



# **MARKSCHEME**

**May 2012**

## **WORLD POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**Standard Level**

**Paper 2**

12 pages

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Candidates should answer two questions, *each chosen from a different syllabus area*. If two questions are chosen from the same syllabus area, only the best essay will contribute to the final grade.

In addition to these markbands please follow the guidance for individual questions in the paper-specific markscheme that follows.

<b>Part (a)(i) = [2 marks]</b>	
<b>Level</b>	<b>Marks</b>
<b>0:</b> Wrong definition.	<b>0</b>
<b>1:</b> Vague definition.	<b>1</b>
<b>2:</b> Precise definition, <b>or</b> vague definition with an appropriate example.	<b>2</b>
<b>Part (a)(ii) = [2 marks]</b>	
<b>Level</b>	<b>Marks</b>
<b>0:</b> Wrong definition.	<b>0</b>
<b>1:</b> Vague definition.	<b>1</b>
<b>2:</b> Precise definition	<b>2</b>
<b>Part (b) = [4 marks]</b>	
<b>Level</b>	<b>Marks</b>
<b>0:</b> Inappropriate answer.	<b>0</b>
<b>1:</b> Identification of appropriate theory.	<b>1-2</b>
<b>2:</b> Correct application of appropriate theory.	<b>3-4</b>
<b>Part (c) = [4 marks]</b>	
<b>Level</b>	<b>Marks</b>
<b>0:</b> Inappropriate answer.	<b>0</b>
<b>1:</b> Identification of appropriate theory.	<b>1-2</b>
<b>2:</b> Correct application of appropriate theory.	<b>3-4</b>
<b>Part (d) = [8 marks]</b>	
<b>Level</b>	<b>Marks</b>
<b>0:</b> No valid discussion.	<b>0</b>
<b>1:</b> Few relevant concepts recognized. Little discussion, or only basic understanding.	<b>1-2</b>
<b>2:</b> Relevant concepts recognized and developed in reasonable depth. Some attempt at application and analysis.	<b>3-5</b>
<b>3:</b> Relevant concepts developed in reasonable depth, demonstrating effective evaluation, supported by appropriate evidence or theory.	<b>6-8</b>

### SYLLABUS AREA III

#### Human rights and international law

1. (a) **Explain what you understand by the source’s reference to “monumental progress that China has made in human rights” (line 20).** *[2 marks]*

Through the phrase “monumental progress that China has made in human rights,” the chosen source praises China’s human rights record as a product of the implementation of the 2009–2010 action plan (first national human rights action plan).

Credit should be awarded if the answer refers to the Chinese origin of the source (China Daily), which makes it subject to government control through the Information Office of the State Council. Alternatively, candidates could also suggest that the article acknowledges that the promotion of human rights in China is in its developing phases by stating that “China will draft a new national program for human rights development for the period 2012 to 2015 to improve people’s basic rights” or by referring to the phrase “China’s path to human rights development”

*To receive full marks candidates must effectively define the phrase.*

- (b) **Explain what you understand by the source’s reference to “international human rights circle” (line 26).** *[2 marks]*

Through such term the source refers to western governments, IGOs and NGOs that are critical of China’s human rights record, including the USA (through its annual Country Reports on Human Rights Practices or direct criticism from US Secretary of State Hilary Clinton in 2011), the UNO (through its Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances), Human Rights Watch (through its World Reports) or Amnesty International (through its report “60 Years On: Human Rights in China”) among others.

*To receive full marks candidates must define the term and provide evidence of western advocates of human rights.*

- (c) **The author of the article suggests that it is China’s responsibility to make its path to human rights development “understood by more people from the international community” (line 19). Compare and contrast Chinese and western perceptions of human rights.** [4 marks]

In accordance with the liberal tradition, the western human rights approach focuses on the protection of the individual, leading to the promotion of what are often referred to as first and second generation rights (civil and political rights), negative or proscriptive rights (which refer to the freedom of individuals from abuses) or the construction of cosmopolitan theories of human rights (which contend that the ultimate source of meaning and value in human rights lies with the individual).

