A. Data-based Questions

*Topic 3*

International cooperation and regional politics since 1945: China, Japan and Southeast Asia
1. **Study Sources A and B.**

**SOURCE A**

The following is adapted from a book on the foreign policy of the People’s Republic of China after 1976.

Major changes have taken place in China’s domestic politics and foreign policy since 1976. In 1978, the Chinese government concluded a Sino-Japanese peace and friendship treaty that included an anti-hegemonic clause. That same year, China and the U.S. established formal diplomatic relations and in the joint communiqué, both sides reaffirmed the principle of anti-hegemony.


**SOURCE B**

The following text is an extract from the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and the People’s Republic of China signed in 1978.

The Contracting Parties shall develop lasting relations of peace and friendship between the two countries on the basis of mutual respect for the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-intervention in each other’s internal affairs, mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

In accordance with the aforementioned principles and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Contracting Parties affirm that, in their mutual relations, they will use peaceful means to settle all disputes and will refrain from the use of force or the threats of the use thereof.


(a) What was the leading principle of the diplomacy of the People’s Republic of China after 1976, as reflected in Source A? Identify one clue from Source A to support your answer. (1+1 mark)
(b) Did the signing of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1978 between the People’s Republic of China and Japan reflect the principle you identified in part (a)? Explain your answer with reference to Source B. (4 marks)

(c) Do Sources A and B adequately reflect the diplomatic relations between the People’s Republic of China and her Asian neighbours during the period 1976-2000? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A and B, and using your own knowledge. (7 marks)

Question 1
Suggested answers and reference for assessment

(a) Leading principle of the diplomacy of the PRC after 1976 [1+1 mark]

Leading principle (paraphrasing is necessary): [1 mark]
- Avoiding the appearance of a single dominating force in the international community

Clue: [1 mark]
- Both Japan and the U.S. agreed with China on the principle of anti-hegemony.

(b) Whether the signing of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1978 between the PRC and Japan reflect the principle identified in part (a) [4 marks]

L1 General answer without due reference to the Source [max. 2]

L2 Well-explained answer with due reference to the Source [max. 4]

Whether the treaty reflected the principle of anti-hegemony:

- Yes

- Clues:
  * “…develop lasting relations of peace and friendship between the two countries on the basis of mutual respect for the principles of sovereignty ….”
  * “…they will use peaceful means to settle all disputes and will refrain from the use of force or the threats of the use thereof”
Explanation:
- By promising to resort to peaceful means and mutual respect for various peaceful principles, the two signatories agreed to settle any future conflict by peaceful negotiation on equal basis, without one country subjugating the other under military or political force.

(c) Whether Sources A and B adequately reflect the diplomatic relations between the PRC and her Asian neighbours during the period 1976-2000.

L1 Rough answer, merely a narration of diplomatic history between the two countries [max. 2]

L2 Lopsided answer focusing merely on either usefulness or limitations [max. 4]

L3 Comprehensive answer covering both usefulness and limitations [max. 7]

Usefulness, e.g.:
- (Source A) In 1978, the People’s Republic of China formalized its relations with Japan, and they agreed with each other on the principle of anti-hegemony.

- (Source B) The treaty of 1978 specified the settling of Sino-Japanese conflicts by peaceful means and the pledge to mutual respect of sovereign, territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-intervention and peaceful coexistence.

Limitations, e.g.:
Sources A and B fail to reflect the following:
- The dispute of sovereignty over the Diaoyu Islands, as well as the disagreement on the Japanese editing of History textbooks concerning the Japanese invasion of China from 1937 to 1945 periodically worsened the diplomatic relations between the PRC and Japan.

- The territorial disputes over certain islands in the South China Sea with Vietnam
2. Study Sources C and D.

SOURCE C

The following text is quoted from CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang’s report to the 12th CPC Congress in 1982.

“Our adherence to an independent foreign policy accords with discharging out lofty international duty to safeguard world peace and promote human progress. In the 33 years since the founding of our People’s Republic, we have shown the world by deeds that China never attaches itself to any big power or group of powers and never yields to pressure from any big power.”


SOURCE D

The following text is adapted from a book on Japan’s foreign policy with China.

