's new word crowd speech - also saw the Warsaw Pact dissolve in 1990. Critics argue that the end of the cold war means that NATO has no real use and runs on a philosophy that ~~has~~ is based on a bipolar period that no longer exists. Therefore NATO is seen as being an organisation that is useless and based on a period of time that is long gone.

NATO has come under severe criticism from Russia under Vladimir Putin. Since the end of the Soviet Union, NATO has taken an active role in Eastern Europe. Growing NATO membership in Eastern Europe has led Putin to believe that NATO me

being aggressive and therefore see them as ~~standing~~ ^{hostility} inflicting a sense of ~~the~~ ^{as} conflict may emerge.

Russia criticise nato suggesting it is acting in an aggressive way which could lead to the deterioration in US-Russian relations.

Finally, ~~nato~~ nato has been criticised for undermining the authority of the UN. Nato ~~is~~ often used as the UN's military, but there are instances such as Iraq 2003, which ~~has~~ have seen nato go into conflict without the permission of the UN. This means that nato can be seen as an independent body that ~~has~~ has no-one to 'tame them'; which has led to growing criticism.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

The criticisms identified and explored by this candidate include the idea that NATO is US dominated. They move to discussion of the original objectives of NATO as set out by Lord Ismay and then explain that the organisation created in a bipolar Cold War situation is now outdated. Further factors identified and explained are tensions with Russia and a perception that NATO may undermine the authority of the United Nations.



ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

The more factors identified the better but do ensure that there is time to explain identified factors.

Question 5

The question on key features of the realist approach to global politics brought a wide range of responses in terms of quality. Better candidates were able to explain numerous features supported by reference to realist thinkers such as Hobbes and Machiavelli. Examples were often used to support theory.

This response covers a wide area of realist themes from the significance of human nature to the idea of the Security Dilemma.

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Question 4 ☒

Question 5 ☒

Realism is an approach to global politics, centred around the idea that the nation state is the key entity in global politics, that humans are inherently bad and that this is reflected in the way that states interact. It is the opposite to liberalism.

Firstly, Realists believe humans are bad, specifically, Machiavelli wrote (The Prince) that they are 'incurable, arrogant, crafty and shifting'. Thomas Hobbes also stated that 'you have misunderstood politics as you have misunderstood human nature', all of which show that human nature is key in analysing state behaviour.

They also believe that state sovereignty is key. This was established at the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, and as Bodin said, it is 'a state's supreme authority over its citizens and subjects'. They believe that global governance is ineffective as the nation state is the key entity and that

the world can be portrayed by the Billiard Ball model, which shows states to be independent and opposes the idea that we live in an interconnected world, which is a product of globalisation. In addition to this, Realists believe that states will

only act based upon their own national interest. Lord Palmerston said that 'we have no permanent allies, no permanent enemies, just we only have permanent interests.' This perfectly sums up how states only act for themselves. An example of this would be how the US didn't support the UK and France in the Suez Crisis (1956) and threatened to destroy the UK economy. Although there was supposed to be a 'special relationship' as both members of NATO. The US still opposed British action as it went against their interest and attempt to gain moral superiority over the USSR.

Realists also believe that war is inevitable. This links to human nature and the Billiard Ball model. Aleddy Ball described society as 'anarchical' and that states cannot be controlled. In 1992, Kissinger said that 'World Order has rarely been reordered without a major war', which ~~says~~ that in addition to the theory that hegemonic power goes in cycles, shows that war is inevitable. Also, the idea that the world only has finite resources also makes war inevitable as this will lead to conflict. The Security Dilemma is the idea that as one state builds up its military, other states will too, to ensure a balance of power and protect national interests. Offensive realists believe that

will enter an arms race to be able to beat the other state, whilst defensive realists believe it is to ensure self-preservation and maintain their defences. An example of this would be Cold War nuclear proliferation as well as the India-Pakistan tensions over the disputed territory of Kashmir.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

The candidate leaps from feature to feature but does cover a very wide range and does reference contributors to realist theory including Hobbes and Machiavelli. Human nature, state sovereignty and the Billiard Ball Model are discussed as is the nature of alliances with example, the anarchical system and inevitability of war.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Tip

It always helps to include relevant theories and contributors.

This candidate covers similar territory to the other sample and includes explanation of sub elements of realism including neo-realism including both offensive and defensive realism.

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 ☒

The key features of the realist approach can be ~~be~~ explained via a number of sub-categories as there are various sub-traditions ~~that~~ within the theory of Realism.

Realism as a whole is the notion that life ~~is~~ for state in the international system is one of war and conflict with periods of peace being ~~the~~ exceptions. It is a highly pessimistic ~~the~~ view and ~~it~~ has 3 principles to which realists believe are the fundamental operation of states, they are known as the '3 S's'. The first is 'Self-help', whereby they believe that a state is ~~only~~ purely dependant on its own capabilities and materials in order to defend themselves and run the state. This therefore means that realists do not believe ~~in~~ that any external body or international organisation such as the EU should interfere with a state's affairs. The second is 'State Sovereignty', realists believe that states are completely sovereign and that ~~now~~ they are the

highest actors and that nobody ~~is~~ ~~no~~ and no ~~any~~ external organisation has more authority. They firmly believe in territorial integrity and that every individual state ^{has} the highest amount of authority. The final 'S' is 'Survival', this is ~~the~~ ~~that~~ what realists believe to be the main aim of a state. In an international system shaped by conflict, the state must build up the power to survive amongst the world's competing states.

