

Examiners' Report  
June 2016

GCE Government and Politics 6GP04 4D

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## Introduction

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

The most popular short questions were the responses on humanitarian intervention and the 'clash of civilizations' thesis. The most popular long response was the question on the IMF, WTO and World Bank, followed by the question on climate change. The least popular short response was the question on global poverty and the least popular long question was the one on international law and courts.

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

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

It is evident that most, if not all, teachers are aware of, and focussed on, the *Further Guidance for Route D* document. This was prepared by the previous Principal Examiner and can be found on the Edexcel website. This document provides additional content explanation and advice to support the initial specification document. There are numerous other valuable resources including past papers and mark schemes. It is also pleasing to note that teachers and students are making good use of recently developed resources.

## **Question 1**

This was the most popular of the short 15 mark questions and there were a significant number of candidates who were able to clearly define or explain the central term and to provide a number of examples of humanitarian intervention in support of arguments for criticism. The most popular criticism had a focus on impact on state sovereignty, a perceived cultural bias in application and the selectivity in application. Candidates often suggested that humanitarian intervention could sometimes worsen a situation and, again, clear examples were used to support this view.

This script begins with a definition and explanation of the central term and also introduces the concept of R2P.

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

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

Humanitarian intervention is military intervention in another, or multiple other, states for humanitarian reasons. Many controversies and criticisms stem from the disagreements about the definition, whilst some believe it is humanitarian if it takes place for moral reasons, in light of the ICISS's 'R2P', others believe it to be humanitarian if the results prevent long-term instability or democratic failure.

A key criticism of humanitarian intervention is its selective nature; some interventions occur and others do not. This appears to be dictated by great powers who act in a realist manner to preserve their national interests and relations. In Morgenthau's 'six principles of realism' he highlights that morality is not truly a concern in global politics. This selectivity

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

is conveyed by the lack of intervention in Russia's annexation of Ukraine or involvement in Myanmar, nor China's controversial actions in Tibet. As key players in the international system, China & Russia appear to be punishment free.

Humanitarian intervention is also criticised because it undermines state sovereignty; the Westphalian concept that states are autonomous and possess territorial integrity. NATO's intervention in Kosovo 1999 and Libya 2011 may have been inspired by a regional body, with support of (an arguably unrepresentative) UNSC, they did not have consent of the state and therefore went against their sovereignty. The intervention in Libya was also been criticised for going too far as it resulted in a regime change, going against just war theory.

Another criticism is rooted in the supposed 'universal' human rights that are regarded to justify these interventions. They are argued to be an illustration of Western imperialism based on liberal

individualism, with postcolonial theorists stating that they fail to recognise differences across states. These rights are opposed by Asian values, rooted in the culture and history of Asia, and the Muslim world, who believe that rights are divinely ordained and the western models go against sharia law. The rights also fail to take the 1990 Cairo and 1993 Bangkok Declarations into account.

A more humanitarian intervention is criticised for its hypocrisy and double standards. With USA's soft power, diminishing due to their questionable actions during the war, disregarding human rights at Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib, it appears highly hypocritical for them to be a self-proclaimed beacon of rights that can intervene elsewhere.





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**Examiner Comments**

This script covers a wide range of factors. It begins with a consideration that humanitarian intervention is selective and often in the national interest. Examples like the lack of intervention relating to Russia in Ukraine and Chechnya or China in Tibet are used. The response then looks at the idea that sovereignty is undermined by intervention. Next is the idea that intervention often takes place under the idea of universal human rights even though universalism is controversial. A reference to Asian Values is used in consideration of this. Finally there is a consideration of the idea of double standards relating to the US in particular and Guantanamo Bay being used to example this point.



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**Examiner Tip**

A clear definition and then a range of c points with examples and explanation is often very well rewarded.



This script begins with an attempt at explaining the key term and then moves to the first of four criticisms.

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

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   **Question 4**             **Question 5**

Humanitarian intervention is the military invasion of a state or a group of state into another country in order to stop Human Rights violation happening there. One of the main criticism of humanitarian intervention is questioning the concept of universal Human Rights supported by Vincent and English School. Universal Human Rights is the idea of global rights for humans which they have naturally: just for being humans. However, the views on this concept widely differentiate and, therefore, in some countries humanitarian intervention will not be justified. For example, Asian values argument that common good is more important than individual interests may be used as an excuse to discriminate some of the Human rights which will be suitable for that regime but seen as a violation in Western countries.

Another criticism of humanitarian intervention

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is it is just used by major powers to get resources from the states which are intervened. This is supported by Noam Chomsky who criticises the idea of USA hegemony and believes that United States were following own interests to get oil by invading in Iraq.

The law of 'unexpected consequences' is also a criticism of humanitarian intervention. All military actions have the consequences which cannot be predicted and they may lead to a worsening of the situation. For example, the invasion to Iraq and further sanctions on it has led to mass hunger, so 'oil for food programme' had to be adopted. Soldiers carrying out the intervention may demonstrate low moral standards which will lead to increase in violations of Human Rights, such as rapes, kidnapping and even killing of innocent civilians.

Humanitarian intervention has also been criticised on the basis it threatens national sovereignty. The sovereignty is a right of every state to control its internal affairs and be free from the outside threat. This principle is a basis of the UN (Article 2.4). However, humanitarian intervention clearly contradicts it as

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

it is carried out without the approval of official government of the intervened state - for example, the invasion to Afghanistan.



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**Examiner Comments**

The main elements identified include disagreements over the interpretation of human rights as a justification for humanitarian intervention. The selfish nature of interventionism is also explored as is the unexpected consequences that can arise when intervention takes place. The response finishes with a reference to the weakening of the traditional concept of state sovereignty.

## **Question 2**

This was the second most popular response on the examination paper in the short question section. Very few candidates attempted to tackle this question without a reasonable knowledge of the general principles of the thesis. A number of candidates focussed on central themes such as the shift from traditional state centric or ideological tensions to cultural/civilizational tensions. The likelihood of tensions between the West and the Islamic world was explored as well as tensions between China and the West and also the West and Russia. Stronger candidates provided a real depth of detail as well as strong examples.



This script begins with a detailed and lengthy explanation of the origins of the thesis.

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Chosen question number: Question 1  Question 2  Question 3

Question 4  Question 5

<sup>prevalent</sup> <sup>spread</sup>  
CofC - Huntington - Arabisation - fundamental fall  
of universalist ideologies

The 'Clash of Civilisations' thesis is a theory developed by Samuel Huntington, initially in 1992 and developed in 1993. It is the wording was used previously by Bernard Lewis in his 1991 article 'The Roots of Muslim Rage', derived from the phrase 'clash of cultures' developed in the Belle Époque era. It states that in the future, the globe will not engage in ideological or national wars, but conflict of identity, with the main global actors being civilisations, which states remain sovereign and their decisions are shaped by the civilisations around them. He discusses how most conflict will take place over civilisational 'fault lines', and can be seen to be growing due to the rise

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



April 2013 being conducted in dollars. This has led to a 'unintended backlash across the Muslim world, as is stated, 'what is universalism to the west is colonialism to the rest'. This can be seen by the growth of homegrown terrorists across the west, as 7/7 was conducted by two men from Yorkshire, one of which stated 'as words are dead until we give them life with our blood'. This was in response to western imperialist action in Iraq and torture in Guantanamo Bay, displaying the backlash to US globalised global reach.

