GENERAL COMMENTS
The 2012 Global Politics examination was the first examination under the revised VCE Global Politics Study Design. Overall, the examination was handled well by the majority of students; however, there appeared to be some confusion as to which specific examples could be used to answer certain questions. The majority of students completed the examination paper in the allotted two-hour time period.

Time management is crucial and the best way for students to prepare for the examination is to practise examination questions under strict time conditions. Students must make good use of the reading time by considering how they will respond to each of the questions. Students should develop a specific plan for responding to the essay question in Section B before they begin their essay.

Good examination technique is very important. When students continue their answer(s) in the extra pages at the end of the examination booklet, they must clearly indicate this on the question page and on the extra page(s) at the end of the booklet. Only black or blue pen should be used when writing answers. Students should respond directly to short-answer questions; for example, good answers to Questions 5 and 12 needed no more than two concise sentences. There is no need to restate the question.

Some students used pre-prepared responses that bore little relevance to the question they were answering. This rarely results in a successful response. Students who carefully structured their answers to the actual question asked, referred to the question and included concise and relevant evidence were able to score high marks.

Most students understood the fundamental concepts and demonstrated a satisfactory understanding of the content of the study. However, many students did not carefully read the instructions provided on the examination paper, especially in the short-answer section on Power in the Asia-Pacific region. Although the examination clearly stated that ‘one of the following five states must be used …’, some students wrote on more than one state in response to Questions 6, 7 and 8. The examination also clearly stated that types and forms of power used ‘must be within the region’; again, many students included inappropriate examples from outside the region, such as China’s foreign policy initiatives in Africa and/or the Caribbean, Australia’s relationship with India and/or the involvement of both Australia and the United States in military conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. The states included in the Asia-Pacific region for the purposes of the study are listed on page 36 of the study design. Students should also be made aware that all of the key terms used in Units 3 and 4 are defined in the glossary that appears in the study design on pages 50–54.

Students should focus on using appropriate contemporary examples to support their explanations of key concepts in Section B.

SPECIFIC INFORMATION
Note: Student responses reproduced in this report have not been corrected for grammar, spelling or factual information.
This report provides sample answers or an indication of what the answers may have included. Unless otherwise stated, these are not intended to be exemplary or complete responses.

Section A

Global actors

Question 1a.

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The objectives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are to

- promote exchange rate stability
- promote international monetary cooperation
- assist in maintaining a multilateral system of payments
- provide resources to members experiencing balance of payments difficulties
- promote high employment and sustainable economic growth and reduce poverty around the world.
The IMF was created at the end of the Second World War, along with the World Bank. The IMF has a specific focus on overseeing a framework for economic cooperation to help avoid some of the economic issues that contributed to the Great Depression in the 1930s, which was one of the main causes of the Second World War.

This question was not well answered by many students. Although this was a one-mark question, students needed to show a clear and sound understanding of one of the IMF’s objectives. Many students displayed a very vague understanding, choosing to truncate an objective and in the process not indicating a clear understanding. Students and teachers should also note that a mechanism of the IMF is not an objective.

**Question 1b.**

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This question was very well answered. The specific example selected by students needed to be in the 21st century. No explanation was necessary – just reference to a specific action, for example

- loans to Greece
- loans to Hungary
- loans to Jamaica
- loans to Bolivia
- loans to Romania
- technical assistance provided to Australia.

**Question 2**

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This question asked students to describe one of the roles of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Students could have described a role of the ICC generically; for example, to

- prosecute accused war criminals
- assist national judiciaries to investigate and prosecute the worst perpetrators of atrocities
- uphold and promote human rights through deterring future violations.

Alternatively, students could have used specific examples to support their response; for example, Thomas Ludango Dylio or war criminals such as Ratko Mladic. Either approach was fine, but the role of the ICC needed to be clearly stated. On the whole, this question was well answered by the majority of students.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

> The ICC came into existence in 2002 and is a permanent court with the power to try individuals accused of mass atrocity crimes. This ensures that the worst perpetrators are held accountable for their actions. This was illustrated in March this year when Thomas Lubango Dylio was found guilty of conscripting and enlisting children and using them in hostilities between September 2002 and August 2003.