The first faction of realism is classical Realism. This has the principle that the international system is conflictual due to human nature being inherently aggressive. This is a very traditional and ancient thought process. The classical realist, Machiavelli stated that "human beings are violent, ~~and~~ selfish, malicious and aggressive."

The other sub-tradition of realism is Neo-realism. They state that the conflictual nature of the international system is due to ~~the~~ its structure. They believe that the international system provides for a field of competition amongst all states in terms of gaining power ~~with~~ on the global stage. They believe that a 'balance of power' is always needed to ensure the safety and security of states. They believe that the

bipolar system is the best at ensuring this.

Other types would be 'offensive realists' ~~states~~

Such as John Mears who believe that states strive to be the hegemonic power and so therefore build up their power and military to exert this influence. Whereas 'defensive realists' ~~states~~

Such as Kenneth Waltz would argue that states are concerned with relative gains and

as that the top priority is security for the state therefore they only build up as much power as they need in order to effectively defend themselves. The security Dilemma is further argued to be the case in global system by realists, this being one state's security ^{fuels} another state's insecurities.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

The candidate covers the realist view on war and conflict and the general pessimistic nature of realism. Self help and the significance of state sovereignty are discussed as well as the balance of power concept. There is use of key contributors to realist thought including Machiavelli and Waltz as well as an explanation of neo-realism to include both offensive and defensive realism.

Question 6

This was by far the most popular of the long questions on this examination paper and provided a wide range in quality of responses. Stronger responses were able to explain the idea of hegemony and the processes and changes which have led to some suggesting that US hegemony is in decline. Structural, economic and military power was discussed as was cultural power. A number of candidates focussed on the growth of China economically and in other respects with little discussion of the US or other challenges to US hegemony.

This is an example of a decent response which just made a L3. Far from perfect, there are numerous strengths to the response with a significant amount of ground covered in 45 minutes.

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 ☒

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Dip. China Russia

structural power

Hegemony ~~refer~~ refers to a world system that there is only one pre-eminent actor on the world stage. A hegemon always enjoys ~~a~~ superior rights of politics, economics and culture. Hegemony is often regarded as 'the world police' which means a hegemon has ~~the~~ ^{capacity} ~~power~~ to project its power globally. After the Cold War era, when the world system is categorised as a 'bipolar' world, the collapse of the USSR led to the US as the remain superpower. In the absence of the balance of power, the US is regarded

as a hegemon. ~~and~~ However, in the 21st century when other actors ~~are~~ rising to engage in the international affair. The US has been seen as in of the declining hegemony. This issue will be discussed in this essay.

Firstly, the US remains a hegemon economically, which America still dominates part of the world in terms of trade and economy itself. The USA so far has ~~re~~ maintained its position as the first economy in the world. In 2016, the USA generated ~~is~~ over \$18.2 trillion in terms of GDP. At the same time, the US dollar is the dominant currency in the world as ~~many~~ the exchange rates of other currencies, more or less, is affected by the US dollar. Thus, the US dollar ~~is~~ remains a strong currency in the world. As a result of strong basis of economic power, the US ~~enables~~ is able to invest into military and high technological industries. Nearly 40% of global research and development spending ~~are~~ is funded by the US. These industries also sustain the US as a strong economy because of the dominating power of technology and arm ~~set~~ sales.

However, in the 21st century, many other states have ~~not~~ risen ~~as~~ with a rapid economic development. America, therefore, is in the declining position in terms of its economic hegemony. Notably, China, India, South Africa and Brazil, etc. have developed in challenging US hegemony. In 2015, the GDP growth in China was 6.8% in comparison to that

in the US with a figure only 2.6%. The US economy is now slowing down with more developing states gaining greater economic achievement. Furthermore, it was the US who ^{was} directly responsible for the 2007-2009 financial crisis. US's failure to resolve its economic disability has damaged its position as a global hegemon. Nevertheless, the US still remains a strong and stable economy with China being on a weak base and the possibility of the ~~halt~~ ^{halt} of rapid economic development. In the sense, the US still remains as a hegemon.

Military power is an essential form of hard power that influences one state's capacity of exerting influence on other states. As a global hegemon, the US has a dominating military power that other states would never be able to in the same level. The USA now possesses the largest

army in the world in terms of its weaponry with ~~over~~ nearly 289 ships, 11 aircraft carriers. Undoubtedly the US would remain its position. In the recent years, the US ^{has} ~~funded~~ funded its army with over 540% of global military spending, five-fold of China's military spending — the second ~~best~~ military power in terms of spending. Therefore, the US has the ability to

project its military power globally — over 700 military bases across the world. The US hard power then still remains a global hegemon.

