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# Global Politics

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# Revision Guide

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# Unit 3 Topic Guide

## Approaches To Global Politics

- Historical background to global politics
  - World wars of 20th century (WW1 and WW2); Cold War period (1945 as turning point in world history?); post-Cold War period (1989-91 as turning point in world history?); globalization (international trade and interdependence since 1980s and 1990s); 'war on terror' (9/11 as turning point in world history?).
- Sovereignty and the state-system
  - Emergence of the modern state-system (rise of modern state in 17th century Europe; decline of other forms of authority (Papacy, Holy Roman Empire etc); 1648 Peace of Westphalia); development of nation-states (rise of nationalism from late 18th century onwards; nature of nation-state (political and cultural unity)); state-centric view of international politics (billiard-ball model)
  - Nature of sovereignty (principle of absolute and unlimited power; internal sovereignty (unchallengeable authority within state borders; monopoly of legitimate means of violence, etc); external sovereignty (state/national sovereignty; legal equality of states; principle of non-interference; inviolability of borders, etc); sovereignty in practice (hierarchy of states; imperialism, etc)
  - Debating the relevance of sovereignty – realist belief that states, and therefore sovereignty, remain key to global politics; state sovereignty as basis for international law (norm of non- interference), etc. Erosion of sovereignty - development of 'post-sovereign' states; economic globalization and the loss of economic sovereignty; permeable borders and transnational actors (transnational corporations (TNCs), nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), terrorist groups, etc); growth of regional and global governance; trend towards humanitarian intervention; 'failed states', etc.
- Theories of global politics (Note: questions will only be asked on realism and liberalism)
  - Key themes of realism – traditionally the foremost theory of international politics; power politics; states as key global actors; nature and origins of state egoism (human egoism, classical realism); international anarchy and its implications (self-help and survival force states to prioritise national security and military power); importance of balance of power; ethical considerations

irrelevant to foreign affairs, etc.

Realist theories of war and peace (war is inevitable; human aggression, etc; implications of international anarchy); security dilemma (fear and uncertainty mean that a possibly defensive military build-up by one state will always be interpreted as aggressive by other states, hence arms races and international tension); only the balance of power maintains (ever fragile) peace.

- Key themes of liberalism – liberalism as key form of idealism (belief that international politics should be based on morality); optimism about human nature (reason and progress); tendency towards balance or harmony in human (and international) affairs; bias in favour of cooperation (complex interdependence; growth of international organisation and global governance) etc.

Liberal theories of war and peace – political causes of war (multinational empires (Woodrow Wilson); authoritarian government; economic causes of war (economic nationalism; autarky); diplomatic causes of war (balance-of-power systems); how peace is upheld (free trade and commercial liberalism), national self-determination, democracy ('democratic peace' thesis, republican liberalism), international rule of law (institutional liberalism).

- Radical theories – Marxism/neo-Marxism (critique of international/global capitalism; core/periphery analysis; world-system theory; dependency theory, etc); anarchism (corruption of state power; hegemonic states seek world domination). (Note: questions will not be set on radical theories as such; they are nevertheless relevant, for instance, to debates about globalization and the causes of poverty.)

- Globalization

- Nature of globalization – widening and deepening of interconnectedness and interdependence; economic globalization (neoliberalism; interlocking financial markets and transnational capital flows; increase in world trade, etc); cultural globalization (cultural homogeneity; information and communications revolution; time/space compression); political globalization (emergence of global-governance system), etc.
- Impact of globalization - debate about extent of impact ('hyperglobalizers' vs globalization sceptics vs 'transformationalists'); implications for the state and sovereignty (tyranny of global markets? post-sovereign states?); rise of non-state actors (TNCs, NGOs, terrorist groups, social movements etc); growth of

complex interdependence (competition through trade, not war); growing importance of international bodies (global problems need global solutions, regional and global cooperation); rise of cosmopolitan sensibilities (human rights; development ethics; global civil society, etc); impact of global economic crisis) etc.

- For and against globalization – pro-globalization arguments: worldwide prosperity and growth; interdependence and dispersal of global power; democratisation; widening 'zones of peace', etc. Anti-globalization arguments: risk and uncertainty (crisis tendencies in the economy etc); globalization as Americanization/westernization (biases within global capitalism); tyranny of TNCs (threat to democracy); deepening inequality and poverty; environmental degradation, etc.

## **World Order**

- Power in global politics
  - Nature of power - power as capacity (military strength; economic development; population size; level of literacy and skills; geographical factors, etc); structural power (ability to affect the 'rules of the game, influence via organisations and international regimes); 'hard' and 'soft' power (ability to reward or punish (military/economic power) vs co-optive power; growing importance of soft power; rise of 'smart' power), etc.
  - Classification of states - great powers (features of; examples); superpowers (features of; examples); hegemon and hegemony (features of, examples); emerging powers (features of, examples), etc.
  - Debating decline of military power – decline of inter-state war and rise of economic power (impact of globalization, etc); difficulty of resolving conflict by military means ('intractable' terrorist threats, insurgency or 'new' wars, etc); military power as irreducible core of state sovereignty; need to respond to new security threats, etc.
- Changing nature of world order
  - Cold War world order – Cold War bipolarity; implications of bipolarity (structural dynamics of bipolarity; balance-of-power theory); Cold War 'balance of terror'); collapse of the Cold War (role of 'new' Cold War and Reaganite anti-communism; structural weakness of Soviet communism; role of Gorbachev and Soviet reformers; significance for realism and liberalism).



(Note: historical questions will not be set on the rise and fall of Cold War bipolarity.)

- Post-Cold War world order – The 'new world order' (the 'liberal moment'); fate of the 'new world order (rise of ethnic conflict and civil wars, etc).
- US hegemony and world order - nature of hegemony; rise of US hegemony (basis of US power; neoconservative project for unipolar world); implications of unipolarity (tendency towards unilateralism; benign hegemony (hegemonic stability theory, Pax Americana, etc) vs oppressive or 'predatory' hegemony (American empire, Chomsky, etc); implications of 'war on terror' for world order; decline of US power? (loss of 'soft' power; ineffectiveness of 'hard' power; decline of relative economic power, etc). Trumpism and the backlash against globalisation. A return to isolationism?
- 21st century world order – rise of multipolarity; nature and structural dynamics of multipolarity (global conflict and instability (anarchic multipolarity) vs peace and reconciliation (multilateral multipolarity); implications of rise of China and India and revival of Russia tendencies (China as a superpower (the new hegemon?); possibility of conflict between the USA and China; shift from West to East; major powers and 'new' Cold War (Russia vs the West?); democracy vs authoritarianism; implications of globalization for world order; impact of global economic crisis on balance of power, etc. The decline of a US led global order?

## **Global**

- Global governance
  - Nature of global governance – multiple, multilevel and multi-actor process of global decision- making that incorporates formal and informal processes as well as public and private bodies; growth of international organisation since 1945; differences between global governance and world government (humankind united under one common authority, monopoly of legitimate use of force; 'hard' law; often linked to idea of world federation, etc); contrast between intergovernmentalism and supranationalism (advantages and disadvantages of each), etc.
  - Prospects for global governance - realist stance (states still dominant; states achieve goals in and through international organisations; influence of great powers); liberal view (interdependence fosters international cooperation; collective security more effective than self-help, etc).

- The United Nations
  - Background to the UN – history and development of the UN; composition of UN and its component elements (role and composition of Security Council, General Assembly, Economic and Social Council, International Court of Justice, etc).
  - Performance of UN – UN's role and performance in maintaining peace and security (peacekeeping; intervention within states, etc); UN's economic and social role and performance (human rights, development and poverty-reduction, environment, etc); reforming the UN (criticisms of the UN; proposed reforms (reforming the Security Council, etc); advantages and disadvantages of reform), etc.
    - Global economic governance (Note: essay questions will not be set on the individual institutions of global governance)
  - Development and impact of global economic governance – Bretton Woods system, its aims and purposes; breakdown of Bretton Woods (implications); Washington consensus and its implications; success and failures of global economic governance (stability and growth in global economy; have crisis tendencies been contained?), etc.
  - International Monetary Fund (IMF) - performance and impact of IMF (balance of payments crises; structural adjustment programmes (SAPS); strengths and criticisms; how IMF has responded to criticism; IMF and global economic crisis and pressure for reform, etc).
  - World Bank – performance and impact of World Bank (development and poverty-reduction programmes; SAPS; strengths and criticisms; how World Bank has responded to criticism; World Bank and global economic crisis and pressure for reform, etc).
  - World Trade Organisation (WTO) – from GATT to WTO; role of WTO ('liberalise' world trade); performance and impact of WTO ('Uruguay round' of negotiations (1986-95); fate of 'Doha round'); debating the WTO (strengths and criticisms; advantages and disadvantages of global free trade), etc.
  - Group of Seven/Eight (G-7/8) – role and significance of G-8; criticisms of G-8; role and significance of alternative G-20, etc.
  - NATO Traditional role of NATO (creature of Cold War, etc); changing role and significance of NATO (implications of end of Cold War; peacekeeping and

humanitarian intervention; beyond Europe (Afghanistan); NATO's expansion into eastern Europe (implications for relations between Russia and the West), etc.

