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International Baccalaureate®
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**GLOBAL POLITICS
HIGHER LEVEL AND STANDARD LEVEL
PAPER 1**

Wednesday 21 May 2014 (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]*.

Unit 2 Human Rights

Humanitarian Intervention

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

SOURCE A *A televised address reported in a blog. Adapted from CNN <http://news.blogs.cnn.com/2011/03/28/mideast-live-blog-libyan-rebels-advance-on-gadhafis-hometown/?iref=allsearch>*

In his televised address on Libya the U.S. President Barack Obama said that the world had a unique ability to stop violence “on a horrific scale” in Libya by acting in a broad coalition with the support of Arab countries.

The transition to a legitimate government in Libya is a task for the international community, and more importantly, a task for the Libyan people themselves, Obama said, adding: “If we tried to overthrow Gadhafi* by force, our coalition would break apart.”

Broadening the military mission to include regime change, would be a mistake, said Obama. “While there is no question that Libya would be better off without Moammar Gadhafi as leader, the United States will actively pursue his removal only through non-military means.”

* Gadhafi: also spelt as Qaddafi, Gaddafi, or Kaddafi, and other variations

SOURCE B *A photograph of protests against foreign intervention in Libya. Adapted from **Global Politics** by Andrew Heywood, Palgrave MacMillan, 2011.*



SOURCE C

*An article by Mary Kaldor, **Libya: war or humanitarian intervention**, March 29th 2011, from “Open Democracy,” a website that encourages debate in international politics. Mary Kaldor is Professor of Global Governance and Director of the Civil Society and Human Security Research Unit at the London School of Economics. Adapted from <http://www.opendemocracy.net/mary-kaldor/libya-war-or-humanitarian-intervention>.*

The problem with the military approach is that it reinforces division. Our preoccupation with classic military means is undermining our capacity to address growing insecurity. There is a difference between war and humanitarian intervention. The current attacks on Libya, like the NATO air strikes over Yugoslavia in 1999, are intended for humanitarian ends – the protection of civilians – but the means are those of war.

Certainly the United Nations Security Council Resolution number 1973 was a huge achievement just in time to prevent Gaddafi forces from overrunning Benghazi. The resolution called on member states and regional organizations to “take all necessary measures to protect civilians and civilian populated areas under threat of attack, while excluding a foreign occupation force of any form on any part of Libyan territory”.

But are military attacks from the air an appropriate means? As Amr Moussa, Secretary General of the Arab League, put it (even though he later retracted): “What is happening in Libya differs from the aim of a no-fly zone*. What we want is the protection of civilians, not the bombardment of more civilians.” The risks of war are several. People get killed, mostly soldiers, but also those civilians who are supposed to be protected, however hard Western forces try to be precise in their choice of targets.

* no-fly zone: airspace in which certain aircraft, especially military aircraft, are forbidden to fly

SOURCE D

*An article by Stewart Patrick, **Libya and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention: How Qaddafi’s Fall Vindicated Obama and RtoP**, August 26th 2011, published on “Foreign Affairs” a website that encourages independent debate on politics. Adapted from <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/68233/stewart-patrick/libya-and-the-future-of-humanitarian-intervention>.*

One must be careful not to overdraw lessons from the Libyan experience. It was a unique case and is unlikely to be repeated. For one, Libya had Qaddafi, a villain figure who had managed to alienate nearly all UN member states, including his former Arab and African allies. The timing was also perfect. As the UN, NATO, and United States debated intervention, leaders in the Middle East were still feeling the effects of the Arab Spring. Acutely aware of the vulnerability of their own regimes, the members of the Arab League, Organization of the Islamic Conference, and Gulf Cooperation Council all endorsed the UN’s declaration of a no-fly zone over Libya, including the use of “all necessary means” to prevent mass atrocities.

In addition, China and Russia, the two permanent members of the Security Council (UNSC) most opposed to authorizing military intervention under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, had no special relationship with, or interests in, Libya. So, they had no reason to veto a collective action. Moreover, Libya is a small country. Therefore, the logistics of military intervention promised to be less intimidating there than it would have been in Sudan, for example, which is fifty percent larger, almost seven times as populous, and has hundreds of thousands of soldiers under arms. Libya also possessed a credible, fairly cohesive, and increasingly capable opposition movement, which provided the ground force that Western governments wanting to avoid casualties would not.