However, as the term 'superpower' being defined as a great power plus 'a great mobility of power', it is vital for America to actually enjoy its global reach. ~~The~~ Russia ^{is} now ~~is~~ armed with its advanced weaponry and in competition with the US. The annexation of ~~the~~ Crimea by Russia in 2015 was not successfully stopped by the US military power. The US ~~still~~ does not have a genuine global reach as a result of certain military issues being not resolved successfully. Nevertheless, ~~the~~ US deterrents remain an

important form of its military power, especially its nuclear weapons. The US is hard to be caught up with in terms of weaponry. And it is not possible for other countries to develop numerous military bases across the world.

Another main factor in assessing power is that cultural (soft) power. Soft power is always seen as an ~~attractive~~ way of attracting to project its power rather than aggressive hard power that would lead to resentment. Liberalists

are in favour of soft power as it can be more effective in some ways. Cultural homogenisation and 'Americanisation' are key terms to explain its hegemony. With the development of internet and other communications, knowledge and culture can be spread. Nowadays, English is the dominant language in the world as over 50% of the internet contents is in English and over 40% of global mails are written in English. Also, the creation of global celebrities has contributed to the US cultural hegemony, ~~As~~ such as Justin Bieber and Katy Perry having a global influence among the youth. What is more, the export of American-style ~~etc~~ consumerism capitalism has affected across the world.

Fast food brands and coffee brands such as McDonald and Starbucks are ~~the~~ one of the most popular and successful brands in the world. Similarly, Hollywood ~~movies~~ have a reputation as ~~the greatest~~ ^{no} the most successful film industry in the world. Marvel and DC have created movies for superheroes to export the American values of individualism and figures of heroes. Thus, thanks to cultural homogenisation and 'Americanisation', the US ~~are~~ is able to sustain its hegemony.

However, culture now are developing into the so-called hybridisation and ~~pluralisation~~ ^{pol} pluralisation. As the US is exporting its culture, they ^{are} also absorbing other cultures ~~as~~ such as Asian food, acupuncture, judo, etc. Diversity is the mainstream of global cultural development, and the US ~~dominant~~ dominance may no longer exist. Also, the rise of China has been giving China more opportunities to show its culture. In 2017, the Chinese film called the Great Wall ~~came~~ was released in the UK, featuring a Chinese director Zhang Yimou and Chinese leading roles with Matt Damon as the hero. Similarly, Bollywood

movies are now gaining more attraction on the world stage. Polarisation has prevented the US from being the ~~only~~ monoculture in the world. Nevertheless, the US culture still has a profound influence across the world and thus the US remains a global cultural hegemon.

The US structural power ~~is~~ suggests that their disproportional power in global governance institutions like the UN and the IMF has enabled the US to act as a global

hegemon politically and diplomatically. In 2003, the ~~the~~ US bypassed the UN security council to initiate invasion of Iraq. With its structural power, America ~~is~~ is able to ignore certain international organisations and laws. However, the US does not have an absolute power in global governance. The US is not able to resolve Tibetan problems in China as well as Taiwan. Its structural power is limited by other states.

In conclusion. in ways of politics, economy, culture and diplomacy, the US can still project its super power and thus remains as a global hegemon. Even though some states are now developing with great power, they are not able to challenge US hegemony in decades, and thus the US hegemony is not to a full extent in decline.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

There is an attempt at an explanation of the key term which is not perfect by any means as well as an attempt at historic background to explain how and why the US may have been considered a hegemon.

Economic power is discussed with dollar significance and the impact of economic power on high technology including research and development. The rise of China and India and the failings of the US system during the 2007 global economic crisis are explored as a counter.

Military strength is explained along with a counter argument based on the rise of China and Russia including inability of the US to stop Russian seizure of Crimea.

Cultural soft power is discussed at length including so called 'Americanisation' with the counter argument based on the US absorbing other cultures and the growing impact of China.

Unfortunately structural power discussion is quite limited but the candidate has still covered a significant amount of territory in the time allowed.

This script takes a different approach to the first example with a less structured approach to consideration of the criteria of power and strength. It covers a wide area of discussion with some very interesting and enjoyable commentary.

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 ☒

Charles Krauthammer called the 1990s the US's "unipolar moment" as it emerged the victor from the Cold War following the collapse of the USSR, and many commentators were vitally triumphant, with Francis Fukuyama declaring "the end of history". There is, however, a fear that as of late that hegemony - the total dominance by one power whose strength exceeds all others - is fading, is in fact on the verge of being challenged by the US.

The main rival of the US - in the minds of those like Samuel P. Huntington who dismiss the idea of permanent hegemony as "sheer hubris", at least - is China. China's economy is growing buoyant, with growth rates of 7.5% and appears to be unaffected by the 2008 Great Financial Crisis (GFC) which crippled so many Western economies, America included. It is predicted on current trends to surpass America's economy by 2020 - indeed, it already already has by some measurements - and to double it by 2050, and the

collapse of the US economy has meant that the US is heavily indebted to China. Furthermore, it is not afraid to use this to gain influence, as seen in

Africa - where, according to World Bank official Vivienne Foster "nowadays we seem to play second fiddle to the Chinese, who have a lot more money than us and can seemingly build roads ^{over quicker} faster", as China conducts >\$200 billion of trade with Africa and builds huge new projects such as the new ~~and~~ African Union headquarters in Addis Ababa - ~~and~~ Latin American (building a rail road through Nicaragua, not breaking over \$40 bn in the continent) not in Asia/Europe. With its ambitions and 'New Silk Road' and 'Silk Belt' initiative. It thus challenges US economic hegemony and its global influence.

