



Examiners' Report

June 2010

GCE Government and Politics 6GP04 4D

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Introduction

A good proportion of responses to the questions showed that candidates had been well prepared for the examination and possessed appropriate and often substantial knowledge and understanding. Three broad factors had a particular influence on the hierarchy of performance. First, as applies to examinations generally, there was a difference between candidates who had read the question carefully and focused on the specific issue or issues raised, and those who tended, to a greater or lesser extent, to write about the general theme of the question. Second, performance was variable in relation to the conceptual and theoretical understanding that is expected of candidates. Better candidates could define and explain terms with confidence and understood the theoretical dimension of questions, while weaker candidates tended to think, and write, in terms of empirical developments only. Third, the synoptic requirements of the essays were dealt with more or less successfully. The most successful candidates recognised that every essay question is now an invitation for candidates to engage in a debate or discussion, in which there are two or more sides to the argument, sometimes, but not always, rooted in contending theoretical perspectives. Weaker responses, however, tended to be analytical rather than evaluative, providing information and demonstrating knowledge and understanding but without developing an overall argument based on an awareness of rival views.

Question 1

It is recognised that there is much debate about whether, and the extent to which, 9/11 altered the nature of terrorism. Nevertheless, a number of well-publicised allegations have been made about this, and many candidates showed an awareness of these issues. A surprisingly small number of candidates offered a definition of terrorism at the outset, which would have provided a helpful context in which to consider how 9/11 may have redefined the phenomenon. Attention, reasonably, fell on issues such as the transnational or even global nature of modern terrorism, its religious basis by contrast with the supposed political and ideological basis of earlier terrorism, the changed tactics of Islamist terrorists and especially al-Qaeda (suicide attacks and attacks on simultaneous targets), and the catastrophic nature of terrorism when terrorists use weapons of mass destruction, such as passenger airplanes. Weak answers to this question tended to misread the question. Instead of discussing the nature of terrorism and how it has been redefined, they examined the implications and consequences of 9/11, sometimes drifting into a generalised account of the 'war on terror' and its successes and failures. Unless such an analysis was used to reflect back on the nature of terrorism itself, it often was simply irrelevant.

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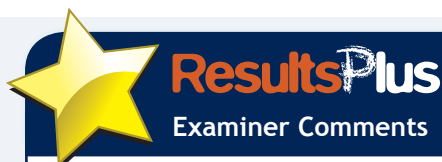
Question 1 ☒ Question 2 ☒ Question 3 ☒
Question 4 ☒ Question 5 ☒

The events of 9/11 were perhaps the most historical terrorist attack in the US. Terrorism in the cold war was primarily characterised by Marxist-leninist groups who used explosive devices against the enemy the US. 9/11 signified a change in that it was by an Islamist militant organisation and it was a suicide attack. These suicide attacks have now become the prevalent characteristic of Islamic terrorist e.g. The London Tube bombings.

Another new defining characteristic of terrorism is the use of the media, the media's role has increased significantly due to the pressures of globalisation. The media meant that coverage of the event was live and brought to all nations around the world. The media was also a tool for the

militant Islamic group Al-Qaeda, who were able to spread their message of anti-westernisation and create a climate of fear through the media. This meant terrorism was now more global, it could be seen by all over the world and the terror campaign could continue through threatening video streams and tapes of Al-Qaeda's promising more attacks.

9/11 defined terrorism as a more dangerous threat. This can be seen in the US reaction on terrorism by starting the 'War on Terror'. Previous to this terrorism was not seen as a particularly huge 'evil' however after the World Trade Center attacks the US and its allies were not going to stand for threatening behaviour and glorification of terror towards the West. This meant ~~working~~ along with the Afghanistan and Iraq War a raft of new measures to curb terrorism such as the Terrorism Act 2006, which meant any suspected terrorist in the UK could be held for 28 days without trial. The US brought in the USA Patriot Act which meant indefinite detention of terror suspects, to be held in Guantanamo Bay, a prison set up specifically. These new measures show how 9/11 made the terror threat more real, more dangerous and more unjustifiable to the West, the West are now are constantly ready for possible terrorist attacks which has indeed created a climate of fear as the terrorists intended. So terrorism has brought about an unexpected curb in Western liberties.



This candidate's response sits right at the top of the Level 2 mark band.