1. Identify **three** main points made by U.S. President Barack Obama in Source A about the issue of international intervention in Libya. [3]
 2. With explicit reference to Source B, explain why humanitarian intervention can often be the cause of protests and controversy. [4]
 3. Contrast the views of Source C and Source D regarding the legitimacy of humanitarian intervention. [8]
 4. Using the sources and your own knowledge, evaluate the claim that violations of human rights are no guarantee that humanitarian intervention will take place. [10]
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MARKSCHEME

May 2014

GLOBAL POLITICS

Higher Level and Standard Level

Paper 1

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Unit 2 Human Rights

Bulleted lists in this markscheme indicate likely points that candidates may include in their answer: they are not exhaustive, and examiners should credit other valid points not listed. Students should organize the material into a clear, logical and coherent response.

Humanitarian Intervention

- 1. Identify *three* main points made by U.S. President Barack Obama in Source A about the issue of international intervention in Libya. [3 marks]**

- the unique opportunity facing the world (“unique ability to stop violence on a horrific scale”);
- emphasis on non-military intervention (“pursue his removal only through non-military means”; limitations of the use of force);
- scope – the issue of whether intervention should aim at regime change (“broadening the military mission to include regime change would be a mistake”);
- emphasis on the importance of cooperation as key to solving conflict (coalition including Arab countries; the role of the international community and the role of the United States in assisting in a coalition).

Award [1 mark] for each relevant point up to a maximum of [3 marks].

Other relevant points not listed can also be rewarded.

- 2. With explicit reference to Source B, explain why humanitarian intervention can often be the cause of protests and controversy. [4 marks]**

Answers may include, but are not limited to:

- the national flag in the image – suggesting that nationalistic sentiment may make people averse to external intervention;
- a quest for autonomy, both as separation from the West and others (the flag as a symbol for this desire);
- the complexities of the internal situation (alternative ideals and goals – who stands behind the flag and what does it symbolise?); there may be internal power struggles/divisions within civil society;
- concern that the country will be perceived as being weak and/or needing outside help, or as being unable to solve their own conflicts (“Libyan people can manage it alone”);
- there have been more visible protests against intervention in recent years, following increased access to communication technology *etc* making it easier to organise opposition to intervention (eg the production of a well-designed poster).

Candidates are not expected to make four separate points in order to achieve full marks. For each valid point a maximum of [2 marks] may be awarded, up to a total of [4 marks]. To be awarded [2 marks] a point must be well developed; for example, simply making the point that the national flag in the image suggests that there are strong nationalistic sentiments would be awarded [1 mark], whereas developing this point into a comment such as “the national flag in the image suggests nationalistic sentiment, which may make the people averse to external intervention by other countries” would be awarded [2 marks]. Please note this is an example only, and there are other valid ways in which this point could be developed.

3. Contrast the views of Source C and Source D regarding the legitimacy of humanitarian intervention. [8 marks]

Potential points of contrast:

- Source C emphasizes the difference between humanitarian intervention and war, stating that humanitarian intervention is “intended for humanitarian ends”. In contrast Source D focuses more specifically on the example of Libya, and on why success in Libya may have been due to factors which made it an atypical example;
- Source C notes that UN member states are tasked to “take all necessary measures to protect civilians” but questions whether military action is a necessary measure, and whether it actually protects civilians. Source C is critical of the military means used by states, arguing that this aspect of intervention may eventually undermine the security of people. In contrast, Source D focuses on why the military operation in Libya was successful, so seems more optimistic about the potential usefulness of military action;
- Source C portrays the resolution as a “huge achievement”. In contrast, Source D suggests that the UN Security Council’s resolution only came about because of more practical factors, such as China and Russia having no special relationship with Libya. Source D also suggests that the small size of Libya made intervention more likely, which again suggests that humanitarian motives were not a prime consideration;
- Source D notes the importance of regional actors, suggesting for example that the Libyan intervention partly occurred because of the impact of the Arab Spring. These regional actors are only mentioned in passing in Source C. Also, Source D discusses the “credible” and “cohesive” nature of the internal opposition movements in Libya, while Source C does not discuss the role of internal opposition movements;
- both sources talk about the importance of the UN Security Council but Source D is more sceptical, for example highlighting that the UN Security Council is also subject to state veto.