On the contrary, in accordance with the Marxist/Maoist tradition, the Chinese human rights approach focuses on the promotion of collective rights, contending that rights to equal development must be placed above individual political rights. This has led to the promotion of third generation rights (social and economic rights), positive or prescriptive rights (basic necessities that governments are obliged to provide) or the construction of communitarian theories of human rights (which contend that the ultimate source of meaning and value in human rights lies with the community and respect for its traditions).

For similarities, candidates could contend that both acknowledge the state’s role in promoting the rights of citizens. For differences, whilst western perspectives focus on the individual, Chinese perspectives focus on the community; whilst western perspectives contend that the role of the state is to protect the rights of individuals, Chinese perspectives suggest that the state is responsible for promoting communitarian rights; while western perspectives assert the universality of human rights, Chinese perspectives believe that their implementation is subject to the needs of each society.

*For a Level 2 to be awarded, markers should ensure that candidates deal with both, similarities and differences.*

- (d) **With reference to the source and your own knowledge assess the possible positive and negative effects on Chinese citizens of adopting “Chinese human rights theories” (line 18).** [4 marks]

The adoption of Chinese human rights theories has led to the promotion of third generation rights in China (including employment, social security, health and education); while the government continues to violate first and second generation rights.

The more sophisticated answer could challenge the commonplace view, that suggests that economic and social rights are promoted by the Chinese government, by contending that economic reforms since liberalization have widened the poverty gap, leading to breaches in third generation rights. It could also suggest that growing focus on China as a primary actor on the international stage has also led to improvements in its protection of political and civil rights, including the reform of the death penalty system. Credit should also be given for the provision of detailed evidence.

*For a Level 2 to be awarded, markers should ensure that candidates deal with both positive and negative effects. Credit should be awarded to challenges to commonplace views.*

- (e) **With reference to the source and other examples, examine difficulties encountered in achieving a universal application of the United Nations’ Declaration of Human Rights.** *[8 marks]*

The UN’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights dates from 1948. It proposes the protection of first and second generation rights, including the rights of individuals across the globe to freedom of discrimination, freedom of speech and association; while it also acknowledges the rights of individuals to basic necessities of life, including adequate basic education, nutrition, housing, and health.

On philosophical grounds, the problems of implementing such a declaration across the globe concentrate on the issue of universality, since the human rights agenda is largely regarded as western in origin, and its imposition on states and cultures whose traditions are focused around communitarian rights is often described as cultural imperialism. The source suggests such an idea when claiming “Western people still criticize the condition of human rights in China without supporting facts, experts said”. Candidates could also discuss the embryonic nature of international law, or evaluate difficulties in its implementation in the face of a still anarchical global community. In such a context, states continue to claim and defend their sovereign right to apply their cultural and ideological perceptions of human rights.

In practical terms, candidates could cite difficulties inherent in any UN-backed or coalition intervention aimed at the protection of human rights. They could also discuss the effectiveness of the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court.

*Do not expect all of the above. If the evaluation is poorly handled, or reference to the source is missing, answers should be granted a maximum of **Level 2**.*

2. (a) **With reference to the source and your own knowledge define “crimes against humanity” (line 3).** [2 marks]

The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court Explanatory Memorandum defines crimes against humanity as offences against civilian populations, committed during wartime or times of peace, which are part either of governmental policy or a wide practice tolerated by government. These include the acts of murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation; or persecutions based on political, religious or ethnic factors. In the source, the alleged crimes against humanity committed by the Syrian government refer to the political persecution of pro-democracy demonstrators.

*To receive full marks candidates must define the term and refer to the source.*

- (b) **Explain what you understand by the source’s reference to “sanctions and other punitive measures” (lines 4–5).** [2 marks]

The source refers to sanctions to be imposed by the United Nations Security Council under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Their aim is to maintain or restore international peace through putting pressure on governments to comply with the United Nations Security Council’s objectives. These may include “complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations” (Art. 41) “and action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security” (Art. 42). As to “other punitive measures”, the article refers to other methods the United Nations Security Council uses to force governments to comply with its objectives, which may include suspension of the exercise of the rights and privileges provided by membership and expulsion from the organization, among others.