Since ‘normalization’ there have undoubtedly been significant gains in political, economic and cultural relationships between China and Japan. The first accomplishment was the ‘normalization’ of diplomatic relations itself. As a result, hostilities ceased and recognition was accorded to differences in institutional and political systems. There has also been remarkable increase in two-way visitor traffic, growing from 9,000 in 1972 to over two million in 1998. By 1998, the number of Chinese students who studied in Japan reached thirty thousand. [In economy], both China and Japan [have contributed] to development and stability in the Asian region.


(a) Identify the main objective of the foreign policy of the People’s Republic of China during the early 1980s, as reflected in Source C. Support your answer with relevant clues from Source C. (1+2 marks)

(b) Refer to Source D. What was the author’s attitude towards the development of Sino-Japanese relations from the early 1970s to the late 1990s? Explain your answer with reference to Source D and using your own knowledge. (4 marks)
(c) What are the usefulness and limitations of Sources C and D in reflecting the development of Sino-Japanese relations during the second half of the 20th century? Explain your answer with reference to Sources C and D and using your own knowledge. (6 marks)

**Question 2**

**Suggested answers and reference for assessment**

(a) **Main objective of the foreign policy of the PRC during the 1980s** [1+2 marks]

   **Main objective:** [1 mark]
   - To maintain diplomatic independence

   **Clues:** [2 marks, each]
   - “our adherence to an independent foreign policy” [1 mark]
   - “never attaches itself to any big power or groups of powers and never yields to pressure from any big power”

(b) **Author’s attitude towards the development of Sino-Japanese relations from the early 1970s to the late 1990s** [4 marks]

   **L1** Rough answer attempting to summarize the Source without elaboration on author’s attitude [max. 2]

   **L2** Well-explained answer able to elaborate on author’s attitude [max. 4]

**Author’s attitude:**

- Positive / approving

- **Clues:**
  - “…there have undoubtedly been significant gains in political, economic and cultural relationships between China and Japan.”
  - “The first accomplishment was …”
Explanations:
- The Source one-sidedly mentioned various political, economic and cultural benefits brought by the normalization of diplomatic relations between the PRC and Japan.
- The PRC was undergoing the Reform and Opening Up period and opened herself for more political, economic and cultural contacts with Japan, which had experienced a few decades of economic growth and boom (from the 1950s to 1970s). It was, therefore, a period for the PRC to absorb the successful experience of Japan through building a cooperative relationship.

(c) Usefulness and limitations of Sources C and D in reflecting the development of Sino-Japanese relations during the 2nd half of the 20th century

L1 Lopsided answer focusing on either usefulness or limitations [max. 3]

L2 Comprehensive answer covering both usefulness and limitations [max. 6]

Usefulness, e.g.:
- (Source C) The PRC did not yield to any country in the 1980s. This was due to the PRC’s “adherence to an independent foreign policy” as said by Hu Yaobang in 1982. This principle also applied to Sino-Japanese relations in the same period.
- (Source D) The PRC experienced steady progress in political, economic and cultural relationships with Japan during the period 1972-1998. Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations were formalized; military hostilities ceased; mutual differences were respected; two-way visitor traffic increased; and academic exchange flourished.

Limitations, e.g.:
Sources C and D fail to reflect the following:
- The Sino-Japanese territorial dispute over the Diaoyu Islands, and
- The intermittently worsening Sino-Japanese relations due to the Japanese Prime Minister’s visit to the Yasukuni Shrine and the Japanese government’s attempt at cleansing the history of Japanese invasion of China from school textbooks.
3. Study Sources E and F.

SOURCE E

The following text is adapted from a book published in the early 1980s on the status of China in world politics.

In 1977, Sino-Japanese trade was greater than that with the Soviet Union and the European Economic Community. China also sought technical and financial collaboration with Japan for the development of some of the major industrial projects involving investments of over $6 billion. It is likewise interesting to consider the help sought by the Chinese from Japan for a) the construction of world’s largest and most modern steelworks; b) the construction of three giant integrated lead-zinc production plants; c) the joint development of jet aircraft engines.


SOURCE F

The following text is adapted from a book published in the early 1990s on the modernization of the People’s Republic of China.

