

ANGLO-CHINESE JUNIOR COLLEGE

Preliminary Examinations

JC2

**CHINA STUDIES IN ENGLISH H1**

Paper 1

**8628/01**

**16 August 2018**

**3 Hours**

**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write your class, index number and name on all the work you hand in.

Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.

Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

**Section A**

Answer Question 1.

**Section B**

Answer **two** questions. Answer **either** question 2 **or** question 3 **and either** question 4 **or** question 5.

At the end of the examination, fasten both sections **separately**.

The number of marks is given in brackets [ ] at the end of each question or part question.

This document consists of **4** printed pages

## Section A

### Case Study

#### How effective is the Chinese government's management of social unrest?

##### 1. Read the following sources and answer all the questions which follow.

###### Source A

As China faces a period of economic adjustment – and the potential for serious economic peril – there is some discussion in state-sanctioned media on how to deal with the outbreak of “mass incidents”. Of course, there is always the heavy-handed method of shows of government force. However, there is also an awareness of the need to address the pressing issues that give rise to social unrest. The Blue Book on the Rule of Law points to “lazy governance” as an important source of popular protest, saying, “the reason (for mass incidents) is usually lazy exercise of regulatory obligations or inaction, which results in workers taking extreme actions”.

The report also called for a change from the development model that focuses excessively on GDP while ignoring environmental issues, and said with regards to issues such as land appropriations and evictions “officials should also change their way of doing things”.

Many aggrieved Chinese citizens see mass demonstration and rioting as their only method for challenging perceived injustices. Given the numerous environmental, political, and economic problems facing China, “mass incidents” are likely to remain a common feature of Chinese society. The Chinese government is responding with both massive spending on domestic security and incremental reforms to deal with demonstrations by addressing popular grievances. However, such efforts may have limited effects if many people feel politically voiceless and economically insecure.

*Taken from an article on China's mass incidents, May 2014*

###### Source B

The number of strikes and worker protests in China escalated dramatically towards the end of 2015 as the economy continued to stutter, with manufacturing, construction and mining all seeing a massive upsurge in disputes. The increase in strikes and protests began around the time of the 11 August yuan devaluation and subsequent stock market crash and continued to build during the final quarter of the year as the economy showed little sign of improvement.

However, the economic downturn only partially explains the increase in labour disputes. The fundamental cause has been systematic failure of employers to respect the basic rights of employees, such as being paid on time and receiving their legally mandated benefits, and the failure of local government officials to enforce labour law.

More than two thirds of all the disputes recorded in 2015, for example, were related to the non-payment of wages. Wage arrears have been endemic in the construction industry for decades but are now increasingly evident in manufacturing, mining and services as employers simply refuse to pay workers or close their businesses down and disappear. Only 168 disputes last year were specifically related to demands for higher wages, and many of these incidents were sparked by a sudden pay cut.

*Taken from an article in the China Labour Bulletin on strikes and protests by China's workers, January 2016.*

## Source C

In December, Guangdong police arrested a handful of labor activists who have tried to defend workers' rights and negotiate peaceful settlements to some of the disputes. In the latest confrontation, hundreds of workers faced off against police in riot gear this week at a stainless steel factory in the provincial capital, Guangzhou, protesting wage cuts, layoffs and efforts to force many to resign without proper compensation.

Andrew Polk, resident economist at the Conference Board China Center for Economics and Business in Beijing, said there will probably be a rise in structural unemployment as China's economy transitions away from heavy industry and toward services. "You can't have a coal miner suddenly becoming a bank teller," he said. But a rise in joblessness and any further labor unrest is unlikely to significantly undermine one-party rule, he said, suggesting that the authorities might have to bolster social welfare payments, as they did during another economic transition around the turn of the millennium. "It is something government policy will have to address," he said, "but I think the government is quite capable of dealing with the issue."

At the Guangdong factory, Monday's face-off ended without violence, although workers said all their banners, with slogans calling for better pay and conditions, were confiscated. On the seventh day of the strike, police issued a notice saying workers had been "incited and seduced" by a small number of people and warning of arrests if the "illegal" gathering continued. "We have called local media, but they didn't dare cover this," complained Luo Yebin, 31. "We posted on social media, uploaded videos, but they were deleted. We feel powerless, oppressed and infuriated." Many employees returned to work Wednesday after the police warning and after the company promised to restore their wages to previous levels, although some said they would still pursue legal action. Others said they feared retaliation and would seek work elsewhere.

*Taken from an article in The Economist on the Chinese NGO, April 2014.*

## Source D

Although repression has mounted, grassroots activism has not disappeared. Instead, it has taken more creative forms. As the Chinese proverb goes, "Top-down policy generates bottom-up counter-tactics." Just as the Chinese government is adept at policy innovation, so too are Chinese activists, who are increasingly entrepreneurial when it comes to dissent. One form of mobilizing, without having to take to the streets en masse, is through flash demonstrations. These are individual or small group protests that typically last no more than half an hour—long enough for activists to capture arresting photos of the demonstration, which then circulate on social media, but short enough to avoid undue attention from the authorities.

Although they appeared to be self-motivated, their flash protest was coordinated by illegal labor organizations that are forced to operate under the radar because China permits only one official state-run labor union to represent workers. At the time, their activism was overshadowed in the media by reports of large-scale strikes and worker suicides that took place in the factories that made iPhones. Although comparatively small in scale, the flash demonstrations by workers nevertheless represented a more innovative form of street activism that worked without generating crowds. Flash demonstrations have continued under Xi.

*Taken from an article on demonstrations in China, August 2017*

## Section A

Answer **all** the following questions.

**1**

- a) With reference to Sources A and B, explain the rise in strikes and protests in China. [6]
- b) Using Sources C and D and your knowledge, assess the outcomes of the Chinese government's actions in dealing with protests. [9]
- c) Referring to the sources and your own knowledge, evaluate the challenges strikes and protests pose to the Chinese government and make recommendations on how the government can better improve state-society relations. [15]

## Section B

### Essay

Answer **two** questions from this section

#### EITHER

- 2. Assess the extent of the CCP's success in sustaining its legitimacy within a rapidly changing Chinese society. [25]

#### OR

- 3. To what extent has the Chinese government been effective in managing the problems caused by rapid urbanization? [25]

#### AND EITHER

- 4. "China's leading role in international institutions is the most significant driver of its rise as a global power." Assess the validity of this view. [25]

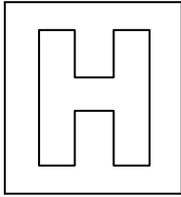
#### OR

- 5. To what extent has China's security interests shaped Sino-American relations? [25]

**End of Paper**

Candidate Name: \_\_\_\_\_

--	--



---

## 2018 End-of-Year Exams Pre-university 2

**H1 CSE**  
China Studies in English

**8628/01**  
**13<sup>th</sup> September 2018**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

---

### READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name and class on all the work you hand in.  
Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.  
You may use a soft pencil for any diagrams or graphs.  
Do not use paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Begin each question on a fresh sheet of writing paper.

#### Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

#### Section B

Answer **two** questions. Answer **either** question 2 **or** question 3 **and either** question 4 **or** question 5.

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

The number of marks is given in brackets [ ] at the end of each question or part question.

---

**This question paper consists of 6 printed pages.**

**[Turn over**

## Section A

**Is China's relationship with the United States one of strategic partnership or that of a competitor?**

**1 Read the following sources and answer all the questions which follow.**

### Source A

America under Trump's presidency most definitely seems determined on reigniting old rivalries with China and Russia as he recently harshly criticized the countries on their economic, political and military ideologies. In several recent policy statements, President Trump suggested that the US considers both China and Russia to be major rivals and both these states along with other rogue regimes and terrorist organizations, "challenge US economy, interests and values". Furthermore, President Trump was of the view that the only way to deter these threats were by "unmatched power". Therefore, America will continue to increase its power – it be military, economic or political – to ensure its safety and more importantly its status of the world's sole hegemon.

The United States of America is now pursuing a unilateral approach to maintain its hegemonic status in the global political arena. Thus, US is more than often seen flexing its muscles in world affairs, the latest missile attacks on Syria to deter the alleged chemical weapons by the Al-Assad regime is a prime example of USA's arrogance. At the same time, China is now playing a proactive role in the world affairs under President Xi Jinping. It is seen even countering US led initiatives, it be via the establishment of Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank (AIIB) to give a parallel economic world order or creating international organizations such as BRICS. Hence, a zero-sum game is in motion i.e. one or the other side will come out of this competition or as many are terming it the 'new cold war' victorious while the other will lose its prestige globally.

From an article published in a Pakistani newspaper, May 2018.

### Source B

Inside the Pentagon, the greatest concern is China's rapidly improving military. For decades, Beijing's armed forces were large but qualitatively inferior to those of advanced nations, particularly the United States. But in more recent years, China has devoted a significant portion of its immense wealth to improving its military technology and the overall effectiveness of its armed forces. Beijing is now working on its second, more advanced aircraft carrier and is moving quickly on other projects, such as electromagnetic railguns, a deep-sea reconnaissance system, autonomous "drone swarms" and infantry exoskeletons. In key technologies like hypersonic missiles and artificial intelligence, China is close to catching up with and perhaps surpassing the United States.

