

Examiners' Report
June 2014

GCE Government & Politics 6GP04 4D

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Introduction

Once again, this paper seems to have been well received by the majority of candidates with a decent popularity split between questions. In general candidates seemed well prepared. It was pleasing to note that definitions tended to be provided and to a high level. The majority of students also attempted to remain relevant throughout their responses. Synoptic skills appear to have been further developed and very few students produced one-sided longer responses.

The most popular short question was the fourth question which was on the proliferation of nuclear weapons but the other questions had roughly similar numbers of responses aside from question three on mitigation and adaptation as strategies for dealing with climate change. The most popular longer question was the question on the clash of civilisations and the least popular question was on conflict between developed and developing states relating to environmental policy.

Question 1 (x)

The first question was quite a popular one and there were some very good responses where candidates had clearly arrived armed with a decent definition and awareness of the possible growth in importance of human rights in global politics. There were a few excellent examples where candidates were able to use contemporary examples in support of their assertions.

A quick definition is followed by a range of factors which provide strength to this response.

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Question 1

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Human rights are the supposedly fundamental, inalienable, indivisible and absolute rights to which all are entitled by virtue of being human.

One reason for why human rights have become more important in global politics is the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. This is because this represented, according to Fukuyama, the victory of Western ideology, which includes human rights as a key component of it. Added to this, there has been greater agreement amongst the ~~major~~ PS members in the UNSC because the USSR has less interest in blocking American proposals. For example, Russia agreed to allow intervention in Libya in 2011, and a part of this mission was to stop human rights abuses.

Secondly, globalisation has meant that geographical distance is less important, and this has resulted in citizens of the west being aware of human rights abuses. This has been aided by the CNN effect (24 hour news). Indeed, in 1999, Tony Blair claimed that if the world is made aware of human rights abuses, it has a moral obligation to do something about it. Therefore, globalisation and the spread of technology has made human rights more prominent in global politics.

Thirdly, and linked to this, is the fact that, during the 1990s, there were many instances of genocide. For example, the genocide in the former Yugoslavia. This has resulted in ad hoc courts being set up to prosecute war criminals for offences such as 'crimes against humanity'. For example, the ICTY is in the process of prosecuting Slobodan Milosovic for his crimes in Serbia. Similarly, following the Rome Statute of 2002, the ICC has been operational, which aims to stop impunity in war. Therefore, the fact that international law has focused more on human rights is a reason why they have become more important.

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





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Examiner Comments

The end of the Cold War, globalisation and the CNN effect, 1990s genocides and the establishment of bodies such as the ICC are all useful areas of discussion and ensure a L3 score for this script.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Tip

A snappy response with definition and a range of factors tends to impress.

Question 1 (y)

This is also a good response. Definition is followed by a discussion based on growing media awareness and reporting of abuses.

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Human rights are rights that we are entitled to as a ^{virtue} part of being human. They are 'God-given', fundamental and absolute (they cannot be taken away). Fundamentally, human rights

(HR) significantly rose in significance with the establishment of the UDHR in 1948.

media

A primary reason why HR are more important is the rise of 24 hour media. We are far more informed about our rights and a breach of HR is reported globally. Governments now face popular pressure to act when there are human rights abuses. A heightened awareness regarding the issue means that regional blocs are far less ^{international organizations.}

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

forgiving. China's significance and sphere of influence has been greatly inhibited due to its human rights regimes. The media informs people about violations which provides them with the tools to form an informed opinion about the topic. Thus, HR have become more important due to the heightened awareness.

(Impaired) → Inhibitions

Another reason why HR have become more important is because of their universal reach and significance.

The establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in 2002 has provided a significant step towards a supranational HR system. Despite only charging two people in its 12 year history it has acted as an overriding authority in upholding HR. States as well as individuals can be called to the court for HR abuses. E.g. a Congolese man was charged for the crime of genocide just yesterday. Therefore, HR has become more important as there have been international

bodies that can pursue HR violations

Additionally, HR have become more important due to globalisation. Liberals feel that globalisation has given rise to a focus on individual rights. As well as reducing the influence of the state. As a result, there has been a surge in the influence NGOs have. Amnesty International have campaigned tirelessly to uphold HR. They were particularly against the 90-day detention of terrorist suspects without charge. As proposed in Blair's terrorism act 2005. The increased influence and strength of NGOs has resulted in

charge. As proposed in Blair's terrorism act 2005. The increased influence and strength of NGOs has resulted in governments prioritising HR in their policies. They are more important because there are more institutions and organisations campaigning for them to uphold.

+ Rise of NGOs.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

The establishment of bodies such as the ICC is touched upon as is the impact of globalisation and the spread of NGOs dedicated to highlighting and tackling abuses.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Tip

This is another example of a definition being clearly supported using a range of examples.

Question 2 (x)

This was a popular question and many candidates had a strong understanding of the origins of the North-South divide and description. Candidates seemed weaker on discussion relating to whether it was still relevant and this acted as the most obvious discriminator.

This response shows an awareness of Brandt and of the characteristics which are usually applied to the North and South. The rise of the BRIC states is discussed along with the decline of some states in global North and divisions within the South are investigated via discussion of the particular problems faced by and characteristics of sub-Saharan Africa.