Since 1979, China has been determined to develop its modernization program and to establish a socialist China with a modern economy and political stability. To reach this goal, China has to open itself to the outside world and strengthen its foreign relations. The Four Modernizations are a premise for the open door policy, the purpose of which is to attract foreign capital, expand trade and develop science and technology. The establishment of special economic zones and the opening of 14 coastal cities are major steps in opening the country to the outside world.


(a) What kind of relationship did the People’s Republic of China foster with Japan in 1977? Support your answer with relevant clues from Source E. (1+2 marks)

(b) Refer to Source F. Did the People’s Republic of China foster the same relationship as you identified in part (a) with other countries after 1979? Explain your answer with reference to Source F. (4 marks)
(c) “During the period 1976-2000, the relationships between the People’s Republic of China and its Asian neighbours were solely based on economic motives.” Do you agree? Explain your answer with reference to Sources E and F and using your own knowledge. (7 marks)

Question 3

Suggested answers and reference for assessment

(a) Kind of relationship fostered by the PRC with Japan in 1977 [1+2 marks]

Kind of relationship: [1 mark]
- Trading partners / economically cooperative relationship

Clues (any two): [2 marks, each]
- “Sino-Japanese trade was greater than that with the Soviet Union and the European Economic Community…” [1 mark]
- “China also sought technical and financial collaboration with Japan …”
- “the help sought by the Chinese from Japan for … c) the joint development of jet aircraft engines”

(b) Whether the PRC fostered the same relationship with other countries after 1979 [4 marks]

L1 General answer without due reference to the Source [max. 2]
L2 Comprehensive answer with due reference to the Source [max. 4]

Whether the PRC fostered the same relationship with other countries:

- Yes

- Clues:
  * “…. the open door policy, the purpose of which is to attract foreign capital, expand trade…."
  * “The establishment of special economic zones and the opening of 14 coastal cities are major steps in opening the country to the outside world.”
Explanation:

- Since the beginning of the Reform and Opening Up, the PRC opened her door to attract foreign investment from various Asian and non-Asian countries.

- Since 1978, the PRC showed determination to establish strong economic ties with Asian neighbours through industrial, commercial and financial activities, and took these as the basis of diplomatic relations.

(c) “During the period 1976-2000, the relationships between the People’s Republic of China and its Asian neighbours were solely based on economic motives.” Do you agree?

L1 Rough answer, unable to express any stance on the statement; merely narrating the development of diplomatic relations in the given period

L2 Able to express stance on the statement but fail to justify the stance; lopsided to either the Sources or one’s own knowledge

L3 Able to express and justify the stance; comprehensive answer covering both the Sources and one’s own knowledge

Based on economic motives, e.g.:

- (Source E) The PRC strengthened its trading relationship with Japan in order to absorb Japanese experience and technology in building steelworks, lead-zinc production plans and jet aircraft engines, as well as facilitate the grander scheme of Reform and Opening Up.

- (Source F) The PRC strengthened its foreign relations with its neighbours and opened its door to international trade since the Reform and Opening Up, in order to attract foreign capital, expand trade and development science and technology, which were all for the economic well-being of the PRC.

- (own knowledge) The diplomatic relations between the PRC and Southeast Asian nations were based on the economic motive of purchasing various raw materials from Southeast Asian countries (e.g. rubber from Malaysia) for the development of the flourishing Chinese industries.
Based on other motives, e.g.:

- (own knowledge) The PRC’s involvement in the ASEAN was also based on the motive of extending its principle of anti-hegemony, i.e. avoiding the rise of a single predominant power in the Asia-Pacific Region. This was out of strategic and national security considerations.

- (own knowledge) The PRC’s relationships with all Asian neighbours were also based on the political motive of having all Asian neighbours recognize the “one China” principle, i.e. excluding the possibility of any country building formal diplomatic relations with Taiwan.
4. Study Sources G and H.

SOURCE G

The following text is adapted from a book published in the early 1980s on the foreign relations of the People’s Republic of China.

In its official media, China has taken the initiative to avoid further irritating non-Communist governments by reducing news about Communist activities in ASEAN states and in Burma. The Renmin Ribao, for example, for the second half of 1978 on, has published almost no articles of a Communist ideology-oriented nature, in contrast to the past when numerous such articles appeared, especially during the years 1966 to 1975. Instead, more news is carried in the Renmin Ribao concerning ASEAN’s activities in economy and in foreign affairs.


