

# 2015 VCE Global Politics examination report

### **General comments**

The 2015 VCE Global Politics examination was completed well by most students. However, some students experienced difficulties in some areas of the examination.

Examination techniques continue to be of concern. For example, students should not rely on rote-learned or prepared answers. This approach was unsuccessful for many students in Section A, Questions 4, 7 and 10. In Section B some students who selected Question 2 or Question 3 did not respond to the scope of the question and appeared to have used prepared responses. Question 9 in Section A and Questions 1 and 4 in Section B were done well. Students who were well prepared were able to structure their answers in response to the question asked, and write a clear and cogent response that included relevant supporting evidence.

# **Specific information**

Note: Student responses reproduced in this report have not been corrected for grammar, spelling or factual information.

This report provides sample answers or an indication of what answers may have included. Unless otherwise stated, these are not intended to be exemplary or complete responses.

The statistics in this report may be subject to rounding resulting in a total more or less than 100 per cent.

# **Section A**

### **Global actors**

### **Question 1**

Marks	0	1	2	Average
%	25	19	57	1.3

Students were required to show knowledge of a specific regional grouping. Appropriate groups included:

- NATO
- European Union (EU)
- Arab League
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)

Institutions of global governance such as the United Nations (UN), World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Criminal Court (ICC) were not accepted as they have a global membership and jurisdiction. In the same way, a sovereign state, a



non-state actor, a transnational corporation and a terrorist organisation could not be accepted as they are not examples of a regional grouping.

Typical specific examples students used involved conflicts (Libya, Syria, Iraq), economic instability (Greece) or border disputes (China and Japan).

Students may also have chosen to write a theoretical response and not to use a specific example; however, they needed to refer to a specific state as required by the question.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

The European Union (EU) has challenged the sovereignty of Ireland, most notably economic sovereignty, surrounding their ability to run their economy. This can be seen through the joint EU and IMF lending program worth 85 billion euros, which commenced in 2010 in order to assist with Ireland's banking crisis. However, due to the provision of loans from the EU, Ireland lost some ability to run their economy, an aspect of sovereignty, as they were obliged to implement conditions such as budget consolidation and restructure of the banking sector, in order to ensure the stability of the euro, the EU's common currency used in 19 states.

### Question 2a.

M	arks	0	1	Average
	%	20	80	0.8

The aims of the ICC are:

- to ensure the worst perpetrators are held accountable for their crimes
- to serve as a court of last resort that can investigate, prosecute and punish the perpetrators of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes
- assist national judiciaries in the investigation and prosecution of perpetrators with the aim to allow states to be first to investigate and prosecute
- help promote peace and security by deterring potential perpetrators.

Students needed to include the full intent of the aim.

### Question 2b.

Marks	0	1	2	3	4	Average
%	6	16	33	31	14	2.3

Students were required to explain how the ICC supports global governance, using the extract. The concept of global governance involves rules, norms and arrangements that seek to facilitate cooperation, manage relations and intervene between states as well as to promote and regulate the common affairs of humanity.

The ICC was created by the Rome Statute in 2002. The power of the ICC rests in its authority to complement a state's national courts, and it can exercise authority over egregious crimes (crimes against humanity, genocide and war crimes) committed within the borders of any of the 123 states who are a party to the Rome Statute.

Students needed to make specific reference to the extract to access full marks. The key words/phrases in the extract included 'investigate', 'arrest warrants', 'instrument of justice' and 'conviction'.

Students could have also approached the question from the point of view that the ICC does not support global governance. Students did not need to evaluate the effectiveness of the ICC.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

Global governance refers to the concept of legal rules and regulations placed under an organisation that transcends beyond the traditional state system. Therefore as an Institution of global governance (IGG), the ICC may prosecute perpetrators of the most serious crimes under the jurisdiction of those states which have verified the Rome Statute (1998). Consequently the ICC may act as a global body transcending the sovereignties of member states and exercise legal authority in a global sphere. This has allowed the ICC to investigate crimes in 139 countries.

### **Question 3**

Marks	0	1	2	3	Average
%	8	17	39	36	2.1

Students were required to explain how one transnational corporation (TNC) has exerted its influence on a state. A transnational corporation is a company whose operations and interests extend beyond the borders of the state in which it is registered. One of the central aims of many TNCs is to maximise profits and return substantial dividends to their shareholders.

TNCs used by students included:

- · Shell and Nigeria
- BHP and Australia, Papua New Guinea or Brazil
- · General Electric (GE) and the USA
- · Google and Ireland
- Samsung and South Korea.