This is alarming since the American military traditionally relies on technological and qualitative superiority over its opponents. But what might be a more ominous sign that China has pulled even with the United States, and may be poised to push ahead, would be if Beijing builds a network of defensible overseas military bases that can be used to project power.

Until recently, China had no bases outside its own territory, largely because of its longstanding distaste for great-power ambitions. Then it began building islands with military installations on little scraps of land in the South China Sea. These have a political and economic purpose as China lays claim to maritime areas far from its coast, but the bases

could not be defended against the United States and are too small to play much of a role in power projection.

An article from the official website of World Politics Review, March 2018.

### **Source C**

China's Vice-Premier Liu He, who led a high-level Chinese delegation to the United States last week, earlier announced that both sides had agreed to back off from threatened tariffs. Mr Liu said both sides agreed to stop "slapping tariffs" on each other and called his visit "positive, pragmatic, constructive and productive", Xinhua reported on Sunday. Cooperation will be enhanced in such areas as energy, agriculture, healthcare, high-tech products and finance, a "win-win" choice for both nations. The statement said China agreed to "meaningful increases in US agriculture and energy exports" with details to be worked out later.

The announcement that a trade war has been averted should boost global stocks on Monday, according to Shane Oliver, head of investment strategy at AMP Capital Investors Ltd in Sydney. "Investors had been fretting," he said. "US energy, agriculture, manufacturing and services companies with significant exposure to exports to China will be key beneficiaries. But it's also a big positive across Asia given supply chain linkages to Chinese companies that ultimately export to the US."

"There was a consensus on taking effective measures to substantially reduce the US trade deficit in goods with China," the White House said. The delegations also discussed expanding trade in manufactured goods, and each side agreed to strengthen cooperation on intellectual property. China will "advance relevant amendments" to its laws and regulations in that area, including its patent law, the White House said.

From an article published in the Business Times, May 2018.

Source D



From the South China Morning Post, November 2017.  
In the cartoon, the leaders from U.S. and China appear to be smiling at each other.

**Answer all the following questions.**

- a) Using Source, A, explain the Chinese government's position on US-China relations. [6]
  
- b) Using the Sources B and C and your own knowledge, assess whether US-China relations are more co-operative or conflictual. [9]
  
- c) Using information from the sources and your knowledge, evaluate the challenges China faces in managing its relations with the United States and make recommendations on how the government can shape this agenda through its foreign policy decisions. [15]

**Section B- Essay Questions**

Answer **two** questions from this section.

**EITHER**

- 2 How far has the rise of the middle class positively impacted Chinese society today? [25]

**OR**

- 3 To what extent is ideology a legitimising tool for the Chinese government? [25]

**AND EITHER**

- 4 “Popular nationalism is a key consideration for China in its foreign policy making agenda.” Assess this view. [25]

**OR**

- 5 “China has been successful in its use of soft power to increase its global influence.” Assess this view. [25]

*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

Source A <https://nation.com.pk/11-May-2018/us-china-relations-a-new-cold-war>

Source B <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/24282/how-to-know-when-china-is-pulling-even-with-the-united-states>

Source C <https://www.businesstimes.com.sg/government-economy/no-trade-war-as-china-pledges-significantly-more-us-buying>

Source D <https://www.scmp.com/comment/insight-opinion/article/2121688/friendship-between-trump-and-xi-boon-us-china-relations>

Candidate's Name: \_\_\_\_\_

CT Group: \_\_\_\_\_

Index no: \_\_\_\_\_



**PIONEER JUNIOR COLLEGE**

**JC 2 Preliminary Examination 2018**

**H1 8628/01**

**CHINA STUDIES IN ENGLISH**

**Date: 12<sup>th</sup> September 2018 (Wednesday)**

**Time: 1400 - 1700 hrs**

**INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES:**

Candidates will answer **THREE** questions.

Section A

**Question 1** is **compulsory** for all candidates.

Section B

Candidate can **choose** to answer **either Questions 2 or 3, AND either Questions 4 or 5.**

**INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES:**

Write your answers on the separate answer paper provided.

If you use more than one sheet of paper, fasten the sheets together.

You are reminded of the need for grammatically correct English and clear presentation in your answers.

Start each question on a fresh page.

Indicate the question number in your answer scripts.

*For official use*

<b>Question</b>	<b>Full marks</b>	<b>Marks obtained</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>30</b>	
	<b>25</b>	
	<b>25</b>	
	<b>Total marks:</b>	

**[BLANK PAGE]**

## **Section A**

### **Case Study**

#### **Challenges to China's relations with USA and Japan**

##### **1. Read the following sources and answer all the questions that follow.**

###### **Source A**

Beijing finds the U.S. alliance with Japan more problematic than it does the U.S. alliance with countries like Thailand, with which China enjoys far more stable relations. In China's eyes, an alliance with the United States emboldens countries to provoke Beijing on sovereignty disputes, threatening instability and potentially conflict. Antagonism with neighboring powers like Japan and the Philippines also threatens to escalate into a war that could draw in the United States, a disastrous possibility Beijing dreads. Reflecting these frustrations, a typical Xinhua commentary article bitterly noted that "the United States has not taken any concrete measures to check its defiant allies from confronting China." U.S. efforts to reassure its allies through the rebalance and through criticism of China for "provoking instability" merely intensify these anxieties.

Under the Xi administration, Beijing's opposition to the strengthening of the U.S.-Japan alliance has been shrill and explicit. In May 2014, Xi Jinping used his keynote address as the chair of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA) to emphasise that U.S. alliances have no place in the regional security architecture China is peddling, saying, "A military alliance which is targeted at a third party is not conducive to common regional security." He then proposed that "[s]ecurity problems in Asia should be solved by Asians themselves," implying that not only are U.S. alliances irrelevant, but the United States itself should play no role in making and enforcing regional security rules.

*Adapted from "China and the U.S. Alliance System", published in 11<sup>th</sup> June 2014, by Timothy R. Heath.*

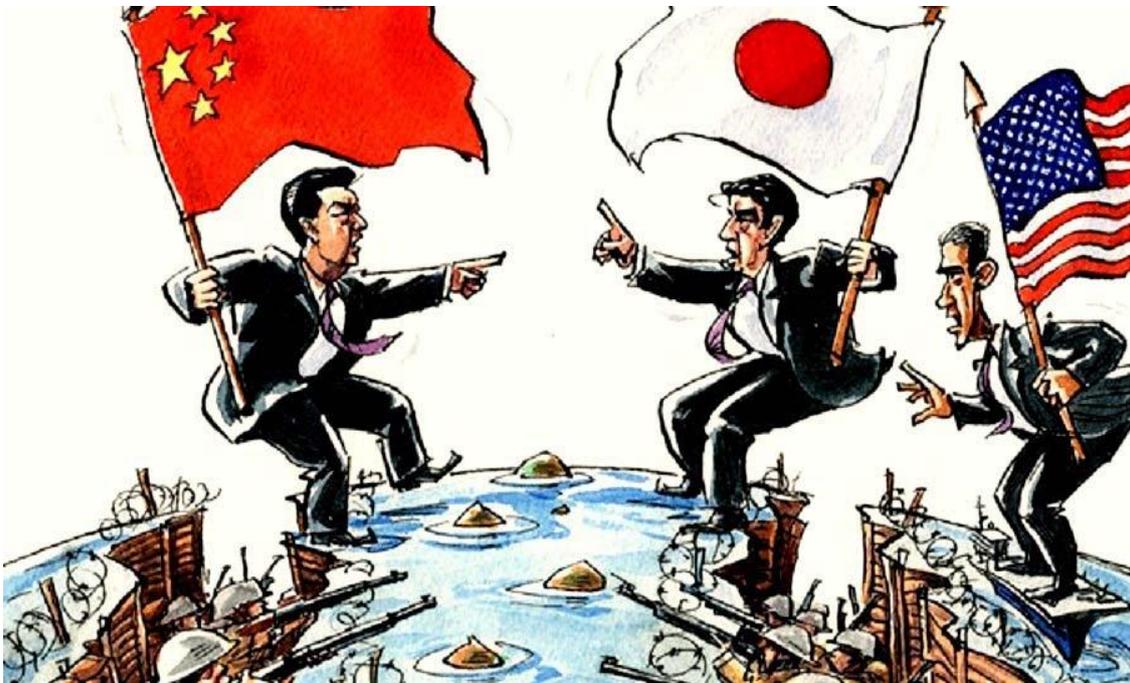
###### **Source B**

Japan and China agree that a trade war will have serious consequences for the world economy, Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Kono said on Monday after a high-level economic dialogue between the world's third- and second-largest economies. Japan has been criticized by U.S. President Donald Trump on trade and been hit with tariffs on steel and aluminum, but it has not yet threatened counter-tariffs. Financial markets have been roiled recently over fears that a full-blown U.S.-China trade war could shatter global trade and economic growth.

Japan's Foreign Minister said it was possible to work with China on Beijing's Belt and Road projects. "It is quite possible that Japan cooperates with China on various (Belt and Road) projects on a case by case basis where international standards are met," he said. "After reopening these talks, we're both standing at new starting points to discuss future cooperation that will, I hope, lead to fresh economic growth for both nations," China's Foreign Minister, Wang Yi, said at the start of the economic dialogue.

