

Global politics Higher level and standard level Paper 1

Friday 28 April 2017 (afternoon)

1 hour 15 minutes

Instructions to candidates

- Do not open this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- Answer all the questions.
- The maximum mark for this examination paper is [25 marks].

4 pages

Unit 1 Power, sovereignty and international relations

Global governance

Read all the sources carefully and answer all the questions that follow.

Source A Photo: People from 14 Pacific Island nations call for action against climate change as part of the 350.org *Pacific Warrior Day of Action* (2013).

Please go to: www.abc.net.au/news/2013-03-04/ pacific-warriors-climate-change-action/4550898

Source B

Adapted from "Paris climate change agreement: the world's greatest diplomatic success", *The Guardian*, a UK daily newspaper, (2015).

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is one of the last remaining forums in the world where every country, however small, is represented. With all 196 nations having a say, the historic UN climate deal finalized in the Paris agreement has proven that compromise works. Developed and developing countries alike are required to limit their emissions to relatively safe levels. Finance will be provided to poor nations to help them cut emissions and cope with the effects of extreme weather. Countries affected by climate-related disasters will gain urgent aid.

The agreement concludes 23 years of international UN attempts to achieve collective action on this global problem, following disagreement and failure, the refusal of the biggest producers to take part, ineffective agreements, and ignored treaties. In Paris the presence of the biggest ever gathering of world leaders empowered their negotiators to move away from firmly established positions. Some of the smallest countries had difficulty in keeping up with the key meetings – many did not have the personnel to attend them all – so small island states, the EU, and many of the least developed countries formed a "coalition of high ambition", negotiating together, with an agreed common interest. This was hailed as a key factor in the end agreement.

[Source: Adapted from: http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/dec/13/paris-climate-deal-cop-diplomacy-developingunited-nations] Until recently, climate diplomacy has challenged US presidents. The three presidents before Barack Obama struggled to reconcile domestic and international pressures, including from close allies who pressed the United States for action. The US was unable to commit to emission reduction goals necessary for effective global action. The absence of the US – the world's largest producer of greenhouse gases, and the wealthiest nation – weakened global climate negotiations, creating a diplomatic stalemate² and blocking global progress.

Since then, three factors have emerged that a motivated president has been able to exploit. For the first time US emissions are decreasing as a result of market forces and government policies, enabling the US to take credit for progress and to commit to further reductions that would have seemed unrealistic just a decade ago. Fears that emission control would make US industry less competitive have been overcome thanks to increased cooperation between the US and China. Thirdly a new international plan calls for countries to make commitments that will not, this time, be held as binding under international law. This has created a more flexible negotiating environment and laid the groundwork for an agreement with the US.

Source D Adapted from "Gridlock³: the growing breakdown of global cooperation", by Thomas Hale, David Held and Kevin Young, summarising the argument in their book: *Gridlock: Why Global Cooperation is Failing When we Need it Most* (2013).

Global co-operation is gridlocked³ across a range of issues. The UN is paralyzed in the face of growing insecurities across the world, and international cooperation seems to be increasingly difficult at precisely the time when it is needed most. In areas such as financial market instability, global poverty and inequality, biodiversity losses, water deficits and climate change, multilateral and transnational cooperation is now increasingly ineffective or almost non-existent.

The number of states has increased significantly in the last 70 years, so that the most basic costs of global governance have grown. As power shifts from West to East and North to South, a broader range of participation is needed to deal effectively with nearly all global issues. The range of problems that require co-operation has also evolved. Problems are both now more extensive (affecting more countries and individuals within countries), and intensive (penetrating deeper into domestic politics and daily life).

It is hard to see how this situation can be solved given failures of current global leadership, the weaknesses of non-governmental organizations in converting popular campaigns into institutional change and reform, and the domestic political landscapes of the most powerful countries. The USA is sharply divided, Europe is preoccupied with the future of the Euro, and China is absorbed by the challenge of sustaining economic growth.

- ² stalemate: a situation where no progress can be made
- ³ gridlocked: at a standstill, unable to make progress

¹ COP21 – 21st Conference of the Parties of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in Paris, December 2015

1.	With reference to Source A, identify three ways in which non-state actors can influence global politics.	[3]
2.	Using Source C and one example you have studied, explain the reasons why international co-operation may be problematic for some states.	[4]
3.	Contrast what Source B and Source D reveal about international co-operation on global issues.	[8]
4.	"The challenge of addressing complex global issues is changing the relationships of power among actors in global politics." With reference to Sources A to D and your own knowledge, to what extent do you agree with this claim?	[10]

Acknowledgments:

Source A: www.abc.net.au/news/2013-03-04/pacific-warriors-climate-change-action/4550898 Source B: www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/dec/13/paris-climate-deal-cop-diplomacy-developing-united-nations Source C: www.brookings.edu/blogs/planetpolicy/posts/2015/11/24-us-voice-climate-change-after-failed-diplomacy-sussman Source D: www.opendemocracy.net/thomas-hale-david-held-kevin-young/gridlock-growing-breakdown-of-global-cooperation