SOURCE H

The following text is a summary of China’s relation with Southeast Asia in 1999.

China has always looked at Southeast Asia as an integral part of its security environment. It values ASEAN for the role it may play in the realization of China’s desired vision of a multipolar order. Economic relations towards ASEAN, from China’s perspective, depend on common political and strategic interests, rather than expectation of purely economic gain. Southeast Asian countries, on the other hand, appear prepared to accept China’s legitimate interests in the region but fear that China’s ambition to become an Asia-Pacific military power could be at the expense of its smaller and weaker neighbors.

Source: A. Baviera’s, ‘China’s Relations with Southeast Asia: Political Security and Economic Interests,’ PASCN Discussion Paper 99-17 (1999), Abstract.

(a) Identify a major change in policy made by the People’s Republic of China to gain the trust of Southeast Asian countries in the late 1970s. Support your answer with relevant clues from Source G. (1+2 marks)
(b) Refer to Source H. What is the author’s view about the effectiveness of the People’s Republic of China in gaining the trust of Southeast Asian countries up to the late 1990s? Explain your answer with reference to Source H and using your own knowledge. (4 marks)

(c) Do Sources G and H adequately reflect the concerns of the People’s Republic of China in fostering diplomatic relations with its Asian neighbours? Explain your answer with reference to Sources G and H and using your own knowledge. (6 marks)

Question 4

Suggested answers and reference for assessment

(a) A major change in policy made by PRC to gain the trust of SE Asian countries in the late 1970s [1+2 marks]

**Major change in policy:** [1 mark]
- From reporting news about communist activities in SE Asian countries to merely reporting ASEAN’s economic and diplomatic activities

**Clues:** [2 marks, 1 mark each]
- “by reducing news about Communist activities in ASEA states and in Burma”
- “…published almost no articles of a Communist ideology-oriented nature, in contrast to the past when numerous such articles appeared”
- “more news is carried in the Renmin Ribao concerning ASEAN’s activities in economy and in foreign affairs”

(b) Author’s view about effectiveness of PRC in gaining trust of SE Asian countries up to the late 1990s [4 marks]

**L1** General answer without due reference to the Source [max. 2]

**L2** Well-explained answer with due reference to the Source [max. 4]

**Author’s view about effectiveness:**
- The PRC was not totally effective in gaining the trust of SE Asian countries.
- Clue: “but [SE Asian countries] fear that China’s ambition to become Asia-Pacific military power could be at the expense of its smaller and weaker neighbours”
Explanation:

- The rapid growth of economic power of the PRC fueled the growth of its military technology, including the building up of satellites and missiles, the expansion of the armed forces, as well as its diplomatic insistence on the “one-China” principle. This worried the SE Asian countries as they thought they might need to be subordinate to the PRC on diplomatic matters.

(c) Whether Sources G and H adequately reflect concerns of PRC in fostering diplomatic relations with Asian neighbours [6 marks]

Usefulness, e.g.:

- (Source G) The PRC’s concern was to win the trust of SE Asian countries and avoid irritating them by publishing news about communist activities in SE Asia.

- (Source H) The PRC’s concern was to maintain a stable environment in Asia which was favourable to the PRC’s security, the construction of a multipolar order, and SE Asian countries’ recognition of the PRC’s legitimate interests in Asia in various aspects.

Limitations, e.g.:

Sources G and H do not reflect the following concerns of the PRC’s diplomatic relations:

- Asian neighbours’ recognition of the “one-China” principle, e.g. recognizing the government of the PRC as the sole legitimate government of China.
5. Study Sources I and J.

SOURCE I

The following text is adapted from an article in a book published in 2000 on the role of Japan in Asia.

Japan is indisputably a leading regional power. Its influence in East and Southeast Asia is already enormous and is likely to continue. Japan has been a key player in the economic development of China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. Japan’s economic influence is obvious and politico-security ties are being established through a number of regional multilateral institutions such as the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, the ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). Some call this engagement Japan’s ‘Asianization’ while others describe it as Japan ‘rediscovering’ Asia.’


SOURCE J

The following text is adapted from another article found in the same book on the role of Japan in Asia.