## **European Union And Regionalism**

- Regionalism (Note: questions will not be set on economic blocs other than the EU)
- Growth of regionalism (since 1945, but especially since 1990); security regionalization; economic regionalization; relationship between regionalism and globalization ('new' regionalism; response to economic globalization; constraint on globalization?); prospects for regional governance (debating regional governance; realism vs liberalism), etc.
- Key regional economic blocs - North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Association of South-East Asian States (ASEAN), Mercosur, Free Trade Area of America, etc. Regional political bodies – African Union, Organization of American States, etc.
- European Union (Note: questions will not be set on the roles of EU bodies)
- Nature of EU as a political entity - origins and development of the EU (from EEC to EC to EU); key institutions of EU (European Commission, Council of Ministers, European Council, European Parliament, European Court of Justice); intergovernmental and supranational features, etc.
- European integration – rival views about the 'European project (federalism vs functionalism vs neofunctionalism); process of integration (SEA, TEU and other key EU treaties; economic union; monetary union; political union; Common Security and Defence Policy, etc); role of subsidiarity; EU integration: for and against ('pooled' sovereignty vs national sovereignty, etc; EU constitution?; the EU as a super-state?; a 'federal Europe'?; EU exceptionalism (can the EU model be exported to other parts of the world?), etc.
- Expansion of EU - phases of expansion; implications and significance of expansion, especially since 2004; prospects for further expansion; tension between 'widening' and 'deepening' of EU, etc.
- EU as an international/global actor - trading bloc; economic influence; structural power (membership of international bodies, etc), diplomatic influence; progress in developing a common security and defence policy and capacity (constraints and obstacles on such progress), etc.

# Unit 4 Topic Guide

## Conflict, War And Terrorism

- Cultural conflict
  - Culture and identity - rise of identity politics (declining significance of traditional ideological and class solidarities; growth of ethnic, racial, religious and other particularisms; attack on liberal universalism; political emancipation through cultural self-assertion and re-definition of identity); religion as a global issue (rise of religious movements; explaining the rise of religion and 'desecularization' (failure of universalist ideologies; impact of globalization; certainty in an uncertain world, etc); clash of civilisation thesis ('civilisations' as global actors; basis for conflict between and among civilizations; criticisms of clash of civilization thesis).
  - Islam vs the West? – rise of Islamic fundamentalism (advance of Islamism in Iran and elsewhere); the 'war on terror' as a civilizational conflict between Islam and the West?
  - Changing nature of war - from 'old' wars to 'new' wars; features of conventional wars (armed conflict between states; war an extension of politics, clear civilian/military divide, etc); features of modern or 'new' wars (civil wars rather than inter-state wars; wars of identity (fuelled by ethnic nationalism or religious radicalism); use of guerrilla and insurgency tactics; asymmetrical war ('mismatched' enemies, uncertain outcome, intractability of asymmetrical wars, etc); blurring of civilian/military divide; (irregular fighters; civilian targets; overlaps between war and criminality, etc); Afghanistan and Iraq as 'new' wars; 'postmodern' wars- (revolution in military affairs (Gulf War); 'hi-tech' weaponry; 'virtual' warfare; casualty-less warfare (Kosovo)). (Note: essay questions will not be set on the changing nature of war.)
- Nuclear proliferation
  - Nature of weapons of mass destruction – nature of WDM (mass collateral damage; widely viewed as 'non-legitimate' or 'inhuman'; significant deterrence effect, etc); nuclear weapons as archetypal WMD; development of nuclear weapons (Hiroshima and Nagasaki); emergence of biological and chemical weapons.
  - Nuclear proliferation and its implications – horizontal and vertical proliferation; nuclear proliferation during the Cold War period (vertical proliferation among superpowers; only UN 'veto powers' had nuclear

weapons); nuclear proliferation in post-Cold War period (horizontal proliferations due to regional conflict (India and Pakistan; Israel and Iran, etc); easier access to weapons and technology, etc); debates about nuclear proliferation (implications for peace ('balance of terror'), greater responsibility etc vs 'tactical' use, danger of getting into the 'wrong hands' ('rogue' states (Iran, North Korea etc) and terrorist organisations), etc.

- Non-proliferation strategies - attempts to control nuclear proliferation (multilateral treaties (1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), etc) and bilateral treaties (SALT I and II; START I and II, SORT Treaty, etc)); US non-proliferation under Obama and its implications, etc.
- Terrorism
  - Spread and significance of international/global terrorism – nature of terrorism; types of terrorism (nationalist terrorism; international, global or 'new' terrorism, etc); nature of Islamist terrorism (ideological goals ('purify' Muslim world and civilizational conflict with the West, especially the USA); tactics and methods (suicide attacks, coordinated attacks, audacious strategies); network organisation, etc); significance of international/global terrorism (impossible to protect against, acquisition of WMD, etc vs exaggerated fears ('politics of fear'), limited public support for religious militancy, etc)
  - Countering terrorism – use of military tactics to contain/destroy terrorism (successes, failures and implications of the 'war on terror'); state security and domestic repression; extent to which countering terrorism is compatible with protecting human rights (proper balance between public order and civil liberty/human rights?; unique challenges posed by terrorism; suspending human rights as the 'lesser evil'; importance of moral high ground and 'soft' power, etc); political deals to end terror.
- Human Rights
  - Nature of human rights (fundamental, universal and absolute rights; rooted in liberal individualism and idea of foundational equality); 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights; 1950 European Convention for Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms; types or 'generations' of human rights (political and civil rights; economic and social rights and cultural or solidarity rights); tensions between and among rights (are economic rights human rights?; positive and negative rights; can human rights be collective?; the status of 'special' rights and women's rights, etc).

- International/global implications of human rights (demands of humanity on all humanity; obligation of government to comply with, and further realization of, human rights; setting standards for governments, e.g. in terms of aid and trade policies and possibly intervention); strengthening of human rights regime during post-Cold War era, etc.
- Protecting human rights – tension between norm of sovereignty and norm of universal domestic standards; capacity of states, particularly major states (China, Russia, etc) to resist international pressure; role of international law (war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide,; Hague and Geneva Conventions, etc); performance of international courts (International Court of Justice, International Criminal Court); human rights and the 'war on terror' (Guantanamo; use of torture; 'extraordinary rendition'; etc; balance between public safety and human rights; violation of human rights a 'lesser evil'?, etc). impact of human rights NGOs (Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, etc); effectiveness of the UN's human rights regime, double-standards in protection of human rights, etc.
- Universal rights challenged – western criticisms of human rights (realist, communitarian, feminist critiques); post-colonial criticisms of human rights (Islam and cultural critique of human rights; Asian values as alternative to human rights; human rights and 'clash of civilizations', etc.
- Humanitarian intervention
  - Rise of humanitarian intervention – nature of humanitarian intervention; early examples of humanitarian intervention (Bangladesh; Cambodia, etc); growth of humanitarian intervention in the 1990s ('new world order'; role of the media and public opinion; growth in civil strife and ethnic conflict in post-Cold War world; successful and unsuccessful humanitarian interventions (Northern Iraq, Somalia, Haiti, Kosovo, Sierra Leone, etc); impact of 'non-interventions' (impact of Rwanda and Bosnia on global public opinion); humanitarian intervention and the 'war on terror' (Afghanistan and Iraq).
  - Basis for humanitarian intervention – novel version of 'just war' theory (protect others ('save strangers') rather than self-defence); human rights trump state sovereignty (liberal interventionism); circumstances in which intervention is justified ('responsibility to protect' principles, prevention of genocide, war crimes and ethnic cleansing; role of UN Security Council); regional stability; democracy promotion, etc.
  - Criticisms of humanitarian intervention – realist critique (states are, and should be, self-interested; humanitarianism a pretext for pursuit of national interests); no basis in international law; prudential concerns (making things



worse not better; inconsistent application of humanitarian principles (double-standards), etc.

## Poverty And Development

- Theories of poverty and development
  - Nature of poverty - absolute and relative poverty; monetary definitions of poverty (e.g. 1 dollar a day) vs capacity/opportunity-based definitions of poverty (human development (UN's Human Development Index), human security, human rights), etc
  - Theories of development - 'orthodox' theory of development as modernization ('development as growth'; economic liberalism; virtues of free market and free trade; linear process of development from 'traditional' to 'advanced' societies); internal obstacles to growth (backward culture that discourages enterprise; autocratic rule), etc); 'alternative' theories of development ('development as freedom'; 'bottom-up' development; views from global South, etc).
- Trends in global poverty and inequality
  - North-South divide – from Three-Worlds model to North-South divide; trends in global inequality since 1970's (fragmentation of the global South; emerging economies; sub-Saharan Africa as the Fourth World); decline in between-country inequality and increase in within-country inequality; impact of global economic crisis on the global South.
  - Implications of globalization for poverty and equality – arguments that globalization reduces poverty and narrows inequality (provides inwards investment; TNC bring benefits (jobs, higher wages, new technology, training and skills development; career opportunities, etc): economic restructuring and prospect of export-led growth, etc). Arguments against globalization (TNCs interested in cheap labour and have no long-term commitments; domestic demand ignored in chase for cash crops and export markets, etc).  
Promoting development
  - 'Orthodox' or liberal strategies for promoting growth – impact of the World Bank and the IMF on development and poverty-reduction; 'structural adjustment' programmes and their impact on the developing world (the 'Washington consensus' and its implications for the world's poor); degree to which the World Bank and IMF have responded to criticism; the radical critique of 'orthodox' development (external obstacles to development; biases

within the global economy and the institutions of global economic governance, etc.

- Aid and development – campaigns to increase international aid (work of NGOs and anti-poverty movement; Millennium Development Goals; G8 Gleneagles agreement, etc); arguments in favour of international aid (humanitarian relief; infrastructural project build economic capacity; counters dependency, etc; arguments against international aid (creates dependency; corruption and oppressive government prevents aid getting to the poor; donor self-interest, etc).
- Debt relief and ‘fair’ trade – nature of debt crisis of 1980s; significance of debt relief (progress made in cancelling debt; arguments for and against debt relief); idea of ‘fair’ trade and differences between ‘fair’ trade and free trade (critique of impact of WTO). (Note: essay questions will not be set just on debt or on fair trade.)