Students needed to clearly explain how the specific example of the TNC exerted its influence on a state.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

Royal Dutch Shell (Shell) has exerted a significant amount of influence in Nigeria. This is largely due to the trade that Shell provides Nigeria, which imparts a considerable amount of influence. Oil exports account for 80% of Nigeria's total budgetary revenue, and Shell exports 50% of all Nigerian oil. The influence that this provides Shell was made evident in a 2010 Wikileaks report, which revealed that there was a Shell employer present in every major government department in Nigeria. According to one executive, Shell 'knows everything that goes on in these departments' thus granting it a significant amount of influence. Such influence was realised when Shell admitted to paying \$2 million to Nigerian subcontractors, with the knowledge that some of this money was going towards circumventing the customs procedures surrounding their next project.

### **Question 4**

Marks	0	1	2	3	4	5	Average
%	10	13	23	24	18	12	2.6

Students were asked to comment on the extent to which the World Trade Organization (WTO) is successful in promoting multilateralism.

Established in 1995, the WTO aims to promote the (total) liberalisation of world trade, mediate trade disputes between its member states and promote economic growth and stability. This is done via the mechanism of multilateralism (a system of coordinating relations between three or more states), primarily in the form of agreements signed by member states. This has been very time-consuming and difficult for the WTO to achieve with all of its 162 members. This is also the mode that the WTO prefers to work within.

Many member states have not always been especially enthusiastic and proactive supporters of trade liberalisation. Specific states and trading blocks (of votes) can influence, and have influenced, to such an extent has that the so-called Doha Round has not been fully completed. The

Ninth Ministerial Conference held in Bali in 2013 is another example with a successful outcome by the WTO in working in a multilateral framework.

A number of students mentioned the now-resolved trade dispute between Australia and New Zealand regarding the importation of apples into Australia. These discussions were often very narrow in scope and did not clearly address the principles of multilateralism. Higher-scoring responses involved a discussion of the WTO's dispute resolution mechanism as a process/mechanism of multilateralism.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

The World Trade Organisation (WTO) has been largely unsuccessful in promoting multilateralism. In striving to achieve its aim of liberalising world trade, the WTO has been criticised for being inherently biased toward the developed world, undermining the ability of developing nations to achieve dramatic economic growth. This can be seen in the failure of the Doha round of Talks (2001-present) where developed nations refuse to abandon protectionist policies undermining the organisation's ability to promote a resolution to the Third-agenda issue of development.

The WTO may, instead, be seen as more successful in promoting bilateral cooperation through its role as a dispute settler of trade disputes between nations. This can be seen in a trade dispute between New Zealand and Australia where, in 2011, the WTO successfully enforced its decision for Australia to remove trade barriers in New Zealand's apple exports. Failure to enforce its decisions in a dispute between Brazil and USA regarding USA's protectionist policies on cotton farmers however, may manifest an inability of the WTO to broker a resolution between powerful and inferior states (as opposed to the success in the middle powers of Australia and New Zealand). This may further explain the failure of the Doha Round in promoting multilateralism as the dispute in this negotiation primarily centres between developed and developing countries.

### Power in the Asia-Pacific region

### **Question 5**

Marks	0	1	Average
%	29	71	0.7

The example identified by students needed to be by one of the states that is the focus of this Area of Study (Australia, China, Indonesia, Japan or the United States of America) and had to be within the Asia-Pacific region. The example also needed to have a development/aid focus.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

Australia has given approximately \$1 billion worth of overseas development assistance to East Timor since 2000, including \$93.9 million in the 2015/16 budget.

### **Question 6**

Marks	0	1	2	3	4	Average
%	11	14	25	27	23	2.4

Students were required to explain how their selected state has used diplomacy to improve its security.

'Security' is a key term in this Area of Study and it can be used to refer to military, border protection, sovereignty, economic and environmental.

Students could have used a broader definition of diplomacy, such as the meeting of government ministers and leaders to deepen relationships or through multilateral organisations such as the UN, as well as through denouncements and signing of agreements and treaties. Responses that provided a description of the type of diplomacy used but without a direct link to the enhancing of security could not access full marks. That is, the use of 'panda diplomacy' in regards to China

needed to be clearly linked to how it could or has improved security. Students were not required to evaluate the success or otherwise of the measure.