*Adapted from "Japan, China agree trade war will harm global economy", published in Reuters, 16<sup>th</sup> April 2018.*

### Source C



*A cartoon published by The Diplomat in 2013.*

### Source D

For years, Americans and Japanese have discussed what their alliance should do in the post-Cold War era. With its response to the DPRK's (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) May 25 nuclear test, I believe the U.S.-Japan alliance is fulfilling its most important strategic function: to serve as a mechanism to bring about cooperation with China.

The United States and Japan have benefitted from China's economic growth and its contributions on issues like North Korea. But Tokyo and Washington are also

concerned about Beijing's political and military clout, to the extent that a minority of Americans and Japanese favour containment of China. Although I disagree with such a policy, because it would ensure China's hostility, focusing on China's rise is proper. A rising power poses a challenge to the prevailing international system and to the states that guard that system, because the new power's intentions are usually unclear.

*Adapted from "China and U.S.-Japan Relations", published in 6<sup>th</sup> June 2009, by Richard C. Bush.*

**Answer all the following questions.**

**Question 1**

- a) With reference to Source A, explain the rationale behind China's objection to US-Japan strategic alliance. [6]
- b) Using the sources and your knowledge, assess the view that China enjoys better relations with Japan than with the United States. [9]
- c) Referring to all sources and your own knowledge, evaluate the challenges impeding China's attempt to develop friendly relations with United States and Japan. Give recommendations on how Beijing can overcome these challenges. [15]

[Total: 30]

## Section B

Answer **two** questions from this section.

### EITHER

- 2) To what extent have problems faced by Chinese society been mitigated by greater provision of social welfare? [25]

### OR

- 3) 'CCP's rule can only be strengthened by performance-based legitimacy.' Discuss. [25]

### AND EITHER

- 4) 'Hard power is more important than soft power.' How true is this statement at describing China's rise as a global power? [25]

### OR

- 5) Assess the view that Sino-US economic relations have become more competitive than complementary in recent years. [25]

[Total: 50]

**End of Paper**



**PIONEER JUNIOR COLLEGE**

**JC 2 Preliminary Examination 2018 (Answer Key)**

**H1 8628/01**

**CHINA STUDIES IN ENGLISH**

**Date: 12<sup>th</sup> September 2018 (Wednesday)**

**Time: 1400 - 1700 hrs**

**Section A**

**Case Study**

**Challenges to China's relations with USA and Japan**

**Question 1**

- d) With reference to Source A, explain the rationale behind China's objection to US-Japan strategic alliance. [6]

<b>Level</b>	<b>Marks</b>	<b>Descriptor</b>
1	1-2	Identify without explanation
2	3-4	Explain 1 rationale
3	5-6	Explain more than 1 rationale  1 <sup>st</sup> Rationale: National security 2 <sup>nd</sup> Rationale: Strategic/Regional security

- b. Using the sources and your knowledge, assess the view that China [9]

enjoys better relations with Japan than with the United States.

Level	Marks	Descriptor
1	1-3	Answer the question descriptively without explanation
2	4-6	Explain one perspective (4-5m) Explain 2 <sup>nd</sup> perspective (6-7m) with Contextual knowledge
3	7-9	Both perspectives are evaluated  1 <sup>st</sup> Perspective: Due to economic interests that Sino-Japan better relations (Sources B, D) vs current Sino-US trade war  2 <sup>nd</sup> Perspective: Due to strategic interest that Sino-US better relations (Sources A, C) than Sino-Japan (historical animosity)

- c. Referring to all sources and your own knowledge, evaluate the challenges impeding China's attempt to develop friendly relations with United States and Japan. Give recommendations on how Beijing can overcome these challenges.

[Total: 30]

Level	Marks	Descriptor
1	1-3	Identify challenges using Sources and/or Contextual knowledge
2	4-7	Explain challenges using Sources and/or Contextual knowledge
3	8-11	Evaluate challenges and/or Recommendations (descriptive)
4	12-15	Evaluate challenges and explain clearly how recommendations can tackle the problems based on the evaluation of challenges

## Section B

To what extent have problems faced by Chinese society been mitigated by greater provision of social welfare?

[25]

Level	Marks	Descriptor
5	21-25	Students understand what are the problems faced by the Chinese society and are able to use updated facts to support whether with greater provision of social welfare is able to mitigate these problems in their continuously evaluative essay. Every point made is fully supported with evidences.
4	16-20	Responses are able to assess the perspectives with balance and strong analysis. Factual materials used are relevant and adequate.
3	11-15	The essay attempts to illustrate only one or two perspectives towards the question. Students explain the problems faced by the Chinese society been mitigated by greater provision of social welfare without evaluating the perspectives.
2	6-10	Responses show some understanding of the problems faced by the Chinese society, but essay as a whole does not address the question. There are little or no relevant facts used.
1	0-5	Essay may describe the problems faced by the Chinese society, with limited or flawed understanding, short of addressing the question directly.

'CCP's rule can only be strengthened by performance-based legitimacy.' Discuss.

[25]

Level	Marks	Descriptor
5	21-25	Students understand very well CCP's rule may only be strengthened by performance-based legitimacy. They are able to use updated facts to support their continuously evaluative essay. Every point made is fully supported with evidences.
4	16-20	Responses are able to assess the perspectives with balance and strong analysis. Factual materials used are relevant and adequate.
3	11-15	The essay attempts to illustrate only one or two perspectives towards the question. Students explain the relevance of CCP's rule with regards to performance-based legitimacy without evaluating the perspectives.
2	6-10	Responses show some understanding of CCP's rule with regards to performance-based legitimacy, but essay as a whole does not address the question. There are little or no relevant facts used.
1	0-5	Essay may describe CCP's rule with regards to performance-based legitimacy, with limited or flawed understanding, short of addressing the question directly.

8 'Hard power is more important than soft power.' How true is this statement at describing China's rise as a global power? [25]

Level	Marks	Descriptor
5	21-25	Students understand very well the implications of hard and soft powers to China's rise. They are able to use updated facts to support their continuously evaluative essay. Every point made is fully supported with evidences.
4	16-20	Responses are able to assess the perspectives with balance and strong analysis. Factual materials used are relevant and adequate.
3	11-15	The essay attempts to illustrate only one or two perspectives towards the question. Students explain the relevance of hard and/or soft power to China's rise without evaluating the perspectives.
2	6-10	Responses show some understanding of hard and/or soft power, the nature of China rise, but essay as a whole does not address the question. There are little or no relevant facts used.
1	0-5	Essay may describe China rise or generally the attributes of hard and soft power, with limited or flawed understanding, short of addressing the question directly.

- 5) Assess the view that Sino-US economic relations have become more competitive than complementary in recent years. [25]

Level	Marks	Descriptor
5	21-25	Students understand very well evolving nature of Sino-US economic relations. They are able to use updated facts to support their continuously evaluative essay. Every point made is fully supported with evidences.
4	16-20	Responses are able to assess the perspectives with balance and strong analysis. Factual materials used are relevant and adequate.
3	11-15	The essay attempts to illustrate only one or two perspectives towards the question. Students explain how Sino-US economic relations can be competitive and/or complementary without evaluating the perspectives.
2	6-10	Responses show some understanding of complementary and/or competitive nature of Sino-US relations, but essay as a whole does not address the question. There are little or no relevant facts used.
1	0-5	Essay may describe China economic stature or generally the attributes of Sino-US relations, with limited or flawed understanding, short of addressing the question directly.



**ST ANDREW'S JUNIOR COLLEGE**  
**China Studies in English Preliminary Examinations [Mark Scheme]**  
**General Certificate of Education Advanced Level**  
**Higher 1**

---

- 1 (a) With reference to Sources A and B, explain the reasons behind military tensions between China and the United States. [6]

**Level 1 [1-2 marks]**

Identifies/Describes the conflicts between China and the U.S. using information directly lifted from the sources.

**Level 2 [3-4 marks]**

Explains one reason behind military tensions between China and U.S. using either Source A/B.

Describes two reasons for military conflict with reference to Sources A and B and includes some details.

**Level 3 [5-6 marks]**

Explains more than one reason behind military tensions between China and the U.S with good engagement with Sources A (data must be cited) and B, displaying evidence of understanding.

*Responses ought to stay focused on the keyword “military tensions” here, explaining what, how and why both parties might respond militarily.*

Candidates may consider the following:

- **What:** According to Source A, there are mutual suspicion between the two superpowers, which is likely to cause mounting military tensions.
- **Data from Source A:** On one hand, the U.S. public's concern with China rising military strength has increased steadily from 28% in 2012 to 37% in 2018.
- **Data from Source A:** On the other hand, more than half (52% in 2016) of the Chinese public perceives the U.S. as trying to contain China, and is attempting to disrupt its rise so as to not allow China to overtake the U.S.
- **How:** Both parties are competitors, with the U.S being the incumbent power and China as the rising power. This is the origin of their mutual suspicion, with the U.S.'s desire to safeguard their current position and China perpetuating its rise.
- **Why:** With the public having such sentiments, it is likely that the State would respond and counter such opinions by building up their own military in defense of their self-interest which might be threatened with the Chinese rising military strength and the U.S. containment strategy respectively.
  