*Do not expect all of the above. To receive full marks candidates must explain both “sanctions” and “other punitive measures.”*

- (c) **Discuss the strengths and limitations of the United Nations’ use of sanctions to promote and protect human rights.** [4 marks]

The source illustrates problems that arise as a consequence of the United Nations’ decision making process: as sanctions have to be agreed upon by the Security Council, veto by the permanent members can block action. The limitations of the use of economic sanctions are that states, often in contravention of international law, can ignore them, reducing their effectiveness. Moreover, the use of economic sanctions can lead to serious humanitarian consequences for civilians in the sanctioned state and neighbouring countries. As to military sanctions, the United Nations has no army of its own, hence relies on the willingness of member countries to provide it with the necessary means for a military intervention.

The value of sanctions is that, as Kofi Annan stated in 1998, “the multilateral threat of economic isolation may help to encourage political dialogue, while the application of rigorous economic sanctions can diminish the capacity of the protagonists to sustain a prolonged fight.” Further, the recent use of targeted economic sanctions (the freezing of assets and blocking of the financial transactions of political elites) has proved effective, while avoiding adverse side-effects on civilians’ well-being.

*Do not expect all of the above. For a **Level 2** to be awarded, markers should ensure that candidates deal with both strengths and limitations.*

- (d) Discuss the strengths and limitations of the United Nations’ use of diplomacy and mediation to promote and protect human rights. [4 marks]**

Among the strengths of using diplomacy and mediation as a means of protecting human rights, it could be argued that political disagreements often lie at the heart of human rights violations. Hence, a definite halt to conflict requires political solutions that allow for reconciliation and the restoration of trust among rival groups. Hence, negotiation is crucial for peace-building. Moreover, the United Nations’ use of preventative diplomacy and mediation allows the organization a voice and may avoid the need for gathering extensive resources.

As to limitations, candidates could suggest that agreements reached through mediation are non-binding towards member states; hence there are no means of ensuring their implementation. Moreover, United Nations political missions require a commitment on behalf of parties to look for solutions to conflict. Reluctance on behalf of the elites has often impeded the use of diplomacy and mediation to promote and protect human rights.

*Do not expect all of the above. For a Level 2 to be awarded, markers should ensure that candidates deal with both strengths and limitations.*

- (e) With reference to the source and other examples, evaluate the performance of the United Nations Security Council in promoting and protecting human rights in the second half of the twentieth century. [8 marks]**

Article 39 of the United Nations Charter stipulates that the United Nations Security Council is responsible for determining if human rights violations are in occurrence and deciding upon actions to deal with such crises. Diplomacy and mediation, the use of sanctions and peacekeeping operations are all alternative means the Security Council can use to promote and protect human rights. Candidates could discuss the extent to which any of these have proved to be effective in the second half of the twentieth century. The cases of peacekeeping in Western Sahara, Haiti, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Darfur, Cyprus, Lebanon, South Sudan, Rwanda, former Yugoslavia, Liberia, East Timor, among others could be used as examples. The performance of the UN’s “political missions” in Iraq, Afghanistan, Nepal, Lebanon, Israel and the Palestinian territory, Somalia, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau and the Central African Republic could also be evaluated.

The work of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR), as the body responsible for the promotion and protection of human rights during 1948–2006, could also be evaluated. The interventionist policy it adopted during the 1970s and the performance of its geographically-oriented workgroups and theme-oriented workgroups could be evaluated.

An alternative approach could be taken in examining the ambiguity surrounding what actually constitutes human rights, contending that the United Nations acts in accordance with a liberal western construct relative to Asian values and a more communitarian view of the concept.

*If examples are missing, the evaluation is poorly handled, only one side of the argument is presented, or reference to the source is missing, answers should be granted a maximum of Level 2.*



## SYLLABUS AREA IV

### Conflict, peace and reconstruction

3. (a) **Define what you understand by the source’s reference to “legitimate political movement” (line 9).** *[2 marks]*

Weber has defined “legitimacy” in terms of the popular acceptance of any form of authority. In turn, a political movement can be defined as any social organization with the aim of influencing politics. Hence, a legitimate political movement can be defined as a social organization with political aims, which society has accepted as a possible source of authority. Nevertheless, within the context of the source, the word “legitimate” acquires a specific connotation, suggesting that political movements (as opposed to terrorist organizations) operate through internationally accepted means (*i.e.* not violent).