- Australia: annual security meetings between US and Australian foreign ministers and defence ministers, free trade agreement (FTA) deals with Japan and South Korea in 2014 and China in 2015 in relation to strengthening its economic security.
- China: various bilateral and multilateral meetings in relation to South China Sea territorial disputes, talks with the Kuomintang (KMT) government of Taiwan over closer relations, FTA with Taiwan, the use of 'panda' and 'chequebook' diplomacy measures, establishing the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB).
- Indonesia: work in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to mediate South China Sea disputes, maritime border negotiations with its ten neighbours, President Widodo's plan to make Indonesia a maritime axis in the region to enhance its greater economic security, negotiations with neighbouring states over people smuggling and piracy.
- Japan: six party talks regarding containing and engaging with North Korea, bilateral meetings with China over the disputed Senkaku Islands.
- USA: strategic ambiguity position regarding Taiwan, six party talks regarding North Korea, Pacific 'pivot' agreement with Australia to host marines in Darwin.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

China has used diplomacy, that is negotiations and the formation of alignments with states, to promote its economic security. This can be seen in China joining the WTO in 2002, demonstrating a commitment to cooperate in more liberalised trade in the global political sphere. This has been reinforced in the establishment of the China-Australia Free Trade Agreement (ChAFTA) in June 2015 and various other trade agreements with ASEAN states, manifesting economics security in the Asia-Pacific Region.

China has also used its UN veto power to reinforce economic security. For example, China has vetoed various UNSC sanctions against Burma in 2007 for the regime's shooting of peaceful protests and has consequently solidified trade relationships with Burma, being Burma's largest trading partner.

### **Question 7**

Marks	0	1	2	3	4	Average
%	16	10	19	26	29	2.4

Students were required to explain how their selected state has used political power internally to pursue a specific element of its national interest.

Political power is defined as power used within a state, such as government policies, laws and executive or judicial actions. Within democratic states, the implementation of relevant mandates from election campaigns and promises are also examples of political power.

Students needed to make specific reference to an aspect of the state's national interests; however, as the question instructed students to 'explain', there was no requirement to evaluate the use of political power.

- Australia: the 2013 federal election and the coalition government's 'stop the boats' policy to
  prevent so-called unauthorised arrivals, foreign investment controls and ownership restrictions
  on specific Australian assets, the repeal of the carbon tax and other related climate change
  policy changes
- China: anti-secession law 2005, foreign direct investment (FDI) rules in relation to investment
  priorities in restive provinces in Western China, Xi Jinping's anti-corruption campaign and
  judicial decisions to impose the death penalty/long jail sentences, internet censorship,
  cancelling Bon Jovi concerts in 2015, enforcing teaching of Mandarin in Xinxiang, political
  power regarding Taiwan

- Indonesia: laws relating to secessionist actions in Irian Jaya, police and legal action against Islamist extremists, execution of domestic and foreign drug traffickers
- Japan: economic stimulus (known as Abenomics, or the 'three arrows' of Abenomics) to overcome economic stagnation, changes to encourage greater participation by women in the economy in order to boost economic growth
- USA: federal laws in relation to trade, the environment and import restrictions, border security
  actions in relation to illegal immigration across the Mexican border and to a lesser extent the
  Canadian border.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

Australia has used political power internally to pursue its national interest of environmental security. This can be seen through the internal decision by the Australian government to ratify the Kyoto protocol in 2007, and the subsequent internal policies that followed in order to uphold commitments outlined in the Kyoto Protocol. The Protocol stipulates a set of internationally-binding emission reduction targets which states must follow. As a result, through the internal decision to ratify, Australia aimed to fulfil its national interest objectives surrounding environmental security by addressing the issue of climate change.

This was further consolidated through the current Coalition government's internal policy of a Direct Action Plan (DAP) which was launched in July 2014. This use of political power possessed the aim of reducing Australia's emissions by 55 below 2000 levels by 2020, in line with Australia's obligations under the second commitment period of the Kyoto protocol. The DAP seeks to reduce emissions by inducing businesses and companies to reduce emissions, with payments from the emissions Reduction Fund worth \$2.55 billion over its first four years. This was seen through the second auctions held in November 2015, which produced 131 contracts to undertake emission reduction projects, costing the government \$577 million. Environment Minister Greg Hunt has labelled this a 'stunning result', as ultimately, this will assist Australia to achieve its aim of a 5% reduction in emissions below 2000 levels by 2020.

### **Question 8**

Marks	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Average
%	6	5	13	22	22	19	12	3.6

Students were required to discuss two challenges to the maintenance of sovereignty of their selected state.