Question 2

Good responses were able to link the idea of a North-South Divide to the so-called Brandt Reports of 1980 and 1983. The strongest responses recognised that the idea of a North-South Divide was developed as an alternative to the notion of East-West conflict and was used to draw attention to supposedly structural inequalities that advantage the industrialised North and systematically disadvantaged the predominantly rural South. The most common, and successful, approach to the idea that the North-South Divide is now outdated was to examine developments in the global South that highlight growing divisions, particularly due to the rise of China, India, Brazil and other emerging economies, linked also to the particular plight of sub-Saharan Africa. Treating the South as a single entity is therefore less appropriate, at least in this respect. Weak responses to this question tended to suffer from either a lack of knowledge and understanding or from a poor focus. For example, some responses attempted to explain the outdated nature of the North-South Divide on the basis that developments such as a growing 'clash of civilisations', without even trying to explain how and why the latter may undermine the former.

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What is the North-South divide, and why is it sometimes said to be an outdated idea?

The North-South divide was historically used to describe the division between countries which were economically prosperous ~~and happy~~ and poorer nations. It is argued now, that this is an outdated phrase to use as economies are no longer described by their geographic boundaries. However, it is important to note that four out of five countries in the permanent 5 (P5) of the UN are situated in the North.

Pre-cold war times the North-South divide divided nations. Colonies and empires such as England for example would be called the North, whereas poor nations such as sub-Saharan Africa would be described as the South. However, during the cold-war many countries under the influence of USSR became developing nations. They had elevated

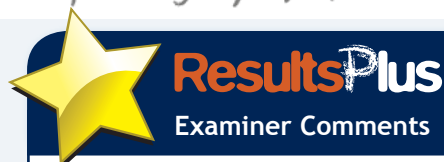
their positions from underdeveloped to developing. But this again became an outdated concept as after the fall of the USSR, countries under its influence suffered economic hardship.

In this day and age the North-South divide has been replaced and is now called the 'development gap'. The language is interesting to note as it sounds positive and as though the division between developing and developed nations is being worked on and it is narrowing instead of widening.

Furthermore, the North-South divide terminology sounds outdated as countries in Asia have economically boomed in the last few years. China is now considered to be challenging the USA for superpower status in the next few years to come. In addition Japan is foremost in the digital world. Unlike its American counterparts, Japan has been able to advance rapidly on a technological scale, making its economy highly successful and its technology the most sought after.

The North-South divide ceases to be meaningful as many developing countries enjoy similar lifestyles to that of the USA or UK. Poverty is no longer restricted to boundaries as countries in the East ~~and~~ such as Singapore now have prosperous economies due to MNCs and development of technology. The development gap is a more apt term to use as the division between the North/South seems to be narrowing due to a more interconnected world.

Overall, the North/South divide is ~~at~~ mostly an outdated idea. Differences in lifestyles still exist in the international community but it is no longer defined by geographical terms.



This is an example of a mid Level 3 mark band response.

Question 3

Strong responses were able to explain that environmental issues create tensions between developed and developing countries because they have, in a large number of cases, emerged as a consequence of the process of industrialisation. Developed countries, because they are developed, are thus the principal source of most environmental problems. Most responses, understandably, explained this in terms of climate change. In weak cases this led to unexplained and undeveloped references to countries' 'common but differentiated responsibilities' over climate change. Strong responses, by contrast, were able to explain how and why developed and developing countries have differentiated responsibilities, often pointing out that the developing world does not believe that a problem that has essentially been caused by the developed world should be used to prevent its people from enjoying prosperity and living standards that are customary elsewhere in the world. Further sources of tension have arisen from the fact that the impact of climate change has disproportionately affected the developing world. An issue little commented on is the suggestion made by many developing countries, and especially by China, that emissions targets should take account of population size and be set per capita rather than for a state as a whole. This proposal is, not surprisingly, strongly opposed by less populous developing countries.

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Environmental issues ~~has~~ have become a global issue on the world stage, with very few denying ~~to~~ climate change & every country in favour of cutting emissions. Even with an over-whelming consensus it still divides countries & causes tension between developed & developing worlds.

After The Copenhagen meeting was supposed to create legally binding cuts in emissions.

Instead it created tension as the richer global north countries tried to put pressure on developing countries to reduce their emissions & move towards sustainable development. The developing countries saw this as an attempt

to limit their growth to keep their economy smaller & weaker than the developed countries.

It also created tension as although everyone was committed to reducing emissions the developing countries were being given heavy restrictions for their emissions, while the developed countries with the largest emissions were only being given small reductions. The problem with climate change obviously lies with developed countries emitting the most & developing countries felt it was not their responsibility.