**Question 3**

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To gain full marks for this question, students had to clearly show how state sovereignty could be challenged rather than just describing a situation’s impact on the sovereignty of a state. The study design lists the following challenges to state sovereignty

- regional groupings; for example, the EU, the Arab League and NATO
- changing and contested borders; for example, islands in the South China Seas, Kosovo, Sudan and South Sudan, and South Ossetia and Georgia
- issues and crises that require multilateral resolution; for example, the WTO dispute settlement mechanism, IMF loans, the Kyoto Protocol and Australia’s carbon tax, and humanitarian intervention in Libya.

Students could also discuss challenges to state sovereignty outside of those listed in the study design.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.
States sovereignty can be challenged by regional groupings, where aspects of states sovereignty are transferred ‘upwards’ to a supranational organisation. This challenge is evident in the role of the European Union (EU) in the current sovereign debt crisis in Greece. In exchange for a number of separate bailout packages funded by the EU and IMF in May 2010, July 2011 and February 2012, the national government of Greece has been forced to implement significant austerity measures. These macroeconomic reforms, which include measures such as: cuts in public sector jobs and wages, reduction in state pension benefits represent a direct diminishment of Greece’s economic sovereignty.

Question 4

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This question was very challenging for many students. It appeared that, while many students understood some aspects of the power possessed by transnational corporations (TNCs), they experienced difficulty in translating their discussion to how trade specifically can enhance the political power of a TNC. Ideally, a detailed discussion of both positive and negative impacts of a TNC’s power was appropriate.

To access full marks, any specific examples of the power of a TNC, such as trade statistics, needed to be from the 21st century. Responses that were less specific – that is, theoretical responses that did not explicitly show how the power of TNCs can be influenced by trade – could not be awarded full marks.

Common examples of TNC political power that were used included:
- in Nigeria ‘how Shell knew everything that was being done in those ministries’ (WikiLeaks); however, there had to be specific links to relevant trade statistics
- BHP’s involvement in the Freeport copper mine in West Papua
- Rio Tinto’s and BHP’s political pressure on the current Australian Government’s Carbon Price Scheme and the Minerals Rent Resource Tax (MRRT).

Power in the Asia-Pacific region

In this section of the examination paper
- students could use only one of the following five states: Australia, China, Indonesia, Japan or the United States of America
- the types and forms of power used by the specific Asia-Pacific state had to be within the region.

Question 5

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To gain full marks, students needed to identify the key element of pragmatism as it relates to global politics and link it to other relevant concepts like realism. For example, ‘a school of thought in which foreign policy is influenced by practical and pragmatic considerations, as opposed to moral principles’. Students who made only one point did not receive full marks; however, sound definitions that were supported by a clear and relevant example could score full marks.

Question 6

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In this question, students needed to describe one factor that helped to shape the national interest of an Asia-Pacific state. The ‘national interest’ is shaped by factors such as
- state formation
- cultural and ethnic identity
- ideology
- historical links
- relationships to foreign powers.

Students were not restricted to just these factors; they could have referred to another element of the national interest that is not listed in the study design but that is relevant to this topic.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response using China as the Asia-Pacific state.
The existence of a number of secessionist groups within China’s defined borders has shaped its national interest of territorial integrity. The threat posed by such groups within regions such as Tibet, Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang has prompted the government in Beijing to often respond with force to deter demand for greater autonomy so as maintain the authority of the government and strengthen its control.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response using Australia as the Asia-Pacific state.

One factor that has shaped Australia’s national interest of border security is the arrival of asylum seekers by boats in northern Australia. In dealing with this matter in more recent years, Australian governments have adopted pragmatic policies. Policies such as the Howard government’s Pacific Solution where asylum seekers arriving by boat were transferred to detention centres on Nauru and PNG’s Manus Island for processing to strengthen Australia’s border security.