Challenges to sovereignty can take many forms. These challenges needed to be from **two** distinctive categories or types, not just a different example of the same type. Students needed to clearly identify the challenge(s) and detail how the challenge(s) can impact upon a state sovereignty whether it be economic, territorial, environmental, political or military. For example:

- Australia: free trade agreements and effects on the economic sovereignty of the Australian government (for example, Australia—United States Free Trade Agreement (AUSFTA) or free trade agreements with South Korea, Japan or China), unauthorised maritime arrivals, illegal fishing within the Australian exclusive economic zone (EEZ)
- China: secessionist tensions such as from Uighurs or Tibetans, Taiwanese independence, dispute over maritime/territorial claims with Japan and in the South China Sea
- Indonesia: Irian Jaya; Australian maritime policies in relation to people smuggling; ethnic and religious tensions in other areas, including Aceh
- Japan: North Korean nuclear threat, dispute with China over Senkaku Islands
- USA: illegal immigration, North Korean nuclear threat, China holding over \$1 trillion in US bonds and growing economic interdependence with China, cyber attacks on Department of Defense.

While no evaluation was required, students could have included some comparison or examined the two challenges separately.

It was critical that students' discussion focused on the challenge itself rather than how it challenges.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

One challenge to the maintenance of Australia's sovereignty is the rise of third agenda issues, such as climate change. As a result, such issues challenge Australia's sovereignty as they are required to work alongside other states in order to address these issues. This can be seen through Australia's ratification of the Kyoto Protocol in 2007, joining 190 other states. The Kyoto protocol set out internationally-binding emission reduction targets that all states were obliged to follow. However, this challenges Australia's sovereignty as they lost the ability to freely legislate domestically, an aspect of their sovereignty, as demostic legislation had to be in line with targets stipulated in the Protocol. This can be seen through the passing of a Carbon Tax in 2012 and Direct Action Plan in 2014, in order to meet these targets and address environmental security. However, this challenge on sovereignty could be viewed as beneficial to Australia, as environmental security is one of its national interest objectives. As a result, while Australia lost the ability to freely legislate domestically, this was still in line with its overall national interest.

Another challenge to Australia's sovereignty is regional tensions. This is particularly evident surrounding Australia's relationship with Indonesia, due to Australia's reliance on Indonesia when facilitating its border protection program Operation Sovereign borders. Australia seeks to maintain its sovereignty by ensuring that 'boat arrivals', who are perceived as threats to Australia's national security and sovereignty, do not reach Australian shores. However, Australia is reliant on Indonesia's cooperation when towing boats back, as many of these boats originate in Indonesia. Therefore, tensions with Indonesia could jeopardise this program, and ultimately challenge Australia's sovereignty, as they are unable to exercise effective control and protect their borders. This was realised when Minister Tedjo Edhy Purdijatno asserted that Indonesia could release a 'tsunami of asylum seekers' into Australia, following the tensions between these two states in relation to the executions of two Australian nationals. However, such a threat to sovereignty could be overcome as ultimately Australia has 'dismantled the people's smuggler's trade in the region' (Julie Bishop) due to the deterrence measures it has implemented (offshore processing, mandatory detention etc), and therefore has assisted in overcoming the threat to sovereignty that boat arrivals could pose, irrespective of Indonesia's cooperation. Similarly, relations with Indonesia remain intact, due to Australia's awareness of the importance of Indonesia's cooperation.

# Ethical issues and debate Question 9

Marks	0	1	2	Average
%	7	12	81	1.8

To access full marks, the selected treaty or international law needed to be accurately named, for example: Convention on the Rights of the Child, The Refugee Convention, Ottawa Treaty or Millennium Development Goals. Students did not need to date these laws or treaties but if they chose to do so, then they needed to be relatively accurate. The treaty or law did not need to be from the twenty-first century.

The aim or objectives needed to be clearly stated. For example:

- Convention on the Rights of the Child states act in the best interest of the child
- The Refugee Convention no contracting state shall expel or return a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where their life or freedom would be threatened
- Ottawa Treaty each state undertakes to never under any circumstances to use antipersonnel mines
- Millennium Development Goals eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

One international treaty relating to human rights is the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). One aim of CEDAW is to 'incorporate the principle of equality for all women and men' by committing member states to introduce legislation upholding gender rights.