To conclude, tension is being caused by growing pressure from the biggest powers for the global south countries to reduce their much smaller emissions. It is seen as attempts to stem their developing economies.



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Examiner Comments

This candidate's response is mid Level 2 mark band.

Question 4

Only good responses to this question started by defining international human rights. In the best cases, this was done by defining human rights as universal, absolute and fundamental rights, and pointing out that international human rights are human rights as they appear in a variety of international documents, the most important being the 1948 UN Declaration of Human Rights. Weak responses to this question were not able to identify different types of international human rights, only different human rights. In these cases, responses did little more than identify a number of examples of what might be considered alleged human rights. Stronger responses recognised that there are conceptual differences between different kinds of human rights, often seen as being divided into three 'generations' of human rights, civic and political rights; economic, social and cultural rights; and so-called people's or solidarity rights. The main discriminator, then, was between responses that did little more than describe these various rights and more sophisticated responses that analysed differences between and amongst them. The best responses, for example, noted divisions between allegedly 'liberal' or 'negative' political rights, that require forbearance on the part of government, and supposedly 'socialist' or 'positive' economic rights, which require active intervention on the part of government. Other legitimate approaches to this question focused on different divisions between international human rights, for instance between human rights that supposedly belong to individuals and human rights that are enjoyed by groups or communities. Some candidates demonstrated a very sophisticated awareness of the idea of different 'generations' of human rights.

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Human rights are an intrinsic part of western culture that is promoted by the West all over the world. The UN Declaration 1948 was the first time there was any form of legislation for states to conform with. From the 1950's onwards there was a new era of human rights.

First generation rights are possibly the most important, they are also known as political rights. First generation rights are inalienable and universal. These are Examples

of first generation rights include the right to vote, the right to be free from torture, the right to life ^{and} the freedom of speech.

Second generation rights are also known as economic and social rights. These include the right to work and the right to freedom of choice of work. Although it is said that first generation rights are inalienable. In communist regimes it is often the case that first generation rights are sacrificed for second generation rights.

Third generation rights are collective rights given

groups of peoples, for example; women's rights, children's rights, race rights and gay rights. Because of this extensive reach of human rights, in particular third generation rights that the West is often regarded as morally decadent by the East, in particular Asian communities.

These three generations of rights are protected internationally by the UN Declaration 1948. When the declaration was signed over 150 nations signed up to it, no states voted against it and there was only 8 abstaining states such as South Africa and Saudi Arabia.

Other types of human rights include claim rights ^{and} immunity rights. Claim rights are ones which are given between two parties. For example, the state and a citizen, if the citizen breaks the

law i.e. breaks the contract, their human rights, or some at least, can be taken away by the state. Claim rights are generated through contracts.

Immunity rights are not necessarily human rights that are given to us, we are simply immune from the consequences of ~~breaking~~ an action.

For example, as an over 18 year old you have the right to drink alcohol because you are immune ~~for~~ from the consequences of drinking underage.

There are many different types of human rights, particularly in the West. They are all internationally protected by supranational bodies such as the UN or EU. The most important human rights are first generation rights and those are the rights that are most vigorously enforced. For example, the UN sent peacekeepers to Afghanistan during a recent general election ~~to ensure~~ that amidst rumours there was corruption to ensure the right for every citizen, to vote was upheld.

**ResultsPlus**

Examiner Comments

This is an example of a low Level 3 response.

Question 5

Many answers to this question show considerable insight into the 'debt crisis', explaining that it applied to a growing number of poorer countries that found it difficult, and eventually impossible, to service their debts, threatening many Northern banks with collapse and also deepening poverty in the developing world. There were some very impressive responses that highlighted the political and economic context in which this debt crisis occurred. Accounts of how, and the extent to which, the debt crisis has been resolved tended to focus on two main developments. In the first place, responses examined the role of the IMF and the World Bank in providing further loans to countries experiencing debt crises, usually linked to conditions about implementation of 'structural adjustments'. Many responses were able to examine the relatively poor impact of these programmes, which were sometimes associated with deepening poverty and entrenched under-development. The other approach was to consider the progress made by debt relief or debt cancellation. The best responses demonstrated an awareness of both of these developments, often showing considerable insight into the HIPC Initiative as well as the G8 Gleneagles Agreement of 2005.