**Question 7**

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This question asked students to explain how military power has been used by an Asia-Pacific state as a foreign policy instrument. Students had to clearly identify why the state had used military power (that is, the aim) when explaining its use. There was no requirement for students to evaluate whether the aim was achieved.

There were some common mistakes made by students that need to be addressed. When using China as an Asia-Pacific state, the examples of China’s use of military power as a foreign policy instrument must have occurred outside its own defined borders. Hence, students who only detailed the use of military power in Tibet, Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia did not receive any marks. Some students who focused on Indonesia also encountered difficulties and often cited examples of military power within Indonesia’s borders.

Another area of concern was when students cited examples of military power that were not within the specified region. Students who focused on Australia or the USA and chose the example of military involvement in Iraq and/or Afghanistan did not receive any marks, as these states are not in the defined Asia-Pacific region.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response using China as the Asia-Pacific state.

Military power has been used by China as a means of deterring potential threats to its territorial integrity. For example, the public unveiling of a newly refurbished aircraft carrier in September 2012, demonstrated a clear assertion of military power intended to serve as a warning to states in the region against the on going disputes in the South China Sea.

Secondly the test launch of a ballistic missile in 2007 to destroy a defunct satellite served as a deterrence measure to other states in the Asia-Pacific region. Finally China’s troop contribution to UN peacekeeping missions serves to promote a positive international image of the state.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response using Australia as the Asia-Pacific state.

Australia has utilised military power in East Timor (INTERFET & ASTUTE) and the Solomon Islands (RAMSI). The deployment of many troops to these Asia-Pacific states was done in a bid to assist the region to return to stability as both states were experiencing political and social turmoil and therefore subsequently achieve and boost security in the region assisting Australia’s interests.

Intervention took the form of ‘peacekeeping’ demonstrates how Australia utilises its military power to help avoid the spread of instability in the region.

**Question 8**

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Students had to explain how economic power has been used by an Asia-Pacific state as a foreign policy instrument. As in the previous question, there were some common mistakes made by some students that need to be addressed.

Any specific example(s) used must have been from within the Asia-Pacific region in the 21st century. The example(s) also had to be external to the state, as the question specified ‘foreign policy instrument’. Consequently, examples that included action in Africa (Oil for Aid), the Middle East and the Caribbean were not accepted.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response using Australia as the Asia-Pacific state.
Australia has used economic power as a foreign policy instrument to pursue an increase in the number of trade agreements it has. For example, the Australia-US free trade agreement, ‘AUSFTA’, was signed in January 2005. Consequently, US investment in Australia increased by $37.5 billion between 2005 and 2006. This boost in investment contributed to boost in the Australian economy.

Australia has also used its economic power to encourage states to co-operate and support specific government decisions aiming to improve Australia’s border security. Under the Howard governments so called ‘Pacific Solution’ $3.5 billion dollars in aid was given to the developing state of Nauru, in return for their agreement to house and operate the offshore processing of asylum seekers looking to come to Australia, whom the federal government wanted to discourage from doing as it posed a threat to Australia’s national security.

Ethical issues and debates

Question 9

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Students were required to use one specific example of how global actors have responded to an issue. A broad range of relevant global actors was accepted; for example, states, non-state actors, transnational corporations and institutions of global governance. Better responses clearly showed how these actors have specifically responded to one of the following issues: human rights; people movement; development, focusing on poverty and inequality; or arms control and disarmament.

Students had to describe a specific example (theoretical responses were not accepted) and the example needed to be from the 21st century.

