

ST. ANDREW'S JUNIOR COLLEGE
JC2 PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION



H1 GENERAL PAPER

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Paper 2

2009

INSERT

1 hour 30 minutes

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

This insert contains the passages for Paper 2.

This insert consists of 4 printed pages.

ALLIANCES

Passage 1: James M. Lindsay proposes the setting up of a Concert of Democracies to meet global challenges.

- 1 Globalisation has remade the world we once knew. We now live in an era in which dangerous developments anywhere can have devastating consequences everywhere. Terrorism is an obvious example: a few young men born in Riyadh and trained in the Hindu Kush can turn jetliners into weapons of mass destruction in New York and Washington. Infectious disease is another: a person with a particularly virulent form of flu could board a plane in Hong Kong and inadvertently spread sickness to every corner of the globe. Or international finance: the collapse of the housing market in Northern California can trigger a major financial panic and push us to the brink of a global depression. 5 10
- 2 A world in which problems cross borders so easily is one in which a broad-based multilateral cooperation is essential. Today, however, we lack international institutions that are capable of prompt and effective action. Over a whole range of challenges, the world is essentially undergoverned. The institutions we do have were created in a different time for different purposes and are incapable of meeting the challenges we now face. 15
- 3 New institutions are now needed that can mobilise those states most capable of meeting the dangers we confront. One such institution would bring together the world's established democracies into a single organisation dedicated to joint action — what has been called a “League” or “Concert” of Democracies. The world's democracies are powerful and capable. Most importantly, they share an essential value in a globalising world — a common dedication to ensuring the life, liberty, and happiness of free peoples. 20 25
- 4 A Concert of Democracies would primarily help democracies confront their mutual security challenges, advocate stronger economic growth and development among its members as well as globally, and encourage the expansion of democracy and human rights. To achieve these positive ends, a vehicle would be provided for its members to share information, coordinate strategies, harmonise policies, and take action together. The concert would not just act independently: its members would work through other international institutions to mobilise democracies and autocracies alike to meet and solve pressing global challenges. 30
- 5 Who should be able to join the Concert of Democracies? One criterion for membership must be regular, free and fair elections. But that is just a 35

start. Concert members should also guarantee the rights of individuals within their countries. Their citizens must enjoy fundamental rights to vote, organise, and participate in government and the freedom to speak, assemble, and freely practise their religion. Those rights must be guaranteed by the rule of law. Moreover, the commitment to uphold individual rights and govern by the rule of law should be so strongly rooted in their individual societies that the chances of a reversion to autocratic rule are, for all practical purposes, unthinkable. 40

- 6 To deepen ties among democracies, the Concert should aim and seek to become a privileged trading group. Reduction of trade barriers among its members would create a tangible economic premium for democratic rule that would not only benefit members but also provide concrete incentives for other states to become democracies, and so, join the Concert. 45

- 7 Democratic cooperation has long been at the heart of American foreign policy. Military pacts, economic cooperation and bilateral security ties with Europe and the Middle East are fundamentally based on and reflect shared democratic values, and they form by far the strongest ties by virtue of that fact. As successful as these arrangements have been, however, each is geographically confined, and none sees it as its mission to facilitate cooperation with the others. Most importantly, they all leave out newly emerging democratic powers. By contrast, a Concert of Democracies offers the opportunity to recognize the changing global landscape and to engage new democratic partners. 50 55

Passage 2: Kishore Mahbubani questions the effectiveness of a Concert of Democracies.

- 1 The liberation of Iraq was an absolutely foolish notion spawned by the world's most sophisticated and educated elite from the finest universities of the United States. These influential policy-makers actually believed that an army of mainly Western soldiers (perceived, no doubt, as "Christian" soldiers) marching into an Islamic land would be received with rose petals thrown at their military boots. The price that America has paid for this delusion has been a huge loss in lives and cash, and deep national divisions. The Iraqi people have suffered even more. 5
- 2 America could well pay an equally heavy price for its latest delusion that the solution to the world's problems is to launch a "League of Democracies" to enable democracies to unite to promote their common values and interests. 10

- 3 There can be no doubt that this idea will be disastrous. It will divide the world at the very time that a new global consensus is needed to address pressing global challenges: global warming, financial crises, epidemics and nuclear proliferation, to name just a few. This idea will also alienate precisely the populations that need to feel included in any global solution: the 1.3 billion Chinese and the 1.2 billion Muslims. So why is America advocating it? 15
- 4 If one goal of such a league is to create a sense of community across the world, it is vital to emphasise that Western intentions are distrusted by many societies. Few, if any, believe that the West is influenced only by altruistic motives in pushing for such a league. The Muslims will see a hidden agenda by America to continue to dominate world history at a time when its domination is ending. Her double standards are obvious too: no American government has ever tried to persuade Saudi Arabia to go democratic. The point here is that Americans have to understand why their own chequered record in promoting democracy has led to a great deal of suspicion. They should also be focused on trying to remove this reservoir of distrust rather than trying to create a new division that will only further worsen this condition. 20 25 30
- 5 The fundamental problem is that most Americans cannot see beyond their good intentions. So blinded, they fail to understand the wisdom contained in Max Weber's advice: "It is not true that good can follow only from good and evil only from evil, but that often the opposite is true." And a lot of evil can flow from establishing a League of Democracies. Such a league will further accentuate the divide between the West and the rest of the world. While many in the West have forgotten their colonial past, memories of Western domination remain fresh in the minds of many nations. In China, for example, there is enormous suspicion of Western intentions. The Chinese remember very clearly the Opium War, when the British seized Hong Kong because China refused to accept opium payments for Chinese tea. They also remember the foreign settlements in Shanghai, with such signs as "No Chinese and dogs in the park." Furthermore, they have studied closely how the West cheered the "export" of democracy to Russia, even when the Russian people were obviously suffering from this democratic experiment. This is why the Chinese understand well the Russian bitterness towards the West. 35 40 45
- 6 Why are these historical memories important? They are so because they explain the context in which the idea of a league will be received. Indeed, there is a simple method to prove or disprove my objections: why not ask the 90 per cent of the world that live outside the West for their opinion of such a league? 50