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The debt crisis arose when developing countries borrowed money from the rich North that they were unable to pay off.

In the 1980s Northern banks were flush with petrodollars. They were keen to invest these and to make a large profit. Because of the recession experienced by most developed countries at this time, they looked towards the poorer south to lend this money to. Developing countries were keen to borrow as they could plough this money into economic development.

However interest rates soon rose, making the loans harder to pay back. To add to the crisis, developing countries were also receiving less ~~per~~ revenue on

their produce because of the economic climate in the North.

This resulted in the debt crisis, where developing countries simply could not afford to pay back their loans.

The ~~crisis is now~~ awareness of the crisis has increased and countries in the North are

beginning to take collective actions to help the debt stricken countries.

The G8 conference was successful in making decisions as how to start to deal with the debt crisis. The most significant step they took was cancelling the debt of the 18 most poorest countries. This would then allow the governments to spend money on development and economic growth rather than paying back unaffordable debt.

There has also been a scheme introduced that allows the country in debt to use the money it would be paying off the loan with towards a certain project or environmental scheme. This encourages resources to be used in the correct way.

Although steps are being made ~~to~~ with debt relief and to help with the crisis many argue it is too little too late.

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Examiner Comments

This candidate just manages to get into the Level 2 mark band.

Question 6

There were some very impressive and well informed answers to this question. The best responses showed a good awareness of both sides of the argument, recognising the association of nuclear proliferation with the growing possibility of nuclear war as well as understanding how and why realists in particular have linked nuclear proliferation to international stability and peace. In such cases, strong candidates often demonstrated an impressive understanding of deterrence theory and, in particular, of the idea of Mutually Assured Destruction. Some responses also showed an awareness of the contrasting ideas of nuclear utilisation theory. However, weaker responses sometimes appeared to be framed in the context of the Cold War and failed to take account of more recent developments, not least about nuclear weapons getting into the 'wrong hands'. Strong responses, by contrast, showed an awareness of the difference between the 'first' nuclear age (1945-90) and the 'second' nuclear age (post 1990), analysing how the dynamics of nuclear proliferation have, arguably, become more complex and threatening in the latter period. Good responses were also able to make effective use of modern examples, particularly the acquisition of nuclear weapons by India and Pakistan, the development of nuclear weapons by North Korea and the seemingly imminent acquisition of nuclear weapons by Iran. Good responses also took account, where appropriate of the significance of recent initiatives to ensure nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament.

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Question 8 ☐

Nuclear weapons were first developed towards the end of World War Two, when Albert Einstein fled Nazi Germany and came to the USA. He related to them his discovery of nuclear, but did not desire for it to be used as a weapon. Indeed the first and only time that nuclear weapons were used in 1945 Japan in Nagasaki and Hiroshima, has scarred human history, the effects of the bombs is still seen today in the form of genetic mutation. After that display the world saw nuclear capabilities, so seemed to have them, however the real question

have them, however the real question was would they ever use them. So far no country has therefore it can only be assumed that to a great degree nuclear proliferation doesn't threaten peace & security but grand risks.

At the end of the war the USSR had nuclear weapons & by 1949 had them. After that nuclear proliferation went to China, France & UK, the five permanent

members of the security council, but it did not stop there, soon Pakistan, India, Israel acquired them, and now North Korea & Iran are in pursuit of them, though North Korea states that they already have them. It is these rogue states whose nuclear ambitions threaten peace & security.

Prior to this during the cold war - 1945-1990, nuclear weapons were used to act as deterrents against each other. The only time the world came close to a nuclear war the the 1962/63 Cuban missile crisis where the world held its breath for 12 days. After the incident in 1970 the first treaty against nuclear proliferation was created NPT (non-proliferation treaty), the nature of it was to disarm current nuclear weapons & prevent other states from getting hold

weapons & prevent other States from getting hold of it. It was revised again in 2007, it currently has 187 countries signed up to it & has also dissuaded South Africa & Libya from creating nuclear weapons. Both countries along with ~~Brazil~~ Brazil & others have stated that they have no desire for nuclear weapons. The Success of NPT suggests that perhaps nuclear proliferation isn't as big a threat as it once first appeared.

However political analysts point to the fact that it is states who haven't signed the NPT

that people should be worried about. Indeed in the current climate Iran has been a cause for concern. As ~~Iran~~ Iran is a nation with the ability to create ~~nuclear~~ nuclear weapons but also capability of using it, this has serious implications for peace & security ~~started~~ led the UN to act. Previously due to the alliance system Iran was ~~protected~~ protected by Russia & China & so attempts made by NATO to stop Iran from acquiring nuclear power was vetoed.