China also has increased military and technological capabilities. It possesses the world's fastest super-computer, the Tian-He 2, and has a burgeoning space industry, conducting its first space walk in 2008 and planning to set up a permanent base on the moon in conjunction with the ESA by 2035. This technological capability also extends to its military - it has a new range of stealth submarines which make a habit of unceremoniously intruding in the middle

of US 'carrier' groups, and a range of missiles designed specifically to destroy American targets (like 'Carrier-killer', designed to destroy a Nimitz-class nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, and the 'Gunn killer', designed

to destroy US bases on the island of Guam). Its military spending has increased from \$492 billion in 2006 to \$220 billion in 2016, according to SIPRI, highlighting this growth.

Yet, it can be argued that it does not yet challenge US hegemony. After all, the US spends an estimated \$611 billion per on defence, and has a presence in almost 150 countries worldwide, with no less than 900 bases. The US thus dwarfs the Chinese military, with more personnel, more aircraft carriers ~~than any other country~~ the only Chinese aircraft carrier would not even count as an aircraft carrier in the US, so large are their Nimitz-class ships: and they have 17, and greater capacity, with the largest in the world being the US Navy and Air Force respectively. Furthermore, the US has many more allies: counting 60 out of the 100 most populous countries as allies and bases all over the world - China only has one, in Djibouti, and the fact that more of its ships

we nuclear-powered means none of its ships could reach there without refuelling. China also has severe demographic issues - its ~~One-Child~~ One-Child Policy has created a severe gender imbalance and an ageing population, causing historians to observe that

"China will get old before it gets rich". Its economy is also over-inflated, yet it cannot correct that due to its low skills base, and it is also in debt to America, meaning any challenge to US hegemony would result in what Ian Bremmer calls "mutually assured economic destruction".

The US's traditional enemy, Russia, is also re-emerging to challenge US hegemony; as Bobo Lo says, "the humiliated nation of the 1990s has re-emerged once more as a major global player". Russia's military spending for outships to its European neighbours, and its 2007 invasion of Georgia and 2014 annexation of Crimea shows it is not afraid to use it. Russia also uses modern technology to great effect, being accused of tampering with the US election results and the 2017 French presidential elections with government-sponsored hackers such as the 'Fancy Bears', and in threat or shown by the reintroduction of national

service in Russian war, Baltic nations such as
Lithuania. Its oil reserves gave it great economic
and political power, increasing nations that such is
becoming more and higher due to their energy
colours. Not for nothing, nothing does Mike Miller
say that "I would put Russia as our No. 1 threat
right now".

However, as the Observer notes, "with a sinking
economic demographic decline, and no exports
to speak of besides oil, Russia simply matters less
than it used to". The crash in oil prices and
Western sanctions have devastated Russia's economy.
Thus, while military spending as a % of GDP has
risen from 4.2% to 5.3%, this has equated to
\$20 bn worth of cuts in real terms, shrinking
its treasury. Russia also has a very aged
shrinking population, expected to drop below 140
million by 2050, and as Mr. John McCain
puts it, it will have a "shrinking state shrinking
economy" because "Russia is a gas station attempting
to be a country". Furthermore, Russia has few
allies, unlike Christopher Coler to accuse them of
"strategic autism"; a fact well demonstrated
by how it has to invade countries to force them
to follow it!

Other powers, then, may hold the overall challenge: notably the two other members of the BRICS, Brazil and India, and the MINT (Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Thailand) countries. Brazil consistently ranks near the top of global soft power

tables (as also Hurre points out), and has achieved a great deal of influence in South America; similarly, India has a space program and was a world leader in the Paris Climate Agreements - an agreement America has backed out of recently, meaning other countries have taken the lead. Even regional organisations such as the EU and (eventually) the AU and the OPEC, might challenge US hegemony, especially economically.

However, none of these countries are quite the challenges. The MINT countries, i.e. either globally marginalised or economically struggling; Nigeria is in an debt or emergency in its own country. Brazil may have soft power, but ~~that is not~~ this has not translated into global influence, and India is still poverty-stricken and receiving aid from the US and UK. Meanwhile, the regional organisations are disunited and lack cohesion.

In conclusion, then, there are rivals, and US influence is on the wane after the War on Terror and President Trump's isolationism; however, as I have shown, the US hegemony still remains intact. It is declining, yes, but still intact, as even China cannot match the US; as Robert Kaplan puts it, "we

may no longer be in Charles Krauthammer's 'unipolar moment', but neither have we become Sweden".



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

This candidate begins with some historic background before moving to a main body of commentary which includes use of political commentators and theory. Economic strength of the US is compared with that of China and the growing influence of China in areas such as Africa. Chinese military and technological development is also discussed. The candidate continues with an evaluation of other states influence, particularly Russia with reference to action in Georgia and Crimea. There is room for brief reference to the growing influence of states such as India, Brazil and Nigeria.

Question 7

This candidate identifies the central institutions of the United Nations, International Monetary Fund, World Bank and World Trade Organisation although their focus is primarily on that of the United Nations.