- **What:** With reference to Source B, it is cited that territorial disputes and strong sentiments from the Chinese for the U.S. to withdraw their military presence in the region have led to rising military tensions.
- **Data from Source B:** With the U.S. presence of spy ships in close proximity to China's shores, China is particularly annoyed at the disregard of China's territoriality of which China claims to be 200 nautical miles from its shores according to the UNCLOS.
- **How:** The disregard of China's territoriality is seen to be an infringement of China's sovereignty which China prioritises as one of its national interest. Additionally, the Chinese deems the U.S military presence in the region to be unnecessary, advocating

for the “Asian Security Concept”, whereby Asian affairs are to be handled internally by Asian countries.

- **Why:** China is facilitated by self-interest, in safeguarding a stronghold in the trade route in South China Sea, whereas the U.S. sees the region as a pivot to contain and to counter the rise of China. Hence, both sides responds militarily to ensure their respective interests are protected.

**(b)** Using Sources C and D and your knowledge, assess how Sino-U.S. relations have influenced China’s rise as a global power. [9]

**Level 1 [1-3 marks]**

Describes Sino-US relations and its impact on China broadly, using information in the sources AND/OR knowledge.

**Level 2 [4-6 marks]**

Explains HOW Sino-US relations have influenced (impede/boosts) China’s rise as a global power, using information in the sources AND knowledge.

**Level 3 [7-9 marks]**

Assesses degree to which Sino-US relations have influenced (balanced view) China’s rise as a global power, using information in the sources AND knowledge.

*Responses need to consider how competition/cooperation between China and the U.S have affected the dimensions of global power (power, spatial influence, status) in China.*

Candidates may consider the following:

**Thesis:** Sino-relations, particularly the strategic competition between these two superpowers have impeded China’s rise as a global power.

- Source C: The U.S deems China to be a revisionist power that has indicated its shift away from status quo with projects such as the OBOR and the AIIB. A fraction of the Americans deem that as China rises to become an assertive regional leader, the U.S interests in the region will therefore have to be sacrificed.
- Source D: U.S indictment against the Chinese army for cyber espionage for commercial and trade secrets is a message sent by the state of the displeasure against China’s theft of trade information. According to the article, China is also being portrayed to be shrewd in its use of cyberspace to gain an upperhand against the U.S, with hopes of superseding the U.S. as the largest economy. Such reports serves to reiterate the China threat theory and limits its status and recognition as a responsible power.
- Cross referenced to C.K: Such reports and accusations made on part of the U.S. against China along with rising suspicion of projects like the AIIB as new forms of colonialism that China is asserting on developing countries that are unlikely to repay the loans given out by China. E.g. Sri Lanka’s leasing of a strategic port in Hambantota to a Chinese company due to its debts.
- Therefore, facilitated by a fear of U.S’s interest in the region being threatened, skepticism towards China will continue to be perpetuated by the U.S, affecting her status as global power.

**Anti-thesis:** However, cooperation between China and the U.S., if managed well, may also be able to aid and facilitate China’s rise as a global power.

- Source C: Economic ties between China and U.S is said to have strengthened, with bilateral trade likely to surpass China’s trade with EU and U.S. trade with Canada.

With more opportunities for trade cooperation, this will also serve as a boost to Chinese economy, allowing the continued expansion of its economy.

- Cross referenced to C.K.: This is however not the case with the recent tit for tat trade war launched by President Trump. With China losing its patience, it has similarly retaliated with the implementation of 25% tariffs on \$16 billion worth of each other's goods in August, amounting the total tax on each other's goods to be worth \$100 billion in total. With rising concerns on the economic impacts of the trade war, this has taken a toll on China's financial market with fears of further slowing economy.
- Therefore, with narrowing areas of cooperation, it is unlikely that there will be marked improvements in Sino-U.S. relations and that economic cooperation would help China to boost its economic might significantly.

**(c)** Using the information from the sources and your knowledge, evaluate the issues facing Sino-U.S. relations and make recommendations on how the Chinese government can stabilise relations with the U.S. [15]

**Level 1 [1-3 marks]**

Describes Sino-U.S. relations broadly.

**Level 2 [4-7 marks]**

Explains issues facing Sino-U.S. relations with reference to sources OR knowledge.

**Level 3 [8-11 marks]**

Evaluates (i.e. significance, implications of) the issues facing Sino-U.S. relations by using sources AND/OR knowledge, AND starts making recommendations on how the Chinese government can stabilise relations with the U.S.

**Level 4 [12-15 marks]**

Evaluates (i.e. significance, implications of) the issues facing Sino-U.S. relations by using sources AND knowledge, AND explains how the recommendations made can help the Chinese government stabilise relations with the U.S (with evaluation on the feasibility of recommendation).

Candidates may consider the following:

**Evaluation of Issue 1: Military competition**

- Mutual military threat has made it more challenging to avoid conflict and reconcile their mutual respective interests, with periodic incidents between the two militaries.
- Source A: (Data cited to support mutual suspicion) There is however more suspicion on the side of China, with a more significant proportion of the population seeing the U.S. as trying to contain China.
- Source B: Military competition is likely to manifest most evidently in the arena of territorial disputes such as the South China Sea. China has constructed military facilities on the outcrops and reclaimed islands of the SCS, reasserting its presence in the trade route and to break out of the perceived encirclement of the U.S presence in the region, projecting its maritime force projection capabilities
- C.K: With the U.S.'s provocations through "freedom of navigation" exercises, such as the incident in July 2017, when an American warship sailed near an island in the Paracel islands claimed by China. This later on sparked an exchange of accusations on both ends with the Chinese defense ministry slamming the US for seriously damaging peace and stability.
- Ev: With freedom of navigation exercises accelerating in frequency after 2017 under Trump's administration under the name of ensuring an "international, rules-based

order”, it is likely that this will continue to irk China as it threads into issues affecting China’s national interest.

#### **Evaluation of Issue 2: Economic competition**

- China’s economy is ascendant and is likely to replace the U.S. as the largest economy in approximately 2030, even though it has already replaced the U.S. as the largest economy in terms of GDP PPP in 2014. This is a projection that is highly uncomfortable for the U.S.
- Source C: The AIIB is seen as a strategy that will empower China to gain dominance and geo-economic influence in Eurasia, this prospect will be at the expense of US’s conventional influence in the region. The newly established international institution is also deemed to be challenging the West-dominated Bretton Wood institutions.
- Source D: Cyber warfare is seen as a tool used by China to successfully compete with the US, due to the relative lack of regulations and laws, which puts them on equal footing with the US, allowing China to put up a fight by obfuscating its economic opponent.
- C.K: The theft of intellectual property rights and commercial espionage is also cited as a reason for the launch of the US-China trade war.
- Ev: With both countries’ dependence on performance-based legitimacy, economic growth is therefore especially important for both states. It is therefore unlikely that any parties would budge, even if it meant that some of their domestic companies will be affected by the trade war.

#### **Recommendation for Issue 1:**

- While there has already been a military hotline established between China and U.S since 2017, it is also unlikely that competition between these powers will relinquish.
- Therefore, both militaries ought to place more focus on possible areas of cooperation, for instance bilateral military exercises and trainings can be held to enhance mutual understanding.
- Ev: Given the secrecy of military operations, both parties may be reluctant to engage. Even if it happens, it is likely to be a tokenistic act without sincere cooperation.

#### **Recommendation for Issue 2:**

- China can take the lead to derive at international norms on issues such as trade practices and cybersecurity. This will show sincere on China’s end to normalise relationship and to use the cyber space as a fair arena for commercial and security competition. More international convention and laws that are unanimously agreed upon need to be present in order for both China and the U.S to maneuver the cyber space more fairly.
- Ev: However, it is unlikely that China will take the lead in this aspect given that the U.S still possess technological edge over China and that China is still trying to improve their expertise in this aspect. They would have more to gain with obscurity in the cyber space.

## Section B – Essay Questions

Answer **two** questions from this section.

### EITHER

- 2 'Social challenges faced by China today is a significant threat to its one-party rule.' To what extent do you agree with this statement? [25]

*Responses can explore the impacts and problems (challenges) of societal changes. Some issues such as poor social conditions of migrants, property crisis/land grabs/environmental issues brought about by urbanisation, growing demands of the middle class and mounting discontent due to income and regional disparity. To explain the threat these issues have on the Party's legitimacy, responses could consider how NGOs and the Internet have become tools for the different marginalised communities to voice and display their unhappiness towards the party-state, this usually manifests in mass incidents. On the other hand, in order for the response to be a balanced one, considerations of what the party-state has done to address the social challenges ought to also be examined. For instance, social welfare provision to ensure more equity and reach in the social services provided may have alleviated the hostility some groups of society have against the state E.g. the elderly having received better pension system.*

### OR

- 3 How far is public security the most effective strategy used by the Chinese state at managing present-day Chinese society? [25]

*A good understanding of the present-day Chinese society should be considered in the introduction. Response need to recognize that unlike the past when CCP exercised absolute totalitarian control, this has changed drastically since the opening up of China. The diversity and the corresponding demands and tools used by different groups of society in China today is unprecedented. The effectiveness of managing this diverse society also needs to be defined well. To ensure even development whereby social development is on par with its economic development, an effectively managed society would entail relative social stability.*