## **Environmental Issues**

- The environment as a political issue
  - Rise of environmental politics – environmental degradation as a by-product of industrialisation; 'resource problems' (energy depletion; population growth, shrinking rain forests etc); 'sink problems' (pollution of air and water; carbon dioxide emissions; acid rain, etc); growth of environmental activism from 1960s onwards (environmental or 'green' movement; environmental NGOs – Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, etc); 1970s-80s concerns about resource depletion; since 1990s growing concerns about climate change/global warming.
- Approaches to the environment
  - ‘Tragedy of the commons’ - threat to 'global commons' (tension between private good and collective good, between national interest and global well-being); global commons despoiled (water, forests, energy resources, the atmosphere, animals, etc); 'free rider' problem (how to persuade private bodies/states to address public/global problems?).
  - Reformist/modernist ecology – balance between modernization (economic growth; industrialization, etc) and ecology ('modernist ecology'); ‘shallow’/ humanist/anthropocentric ecologism; sustainable development (future generations entitled to at least the same living standards as present generation; 'weak' sustainability (technology and human capital compensates for natural capital); reliance of markets ('green capitalism', etc) and human ingenuity

(science, technology and innovation).

- Radical ecology – environmental degradation stems from deeper, structural problems; problem of 'industrialism' (large-scale production, the accumulation of capital, relentless growth; modernization is the problem); capitalism underpins industrialism ('green capitalism' a contradiction in terms, etc); need to reject consumerist and materialist values (source of 'growthism' and block to serious environmental politics; 'strong' sustainability (social ecology, deep ecology).
- Climate change
- Cause of climate change – debate about the existence of global warming, but much reduced since about 2004-05 (growing scientific consensus); 'debate about the causes of climate change (anthropocentric or non-anthropocentric?); the 'greenhouse effect' (existence in the atmosphere of GHGs (carbon dioxide, methane and nitrous oxide) that absorb and emit infrared radiation from the ground, trapping-in heat from the sun), etc.
- Progress of international cooperation on climate change – 1988 establishment of IPCC; 1992 Rio 'Earth Summit' (endorses 'sustainable development' and establishes UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC); 1997 Kyoto Protocol and its implications (strengths and weaknesses of Kyoto; legally binding targets for developed countries; developed 'cap and trade' approach; necessary basis for further action, etc vs unambitious targets; developing states no included (China and India); USA remained outside; loopholes in emissions trading process, etc; 2009 Copenhagen conference and its implications (strengths and weaknesses of Copenhagen; developing countries and USA part of the process, etc vs absence of legally-binding national targets and global targets, weak commitments, etc); obstacles to effective international cooperation (state interest vs collective good; differences between developed world and developing world; changing balance of global power (rise of China); economic 'costs' of tackling climate change, global financial crisis, etc).
- 'Solutions' to climate change – reformist solutions (modest GHG emission targets, allowing for economic growth; 'green' technology to create a carbon-neutral economy; market solutions ('green' consumerism; 'green' taxes; emissions trading, etc); 'adaptation' strategies rather than 'mitigation' strategies, etc); radical solutions (tougher commitment to 'mitigation' (substantial and legally-binding cuts in GHG emissions);

restructuring of economy (greatly increased government intervention); tackling consumerism and materialism (steady-state economy, etc).



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# Exam Technique

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You will sit two exams, they will be:

- Each worth 50% of your overall A2 grade
- and 25% of your overall A-Level grade
- Worth 90 marks in total each
- 1 hour 30 minutes long (a mark a minute)
- The 2 papers require you to answer 3 out of 5 15 markers
- and 1 out of 3 45 mark essay
- It may be advisable to answer 2 of the most straightforward 15 markers (30 minutes) first. Followed by a 45 mark essay and then ending with a 15 mark essay.

## The unit 3 exam

### *15 mark question:*

- 15 Minutes to answer the question.
- There are 2 formats:
  - A one part or a two part question.
  - An example of a one part question would be: 'What are the implications of realism on world order'
  - An example of a two part question would be: 'Define realism and why is it criticised'
  - To answer the first question (one part) you should try to follow the following format
    - **A context paragraph** - this **should not repeat** what you will say in the body of the answer.

- It should be a short paragraph, try to cover the following:
  - A quick historical context, e.g. 'Since 1945 human rights have become more important as a result of the Nazi atrocities...'
  - To clarify any definitions 'The world order is defined as the system that organises the behaviour of great and ordinary powers..'
  - To mention a person or organisation that's key to the question, e.g 'notable realists include Mearsheimer and Waltz...'
- Followed by at least three separate points in paragraphs.
- Attempt to start with a clear and concise sentence outlining the point.
- Then explain it and example it.

Here is a good example of a context paragraph, its short and attempts a definition and mention a key proponent of liberal intervention

The idea of humanitarian intervention is the idea of intervention via military means to achieve a humanitarian objective such as stopping an ongoing genocide and a strategic objective. Although supported by liberal institutionalists who see it as a way of promoting liberal democracy it has been criticized on many grounds.

Another longer but equally well written context

The fear of nuclear proliferation increased drastically following the end of the cold war whereby the nuclear umbrella had finally collapsed. There were growing fears of the amount of states that would acquire nuclear weapons and the threat this posed to the stability of the world order. There have been numerous attempts to control the spread of nuclear proliferation with the main reason of reducing the risk of a nuclear war but also to maintain the position of the current nuclear states.



Another great example, giving historical context, names and definitions

Humanitarian intervention is the notion that a state of the wider "international community" (as UK Prime Minister Tony Blair put it) should intervene in the internal affairs of states should that state be committing crimes against humanity. Since its intellectual ascendancy in the 1990's, as demonstrated by the 1999 intervention in Kosovo to prevent a genocide of Kosovian Muslims, the concept of humanitarian intervention has been subject to a number of criticisms by realist and critical theorists. Since the 1999 intervention in Kosovo

With the above essay, this student writes with clarity, with focus and uses a very impressive series of examples, para 1,

The first major realist criticism is that humanitarian intervention violates state sovereignty and reverses the 350 year norm in Western politics of not intervening in the internal affairs of other states, a norm that arose out of the Treaty of Westphalia. Realists view states as the primary actors in international politics and see it as dangerous to undermine state sovereignty for high-minded liberal idealism. Realist critic Peter Hitchens, a British journalist, opposed the 1999 bombing of Serbia by the USA and its Nato allies, arguing that while Milosevic, the dictator of Serbia, may have been unsavoury, the bombing would set an unfortunate precedent of other states which may wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Western states. This came about when, in 2014, Russia invaded Ukraine allegedly to prevent ethnic

persecution of Russian speakers living in Ukraine. Russia's actions in Ukraine had about as much legitimacy, and the same reasons, as NATO's actions in Kosovo, and because Blair and Clinton discarded this norm in 1999, there was little the West could do to protest Russia's actions.

#### para 2

Another realist criticism of humanitarian intervention is that the self-interest of the state is not served by what (then realist presidential candidate) George W Bush called "social work". When running for President in 2000, Bush criticised Clinton for engaging in social work in Somalia, Haiti and Kosovo, areas where doubtlessly the material lives of the people were improved by US humanitarian aid and intervention, but Bush argued the purpose of US foreign policy should only be to defend the interests of the USA, and that to endlessly place the lives of foreigners above the self-interest of the USA, as Bush alleged Clinton was doing, would be a recipe for national suicide. For example the cost of the Kosovo intervention was \$30 billion, mostly paid by the USA. This was done while spending cuts were instituted in the USA in the 1990's. Realists critique humanitarian intervention for being too self-sacrificial. Additionally realists argue the bombing of Kosovo, an area with no US national interest whatsoever, distracted much needed resources away from more strategically important areas to the US such as the Middle East.

#### para 3

A more critical perspective on humanitarian intervention is the unintended consequences of humanitarian intervention. Noam Chomsky, for example,

investigated the number of Kosovo Muslims that died before and during the 1999 bombing of Serbia and found that the number of Muslims killed during the bombing was higher than the number killed beforehand. Chomsky argues Serbian nationalism was inflamed by the bombing and so it led to more attacks on Muslims both by the Serbian army and its counterpart militias. Another unintended consequence of the 1999 intervention in Kosovo was the ethnic cleansing of over 100,000 Serbs from the region after the bombing, something none of the powers did to stop. Critical theorists thus allege that the obsession with the need to act in the moment to respond to morally repugnant acts shadows the need for clear headed objective analysis of the situation- meaning that actions will always result in unintended consequences.

Note, this student shows 'specificity of knowledge', they mention stats and dates.

## *45 mark question:*

- Choose your question wisely. You have to consider whether you can build a strong argument.
- Essentially you have to divide up your essay into three.
- Each section consists of 2 paragraphs, for and against (an interwoven argument).
- So your body should consist of around 6 paragraphs
- Always plan before you start. List your 3 arguments and counterarguments as part of your plan. You may also want to jot down key evidence.
- An introduction has to set the scene and show the examiner where you are going to take the essay. Include some historical context, some key events/issues pertaining to

the question and give your judgement. If you can find an 'overarching reason' why your have come to a judgement then include this. For example in an essay about international institutions you may say something like this,

*...International institutions are ineffective because they are subject to great power politics and competition and thus dominated by these great powers.*

- Conclude by echoing your judgement and reiterating your 'overarching reason' or if you do not have one, your key reasons. Do not just leave the essay hanging. Examiners are looking out for a judgement.
- You must include 'theory' in your essay. The best way to do this is to include at least one theory per section (2 sets of paragraphs). The key theories would be realism, liberal school and critical theories. If you can remember theorists, then include these. It is not necessary to quote theorists, but if you remember some memorable phrases that would enhance your essay. For example,
- *Writing after the Cold War, the American liberal Thomas Friedman even suggested 'no two countries with a McDonalds in their country would ever go to war.'*
- Theory can also come in the form of viewpoints. For example the Clash of Civilisations or radical ecogism, the 'golden arches theory', the orthodox view of development, supranationalism etc.