This question appeared to be somewhat challenging for some students. A number of students limited their performance on this question by only describing one global actor, or by describing a response to a global issue that occurred before the year 2000; for example, the creation of the Kyoto Protocol in 1997.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

In November 2011, the Arab League responded to ongoing gross human rights violations in the Syrian crisis by expelling it from the organisation and imposing economic and diplomatic sanctions on them. On the other hand, the United Nations actions have been limited in part due to permanent Security Council members, Russia and China using their veto power to stop the Security Council passing resolutions aimed at creating a peacekeeping force to enter Syria.

Attempts at brokering a peace plan by UN envoy Kofi Annan in 2011 were also not very successful. The monitoring mission UNSMIS had some limited success before it was disbanded in August due to ongoing safety concerns.

Question 10a.

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For this question, students were allowed to identify and use a pre-21st century law or treaty. However, the selected issue needed to be from the following list: human rights; people movement; development, focusing on poverty and inequality; and arms control and disarmament. Responses that did not address one of these issues were not awarded any marks.

There are many treaties available for students to use, including: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the Geneva Convention (1949), the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1970), the Conventions on the Rights of the Child (1990), the Convention to End Discrimination Against Women (1981), the Convention on Cluster Munitions (2008) and the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951). The recently discussed Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) was not accepted, as it is not at present a functioning law/treaty.

The year the convention came into effect did not have to be provided, but if it was then the correct year had to be given. A valid convention/treaty with an incorrect year of commencement was not awarded any marks.

Question 10b.

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This question asked students to explain the impact of the international law/treaty they chose in part a. on the chosen issue. In this instance, impact referred to:

- evidence of the law/treaty’s implementation; for example, annual reports on the state of children’s rights globally
- effects within states that have ratified the law/treaty; for example, the destruction of cluster munitions stockpiles.

Alternatively, the specific lack of an impact of the law/treaty could have been used; for example:

- the law/treaty cannot be upheld
- the law/treaty is not enforceable
- lack of ratification by key states reduces its effectiveness; for example, the USA and Cluster Munitions, Rights of the Child, etc.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), known as the ‘international bill of rights for women’ has had some impact on the issue of human rights. While ratification by many states is crucial for the treaties’ effectiveness, some states such as Saudi Arabia, have issued reservations to article 44, which allows them to pass laws that in effect contravene the treaty on religious grounds.

On the other hand, CEDAW has had a very positive impact on the lives of many women in Jordan. Women there are now allowed to own property and have greater freedom of movement, unlike many women in Saudi Arabia. CEDAW also played a role in Saudi Arabia sending its first ever-female competitor to the 2012 London Summer Olympic Games.

A debate implies that there are two perspectives; therefore, students needed to clearly show both sides of the debate to receive full marks. Students who explained the ethical debate in only a theoretical context could receive full marks.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response.

The ongoing debate regarding obligations to strangers versus a states national interest of security lies at the heart of the issue of people movement. A cosmopolitan perspective argues that as all humans belong to one moral community, there should be no distinction between so called ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’, consequently offering protection to the less fortunate, who pose no threat to a states security, should be protected in all circumstances.

On the other hand, realists would argue that a state is only obligated to protect its own population and territory. Therefore refugees or asylum seekers should not be afforded any extra protection.

These two contrasting arguments can be seen in Australia in recent years where various federal governments have adopted a variety of measures that either strongly uphold the principles of realism (‘Pacific Solution’ under Hovard and now Gillard, the proposed ‘Malaysia Solution’) or more Cosmopolitan based policies regarding the treatment of refugees that featured prominently during the Rudd government years (2007–2010).

To gain full marks, students needed to make two clear points regarding the concept of crisis diplomacy as it relates to global politics; for example, ‘negotiations between actors in the global political arena in response to crisis, most commonly concerning conflicts and natural disasters, but also economic and health care’. Students who made only one point did not receive full marks; however, a sound definition that was supported by a clear and relevant example could score full marks.
Question 13

This question asked students to provide one example of international cooperation; therefore, students had to give an example of ‘when several global actors work or worked together to achieve common ideals and goals’. The example had to be from the 21st century. Appropriate examples included the:

- prevention of global terrorism through the multilateral invasion of Afghanistan
- intervention in Libya in 2011 to uphold human rights
- the Copenhagen or Rio conferences on climate change
- meetings of the G20 in response to the Global Financial Crisis
- IMF, EU and ECB cooperation on the EU Sovereign Debt Crisis.