In pan-Asian and/or international forums, more forceful and articulate positions are often expressed by some of the Southeast Asian countries, Singapore in particular, than by Japan, ASEM (the Asia-European Meeting), for example, was primarily a Southeast Asian initiative. Otherwise, China has emerged as the economic centre of Asia and is likely to remain so for the coming decades. It seems unlikely that within the next decade or so Japan will be able to aspire even to the kind of regional leadership which Germany exercises in Europe.

(a) Refer to Source I. What role did Japan play in Asia in the 1990s? Support your answer with relevant clues from Source I. (1+2 marks)

(b) Would the author of Source J agree on the role of Japan you pointed out in part (a)? Explain your answer with reference to Source J and using your own knowledge. (4 marks)

(c) “The influence of Japan has been gradually weakened by the influence of her Asian neighbours from the early 1980s to 2000.” Do you agree? Explain your answer with reference to Sources I and J. (4 marks)

**Question 5**

**Suggested answers and reference for assessment**

(a) **Role played by Japan in Asia in the 1990s** [1+2 marks]
   
   **Role of Asia:** [1 mark]
   
   - Leader in economic development and international cooperation

   **Clues (any two):** [2 marks, each]
   
   - “Japan is indisputably a leading regional power.” 1 mark
   
   - “Japan has been a key player in the economic development of China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, …”

   - “Japan’s economic influence is obvious and politico-security ties are being established through a number of regional multilateral institutions…”

(b) **Whether the author of Source J would agree on the role of Japan mentioned in part (a)** [4 marks]

   **L1** Vague answer merely attempting to elaborate the Source [max. 2]

   **L2** Well-explained answer elaborating the author’s stance with due reference to the Source [max. 4]
Whether the author would agree on the economic leading role of Japan:

- No

- Clues:
  
  * “More forceful and articulate positions are often expressed by some of the Southeast Asian countries, Singapore in particular, than by Japan.”
  
  * Otherwise, China has emerged as the economic centre of Asia and is like to remain so for the coming decades.”

Own knowledge:

- During the 1980s and 1990s, while Singapore was rising as one of the economic powers of Asia (i.e. the Four Dragons of Asia), Japan experienced rather slow economic growth, and her economic influence was increasing challenged by Singapore.

- The PRC also experienced rapid economic expansion since 1978 due to the Reform and Opening Up. It became the largest investment and sales market in Asia, thus attracting foreign capital and trading partners away from Japan.

(c) “The influence of Japan has been gradually weakened by the influence of her Asian neighbours from the early 1980s to 2000.” Do you agree?

L1 Rough answer attempting merely to narrate the development of Japan’s influence in Asia, without showing stance on the given statement [max. 2]

L2 Well-explained answer able to show and justify stance on the given statement, and covering both the Sources [max. 4]

Agree, e.g.:

- (Source J) Singapore took up more forceful and articulate positions than Japan in Asian forums when discussing regional/international issues. The PRC also challenged the economic leadership of Japan by becoming the new economic centre of Asia.
Disagree, e.g.: 
- (Source 1) Japan kept on being a key player in the economic development of China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. It still plays a prominent role in organizations such as APEC and ASEAN.
6. Study Sources K, L and M.

SOURCE K

The following text is adapted from a book published in 1988 on Sino-Japanese relations.

Throughout August 1982, a proliferation of articles condemning the distortion of historical facts in Japanese textbooks filled Chinese newspapers and journals. Many such articles charged that those responsible for the book were aspiring to rekindle militarism…


SOURCE L

The following text is adapted from a book published in 1997 on the foreign policy of Japan.

Japan and Korea, both North and South, are at odds over territorial issues. Korea is deeply unhappy over the use of the term ‘Sea of Japan’ to describe the body of water which separates the two nations, which the Koreans call the East Sea. The Japanese and Koreans are also in dispute over a small island, (Dokdo or Tokto in Korean, Takeshima in Japanese), which both claim.


SOURCE M

The following text is adapted from a book published in 2000 on the role of Japan in Asia.

The relationship between Japan and the rest of Asia remains uneasy in many respects. There is [a mixed] attitude to Asia, stemming from Japan’s history of aggression, its cultural legacy and sense of ‘unique’ national identity. Japan seemingly identifies with the notion of Asian community and is trying to find its proper place within this. The security relationship with the US has been reaffirmed, the ‘Hashimoto doctrine’ being met with criticism from China and ASEAN. The relationship with the United States continues to be the one given highest priority.