*To receive full marks candidates must define the term and refer to the source.*

- (b) **Define what you understand by the source’s reference to “terrorist groups” (line 19).** *[2 marks]*

A terrorist group could be defined as a set of individuals belonging to a non-state entity that uses violence on civilian populations as a means of terrorizing society to achieve their goal. The source defines “terrorist groups” as organizations that terrorize and threaten the freedoms of society.

*To receive full marks candidates must define the term and refer to the source.*

- (c) **With reference to the source and your own knowledge assess the difficulties encountered in defining terrorism.** *[4 marks]*

It is often suggested by political analysts that agreeing on a common legal definition of the term “terrorism” is a difficult endeavour. Arriving at a general definition of terrorism through a deductive approach that defines terrorism in terms of criteria including aims and means encounters difficulties. Terrorist organizations and political movements may share political goals (as the source suggests, “most terrorist groups are political by nature”), so it is difficult to define terrorism in terms of its objectives. Moreover, terrorist organizations may temporarily surrender violence to pursue political means of achieving their goals (as the source suggests is the case of the Taliban); hence it is difficult to define terrorism in terms of means. Third, the use of violence and terror to achieve an objective could be regarded as legitimate as a means of achieving freedom from oppression. This seems to contradict the political connotation that the term has achieved ever since 9/11.

Some have attempted a specific or inductive approach, by defining terrorism through the identification of certain terrorist activities, such as hijacking and taking hostages, amongst others. Nevertheless, a specific offence may not include the broader elements that distinguish a terrorist act from other criminal acts.

*Do not expect all of the above. For a Level 2 to be awarded, markers should ensure that candidates analyse difficulties in defining terrorism and refer to the source.*

- (d) **Using state level analysis, and with reference to the source, analyse the reasons for becoming a suicide bomber.** [4 marks]

Common to an academic study of World Politics and IR is the description of the International System in terms of Systems, State and Individual Level Analyses. A State Level Analysis examines the nature, structure and functioning of particular states and the domestic pressures that prevail – all of which affect the rationale of individuals.

Jihadism as an ideology is especially receptive amongst individuals who see little future for themselves. Hence, domestic conditions of poverty and unemployment can propel the individual into becoming a suicide bomber. Also, a lack of educational opportunities may allow for easier manipulation of the mind: as the source explains, “boys as young as 12-years old are recruited to become suicide bombers under the false pretence of promises, which will never be delivered.”

Jihadism is also attractive to individuals who see little future for their nation. Hence, the liberalization of a government can lead an individual into becoming a suicide bomber as a means of “propagating against the progressive nature of a democratic society”, as the source suggests.

Finally, as the source explains, the tolerance and legitimization of terrorist activities by a government can lead an individual into becoming a suicide bomber. “[Government and opposition leaders] must demonstrate to Afghans that individuals with Afghan blood on their hands will no longer be part of a new chapter.”

*Do not expect all of the above. For a **Level 2** to be awarded, markers should ensure that candidates apply state level analysis and refer to the source.*

- (e) **With reference to the source and other examples, evaluate the impact of foreign interventions in transitional movements towards democracy.** [8 marks]

Candidates could answer this question through a variety of approaches. They could discuss the role of the United Nations, examining the performance of its peace-building missions. Examples may include missions in Burundi, Central African Republic, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia and Nepal.

Candidates could also discuss the merits of democratic development through the use of unilateral or multilateral force, and question if all states or regions possess a political culture that is suitable for a western democratic construct. With reference to the source, candidates could discuss how foreign intervention in the political affairs of Afghanistan has prompted terrorist reactions: “Their objective [the Taliban’s] is for the United States to leave Afghanistan.” Candidates could examine how different regions have differing views of the suitability of democratic systems and whether they would be prepared to introduce such a system.

*If the evaluation is poorly handled, only one side of the argument is presented, or reference to the source is missing, answers should be granted a maximum of **Level 2**.*

4. (a) **Define what you understand by the source’s reference to “non-proliferation rules” (line 24).** [2 marks]

“Non-proliferation rules” refers to the system of rules framed by the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT). These stipulate a ban on the acquisition of nuclear weapons for non-nuclear-states, and a commitment on behalf of nuclear-states to pursue nuclear disarmament and to share the peaceful benefits of nuclear technology.