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The North-South divide ~~was~~ idea was popularised in the Brandt Reports and ~~is~~ attempted to highlight the chasm ~~of~~ standards of living between countries in the 'North' and the 'South'.

The concepts 'North' and 'South' were more conceptual than geographical demonstrated by the position of Australia which is located in the ~~South~~ geographical south but within the North-South divide theory grid itself in the 'North'.

The Brandt reports highlighted the fact that growth and prosperity tended to be concentrated in the high investment, high wage countries of the North and that poverty and disadvantage was located in the South. This was seen to be ~~perpetuated~~ perpetuated by transnational corporations, ~~developing~~ developing world debt and ~~and~~ Transnational corporations would exploit resource-rich

and the cheap labour of the 'South' ~~is~~ but return profits back to their 'home' country' i.e. the North. This has been seen in Sub-Saharan Africa as the

~~The~~ exploitation of its resources without reinvestment into industrialisation has ensured that the chasm between the North and South is maintained.

Aid from developed country in the 'North' is also suggested to have maintained the North-South divide by creating a dependency culture and removing incentives or 'hollowing out' incumbent businesses in areas receiving aid. Developing world debt has also been the maintenance of the North-South divide as has been seen in the Debt Crisis of the 1980s where a sudden call for repayments of debt from developed world prevented countries in the 'South' from investing in their own country and instead saw them paying of debt and interest. This prevented industrialisation and therefore seeks to maintain the chasm between the manufactured North and the intermediate South in terms of goods.

However, there are claims that the North-South divide concept is no longer relevant for several reasons. ~~Firstly~~ Firstly, there have been great improvements in living standards and development in the 'South' such as in China, Brazil and India who, in recent years, have been seeing economic growth improving by 5% annually.

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

This begs the question, can a country change its position in this North-South divide? This is also true in the case of countries in the 'North' who have seen a decline in living standards, these are notably former Communist states such as Ukraine and Moldova.

Another reason it is suggested to be outdated is the fact that most disadvantage is more narrowly concentrated in Sub-Saharan Africa than the 'South' as a whole. Transnational corporations exploiting its resources and aid has left Sub-Saharan Africa in poverty and without the means to get out itself. Therefore, it is suggested the chasm is more evident between Sub-Saharan Africa and the rest of the world than the North and the South.

Overall, the North-South divide ~~is~~ shows a correlation but fails to look deeper into specific circumstances of countries. It ~~is~~ would be better to distinguish between developed and developing countries or ~~to~~ to just look at individual countries.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

Clear awareness of the central term and a range of points discussed ensure a L3 score.

This is a very good response which begins with a clear explanation of Brandt and of the central terms. There are interesting lines of discussion relating to 'equalising trends' and 'emerging economies'. The argument from the previous response regarding sub-Saharan Africa reappears here and there is an interesting argument relating to inequality within states.

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The North-South divide is a term that was coined by the German Chancellor Willy Brandt following two reports he wrote in 1980 ('North-South: a programme for survival') and 1983. The North-South divide ~~poor~~ suggest that industrial development and wealth is concentrated in the Northern hemisphere ('the global North') in countries such as the UK and USA, whilst poverty, under-development and disadvantage are concentrated in the Southern Hemisphere ('the global South'). The TNCs, free trade and aid have been described as methods in which the structural inequalities between the 'global North' and 'global South' have been perpetrated. However, this model is more conceptual than geographical in nature, as developed countries such as Australia (GDP per capita in 2010 of \$31,999) can be found in the Southern Hemisphere. ~~§~~

The North-South divide is viewed by many as no longer being relevant because there are now many examples of 'equalising trends'. Many ~~economy~~ states have moved

up the economic development stairway and can now be viewed as 'emerging economies', even though they would have been considered as members of the 'global south' under Brandt's North-south divide. For example, the economic growth rate in China has increased by 8-10% since 1990. India's has also increased by 7-8%, ~~but~~ However, the growth rate in MEDCs (more economically developed countries) has only increased by 2-3%. This highlights how the North-south divide is no longer relevant as LEDCs are emerging and bridging the so-called 'North-South divide'. Due to these emerging economies it is debatable whether there is such a stark divide.

The North-south divide cannot be still be relevant because it fails to recognise the concentration of the 'global south's' poverty in one particular area. There is now a 'fourth world' (Sub-Saharan Africa), which the North-south divide does not recognise. For example, within the 'fourth world' life expectancy is under 47.6 years, whilst the global average is 68.1 years. Moreover, in Sub-Saharan Africa only 20% of the population has access to sanitation. Therefore the North-south divide is not still relevant as it fails to recognise the emergence of the 'fourth world' in showing the extent of worldwide disparity.

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~~Moreover, neo-pragmatists such as Wallerstein could argue that the North-South divide is no longer relevant because there is an emergence of~~

Moreover, the North-South divide is no longer relevant because it fails to recognise the amount of growing inequality that is arising within countries. This inequality can be seen in countries of all levels of development. For example, in the UK 3.9 million children in 2010 had been in families that were living below the poverty line. Moreover, the 5 wealthiest families in the UK have the same wealth as the bottom 20% of the UK's population. Moreover, in China there are huge within country disparities, for example in the rural provinces, such as Guizhou, 1.5 million people live below the poverty line. However in China there are also 205 billionaires. Therefore the North-South divide is not relevant as it fails to recognise inequalities that exist within states.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

A clear L3 response with a strong definition/explanation of the central term and a range of factors discussed.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Tip

Even a brief introduction helps show a clear awareness of the central theme to the benefit of the candidate.