(a) Refer to Sources K and L. Identify two roots of conflict between Japan and her Asian neighbours. Support your answer with relevant clues from Sources K and L. (2+2 marks)

(b) Refer to Source M. How important were the diplomatic relations with her Asian neighbours in the consideration of the Japanese government? Explain your answer with reference to Source M and using your own knowledge. (4 marks)

(c) “The diplomatic relations between Japan and her Asian Pacific neighbours in 2000 were still in the shadow of the post-WWII diplomatic setting of 1945.” Comment on the validity of this statement with reference to Sources K, L and M and using your own knowledge. (7 marks)

Question 6

Suggested answers and reference for assessment

(a) Two roots of conflict between Japan and her Asian neighbours [2+2 marks]

Two roots of conflict:
- (Source K) Japan’s attempt at distorting historical facts related to her militarist invasion of Asian countries during WWII (Clue: “a proliferation of articles condemning the distortion of historical facts in Japanese textbooks”) [2 marks]
- (Source L) territorial disputes over islands and the sea between Korea and Japan (Clue: “Japan and Korea … are at odds over territorial issues” and “The Japanese and Koreans are also in dispute over a small island, Dokdo or Tokto in Korean, Takeshima in Japanese, which both claim.”) [2 marks]

(b) Degree of importance of Japan’s diplomatic relations with Asian neighbours in the consideration of the Japanese government [4 marks]

L1 General answer merely narrating the development Japan’s diplomatic relations with Asian countries, without discussing degree of importance [max. 2]

L2 Well-explained answer able to point out and explain the degree of importance, with due reference to the Source [max. 4]
Degree of importance:

- The Japanese government saw her diplomatic relations with Asian countries as less important than that with the U.S.

- **Clues:**
  
  * “The relationship between Japan and the rest of Asia remains uneasy in many respects.”
  
  * “The relationship with the United States continues to be the one given highest priority.”

Own knowledge:

- Though SE Asian countries that were once invaded by Japan during WWII have largely recovered, issues of Japanese war crimes and responsibilities remained controversial as Japanese Prime Ministers had repeatedly paid visits to the Yasukuni Shrine.

- Meanwhile, the U.S. had been the indispensable benefactor of the Japanese economic recovery and growth since 1946. The diplomatic relations between Japan and the U.S. were naturally very positive.

(c) “The diplomatic relations between Japan and her Asian Pacific neighbours in 2000 were still in the shadow of the post-WWII diplomatic setting of 1945.”

Comment on the validity of this statement.

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<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Mark</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L1</td>
<td>Rough answer merely narrating the diplomatic history of Japan, without any attempt of showing/justifying stance</td>
<td>[max. 2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2</td>
<td>Lopsided answer focusing merely on either one side (either valid or invalid) of the statement.</td>
<td>[max. 4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L3</td>
<td>Comprehensive answer covering both sides of the statement (i.e. both valid and invalid)</td>
<td>[max. 7]</td>
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The statement is valid, e.g.:

- (Source K) Disputes between the PRC and Japan in 1982 were about the war crimes of the Japanese Army, which have remained unresolved over the 3 post-war decades.

- (Own knowledge) Such disputes were still troubling Japan and the PRC up to 2000, as Chinese people intermittently put on anti-Japanese demonstrations and boycotts so as to voice out their anti-Japanese sentiments.

- (Sources L and M) By the end of the 20th century, some people in SE Asian countries still resented the Japanese for their WWI aggression and war crimes.

- (Source M) Japan’s higher priority of establishing diplomatic relations with the U.S. than with other Asian countries up to 2000 was a mirror of the Japanese subordination to the U.S. during the SCAP period (1945-52).

- (Own knowledge) Japanese Prime Ministers’ intermittent visit to the Yasukuni Shrine often revived debates about Japan’s war responsibilities and her respect of historical facts related to her aggression.

The statement is invalid, e.g.:

- (Source M) Japan and Southeast Asian countries’ participation, interaction and collaboration in organizations like ASEAN by 2000 was far different from the subordinate relationship between them during WWII. By 2000, Japan handled SE Asian countries as full sovereign nations without any political subjugation.
7. Study Sources N and O.

SOURCE N

The following text outlines four of the ASEAN’s main objectives.