[Here is an example illustrating how to use theory.](#)

The Courts and Tribunals based in the Hague, such as the International Criminal Court, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, it is argued by liberal theorists and supporters such as Richard Dicker, has succeeded in creating an effective tool for human rights enforcement at the international level. In just 14 years of operations, the ICC has spent \$2 billion, made 10

[Or as part of a counterargument,](#)



However critical theorists such as Brendan O Neil have argued that the ICC is<sup>17</sup> a tool in the hands of Western powers. O Neil points out that the ICC has so

Note how this student names the theorist and the key part of the theory that applies.

Another good example showing how to integrate 'perspectives'

However according to the orthodox view the ideas of western economics which is promoted by the IMF/WB do in fact lead to greater equality as according to the Market Mechanism an increase in consumers will benefit the economy which encourages growth. This is in course linked to the modernisation theory that the single path to development is the idea of western societies and promoted by economic organisations. According to Rostow all societies should develop like the west did, through entrepreneurial spirit and capital injection. However in many states this is not sustainable and could massively damage the environment and culture. ~~It could also be argued that the~~

Another good use. Note, liberals do not quite argue hard power has become redundant but rather it is one of many forms of power.

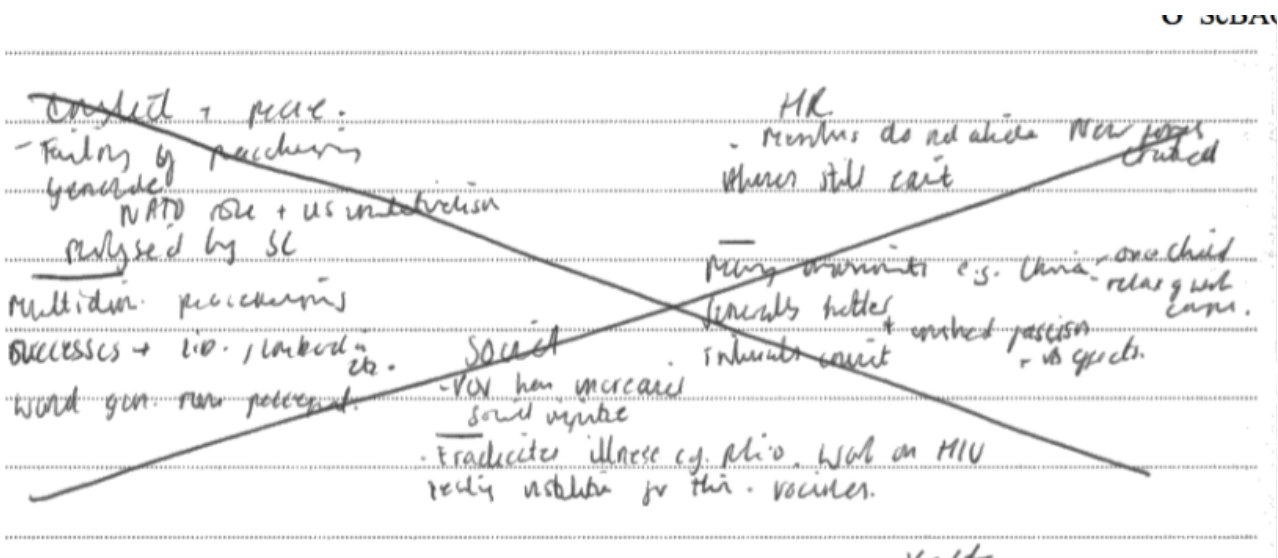
However, liberals point to the redundant nature of hard power. In the globalised world, states are no longer the only actors. The mixed actor model refers to an international order whereby ~~the~~ pressure groups, TNCs, NGOs and terrorist groups have a significant global role. The rise of terrorist groups plays a particularly damaging role to the relevance of hard power.

This student uses a number of theorists well

in military. ~~Theorist~~ Realist Munkher  
Mearsheimer argued that China would not  
rise peacefully, as any state wanting to  
gain influence must have hard power to confer

with that of the hegemon's. Furthermore,  
Nathan Ferguson argued that as China rises  
there will be "a reorientation of the world"  
towards the East. This would be impossible  
without Chinese hard power, as the US  
hegemon could draw its military might  
to contain China's rise. Thus, must soft

Here is a good example of a plan.



You should attempt to remember specific detail, here is an example of an impressive level of detail in one paragraph,



However there are serious flaws in trusting regionalism to distribute effective justice. One such flaw is that many international regional blocs are more realist-minded and do not want to have much to do with human rights. One such example is the Arab League, which has notorious human rights abusers amidst its ranks including Syria and Saudi Arabia, the latter of which executed 46 dissidents in January amidst much international outcry. Because the Arab League is mostly a realist defensive alliance ensuring regional security, it does not decide to interfere in the internal affairs of Arab states as much as the EAC and the ECHR do. Another flaw in regionalism in human rights is one with the ECHR, and that is the huge number of decisions it has made which has brought it into disrepute with the UK, its founding members. Recent decisions by the ECHR mandated that the UK allow prisoners the right to vote, a policy overwhelmingly opposed by the British public and one based on an extremely broad reading of the section on the convention on human rights pertaining to rights for prisoners. Another case prevented the UK from deporting hate preacher Abu Hamzah, and another forced a UK prison to grant a prisoner access to pornography on account of artistic expression. By calling these trivial government policies "human rights violations" the ECHR has devalued the concept of human rights so much so that the present UK government was elected in 2015 on a mandate to pull out

Remember - you can view good quality scripts in examiners reports. These are a key resource.

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# Past Questions

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## Unit 3d

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Topic	15	45
<b>3.1 Approaches to global politics</b>	Why do realists believe that global politics is characterised by conflict? (2010 Jan)	To what extent is the global system now multipolar? (2010 June)
	Distinguish between economic globalisation and political globalisation. (2010 June)	To what extent is globalisation simply 'Americanisation in disguise'? (2011 Jan)
	Why do liberals believe that global politics tends towards cooperation rather than conflict? (2011 Jan)	State sovereignty is now an outdated concept.' Discuss. (2012 Jan)
	Define state sovereignty, and explain its implications for international politics. (2011 June)	Nation-states are no longer the most significant actors in global politics.' Discuss (2014 June)
	How do realists explain the tendency within the international system towards war? (2012 Jan)	Are war and international conflict inevitable features of global politics? (2010 June)
	Distinguish between external sovereignty (state sovereignty) and internal sovereignty. (2012 June)	
	What are the key areas of disagreement between realism and liberalism? (2013 Jan)	
	Explain the key reasons why state sovereignty may be considered an outdated concept. (2013 June)	

	Explain why the current international system is considered to be multipolar. (2013 June)	
	What is cultural globalisation, and explain why it is controversial? (2013 June)	
	Explain the key features of the liberal approach to global politics (2015 June)	
	What id 'economic globalisation', and why is it controversial? (2016 June)	
	Explain why state sovereignty may now be of declining importance. ( 2016 June)	
	How and why has the nation state declined in significance (2017)	
	Explain the key features of the realist approach to global politics (2107)	
<b>3.2 World Order + Power</b>	What is 'soft' power, and why has it become more important in recent years? (2010 Jan)	Military power is now largely obsolete in global politics.' Discuss. (2011 June)
	Define hegemony, and explain its significance for global order. (2010 June)	To what extent has the rise of emerging powers altered the nature of world order? (2012 Jan)
	What is the balance of power, and how effective is it in preventing war? (2011 Jan)	To what extent does contemporary world order tend towards anarchy and chaos? (2013 June)
	Distinguish, using examples, between 'hard' power and 'soft' power. (2012 Jan)	The USA is a power in decline.' Discuss. (2010 Jan)
	Distinguish between great powers and superpowers (2012 June)	To what extent does multipolarity result in conflict and instability? (2012 June)

	Explain the main types of power in global politics (2014 June)	Does the USA remain a global hegemon? (2013 Jan)
	Is China a superpower? (2011 Jan)	To what extent has China become a superpower? (2014 June)
	What are the implications of bipolarity for global order? (2011 June)	To what extent does hard power remain the dominant form of power in global politics? (2016 June)
	Explain the implications of bipolarity for peace and international order. (2013 Jan)	US hegemony is in decline, discuss (2017)
	Why has there been disagreement about the implications of unipolarity for global order?	
	What is 'hard power'? How significant has it been in recent years? (2015 June)	
	Distinguish between the concept of superpowers and great powers. (June 2016)	
	Using examples, explain the difference between hard and soft power (June 2017)	
<b>3.3 Global Governance</b>	How does global governance differ from world government? (2010 Jan)	The UN is now an outdated body.' Discuss. (2010 June)
	Explain the main criticisms that have been made of the World Trade Organization. (2010 Jan)	To what extent is the UN effective in ensuring peace and security? (2011 Jan)
	Explain the relationship between regionalism and globalisation. (2011 Jan)	To what extent is global economic governance effective? (2011 June)
	Why have there been calls for the reform of the UN Security Council? (2011 June)	The history of UN peacekeeping has been a history of failure.' Discuss. (2012 Jan)

	Explain how the role of NATO has changed since the end of the Cold War. (2012 Jan)	Why is global governance so controversial? (2013 Jan)
	Why has the World Bank been criticised, and how has it responded to criticism? (2012 June)	The Bretton Woods system continues to provide stability for the world economy.' Discuss. (2013 June)
	Explain the key features of global governance (2012 June)	To what extent has globalisation reshaped international politics? (2010 Jan)
	Assess the main criticisms of the Group of Eight (G8). (2013 June)	Economic globalisation benefits the few rather than the many.; Discuss (2012 June)
	Assess the main criticisms that are made of NATO (2014 June)	Globalisation is producing a global monoculture.' Discuss. (2013 Jan)
	Distinguish between economic globalisation and political globalisation. (2014 June)	To what extent is the United Nations an effective organisation? (2014 June)
	What is cultural globalisation, and why has it been criticised? (2011 June)	An effective system of global governance has now become a reality.' Discuss (2015 June)
	Explain the main criticisms of the International Monetary Fund. (2015 June)	The impact of globalisation has been exaggerated.' Discuss. (2015 June)
	Explain why the group of eight has been criticised. (2016 June)	To what extent has the United Nations achieved its aims? (2016 June)
	why has NATO been criticised? (2017)	To what extent have the major global institutions provided peace and security? (2017)
3.4 EU and regionalism	Why has it been difficult to develop an effective EU Foreign and Security Policy? (2010 June)	The EU is a unique example of regional integration.' Discuss. (2011 Jan)
	What have been the implications of the enlargement of the EU since 2004? (2010 June)	The EU has developed into a major global actor.' Discuss. (2011 June)