Question 3 (x)

This was the least popular of the short responses. The main differentiator between scripts was the quality of definitions and explanations of the two terms. The stronger candidates were able to go beyond this and distinguish between the terms with examples.

This is a strong response which provides a good background to climate change.

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Climate change, if the scientists are right, will bring massive changes to the environment in which the human race lives and survives in.

Mitigation and adaptation are two strategies designed to deal with the issue of climate change. The mitigation strategy advocates minimising human impact upon the environment in an attempt to prevent climate change from happening and/or to mitigate its effects.

Climate change can be defined as a process by which the planet's temperature increases thus leading to proliferation of drought, cyclones and other weather events. This is caused

by human activity specifically by the emission of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere which block sun rays from escaping the atmosphere thus leading to temperature increases. Mitigation hence deals with preventing that from happening or mitigating the

scale of changes in the climate. This can be done through changing the way our economies function, away from fossil fuels to renewables. For instance, closing coal power stations and replacing them with gas or nuclear powered ones. The aim is to reduce our emission of greenhouse gases and thus to prevent climate change from happening.

In contrast, adaptation strategies mostly accept or even welcome the changes in our climate. Proponents of this strategy argue that changing our economy away from fossil fuel based to carbon neutral - which is what the advocates of mitigating strategies propose, would be far costlier and would lead to the lowering of living standards for millions of people, for instance in China where without cheap coal produced electricity, the economic boom would slow down. Hence, they advocate that humans should adapt their lives to the climatic changes which will take place rather than attempt to prevent them. This includes the strengthening of sea defences against increasingly common

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

and powerful storms and cyclones. Relocation of populations which live in coastal areas such as the Bangladesh or the Maldives to protect them from flooding. Also, adaptation of crop ~~and plants~~ ^{to grow} ~~at~~ ^{so to plant them} at more suitable seasons taking into account the weather variations. ~~There~~ ^{Some} proponents of adaptation strategies also may often believe that climate change may bring benefits to humanity such as warmer weather and hence climate change should not be feared because human beings possess a unique ability to adapt to their conditions and will hence survive and benefit from these changes. In contrast, those advocating mitigation believe mostly that climate change will have a disastrous impact on humanity e.g. 500 million people may be displaced due to climate change by 2050. Hence, rather than accepting, climate change should be avoided by ~~the~~ ^{adopting} greener policies and reducing our emissions.



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Examiner Comments

The script makes clear the difference between the two approaches of mitigation and adaptation with a number of examples.

Question 3 (y)

This is an example of a script which has tried, more clearly than the previous example, to highlight clear differences between the two approaches.

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Adaptation and mitigation are methods of dealing with climate change. Adaptation strategies are those that seek to lessen the impact of climate change while not tackling the root problem. Examples include building storm barriers, changing crops to more weather resistant strains and relocating people further from the coast.

Mitigation strategies are those that seek to tackle the root problem of anthropogenic climate change. Examples include using nuclear power or ~~renewable~~ renewable power like solar and wind instead of burning fossil fuels; or switching to electric vehicles.

Adaptation strategies have become more popular for two main reasons. Firstly, the level of commitment necessary to make a difference through mitigation is very high and would slow down

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economic growth. This is particularly unpalatable in light of the 2007 global financial crisis. Governments, especially in democracies, want to be seen appealing to growth and jobs creation as a priority. Adaptation is seen as a cheaper solution.

Secondly the growth of CO₂ emissions has been exponential. The output from 1996 to 2005 - in spite of international efforts - is four times that of the previous ten years. There is a growing shift therefore, by the IPCC and governments to a combination of both adaptation and mitigation measures.

Deep ecologists may reject both and see ~~fast~~ climate change as a result of ~~our~~ modern society's consumerist and materialist nature. They advocate rebalancing perceptions of the relationship between people and nature to that of a more equal importance.



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Examiner Comments

Adaptation is described as being more popular and as having more palatable consequences for states and citizens. Adaptation is also described as being less costly than mitigation.

Question 4 (x)

This was the most popular of the short questions but there were a significant number of responses that failed to deal with the central theme of the question. They discussed the destructive power of nuclear weapons without moving to discussing the concern regarding proliferation of nuclear weapons. Whilst destructive power is clearly a concern linked to proliferation, there are a number of particular issues which stronger candidates discussed.

Question 4 (y)

This response provides an explanation of nuclear weapons including horizontal and vertical proliferation. A range of issues is introduced which includes the danger of more 'fingers on triggers', the A Q Khan network and rogue states. This is clearly a L3 script.