*A balanced analysis would also consider other strategies such as social welfare provision and online supervision. Better responses will discern that social welfare provision is a long-term strategy implemented that would ideally lead to a contented society (contributing to performance-based legitimacy), however given that many of these strategies have their limitations and have not achieved their respective intended objectives, in the short-term there is a need for a more coercive tool to maintain short term stability. Ultimately, the state understands that given the complexities of the society today, it is not sustainable to engage in its repressive methods in the long-run. The government is therefore adopting a more supervisory position, as seen in the governance of the virtual space.*

**AND EITHER**

- 4 How important is soft power in China's ascendance as a global power today? [25]

*This question would require a strong understanding of the concept of global power (i.e. what traits must a global power have? Does China currently possess these traits?). While the West have been big investors on soft power, reaping the yields of their investment over the past decades, China has too recognised that the ability to project soft power is crucial in its quest to become a global power. An evaluative response would note however, that China's investments in soft power while rising in prominence through the use of international films and Confucius Institutes, have so far been relatively weak. On the other hand, other tools such as China's involvement and more recently, establishment of international institutions have more effectively aided in China's ascendance as a global power, establishing in extending China's geoeconomic spatial influence and status as a responsible leader. Lastly, an analysis of China's military modernisation programme would also tend towards the limitation of it in facilitating China's rise given the international skepticism towards China's military might. Hence, highlighting the importance of soft power to counter the China threat theory.*

**OR**

- 5 'The challenges facing Sino-Japanese relations today far outweigh the opportunities for cooperation.' Discuss. [25]

*A strategic sequencing of response would begin with discussions on opportunities for cooperation, to establish how narrow these platforms for cooperation are especially with dwindling Japan's economic dominance in the region. The challenges pose to be sticky issues especially with recurring sentiments regarding the Sino-Japanese war brought up by periodic revisions of history textbook and Japanese official's visit to the Yasukuni shrine. Other reminders of China's "Century of humiliation" caused by Japan is sparked with Shinzo Abe's plan on revising the Pacifist Constitution, which is seen by China to be reminiscent of its imperialist past. Fervent nationalism disallows either countries to step back, complicating the process of normalising bilateral relations. A more compelling stand would be to agree with the statement.*

## Level Descriptors:

Level	Marks	Quality of the answer
5	21–25	<p>Responses show very good understanding of issues and developments which relate to the question and contain a relevant, focused and balanced argument based on a consistently analytical approach. This is fully supported by the use of appropriate factual material.</p> <p>Towards the top of the level, responses are expected to be analytical, focused, and balanced throughout. The argument will be coherent and will reach a supported judgement in response to the question. Candidates will demonstrate a critical approach and evaluate different views as appropriate. Towards the lower end of the level, responses might typically be analytical, consistent and balanced, but the argument might not be fully convincing.</p>
4	16–20	<p>Responses show a good understanding of issues and developments which relate to the question and contain a relevant argument based on a largely analytical approach. This is supported by some use of appropriate factual material.</p> <p>Towards the top of the level, responses are likely to be analytical, balanced and effectively supported. There may be some attempt to reach a judgement but this may be partial or unsupported. Candidates may show some critical awareness and are likely to appreciate that there are different views. Towards the lower end of the level, responses are likely to contain detailed factual material with some focused analysis, but the argument will be less coherent in places.</p>
3	11–15	<p>Responses show understanding of issues and developments which relate to the question and contain an argument based on some analytical points. This may not be highly developed and factual material may lack depth.</p> <p>Towards the top of the level, responses contain detailed factual material. However attempts to argue relevantly are implicit or confined to introductions and conclusions. Candidates may be aware that there are different views on issues but the approach will be descriptive rather than evaluative. Alternatively, responses may offer an analytical framework which contains some supporting material. Towards the lower end of the level, responses might offer some narrative or description relating to the topic, but are less likely to address the question directly.</p>
2	6–10	<p>Responses show some understanding of issues and developments which relate to the question. They may be analytical with limited relevant factual support.</p> <p>Towards the top of the level, responses might contain relevant commentaries which lack adequate factual support. The responses may contain some unsupported assertions. Towards the lower end of the level, responses are likely to contain some information which is relevant to the topic but will not demonstrate full understanding of the implications of the question.</p>
1	0–5	<p>Responses show limited understanding of issues and developments which relate to the question. They may only address part of the question.</p> <p>Towards the top of the level, responses show some awareness of relevant material but this may be presented as a list. Towards the lower end of the level, answers may provide a little relevant material but are likely to be characterised by irrelevance.</p>



**ST ANDREW'S JUNIOR COLLEGE**  
**Preliminary Examinations**  
**General Certificate of Education Advanced Level**  
**Higher 1**

---

**China Studies in English**

**8628/01**

Paper 1

**12 September 2018**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

---

**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write your name and class on all the work you hand in.  
Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.  
You may use a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.  
Do not use paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

**Section A**

Answer all questions.

**Section B**

Answer two questions. Answer **either** question 2 **or** question 3 **and** question 4 **or** question 5.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.  
The number of marks is given in brackets [ ] at the end of each question or part question.

---

This document consists of **5** printed pages.

**[Turn Over]**

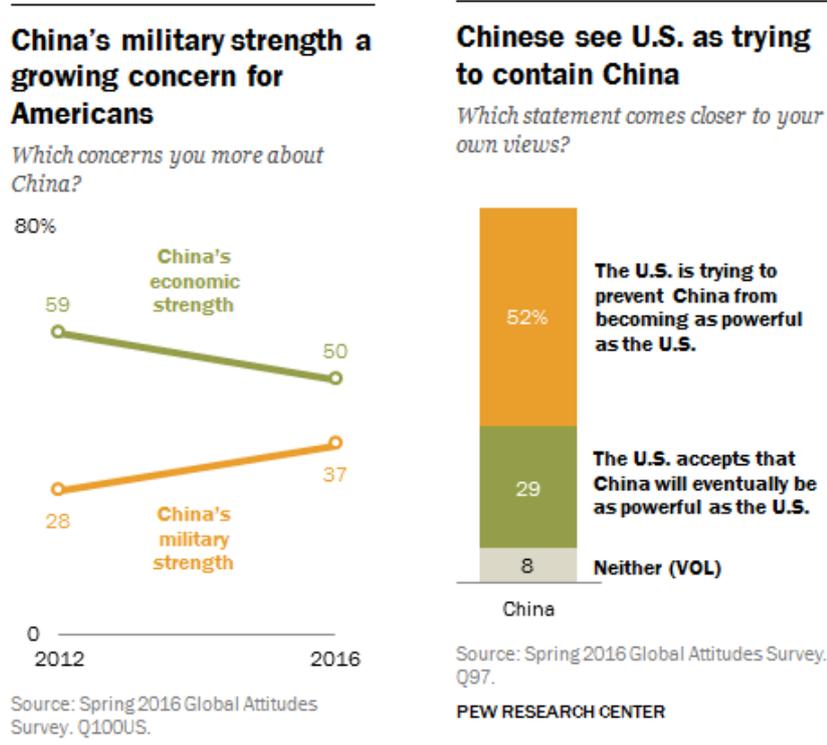
## Section A - Case Study

### Is conflict between China and US inevitable?

Read the following sources and answer **all** the questions which follow.

#### Source A

#### America's public opinion on China (left) and China's public opinion on the U.S. (right)



*From the website of PEW Research Center, based in United States, published in June 2016.*

#### Source B

Asked to distill China's message to the U.S., a Chinese colleague answered: Back off. As realistic students of history, Chinese leaders recognise that the role the U.S. has played since World War II as the guardian of regional stability and security has been essential to the rise of Asia, including China itself. But they believe that as the tide that brought the U.S. to Asia recedes, America must leave with it. As Xi told a gathering of Eurasian leaders in 2014, "In the final analysis, it is for the people of Asia to run the affairs of Asia, solve the problems of Asia and uphold the security of Asia."

The attempt to persuade the United States to accept the new reality has recently become most intense in the South China Sea. For decades China has been exasperated at the operation of the U.S. spy ships in water adjacent to its borders. China asserts that under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea the United States must request permission for these ships to operate in China's Exclusive Economic Zone, which extends two hundred nautical miles from China's shores — a claim the

U.S. flatly rejects. Nonetheless, the construction of radar facilities on features in the South China Sea, as well as airstrips and ports, will make it easier for China to track US ships conducting surveillance.

The ability to project power in the area will also give China greater influence over the \$5.3 trillion in trade that passes through the South China Sea every year. China has slowly muscled the United States out of these waters.

*Adapted from an academic text examining the relationship between China and America, published in 2017.*

### **Source C**

In the U.S., many are suspicious that today's China, with enhanced power and strong leadership, will try to reshape the current world order that has by and large served U.S. interests and goals thus far. Some Americans question the intentions behind Chinese initiatives such as the "One Belt, One Road" project and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. In particular, there are clear concerns in some quarters that China may become an assertive hegemon in Asia, at the expense of the long-standing role and influence of the United States. These mutual suspicions are real and have served to intensify the strategic competition between the two countries. However, we should not let them overshadow the many common interests the two countries share.