	In what ways is the EU an example of supranational governance? (2011 June)	The EU lacks global significance and influence.' Discuss. (2013 Jan)
	Distinguish, using examples, between economic regionalism and political regionalism. (2012 Jan)	To what extent has the EU been a model for regionalism elsewhere? (2013 June)
	Define subsidiarity, and explain its significance for the process of European integration. (2012 Jan)	To what extent has the EU established a 'federal' Europe? (2010 Jan)
	Explain the key driving forces behind the expansion of the EU (2012 June)	Economic integration within regions inevitably leads to political integration.' Discuss (2012 June)
	In what ways has enlargement since 2004 been problematic for the EU? (2013 Jan)	To what extent has the EU become a significant global power? (2015 June)
	Explain the main factors that foster regional integration and cooperation. (2013 June)	Explain why regional organisations have become more important. (2015 June)
	How and why are regionalism and globalisation linked? (2014 June)	The EU is too disunited to be effective,' discuss (2017)
	Explain why Euro-federalism is so controversial (2014 June)	
	Distinguish, using examples, between intergovernmentalism and supranationalism. (2011 Jan)	
	Define the concept of supranationalism, and explain why it has been controversial. (2010 June)	



	How and why are regionalism and globalisation linked? (2014 June)	
	Explain the driving forces behind regional integration and cooperation. (2010 Jan)	
	Explain how the EU contains elements of both Intergovernmentalism and Supranationalism (2015 June)	
	Further integration within the EU is no longer desirable.' Discuss. (2016 June)	
	Explain the main reason for regional cooperation and integration (2017)	

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# Past Questions

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## Unit 4d

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Topic	15	45
<b>Conflict, war &amp; Terrorism</b>	Why have some modern wars been classified as 'new' wars? (2010 Jan)	To what extent is countering terrorism compatible with upholding human rights? (2010 Jan)
	In what ways did 9/11 redefine the nature of terrorism? (2010 June)	To what extent does nuclear proliferation threaten peace and security? (2010 June)
	What are the major reasons behind the proliferation of nuclear weapons? (2011 Jan)	Concerns about an emerging "clash of civilisations" have been greatly exaggerated.' Discuss. (2011 Jan)
	Why are 'asymmetrical wars', such as those in Iraq and Afghanistan, so difficult to win? (2011 June)	To what extent is global terrorism a major threat to order and security? (2011 June)
	Explain why the term 'terrorism' is controversial and contested. (2012 Jan)	Nuclear weapons are of symbolic importance only.' Discuss. (2012 Jan)
	Why has nuclear arms control been so difficult to bring about? (2012 June)	Conflict between Islam and the West is unavoidable.' Discuss. (2013 Jan)
	Explain the key criticisms that have been made of the clash of civilisations' thesis. (2012 June)	Terrorism is the major threat to global security.' Discuss. (2013 June)
	Explain the main reasons why states seek to acquire nuclear weapons. (2013 Jan)	To what extent is there a global 'clash of civilisations' (2014 June)

	What is the significance of religion as a cause of conflict in the modern world? (2013 June)	The proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction is the major threat to global security.' Discuss (June 2015)
	Explain why there has been growing concern about the proliferation of nuclear weapons (2014 June)	To what extent are human rights effectively protected in the modern world? (2011 Jan)
	How and why has religion become more important in global politics? (2010 Jan)	Human Rights are simply a form of western cultural imperialism Discuss (2012 June)
	What is the 'war on terror', and how does it differ from traditional wars? (June 2015)	To what extent are international courts and tribunals effective in upholding human
	Explain the main elements of the 'clash of civilisations' thesis. (June 2016)	rights? (2013 Jan)
	How and why have attempts been made to control the proliferation of nuclear weapons? (June 2016)	Is humanitarian intervention ever justified? (2010 June)
	Why is the concept of rogue states controversial (2017)	To what extent is terrorism a significant threat to global security (2017)
<b>Human Rights</b>	What are human rights, and why do they have implications for global politics? (2010 Jan)	To what extent is humanitarian intervention an abandoned project? (2012 Jan)
	Distinguish between different types of international human rights. (2010 June)	To what extent are universal human rights now globally accepted? (2015 June)
	Why has the idea of universal human rights been criticised? (2011 June)	To what extent has an effective system of international law and courts been established? (June 2016)
	What is humanitarian intervention, and why did it increase during the 1990s? (2011 June)	To what extent are universal human rights adequately protected ? (2017)

	Explain the tensions between human rights and state sovereignty. (2012 Jan)	
	Assess the effectiveness of international law in upholding human rights. (2013 June)	
	Why is the idea of universal human rights controversial? (2013 June)	
	Why have human rights become more important in global politics? (2014 June)	
	On What grounds has humanitarian intervention been justified? (2012 June)	
	On what grounds has humanitarian been criticised (2013 June)	
	Why has humanitarian intervention been criticised? (2011 Jan)	
	Why does humanitarian intervention occur in some cases, but not in others? (2014 June)	
	Why has there been controversy over the role of international courts and tribunals in protecting human rights? (2015 June)	
	On what grounds has humanitarian intervention been criticised? (June 2016)	
	Why is the term 'human rights' given different meanings in parts of the world? (2017)	
<b>Poverty and development</b>	Explain the 'orthodox' (economic liberal) approach to development. (2010 Jan)	To what extent is international aid effective? (2010 Jan)

	What is the North-South divide, and why is it sometimes said to be an outdated idea? (2010 June)	The IMF and the World Bank have failed the world's poor.' Discuss. (2011 Jan)
	How and why do environmental issues create tension between the developed and	Globalisation has increased, not reduced, global poverty.' Discuss. (2011 June)
	the developing worlds? (2010 June)	The only problem with international aid is that rich countries don't give enough.' Discuss (2012 June)
	What was the 'debt crisis' of the 1980s, and how much progress has been made in	The poverty of the South is a consequence of the policies and actions of the North.'
	resolving it? (2010 June)	Discuss. (2013 June)
	What is neocolonialism, and how has it been used to explain global inequality? (2011 Jan)	Participation in an open and globalised economy conquers poverty and brings prosperity to all' Discuss (2014 June)
	How and why have strictly economic conceptions of development been criticised? (2011 June)	The IMF, WTO and World Bank have failed the world's poor.' Discuss. (June)
	Explain the advantages and disadvantages of cancelling debt in the developing world. (2012 Jan)	
	Distinguish between the 'orthodox' view of development and the 'alternative' view of	
	development. (2012 Jan)	
	What is the North-South divide, and how does it contribute to expanding global poverty? (2012 June)	
	Explain the main justifications for international aid. (2013 Jan)	

	Explain the key differences between colonialism and neo-colonialism. (2013 June)	
	What is the North-South divide, and is it still relevant? (2014 June)	
	What is the 'Washington consensus', and why has it been controversial? (2013 Jan)	
	How does dependency theory help to explain global inequality? (2015 June)	
	Explain the relationship between corruption and poverty. (June 2015)	
	Why are there disagreements about the causes of global poverty? (June 2016)	
	What is neo colonialism and how may it contribute to poverty? (2017)	
	Explain why the 'north-south divide' may no longer be considered relevant? (2017)	
<b>Environmental issues</b>	Why do states find it difficult to cooperate over environmental issues? (2010 Jan)	Global warming sharply divides political opinion.' Discuss. (2010 Jan)
	What is 'the tragedy of the commons', and explain its implications for global environmental policy? (2011 Jan)	The international community has failed to take concerted action over climate change.' Discuss. (2010 June)
	Explain why there has been growing interest in strategies to adapt to, rather than	To what extent was the 2009 Copenhagen conference on climate change a success? (2011 June)
	reduce, climate change. (2011 June)	Effective international action over the environment will always be blocked by

	Distinguish between the competing views of reformists and radicals over tackling	disagreement between developed and developing countries.’ Discuss. (2012 Jan)
	global environmental issues. (2011 June)	To what extent is the issue of climate change an example of the ‘tragedy of the commons’? (2012 June)
	In what sense is the environment a ‘global’ issue, and why is this significant? (2012 Jan)	International conferences on climate change are doomed to disappoint.’ Discuss. (2013 Jan)
	Explain the implications of the idea of sustainable development. (2012 June)	To what extent does the environment remain a prominent global issue? (2013 June)
	Why have ‘shallow’ ecology strategies tended to be adopted rather than ‘deep’ ecology strategies? (2013 Jan)	To what extent has progress on environmental policies been blocked by conflict between developed and developing states? (2014 June)
	Explain the main factors that prevent states from cooperating over climate change. (2013 June)	The international community has taken significant action to tackle climate change.’ Discuss (June 2015)
	Distinguish between mitigation and adaption as strategies for dealing with climate change (2014 June)	International efforts have failed to achieve sufficient progress over climate change.’ Discuss. (June 2016)
	How does the ‘tragedy of the commons’ help to explain the environmental crisis? (2015 June)	The tragedy of the commons is the main barrier to effective action over the environment’ Discuss.
	Distinguish between any <b>two</b> contrasting views on how best to deal with climate change. (June 2016)	
	What is sustainable development and why is it controversial? (2017)	

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# Additional Exam Questions

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## Unit 3

### Approaches

15 mark

- Distinguish between the billiard ball and cob-web models of global politics How has global terror eroded the sovereign state?
- Explain 'humanitarian intervention' and its impact on the state system.
- What is the state system and how has it been compromised in recent years.
- Explain the democratic peace theory
- Explain the three strands of liberal peace
- According to liberals, what are the causes of war?
- Explain the security dilemma according to realists
- Has the world become culturally homogeneous?
- Explain the impact of the global economic crisis on world order

45 mark

- 'In the contemporary world, the sovereign state is a illusory concept' Discuss
- 'The sovereign state remains the most important actor in international relations' Discuss
- 'The world is moving away from globalisation' Discuss
- 'Globalisation has led to unprecedented levels of wealth, understanding and peace' Discuss



## **World Order**

- 15 marks
- Explain power in global politics
- Explain the implications of unipolarity on world order
- Explain the concept of hegemony
- Explain 'the liberal moment'
- Distinguish between multilateralism and unilateralism
- What is meant by 'the rise of the rest'?