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Nuclear weapons, as weapons of mass destruction, are weapons that have high yield, high destruction and catastrophic effect, having the potential to destroy entire communities and indeed societies. Nuclear proliferation comes in both vertical and horizontal forms, but overall can be defined as the spread of nuclear weapons. Vertical proliferation, shown by the Cold War, is the gaining and development of further nuclear technology by an already nuclear capable state, whilst horizontal proliferation is a new state becoming nuclear capable, such as North Korea, India and

Pakistan

A first reason for growing concern is the fallibility of deterrence systems, and the enormous capability within nuclear powers. Deterrence is one of the main reasons why nuclear weapons are desirable, creating what Whistleblower calls 'a balance of terror' which ensures that 'for his own survival, he must back off' (Quinn-Jones).

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

States gain respect on the international stage, and so communicate diplomatically and rationally with other powers. However, riots, miscalculations and the escalation of conventional war can prevent the idea of this from fulfilling itself, and the balance of terror, which is particularly delicate, may break. Also, unlike in the Cold War when the balance was between two superpowers, there are now far more nations, some rogue, with 'fingers on triggers' making the balance even more delicate. Also, weapons which such effect can never be associated with peace and security, undermining their effectiveness and increasing concern.

Secondly is horizontal proliferation to rogue states. A. Q. Khan sold nuclear technology to Pakistan, Libya and Serbia among others, leading to far more states becoming nuclear capable. Some, like the theocracy of Iran and military dictatorship of North Korea are considered rogue, 'disregarding the laws of the international community' (Farrar). They are not rational actors, and so cannot be trusted to acknowledge the balance of terror and prospect of second strike.

capability, especially as the Christian far many have fundamentalist, apocalyptic motives. More irrational 'fingers on triggers', many more likely to push the button, has increased concern.

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

Thirdly is the development of 'usable nuclear weapons', as developed by Bush according to the Bush doctrine which suggests the USA has the role to retaliate to any threat or suspicion of WMD. He suggested developing more less destructive nuclear weapons that could be better used in ~~symmetrical~~ asymmetrical warfare in a conventional war, and the less destructive capability of air would negate the fear of massive retaliation. With the prospect of these developing, nuclear war could become a norm in conventional warfare. So again increasing concern.



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Examiner Comments

Stronger responses were able to explain proliferation including vertical and horizontal and the issues relating to both.

Question 4 (z)

This response does enough to gain a L3 mark. There is an obvious understanding of proliferation even if the explanation/definition isn't as clear as other scripts. There is a discussion relating to Rogue states with authoritarian military or religious dictatorships. The nuclear black market is discussed as is the terrorist desire to acquire.

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Often regarded as a particularly nefarious and morally repugnant weapon of war by the international community, the proliferation of nuclear weapons has always been met with heavy caution and alarm. However, in the context of ~~the~~ Cold War, the main parties, the US and USSR, operated rationally according to the theory of Mutually Assured Destruction. However, the 21st century has seen an increase in instability in nuclear proliferation that has increased concerns over nuclear proliferation.

Firstly, recent developments have highlighted the weaknesses of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), created in 1968. As these have been outlined, there has been growing concern over the ability of the law to control nuclear proliferation. In 2003, North Korea used the "fuel-cycle loop hole" to gain the nuclear technology.

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

guaranteed by the Treaty, opt out and then upgrade to nuclear weapons. This article proliferation has been met with growing concern, therefore, as the international community realize that existing safeguards are not as efficient as thought to be.

Additionally, globalisation and the backlash of US hegemony in the 1990s has produced rogue states that do not act according to rational thought. Like North Korea, and Iran, which seeks to acquire nuclear weapons, these rogue states obtaining nuclear weapons has been met with growing concern ~~that~~ ^{due to the} instability of their regimes, one being an authoritarian military dictatorship and the other have a religious regime that does not coincide with traditional political theory. Therefore, the combination of proliferation to rogue states and the instability of these states has ~~increased~~ ^{increased} concerns.

As these rogue states tend to act irrationally, the formation of a nuclear black market has lead to increased concerns due to the prospect of either rogue states participating in them, or for the regimes to collapse and leave their

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

arsenal open to the black market. This was historically illustrated in the post-Cold-War era. The USSR's arsenal in annexed countries was left vulnerable the therefore sold to black markets that cause growing concern due to their anonymity and utter lack of regulation.

Through these, it is possible that terrorist groups could acquire weapons or even technology. Especially coupled with the raised profile of terrorism in the WAT, concern over terrorist cells obtaining weapons has been relatively recent.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

This shows a pleasing awareness of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty and flaws.

Question 5 (x)

This was quite a popular question with the majority of candidates clearly aware of the central term. Sadly a number of candidates seemed happy simply discussing examples of humanitarian intervention without getting to an explanation of why it occurs in some cases but not in others.

Question 5 (z)

This response lacks a definition but provides a wide ranging commentary of the issues surrounding humanitarian intervention with a range of examples.