It is important to remember the numerous positive developments in the China-U.S. relationship over the past several years. Bilateral trade is on its way to surpass China's trade with the European Union and U.S. trade with Canada, making each the largest trading partner to the other. Chinese investment in the United States is rising rapidly, as are economic ties between some Chinese provinces and cities and their U.S. counterparts. The challenge for Chinese and U.S. leaders is that relations have now entered a "new normal", one in which both competition and cooperation are growing simultaneously. If the United States wavers between treating China as a rival or a partner, or considers China as a partner in selected areas while treating it as a rival more generally, it will be difficult for the two countries to build trust and cooperation, even in light of the deepening bilateral relationship. If these differences and conflicts are not properly managed, they may eventually lead the relationship in a direction that serves neither party's interests.

*From the website of the South China Morning Post, published in December 2016.*

### **Source D**

In 2014, the U.S. Department of Justice indicted Chinese Army officers for stealing trade secrets and other information from U.S. firms to help economically benefit Chinese firms. The case, includes numerous counts of cyber economic espionage, including stealing secrets from solar, steel and aluminum companies. The information stolen included both technical data and information about trade negotiations. The United States has been particularly troubled with China engaging in espionage to benefit their domestic companies and state-owned enterprises (SOEs). The corporate

beneficiaries of the stolen information profited financially from it, which seemed to the U.S. to be espionage of a different, and less acceptable, form than spying for the benefit of national security.

The indictment signaled that the United States was growing more serious about taking action against China for its commercial espionage. In July 2015, the U.S. reported that China conducted hundreds of successful cyber infiltrations on private and public domains over a five year period. This information caused the Obama administration to threaten China with sanctions and other diplomatic measures.

The differing approaches to cyberspace use and governance also reflect, to some extent, the larger world views of the U.S. and China. The United States values freedom of expression and self-determination. The U.S. also has a strong commitment to privacy. China, meanwhile, views economic competition as a way to achieve peer status with the U.S. and sees cyberspace as an instrument which it can successfully use to compete with the United States.

*Adapted from the website of The Diplomat, an online magazine on politics, society and culture in Asia Pacific, published in January 2017.*

Answer **all** the following questions.

- 1 (a) With reference to Sources A and B, explain the reasons behind military tensions between China and the United States. [6]
- (b) Using Sources C and D and your knowledge, assess how Sino-U.S. relations have influenced China's rise as a global power. [9]
- (c) Using the information from the sources and your knowledge, evaluate the issues facing Sino-U.S. relations and make recommendations on how the Chinese government can stabilise relations with the U.S. [15]

### Section B – Essay Questions

Answer **two** questions from this section.

#### EITHER

- 2 'Social challenges faced by China today is a significant threat to its one-party rule.' To what extent do you agree with this statement? [25]

#### OR

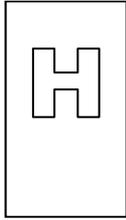
- 3 How far is public security the most effective strategy used by the Chinese state at managing present-day Chinese society? [25]

#### AND EITHER

- 4 How important is soft power in China's ascendance as a global power today? [25]

#### OR

- 5 'The challenges facing Sino-Japanese relations today far outweigh the opportunities for cooperation.' Discuss. [25]



TEMASEK JUNIOR COLLEGE  
Preliminary Examinations 2018  
General Certificate of Education Advanced Level  
Higher 1

---

## CHINA STUDIES IN ENGLISH

Paper 1

**8628/01**

**Tuesday 28 August 2018**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Paper, Cover Page

---

### READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name and CG on all the work you hand in.  
Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.  
Start each answer on a fresh piece of writing paper.  
You may use a an HB pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.  
Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

#### Section A

Answer all questions

#### Section B

Answer **two** questions. Answer **either** question 2 **or** question 3 and **either** question 4 **or** question 5.

At the end of the examination, fasten the answer scripts securely together.  
The number of marks is given in brackets [ ] at the end of each question or part question.

---

This question has **5** printed pages, including this page, and **1** blank page

## Section A – Case Study

### China and Multilateralism

Read the following sources and answer **all** the questions that follow

#### Source A

In 2013, China launched an initiative to establish a new multilateral development institution, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. The AIIB, Beijing argued, could help fill a multi-trillion dollar gap in financing for railways, roads, power plants, and other infrastructure in the world's fastest-growing region. But the United States treated China's proposal as a challenge to the existing regional and global development institutions that it had helped establish in the decades after World War II. Washington not only refused to join the bank itself but also launched a quiet diplomatic campaign to dissuade its allies from doing so either.

Washington contended that the new institution could undermine the existing system by offering investment without imposing the anticorruption and environmental standards used by existing groups. And some in Washington also implied that Beijing had a deeper purpose: to construct an alternative set of China-oriented international institutions free from both U.S. dominance and the liberal values espoused by the United States and other industrialized democracies. Many believed that Washington's stated uneasiness about standards actually masked a geopolitical concern that the bank was the first step in an effort by Beijing to construct a Sino-centric world order.

The U.S. attempt to halt or marginalize the AIIB failed miserably. The bank was launched in 2015, and by the middle of the next year, a host of close U.S. allies, including Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Israel, South Korea, and the United Kingdom (although with the notable exception of Japan), had defied Washington and signed up.

*Evan A. Feigenbaum, China and the World: Dealing with a Reluctant Superpower. Foreign Affairs, 2017*

**Source B**

Throughout the whole period of development and reform (which began in the late 1970s), China remained largely marginalised from the governance of international economic order as defined by Western powers in the wake of the Second World War. Nor indeed did it attempt to challenge this order: in fact, China even seemed quite comfortable with an economic order ruled by America and the West, be it in a commercial or a monetary capacity. As a result, China was able to benefit considerably, for example, from aid from the World Bank. After joining the institution in 1980, the People's Republic of China (PRC) became one of the institution's main "clients," borrowing over \$40 billion over the course of a quarter of a century, and subsequently funding nearly 300 investment projects, with one of the highest success rates ever recorded by the institution.

As well as receiving financial aid from the World Bank, the PRC also benefited from its technical assistance services and training activities. Interestingly - and surprisingly - enough, the Bank has never curtailed China in its choice of economic policy, having accepted right from the start that China's development strategy would be unique. Relations between China and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were more straightforward. While China never received financial assistance from the Fund, it was nevertheless able to take full advantage of cooperating with the institution by making regular use of its technical assistance services, and by holding regular consultations on its options for macroeconomic policy.

Finally, given the extrovert nature of its development strategy, China also complied relatively willingly with the demands imposed by its trade partners in the lead-up to its accession to the World Trade Organisation (WTO). In joining, China's leaders at the time were given the ability to push for quite a few reforms, given that the industrial nations had demanded far stricter requirements of China than of any other economy before allowing them to attain membership. China can, incidentally, be considered one of the chief beneficiaries of the Organization's creation. Since then, it has played along with the WTO's game, broadly respecting the rules, even if its behavior doesn't always match up to its commitments. Nevertheless, China gives its support to the Organization, taking part not only in trade negotiations, including certain multilateral agreements but also by participating in the dispute settlement mechanism and by accepting the WTO's decisions in these matters. Generally, China accepted the institutions as they were, and simply sought to take full advantage wherever possible.

*Adapted from Françoise Nicolas, China and the Global Economic Order: A Discreet Yet Undeniable Contestation in China Perspectives, 2016*

## Source C

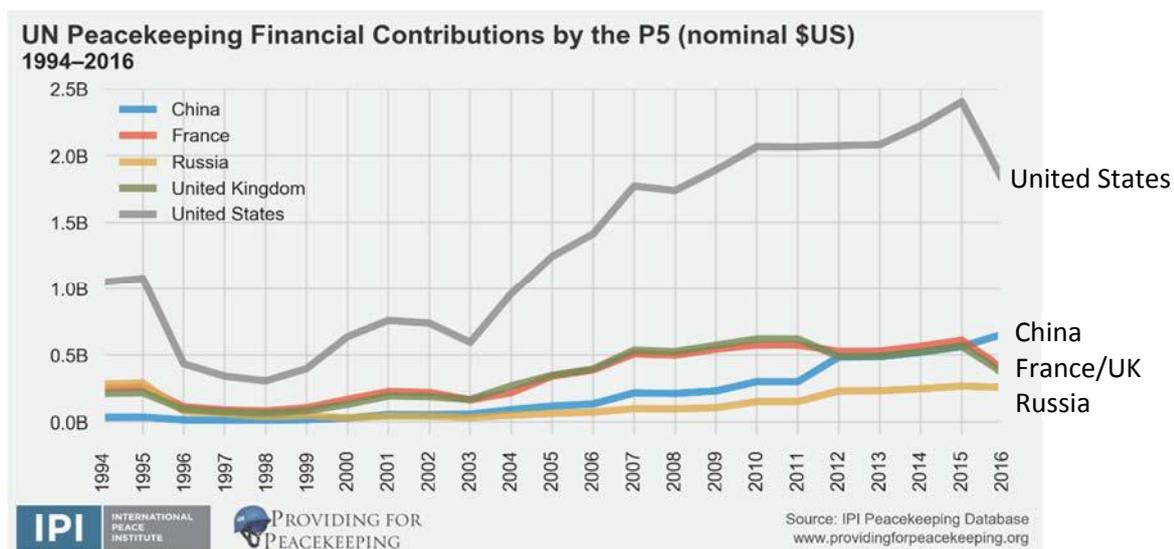
The EU and China recognise the importance of developing global free trade and investment, and promoting the multilateral rule-based system to allow the full development of the low greenhouse gas emission economy with all its benefits.