As China only came to protect the gas & oil contracts she has with Iran. However just this month June 2010, UN passed a resolution placing ~~sanctions~~ sanctions on Iran & indeed USA & China have presented a united front as both claim that a 'nuclear Iran is unacceptable'. Indeed

the results of the actions would have to ~~be~~ be seen after the sanctions are in place. This decision could ~~also~~ cause further tension between the USA & Iran.

However one must look into the reasons why Iran, North Korea & others desire nuclear power. Firstly it brings political leverage as demonstrated by North Korea, who have been in

~~talks~~ talks with the US after leaving the NPT, & six party talks. They have agreed to shut down a major nuclear power plant in return for aid. Thus nuclear proliferation is a bargaining tool & in the USA & North Korea, case is they to both working together & reaching a compromise, also to a certain extent restoring some sense of peace & security as the relationship between the two states develops.

Iran seeks nuclear weapons for the same reason Israel, Pakistan & India did; for security. Israel is in the middle east is under threat from Iran who do nothing to mask their dislike for Israel. Israel's position is insecure, & nuclear power brings security to it, but also in a sinister way peace as well. As middle & eastern states are reluctant to

act when ~~Iran~~^{Iran} is nuclear armed & has US backing. Iran ^{feels} threatened by the USA, & Iran is so peruses nuclear power to place some form of balance. Indeed ~~it~~ though their actions have ~~serious~~ serious consequences such as the sanctions which would hit hard on the poorest civilians. One can not help but grudgingly admire Iran for the resistance to USA pressure, silly as it were that the

go Iranian governments actions could be harmful to their civilians, it is recognised that perhaps had not Iran pursued nuclear power the the US with NATO could easily invade them as they had done with Afghanistan & Iraq. Therefore it has brought security to Iran's position.

Nuclear proliferation. ~~if~~ if given to the wrong hands is a serious threat to peace & security. However it should also ~~be~~ be seen as a way forward as demonstrated by North Korea, as nuclear power places the States on an equal standing, & all are aware of the serious consequences of nuclear use thus there is room for diplomacy to ensure peace & security.



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Examiner Comments

This is a high scoring candidate who achieved the top mark band on all four marking grids.

Question 7

Once again, a surprisingly small number of responses started with a discussion about the nature of humanitarian intervention. In some weaker cases, humanitarian intervention was portrayed as a historical constant, rather than as a trend that became particularly marked during the 1990s. Similarly, some weak responses to this question focused very heavily on the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. While these wars could be viewed as relevant to the question as set, in that supporters of these wars have used humanitarian justification to defend them, they are by no means classic examples of humanitarian intervention, and their use to the exclusion of other more appropriate examples suggests a serious failure to understand the term at the centre of the question. Nevertheless, most responses understood that this was an area of particular debate and discussion. In the most impressive cases, the arguments for and against humanitarian intervention were grounded in rival liberal and realist principles and assumptions. For example, pro-humanitarian intervention arguments were often associated with universalist doctrines, notably a belief in human rights, as well as the idea that states have a duty to protect their own citizens and if this duty is not carried out, it falls on the international community at large. By contrast, realists have argued that it is both inappropriate for states to act in the interests of foreign citizens and unwise for them to get involved in internal conflicts of which they have little understanding and insufficient capacity to resolve. In the best cases, candidates were able to discuss humanitarian intervention in both moral and legal terms, sometimes recognising the conflicts that exist within international law between treaties and conventions that emphasise non-intervention and a growing body of customary international law that is based on human rights and humanitarian standard-setting.

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Question 8 ☒

Humanitarian intervention describes the use of force in nation states where conflict has ensued as a result of ethnic or cultural rivalries and where attacks on civil liberties or human rights seems to have occurred. Examples of humanitarian interventions include Bosnia in 1994/5, Gulf war 1 in 1991, as well as Kosovo 1999, Somalia 2002 and Rwanda 1994. Whilst many would say these interventions are justified given the rise of human rights and its importance, some argue double standards exist and that the impediment on sovereignty is too controversial.