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Many people claim that one of the main weaknesses of humanitarian intervention is through its usage in some conflicts but not others. Realists believe this is because humanitarian intervention never occurs for purely altruistic reasons meaning it only ever happens when a humanitarian case aligns with a strategic or political one. As such, humanitarian intervention happens in some cases but not others because it is self-serving in some cases, but in others it is not. This can be illustrated by the claim that the 1997 Kosovo intervention was a result of the UK not wishing to have a refugee crisis, and the 1991 Somalia intervention by the UN was for similar reasons. By comparison, other conflicts hold no such benefits for the intervening state, shown by the ignorance shown towards the Central African Republic crisis ~~which has created~~ Moreover, political reasons often prevail humanitarian

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

intervention occurring in some cases. This is normally due to a powerful state's unwillingness to allow an ~~the~~ intervention to occur, which prevents any other states doing so due to this state's power and influence in the global system. This can be seen through China's ongoing mistreatment of Tibetans, or possibly, ~~the~~ Russia's recent behaviour towards Ukraine. Due to the fact that both of these states being hugely powerful, with China having the second largest economy and Russia the second largest army, it would be unthinkable for another state to intervene in these cases. This causes these cases to ~~not~~ be ignored.

As well as this, it is often very difficult to achieve general consensus in deciding whether or not intervention should occur, which means that states are unwilling to intervene in these cases. Due to the fact that humanitarian ~~intervention~~ intervention is already a controversial issue, it is often wished that it has some sort of mandate behind it before it occurs. This was true of the 2011 ~~to~~ intervention, which was backed by the UN Security Council. However, when such a mandate is impossible, it is much less likely for an intervention to occur, as illustrated by the lack of action in Syria due to China and Russia vetoing this. This causes interventions in some cases, but not others.

Finally, humanitarian intervention occurs in some

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

cases but not others due to the fact that humanitarian crises are often very complex, thus it is unclear whether an intervention would be beneficial or not. This questioning of morality leads some cases to be ignored, whilst other crises are acted against. This can be illustrated through the fact that action was taken in ~~Russia~~ ~~in 1999~~ Sierra Leone in order to support the democratically elected government against rebels. This can largely be seen as an example of a conflict where it was clear which action was the preferred outcome, thus humanitarian intervention could occur because it had a clear goal. By contrast, the Syrian conflict has not been acted upon for fear that the overthrow of the Assad regime would put Islamic fundamentalists, such as the ISIS group which has gained power in the country, in power. As such, it is unclear in this case which outcome is preferable, thus humanitarian intervention is much less likely to occur.



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The realist perspective is discussed with an explanation that strategic and political interests often have to match up with humanitarian concerns. There are interesting examples relating to Russia and Ukraine and to China and Tibet. The role of the United Nations and provision, or not, of a UN mandate is also discussed along with the consideration as to whether, on a case by case basis, intervention will perhaps do more harm than good.



ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

Excellent contemporary examples.

This response begins with a definition and immediately moves to focus on the clash between sovereignty and Responsibility to Protect (R2P).

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Humanitarian Intervention (HI) is the offensive action of a state, or a group of states, into a region that is suffering from systematic human rights abuse or genocide. The purpose of HI is to bring stability to the region affected. It is widely regarded, however, as a violation of a state's sovereignty, and goes against the UN charter or article 2.1, 2.4 and 2.7, which are all in favour of protecting a state's sovereignty.

Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is a condition term used to excuse humanitarian intervention as the states ~~have~~ are obliged to help others who are in need, or whose their human rights (given to all by virtue of being human) are being abused.

Examples of humanitarian intervention during the golden era of HI are Northern Iraq (1991), Somalia (1992) and Kosovo (1999). These are usually caused because of the CNN effect whereby if a situation gains global attention then it is more likely to

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

be acted on than if an event occurred with the same level of human rights abuses yet minimal media coverage. Tony Blair did interviews and media appearances before the HI of Kosovo to gain attention for it in the hope to justify their cause.

Some see HI as a form of imperialism, as Huntington would say "Universalism to the west is imperialism to the rest". The liberation of Kuwait in the second Gulf War could be seen as an act of HI given the tragic human rights abuses that occurred there, yet it could also be seen as an act by the US to stop Saddam gaining access to half of the world's oil supplies.

It could also be seen as a way for global North to dominate global South, as if ~~it was~~ you would never see a Rwandan militia trying to liberate Northern Ireland, nor a South Soudanese contingent invading Gambanana Bay.

Krawthammer suggests that 'the US will only stop billions being killed if the victims count geopolitically', referring to when Indonesia invaded East Timor, China invaded Tibet, and Russia invaded Chechnya... the USA did nothing.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

The CNN effect is developed as a strong argument and opposition to interventionism as a form of western imperialism. There are a list of useful examples used throughout the response and particularly at the end although the quote isn't used as well as it could be.



ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

A quote is far more useful when commented upon.

Question 6

This was by far the most popular of the longer essay style questions and was also a good discriminator with a wide range of scores achieved by candidates. It was pleasing to note so many contemporary examples being used to support assertions. Stronger candidates were able to explore the thesis in some detail and to provide a two-sided response which provided convincing evidence. A few candidates appeared unaware of the origins of the phrase but were still able to discuss the concept to some extent.

This is a wide ranging response with a clear understanding of the clash of civilisations thesis.

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 clash of civilisations (CoC) thesis was proposed by Huntington in 1996 and drew reference to the changing nature of conflict in the 21st century. In the wake of the fall of communism Huntington agreed that conflict will no longer occur on ideological grounds but rather on cultural 'fault lines' based on issues of identity. The main CoC Huntington focuses on being Islam and the West expressed through occidentalism. The extent to which this clash of civilisations is truly occurring ^{and global in nature} is debatable, as Huntington agrees conflict is inevitable between contrasting cultures.