The EU and China welcome the Paris Agreement with its ambitious goals, its inclusive nature, and its reflection of equity. The Agreement recognises common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, in the light of different national circumstances. The EU and China consider the Paris Agreement as a historic achievement further accelerating the irreversible global low greenhouse gas emission and climate resilient development. The Paris Agreement is proof that with shared political will and mutual trust, multilateralism can succeed in building fair and effective solutions to the most critical global problems of our time. The EU and China underline their highest political commitment to the effective implementation of the Paris Agreement in all its aspects, including, inter alia, mitigation, adaptation, finance, technology development and transfer, capacity building and transparency of actions and support. Stepping up action will provide both sides with significant opportunities for modernising their economies, enhancing competitiveness, and ensuring socio-economic benefits of increased clean energy access.

The EU and China welcome the rapid signature and entry into force of the Paris Agreement, as a testimony of the international community's unwavering determination to confront this common challenge and as a clear signal to industry and investors, as confirmed by the Marrakech Action Proclamation for our Climate and Sustainable Development, adopted on the occasion of the UN Climate Change Conference of the Parties (COP 22) in November 2016, and by the Fiji Momentum for Implementation, adopted at COP 23 in November 2017.

*From the Joint Statement of the 20<sup>th</sup> EU-China Summit held in Beijing, July 2017*

## Source D



*From Providing for Peacekeeping website, accessed July 2018*

**Answer all the following questions**

1. (a) With reference to Sources A and B, explain the reasons behind China's involvement in international economic institutions. [6]
- (b) With reference to Sources C and D and your knowledge, assess China's success in engaging with multilateral institutions. [9]
- (c) Using information from the sources and your knowledge, evaluate the government's current approach in developing into a global power and make recommendations on how the government can further extend its global influence. [15]

**Section B – Essay Questions**

Answer **two** questions from this section

**EITHER**

2. How effective is governance in present day China? [25]

**OR**

3. How effective has China managed the problems arising from urbanisation? [25]

**AND EITHER**

4. 'Foreign relations with the US has been more significant than those with Japan in impacting China's rise as a global power.' Discuss. [25]

**OR**

5. To what extent has soft power successfully contributed to China's rise as a peaceful global power. [25]

**BLANK PAGE**



**VICTORIA JUNIOR COLLEGE  
JC2 PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION 2018  
HIGHER 1**

**H1 China Studies in English**

**8628/01**

**Paper 1**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer paper

---

**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write your Class, index number and name on all the work you hand in.  
Write in dark blue or black pen.  
You may use an HB pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.  
Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid/tape.

**Section A**

Answer question 1.

**Section B**

Answer two questions. Answer either question 2 **or** question 3 **and either** question 4 **or** question 5.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely. Tie your answers separately

The number of marks is given in brackets [ ] at the end of each question or part question.

---

This document consists of **4** printed pages

**[Turn over**

## Section A - Case Study

### Has the Communist Party secured its legitimacy?

Read the following sources and answer **all** the questions which follow.

#### Source A

Since the Party's 18th National Congress, Chinese Communists, with Comrade Xi Jinping as their chief representative, in response to contemporary developments have systematically addressed the major question of our times—what kind of socialism with Chinese characteristics the new era requires us to uphold and develop and how we should uphold and develop it, thus giving shape to Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era. The Thought is a continuation and development of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development. It is the latest achievement in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context, a collective wisdom of the Party and the people, and a guide to action for the entire Party and all the Chinese people to strive for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Under the guidance of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, the Communist Party has led the people of all ethnic groups in a concerted effort to carry out a great struggle, realize a great dream, ushering in a new era of socialism with Chinese characteristics. All Party members must keep firmly in mind the need to maintain political integrity, and keep in alignment, and firmly uphold the authority and centralized, unified leadership of the Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at the core, so as to ensure the solidarity, unity, and concerted action of the whole Party and guarantee the prompt and effective implementation of the Party's decisions.

*Excerpts from the Constitution of the Communist Party, revised and adopted at the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China on October 2017.*

#### Source B

Built on the ashes of Mao's legacies, the CCP leadership under Deng Xiaoping ushered in a new era of economic reform and opening to the outside world. The Chinese economy expanded tremendously from 1978 to 2010, and the living standards of the Chinese people improved greatly. China had the 10th largest economy in the world in 1978 but grew to become the second largest economy in the world in 2010 in less than 40 years.

In spite of environmental and social issues and the tragic Tiananmen incident in 1989, however, the CCP's rule remained resilient as a result of robust trickle-down economic growth. Measures to liberalise the economy provided new sources of income growth

for many Chinese families and raised living standards. The real test is whether the CCP under the leadership of Xi Jinping can find lasting, effective solutions to put at ease its people's top concerns. For now, economic and environmental sustainability looks set to be on the top of the CCP's agenda. China is likely to enter a phase of prosperity, development and national glory if the CCP can ensure a green, natural environment where people continue to have access to clean air and water and thrive in an egalitarian culture that stamps out corruption and allows ordinary citizens to enjoy the fruits of their labour.

*A commentary published by Singapore's Channel News Asia, 2017.*

### **Source C**

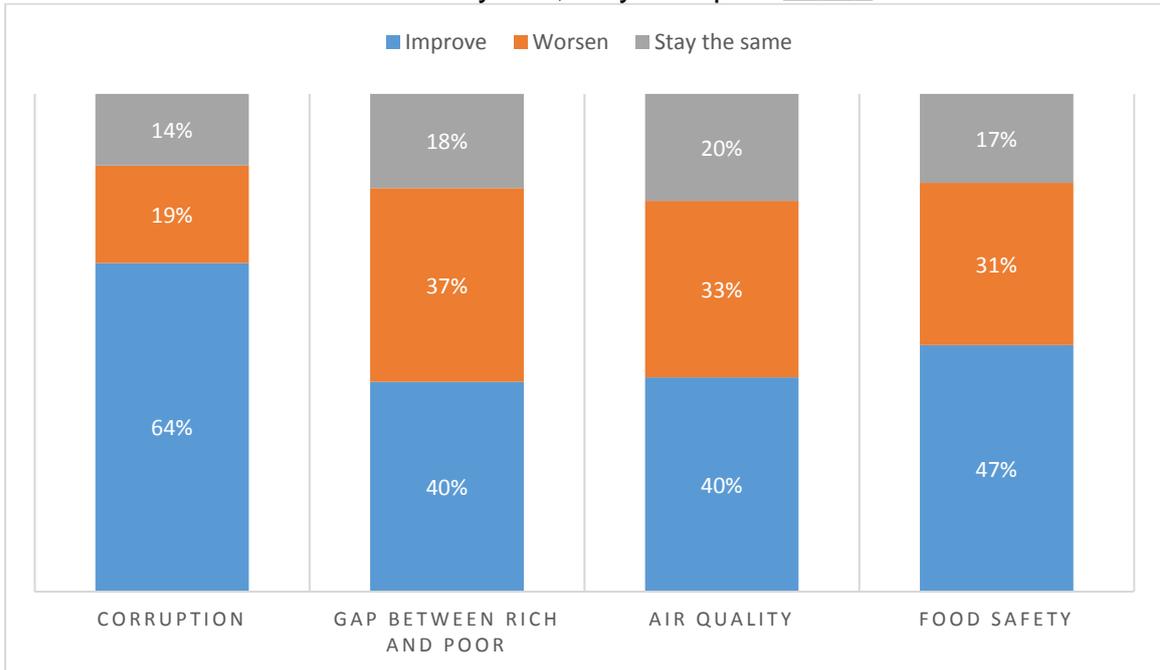
The CCP's hold on power for the past three decades suggests that performance legitimacy is a workable model for justifying rule. However, China's economic growth of the past 30 years was unprecedented in magnitude and duration, as the country averaged 10% growth annually. Thus, the effectiveness of China's performance legitimacy model was perhaps augmented in ways that normal economic growth would not make possible. If China's economic miracle were to suddenly end, its performance legitimacy would be undermined, and the country could find itself in a legitimacy crisis. Therefore, looking into a future in which China expects high, but more ordinary growth rates, its performance legitimacy would be a less effective method of justifying power.

A government cannot maximize its legitimacy unless it possesses a moral justification to rule. For example, China's government is not morally justifiable because corruption is rampant and even shows signs of worsening. As a result, Chinese citizens might withdraw support of such a government lacking ideological and moral grounds to rule. Ideological legitimacy can be an equally, if not more, effective model for power legitimization. The CCP maintained a high level of legitimacy under Mao's rule, even though his programs brought economic disaster to the Chinese people. The people were willing to follow the party line at the expense of their own well-being and believed that the tragedies endured were necessary costs on the path to a better future.