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 ☒

The end of the second world war has experienced a so called 'New world order' an agenda fought by the USA. The New world order envisions a ~~for~~ global order in which international institutions will be the protectors of peace and stability of the world. Among the major global ~~institutions~~ institutions are the United Nations (UN), the Bretton Woods system which comprises of the ~~the~~ International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) which sought to promote financial stability. This was fought hardest primarily by liberal institutionalists which believed that peace could only be achieved when a degree of ~~and~~ higher authority is established. Woodrow Wilson was instrumental in the set up of the UN where he famously said the purpose of the UN is to turn the international jungle into a zoo. This essay attempts to ~~an~~ analyse to what extent ~~has~~ have major global institutions mentioned above provided peace and security.

The United Nations was established through the San Francisco treaty with its main goal is to preserve and safeguard ~~future~~ peace. The fact that the World War II is not followed by ~~a~~ World War III is hailed by ~~many~~ many as the single most successful outcome

at the United Nations. However it is equally important to look at the dynamics of the structure the UN has seek to provide.

The UN is most effective ~~in~~ in playing its role as an arbiter or a neutral umpire to mediate conflict. The UN provided an avenue where states can debate and decide on the outcome of a potential conflict. More importantly, the UN ~~plays a role~~ represents the international community's interest ~~in~~ where its intervention might be ~~more~~ justified. For example, when Russian air troops bombed the UN convoy to deliver aid Ban Ki Moon former Secretary-General condemned their action. Though some might argue that it has not stopped subsequent bombing but Ban Ki Moon's speech was seen by the Russians as neutral rather than charged with national interest which could escalate conflict. UN has been successful in providing a framework within which states could seek to protect peace.

Apart from that, the United Nations have been taking active military participation in peacekeeping operations. As it stands there are a total of 120,000 'blue helmets' peacekeepers deployed across the globe. UN peacekeeping operations has been instrumental in helping ending conflicts and ~~the rise of~~ facilitating the rise of nascent governments. The United Nations Operation in Burundi ~~and~~ (ONUB) and United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) has been successful in ~~facilitating~~ facilitating the disarmament between armed forces and the ~~South~~ Sudanese rebel army and brokered a ceasefire.

The UN had also entered peace in the heavy conflict ridden Darfur region. The UN helped establish Burundi's first Judiciary System to deal with post war reconciliation and justice.

However, there are significant issues regarding the United Nations particularly with the Security Council. The UNSC is often argued to be a tool which great powers use to assert their own influence through the use of 'vetoes'. This reinforces the realist view on IGOs as merely a tool which states ~~to operate~~ power politics operate within and through its system. The UNSC is seen to have failed to protect peace by preventing conflicts and has resulted in the loss of huge number of lives. For example, the Syrian Crisis has seen a significant amount of killings by the Syrian government through the use of chemical weapons against innocent civilians. However, the UNSC has failed to come up with a coherent ~~and~~ resolution to save it as Russia repeatedly used their ~~vetoes~~ 'veto' to protect ~~reg ally~~, Bashar al Assad.

The history of UN peacekeeping has also not been the most successful one and at best is mixed. Failure of UN peacekeeping operations is often used by critics to point out key weaknesses of the UN in its failure to protect peace. In 1994, ^{more than} 800,000 of Tutsis were killed by Hutus in ~~the biggest~~ ^{a process of} ethnic cleansing. ~~The~~ The UN safe area became a place where ~~not~~ thousands of innocent Tutsis were murdered as the UN forces ~~as~~ were ordered to pull out ~~and~~ in order to escort foreigners to the airport. The

UN has also failed to recognise that ethnic cleansing is happening despite intelligence from the UN peacekeeping general. This was followed by the massacre of bosnian muslims a year later in Srebrenica. These events are more than enough to prove UN failures to promote peace and protect lives.

The lack of UN steady army has also caused problems. The UN ~~is~~ is relying on member states to contribute troops money to carry out peacekeeping operations. The main problem of this has been highlighted by crises as ~~there~~ there is dispute over who has the ultimate decision making capacity when it comes to conducting these operations. An example of this was when General Jeyaraj from India was ordered to resist rebels from taking over the city of Goma. However, General Jeyaraj phoned the Indian defense ministry and received an order to ~~not~~ not resist the rebels which resulted in a humiliating failure. Ban Ki Moon then ~~ordered~~ ^{called} for the removal of General Jeyaraj only to be ~~met~~ ^{met} with threats ~~from~~ by the Indian government to pull out all together from ~~peacekeeping~~ peacekeeping operations. This suggests a huge weakness as for the UN to protect peace.

The Bretton Woods system on the other hand is in charged of dealing financial stability by providing assistance to developing countries and intervene in the event of economic crisis. The Bretton Woods system to date is the only global financial institution in charged with issues relating financial stability. ~~that~~ They have been a prominent actor in helping East Asian countries to come

at first ~~depression~~ recession. Following the 97/98 East Asian Crisis by offering assistance to Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand. The provision of aid in the form of grants, long term loans to developing countries is also seen as an important feature of the BW in promoting financial stability to the broader world.