### **Question 10**

Marks	0	1	2	Average
%	25	27	48	1.3

Students were required to demonstrate an understanding of how a specific ethical issue (human rights, people movement, development, arms control and disarmament) can move across or outside of a particular state, region or continent. Student responses focused on broad ethical issues such as human rights and particular examples such as Responsibility to Protect (R2P).

Other students approached this question from a theoretical point of view and discussion. This was acceptable, provided that a specific ethical issue was identified in the answer.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

The issue of human rights has the ability to transcend borders throughout a continent. This was evident through Tony Blair's assertion that 'human rights violations in one part of the world can spread to every other'. This was evident seen through the human rights crisis in Libya following the failed military intervention under R2P, as human rights violations in this state spread to other African states such as Somalia, Central African Republic, Niger and Nigeria, through the provision of illicit weapons. As a result, the human rights crisis exacerbated human rights issues in these other African states resulting in greater violations of citizens' rights, which can be evidenced through Amnesty International's report condemning violations of human rights in Nigeria including the right to life, liberty and security (article 3) and protection from torture (article 5) which could be attributed to the spread of violations in Libya.

### **Question 11**

Marks	0	1	2	3	4	5	Average
%	6	9	18	25	25	16	3

Students needed to discuss how an ethical debate can challenge the national interest. They needed to clearly demonstrate specific knowledge of the selected ethical debate and also clearly show how it challenges national interest.

- Human rights: The debate around universality versus religion impacting on the national
  interest of states such as Saudi Arabia and imposing of sharia law; France and the separation
  of religion and the state (banning of religious dress/items at school); Responsibility to Protect
  and the national interest of Russia and China not supporting interventions in Syria, yet
  supporting intervention in Libya in 2011; the use of torture in Guantanamo Bay, China and
  North Korea.
- People movement: The debate around obligation to strangers can challenge the national interest of the state – examples include Australia, ongoing European issues related to Syrian intervention and mass migration to the EU via Greece and possible alterations to the 'Schengen Area'.
- Development, focusing on poverty and inequality: The debate around states pursuing
  economic growth ahead of broader sustainable and more wide-ranging economic growth. This
  is informed by the debate around development being more about economic growth, ongoing
  debate and discussion about the principles of sustainable economic growth as a backdrop to
  the Paris Climate Conference (COP 21).
- Arms control and disarmament: The debate around state proliferation or arms versus
  disarmament impacting on states such as the USA and Russia continuing to produce and sell
  cluster munitions and other 'banned' weaponry, states such as Syria, Saudi Arabia and Yemen
  continuing to use such weapons despite bans under the Cluster Munition and Mine Ban
  Treaty, states placing their national interest of security ahead of broader international
  cooperation. Students used many examples including the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

There are contested views in the international community with regards to the ethical debate 'Obligation to Strangers versus National Interest'. Some global actors adopt an idealistic and cosmopolitan view, and thus argue that ... we are morally obligated to help out those individuals in need. Cosmopolitanists believe that this obligation to help supersedes any agreements pertaining to national interests' importance i.e. challenges. This view is demonstrated through the actions of Gambia in May 2015 when they stated it was there 'sacred duty' to take all 8000 Rohingya refugees adrift in the Andaman Sea.

Conversely, the concept of national interest is fostered by the realist perspective of the debate. Realist states such as Hungary (who have constructed a 177km razor-wire fence along its Serbian border) argue that the maintenance of sovereignty and in turn national interest far outweighs and obligation to help out so-called 'strangers'.

Overall, the realist perspective of this debate pervades the international community, with most European states advocating for the survival of the state as opposed to the potential challenges towards their national interest.

### **Question 12**

Marks	0	1	2 3		4	5	6	Average	
%	7	6	13	18	23	18	15	3.6	

The ethical issue selected for this question needed to have been different from the issue selected in Question 11.

The question asked students to examine two sides to an ethical debate. This required identification and explanation of perspectives or sides in the ethical debate, reference to global actors and some specific knowledge or examples such as an incident or event, political action or changes to the law.

Responses that considered only one perspective on an ethical debate could not gain full marks, even if they were accompanied by thorough examination.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

The Responsibility to Protect doctrine which formed out of the 2005 world summit, highlights to states the responsibility to intervene when there are severe human rights abuses in states. This is in line with a cosmopolitan viewpoint where the belief that states are connected by common bonds of humanity should result in states protecting rights in all states. The significance of the UN Declaration of Human Rights is also held in this viewpoint as the belief that rights should be afforded to all human beings highlights the responsibility of states to protect humans.