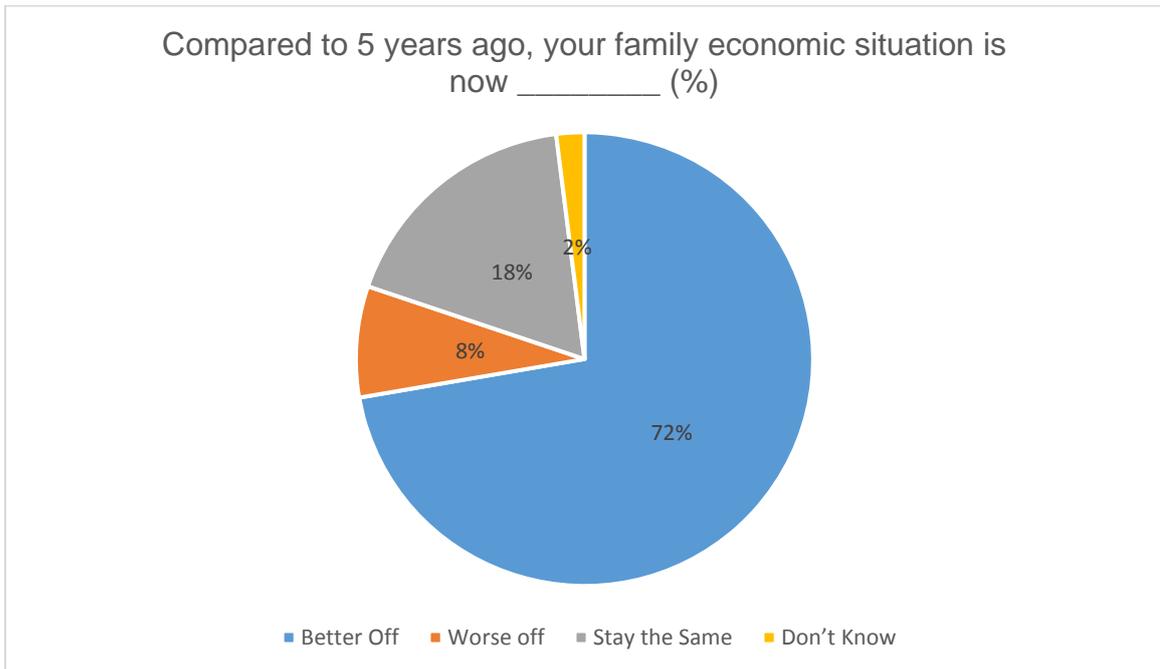
*Commentary from a publication by Yale University, 2013.*

**Source D**

In the next five years, do you expect \_\_\_\_\_ to ...



Compared to 5 years ago, your family economic situation is now \_\_\_\_\_ (%)



Source: Data adapted from PEW Global Attitudes Survey, 2016.

**Answer all the following questions.**

- 1 (a) With reference to Sources A, explain the role of Xi's Thought in the governance of China. [6]
  - (b) With reference to Sources B and C, and your own knowledge, assess the importance of performance-based legitimacy for the CCP's mandate to rule. [9]
  - (c) Using information from the sources and your own knowledge, evaluate the most significant challenge facing CCP's legitimacy in China today and make recommendations on how the CCP can overcome the challenge. [15]
- 

**Section B – Essay Questions****Answer two questions from this section.****EITHER**

- 2 Assess the impact of rapid urbanisation on Chinese society today. [25]

**OR**

- 3 How successful has the Chinese government been in managing the growth of civil society in China today? [25]

**AND EITHER**

- 4 'China has completed its rise as a global power.' Discuss. [25]

**OR**

- 5 To what extent is China's relationship with Japan dominated by security issues? [25]



**Can China and the United States resolve their differences?**

Read the following sources and then answer **all the questions** which follow.

**Source A**

Taiwan's president has given a speech in the United States - the first time in 15 years that a leader of the island has spoken publicly on American soil - in a move likely to anger Beijing.

During a stopover en route to Paraguay, Ms Tsai Ing-wen, whose government refuses to endorse Beijing's view that Taiwan is part of China, vowed to defend democratic values.

"We will keep our pledge that we are willing to jointly promote regional stability and peace under the principles of national interests, freedom and democracy," she said on Monday (Aug 13).

Her transit in Los Angeles was the most high-profile since former Taiwan president Chen Shui-bian's 2003 stopover in New York, where he accepted a human rights award and delivered several public speeches.

Washington switched diplomatic recognition to Beijing from Taipei in 1979, but it remains the island's biggest arms supplier and most important unofficial ally.

Ties have warmed further since President Donald Trump came to power, and were further bolstered by the passage this week of the National Defence Authorisation Act, which includes a commitment to military support of Taiwan.

Last month, the US sent two warships into the Taiwan Strait. That followed a string of military drills staged by Beijing around the island.

Ms Tsai's trip to Paraguay comes as Taiwan seeks to firm up ties with its dwindling band of diplomatic allies, whose number fell to 18 after Burkina Faso and the Dominican Republic switched recognition to Beijing in May.

Under pressure from Beijing, a growing number of international airlines and companies have also edited their websites to refer to the territory as "Taiwan, China" or "Chinese Taipei".

*News Article excerpt from the Straits Times, 14 August 2018*

**Source B**

Lighthizer just completed a seven-month investigation into China and intellectual property at Trump's direction. The \$50 billion figure is based on U.S. estimates of the lost corporate earnings caused by China's alleged IP theft or forced technology transfers. U.S. officials were said to find strong evidence that China uses foreign-ownership restrictions to compel American companies to switch technology to local firms and that China supports and conducts cyberattacks on U.S. companies to access trade secrets.

President Xi Jinping highlighted the need to speed up protections in a speech last year, calling for stricter enforcement and for infringers to pay a “heavy price.” Also in 2017, China started a nationwide campaign to protect foreign firms’ international property rights. The Ministry of Commerce says China is a developing country and doesn’t have a perfect system to protect IP, acknowledging that there’s much work to do. Premier Li Keqiang, in a speech in March, promised to protect the rights of foreigners investing in its economy.

Of 50 countries in the U.S. Chamber of Commerce’s International IP Index, which measures a country’s commitment to fostering and protecting innovation through legal rights, China ranks 25th. (The U.S. is No. 1 and Venezuela last). China earns praise in that survey for its reforms on patents (the right to make, use or sell an invention) and copyright (the right to express an idea) and its efforts to raise awareness of IP rights.

*News article excerpt from Bloomberg, 22 March 2018*

### Source C

## One-sided deal? U.S.-China trade in 2017

China runs up huge surpluses in tech, manufacturing

*U.S. deficits with China, in billions*



U.S. goods deficit  
with China in 2017:  
\$375.2 billion

*U.S. surpluses with China, in billions*



Source: U.S. Census

**Source D**

It is regrettable the US media and certain of its politicians persist in interpreting China as a zero-sum game and power politics. The year 2018 marks the 40th anniversary of China's reform and opening-up as well as the establishment of diplomatic relations. Four decades of Sino-American evolutionary history has proven China a global force for the maintenance of peace with whom cooperation is worthwhile.

On the issue of cooperation, everyone will be agreed that China is not Russia, Iran or a force for global revolution, but rather a protector of the status quo. Ian Johnston, professor of political studies at Harvard, estimated that China's participation in the international system, international organizations, international law and the formulation of international rules since the 1990s has been close to that of developed countries. China is gradually moving from the periphery to the center, becoming a participant, builder, contributor and beneficiary of the current international system. China has participated in and supported the so-called 'liberal international order' established by the US since World War II. Since 2017, the US has withdrawn from the Paris Accords and UNESCO, which China is still supporting. The charge of undermining the international order is unfair and does not stand.

Regarding "win-win," we owe a particular debt of gratitude to American companies for their investment in China over the past 40 years, a positive element in promoting "reform and opening-up." On the other hand, many friends at American companies in Beijing tell me that their companies are reaping good profits. During President Trump's state visit in November 2017, Sino-American companies signed a total of 34 cooperation projects worth \$253.5 billion, setting a record not only for bilateral economic and trade cooperation but also the history of world economic and trade cooperation. As the world's two largest economies, cooperation between companies in the two countries will be the engine of regional and global economic growth, with results benefiting the whole world.

As for peace, China and the US have always displayed a high degree of unity on the road to world peace, stability and the fight against terrorism. In the last two years, terrorist attacks have been rising, especially in Europe and the US. Terrorism has been harming world peace and development. As a permanent member of the Security Council and a big developing country, China contributed to international counter-terrorism, making the largest contribution to UN peacekeeping operations.

*This is a speech by Wang Wen, executive dean at the Chongyang Institute for Financial Studies at Renmin University of China, delivered at the "Forum on Sino-American Relations" hosted by AmCham China in New York on March 21, 2018*

---

- 1 (a) With reference to Source A, explain how the perspectives of China and the United States on Taiwan affect their relationship. [6]
- (b) With reference to Sources B, C, and your own knowledge, assess the view that China is an economic threat to the United States. [9]
- (c) Using information from the sources, and your own knowledge, evaluate the most significant geopolitical or national security concern between China and the United States, and make recommendations on how the Chinese government can effectively manage the problem. [15]

## **Section B**

### **Essay Questions**

Answer **two** questions from this section.

#### **EITHER**

- 2 Assess the role of the urban middle class in the social and economic stability of China. [25]

#### **OR**

- 3 “CCP’s legitimacy is mainly derived from China’s economic performance”. Assess this view. [25]

#### **AND EITHER**

- 4 Assess the view that China’s relation with Japan is dominated by historical issues. [25]

#### **OR**

- 5 “China’s global influence is limited to its economic clout”. How far do you agree? [25]