Question 14

Responses needed to relate to one of the crises listed on the examination paper:

- environmental degradation
- interstate conflict
- non-state terrorism
- economic instability.

Students were afforded some leeway for describing some longer-term pre-2000 causes; however, these longer-term causes could not be the only causes given.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response on the causes of economic instability:

*One cause of economic instability as manifested in the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) was the deregulation of the US banking system. Over an extended period of time, but most notable since 2001, elements of the Glass-Steagall Act governing the operation of commercial banks and investment banks has been weakened allowing commercial banks to own investment banks and permitted ‘super-banks’ to rise and lend to speculators, packaging and securitisising Credit Default Swaps selling them off, to often unsuspecting customers worldwide.*

*Another cause of the GFC was the high level of interdependency of financial markets facilitated by economic globalisation. For example, UK bank Northern Rock, and Iceland’s largest bank Kaupthing both collapsed in part to the actions of lenders in the US economy leaving them heavily exposed to unsustainable debt levels and collapsing depositor confidence levels due to the global spread of contagion.*

Question 15

In the final question for Section A, students had to describe two challenges to the effective resolution of another crisis. The crisis selected had to be from the list at the top of page 8 of the examination paper and had to be a different crisis to the one they had used for Question 14.

‘Challenges’ is a broad term that could be linked to:

- a lack of viable solutions
- levels of violence used
- the conferring of authority to terrorist organisations
- questioning of facts and data
- ideological differences.

Responses could have described only one aspect of a crisis; for example, state terrorism or intrastate conflict.

The following is an example of a high-scoring response on intrastate conflict.

*Two challenges to the effective resolution of the intrastate conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) are the extensive natural resources of the state and the lack of stability in the government of the DRC. Large deposits of globally demanded minerals such as coltan (80% of known world reserves) and copper (60% of known world reserves) have been a*
significant source of income for various organisations opposed to the government to fund their significant military operations. As a result the conflict in the DRC has been going on for nearly thirty years, with no real prospect for peace in the near future.

A second impediment to resolution has been failure of governments, many of which have been brutal dictatorships to develop strong and well-organised public institutions. As a result instability, poor planning and corruption are common features that have hindered the adoption of coherent policies to counter rebel groups such as March 23rd (M23) supported in part by forces outside of the DRC to grow and flourish.

**Section B – Essay**

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The more successful students used the essay as an opportunity to write a detailed, well-constructed and relevant response to one of the questions. Students did not need to rewrite the essay topic. They did, however, have to clearly indicate in the space provided which topic they were writing on.

Less successful students often
- used prepared responses that did not relate to the question
- included unsubstantiated generalisations
- provided personal commentary and thoughts that were irrelevant to the topic
- did not use appropriate or relevant evidence to support their work
- presented a purely descriptive response that did not discuss the topic
- used weak arguments that indicated a less than thorough understanding of the study.

**Question 1**

This was not a particularly popular essay topic. Many students answered this question by comparing the power and influence of a state or states to other global actors. However, students needed to also discuss the power and influence of the state if they were to gain high marks.

Common arguments used by students included
- state sovereignty is the underlying principle in global politics
- states are the ‘masters of treaties’ and they choose which non-state actors they will and will not cooperate with
- in more recent years, state power has been challenged to various degrees by actors such as the
  o UN – the war in Afghanistan
  o IMF – bailing out indebted sovereign states, such as Greece with the EU
  o sanctions by the Arab League on states such as Syria
  o NATO intervention in Libya
  o TNCs – such as Shell in Nigeria
  o use of social media to galvanise public opinion by groups such as GetUp, Amnesty International, Change.org and Invisible Children
  o actions by terrorist organisations such as al Qaeda, al Shabbab, M23 and FARC.