Huntington also believes that a Clash of Civilisations is more likely than traditional conflict as identity is fundamental and less likely to change. This can be seen in the conflict between Islam and the Christian west, as both religions are conviction religions and they believe they are right, thus conflict is inevitable and unlikely to abate. However, the intense diversity of religions, with over 1bn Muslim and Iraq speaking Arabic and Iran Farsi, this may not be totally qualified. However, Nye states that 'the idea that globalisation is Americanisation is common but simplistic', suggesting globalisation may not be a total cause of C is simplistic.

(Total for Question = 15 marks)





The script identifies that ideology and national conflict will be replaced by civilizational conflict based on identity and culture, particularly along fault lines. There is a historical background with a focus on the reasons why conflict between the West and Islam is considered particularly likely. A rejection of universalism and the impact of globalisation is also discussed.

This script moves immediately to the central focus of the thesis and then develops a number of important points with examples.

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Huntington's 'Clash of Civilisations' thesis talks of the elements of future post-cold war conflict. Huntington stresses that in the post-cold war world, politics ~~was~~ and conflict has witnessed the breakdown of class and ideological justification and the void has been filled by a rise in cultural conflict. These new cultural boundaries and disputes will be the root cause of all conflict in the 21<sup>st</sup> century with economic and power factors playing a supporting role.

The 'Clash of Civilisations' thesis, categorises the world into different cultural categories such as the Western world, the Islamic, the Confucian/Sinic world, Hindu, sub-Saharan and so on. Each of these civilisations share ~~the~~ unique and distinct characteristics, such as a common religion with Islam in the Islamic civilisation and Christianity in the western. Perhaps similarities in languages and often share close national boundaries. Cultural differences between the separate civilisations will lead naturally to conflict and a breakdown in relations between the two. Such different cultures are bound to lead to conflict and can be

in 1989  
led to the collapse of Communism which in many states was a unifying factor, particularly in the former Yugoslavia and USSR but led to a breakdown in social cohesion with a rise in religious and ethnic conflict as seen in the Bosnian War and across the former USSR particularly in Central Asia.

Following the Cold War, the West suffered a decline and Islam experienced a resurgence. The West had culturally dominated much of the world during the Cold War period and much of the Islamic world began to reject what they saw as secular, liberal individualism ~~undermining~~ undermining their religious practices and traditions and this led to a rise in religious fundamentalism in the Islamic world such as in the growth in Wahhabism and Salafist schools of Islam and rise of insurgency and terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda, ISIS, HAMAS and so forth but the Ost of Western cultural imperialism is not solely a Islamic backlash. Western cultural imperialism is largely attributed to US style culture with a resurgent European far-right rejecting globalisation and US influence blaming it for multiculturalism, moral decline and traditional ways as well as in Post-Cold War Russia now leading to further anti-US sentiment and further isolationism.

Finally, though Huntington believes culture and civilisational

Conflict will remain the ~~big~~ major cause of global dispute. He accepts that it can ~~be~~ also include economic factors. While Huntington views the tensions between the US and China as a civilizational crisis with the 'Asian affirmation' he has also accepted the economic conflict with China as a fast, rising economic superpower and is leading to cultural polarization, especially with Donald Trump as the Republican candidate bringing many of the USA's economic issues with China.

In ~~fact~~ conclusion, the decline of ideological and class motivated politics has led to a resurgence and popularity of the 'Politics of difference' with cultural factors becoming key discussion points for future conflict and disagreement whilst accepting other factors will play a supporting role.



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**Examiner Comments**

The response makes clear the basis for differences between the identified civilizations with some useful historic background and explanation. The tension between the West and Islam is a central focus but there is also time to explain tensions between the West, particularly the US, and China.



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**Examiner Tip**

Contemporary examples are effectively used to illustrate theory.

### **Question 3**

This was, narrowly, the least popular of the short responses on the examination paper. There were a number of outstanding responses as well as a number of responses where candidates seemed to struggle to come to terms with the specific question. Stronger candidates were able to present contrasting views as to why global poverty exists and were able to provide clear evidence to support each of these views. The most popular approach was to put forward the case that poverty was caused by the actions of wealthier states and to contrast this with the view that the causes of global poverty were often internal to poorer states rather than being caused by structural and other inequalities.



A particularly direct response which immediately highlights one of the views as to why poverty exists.

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Chosen question number: Question 1  Question 2  Question 3

Question 4  Question 5

Dependency theorists argue that the poor Global South has become trapped in a cycle of poverty and benefits the wealthy. The Global South is seen as the 'periphery', a region where ~~are~~ natural resources are ~~expts~~ produced here and exploited ~~at~~ by the rich Global North - the 'core', that produces products of higher value. Due to this inequality in the global economy / international system, the Global South have become dependant on the Global North for aid, technical assistance, loans, advice, etc. and remain poor / in ~~poor~~ a poverty trap due to the actions of richer, more developed states.

Neo Liberals, however, dispute this. They argue that global poverty is caused by actions and policies in the Global South. They criticise less developed countries (i.e. DR Congo, Uganda) on their types of governments causing corruption and inefficiency <sup>and</sup> they

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

argue that governments in the Global South spend too much on public services (e.g. water supply being state owned) which need to be privatised for development to occur / poverty to be reduced. They will also claim that abuses towards human rights ~~play a~~ can't as a factor, as this prevents innovation and entrepreneurship of individuals - they are abused at the hands of their governments, remain in poverty and prevents development from taking place.

Some argue that global poverty is due to neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism. Colonialism (taking place between 15<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> century) allowed Europeans to take direct political and economic control of others / ~~the~~ territories. Since then, they have been exploited by their raw natural resources and have been made poor at the hand of imperialists. When these states became independent, they were essentially trapped in a system where the Global North still benefited from inequality in the global market (capitalism). ~~now~~



This system is referred to as neo colonialism as co-operations do it - they open up their branches in LDCs and exploit cheap labour to make big profits at home (their headquarters) e.g. McDonalds in the U.S., with affiliating branches in the Global South (179). This system of exploitation is seen through these transnational cooperations, and global/~~FA~~ international financial institutions, such as the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and World Bank - both being liberal capitalist organisations.



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Examiner Comments

Dependency theory is explained with a reference to the core and periphery model and the poverty trap that some global south states find themselves in. This is contrasted with the view that poverty can be linked with the failings of global south states due to issues such as corruption and inefficiency. Public service spending and human rights abuses are both discussed along with a perceived link to low levels of entrepreneurial action. Neo-colonialism and colonialism are also discussed with western dominance of international financial institutions such as the IMF and World Bank as well as exploitation by TNCs of cheap labour.

A brief explanation of global poverty moves rapidly to consideration of cause.

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Question 4  Question 5

Global poverty, is a large, pressing issue. It describes a condition, in which, up to a <sup>bottom</sup> 'billion' people (collier), every day, lack basic material and non material resources to survive. However, there is disagreement over the causes of such destitution.

Modernization theorists such as Rostow, may cite a failure to modernize as a main cause of poverty. This is in keeping with orthodox economic views on poverty. Rostow states that developing nations must climb the 5 'rungs' to modernization to develop. These include: attracting FDI and moving from agriculture to technological and industrialized production. Consequently, Rostow views a failure to modernize and follow the path of developed states as a cause of poverty as it limits economic growth.