If the view of only one source is discussed award a maximum of [4 marks]. For a response which focuses significantly on one source with only minimal reference to the other source, award a maximum of [5 marks]. Award [2 marks] per effective point of contrast up to a maximum of [8 marks]. For an [8 mark] response expect a detailed contrast running throughout with an explicit focus on the legitimacy of humanitarian intervention, but do not expect all of the points above, and allow other valid points

4. **Using the sources and your own knowledge, evaluate the claim that violations of human rights are no guarantee that humanitarian intervention will take place. [10 marks]**

Source material may include, but is not limited to:

Source A

- illustrates the importance and “unique opportunity” of intervention in Libya – and shows the articulation by the USA of a new “responsibility to protect” norm;
- illustrates that there are choices to be made over how, or whether, military intervention needs to occur in response to human rights violations;
- emphasizes the need to intervene in a way that is favourable with the coalition. This suggests that such considerations might also limit the nature and scope of intervention in terms of its humanitarian impact;

Source B

- shows that people in the areas/countries where human rights violations are taking place might not want foreign intervention;

Source C

- suggests that the no-fly zone was legitimate but that this has been replaced by air strikes which are now harming civilians. One reason why humanitarian intervention might not take place even if human rights are being violated is that the intervention might itself lead to loss of civilian life;
- notes that the UN Security Council managed to vote in time to have a significant impact. This suggests that it is often slow to act, or that bureaucratic factors may prevent/delay humanitarian intervention;

Source D

- discusses the use of appropriate force in intervention and throws doubt on the idea that humanitarian motives are key in this case. This implies that decisions on whether to intervene are not always made based primarily on whether human rights are being violated;
- argues that for humanitarian intervention to be successful, local and international conditions need to be conducive to outside intervention – sets out many geopolitical factors which facilitated it in this case;
- cynically makes the point that states will not risk their own forces’ lives to save others unless other factors make this worthwhile, even if there are human rights violations occurring.

Own knowledge could include, but is not limited to:

- the argument that there is a moral obligation for humanitarian intervention when there are human rights violations;
- examples such as Rwanda, Cambodia or Zimbabwe where humanitarian intervention did not take place despite human rights violations;
- humanitarian intervention could be regarded as an unacceptable violation of state sovereignty, regardless of whether there are human rights violations occurring;
- sometimes intervention is proposed, but is vetoed by member states *eg* as in Syria.

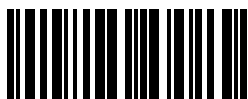
Please use the markbands that follow, but note the following:

The bullet points indicate possible areas candidates might cover in their answers. They are not compulsory points. Examiners should not expect all of the above and should be responsive to any other valid points/arguments; for example, individual candidates may refer to their own experience of conflict or human rights abuses which is acceptable if used effectively and appropriately. Students should synthesize and evaluate evidence from the sources and from their study of the

prescribed content and key concepts of the course. If only source material or only own knowledge is used, the response can only be awarded a maximum of [6 marks].

Markbands for question 4

Marks	Level descriptor
0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The work does not reach a standard described by the descriptors below.
1-2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is little relevant knowledge and a very limited awareness of the demands of the question. There is little or no attempt to synthesise own knowledge and source material. Responses at this level are often largely descriptive and contain unsupported generalizations.
3-4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is limited awareness of the demands of the question or the question is only partially addressed. There is some knowledge demonstrated, but this is not always relevant or accurate, and may not be used appropriately or effectively. Responses at this level are often more descriptive than evaluative.
5-6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Answers show some awareness of the demands of the question. Knowledge is mostly accurate and relevant, and there is some limited synthesis of own knowledge and source material. Counterclaims are implicitly identified but are not explored.
7-8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Answers are focused and show good awareness of the demands of the question. Relevant and accurate knowledge is demonstrated, there is some synthesis of own knowledge and source material, and appropriate examples are used. The response contains claims and counter claims.
9-10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Answers are clearly focused and show a high degree of awareness of the demands of the question. Relevant and accurate knowledge is demonstrated, there is effective synthesis of own knowledge and source material, and appropriate examples are used. The response contains clear evaluation, with well balanced claims and counter claims.



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**GLOBAL POLITICS
HIGHER LEVEL
PAPER 2**

Thursday 22 May 2014 (morning)

2 hour 45 minutes

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

- Do not open this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- Answer three questions, each from a different unit of study. Each question is worth *[25 marks]*.
- The maximum mark for this examination paper is *[75 marks]*.