The following is an example of a good introductory paragraph.

*States are the most powerful actors in the world. Holding vast resources, territorial sovereignty, representation in major international organisations and the power to regulate/manage the majority of non-state actors, states have considerable power and the ability/right to use it. While some smaller, poorer and weaker states can be swayed by the influence of some non-state actors, more powerful states as well as the state system are clearly here to stay. Neither intergovernmental organisations such as the UN and WTO, NGOs like the Red Cross and Gates Foundation and TNCs like Shell can challenge the sovereignty of larger states, they may have more power than some weaker states.*

**Question 2**

This was the most popular essay topic, with the majority of students who selected this topic focusing on China. For this topic, students needed to provide an in-depth discussion of both soft and hard forms of power to receive high marks. An essay that discussed only hard or soft power could not receive full marks, no matter how detailed the discussion was.
Students need to clearly state whether or not soft power is ‘equal’ to hard power. There also needed to be some assessment or evaluation of the importance of soft power in comparison to hard power in pursuit of the state’s national interest. Hard power is typically characterised as military power, but can also include actions such as economic or trade sanctions, and the expulsion of diplomats. Students needed to discuss the use of power in pursuit of the national interest of a state; that is, what was the aim of the use of power?

The following is an example of a good introductory paragraph.

As a burgeoning military power, China has used hard power in a concerted manner in pursuit of its national interests, outlined at the 17th Annual Communist Party Congress: territorial integrity, economic development, a peaceful rise and the creation of a harmonious society. However, the use of hard power, referring to the use or intended use of coercion to influence other global actors has by necessity been accompanied by an extensive use of soft power. Soft power refers to the ability to shape the actions of other actors most commonly through culture, diplomacy and economic actions. The balance application of both hard and soft power has been necessary for China’s achievement of relative success an all aspects of its national interest.

Question 3
This topic was the least popular. In their essays, students needed to discuss in some detail the influence of the specific responses of a number of global actors on one of the four listed ethical issues. Influences could include things such as
  - galvanising public opinion
  - promoting a specific cause
  - extracting from the government of the state a commitment or action
  - increasing or decreasing pressure on the specific ethical issue.

Students who only described the various responses of global actors with little or no reference to the influence on the specific ethical issue struggled to receive more than half marks.

The following is an example of a good introductory paragraph.

The responses of global actors to the issue of human rights have influenced the way in which effective resolutions to human rights abuses are perceived. Through a discussion of the ways in which global actors respond to rights namely, by the signing and ratification of international laws and treaties, the lobbying by numerous non government organisations (NGOs) as well as the direct involvement by the international community, it can be seen that recent responses by global actors have influenced states to better understand ultimately, it is their role within the global political arena that determines the effectiveness of responses to human rights issues.

Question 4
This was the second most popular essay topic. Students were required to discuss in detail the effectiveness of different responses and solutions to one of the four global crises listed. Students needed to clearly state the aim of a response/solution and then the extent to which this aim was achieved. Students could also have chosen to discuss why particular responses/solutions were not effective, but this was not necessary to receive full marks. Students did not have to evaluate the effectiveness of various responses/solutions to attain full marks.

Students who selected either intra and interstate conflict or state and non-state terrorism had to refer to both aspects of the crisis within their essay. This reference/discussion did not have to be equal or balanced.

The following is an example of a good introductory paragraph.

The effective resolution to intra and interstate conflict is naturally contingent of the responses of key global actors. With regards to the intra-state conflict occurring in Syria, various states and international government organisations (IGOs) have responded in differing ways to the conflict. However, the ongoing and currently unresolved nature of the Syrian conflict suggests responses so far been very limited in their effectiveness. In a similar aspect, states and IGOs have responded in quite differing ways to the interstate conflict in Afghanistan, attempting to resolve a longer conflict that is quite complex and violent.