Functionalists may, in part,

agree. They view Traditional values as a barrier to development. These may include ascription, fatalism, immediate gratification and a lack of gender equality. Such theorists argue that these values must be replaced with modern, secular values in order for a country to develop and thus escape poverty.

However, these views suggest that poverty is caused by a lack of 'modernization' and thus economic growth. Not only could this be viewed as culturally imperialist but it ignores the idea of 'development as wellbeing' (Sen) and fails to acknowledge some of the barriers faced by developing nations.

Frank, may acknowledge such barriers through his 'Dependency Theory'. This theory suggests that the developing world is systematically underdeveloped to benefit the developed world. This can be evidenced by a number of factors. Firstly, neocolonialism has replaced colonialism in the form of the global capitalist system - Wallerstein may agree with this in the



form of his 'World Systems Theory' whereby the developing world is exploited for cheap resources and labour by the 'core' or the developed world. For example, ~~the~~ developing economies may be depressed by the demand of consumers and companies in the developed world, ~~desire~~ for cheaper goods.

Additionally the actions of 'TNCs', labelled 'institutional psychopaths' by Balkun may contribute to poverty. Such corporations have large influence due to their economic size. As such, they demand cheap labour, low taxes, few workers rights and low environmental regulation in return for their trade. This deprives citizens in the developing world of basic rights and infrastructure thus highlighting the role of the developed world in causing poverty.

In conclusion, there is a lack of agreement over the causes of poverty. For example, some such as Rostow and functionalists view poverty as a lack of goods, or economic development. Others however, view the developed world as partly responsible and acknowledge ~~that~~ the role of well being of ~~developed~~ <sup>developing</sup> countries.



**ResultsPlus**

**Examiner Comments**

This is an interesting attempt which covers a wide range of debate quite rapidly. The orthodox perspective leads to a brief consideration of what is meant by development. Dependency theory, colonialism and neo-colonialism are all considered and there is reference to Frank and to Wallerstein and the World System Theory with the core and periphery model. The actions of TNCs make up part of this explanation.



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**Examiner Tip**

Useful reference to key political theorists.

## **Question 4**

This was a reasonably popular question which allowed candidates to distinguish between their own choice of contrasting views on how best to tackle climate change. A few candidates considered the developed and developing world perspectives but the majority considered the reformist and radical division. Stronger candidates provided a depth of explanation and example which a fair number of candidates failed to achieve.

There is a brief introduction which sets up a consideration of different schools of ecology although the explanation and focus is imbalanced but still knowledgeable.

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Question 4  Question 5

While the issue of climate change has dominated the international agenda for decades now, many obstacles still remain, seeing various disagreements on how best to deal with the issue make any progress frustratingly slow. One significant debate occurs between different schools of ecology, a term coined by Ernst Haeckel in 1876.

Firstly, shallow ecology is a green ideological perspective which harnesses the lessons of ecology to human needs and interests. This 'light green', reformist approach focuses on concepts such as sustainability and conservation and accepts that climate change poses 'limits to growth'. One particular idea held true by shallow ecologists is that of sustainable development. First developed by the 1987 Brundtland Report Commission, and further emphasised at the UNFCCC in Rio de Janeiro, the so-called 'Earth Summit' in 1992, the term is defined as 'development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'. It is therefore based on the idea of cross-generational justice and aims to allow generations



to come to enjoy prosperous lives. The principle highlights the fact that climate change poses limits to growth and accepts that this means 'getting rich slower'. It accepts that human capital can be substituted for natural capital if the final outcome is necessary. For example, the idea of 'weak sustainability' would accept building roads and airports if it meant a brighter future and would compensate for the loss in natural capital. Shallow ecologists also prefer the anthropocentric (human orientated) approach to dealing with climate change; mitigation. Mitigation involves moderating or reducing the impact of something, in particular; reducing greenhouse gas emissions to slow down global warming. Mitigation strategies, such as switching from coal to nuclear power, using hybrid cars or reducing the use of road transport in exchange for walking, cycling or the use of railways is preferred as it requires a more modest response to the phenomenon of global warming.

Deep ecologists however reject the notion of sustainability and suggest more revolutionary thinking. This 'dark green', radical ideological perspective believes that industrial growth is the enemy of the environment. Deep ecologists such as Arne Naess, the leading advocate of the idea and Judi Bari ~~would~~ harness values such as bio equality, biodiversity

There is taking a more ecocentric approach, seeing humans as merely a part of nature. This field would reject so-called 'adaptation strategies'. Adaptation involves changing in the light of new circumstances, in particular, learning to live with climate change. Adaptation strategies highlighted in the IPCC Assessment Report 2007 include the relocation of settlements away from coastal areas and the construction of sea walls and other defences due to the 19cm rise in sea level from 1900-2010. Such strategies have already been implemented in the small island nation of Tuvalu where residents on the low-lying land had to be relocated overseas due to rising sea levels.



### ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

Shallow ecology or light green or reformist approach is considered first with key elements discussed. Limits to growth, sustainable development and the actions of the UNFCCC are explained with reference to anthropocentrism and the acceptance of getting richer slower. Deep ecology has a weaker explanation but is described as being more revolutionary with a rejection of human centred development and rejection of adaptation strategies which are further explained. This remains a particularly knowledgeable and information laden response.



### ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

Comparisons would normally require a balanced amount of explanation, in this case of the two contrasting views.

## **Question 5**

This was the third most popular question from the 15 mark section. A number of candidates failed to tackle both parts of the question which limited their score. Stronger candidates were able to explain the range of reasons why nuclear proliferation takes place which includes, the huge destructive power of nuclear weapons, concerns about particular, arguably unstable, states developing nuclear weapons as well as cost and increased fear of miscalculation with horizontal proliferation. A number of candidates had awareness of key control treaties and bodies which included the 1969 NPT, START, actions of sovereign states and of the IAEA.

This response begins with a nuclear proliferation explanation including the concepts of horizontal and vertical proliferation.

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Question 4  Question 5

How & why have attempts been made to control the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

---

Nuclear weapons are those that use nuclear fission or fusion in order to create enormous damage through blast, heat and radiation. Proliferation is the increase

~~Attempts have been made firstly to control the proliferation in nuclear weapons; horizontal proliferation~~  
<sup>technology, and material</sup>

□ the spread of nuclear weapons across states; vertical proliferation □ the increase of nuclear technology, material and weapons in a state, whether this be in the increase in quantity, size or type.

Attempts have been made firstly to control vertical proliferation within states, because of problems linked to the Security Dilemma. As seen during the Arms Race 1949-91, both the USSR and USA vertically proliferated nuclear weapons, and this led to a security dilemma, whereby each state, feeling threatened by the other nuclear capabilities, accumulates more weapons. This creates an ironic cycle of provocation that realists argue can only result in nuclear war, which would be



catastrophic. Therefore, to avoid such catastrophe, attempts have been made to limit proliferation.

Secondly, horizontal proliferation has been attempted to be limited because it is argued that the more states that own nuclear weapons, the more likely they are to be used. This is because of the possibilities of miscalculation become higher, and furthermore, nuclear weapons have become a defensive weapon purely because of the rationality of states. If a non-rational state or non-state actor, such as a terrorist group, gained nuclear weapons, their non-use cannot be guaranteed. Therefore, the horizontal spread is being prevented.