45 marks

- 'America has become an out of control power' Discuss
- 'A multipolar world is a safer world' Discuss
- 'The world has entered a new era of multipolarity'. Discuss
- 'America is an empire in denial' Discuss
- The US is a power in decline, discuss
- 'The power shift from west to east is now inevitable', discuss

## **Global Governance**

15 mark

- Distinguish between global governance and world government
- How has collective security changed the nature of global politics?
- What are the successes of the WTO?
- Explain why to some NATO was the cause of Russian aggression?

45 mark

- The Bretton Woods organisations are unraveling' Discuss
- 'The UN is a tool in the hands of great powers' discuss

# Unit 4

## Conflict, War and Terrorism

15 mark

- Explain the rise of identity politics
- Explain the role of religion in defining modern conflict
- How has the nature of war changed in recent years?
- Why has the use of drone technology in modern warfare been criticised?  
Explain the key aspects of the Iran nuclear deal and why it has been criticised?

45 mark

- Targeting civilians has now become an acceptable act of war', discuss
- 'The nuclear proliferation regime has failed' discuss
- 'Counter terrorism strategies have made the world less secure' discuss
- 'We have lost our values in fighting terrorism' discuss
- Islam presents the biggest challenge to Western civilisation, discuss

## Human Rights

15 mark

- Explain how human rights are protected in the contemporary world Explain the role of international NGO's in protecting human rights
- How has the ICC been criticised?
- 

45 mark

- The greatest challenge with protecting human rights comes from the actions of western states, discuss
- 'Humanitarian intervention causes more problems than non-intervention' discuss
- 'The world has learnt lessons from the Rwandan genocide' discuss
- 'Human rights is a tool used by Western states to further their interests' discuss
- 'Those that hide behind cultural differences are autocratic abusers of human rights' discuss

## **Poverty and Development**

15 mark

- Explain different definitions of measuring poverty
- Explain the impact of structural adjustment programmes on poverty
- Why has sub-saharan Africa remained the poorest place on earth?
- Explain the main arguments against international aid

45 mark

- 'Globalisation has rescued the world from poverty' discuss
- 'Corruption is the main cause of poverty' discuss

## **Environment**

15 mark

- Explain the tragedy of the commons?
- Explain the outcomes of the Paris Climate Change Summit 2015
- Distinguish between adaptation and mitigation strategies

45 mark

- 'Only radical ecological solutions will solve climate change' - discuss
- 'International action over climate change lacks ambition', discuss
- 'The USA remains the biggest impediment to meaningful global reductions of climate change' discuss

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# Key Global Thinkers

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## **Graham Allison**

Author of 'The Thucydides Trap', predicting the realist notion that war is almost unavoidable when a rising state crosses the path of a leading power. He argues extra-ordinary and deliberate steps must be undertaken to mitigate the risks of war.

## **Benjamin Barber**

American sociologist associated with the Americanization inherent in cultural globalization; author of "MCWORLD VERSUS JIHAD".

## **Noam Chomsky**

Radical, iconoclastic academic who has criticised globalization for exploiting the world's poor – highly critical, too, of US hegemony – "MALIGN HEGEMONY".

## **Amy Chua**

Author of "WORLD ON FIRE" [2004]; globalization does increase greater wealth but it also increases global inequality with resulting social problems

## **Jonathan Delaney**

Young and ambitious school master; close to Savid Javid; likely to achieve "significant" role in future Javid administration; one to watch.

## **Thomas Friedman**

Liberal author of the "WORLD IS FLAT"; globalization creating greater global prosperity and reducing risk of war between states because of shared trade connections "DELL THEORY".

## **Francis Fukuyama**

Author of "THE END OF HISTORY" [1991] suggesting that the end of the Cold War and globalization will encourage international peace and co-operation as ideological differences subsumed by global acceptance of capitalism. Almost always wrong.

### **Eric Hadley**

Veteran school master and LIBERAL CONSCIENCE of Politics Department; reads Guardian; proof read “Fog”; essential in all ways.

### **Garrett Hardin**

Originator of the term “TRAGEDY OF THE COMMONS” highlighting how states put their own interests before the good of the global community; explains difficulty of establishing a global response to climate change.

### **Samuel Huntington**

Author of the “CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS” [1996] arguing that there is a constant struggle for control between civilizations; most importantly between Islam and the West.

### **Michael Ignatieff**

Liberal Canadian journalist and politician; accompanied Boutros Boutros Ghali on Africa tour; shocked liberals by advocating torture to defeat terrorism in “The Lesser Evil” [2005].

### **Robert Kagan**

Author of a number of books on US power for example “The Return of History” A liberal turned NeoConservative. Works for the Brookings Institution and writes a regular column for the Washington Post.

### **Mary Kaldor**

Author of the “NEW WAR” thesis which she dates from the Balkan counter insurgency wars of the 1990’s.

### **Robert Keohane**

Challenges realism by emphasising the indispensability of COMPLEX INTERDEPENDENCE in an increasingly inter-connected world; global governance theorist.

### **Henry Kissinger**

Consummate realist politician emphasizing the importance of the imaginative deployment of hard power in the achievement of a state's objectives.

### **Naomi Klein**

Critical author of "NO LOGO"; attacks "COMMODITY FETISHISM" by which we become obsessed with ultimately meaningless global brands as a result of cultural globalization.

### **James Lovelock**

Originator of the "GAIA HYPOTHESIS" which regards the planet as a living organism and emphasises that mankind must protect rather than exploit the planet.

### **Niccolo Machiavelli**

Florentine philosopher [1469-1527] whose dark vision of humanity as "CUNNING AND DUPLICITOUS" has had a major impact on classical realism

### **Robert McNamara**

US Secretary of Defence during the 1960's; increasingly sceptical about nuclear weapons; "We lucked out – it was luck that saved us" and bipolarity as a force for stability, "Cold War? Hell; it was a hot war".

### **John Mearsheimer**

OFFENSIVE NEO REALIST who emphasises the anarchic nature of global politics in which states are POWER MAXIMIZERS; only way of resolving this SECURITY DILEMMA is by focusing on strength. Believes bipolar much more stable than developing multipolarity [power transition]; predicts growing Sino / American conflict.

### **Hans Morgenthau**

Author of "POLITICS AMONG NATIONS" [1948]; classical realist who argued that human nature is based on egoism and self-interest; this is also what motivates states making global politics dangerous and predatory.

### **Dambisa Moyo**

Author of "DEAD AID" in which she argues that aid discourages development by creating a DEPENDENCY CULTURE.

### **Johan Norberg**

Supporter of the universal benefits of globalization **“GLOBALIZATION IS GOOD”**  
[www.johannorberg.net](http://www.johannorberg.net)

### **Joseph Nye**

Developed the terms **HARD POWER / SOFT POWER / SMART POWER**

### **Mr Patel**

Enlightened wise politics teacher that resides at the top of the mountain of wisdom. Best known for the subtle ‘China is going to win the coming war with America’ theory and the acclaimed work ‘India, the centre of the culinary universe’.

### **Sayyid Qutb**

Egyptian religious leader and theorist who developed the concept of **ISLAMISM** as a reaction against western values. Founder of the **MOSLEM BROTHERHOOD**; Qutbism has been a major influence on **AL QAEDA** and **ISIL**.

### **Gideon Rachman**

Author of ‘Easternisation’, arguing the world is shifting at a rapid rate to the new wealthy east.

### **Jeffrey Sachs**

Director of the Earth Institute primarily focusing on the importance of **SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**.

### **Edward Said**

Palestinian academic who was highly critical of Samuel Huntington’s “Clash of Civilizations” thesis. Author of **“ORIENTALISM”** which argues that the West has, throughout history, demonized non-westerners.

### **Amartya Sen**

Author of **“DEVELOPMENT AS FREEDOM”** [1999] arguing that development should no longer be seen primarily in economic terms, but also take account of **HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDICES**.

### **Joseph Stiglitz**

Former World Bank Chief Economist and now one of the leading critics of the Washington Consensus and Structural Adjustment Programmes. Author of **“GLOBALIZATION AND ITS DISCONTENTS”** [2002]

## Susan Strange

Leading critic of Washington Consensus and IMF / World Bank and WTO arguing that economic globalization is being carried out in the interests of MNC and powerful neo-colonial powers.

## Thucydides

Greek historian who in his “History of the Peloponnesian War” suggested that the rivalry between Sparta and Athens made war inevitable.