However, the Bretton Woods institutions are under a lot of criticism for their ineffectiveness, Western bias and in some instances had exacerbated recession rather than cushioning them. The BW is most criticised for its 'one size fits all' policies which imposed 'shock therapies' to states. This includes wholesale market reform with none attention given to local substructure which is a huge factor in easing the excesses of the policy. Pickett argued that neoliberal blind faith has led to the failure of the new course to adopt capitalism. Dambisa Moyo also argued that the BW's one course on export-led growth strategy of development and aid has produced the opposite effect that it had hoped to produce. Opening up markets of Sub-Saharan African countries to competition from abroad is highly destructive as small and medium enterprises will be crushed by huge TNCs operating at the economies of scale. In this regard, the BW for promoting financial stability has failed to do so and instead promotes regional poverty.

As a conclusion, major global institutions such as the UN and the Bretton Woods is the largely criticised for their failures.

Bringing peace and security is no ~~simple~~ simple task and expectations regarding how far these institutions could achieve should be revised.

Admittedly there are areas which could be improved for example the UN could reform its Security Council 'veto' structure by heeding the French proposal to leave veto rights when mass atrocities are being committed. Lack of any army and cohesion of troops could be improved in that

respect. The Bretton Woods system should also look at alternative strategies of development to cope with a more diverse world for development. It is always easy to criticise that these institutions are not doing enough but without an alternative structure being proposed to replace them, having them with their faults and weaknesses is far better than having none. The UN and BWs system has to a degree provided peace and stability and as the Second Secretary general Dag Hammarskjöld said the UN is not established to bring mankind from hell but to save it from hell."



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

The introduction sets the scene quite well as it explains the concept of the New World Order and of Institutional Liberalism. The candidate then identifies the United Nations and the Bretton Woods Institutions as areas worthy of analysis when deciding whether or not the major global institutions provide peace and stability.

The focus is on the United Nations with a detailed analysis of strengths and weaknesses including actions and inaction. There are numerous examples to support the argument.

Question 8

This was the least popular of the longer questions with most candidates drawn elsewhere. This section of the specification is usually the least popular section even though students can and did do well here just as they did with the short question from the same section of the specification. Some candidates discussed unity and disunity without discussing effectiveness whilst some discussed effectiveness without discussing unity/disunity. Stronger responses managed to blend the two together.

This response begins with the realist and liberal perspective on the likelihood of effective unity in the EU. It continues to cover a number of areas of unity and disunity linked to effectiveness or lack of effectiveness.

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 ☒

The EU is a body formed out of 28 member states in order to aid economic and political prosperity. However, the UK's decision to leave the EU in 2016 perpetuated the question as to whether the EU is able to function as a collective regional body. McCormick stated that 'states willingly surrender their power to create a centralised authority' (the EU). However, the supranational features of the EU (demonstrated by the Maastricht Treaty 1992), could leave the EU redundant and powerless on the global stage. The effectiveness of the EU to function

as¹⁰ an effective body is rooted in
unwilling realist or liberal assumptions
on global politics.

The most evident reason as to
why the EU is too diminded

to be effective is because states
ultimately act in their own interest.
Machiavelli viewed states as having
a 'lust for power,' and therefore
won't act with the EU when
it doesn't suit their national interest.
For example the EU is unable to
formulate a common foreign policy
due to states being unwilling
to rest ~~some~~ sovereignty of their
military outside of ~~state~~ their
own borders. This perpetuates the
view that the EU won't be able
to act on a global scale effectively
as a result of it going against
state interest.

However, this view was disproven in 2008 when the EU were able to ~~the~~ develop a ceasefire between Russia and Georgia. This example shows that the EU are able to act as an effective body on the global stage through virtue of diplomatic power. Furthermore, the EU played an integral

role in negotiating ~~the~~ the Iran nuclear deal. Iran's development of nuclear weapons wouldn't suit the interest of any EU member state, perpetuating the view that the EU ~~is~~ has the potential to be an effective union when acting on the world stage. This is furthered by Waltz, who stated that the EU was formed to allow states to move the bipolar world. This further exemplifies the view that the 28 member states can effectively work together on common goals.

Despite this, the Eurozone crisis augmented the view that the EU is unable to

work as an effective union. This was due to the socio-economic disparities between the poorer nation states (Greece) and the richer nations; perpetuating the notion that the EU is too divided to be an effective body. The EU bailed Greece out with \$174 billion, however the Euro is still submerged as a weaker currency. The ~~lack~~ lack of

unity amongst states of how to deal with the economic crisis, meant that Germany had to in effect act unilaterally in order to prevent the Euro from falling further. This meant that Germany conducted a neo-colonial role in rearing the Greek political and economic infrastructure. This shows that 28 member states are unable to act together as an effective body.

However it could be argued that the sharing of the common currency produces the need for unity and ~~co-operation~~ co-operation amongst

the EU. The severe effects of another
European recession would be
catastrophic, thus requiring unity for the
body to become effective. The European
Central Bank is able to regulate the
economic infrastructure of European nations
to a certain extent, allowing for
a prosperous ~~view~~ financial policy.
The EU commands 19% of the world's
GDP, and is also the largest donor

in aid to developing nations. ~~World~~
This shows the economic ~~power~~ that
the EU is able to exercise, and
therefore create a dependency thesis on
even states such as America and Russia.
The economic ~~power~~ clout of the body
shows the effectiveness of the union.
Furthermore, states such as Turkey are
looking towards the strong economic
infrastructure of the EU as they seek
for membership.