The Nuclear Weapons proliferation is also attempted to being prevented because of their enormous destructive capability. The Nagasaki and Hiroshima bombs in 1945, killed 129,000 people immediately and destroyed the landscape entirely. 1,900 cancer deaths have also been linked to the events directly. Modern nuclear weapons however are estimated to be at least 20 times more powerful, which if detonated, not only would create global nuclear war, but would have a global effect and result in an enormous death toll of innocent people.

Attempts have been made to curb proliferation of nuclear weapon primarily through treaties. The

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty 1968 made existing nuclear powers agree not to help other states gain nuclear weapons, whilst non-nuclear states agreed not to pursue nuclear weapons, and only to pursue nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. For example to help the nuclear power. Restrictions on the trade of nuclear materials such as uranium and plutonium have also increased, and more legislation, such as the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (1963)(1993), have made it more difficult for states to test nuclear weapons. Finally, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was set up as part of the UN to monitor states nuclear programmes, and they have the ability to hold inspections in countries that have signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. They can suggest sanctions, as well as apply pressure to states like Iran to suspend their nuclear programme if it appears to be aiming at the development of offensive weapons.

Therefore, since the first nuclear weapon of 1948, there have been many attempts to limit the proliferation of such weapons, for numerous reasons, resulting in this being just 9 nuclear weapon states in 2016, as opposed to the once predicted 50.



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### Examiner Comments

A great deal of ground is covered by this response as it attempts to deal with a two part question. The 'Why?' part of the question is tackled with reference to the dangers of the security dilemma, the fears connected with miscalculation as horizontal proliferation increases the number of states, terrorism concerns and the damage caused by even relatively small weapons such as those used at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The 'How?' part of the question is covered by reference to the key Non Proliferation Treaty of 1968, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and the actions of the International Atomic Energy Agency.



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### Examiner Tip

A two part question clearly requires a significant focus on both parts in order to maximise marks.



The introduction is brief and has a focus on horizontal nuclear proliferation although reference to attempts to stop vertical proliferation is made later.

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   Question 4             Question 5

Nuclear proliferation refers to the increase of nuclear weapons by a state. In the post-Cold War era, there has been an increase in horizontal nuclear proliferation and therefore, attempts have been made to try and control this proliferation.

Firstly, the attempt to control nuclear proliferation has been done through treaties and talks between ~~the~~ those states acquiring, or in some cases seeking to acquire nuclear weapons. This has included the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty (NPT) which was signed by some countries, however others refused for example India. Furthermore, there have been talks such as START I, II and SORT ~~conferences~~ conferences however the last one of these was described as nothing more than a 'gentlemen's agreement'. However, all have been attempts to get nuclear states to slow down their nuclear proliferation or to not acquire nuclear weapons at all ~~which~~ which especially was seen in the <sup>establishment</sup> ~~adoption~~ of 'nuclear-free zones' such as Australia.

The reason behind the attempts to control nuclear proliferation has justly ~~not been~~ seen down to the increased threat of terrorism. In the modern era, ~~the~~ terrorism has become more of a threat and therefore, there is an increased worry that these nuclear weapons could end up in the wrong hands of these terrorists. This alone could have an extremely catastrophic and devastating impact on the world if they were able to acquire such weapons. Consequently, the attempts to control proliferation of nuclear weapons has been in the hope that ~~the~~ these terrorists will never be able to get their hands on such weapons of mass destruction.

Another ~~key~~ reason that has led to the attempt to control nuclear proliferation is in order to reduce the chance of nuclear war. The chances of nuclear ~~war~~ war occurring is minimal due to the devastating effect it would have. However, as more nuclear weapons have been produced, ~~the~~ technologies are getting more modern and therefore states are able to ~~control~~ <sup>understand</sup> nuclear weapons more.

Consequently, this has led to the ~~being~~ possibility of smaller nuclear weapons being produced. These would have a more compact impact <sup>which</sup> ~~it~~ leads to nuclear war becoming more of a possibility if there are these 'usable' weapons<sup>^</sup> available. Therefore, nuclear proliferation has been attempted to be controlled in an attempt to reduce this possibility.

Overall, there have been an increasing number of attempts to control the proliferation of nuclear weapons significantly. However, this proliferation is still occurring and therefore it can be argued that these attempts have ultimately failed.



### ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

Whilst not as strong as the other example, this script does still tackle both parts of the question with a focus, initially, on the How? How? is covered by an explanation of the NPT and bilateral talks including the START process. Why? is covered by a significant consideration of terrorist actions as well as the devastating consequences of nuclear weapons and a perceived concern over the introduction of more useable weapons.



### ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

Again, both how and why are covered which wasn't the case in a number of other scripts.

## **Question 6**

This was the most popular of the longer questions on the examination paper and provided a wide range of quality in terms of response. Stronger responses were able to provide detail on each organisation as well as on their general contribution to failing or helping the world's poor. A number of candidates went on to discuss wider causes of poverty and to evaluate their contribution in comparison to the named institutions. A number of candidates were able to provide a wide range of examples to support their assertions.

This response is particularly direct with an immediate overview of the key institutions in readiness for the debate to follow.

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

Chosen question number: Question 6  Question 7  Question 8

IMF, WTO, WB - SAPs LA DC 1980s  
Stiglitz -  
Klein J. S. Williamson  
Kohler Laidlaw. Crisis 2008,

The Bretton Woods institutions, the IMF, WTO and World Bank aim to reduce poverty and produce a more stable, equal world. The WTO through free and fair trade for all states through the abandonment of the Most Favoured Nation policy; the IMF through providing short term loans to countries with debt repayment issues and the World Bank through developing infrastructure in developing states so that they may increase the standard of living in their state. However, these aims have been widely missed and ~~instead~~ these institutions, have, rather than improved conditions and reduced poverty, have exacerbated it.

The primary failure of the World Bank and the IMF has been their Structural Adjustment Programmes. SAPs are the process through which these institutions give loans to states: in return for following the requests of the IMF and World Bank,



states receive the funding they need. However, the conditionalities the SAPs enforce are deeply detrimental to the recipient country, ~~and~~ deepening poverty while benefitting the creditor nations. The privatisation policy enforced can be seen to only benefit wealthy nations who buy up the national services of poorer nations, generating profit for them while pricing ~~off~~ individuals in these poor nations out of vital services such as education, health and security. This was evident in the Latin American Debt Crisis of the 1980s. As a result of the privatisation of previously nationalised services, people already living in poverty in Brazil no longer could afford these most basic services which led to widespread rioting <sup>to</sup> and increased negative sentiment towards the IMF.

Naomi Klein argues that the IMF deliberately uses 'shock therapy' in order to ~~of~~ create crises that benefit the global North. Williams also argued that as a result of the IMF's policies on increased exports and privatisation, the rich countries get richer and the poor countries get poorer. Due to their irresponsible policies in SAPs the IMF and World Bank have failed the world's poor by exacerbating poverty through the removal of access to vital services. Furthermore, the Rice Crisis of 2008 in Indonesia

and south east Asia, demonstrates how the IMF fails to help the poor improve through its enforcement of the neoliberal ~~interests~~ ~~that~~ ~~is~~ inherently western, ~~market~~ free trade enforcement. Ken Laidlaw states that many poor and developing states rely on fewer than 3 products for over 50% of their GDP, therefore, any shocks to the market can have a catastrophic effect on these states. Although Indonesia was experiencing a food shortage in 2008, due to <sup>the</sup> ~~its~~ conditionalities of its SAP with the IMF, it was forced to export all the rice produced to other nations leading to a vast increase in poverty as a result of hunger.