Firstly this CoC can be supported by the rise of extremist Islamic groups opposing the perceived spread of Western liberal values, this has culminated in the 'War on Terror' which can be identified as the archetypal example of a CoC as these cultures are ideologically contrasting after the Iranian revolution for example in the 70s political attacks turned to the USA and the growth of 'new terrorism' has seen wider cultural ^{and} identity goals replacing narrow political goals. This was expressed in 9/11 attacks ^{and} is seen as the global flashpoint of a conflict between essentially contrasting cultures, authoritarian Middle East vs liberal West. Suggesting that cultural differences is the key aspect

causing conflict. However it has been argued that cultural conflict was not the main feature in extended conflict in the war a terror. For example the neo-Marxist critique suggests that globalised economics caused extended insurgency wars in Iraq and Afghanistan not conflicting cultures. Furthermore the conflict is not global, suggesting that whilst it may be 'cultural' in nature it is not a global issue.

In contrast Fukuyama proposes the 'End of history' thesis, wherein he argues society is reaching ^{its final} stage of globalised ^{Western} liberalism and that this will see the end of conflict between states in general, opposing the 'Coc' thesis. This is supported by the idea that democracies do not conflict with one another as no two established democracies have ever gone to total war. This idea of 'growing zones of peace' due to the general democratisation of the world suggests that conflict in itself, let alone cultural conflict, will be impossible due to the global homogenisation of culture. This can be seen in growing regional blocks, such as the EU where liberal democracy is a prerequisite for joining and in the increased liberalisation of the growing BRIC states, such as China's liberalisation of economy and improving its human rights record after American criticism. As such cultural conflict and Coc is not in existence due to the increased homogenisation of cultures.

However End of history fails to account for the rise of authoritarian states, such as Russia, which oppose a viable rival model to liberal democracy as seen in the current

Ukrainian crisis and suggest cultural conflict is still notable.

Further support for CoC is seen in the growing power of parish states and rogue states, parish states being states whose customs place it outside of the international community essentially marginalising it. This increases their hostility, as seen in the ~~militarisation~~ militarisation of North Korea and Iran both gaining nuclear capacity to deter international and as a result of CoC. Both cultures conflict essentially with Western values of liberalism and universal human rights, leading to tension ~~in~~ ~~the~~ CoC within these states. The increased military awareness of states outside the international community points to a CoC as it suggests cultural conflict with opposing identities is the root cause. However critical theorists have argued that innate cultural differences are not the root cause of conflict and do not ^{invariably} always lead to conflicts for example Turkey, a muslim country, proposing to join the EU, a western regional body. With negotiations beginning in 2005 and cultural peace between these different identities and cultures suggesting that cultural differences do not always lead to conflict as the 'CoC' theory proposes. However supporters of CoC would point to the increased Westernisation of Turkey such as reforming the ban of televising in Turkish and loosening laws on execution. This suggests that due to the pre-requisites in place to join the EU these cultures are now similar enough to not really conflict. Furthermore the ^{criteria} ~~stere~~ motives of the EU should be considered, the ^{pragmatic} advantages of having

Muslim representation outweighs the 'CoC' proposed model.

In addition critics of CoC theory point to the increased levels of conflicts within cultures, suggesting that it may not be cultural differences causing conflict. For example North and South Korea splitting even though they originate from the same culture, however supporters would note that the North takes on more hard line authoritarian principles of 'Juche' or autarky leading to cultural conflict between these states. However the fact remains that since 1990 there has been a dramatic increase in the level of civil wars rather than inter-state wars, suggesting culture may not be the key conflict factor. For example since 1990, ~~80%~~ 95% of wars have been civil wars, such as the Rwanda genocide (1994) ~~and the Bosnian~~ suggesting cultural differences may not be important to the extent that 'CoC' theory proposes a cultural conflict with themselves.

Additional examples of internal conflict can be seen in Iraq, with ISIS, a offshoot of Al-Qaeda, and Sunni-Muslims opposing culturally similar Shiite Muslims, as fuelled by competing through Iraq.

Alternatively this theory is able to explain the increasing regional instability, suggesting these cultural conflicts due to innate differences. For example Pakistan ^{and} India and Iraq and Israel, all these states possess nuclear capacity to increase security and reduce regional instability in the face of growing cultural conflict. This supports the 'CoC' model and suggests that cultural differences are ~~present~~ prevalent globally as regional instability, due to cultural conflicts, are notable in many areas of the world. However critics

and supporters of the End of history thesis would suggest regional instability due to the 'Coc' is not notable globally due to the rise of regional co-operation bodies, such as NAFTA and ASEAN promoting interdependence in economics and politics among culturally dissimilar people. Suggesting that regional instability due to 'Coc' may be notable but is not global in nature. Furthermore Huntington proposes images of 'unified' global cultures, for example West vs Islam. However notable differences are seen between European America, notable in the 2nd amendment. This suggests that a 'Coc' cannot be global as there are no 'unified global cultures'.