However, in contrast, the realism school of thought suggests that states have no responsibility to each other and they should instead remain impartial and uninvolved in other states. This argument relies on sovereignty and the significant belief that states, should not be tampered with as their right to sovereignty suggests that no other states have power to remove their sovereign right to controlling their own population.

### **Crises and responses**

### **Question 13**

Marks	0	1	2	3	Average		
%	14	13	29	43	2		

'Sustainability' is a key term that can be applied across all four crises in Unit 4, Area of Study 2. Sustainability seeks to organise states so that the current needs of the population are met while not jeopardising the needs of future generations.

In regards to intra and interstate conflict or state and non-state terrorism, students could choose to explain sustainability in the context of the ongoing existence of a state in the face of such serious

challenge(s). For example, how can good and stable governance be restored to states such as Syria/Iraq/Yemen to ensure the sustainability of the state?

Students' explanations needed to go beyond simply defining the term. Students were required to provide specific reasons why or how sustainability is relevant to the selected crisis.

Some students focused on how some issues don't have any sustainability; for example, the tactics employed by terrorist organisations such as ISIS/IS/Daesh.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

Sustainability is most commonly used in relation to development policies, as it seeks to organise states and their economies so that current needs are met, while not jeopardising meeting their needs in the future. Sustainability advocates for the maintenance of ecosystems and biodiversity, as well as the sustainable use of resources. Sustainability can be linked to peacekeeping missions in response to intrastate conflicts. For example in 2003 the UN authorised a peace keeping mission (UNMIL) in Liberia under Resolution 1509, with a mandate to monitor the ceasefire and voluntary disarmament. Ultimately, a ceasefire and disarmament assisted in meeting the needs of the Liberian citizens at that current time, however, the mission also sought to ensure that these needs were met in future through the facilitation of free elections in 2005 and 2011.

#### Question 14

Marks	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Average	
%	6	7	14	22	23	16	12	3.5	

This question required students to explain the characteristics of one contemporary global crisis, using one or more examples.

Students needed to demonstrate a detailed understanding of the characteristics and how they relate to the crisis. For example:

- Environmental degradation: Students could have focused on deforestation, climate change or desertification, for example, as guided by the study design. This could have been linked to prioritising growth over other objectives, and a lack of global cooperation on addressing issues.
- Intra and interstate conflict: Students could have focused on one aspect of interstate or
  intrastate conflict, but needed to refer to at least two characteristics. Students could have
  discussed specific characteristics such as nature of conflict, specific facts, targeting of
  civilians, utility of violence, war as an instrument of state war, regional power groupings, proxy
  wars, action/inaction by the UN, intervention and occupation or lack of international resolve to
  effectively stabilise a state(s).
- State and non-state terrorism: Students could have focused on asymmetrical warfare, statesponsored terrorism, the broad reach of terror organisations, internet and social media, financing and recruiting of terrorists – specific detail about terror organisation/state terror, i.e. chemical weapons attacks, alternative governments.
- Economic instability: Students could have focused on the global financial crisis, boom and bust cycle of capitalism, the role of governments in a market economy, interventions to resolve market failure and the key role played by transnational corporations (TNCs) and institutions of global governance (IGGs).

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

The characteristics of environmental degradation are underpinned by population growth and resource exploitation. Firstly the extraction of coal is pivotal because it creates greenhouse gases. It also consists of burning of fossil fuels to produce energy and heating. In 2004, the burning of fuels accounted for 49% of greenhouse gas emissions. This is largely due to energy consumption. In the USA alone the burning of fossil fuels accounts for 94% of energy which is fundamental to modern life.

Secondly the exploitation of forests is central to deforestation. Deforestation is also a result of population increase which increases the need for timber and palm oil. In Indonesia, over 10 million people currently need to emigrate due to rising sea levels. This is compounded with the population growth, which is predicted to increase by 50 million in the next 20 years. This has resulted in a growing demand for timber and economic development, which encourages the production of palm oil.

Thirdly, desertification is being mainly caused by human consumption (10%) and agriculture (70%). For example, Lake Chad has shrunk by 95% as a result of these factors.

Hence the three key characteristics of environmental degradation, climate change, deforestation and desertification are caused by population growth and resource exploitation.

### **Question 15**

Marks	0	1	2 3		4	5	6	Average	
%	6	5	13	18	24	20	14	3.7	

All students selected a different crisis from the one they selected in Question 14 as required by the question. Students needed to evaluate the responses from several relevant global actors to the crisis chosen. Responses needed to be supported by specific evidence to support the student's evaluation.