The intervention in Iraq 1991 was the second use of collective security by the UN, where troops invaded Iraq, in order to save those attacked and land seized in Kuwait, as well as suppress the dictatorial regime of ~~of~~ under Saddam Hussein. In 1988, Hussein used poison gas on his own people when opposition towards the authoritarian leader and government ensued, and in 1991, upon the uprising of shiite claims to seeking democracy and liberation, Hussein

aimed to weaken opposition further. In many ways therefore, is it right to intervene when genocide and persecution of this standard exists, to which many would argue doing nothing is sometimes just as bad as carrying out the crimes.

However, many have argued that there were hidden meanings behind the intervention, given the resource of oil in Iraq and its growing precedence in the middle East. If ~~for~~ hidden meanings and double standards exist, only intervening where ~~the~~ self interest is involved, surely interventions are not legitimate.

Failures in Bosnia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone have further highlighted the problem of legitimacy, where states seem unwilling to exert power or surrender troops in regions that do not affect it directly. In Rwanda 1994, the UN removed troops on the brink of genocide,

resulting in the death of 800,000 to 1 million civilians. Whilst the UK intervened in Sierra Leone in 2001 to combat the Hutus that had fled Rwanda into neighbouring state, the loss of British troops proved too significant for troops to stay there, evacuating and leaving the Congo in a state of bitter unrest, fuelled by civil wars and corruption, with over 5 million

dying in the last fifteen years. In Bosnia also, the ethnic cleansing of Bosnian muslims provided humanitarian intervention, whereby the US, UK along with ~~UK and~~ NATO forces intervened, trying to solve the problem. However the intervention was a failure also, with 7000 killed in the Srebrenica massacre of 1995. The main problem in Bosnia once again was legitimacy, whereby the UN was bypassed. However, all three of these interventions and ultimate tragedies seemed to have highlighted the need for such interventions, with the world shocked and humiliated at the states of turmoil these nations were left in.

Kosovo in 1999 also marked the intervention in the Balkan region of Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia (who gained independence after the disintegration of Yugoslavia under Milosevic), where the UN and NATO collectively worked together to try and avoid the

tragedy and embarrassment of Bosnia 5 years previous. Whilst the UN proved ineffective, only offering stability programmes after the conflict had ended, NATO launched a 78 day air attack, strong enough to suppress opposition forces. The region is now stabilized,

though issues of independence for Kosovo still exist. Many marked Kosovo as a success and justifiable intervention given its past.

Some often interventions offer stability and democracy to states ridden with dictatorial regime and corruption, as also seen in Somalia in 1992. Though, piracy is a major problem at present in the south, the North (Somaliland) gained independence and recently enjoyed its 2nd set of democratic elections in June 2010. Given that many interventions aim to promote equality and human rights, elevating the desires of the majority, and suppressing the power hungry minds of the minority, is it right to say this is unjustified?

Of course, one cannot argue justification and legitimacy of these wars without playing diligence to their role of sovereignty. Since 1648, the role of sovereignty has reigned supreme, with nations defending their territory and authority at any cost. Some many would argue that

therefore that humanitarian intervention is an infringement of the fundamental principle of international relations, and therefore any form of intervention, humanitarian or otherwise is wrong. However, it is important to remember that

nation states must accept international help, giving legitimacy to interventions and in age of globalisation and greater awareness of civil liberties, are we entering a new world order where perhaps at times, human rights surpasses sovereignty? Not only this, but individuals are sovereign and the government rules by the will of the people, so surely interventions, on many accounts, marks aid to those unable to stop such abuses of power.

However, interventions seem selective and primitive depending on the area. Forces have intervened in Iraq where oil is present, yet ethno-nationalistic conflicts such as the Israel/Palestine conflict at present and the current issue in Kyrgyzstan where just last week, 6 Uzbekistani Uzbek women were held hostage for looking to hold a referendum on liberation seem to have been effectually ignored by the world, is this due to the lack of resources in these nations that could be used for exploitation or other reasons. ✕

Overall, it seems incomparable to suggest in an age of ~~global~~ greater interconnection

we should sit idly by and let the suppression of ethnic groups, or genocide to take place, emphasised by the shock surrounding Rwanda especially. Though

this impedes on sovereignty and there are issues of legitimacy surrounding certain interventions, it seems ignorant to suggest that they are never just.

* Not only this but is intervention a spread of western influence? - democracy and therefore is this right? - should we not allow countries to exercise own rights and beliefs.

- Clash of civilisations is acute problem - will always exist so why try and stop it and is it right to suppress uprisings?