Answer **three** questions, each from a different unit of study.

Each question is worth [25 marks]. Marks are awarded for demonstrating understanding of relevant political concepts, making reference to specific relevant examples, and for justifying your points and exploring and evaluating counter-arguments.

Power, sovereignty and international relations

1. Examine the claim that the significance of military power is diminishing in contemporary global politics.
2. Discuss the impact of NGOs, MNCs, and international organizations on state sovereignty.

Human rights

3. Compare and contrast an institutional approach to the ratification and enforcement of human rights (for example, through the Hague Courts) with non-institutional approaches (for example, through human rights NGOs, such as Amnesty International).
4. To what extent do the complex realities and relationships of power in global politics make the concept of human rights an unachievable ideal?

Development

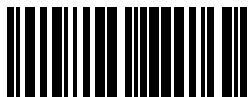
5. Evaluate the claim that development through aid relies heavily on a stable government and a lack of corruption.
6. The fundamental weakness of development goals (such as the Millennium Development Goals) is their lack of focus on how targets are actually to be achieved. To what extent do you agree with this claim?

Peace and conflict

7. “Transforming armed conflict towards peace relies on an interrelationship of peacemaking, peace keeping and peace building.” Discuss.

8. “If a person died from tuberculosis* in the eighteenth century it would be hard to conceive of this as violence since it might have been quite unavoidable, but if he dies from it today, despite all the medical resources in the world, then violence is present” (Galtung). To what extent do you agree with the view that those in power have an obligation to identify and prevent structural violence?

* tuberculosis: a common, and in many cases lethal, infectious disease which can now be prevented by vaccination



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**GLOBAL POLITICS
STANDARD LEVEL
PAPER 2**

Thursday 22 May 2014 (morning)

1 hour 45 minutes

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

- Do not open this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- Answer two questions, each from a different unit of study. Each question is worth *[25 marks]*.
- The maximum mark for this examination paper is *[50 marks]*.

Answer **two** questions, each from a different unit of study.

Each question is worth [25 marks]. Marks are awarded for demonstrating understanding of relevant political concepts, making reference to specific relevant examples, and for justifying your points and exploring and evaluating counter-arguments.

Power, sovereignty and international relations

1. Examine the claim that the significance of military power is diminishing in contemporary global politics.
2. Discuss the impact of NGOs, MNCs, and international organizations on state sovereignty.

Human rights

3. Compare and contrast an institutional approach to the ratification and enforcement of human rights (for example, through the Hague Courts) with non-institutional approaches (for example, through human rights NGOs, such as Amnesty International).
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Development

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MARKSCHEME

May 2014

GLOBAL POLITICS

Higher Level and Standard Level

Paper 2

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The paper is marked using the generic markbands below, and the paper specific markscheme that follows. The markscheme for this paper is the same for HL and SL.

Markbands for paper two

Marks	Level descriptor
0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The work does not reach a standard described by the descriptors below.
1–5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The response reveals limited understanding of the demands of the question. The response is poorly structured, or where there is a recognizable essay structure there is minimal focus on the task. There is little relevant knowledge, and examples are either lacking or not relevant. The response is mostly descriptive.
6–10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The response indicates some understanding of the demands of the question. There is some evidence of an attempt to structure the response. Some relevant knowledge is present, and some examples are mentioned but they are not developed or their relevance to arguments is not clear. The response demonstrates limited understanding of fundamental political concepts and approaches. There is limited justification of main points. Counterclaims are not considered.
11–15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The demands of the question are understood and mostly addressed but the implications are not considered. There is a clear attempt to structure the response. The response is mostly based on relevant and accurate knowledge of global politics, and relevant examples are given and support arguments. The response demonstrates some understanding of fundamental political concepts and approaches. Many of the main points are justified and arguments are largely coherent. Some counterclaims are considered.
16–20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The demands of the questions are understood and addressed, and most implications are considered. The response is well-structured. The response demonstrates relevant and accurate knowledge and understanding of global politics, and relevant examples are used in a way that strengthens arguments. The response demonstrates a good grasp of fundamental political concepts and approaches. All or nearly all of the main points are justified and arguments are coherent. Counterclaims are explored.
21–25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A very well structured and balanced response that addresses the demands and implications of the question. Comprehensive knowledge and in-depth understanding of global politics is applied in the response consistently and effectively, with examples integrated. The response demonstrates a very good grasp of fundamental political concepts and approaches. All of the main points are justified. Arguments are clear, coherent and compelling. Counterclaims are explored and evaluated.