In conclusion the argument proposed by Huntington, although notable through the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan and increasing regional instability due to a 'Coc', are not global in essence due to increased co-operation. Furthermore evidence exists to suggest the theory is fundamentally flawed as that any 'Coc' is irrelevant because of the End of history and homogenisation of cultures.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

The response makes clear the transformation from ideological conflict to cultural and begins with a focus on the clash between the West and Islam. There is an interesting argument that the clash, such that it exists, isn't truly global and there is also exploration of the Fukuyama 'end of history' viewpoint. The Sunni/Shia clash is also examined as a counter argument.

Question 7

This question also acted as a pleasing discriminator. There were a number of weaker responses which tended to be one-sided criticisms of the statement with little or no awareness of the counter argument. Stronger responses were able to provide examples both in support and opposition of the statement with pleasing reference to political commentators and theory.

This script is not easy to read but does have a developed and two sided argument relating to the benefits of an open and globalised economy.

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

Globalisation is the increased interconnectivity, between the similarity between different economic, social or political backgrounds. In recent years the growth of globalisation in neo-liberal economics has been attributed to much of the developing world, yet many commentators discard the orthodox view of development as simply a form of Western imperialism, and instead conclude that alternative views of development are the reason behind or the answer for the growth of development in the modern world.

Free ~~market~~ ^{orthodox} economies argue that globalisation brings about a trickle down method to development. By injecting money at the top, investment from multinational corporations will create jobs, growth and prosperity in these less developed nations. However this is not so clear cut.

Critics claim the trickle down effect fails to reach the bottom step with the poor being no better, or worse off as a result of globalisation.

This is because of corruption and poor allocation with poorly managed legislation on pay, working

hours and conditions. Examples seen in Bangladesh in Cambodia heavily reliance on globalisation and the manufacturing work it brings, where lack of proper control has resulted in huge disparities in the distribution of income, as well as disasters in factories attributed to the lack of investment in infrastructure by "Profit Driven" multinationals.

In addition there is also the issue of "American Hegemony" arising from the growth of globalisation, both economically and politically. Many critics argue that rather than bringing prosperity and eradicating poverty, globalisation is just a means to spread western influence and global control. In states that may not support it. Issues of this are seen with Coca-Cola's involvement in India, although in urban areas it may provide jobs, there are several issues surrounding the displacement and diversion of water from the agriculturally dominated population in the country. Further arguing that although globalisation may bring prosperity for some it is not evenly distributed.

Yet the Washington Consensus of global organisations such as the World Bank or IMF, would argue that globalisation is essential for states to develop as it promotes democracy, increases the reliance on primary industry. Concluding that to develop, these states must establish stable governments that will aim



to Promote development in the economy, Socially and environmentally. However it could also be argued that Globalisation's democratic values and the Political hegemony attributed to it comes at a cost.

Notably in Indonesia in the second half of the 20th Century where the growth of Foreign direct investment and democracy instilled by the last half of the 20th Century was followed by the mass killing and the Purging of around one million Socialist Indonesians that did not support the incumbent "Democratic" governments. Plans for the future.

Furthermore supporters of the "Southern Consensus" of an alternative view to development would oppose this opinion, arguing that democracy or orthodox neo-liberal development is unjust as the bureaucratic nature it brings means that universal development is impossible.

An example would be the Zapatista Movement of Mexico who conclude Mexico's development is only possible through the abolition of state control, or that rather than Promoting Prosperity, Globalisation is the neo-colonialism by the USA that leads to Super Social issues.

However there is no doubt that the majority of European nations operate under an open global economy that Promotes democracy. Therefore in addition States like China, Singapore and Brazil have all prospered considerably from globalisation. Arguing that although there may be critics, Physical Proof shows the

Orthodox method of development to be a success.

↳

In addition although Globalist economics may be criticised as top heavy an uneven in the distribution of income, the same is apparent for those who work in states disarding democracy and globalisation such as North Korea or Albania, life with Poverty and Corruption. Although Globalisation can be criticised it is the lesser of two evils when compared to Socialist States operating an alternative view to development.

China is an example of a globalised neo-liberal economic system in trade and manufacturing, with a Stalinist level of Communist controls. It could be argued as Proun with their research of growth that this is an example of how aspects from orthodox and alternative development can be combined, Proving that although there is no doubt that an open globalised economy brings Prosperity, certain factors such as foreign control and inflation may inhibit this, a point Proun with China's strict self control of Monetary Policy and exchange rates, and their subsequent growth.

In conclusion, although there is no doubt that globalisation brings Prosperity to many in their developing economics, there is also a large proportion who do not benefit from such a change in

infrastructure. It is also heavily dependent on present views of development. It has not convinced policy as this is life and published every day, nor subsequently give prosperity to all. Yet whether this is as a direct result of globalisation is debatable, with many political commentators arguing poverty is an inescapable issue that can not be entirely fixed because of the pace of adaptation, cultural and nationalistic and political ethos that is permanently etched into many of the developing economies.



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Examiner Comments

There is a discussion relating to globalisation and the suggestion that it is in fact used as a force for western imperialism. The perceived exploitation of multinational companies is also explored with a view that they act in a profit driven fashion which may provide employment but also poor conditions for workers and very little trickle down benefit. There is an interesting discussion about the development of China and contrasting views as to whether or not this is due to participation in an open and globalised economy.