Students should note that when they are required to evaluate an opposite or counter argument, supporting evidence must be incorporated. The counter argument does not need to be of equal depth to the main argument, but it must be present. Appropriate examples from each of the crises included:

- Environmental degradation: Bali conference, Australia's carbon tax/direct action policies,
   China and US joint climate change deal, multilateral responses from institutions of global governance (IGGs)
- Intra and interstate conflict: State responses such as the Syrian conflict through Russia and China's blocking of resolution, support for the Assad regime, United Nations (UN) and security council resolutions, non-state actors such as ISIS and Amnesty International
- State and non-state terrorism: UN resolution, state creation of legislation, support or condemnation of state policy, banning/sanctioning of terror organisations, military intervention, counter terror and anti-terror
- Economic instability: fiscal stimulus packages in China, Australia and the US; G20 meetings; EU responses to sovereign debt issues in Ireland, Portugal and Greece.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

Multilateral resolutions to the crisis of state terrorism have been relatively successful in terms of 'punishing' that state but not in deterring terrorist activity. This can be seen in the passing of 8 UNSC Resolutions between 2006-2012 to tackle the crises of state sponsored terrorism engaged by Iran. Economic sanctions such as uranium and oil exports have successfully punished Iran economically, (such as a 60% decrease in revenue from oil exports). Despite this however, such actions have failed to deter terrorist activity by Iran. In 2004 for example, the US Treasury department found that Iran was still assisting al-Qaeda fighters enter Syria, manufacturing a continuation in state sponsored terrorism despite economic sanctions.

Legislation passed by individual states have also been successful in tackling non-state terrorism. This can be seen in the passing of the US Patriot Act which has intensified security measures aimed at preventing future terrorist attacks. However, such a response has done little to tackle the problem of asymmetric warfare. Whilst it cost al-Qaeda around \$40,000 to carry out the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Forbes in 2015 estimated that it has cost the American taxpayers \$1.7 billion dollars to finance the War on Terror since 2001, thus manifesting an economic failure in this regard.

# Section B

Question chosen	none	1	2	3	4
%	1	32	21	14	33

Marks	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Average
%	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	5	9	8	9	11	9	9	6	4	2	2	12

Many students wrote brief essay plans and this assisted them to structure their essay. Preparing a plan can help students to better collect their thoughts, consider the structural approach they will adopt and clearly identify the key knowledge elements they want to discuss in each paragraph.

The highest-scoring essays addressed the topic/contention directly in their introduction, comprised clear, precise sentences and used the specific language of the study design throughout. These essays also supported analysis and discussion with appropriate examples and relevant evidence. The highest-scoring essays argued a position and discussed issues for and against.

Students needed to state a position, broadly agreeing or disagreeing with the prompt. Students also needed to arrive at a reasoned conclusion through a discussion of both sides of the prompt.

### **Question 1**

Students needed to analyse the power and influence of non-state actors.

Non-state actors could have included:

- institutions of global governance (UN, IMF, ICC and WTO)
- human rights organisations
- · environmental organisations
- · organised religions
- global terrorist movements
- organised crime syndicates
- transnational corporations.

Students needed to analyse at least two different non-state actors. Precise and detailed knowledge about the power and influence of the non-state actors was critical. Examples of the power and influence of the non-state actors needed to be from the twenty-first century.

Specific analyses of the power of non-state actors could have centred on:

- membership
- revenue/income
- number of supporters
- · economic strength and influence
- ability to enforce its decisions.

Students could also have discussed non-state actors' inability to achieve their objectives.

Specific examples of the influence of non-state actors could have included:

- waging of conflict
- terrorist acts
- swaying the opinion or actions of government(s)
- raising awareness around the world.

To gain a high score, responses needed to state a position and broadly agree or disagree with the prompt. Students needed to come to a reasoned conclusion through discussing both sides of the prompt.

The following is an example of a high-scoring introduction.

Historically, states have been the primary actors in international relations, with no right to violate the sovereignty of another, this concept has been increasingly challenged by the power and influence of various non-state actors. The global political arena has seen the scope of non-state actors such as the United Nations, transnational corporations and terrorist organisations gain increasing clout, but in most cases these actors still remain subordinate to the powers of states.

### Question 2

This question required quite specific information about two of the key terms in this Area of Study. Pragmatism is defined in the study design as being a 'school of thought in which foreign policy is influenced above all else by practical and pragmatic considerations, as opposed to moral principles'.