*The content listed indicates possible areas candidates might cover in their answers. They are **not** compulsory points. They are only a framework to help examiners in their assessment. Candidates may take a different approach, which if appropriate, should be rewarded. Examiners should not expect all of the points listed and should allow other valid points.*

An understanding of, and an ability to work with, the key concepts of the course are particularly important in this paper. Some questions use the key concepts of a particular unit; others may draw on key concepts from several units; yet others may not use key concepts at all. Whether or not the key concepts are explicitly mentioned in a question, students are expected to draw on their conceptual understanding of global politics and are invited to draw on any political concepts that are relevant to the arguments they put forward.

Power, Sovereignty and International Relations

1. Examine the claim that the significance of military power is diminishing in contemporary global politics.

Better answers will demonstrate an excellent grasp of the concept of military power, and are likely to contrast this with other types of power such as economic power. They could include discussion of the various components of power, for example, military, economic (tangible) and leadership (intangible), or of how power has been viewed differently by different schools of thought.

Arguments in favour of the claim that the significance of military power has diminished could include:

- the increasing weight of variables such as economic interdependence, transnational actors and international organizations;
- increased globalization leading to less emphasis on individual states and their individual military power; economic power being equally, if not more, important than military power, as economic power is required to bolster military power;
- the idea that some issues do not lend themselves to military solutions, for example, states may avoid using military action if it could negatively impact future trade agreements *etc.*

Arguments against the claim that the significance of military power has diminished may include:

- military force remains critical, as shown by the fact that the production of arms continues to increase;
- the sale of military weapons has become a major factor in the arming of various contestants for control of resources;
- military power is also still important as a deterrent, *etc.*

Answers should include reference to specific examples. These could include examples such as the anti-military culture in places such as Japan; anti-war movements, such as the protests against the war in Iraq; or the importance of military power in the conflict in Syria.

The responses are likely to end with a conclusion stating to what extent the candidate agrees or disagrees that the significance of military power is diminishing in contemporary global politics.

2. Discuss the impact of NGOs, MNCs, and international organizations on state sovereignty.

Better answers will demonstrate an excellent understanding of the concept of sovereignty, including reference to sovereignty as characterizing a state's independence, its control over territory and its ability to govern itself. Candidates may talk about the role and functions of the state, and then proceed to explore how and what kind of an impact each of the aforementioned – NGOs, MNCs and international organizations like the United Nations – has had on state sovereignty.

Arguments that these actors have no real impact may include:

- states may control the agenda of many of these organizations;
- the strengthening of national security and national interest due to the threat of terrorism and to economic interests;
- states sometimes have a choice over whether to align with recommendations/policies *etc* from these organizations, rather than these being compulsory, *etc*.

Arguments that these actors have a big impact may include:

- trade agreements;
- corporate demands on state laws, for example, environmental or labour laws;
- capital flight;
- threats to relocate;
- the ability of these actors to have significant impact, even bringing down governments or bringing about severe economic consequences for states, *etc*.

The responses should make reference to specific examples, such as (*have no real impact*): the EU, the World Bank, and the IMF control the interests of states; states can ban NGO protests such as in Singapore; the US refused to sign the Kyoto agreement; (*have a big impact*): can bring down governments, for example, Guatemala.

The responses may end with a conclusion/judgment on the impact of NGOs, MNCs and international organizations on state sovereignty.

Human rights

3. **Compare and contrast an institutional approach to the ratification and enforcement of human rights (for example, through the Hague Courts) with non-institutional approaches (for example, through human rights NGOs, such as Amnesty International).**

It is not necessary for the response to be equally balanced between similarities and differences to achieve the highest marks.

Better answers will demonstrate an excellent understanding of the concept of human rights; for example they may include references to human rights as often being regarded as universal, inalienable, equal, and indivisible rights which people are entitled to purely by being human.

Answers should explore the similarities and differences between an institutional and non-institutional approach to the ratification and enforcement of human rights.

Similarities may include:

- both try to actively enforce human rights ideals;
- both have controversial aspects;
- both have become increasingly media centred;
- both interact with government bodies and seats of power at various geographic levels.