- To promote equality and partnership in strengthening economic growth, social progress and cultural development;
- To promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries of the region and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter;
- To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest in the economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative fields;
- To provide assistance to each other in the form of training and research facilities in the educational, professional, technical and administrative spheres;


SOURCE O

The following text about Myanmar’s entry (Burma) into the ASEAN is adapted from a book published in 1999 on the development of the ASEAN in the 1990s.

The Myanmar junta’s unwillingness to negotiate with the political opposition has in fact raised the ire of some ASEAN member countries themselves. The Philippines and Thailand, in particular, have recently publicly vented their unhappiness with the Myanmar situation and spoken of ‘constructive intervention’ and ‘flexible engagement.’ Both countries, which function within a democratic framework, are clearly unhappy with Myanmar, and to a lesser extent, the Cambodian political situation. Thailand has recently argued that the unacceptable political situation in Myanmar has interfered in Thai domestic politics by unleashing a large and steady stream of refugees across the border.

Source: N. Ganesan, Bilateral Tensions in Post-Cold War ASEAN (Singapore: Regional Strategic and Political Studies Programme, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1999), p.53.
(a) Identify the ultimate aim of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), as reflected in Source N. Support your answer with relevant clues from Source N. (1+2 marks)

(b) Identify one factor which prevented the ASEAN from achieving some of its objectives smoothly in the 1990s. Provide relevant clues from Source O. (1+2 marks)

(c) What are the usefulness and limitations of Sources N and O in reflecting the factors that affecting the relationships between ASEAN members during the period 1967 to 2000? Explain your answer with reference to Sources N and O and using your own knowledge. (6 marks)

Question 7

Suggested answers and reference for assessment

(a) Ultimate aim of ASEAN [1+2 marks]

Ultimate aim of ASEAN:

- To promote international cooperation in various aspects in SE Asia [1 mark]

Clauses (any two), e.g.:

- “To promote equality and partnership in strengthening economic growth…” [1 mark]
- “To promote active collaboration … on matters of common interest …” each
- “To provide assistance to each other in the form of training and research facilities…”

(b) Factor which prevented the ASEAN from achieving some of its objectives smoothly in the 1990s [1+2 marks]

- Members resented the undesirable impact of neighbours’ political changes. [1 mark]
- Clauses (any two), e.g.:

  * “The Philippines and Thailand, in particular, have recently publicly vented their unhappiness with the Myanmar situation…” [1 mark]
  * “Both countries … are clearly unhappy with … the Cambodian political situation.” each
  * “Thailand has recently argued that the unacceptable political situation in Myanmar has interfered in Thai domestic politics…”
(c) Usefulness and limitations of Sources N and O in reflecting the factors affecting the relationships between ASEAN members

L1 Lopsided answer focusing on either usefulness or limitations [max. 3]

L2 Comprehensive answer covering both usefulness and limitations [max. 6]

Usefulness, e.g.:

Sources N and O are useful in reflecting the following factors affecting ASEAN members’ relationships:

- (Source N) Matters related to regional peace and stability and the collective adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter

- (Source O) Domestic politics of individual ASEAN members (e.g. Myanmar and Cambodia) that could affect the security and stability of neighbouring countries (e.g. Thailand and the Philippines)

Limitations, e.g.:

Sources N and O cannot reflect the following factors affecting ASEAN members relationships:

- (own knowledge) the need for closer collaboration with the PRC, Japan and South Korea so as to counter-balance the growing influence of the U.S. in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) during the early 1990s.

- (own knowledge) financial and monetary stability (e.g. financial collapse of Thai baht in the Asian financial crisis of 1997)
8. Study Sources P and Q.

SOURCE P

The following text is adapted from an academic journal article published in 1973 on the development of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) emerged as a regional cooperation association of Southeast Asian countries in August 1967, with the war rapidly escalating in Vietnam. Objectively speaking, common interests of the anti-communist ASEAN governments were the motivation in forming this association. The predecessor to ASEAN was ASA (Associations of Southeast Asia)... a loosely structured organization of Thailand, the Philippines and the Federation of Malaya... Internally, they were rather conservative with anti-communist oriented regimes... Such common interests made it possible to form ASA in 1961.


SOURCE Q

The following text is adapted from an article in a book published in 1997 on the contemporary role of the ASEAN in Asia.