Idealism, on the other hand, is a 'school of thought in which foreign policy is influenced above all else by moral principle, as opposed to practical and pragmatic considerations'.

Students needed to identify and examine more than one element of the national interest.

The foreign policy decisions cited by students needed to be within the Asia-Pacific region. This region and the relevant states are listed in Unit 3, Area of Study 2.

To gain a high score, responses needed to state a position, broadly agree or disagree with the prompt and come to a reasoned conclusion through discussing both sides of the prompt.

The following is an example of a high-scoring introduction.

Pragmatism does dominate the foreign policy of Australia in relation to its national interest, however, there is also a place for idealism when pursuing various national interest objectives. Ultimately, the extent to which pragmatism or idealism dominates largely depends on the national interest objective in question. Pragmatism refers to a school of thought in which foreign policy is influenced above all else by practical or pragmatic considerations, as opposed to moral principles, whereas idealism refers to a school of thought in which moral principles take precedence. Pragmatism has been seen to dominate Australia's foreign policy in relation to its national interest objective surrounding its current immigration and refugee policy. Pragmatism also dominates Australia's pursuit of regional stability, however, this can be seen to be more covert, and therefore does not allow for the uses of idealism surrounding foreign policy. Australia's national interest objective surrounding economic advancement is also dominated by pragmatic considerations, however, it can be argued that there is a place for idealism here. In contrast, Australia's national interest surrounding environmental security is dominated by idealistic foreign policy, as pragmatic considerations would be less effective. As a result, while pragmatism does dominate Australia's foreign policy, it does largely depend on the national interest element in question.

### **Question 3**

Some students chose to consider how particular international laws and treaties can help to achieve an effective international society. Students needed to define and explain the term 'international society'.

An international society is a notion of a "society of states" in which law, order and cooperation are the basis of interaction, and that states work towards achieving common ideals and goals'.

Responses needed to state the specific ethical issue being examined:

- human rights
- people movement
- development, focusing on poverty and inequality
- arms control and disarmament.

Linking specific international treaties and laws to the enhancement of an effective international society in relation to an ethical issue was crucial to the overall success of a response. Some students found this quite challenging.

Students needed to discuss at least two international laws and treaties to access full marks.

To gain a high score, responses needed to state a position and come to a reasoned conclusion through discussing both sides of the question.

The following is an example of a high-scoring introduction.

Emerging following the establishment of the UN following World War two, international laws and treaties have become an increasingly prevalent feature of contemporary global politics. In the 21<sup>st</sup> Century society, an international society refers to the concept of a 'society of states' where these actors work collaboratively in achieving a common aim or goal. In regards to the issue of human rights, the ICCPR and CRC have had some impact in supporting this international society, by demonstrating an ability to motivate some states to pursue the common goal of the laws. Despite this however, the extent to which this occurs is limited by a lack of enforcement mechanisms and differing cultural and religious views, which sees the aims and objectives diverge from the goal of the laws, thus undermining notions of an international society.

### **Question 4**

Question 4 required students to evaluate several resolutions to a chosen crisis. Students needed to include several global actors and several proposed resolutions in their response. One resolution that involves several global actors; for example, the NATO-led, UNSMIL intervention in Libya in 2011, is one proposed resolution and two global actors.

Students were required to write about one crisis. Responses that simply described several resolutions to a crisis did not address the question directly and could not score highly. A response that only talked about the resolutions proposed by one global actor did not score highly.

### The crises were:

- environmental degradation
- intra and interstate conflict
- state and non-state terrorism
- economic instability.

While students could have favoured state resolutions over non-state resolutions, they should have included examples of both in their essay. Students could examine whether the resolutions have succeeded or failed. An evaluation required the student to look at both positive and negative elements.

Students who wrote on intra and interstate conflict or state and non-state terrorism needed to refer to both aspects within their essay. While more emphasis could have been given to one or the other, students who discussed only one aspect could not score highly.

The following is an example of a high-scoring introduction.

In an increasingly globalised political arena, the issue of intra and interstate war is multifaceted. It is clear that there are proposed solutions to prevent such occurrences and the damages of them, some of which are used by actors like the ICC, UN and states. However, in evaluating the effectiveness of such responses and solutions to the global crisis, it is clear, that a lack of international cooperation inhibits them. The proposed solutions of military intervention, crisis diplomacy and prosecution of war crimes are only as effective as states allow them to be in resolving the issue of conflict.