## Immanuel Wallerstein

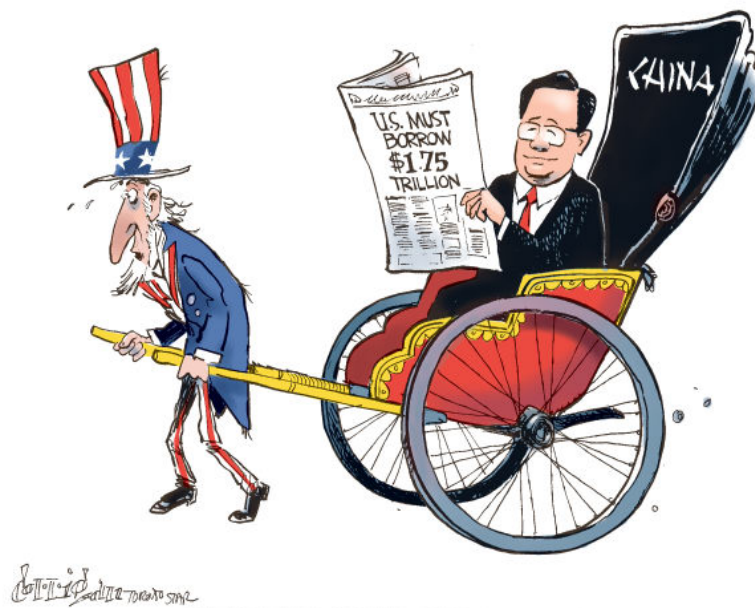
According to Wallerstein global capitalism is characterized by the exploitation of **PERIPHERAL** states by **CORE** states, so that globalization represents a form of **NEO-COLONIAL EXPLOITATION**.

## Kenneth Waltz

Defensive realist, author of **THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS** [1979] which argues that the rivalry of states [state egoism] makes global politics fundamentally anarchic.

## Woodrow Wilson

American President [1913-1921] who proposed a liberal vision of global relations based upon global co-operation through ill-fated League of Nations; major influence on future liberal philosophers.





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# International Relations, Principal Theories

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## A. Introduction

1 The study of international relations takes a wide range of theoretical approaches. Some emerge from within the discipline itself; others have been imported, in whole or in part, from disciplines such as economics or sociology. Indeed, few social scientific theories have not been applied to the study of relations amongst nations. Many theories of international relations are internally and externally contested, and few scholars believe only in one or another. In spite of this diversity, several major schools of thought are discernable, differentiated principally by the variables they emphasize—eg military power, material interests, or ideological beliefs.

## B. Realism

2 For Realists (sometimes termed ‘structural Realists’ or ‘Neorealists’, as opposed to the earlier ‘classical Realists’) the international system is defined by anarchy—the absence of a central authority (Waltz). States are sovereign and thus autonomous of each other; no inherent structure or society can emerge or even exist to order relations between them. They are bound only by forcible → *coercion* or their own → *consent*.

3 In such an anarchic system, State power is the key—indeed, the only—variable of interest, because only through power can States defend themselves and hope to

survive. Realism can understand power in a variety of ways—eg militarily, economically, diplomatically—but ultimately emphasizes the distribution of coercive material capacity as the determinant of international politics.

4 This vision of the world rests on four assumptions (Mearsheimer 1994). First, Realists claim that survival is the principal goal of every State. Foreign invasion and occupation are thus the most pressing threats that any State faces. Even if domestic interests, strategic culture, or commitment to a set of national ideals would dictate more benevolent or co-operative international goals, the anarchy of the international system requires that States constantly ensure that they have sufficient power to defend themselves and advance their material interests necessary for survival. Second, Realists hold States to be rational actors. This means that, given the goal of survival, States will act as best they can in order to maximize their likelihood of continuing to exist. Third, Realists assume that all States possess some military capacity, and no State knows what its neighbors intend precisely. The world, in other words, is dangerous and uncertain. Fourth, in such a world it is the Great Powers—the States with most economic clout and, especially, military might, that are decisive. In this view international relations is essentially a story of Great Power politics.

5 Realists also diverge on some issues. So-called offensive Realists maintain that, in order to ensure survival, States will seek to maximize their power relative to others (Mearsheimer 2001). If rival countries possess enough power to threaten a State, it can never be safe. → *Hegemony* is thus the best strategy for a country to pursue, if it can. Defensive Realists, in contrast, believe that domination is an unwise strategy for State survival (Waltz 1979). They note that seeking hegemony may bring a State into dangerous conflicts with its peers. Instead, defensive Realists emphasize the stability of → *balance of power* systems, where a roughly equal distribution of power amongst States ensures that none will risk attacking another. ‘Polarity’—the distribution of power amongst the Great Powers—is thus a key concept in Realist theory.

6 Realists’ overriding emphasis on anarchy and power leads them to a dim view of international law and international institutions (Mearsheimer 1994). Indeed, Realists believe such facets of international politics to be merely epiphenomenal; that is, they reflect the balance of power, but do not constrain or influence State behaviour. In an anarchic system with no hierarchical authority, Realists argue that law can only be enforced through State power. But why would any State choose to expend its precious power on enforcement unless it had a direct material interest in the outcome? And if enforcement is impossible and cheating likely, why would any State agree to co-operate

through a treaty or institution in the first place?

. 7 Thus States may create international law and international institutions, and may enforce the rules they codify. However, it is not the rules themselves that determine why a State acts a particular way, but instead the underlying material interests and power relations. International law is thus a symptom of State behaviour, not a cause.

## **C. Institutionalism**

. 8 Institutionalists share many of Realism's assumptions about the international system— that it is anarchic, that States are self-interested, rational actors seeking to survive while increasing their material conditions, and that uncertainty pervades relations between countries. However, Institutionalism relies on microeconomic theory and game theory to reach a radically different conclusion—that co-operation between nations is possible.

. 9 The central insight is that co-operation may be a rational, self-interested strategy for countries to pursue under certain conditions (Keohane 1984). Consider two trading partners. If both countries lower their tariffs they will trade more and each will become more prosperous, but neither wants to lower barriers unless it can be sure the other will too. Realists doubt such co-operation can be sustained in the absence of coercive power because both countries would have incentives to say they are opening to trade, dump their goods onto the other country's markets, and not allow any imports.

. 10 Institutionalists, in contrast, argue that institutions—defined as a set of rules, norms, practices and decision-making procedures that shape expectations—can overcome the uncertainty that undermines co-operation. First, institutions extend the time horizon of interactions, creating an iterated game rather than a single round. Countries agreeing on ad hoc tariffs may indeed benefit from tricking their neighbors in any one round of negotiations. But countries that know they must interact with the same partners repeatedly through an institution will instead have incentives to comply with agreements in the short term so that they might continue to extract the benefits of co-operation in the long term. Institutions thus enhance the utility of a good reputation to countries; they also make punishment more credible.

. 11 Second, Institutionalists argue that institutions increase information about State behaviour. Recall that uncertainty is a significant reason Realists doubt co-operation can

be sustained. Institutions collect information about State behaviour and often make judgments of compliance or non-compliance with particular rules. States thus know they will not be able to 'get away with it' if they do not comply with a given rule.

12 Third, Institutionalists note that institutions can greatly increase efficiency. It is costly for States to negotiate with one another on an ad hoc basis. Institutions can reduce the transaction costs of co-ordination by providing a centralized forum in which States can meet. They also provide 'focal points'—established rules and norms—that allow a wide array of States to quickly settle on a certain course of action. Institutionalism thus provides an explanation for international co-operation based on the same theoretical assumptions that lead Realists to be skeptical of international law and institutions.

13 One way for international lawyers to understand Institutionalism is as a rationalist theoretical and empirical account of how and why international law works. Many of the conclusions reached by Institutionalist scholars will not be surprising to international lawyers, most of whom have long understood the role that → *reciprocity* and reputation play in bolstering international legal obligations. At its best, however, Institutionalist insights, backed up by careful empirical studies of international institutions broadly defined, can help international lawyers and policymakers in designing more effective and durable institutions and regimes.

## **D. Liberalism**

14 Liberalism makes for a more complex and less cohesive body of theory than Realism or Institutionalism. The basic insight of the theory is that the national characteristics of individual States matter for their international relations. This view contrasts sharply with both Realist and Institutionalist accounts, in which all States have essentially the same goals and behaviours (at least internationally)—self-interested actors pursuing wealth or survival. Liberal theorists have often emphasized the unique behaviour of liberal States, though more recent work has sought to extend the theory to a general domestic characteristics-based explanation of international relations.

15 One of the most prominent developments within liberal theory has been the phenomenon known as the democratic peace (Doyle). First imagined by Immanuel Kant, the democratic peace describes the absence of war between liberal States, defined as mature liberal democracies. Scholars have subjected this claim to extensive statistical analysis and found, with perhaps the exception of a few borderline cases, it to hold (Brown

Lynn- Jones and Miller). Less clear, however, is the theory behind this empirical fact. Theorists of international relations have yet to create a compelling theory of why democratic States do not fight each other. Moreover, the road to the democratic peace may be a particularly bloody one; Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder have demonstrated convincingly that democratizing States are more likely to go to war than either autocracies or liberal democracies.

. 16 Andrew Moravcsik has developed a more general liberal theory of international relations, based on three core assumptions: (i) individuals and private groups, not States, are the fundamental actors in world politics (→ *Non-State Actors*); (ii) States represent some dominant subset of domestic society, whose interests they serve; and (iii) the configuration of these preferences across the international system determines State behaviour (Moravcsik). Concerns about the distribution of power or the role of information are taken as fixed constraints on the interplay of socially-derived State preferences.

. 17 In this view States are not simply 'black boxes' seeking to survive and prosper in an anarchic system. They are configurations of individual and group interests who then project those interests into the international system through a particular kind of government. Survival may very well remain a key goal. But commercial interests or ideological beliefs may also be important.