Differences may include:

- non-institutional organizations such as Human Rights Watch or Amnesty International are often seen to have sufficient influence to have an effect on human rights policies, whereas institutions tend to have more prestige, resources or power;
- institutional approaches tend to be more state centred, whereas non-institutional approaches tend to be more informal or more local;
- institutional approaches have to work within systemic frameworks;
- there are possible differences in how they are financed.

Candidates may name institutional forums and organizations that consider human rights beyond those mentioned in the question itself. Examples may include the Zapatista rebellion, the International Court of Justice, groups such as Occupy, *etc.* They may also discuss specific examples of failures of the particular approaches, for example the fact that none of the major powers have been brought to the Hague Courts.

The response may sum up with a conclusion on the similarities and differences between institutional and non-institutional approaches to human rights ratification and enforcement.

4. To what extent do the complex realities and relationships of power in global politics make the concept of human rights an unachievable ideal?

Better answers will demonstrate an excellent understanding of the concept of human rights and the concept of power. They may then discuss whether the realities of power make the goals utopian rather than realistic.

Arguments that they are unachievable may include:

- inherent differences in resources and opportunities
- they are too idealistic;
- they are unrealistic or impractical;
- reference to the complex links between political and economic power;
- the difficulties posed by entrenched belief systems; *etc.*

Arguments that human rights are achievable may include:

- there has been progress in gaining recognition of human rights, even in difficult circumstances;
- power can be seen to be moving away from the state to grassroots, which links to the importance of the individual rather than the state in human rights.

Answers should make reference to specific examples, such as, for instance, to the fact that 147 countries ratified the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment; or they could refer to the success of polio vaccination programmes, or to MNC demands, for example, for free trade zones, *etc.*

Answers may include a conclusion reflecting on how power and human rights are interlinked, and on the extent to which the complex realities and relationships of power in global politics make the concept of human rights an unachievable ideal. They may, for example, conclude that human rights are aspirational goals, so it does not matter whether they are achievable or not.

Development

5. Evaluate the claim that development through aid relies heavily on a stable government and a lack of corruption.

Better answers will demonstrate an excellent understanding of the concept of development and the concept of aid. They may also distinguish between different types of development, such as human and sustainable development, and different types of aid. Answers may also contain an explanation of the meaning of the terms “stable government” and “lack of corruption”, and may contrast development through aid to development through other methods. The focus of the question is on the factors that enable development, rather than on the removal of obstacles to development (emphasized at the time of the MDGs).

Arguments supporting the claim may include:

- that development depends on the removal of barriers such as corruption;
- that corruption can lead to a misallocation of resources, and to resources not being used for their intended purpose;
- that development relies on stable governance and infrastructure; *etc.*

Arguments against the claim may include:

- that often the countries that need aid are exactly those that have unstable governments and issues with corruption;
- that the success of development relies far more on factors other than the two mentioned, such as financial stability;
- that bureaucracy can actually stifle economic activity whereas corruption and bribes can stimulate/facilitate economic activity; *etc.*

Answers should make reference to specific examples such as Transparency International, worldaudit.org, the Corruption Perception Index, UNDP, the UN Convention against Corruption, *etc.* They may also make reference to specific examples of countries where instability and corruption have postponed development, such as in Sudan, and to countries where a relative stability and lack of corruption have promoted it, such as in Chile. Responses may end with a conclusion/judgment on whether development through aid depends on stable government and lack of corruption.

6. The fundamental weakness of development goals (such as the Millennium Development Goals) is their lack of focus on how targets are actually to be achieved. To what extent do you agree with this claim?

Better answers will demonstrate an excellent understanding of the concept of development and may also contain explanations of concepts underlying particular goals such as environmental sustainability, poverty or hunger. Answers may focus on the example provided of the Millennium Development Goals and the setting of development targets for realization in 2015, or they may focus on other examples of development goals.

Arguments that this is a fundamental weakness of development goals may include:

- the lack of focus on methods;
- the lack of defined responsibilities for rich countries; *etc.*

Answers may also identify other weaknesses of development goals, such as to the need to further develop some targets, for example, equality and gender issues, or to the need to respond to the changes in the political climate since 9/11; *etc.*

Arguments that this is not a fundamental weakness of development goals may include:

- it was justifiable to set the MDGs without guidance on how to achieve them because they were intended to raise consciousness about development issues;
- development goals help with the classification of issues into defined categories;
- they provide a focus for political consensus at international level, *etc.*

Answers should make reference to specific examples, which could for instance be drawn from the UN Secretary General's annual progress report, or from the experience of individual countries.