Inequalities in the World Trade Organisation have served to show how this organisation cannot but fail the poor. The WTO prevents protectionism in order to ensure that free trade is worldwide so that every state may benefit from trade, and so improve poverty levels. However, the US has heavy protectionist policies on its peanut and cotton industries, two products that Africa produces in vast quantities, and the WTO does nothing to prevent this. This shows how, as Stiglitz argues, the global economic institutions serve only ~~to~~ ~~the~~ the western fiscal community. Similarly, the EU farming subsidies go unpunished yet poorer nations cannot afford to do

as a result of their SAPs.

Some may argue that the IMF and World Bank have caused some success and have ~~helped~~ helped to alleviate poverty in some nations such as across Western Europe post World War 2 and in South Korea who saw a 7x growth in its GDP in 1957. However, it can be argued that the infrastructure needed for this development was already in place before IMF intervention. ~~The~~ The IMF and World Bank have therefore been criticised for imposing a development model no developed nation has followed themselves. They treat open markets as a pre condition for success, not as a consequence of it.

Finally, the development projects of the World Bank have been criticized as a World Bank investigation found 1 in 3 projects were failing. One such project was the Chad - Cameroon oil pipeline. The World Bank gave \$4.3 billion to the development of this pipeline so that the profits could be used to develop the Chad nation. However in 2005, President Deby declared that this money would be spent on weaponry and the maintenance of his regime. Poorly planned development projects ~~can~~ can be seen as a failure of the world's poor as ill-conceived

projects take up vital funds that could be otherwise used to alleviate poverty.

In all, the IMF, World Bank and WTO have drastically let down the world's poor as they enforce neo liberal western economic models on states that do not have the capacity to enforce ~~or~~ sustain them. There is a distinct lack of understanding of poor nations and this increases poverty.



### ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

The response begins with a discussion on the value and impact of SAPs and remains balanced throughout. Each economic institution is considered with reference to a number of political theorists and with a broad use of examples.



### ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

Theorists are often over-used by candidates but can be very effective if closely linked to the developing argument.



This is, again, a very direct introduction and overview of the three central institutions.

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

Chosen question number: Question 6  Question 7  Question 8

The IMF and World Bank were created in 1945 as part of the Bretton Wood system. The IMF's role <sup>was</sup> to stabilise exchange rate and balance of payment. However once countries started to convert from fixed to floating exchange rate in <sup>the</sup> 1970s, the IMF changed its role from a 'currency buffer' to giving out loans ~~to~~ to transition and developing countries to prevent <sup>excess</sup> balance of payment deficit. The World Bank's role is to give out loans for capital programs. The WTO was established in 1995, as a replacement of GATT. Its role is to promote free trade, ~~trade~~ trade agreements and settle trade disputes. Some have argued that the IMF, WTO and World Bank have failed the poor.

One reason why the IMF has failed the poor is through its 'structural adjustment programs'. These are conditions when loans are given out in which the debtor nations must uphold. However Joseph Stiglitz argues that it increases poverty as it forces states to reduce their spending on public services. The IMF ~~has~~ orders countries to spend ~~the~~ a max of 3% of GDP on health whereas the World Health Organisation encourages states to spend a minimum of 9% of GDP. ~~For~~ Examples of ~~the~~ SAP's increasing poverty is when Senegal implemented these conditions in 1989. It



had to reduce ~~sp~~ home production of e.g. vegetables and ~~eat~~ corn and increase export produce of groundnuts. As a result, 22% of children were malnourished. Also, the number of people unemployed has increased from 25% in 1991 to 44% in 1996. ~~to~~ Likewise, part of the conditions is to devalue their currency. However as a result the cost of imported medicine doubled which, subsequently increased maternal mortality <sup>was</sup> in 1987 to 199. All in all, poverty has increased therefore suggesting that the IMF have failed the world's poor.

However, the IMF and World Bank initiated in 1996 debt relief to the HIPC. ~~As a result~~ due to pressures from Jubilee 2000 and Make Poverty History campaign. As a result it has helped poorer countries by allowing them to spend more on public services which is approaching an alternative view of development. For example as a result of getting debt relief in Uganda, ~~5~~ 5 million extra primary children have gone to school. It has increased from 62% in ~~1990~~ to 92% for girls and 94% for boys, thus helping them to become literate, ~~in order to~~ ~~go~~ Also, spending on health has increased by 70% and education by 40%. ~~There is~~ ~~the~~ ~~level~~ ~~of~~ ~~adult~~ ~~literacy~~ 2 million more people have access to clean water and ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~poor~~ ~~adult~~ ~~literacy~~ poverty has reduced from 56% to 31%. In addition, adult literacy rate has increased from ~~45%~~ to 56.

67% <sup>as well as</sup> ~~with~~ an average economic growth of 5.6%. ~~to~~ So by enabling countries to receive full debt relief from the IMF and World Bank, poverty has been reduced and thus suggesting that the IMF have not failed the world's poor.

It could be argued that the World Bank have failed the world poor. This is also because of the 'structural adjustment policies' (SAPs). ~~the~~ Ghana wanted to secure a loan of \$800 million from the World Bank ~~to~~ in order to supply their population with clean water by 2020. However ~~the~~ Ghana had to privatise their water industry <sup>to serve the towns, this was</sup> ~~which~~ was then given to Rand Water, a joint South African and Dutch company. As a result of the water industry being privatised, the poorest section of society ~~has~~ do not possess the means to buy water because it's too expensive. As well as that for companies to remain competitive they need to reduce costs and since water make up 7% of total cost, 4,600 people were made unemployed. This therefore not only increased unemployment in Ghana but also increased poverty because the poor cannot obtain the water supply, which is a basic necessity of life. ~~So therefore~~ In addition, the World Bank tend to loan out ~~to~~ projects that have negative environmental implications. For instance, the World Bank

gave a loan of \$40 billion to Ghana in order to build the 'Akosombo Dam' in 1966. However the dam flooded 4% of Ghana's ~~the~~ land area and thus led to the relocation of 80,000 people, meaning that ~~they~~ ~~lost~~ their businesses and homes were all ruined. This therefore suggests that the World Bank has failed the world's poor.

However in 1991, the World Bank announced that it would stop financing any commercial <sup>due to</sup> ~~because~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ negative environmental implications ~~it~~ ~~has~~.

It also provided malaria vaccines to many parts of the world, became part of the 'WAR ON AIDS' as well as the 'Stop tuberculosis project' in 2011.

This suggests the positive aspects of the World Bank.

Also from 2002, the World Bank started loaning to NGOs in order to help achieve the 'Millennium Development Goals'. Successes have been made such as extreme poverty has been reduced from \$1.9 billion to 836 million, cases of HIV have reduced from 3.5 million to 2.1 million and universal primary education has increased from 83% to 91%. All in all the World Bank has tried to loan to positive social projects, thus suggesting that it may have not failed the world's poor.

It could be argued that the WTO has failed the world's poor.