. 18 Liberal theories are often challenging for international lawyers, because international law has few mechanisms for taking the nature of domestic preferences or regime-type into account. These theories are most useful as sources of insight in designing international institutions, such as courts, that are intended to have an impact on domestic politics or to link up to domestic institutions. The complementary-based jurisdiction of the → *International Criminal Court (ICC)* is a case in point; understanding the commission of war crimes or crimes against humanity in terms of the domestic structure of a government—typically an absence of any checks and balances—can help lawyers understand why complementary jurisdiction may have a greater impact on the strength of a domestic judicial system over the long term than primary jurisdiction (→ *International Criminal Courts and Tribunals, Complementarity and Jurisdiction*).

## **E. Constructivism**

. 19 Constructivism is not a theory, but rather an ontology: A set of assumptions about the world and human motivation and agency. Its counterpart is not Realism, Institutionalism, or Liberalism, but rather Rationalism. By challenging the rationalist framework that undergirds many theories of international relations,

Constructivists create constructivist alternatives in each of these families of theories.

. 20 In the Constructivist account, the variables of interest to scholars—eg military power, trade relations, international institutions, or domestic preferences—are not important because they are objective facts about the world, but rather because they have certain social meanings (Wendt 2000). This meaning is constructed from a complex and specific mix of history, ideas, norms, and beliefs which scholars must understand if they are to explain State behaviour. For example, Constructivists argue that the nuclear arsenals of the United Kingdom and China, though comparably destructive, have very different meanings to the United States that translate into very different patterns of interaction (Wendt 1995). To take another example, Iain Johnston argues that China has traditionally acted according to Realist assumptions in international relations, but based not on the objective structure of the international system but rather on a specific historical strategic culture.

. 21 A focus on the social context in which international relations occur leads Constructivists to emphasize issues of identity and belief (for this reason Constructivist theories are sometimes called ideational). The perception of friends and enemies, in-groups and out-groups, fairness and justice all become key determinant of a State's behaviour. While some Constructivists would accept that States are self-interested, rational actors, they would stress that varying identities and beliefs belie the simplistic notions of rationality under which States pursue simply survival, power, or wealth.

. 22 Constructivism is also attentive to the role of social norms in international politics. Following March and Olsen, Constructivists distinguish between a 'logic of consequences'—where actions are rationally chosen to maximize the interests of a State—and 'logic of appropriateness', where rationality is heavily mediated by social norms. For example, Constructivists would argue that the norm of State sovereignty has profoundly influenced international relations, creating a predisposition for non-interference that precedes any cost-benefit analysis States may undertake. These arguments fit under the Institutionalist rubric of explaining international co-operation, but based on constructed attitudes rather than the rational pursuit of objective interests.

. 23 Perhaps because of their interest in beliefs and ideology, Constructivism has also emphasized the role of non-State actors more than other approaches. For example, scholars have noted the role of transnational actors like NGOs or transnational corporations in altering State beliefs about issues like the use of land mines in war or international trade. Such 'norm entrepreneurs' are able to influence State behaviour through rhetoric or other forms of lobbying, persuasion, and shaming (Keck and Sikkink). Constructivists have also noted the role of international institutions as actors in their own right. While Institutionalist theories, for example, see institutions largely as the passive

tools of States, Constructivism notes that international bureaucracies may seek to pursue their own interests (eg free trade or → *human rights* protection) even against the wishes of the States that created them (Barnett and Finnemore).

## F. The English School

. 24 The English School shares many of Constructivism's critiques of rationalist theories of international relations. It also emphasizes the centrality of international society and social meanings to the study of world politics (Bull). Fundamentally, however, it does not seek to create testable hypotheses about State behaviour as the other theories do. Instead, its goals are more similar to those of a historian. Detailed observation and rich interpretation is favored over general explanatory models. Hedley Bull, for instance, a leading English School scholar, argued that international law was one of five central institutions mediating the impact of international anarchy and instead creating 'an anarchical society'.

. 25 Given their emphasis on context and interpretive methods, it is no surprise that English School writers hold historical understandings to be critical to the study of world politics. It is not enough simply to know the balance of power in the international system, as the Realists would have it. We must also know what preceded that system, how the States involved came to be where they are today, and what might threaten or motivate them in the future. Domestic politics are also important, as are norms and ideologies.

## G. Critical Approaches

. 26 The dominant international relations theories and their underlying positivist epistemology have been challenged from a range of perspectives. Scholars working in Marxist, feminist, post-colonial, and ecological fields have all put forward critiques of international relations' explanations of State behaviour (→ *Colonialism*; → *Developing Country Approach to International Law*; → *Feminism, Approach to International Law*). Most of these critiques share a concern with the construction of power and the State, which theories like Realism or Institutionalism tend to take for granted.

. 27 For example, Marxist scholars perceive the emphasis on State-to-State relations as obscuring the more fundamental dynamics of global class relations (→ *Marxism*). Only by understanding the interests and behaviour of global capital can we make sense of State behaviour, they argue (Cox and Sinclair). Similarly, feminists have sought to explain aspects of State behaviour and its effects by emphasizing gender as a

variable of interest (Ackerly Stern and True). This focus has led, for example, to notions of security that move beyond State security (of paramount importance to Realists) to notions of human security. In such a perspective the effects of war, for example, reach far beyond the battlefield to family life and other aspects of social relations.

## H. Conclusion

28 While many theories of international relations are fiercely contested, it is usually inappropriate to see them as rivals over some universal truth about world politics. Rather, each rests on certain assumptions and epistemologies, is constrained within certain specified conditions, and pursues its own analytic goal. While various theories may lead to more or less compelling conclusions about international relations, none is definitively 'right' or 'wrong'. Rather, each possesses some tools that can be of use to students of international politics in examining and analyzing rich, multi-causal phenomena.

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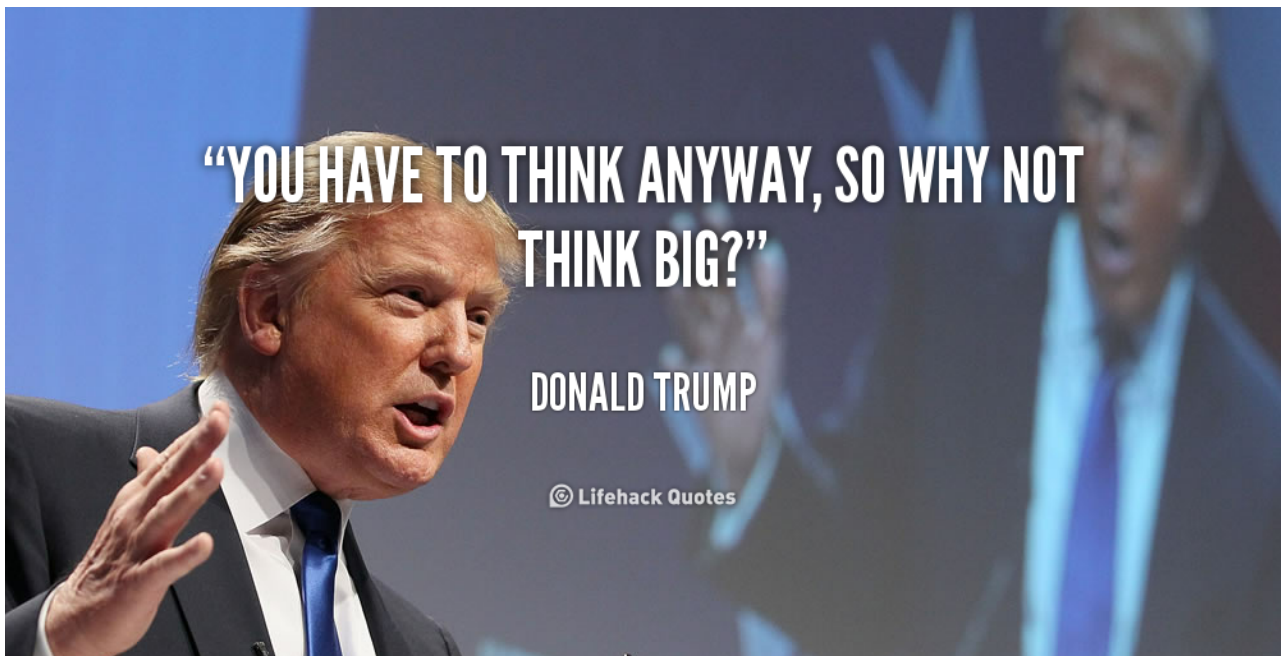
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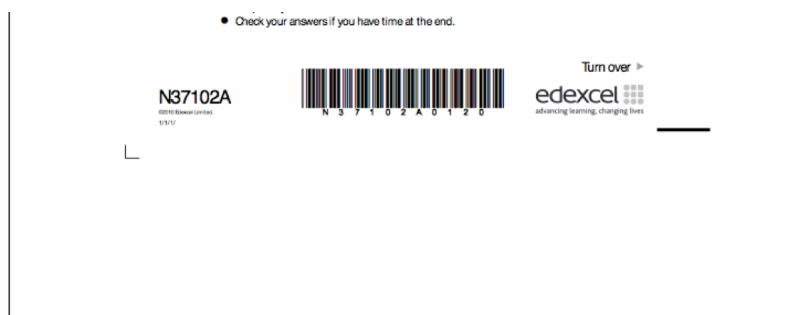
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## A two hour cycle



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- Don't start with general reading or note-taking.



### Research your essay

- Give yourself up to an hour to familiarise yourself with the arguments.
- Read your notes & text book, search an online journal (Economist, Foreign Affairs etc)
- Read an article on the topic on [www.alevelpolitics.com](http://www.alevelpolitics.com).
- Examiners reports and past scripts are a good resource for structure and angles.
- Draw up a detailed plan - with your points, explanation and examples.



### Write your essay

- It is NOT enough to plan an essay - you have to write it.
- This may be in timed conditions (if you feel familiar with the arguments).
- You may find you need to research while writing. This is not a problem at the early stages.
- If you use notes or go over time, you MUST rewrite it later in timed conditions without notes.
- Writing timed essays helps you prepare for your exams.



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