Responses may end with a conclusion/judgment on the extent to which it is helpful to set such targets without specifying the means of achieving them.

Peace and Conflict

7. “Transforming armed conflict towards peace relies on an interrelationship of peacemaking, peace keeping and peace building.” Discuss.

Better answers will demonstrate an excellent understanding of the concepts of peace and conflict, and will explain the terms peacemaking, peace keeping and peace building, and how these three interrelate. Although it is expected that candidates should explain what is meant by armed conflict, it should be noted that providing lengthy definitions of terms should not form the main part of the essay. The focus should be on discussing the interrelationship between the three concepts named in the question:

- peacemaking may be described as armed intervention with the possible use of force (violence) to separate parties in conflict. Answers may discuss whether it is always and only defined as this, for example, discussing whether efforts at diplomacy may not also count as peace-making.
- peace keeping may be described as maintaining the status quo with armed force and with the use of unarmed observers between parties in conflict with their agreement.
- peace building may be described as the building of positive peace and the infrastructure of civil society, for example, education, access to health care, local services and governance structures, and the removing of psychological scars of violence. Candidates may refer to the concept of peace as often being defined as a state both of non-conflict and of harmonious relations.

Candidates should discuss the relative importance of each process to the others and how each contributes to a successful peace process. The more sophisticated answers may identify that international interest and support for the process will usually have declined or disappeared before peace building has been embarked on.

Arguments for reliance on an interrelationship may include:

- if the infrastructure and stable governance is not in place then the peace will not last;
- if there is no reconciliation and reconstruction then conflict may reignite, and there may be lasting psychological resentment *etc.*

Arguments against reliance on an interrelationship may include:

- the view that as soon as armed conflict has stopped, peace has been achieved, so you don’t need the other elements.

Candidates could also argue that lasting peace relies on other factors, such as the protection of human rights, and fair access to resources, in addition to these three elements. Answers may make reference to specific examples, such as to Afghanistan and Iraq, where the emphasis is on reconstruction, or to where the lack of all three activities for securing peace has meant that conflict has returned, or to where they have successfully been implemented together to establish peace.

Answers should include a conclusion on whether peace does rely on an interrelationship of these three. Candidates may bring in a practical reflection such as that although all three might be needed this is not always possible to implement – for example, if resources are limited, then it might be preferable to use these in more urgent peacemaking situations rather than tying them up in peacekeeping and peace building efforts.

8. **“If a person died from tuberculosis in the eighteenth century it would be hard to conceive of this as violence since it might have been quite unavoidable, but if he dies from it today, despite all the medical resources in the world, then violence is present” (Galtung). To what extent do you agree with the view that those in power have an obligation to identify and prevent structural violence?**

Better answers will demonstrate an excellent understanding of what is meant by structural violence. Candidates may discuss the importance of understanding different concepts of peace and violence: peace as the absence of war and direct violence, or peace as the absence of all violence, including structural violence as in this reference. Candidates may include specific discussion of Galtung and the context of the 1960s and 1970s and how this is relevant today (the quotation, from 1969, comes from the context of the Cold War and the clash between different ideologies): however it should be noted that this should **not** be the focus of the response.

Arguments that those in power have an obligation may include:

- economic and social policies should include equal access for everyone;
- those in power have a primary obligation to meet the basic needs of all people;
- health care provisions like vaccinations are a basic need;
- governments have more formal obligations and responsibilities than NGOs, MNCs, *etc.*

Arguments that they do not have an obligation may include:

- there is no such thing as structural violence;
- epidemics are natural and unfortunate events rather than the responsibility of governments;
- it is the responsibility of individuals to take care of themselves, and the managers of power have no obligation to do so.

Answers may make reference to specific examples, such as to places where deaths due to tuberculosis are still happening, such as in rural Haiti; or to where water is still the cause of a high percentage of communicable diseases, such as in India, or to where desertification and other negative environmental impacts, with resulting implications for health, occur due to the building of dams, for example, as in the Three Gorges Dam over the Yangtze river.

Candidates should include a conclusion on the extent to which they agree that those in power have an obligation to prevent structural violence.