~~This is due to the~~ This is ~~due to the~~ in order to join the WTO, <sup>as it distorts the price mechanism.</sup> states must stop all subsidy programmes. However the USA and the EU are allowed to subsidise and this has had negative implications on the world's poor. For instance, the US spend \$3.5 billion each year on cotton production however since it is subsidised, it has led to an overproduction. Which has meant that ~~an~~ according to the price mechanism, prices will fall. However many West African farmers have ~~no~~ depend on cotton production ~~as~~ the revenue as their income which means that as a result of US subsidy, many West African farmers cannot continue production as they don't have enough income, which has subsequently led to the closure of 6000 farms in West Africa. In particular Burkina Faso loses \$13.7 million of export earnings each year due to US subsidies. Another example ~~is~~ is when Ghana joined the WTO, they were advised to stop subsidising their motor industry. Once they stopped subsidising, they were unable to compete with foreign-made industry especially since the EU subsidise theirs. As a result mass unemployment occurred and many people have migrated to the South in cities like Accra to find jobs. Many are ~~travel~~ travel to the South, which tends to be a very dangerous journey. Nonetheless, the WTO has failed towards poor.

On the other hand, the WTO has helped many nations with trade disputes. For example, Australia and Kenya ~~was~~ argued about the quantity of sugar production ~~export~~. The WTO ~~later~~ intervened and ~~stop~~ came to an agreement that both nations export.

On the other hand, the WTO may have not failed the world's poor. This is because it ~~allows~~ promotes free trade. Free trade involves tariffs free and quota free. Many nations in Africa are part of trade blocs that operate on free trade. For example the East African Community allows countries in East Africa to trade with each other and hence earn foreign reserves which can later allow them to buy goods from other markets. As a result, economic growth is achieved as can be seen in Ethiopia where annual economic growth is at 8%. Therefore suggesting that the WTO may have not failed the world's poor.

In conclusion, I believe that the IMF, World Bank and WTO have failed the world's poor. This is because ~~the~~ both the IMF and World Bank comes from



He thinking of the 'one size fits all' where conditions will have the same effect for all countries. Whereas in fact the western countries are more adjust to such conditions whereas the world's poor will be negatively effected. The IMF, World Bank and WTO <sup>essentially</sup> serves the interest of the western community as Joseph Stiglitz's has argued. ~~and also~~ suggests that it is



### ResultsPlus

#### Examiner Comments

SAPs are the opening element in this discussion and there is a reference to a number of theorists. The IMF is considered with examples and a two sided debate. The HIPC process makes up part of the debate as well as a two sided, example laden, discussion of the World Bank and also the WTO.



### ResultsPlus

#### Examiner Tip

Numerous candidates decided the best way to approach this response was a general criticism of the institutions before specifically turning to a two sided debate on each one.

## **Question 7**

This was the least popular of the longer questions on the examination paper. Candidates often discussed effectiveness and the characteristics of effectiveness before evaluating the extent to which international law and judicial courts were able to provide effective protection of human rights. Many candidates were able to discuss the actions of the International Criminal Court as well as Special Tribunals and European Courts. Common criticism of these bodies tended to focus on state sovereignty, double standards, cultural bias with numerous examples.

The script begins with an immediate focus on the actions of the ICC and also the ICJ before moving to other judicial bodies.

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

Chosen question number: Question 6  Question 7  Question 8

After World War Two, attempts were made to implement a system of international law to prevent atrocities like genocide. This has involved the setting up of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the late 1940s and the International Criminal Court (ICC) in 2002, as well as the use of War Crimes Tribunals. However, it is questionable as to how far an effective system has been established.

The ICJ deals with disputes between states, which have to be UN members. This in itself is an issue, as it means that states not recognized by the UN, such as Palestine or Kosovo, cannot report abuses that occur in their countries at the hands of other states. However, the ICJ has dealt with over 100 cases, demonstrating a respectable level of efficiency in its ~~nearly~~ 70 year history. Despite this,

not all of its decisions have resulted in satisfactory outcomes; after losing a case to Nicaragua in the 1980s, the US officials walked out of the courtroom. The USA now only accepts ICJ judgements on a case by case basis. Furthermore, the 1977 case between Chile and Argentina, over possession of islands in the Beagle Channel, nearly resulted in war; the court ruled in favour of Chile and the Argentinians only backed down after papal intervention. Finally, its decisions are non-binding, meaning it has no power of enforcement, calling its effectiveness into question. Even so, the two aforementioned cases withstanding, the ICJ has a fairly good record of resolving inter-state disputes, although its lack of recognition for non-UN states and non-binding decisions limit its effectiveness. Overall, the ICJ goes some way in effectively establishing international law but obviously is not an entirely effective body.

The ICC was set up in

2002 to deal with individuals that have committed war crimes or atrocities, such as genocide or human rights abuses. Despite receiving reports of abuses in over 100 countries, the ICC has ~~completed~~<sup>undertaken</sup> just 10 investigations, with all but one of these being in poor, black African states, leading to accusations of racism. In its 14 year history, the ICC has managed just 2 successful convictions; Congolese militia leaders Lubanga and Katanga. This failure is linked to the ICC's reliance on state police forces to capture criminals; these forces are often unable or unwilling to do this. Furthermore, only 123 states are part of the ICC, with notable exceptions including the USA, China, Russia and India. All in all, around half of the world's population is not covered by ICC jurisdiction, calling into question its effectiveness as a truly international court. However, there are some positives; in 2015, the ICC began a preliminary



investigation into abuses occurring in the Gaza Strip, suggesting that it may prosecute Israelis in the future and is therefore not just a puppet of the United States. Additionally, if all members agree, the ICC will begin prosecuting against those that commit crimes of aggression, or illegal invasions, in 2017. This means that George Bush jr. and Tony Blair could be brought to justice for their part in the Iraq invasion. However, despite its potential future successes, the ICC owns a history of failure and therefore does little in establishing an effective system of international law.

War Crimes Tribunals are the final organ in the body of international law. These look into a specific case of international law abuse, and as such are time and geographically bound. They are also ad hoc, meaning they are set-up for a single case and then not used again. So far, there have been war crimes tribunals for Sierra Leone, Yugoslavia and Rwanda.

Whilst the Rwanda tribunal had some but limited success, the other two fared somewhat better. The tribunal for Yugoslavia convicted high profile names such as Mladic and Karadzic, who both played a part in the Srebrenica massacre. It also brought Milosevic to trial, but he died before he could be sentenced. The tribunal for Sierra Leone had an even higher rate of success, with 19 convictions out of 27 arrests, including that of former Liberian leader Charles Taylor. However, there are still issues with war crimes tribunals; sometimes they are not used. The USA tried and executed Saddam Hussein for abuses during the Gulf War domestically rather than internationally; the same happened in cases of abuse by British and US troops, such as Lieutenant William Calley, who ~~was convicted~~ <sup>had a hearing</sup> the My Lai Massacre during the Vietnam War, receiving 5 years jail time from a US court. Therefore, in spite of

its successes, war crimes tribunals are not mandatory after conflict and their usage may have been replaced by the ICC. Nevertheless, they are fairly effective in effectively establishing a <sup>system</sup> of international law.

Whilst the ICJ has been effective in many cases, it has suffered from massive failings in specific cases, lost the support of the USA and can only give non-binding resolutions. The ICC has an extremely poor record of convictions and is riddled with allegations of racism and ineffectiveness and doesn't cover half the global population. Finally, war crimes tribunals are fairly successful but are only on an ad hoc basis ~~use~~ and are sometimes not used. Nevertheless, there are some positives, such as the potential improvements to the ICC and the role the courts play in acting as a deterrent. However, it is evident that only partially has an effective system of international law and courts been

established; The system requires radical reform, such as greater powers of resolution enforcement and the power to act autonomously on the world stage to be entirely effective.



