



# Cambridge International AS & A Level

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GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES & RESEARCH

9239/13

Paper 1 Written Exam

May/June 2023

INSERT

1 hour 30 minutes

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## INFORMATION

- This insert contains all the resources referred to in the questions.
- You may annotate this insert and use the blank spaces for planning. **Do not write your answers** on the insert.



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This document has **4** pages. Any blank pages are indicated.

The following documents consider issues related to international aid. Read them **both** in order to answer **all** the questions on the paper.

**Document A:** adapted from *Last Word: Bailouts and begging in Harare\* and Athens*, an article written by Charles Rukuni, published in 'The Africa Report', a magazine that focuses on African politics and economics, in 2015. The author is an investigative journalist, based in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe.

Greece and Zimbabwe both missed payments to their international creditors. Zimbabwe has been facing an economic crisis for the past 15 years, but, unlike Greece, it has not received a bailout. The biggest difference between Greece and Zimbabwe, is no-one wants Greece to collapse. But no-one seems to care if Zimbabwe collapses.

The International Monetary Fund insists that Zimbabwe must pay its arrears of USD 150m before it can receive a bailout. Looking at the amounts given to Greece, USD 150m looks like a very small amount. But it is a lot for Zimbabwe, which has been living from hand to mouth for more than a decade. Zimbabwe had record inflation where 35 quadrillion Zimbabwe dollars equalled one USD.

Politics cannot be separated from economics. Zimbabwe's president, Robert Mugabe, insists the West is against his regime because of its stripping of land from many white farmers and its other pro-indigenous policies. He says the US and European Union (EU) made the crisis worse by imposing sanctions on Zimbabwe. The West argues that the Zimbabwe crisis is due to Mugabe's bad management and autocratic government.

There was great hope when Zimbabwe formed an inclusive government in 2009. However, newly elected finance minister Tendai Biti failed to secure a bailout even though he was voted the best finance minister in Africa that year. Zimbabwe needed USD 10bn, but it did not get the money – most probably because the West believed that there was no real change in government and Mugabe was still in control.

Greece, on the other hand, was granted a bailout of EUR 110bn (USD 126bn) on 2 May 2010, only nine days after it asked for one. The rescue package was supposed to be for three years, but things did not work out like that. The Greek government received another EUR 130bn less than two years later. In August of this year, it negotiated a third bailout worth EUR 86bn.

The Greek crisis rocked the entire world. Financial markets in Hong Kong, Tokyo, New York, London and Johannesburg reacted wildly to news about the Greek bailout. The world's richest countries put the Greek rescue on their agenda, but the rescue came at a high cost to Greece. Finance minister Yanis Varoufakis, who was against tough EU bailout conditions, lost his job. Prime minister Alexis Tsipras accepted a tough bailout deal that meant Greece had to follow EU economic requirements. However, as a result, he lost the support of his party and resigned.

If Tsipras had been from Zimbabwe, people would have labelled him a sell-out – a curse that was a death sentence during the liberation struggle. But Tsipras had very little choice. The message was clear and simple: you cannot do what you want with other people's money. This is a stark lesson for Zimbabwe. It will have to accept the bitter medicine prescribed by the West if it wants a bailout. And there is no 'Plan B' because even China – Harare's\* all-weather friend – now insists that there are no more free lunches. Business is business. Zimbabwe will have to accept that beggars cannot be choosers.

\*Harare: capital of Zimbabwe

**Document B:** adapted from *Flipping financial accountability to the community*, an article written by Mai Jarrar, published in the independent, non-profit news agency 'The New Humanitarian', in 2020. The author is Women's Development Program Director for YMCA East Jerusalem, a Palestinian non-profit organization whose mission is to develop and empower youth and communities.

Often, the international community funds humanitarian and development projects that do not fit the needs, realities, or priorities of the people they are trying to help. Crisis-affected communities often have real strengths and abilities. However, time and again international aid organisations and donors ignore local communities' capacities and strengths. They promote a dependency culture, thinking they know better and assuming that one standard response fits all situations.

In 2015, the YMCA in East Jerusalem had a chance to try something many of us had wanted to do for a long time: let community members lead in every aspect of a "project cycle". Were we nervous? Yes. Did we and the donors fear this could go really wrong? Yes – of course. Letting go is scary.

But we went ahead and tested a new programme we call a "survivor and community-led crisis response". This approach allows community groups, with support and guidance from the YMCA, to assess their own challenges, capacities, priorities, and opportunities. It also allows them to implement activities of their own choice with cash grants of up to USD 5,000.

The programme has flipped financial accountability from the donor to the community itself. And it has worked. All income, expenses, other contributions, and activities are posted to a public community Facebook group. This means that those implementing the project are accountable to their own people. Communities are so motivated that they often top up grants with voluntary work, cash, or materials. Women have improved their bargaining power and are taking new leading roles. Community members are able to negotiate with the local private sector, appealing to their social responsibility, to secure lower prices for Palestinian people.

These results and the associated experience of activism, voluntarism, real ownership, pride, and dignity are a highlight of my professional life. A woman from a small Bedouin community summed up her experience: "Previous NGOs\* behaved with us as if they were teaching 3rd graders dictation. Now, it is like we... form our own grammar rules".

The new realities brought on by COVID-19 mean that neither local nor international NGOs are able to access communities directly. Their absence has enhanced our confidence in our approach, and strengthened our vision of change. This change doesn't come about through conferences or any "Grand Bargains" with the usual promises of "localisation" or "participation". It comes from being accountable to each other, and from building a chain of ongoing trust between activists, communities, and NGOs – as well as donors.

During recent discussions with community members in Gaza, one participant put it very clearly: "Our problem is that the NGOs who write the proposals always want to please the donor, even if they are wrong. It is time to change this."

Our approach has worked repeatedly now, not only in East Jerusalem but through other organisations working in Gaza, Haiti, Kenya, Myanmar, the Philippines, and Sudan. For me, the real question now is: What is holding back others from trying this?

\*NGO: Non-governmental organisation

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