Question 8

This was the least popular of the longer responses and a number of candidates appeared ready to answer a general question on progress, or lack of progress, linked to climate change and the environment. The stronger responses used knowledge of conferences and agreements to support discussion of the level of conflict that may exist between developed and developing states over development of environmental policies. Counter arguments focussed on the progress that has taken place or on alternative causes of blocked progress.

This is a decent effort which discusses the developed and developing disagreements as well as a range of other possible causes of the limited progress on environmental policies.

Put a cross in the box indicating the question that you have chosen.
If you change your mind, put a line through the box
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Chosen Question Number:

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Question 7

Question 8

~~Yes~~ ~~No~~
~~- outsourcing~~ ~~- burdens~~ ~~- effects~~ ~~- tragedy of the commons~~ ~~- radical vs reformist~~

Since the beginning of the 1980s, the issue of the environment in global politics has become increasingly important. This is widely due to the increasing acceptance that global warming exists and that the results of environmental degradation will be costly if they are not dealt with effectively. The conflict between developed and developing countries can be seen to block any progress on environmental policies, as seen at Kyoto, Doha and Copenhagen. However, other issues such as the tragedy of the commons and the radical vs reformist debate also stand in the way.

The first way in which conflict between developed and developing states blocks environmental policies is over outsourcing. ~~Along~~ Much of the developed world's manufacturing capacity has been moved to developing countries who therefore about one third of emissions associated with

Consumption products of the developed world is actually emitted outside its borders. This leaves developing countries with large emissions levels which are difficult to reduce as they are not responsible for it. Therefore emissions targets such as those set at Kyoto, need to be adjusted accordingly.

Additionally, burden sharing is another issue caused by the developed vs developing rivalry. The global North has used up a large proportion of the atmosphere's self carbon absorbing capacity and has made substantial gains in economic growth and prosperity as a result. However, this has led developing countries to claim that emissions targets should not be imposed on developing states, or if they are, then they should favour developing countries. However, developed states feel that it is unfair to expect them to accept responsibility for acts in which the consequences were unknown at the time. Due to these reasons, the developed vs developing rivalry restricts environmental policy.

The final way in which the developed vs developing issue blocks progress on environmental policy is that developing states are disproportionately

badly affected by the consequences of climate change and have the fewest resources to deal with them. For Examples include the 2010 Chile earthquake, 2012 Philippines Tsunami and the 2004 Indonesian earthquake and tsunami. Although the 2013 Warsaw conference has attempted to resolve this issue by pledging \$100 million from developed states to developing countries in order to help them deal with crises and implement adaptation or mitigation strategies, there has been no agreement on where the funds will come from and it will only be implemented fully by 2020.

On the other hand, there are several additional factors that have blocked environmental policy. The first of these is the ~~tragedy~~ tragedy of the commons in which a collective resource is abused by individuals and states for self-interest despite the fact that it is not in the interests of the group in the long-term. States try to benefit from the environment whilst incurring as little cost as possible, creating the free rider problem. It was a concept devised by Garrett Hardin and he stated that 'Freedom in a commons brings ruin to all'. This problem would have to be combated by supranational legislation

from bodies like the UN and EU. Examples of the tragedy of the commons include overfishing in Spain, devastation of Sturgeon fishing in Russia and logging in the Amazon.

Moreover, another key factor that restricts environmental policy creation is the radical vs reformist debate. Radicals and deep ecologists propose the use of mitigation strategies that change society in order to try and stop or slow down climate change. * Mitigation strategies include wide use of public transport, more emphasis on renewable energy sources and switching from coal to gas.

Alternatively, reformists argue in favour of adaptation strategies. Shallow ecologists believe in sustainable development and that human ingenuity will help to reduce environmental degradation. Key examples of adaptation strategies include the relocation of crops and settlements and the construction of dams and flood barriers.

In conclusion, environmental policy has largely been blocked by the conflict between developed and developing states, as illustrated by the Kyoto conference in 1997, Copenhagen in

2009 and Pata in 2012. However, the Tragedy of the Commons and the radical vs reformist debate has also made the formulation of environmental policy a challenging task.

* This view is supported by the UN body, the IPCC, in which in its most recent reports it has expressed the need for the adoption of mitigation strategies if environmental degradation is to be combatted effectively.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

There is a discussion on responsibility for outsourcing as well as the more common argument that the global North is the cause of the problem and has reaped the benefit of this. There is a pleasing mixture of knowledge and analysis of elements such as the Tragedy of the Commons debate and the reformist radical debate also as the candidate moves beyond the developed and developing states conflict.

Paper Summary

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

- Centres should refer to the report on the 3D paper and the comments relating to the need to focus on the 4 types of marks which make up the 45 mark longer questions.
- Look at aiming to secure high marks for your analysis, communication and synoptic skills by checking the AO1 knowledge and understanding in the specifications.
- Ensure that you remain relevant throughout your response so that you can analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations.
- Ensure that you can identify competing viewpoints or perspectives.
- Check that you construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
- Centres and candidates should refer to the comments relating to the importance of the guidance document produced in the previous report.

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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