- Many would argue yes when thousands of innocent civilians are killed as a result of conflict.

- Iraq war 2003 - to stop terrorist uprising or war it for oil and to stop nuclear power forming - interest of the west?



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Examiner Comments

This candidate achieves the top mark band for Knowledge and Understanding, and Intellectual Skills, but the middle band for Synoptic skills and Communication and coherence.

Question 8

This question was popular, and it was done well by a significant proportion of candidates. In the best cases, responses showed an awareness of a variety of attempts to tackle the issue of climate change, usually including the Rio 'Earth Summit' of 1992, the Kyoto Conference of 1997 and the Copenhagen Conference of 2009. In some cases, candidates demonstrated very thorough knowledge of the outcomes of Copenhagen in particular, as well as the ability to analyse the strengths and weaknesses of the resulting agreement. Generally, the international community's failure to take concerted action over climate change was stressed at the expense of the progress it has made, for example, many responses failed to take account of the fact that Kyoto at least established legally binding targets for a range of developed countries and Copenhagen at least demonstrated that the USA and China are willing to participate in the process of developing a response to the challenge of climate change. On the other hand, strong responses often went beyond cataloguing the failures of the international community and, in addition, analysed the problems and difficulties confronting the international community on the issue of climate change. These included the 'tragedy of the commons' and the 'free rider' problem, conflicts between developed and developing countries, and great power politics, notably rivalry between the USA and China or the USA and 'the rest'. Weak responses to this question tended to be characterised by insufficient knowledge and understanding, or knowledge and understanding that was not used as a basis for analysis and evaluation. Blatantly one-sided answers also failed to meet requirements as far as synopticity is concerned.

Put a cross in the box ☒ indicating the 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 6 ☒

Question 7 ☒

Question 8 ☒

The 2009 Copenhagen Summit has been regarded by many commentators as a failure due to its lack of specific cuts and targets of carbon emissions. Some have viewed it as the latest stage in the international community's failure to take concerted action over climate change. However, this is debatable. Although the lack of targets and the growth of national rivalry over action suggest it is true, the help for climate change for developing nations suggests it is not.

One way in which it can be seen that the international community has failed to take

concerted action is by noting how national rivalries have been given precedent over climate change. The 1997 Kyoto Protocol discussions were evidence for this with America under Clinton refusing to sign up for fear of harming their economic competitiveness, claiming that they cared more about their ability to be economically superior over other nations than CO₂ cuts. Similarly, at the same conference Australia and Russia refused to sign up on the grounds that they are young and

low-polluting countries so would be being punished for other countries' pollution. This again suggests that the international community has failed to take concerted action as they have been preoccupied with national rivalries, not solutions. Moreover, the BBC also displayed this attitude when covering the Copenhagen summit, asking why China and Saudi Arabia had not been held to account for their polluting. This continuing attitude that national rivalries are important prevents true concerted action as it means that states are unwilling to lose their economic dominance to protect collective goods.

The lack of legally binding action is also evidence that concerted action has not been taken. The 2007 Bali summit led to a compromise in which states agreed to cuts of some sort, yet this was not a legally binding agreement,

rendering it useless. Similarly, in Copenhagen in 2009 states were urged to state the measures they already had in place to curb carbon emissions. However, they were not legally forced to do this, meaning that states could hide any pollution or high CO₂ emissions. That the international community does not know what various states have done means that they will not know who to pressure so as to ensure action

and also will be incapable of knowing what still needs to be done beyond ~~any~~ any measures which have already been put in place. The Kyoto Protocol also was not in force until states amounting to 65% of emissions signed up, rendering it dead until Russia joined in 2004. That the international community relied on states to take action as they wish and gave them power suggests that there has been a lack of concerted action as states are not being forced to join in.

That there have not been any serious cuts in carbon emissions would also imply that concerted action has not taken place. Although the Kyoto Protocol tried to ensure CO₂ cuts of an average of 5.2% of 1990 levels by 2012, this did not come in to being and the 2007 Bali summit accepted that this would not be achieved by the set time. Similarly, the 2009 Copenhagen summit focused on general

measures and did not create any targets serious targets, instead asking developed nations to have commitments and developing nations to have plans to curb greenhouse gases by 31st January 2020. The summit also stated that schemes to provide financial incentives for developing nations to grow forests would be funded immediately,

yet this will be little use when China is allegedly creating 5 power stations a week and is free from cuts thanks to the 2002 Delhi declaration. Therefore, it can be seen that the lack of serious cuts in greenhouse gases shows that concerted action has not been taken.