On the contrary, the ~~underpinning~~ intergovernmental
features of the EU prevent unity
and effectiveness. Most notably, the

ability of states to leave the union prevents cohesion and unity. Brexit signified the lack of co-operation states are willing to give, with it prompting populist movements in France with Le Pen nearly going for French Presidency. Furthermore, the ability of states to veto one another on issues such as foreign policy and taxation prevent the EU from

developing into a global superpower. The veto of states slows down decision making processes, and therefore makes the EU an ineffective body.

However, the supranational features of the EU force co-operation amongst states to act effectively. For example the use of qualified majority voting allows even the most powerful member states to be overruled. For example the UK is the most overruled nation.

or the in the EU. The council of ministers also act in the interest of Europe as a whole, disregarding the selfish desires on single states. Liberal institutionalists would assert that this co-operation in the regional body allows for prosperity globally. The vesting of sovereignty away from the nation of states allow for a collectivity of the EU, developing the body into an effective

and prosperous union.

The EU holds features that in restrict effectiveness through a lack of unity, however I would conclude that overall the EU is a strong functioning body which command enough political and economic clout to ~~allow~~ allow for effectiveness. The lack of a 'domino effect' after Brexit showed the unity amongst the member states. Furthermore, the supranational features of the EU provides it with a platform to combat

global and regional issues effectively and efficiently. This has been shown by its ability to handle manage the Eurozone crisis, as well as their successful in ~~led~~ diplomatic intervention between Russia and Georgia leading to a ceasefire.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

Following the reference to the realist and liberal perspectives, there is discussion of the lack of a common foreign policy although there is a suggestion that steps are being taken towards development in this area as evidenced by the influence of the EU in negotiations with Iran regarding its nuclear weapons programme. There is also discussion of the economic position including divisions between Greece and Germany as well as the broader signs of unity seen in the single currency and single central bank. The level of intergovernmentalism and supranationalism in the EU is well worth investigating as are the mechanics of decision making in the EU institutions and the effectiveness of the EU based on the mechanics of decision making. There is an interesting and quite convincing conclusion.

This script has a very ambitious introduction covering a wide number of issues for further development as the essay continues. These range from the inevitable reference to Brexit as well as the EU position, or lack of, over Syria, climate change and even a reference to the value of the subsidiarity principle..

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 ☒

The European Union is a regional body that consists of 28 member states. ^{Although they might} ~~They are a~~ ~~They~~ have had successes in terms of ~~seen~~ security, economic ~~and~~ and political integration, hopes for an 'ever closer union' have come under threat by what

seems to be ~~an~~ disunity between member states, rendering the regional body ineffective in achieving its aims. ~~This is because~~ Those who argue that the EU is too disunited shape their arguments in the backdrop of ~~Brexit~~ the decision of the UK to leave the EU in a referendum last year, the rise of ~~anti~~ protectionist and far right ~~politics~~, ~~the~~ the lack of ~~an~~ an EU role in Syria due in large to conflicting views within member states, as well as problems and conflict that come with EU enlargement. On the other hand, some argue that the EU remains united in terms of the size of transnational ~~of~~ issues that ~~the~~ the globe faces today (climate change), the resurgence of liberal values of member states as well as the ability of the EU to accommodate and put structures in place for member states to feel in a more comfortable position with the EU (though subsidiary).

The British vote to leave the EU ~~was~~ ~~can~~ last year was a significant turning point in ~~the~~ UK-EU relations & its return. The Brexit campaign was fuelled by ~~fears~~ of anti-immigration sentiments as well as ~~that~~ the fear that EU institutions were eroding national sovereignty. Indeed, the claims

of the 'Brexiters' are not unfounded as ^{decisions made miles away} ~~EU policy~~ has affected those that ~~live in the UK~~ from home affect those who live in the UK. An example of this would be the ECJ ruling last month in which companies and businesses operating in the 'gig' economy who register their workers as 'self-employed' have to pay compensation to their workers & who don't get

paid holidays. All ECJ rulings are binding, and this will no doubt, affect businesses who operate ~~similarly~~ similarly to this way. Here, we see that states who ~~cannot~~ are pushed to the brink because of EU policy can leave the Union if they are not happy, and this could be a huge impact on the ~~to~~ Union as the UK has one of the ~~most~~ greatest economies in the world, as well as being able to wield large amounts of hard and soft power. Although this move by the UK has been unprecedented, there is no doubt that the EU will be less effective with one member gone.

However, efforts have been made to unite members though the reasoning them that there ~~are no more~~ exist mechanisms in which states have more control over their policies. This is through the concept of subsidiarity, in which ~~power~~ power is devolved from centre to lower levels, so that ~~the~~ decisions are being made as low of a level that can be possible, closer to the people. ~~to avoid the~~ This concept was introduced in the Maastricht Treaty. An example of this would be another ECJ ruling in May 2017 ~~was~~ in regards to the EU-Singapore Free Trade Agreement. The ECJ ruled that the EU Parliament and Commission had ~~lost~~ the final capability to engage in

all aspects of the Agreement except for Chapter 9. Chapter 9 involved the ~~mechanism~~ Investor-State-Dispute Settlement ^{through arbitration} (ISDS mechanism which allows companies to sue governments if they ~~are~~ have a loss of profit as a result of national policy), and the ECJ ruled that this needed to be devolved to member states themselves to engage with companies themselves. This example shows that efforts have been made

to ease tensions in ^{proximity of} sovereignty on member states through an organic process, so that the EU can remain to be an effective body.