By the end of the Cold War, though ASEAN had not succeeded in attaining its vision of one Southeast Asia, it was a signal success in preventing interstate conflict among its members and in forging closer relations and a sense of regional identity among them. ASEAN also played an important role in the Cambodian issue, over which it was able to establish its credentials as a political organization able to act in unison when its vital interests were at stake. However, the conclusion of the Cambodian conflict also highlighted ASEAN’s limitations. It was changes in big power policies, in this instance principally Soviet policies, which brought the end. And the final agreement was forged by the big powers, namely the five permanent members of the United Nations.

(a) Refer to Source P. What was the common concern that brought the Southeast Asian nations together to form the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1967? Support your answer with one clue from Source P. (1+1 mark)

(b) (i) Identify one achievement of the ASEAN by the end of the 20th century, as reflected in Source Q. Explain your answer with reference to Source Q. (3 marks)

(ii) Identify one limitation of the ASEAN by the end of the 20th century, as reflected in Source Q. Explain your answer with reference to Source Q. (3 marks)

(c) “The ASEAN had more achievements than limitations in maintaining the stability in Southeast Asia up to 2000.” Do you agree? Explain your answer with reference to Sources P and Q and using your own knowledge. (6 marks)

**Question 8**

Suggested answers and reference for assessment

(a) Common concern that brought the SE Asian nations together to form ASEAN in 1967 [1+1 mark]

- **Common concern:** [1 mark]
  - The heightening threat of communism due to the ever-increasing change of communist victory in the Vietnam War during the late 1960s

- **Clue:** [1 mark]
  - “The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) emerged.... With the war rapidly escalating in Vietnam”

(b) (i) One achievement of ASEAN by the end of 20th century [3 marks]

  - *L1* Simple answer without due reference to the Source [max. 1]
  - *L2* Well-explained answer with due reference to the Source [max. 3]
Achievement (either one):
- Preserving the relations and avoiding conflicts between ASEAN members
  (Clue: “it was a signal success in preventing interstate conflict among its
  members and in forging closer relations….”)
- Strengthening the sense of unity among ASEAN members (Clue: “… and
  a sense of regional identity among them … it was able to establish its credentials
  as a political organization able to act in unison when its vital interests were
  at stake”)

(ii) One limitation of ASEAN by the end of 20th century [3 marks]

L1 Simple answer without due reference to the Source [max. 1]
L2 Well-explained answer with due reference to the Source [max. 3]

Limitation (either one):
- Uniting the ASEAN members not only in spirit, but also in their approaches
  and policies to issues affecting their common/national interests (Clue: “…though
  ASEAN had not succeeded in attaining its vision of one Southeast Asia…”)
- Its leading role and importance being overtaken by large states such as the Soviet
  Union, the U.S., Britain, France and the PRC (Clue: “It was changes in big power
  policies, in this instance principally Soviet policies, which brought the end.
  And the final agreement was forged by the big powers…”)

(c) “The ASEAN had more achievements than limitations in maintaining the stability
in Southeast Asia up to 2000.” Do you agree? [6 marks]

L1 Lopsided answer focusing on either achievements or limitations [max. 3]
L2 Comprehensive answer covering both achievements and limitations [max. 6]

Achievements of ASEAN, e.g.:
- (Source P) Increasing the sense of unity between SE Asian countries in the
  midst of expanding communist threat during the Vietnam War
- (Source Q) Preserving the relations and avoiding conflicts between ASEAN members
- (own knowledge) Signing the Common Effective Preferential Tariff (CEPT) scheme in 1992 as a schedule for phasing tariffs and as a goal to increase the region’s competitive advantage as a production base geared for the world market.

- (own knowledge) Signing the Southeast Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty in 1995 with the intention of turning Southeast Asia into a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone. It became fully effective on 21 June 2001, effectively banning all nuclear weapons in the region.

Limitations of ASEAN, e.g.:

- (Source Q) Failed to secure its primary importance in determining the development of SE Asia, and losing part of the control to big powers like the USSR/Russia, the PRC, the U.S., Britain and France

- (own knowledge) Failed to halt the decade-long use of military violence and violation of basic human rights in Burma, and even allowing Burma to stay as ASEAN member despite the bad record of violation of human rights.