The importance of economic matters further implies that concerted action has not been taken as states have been far more preoccupied with finances. As well as America's fears for their economic competitiveness in Kyoto, George Bush stated in 2008 that he wanted to allow US industry to grow for another ten or fifteen years before any cuts in greenhouse gases would take place, suggesting that concerted action has not been taken as one of the world's biggest polluters was more concerned with industrial growth.

Similarly, the US, backed at times by Russia, Japan, Canada and Australia, vehemently opposed the EU's suggestions at the 2007 Bali summit that there should be immediate cuts of 20%-40% by 2020 for ^{developed} developed states,

no doubt bearing their economic losses which would occur. Similarly, the French newspaper, *Liberation*, commented in 2009 that the "speed and efficiency of dialogue" at Copenhagen was nothing compared to that surrounding the global

financial crisis, & showing that states are giving precedent to economic matters. Furthermore, one of Australia's leading parties, the New Liberal Party, saw its leader Malcolm Turnbull ousted by the more popular Tony Abbott, a climate change sceptic who claims that financial considerations are more important. That top politicians believe this suggests that there has not and may not ever be concerted action as states are too worried about their finances to deal with the financial losses CO₂ cuts could bring.

However, it can be seen that concerted action is being taken because states are now recognising climate change to be an issue. The situation would be far worse were states to have participated in summits like Copenhagen and if they did not recognise climate change at all. The 2009 Copenhagen summit began with states agreeing that climate change is one of the greatest problems in the modern world and that action must be taken to keep temperature rises below 2°C. Moreover, the 2007 Bali Summit showed a great deal of progress in the field with America agreeing to submit to some form of CO₂ cuts for the first time. That states were willing to give \$30 billion

to a fund for climate change projects in the developing world suggests that they are taking the problem seriously and are at least involved, showing a degree of concerted action. That the Copenhagen summit agreed to review the implementation of the agreement in 2015 suggests that there will be continued action with the checks implying that states now see climate change as an issue and are willing to get involved.

The commitment to helping climate change in developing nations also suggests that there has been concerted action. While the EU suggested rapid cuts in developed nations at Bali, they suggested allowing developing nations to grow economically for around fifteen years and then cut emissions by half by 2050. That the international community is thinking about the effect of climate change in developing nations suggests that they are working together for action. Moreover, the 2009 Copenhagen summit stated that there would be financial incentives for forests in developing nations, \$30 billion to help climate change projects there and that these projects would be monitored and internationally funded. This is undertaken to ensure that these projects are successful and to

not become corrupted or poorly funded. That this degree of attention and planning has been given to the developing nations implies that there has been true action. Moreover, the fact that developing nations are included in climate change schemes and need to have plans to cut emissions by the end of January 2020 shows that this is truly the international community, rather than only a few states.

Moreover, the pressure which now exists for states to take action suggests that there is concerted action. A 2009 UN climate change summit in New York saw Chinese President Hu Jintao saying that he would cut CO₂ emissions. The international community then put pressure on him, suggesting a true dedication to action, with Ban Ki Moon saying it would be "morally indefensible" for him not to now and America saying that they are pleased yet wish to see targets and plans, ensuring that China must co-operate or face the wrath of the UN and international community. That there is this level of pressure and dedication suggests that there has been concerted action. Moreover, international organisations like Oxfam America and Greenpeace have created pressure with Oxfam's latest poster

campaign focusing on the ~~low~~ effect of drought and climate change in Africa. This further suggests that there is international action as worldwide organisations are doing to raise awareness and donations to help.

Overall, it can be seen that the international community has taken concerted action, but slowly. After years of unrestricted economic growth, it is unreasonable to expect economic growth to suddenly risk losses to commit themselves to climate change. Although there may have been few targets and national rivalries have been obstacles, that there have been summits suggests that progress is being made and that there is a new level of dedication in the international community to curbing climate change.

**ResultsPlus**

Examiner Comments

This candidate shows very good knowledge and understanding, and just achieves the top mark band on the other three marking grids.

Grade Boundaries

Grade	Max. Mark	a*	A	B	C	D	E	N	U
Raw mark boundary	90	66	59	52	45	38	32	26	0
Uniform mark scale boundary	100	90	80	70	60	50	40	30	0

a* is only used in conversion from raw to uniform marks. It is not a published unit grade.

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