**ResultsPlus**

**Examiner Comments**

The ICJ is the first point of discussion and there is knowledge of the famous 1980s Nicaragua - US case as well as others. The non-binding failings of the court are examined. The ICC is the next key institution to face scrutiny and the significant criticisms of the ICC are made clear. The limited powers of investigation with a focus, to date, on Africa and limited prosecutions are all discussed along with the lack of forces in support of arrests and the lack of universal membership. The Special UN Tribunals are also discussed in some detail and whilst the response is quite critical of courts and tribunals there are positive attributes identified such as the high profile prosecutions that have taken place and also the deterrence value of the institutions which is, of course, quite hard to evaluate.



This script has a rather brief introduction which includes an attempt at definition and an initial identification of key criticisms of international law and courts.

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

Chosen question number: Question 6  Question 7  Question 8

International law is the law that governs the interactions between states, and there are many bodies that have been established to uphold such laws. However, the extent to which an effective system of international law and courts has been established is highly contested, for a number of reasons, including western hypocrisy and bias, inefficient and inactive, as well as too slow.

Firstly, it can be said that an effective system of international law and courts has been established because a range of courts have been set up to target ~~at least~~ particular crimes. For example, the International Criminal Court, (ICC) was set up by the Rome Statute in 2002, and aims to prosecute individuals for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. Furthermore, it will increase its effectiveness in 2017, by also prosecuting for "crimes of aggression". The ICC is also a permanent court which helps to enhance its effectiveness, as it can operate on all time periods too, and is not time specific. Secondly, the ~~International Criminal Court~~ International Court of Justice (ICJ) was set up in 1948 and this settles disputes between states, rather than individuals. It is also known as the World Court. Therefore, there is an effective system as the system covers both crimes



committed by individuals as well as states.

It can also be argued that <sup>the</sup> international judicial system is effective, as it can target specific atrocities in order to focus on an event and bring justice to all of those involved. This is seen with the War Crimes Tribunals. <sup>(WCTs)</sup> For example, the International Criminal Tribunals were set up for Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Yugoslavia, in order to examine the civil wars and ethnic cleansing there, by focusing on one time period and area. This led to several indictments, with 50 people indicted at the Sierra Leone Tribunal in particular. These have also proved to have been successful, leading to the conviction of Charles Taylor, former Liberian president, as well as Mladic and Karadzic, who orchestrated the Srebrenica massacre in Bosnia, and several others. Therefore, it can definitely be said that the international system for upholding international law, as it focuses on specific atrocities in order to be able to do this more effectively, something that is difficult for the ICC because of its near global jurisdiction - in other words, the creation of WCTs has enabled ~~justice to be~~ ~~bring~~ more people to be brought to justice through specialising and the creation of specific courts.

Another way that the international law and courts system is deemed to be effective is the fact that it applies to everyone, including state leaders. This is seen by the fact that the ICC have an arrest warrant

As Omar al-Bashir, former President of Sudan, and how the NCT convicted Charles Taylor for his part in the Sierra Leone civil war. This demonstrates that international law is universal and applies to everyone, or does 'rule of law' and even the most powerful state leaders will be brought to justice.

Finally, The system of international law and courts can be said to be effective as it has promoted international law effectively and acted as a deterrent. Civil war and crimes against humanity are becoming less frequent, suggesting that the consequences have acted as an effective deterrent. Furthermore, there is now widespread acceptance of international law, showing it has successfully spread, making it an effective system.

However, the international courts system is heavily criticised because of its western bias. It is based on western legal systems and inherently western law, such as the UN Declaration of Human Rights (1948). This is unfair, as many Muslim countries reject such ~~law~~ western law under the Cairo Declaration, which suggests where there is conflict between human rights law and Sharia law, Muslim countries would follow Sharia law as this was given by Allah, not dictated by western men. However such western law is imposed globally, which leads to inequality. Furthermore, a western bias has been seen in the way that

Western countries like the USA, have not been convicted for their actions in Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib prison, which included torture, the denial to practise religion, and other general human rights abuses. This also applies to western leaders, with leaders like Bush and Blair ~~not even~~ having escaped investigation for their part in the 'War on Terror' and Iraq War 2003, for which many accuse them of war-mongering and ~~it is~~ facilitating war crimes. Therefore, the international system can be criticised as too biased towards western liberalism to be effective in a way that it treats everyone and every state equally.

Secondly, structures like the ICC can be criticized for racism. The African Union accused the ICC of racism in 2014, when it emerged that 9 of the 10 countries being investigated were African, and the only exception was Georgia. This also highlighted an inherent tendency for courts to target weaker states, although others would argue that weaker states are those damaged by conflict and corruption. This makes it less effective too, as it is not operating on a neutral system of equality.

The international law and courts system can also be criticised for being ineffective in the way that it is too slow and has not done enough. The ICJ, set up in 1948, has seen over 100 cases, but in perspective this is an average of under 2 a year, showing it to be extremely slow. The ICC has also been slow to act.



because out of 139 ~~countries accused~~ countries accused, only 10 have been investigated, with only 39 indictments and only 2 convictions: Lubanga and Katanga from the DRC. The ICTY, although a little further, are due to specialising, are also said to be slow, with numerous delays before their verdicts, as was the case with Slobodan Milosevic from Yugoslavia. ~~Therefore, they are not~~ They are therefore largely ineffective and have not achieved much.

Kindly, such low end courts are ineffective because of structural weaknesses. For example, the ICC ~~has~~ has not been ratified by 41 countries including the USA, China and India. This makes their jurisdiction over non-signatories incredibly weak & not non-existent. ~~The ICJ~~ ~~can't~~ Only 113 countries accept ICJ rulings, with some like America doing so on a case by case basis - this allowed them to 'wash out' of the USA vs Nicaragua case in 1984 when they did not accept the rulings. This makes such institutions too weak to carry out their functions effectively, so cannot be said to be completely effective.

In conclusion, the extent to which <sup>an</sup> international which an effective system of international law and courts has been established is severely limited. Whilst international law seems unilateral and absolute, it is inherently western, so cannot be deemed effective in

governing a world divided by culture, ideology and politics. The international courts established to enforce such laws cannot be said to ~~eff~~ be effective, because whilst they have made notable success, their failures outweigh those largely. The War Crimes Tribunals seem the most effective in upholding law and delivering justice, but these along with the ICC and ICJ are weak and flawed, particularly through being too specific, targeting weak states, and not convicted a lot of people. The systems are slow, and mostly inactive rather than proactive, and the accusations of racism also show that the states it relies on deem it to be unfair and ineffective. ~~with~~ Ideally, such courts need to be reformed in order to cover more cases from all over the world, which would make them far more effective, as currently they are weakened by structure, which does not allow them to bring justice to all that deserve it, as there are too many cases to handle. Therefore, ~~such~~ the system is not effective and needs to be reformed.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

A wide range of courts are identified immediately and include the ICJ, ICC and Special Tribunals. Any concerns that this may be a rather one-sided response soon disappear with discussion of the prosecution of high profile individuals and near global jurisdiction of some of these courts. The willingness to prosecute even political leaders is applauded as is the deterrence value of the institutions and the widespread acceptance of the courts and tribunals. Criticism is centred on certain themes which include the perceived western bias and western legal system. Cultural opposition is explored as is the idea of double standards with reference to Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib. The ICC focus on black Africans is mentioned and there is further criticism focussed on each specific court and tribunal.