Critics argue that there exists too many tensions and conflict between the 'big 3', and this has led to an ineffective EU Foreign and Security Policy. [†] This is shown through ~~aspects~~ the lack of role the EU finds itself in Syria who is dominated with the interests of the USA as well as Russia. This is largely due to conflicting ideas on how to deal with the Syrian crisis. An example would be the stance on refugees. On one hand, Germany's Angela Merkel has said that borders have to be open in order to accept as many refugees as possible ~~whereas~~ whereas most other states do not want this to happen. This results in conflict between states, leading the EU to be ineffective on its strategy on how to deal with Syria.

Furthermore, not only is the EU divided, but it seems that the globe has split in half too, with the rise of ~~anti~~ far right politics and protectionism from the newly elected President Trump and his 'make America great again' slogan. His ^{offensive} stance towards regional bodies in general → namely NAFTA, has sent a message to the EU that regional bodies are ineffective,

undoubtedly living in tensions between member states who are already thinking of leaving.

However, there has been an increasing need for cooperation ~~between~~ ~~the EU and~~ for transnational issues such as climate change. With Trump pulling out of the Paris Agreement, the EU finds itself in a

special role on the global stage". Most ~~member~~ states, as pointed out by Merkel after a G7 summit as she said "It was 6 against 1" agree that climate change is a pressing issue that needs to be solved and requires cooperation from member states. With over 300 ^{environmental} ~~policy~~ policies directives already in place, the EU is in a very good position to lead the way towards a brighter and greener future. Cooperation has gone so far as to the ~~the~~ mayors in US cities have defended the Paris Climate Agreement saying they will uphold green policy in the wake of America withdrawing it. To top, ~~the EU~~ it is clear that member states are united in recognising the environmental issues the world faces today, and it is encouraging to see that effective measures are being taken to tackle this transnational issue.

Finally, the disunity that the EU faces today can be ~~seen as an outgrowth~~ attributed to the enlargement ~~project~~ of the EU since 2004 starting with integrating ~~10~~ 10 post Soviet ~~the~~ states into the region, then Hungary and Romania in 2007, and Croatia in 2013. Although this was good at providing a larger internal market and good for the EU economy, this led to a lot of political gridlock towards EU policy. ~~There are just too~~ The ineffectiveness can be further shown by ~~not states towards NATO~~ the 'Atlanticist' approach

as well as the 'Europeanist' approach.

In conclusion disunity in EU has proven to be a massive problem, ~~in the way it deals with~~ and its ineffectiveness, using Brexit as ~~a factor~~ evidence of ineffectiveness, the lack of action Syria as well

as ~~a lack of~~ However, efforts have been made to ease tensions between states through modern of enforcement or subsidiarity as well as international cooperation on ~~environmental cooperation~~ issues, which are transnational in character and cannot be solved by one state ~~alone~~ acting alone. There is also a ~~strong~~ resurgence in ~~liberalism~~ liberalism from the current president Macron in France, who is largely in support of EU cooperation.

* In the EU, ~~there also exists~~ the lack of foreign and security policy can also be attributed to the restrictions it has on developing this. The ~~limits~~ progress made on security could be seen as ^{damagingly} ~~degrading~~ the member state's confidence in NATO which is seen as the cornerstone of ~~the~~ European security.

→ Talk of enlargement. ~~That~~ Turkey wanted to join, but now they don't. President Erdogan + coup d'état → not coinciding with EU rules of democracy.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

Part of the value of this response is the wide number of areas covered. There is discussion on the divisions caused by differing perspectives on immigration among member states. The impact of the ECJ is also discussed along with the attempts to resolve concerns through development of the subsidiarity principle. Whether the EU can ever develop an effective foreign and security policy comparable with that of the US or Russia is debated with reference to Syria and further differences over immigration.

The response certainly covers both sides of the debate including suggestions that the actions of Donald Trump re free trade and NAFTA spell the death of an effective EU contrasted with EU strength and action over the wide area and issue of climate change. The impact of continued EU growth is also discussed.

Paper Summary

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

- Short responses tend to be stronger where they provide a brief definition or overview of the main theme or Key Term.
- In order to gain a higher level and score, short responses will typically require at least three points to be made in relation to the question with explanation and examples.
- Longer responses will require, at the higher level, a debate or explanation of more than one side of the debate.
- Use of political commentators and evidence in support of points made will tend to strengthen a response.
- It is evident that most, if not all, teachers are aware of, and focussed on, the *Further Guidance for Route D* document. This was prepared by the previous Principal Examiner and can be found on the Edexcel website. This document provides additional content explanation and advice to support the initial specification document. There are numerous other valuable resources including past papers and mark schemes. It is also pleasing to note that teachers and students are making good use of recently developed resources as well as researching to provide contemporary examples to support responses.

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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