*To receive full marks candidates must define the term and briefly explain NPT provisions.*

- (b) **Define what you understand by the source’s reference to “global arms control talks” (line 19).** [2 marks]

The term “arms control” refers to limitation in the production, stockpiling and use of weapons. Through the phrase “global arms control talks” the source refers to the 65-nation Conference on Disarmament, an international forum established in 1979 to discuss and negotiate arms control and disarmament agreements.

*To receive full marks candidates must define the term and refer to the source.*

- (c) **With reference to the source and your own knowledge, assess the strengths and limitations of the 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) (line 5).** [4 marks]

As the source explains, “the 1991 START, signed just before the break-up of the Soviet Union, bounds both sides [The USA and Russia] to deep cuts in their nuclear arsenals”.

As to strengths, candidates could describe START as the most extensive and complex arms control agreement ever negotiated, which by 2001 allowed for the removal of approximately 80 % of all existing strategic nuclear weapons. In fact, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine surrendered their nuclear power; and the USA and Russia reduced delivery vehicles to 1600 each and limited warheads to 6000. Moreover, the source praises START in that it is *verifiable*.

As to limitations, candidates could discuss problems in its implementation: the US State Department report “Adherence to and Compliance With Arms Control, Non-proliferation and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments” (2010) contended that Russia had not fully complied with START by 2009. The source suggests this when stating: “the agreement should include effective verification measures drawn up from our experience in implementing START”.

*Do not expect all of the above. For a Level 2 to be awarded, markers should ensure that candidates deal with both, strengths and limitations, and refer to the source.*

- (d) **Using state level analysis, and with reference to the source, account for the difficulties encountered in attempts at arms control.** [4 marks]

Common to an academic study of World Politics and IR is the description of the International System in terms of Systems, State and Individual Level Analyses. A State Level Analysis examines the nature, structure and functioning of particular states and the domestic pressures that prevail.

The enforcement of arms control agreements often depends on the willingness of governments to abide by them. Hence, candidates could describe any number of domestic pressures that could force governments into circumventing the terms of an agreement or ending participation in a treaty (these could include economic, political or ideological factors). Candidates could also suggest that the prevailing form of government also influences adherence to arms control agreements, as democratic regimes tend to abide by international rules.

*Do not expect all of the above. For a **Level 2** to be awarded, markers should ensure that candidates applied state level analysis and referred to the source.*

- (e) **With reference to the source and other examples, evaluate the strengths and limitations of arms control agreements in dealing with the security dilemma.** [8 marks]

The security dilemma, introduced by John Herz in the 1950s, stipulates that increases in arms capabilities by a state can disrupt international order (other states may now regard it as a threat, and act to prevent further disruption in the balance of power); while a weakness in terms of arms capabilities of a state may have the same disruptive power (if any state perceives the status quo powers as weak, it may resolve to attack). Arms control was devised during the 1950s and 1960s as a means of breaking with the security dilemma by preventing arms races and bringing strategic stability. Candidates should discuss if such an approach was effective in preventing the conflict that arises as a consequence of misperceptions of relative strategic power in the international system.

As to strengths, candidates could suggest that arms control agreements deal with the security dilemma by breaking the state of anarchy and the lack of trust and misperception in which this develops. Mutual security between partners is increased, hence removing causes for conflict and increasing stability in the international system. Candidates could suggest that SALT I (1972), SALT II (1979) and the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (1987) prevented the Cold War from going hot in 1970–1990; or that, as the source contends, START I (1991) and START II (1993) improved relations between the USA and Russia.

As to limitations, candidates could examine how arms control attempts during 1919-1933 failed to prevent the outbreak of a Second World War; they could suggest that lack of direct conflict between the USA and USSR during 1970–1990 was the result of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) Theory rather than arms control; or could suggest that arms control did not prove effective in deterring conflict in Korea.

*Other examples could be examined. If the evaluation is poorly handled, only one side of the argument is presented, or reference to the source is missing, answers should be granted a maximum of **Level 2**.*