## **Question 8**

This was the second most popular of the 45 mark questions on the examination paper and produced a variety of responses in terms of knowledge and analysis in particular. Whilst some candidates provided a general discussion on climate change, others were able to provide real detail of achievements and failings in international conferences and agreements. The division between developed and developing states was often explored as was discussion of the Tragedy of the Commons idea. Divisions between views as to how best to tackle climate change were also used by some to tackle the question.

After a brief introduction the candidate moves to discussion of a wide collection of issues relating to climate change.

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

Chosen question number: Question 6 ☒ Question 7 ☒ Question 8 ☒

Climate change has dominated the global agenda since the 1990s, with near consensus that it is a human-created problem that will have horrific consequences. As Gordon Brown said, 'global problems require global solutions' ~~which~~ due to the transnational nature of the issue, however the success rate of attempts to cooperate to date have been questioned.

One issue that has prevented sufficient progress over climate change is the remaining conflict between developed and developing states. One reason for this conflict is disagreements about the historical responsibility for the issue; whilst developed states point the finger at the high emissions produced by developing states, developing states argue that that problem is caused by their inability to afford sustainable methods and outsourcing by developed states. For example, <sup>(Swiss company)</sup> Glencore's mining in Zambia left rivers polluted and

destroyed fresh water supply in a country where 54% of the population are below the poverty line and have little money to live, let alone prevent damage to the climate. There is also dispute between developed and developing states as to how much 'contribution' to the issue; through emissions or per capita. These historic disagreements look unlikely to be resolved soon, suggesting that they have not only prevented sufficient progress to-date, but will continue to do so.

In contrast, the Kyoto Protocol of 1997 is argued to be the significant stepping stone towards sufficient progress in tackling climate change. Not only was Kyoto the first to introduce the notion of emissions trading and global binding targets, but also the conference addressed the differences in contribution between developed and developing states and initially only imposed targets upon developed states.

Sufficient progress over climate

change has also been hindered by the lack of a world government or supra-national body. The 2009 Copenhagen Accord is frequently criticised for both the lack of legally binding targets, and non-legally binding targets with no emissions reduction target set for 2015. The UN's IPCC (1988) and WEDC (1983), which introduced the idea of sustainable development, have also been criticised for their lack of implementation of targets and goals that are not voluntary. This voluntary nature was also evident in the UN's Millennium Development Goals which are instead moving their focus, as seen by the 2016 announcement of developing more sustainable tourism, rather than reaching binding goals and significant milestones.

On the other hand, the success of the 2015 Paris COP21 conference suggests that these weaknesses might have been repaired and sufficient progress is now being made, with Obama describing the conference as 'the best chance we've got to save our only planet'. The



conference outlined clear goals, such as the fact that global temp will not rise beyond  $2^{\circ}\text{C}$ , reviewing progress every 5 years and the commitment of \$100bn/year to help change developing countries approach to the environment. COP21 also saw the cooperation of nearly 200 countries, building on Copenhagen's 150, showing that the will is of growing importance to move and more states and collective action is beginning.

to however, sceptics argue that sufficient progress has not occurred due to the 'tragedy of the commons'. [TOTC] This theory is based on the idea of multiple farmers grazing in a single field, prior to the development of enclosures, where the farmers did not think of others. It is the idea that they exceed the 'carrying capacity' of the land, and many people view the Earth as a 'global commons' and say that states are acting as the self-interested farmers. TOTC highlights the problem

of 'free riders', those who contribute to the issue and do not take responsibility, and this tag is most commonly hung around China's neck as the greatest contributor of emissions and greenhouse gases, in theory it is expected that China would pay the highest price in concerted action in order to progress in tackling climate change. However China did not ratify the Kyoto Protocol, and neither did the USA (the second greatest emitter), presenting them to be 'free-riders'.

Despite not ~~signing~~ ratifying the Kyoto Protocol however, it is argued that in recent years global powers have altered their stance towards cooperative action against climate change. At the Copenhagen Conference both the USA and China recognised the necessary impact of their contribution, and both Russia and Australia signed the Kyoto Protocol despite previously being non-signatories. In addition to this, COP21 in Paris saw ~~no~~ representation from China, India, South Africa and the G77 of developing countries, illustrating the

evergrowing acknowledgement of the global issue. Over 100 of the representatives at Copenhagen were also heads of state or foreign ministers, again conveying the significance of the issue and desire for sufficient progress.

International efforts have also failed to achieve sufficient progress over climate change because of the contrasting approaches as how to deal with it. Whilst radicals and deep ecologists desire legally binding targets to be enforced globally, reformists favour adaptation methods that draw on less resources and financial contribution. These disputes especially limited the achievement of the 1992 Rio Earth Summit and ~~the~~ 2003 WWF conference, leaving little to show for their attempts at ~~other~~ a collaborative response.

Despite disagreements about which methods are best to tackle climate change, conferences have had a 'domino' effect in encouraging states to develop their own environmental policy. The



Obama administration has appeared a lot more sympathetic towards the issue in contrast to previous presidencies, conveying both his personal stance and the view that the detrimental consequences of climate change must be tackled now before it is too late. The UK has also taken on a more environmentally focused policy, seen both by the election of a Green party MP Caroline Lucas in Brighton which shows that the electorate care for environmental action, and the recent announcement that zero-emission targets are to be enshrined in UK law.

Although this displays increasing action to prevent climate change, many argue that sufficient progress will not be seen until later down the line when consequences hit home; as seen by the USA's lack of policy until their own state was hit by hurricane Katrina. Until then other matters of global importance, such as terrorism, will dominate the international agenda, as seen by the UN's 2018 conference on preventing violent extremism in Geneva.



TO CONCLUDE, INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS  
TO ACHIEVE SUFFICIENT PROGRESS IN  
TACKLING CLIMATE CHANGE HAVE  
IMPROVED IN MORE RECENT YEARS AS SEEN  
BY NATIONAL POLICY, THE COP21  
CONFERENCE AND GREATER WILDMAN  
FROM KEY COUNTRIES. HOWEVER CONFLICT  
OVER STRATEGIES, BINDING EMISSIONS,  
TOTC AND DEVELOPED / DEVELOPING  
COUNTRIES STILL RESTRICTS THE PROGRESS.  
THIS RAISES THE QUESTION AS TO  
WHETHER SOVEREIGN STATES WILL EVER  
SUCCESSFULLY COOPERATE OVER A  
TRANSNATIONAL ISSUE.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

Both sides of the debate are covered as the candidate begins with discussion relating to the division between the developed and developing world over issues such as historic responsibility and how to measure state responsibility. The major climate conferences including Kyoto, Copenhagen and Paris are discussed with detail such as the Paris 2% targets and the \$100bn fund. The issue of the Tragedy of the Commons is explained along with the free rider concept and there is explanation as to the divide between the reformist and radical camps.

## Paper Summary

A pleasing collection of scripts make clear the quality of teaching and learning that takes place across this particular route.

Clearly there is a great appetite for the subject, even though there are significant demands placed on the student by the ever changing content in terms of examples to illustrate the key themes.

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

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

## **Grade Boundaries**

Grade boundaries for this, and all other papers, can be found on the website on this link:

<http://www.edexcel.com/iwantto/Pages/grade-boundaries.aspx>

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