SPECIFIC INFORMATION

Section A – Short-answer questions

In this section, more successful responses showed evidence of thinking before writing – not just dashing off the first responses that came to mind. More successful responses were planned and specifically directed at what the question required.

Typically off-the-top-of-the-head responses failed to score high marks, as they were not precisely focused on the question, failed to give sufficient detail and failed to clearly identify two points if they were required. Students should remember that where 2 marks are 'available', it is generally expected two clearly identified separate points are given.

Question 1 (Average mark 1.48/Available marks 2)
State two important characteristics of the Cold War.

Two clearly identified **characteristics** of the **whole** Cold War period were expected. Characteristics had to be general features or elements of the Cold War not just of only part of the Cold War. Thus nuclear conflict or deterrence is only a characteristic of the period of the Cold War after 1949 when the USSR became nuclear capable.

Listing specific conflicts could not be rewarded. Acceptable answers included:

- ideological conflict – together with explanation of the nature of the differences between each system
- hegemonic conflict – struggle to prevent the expansion of each other's system
- proxy wars and conflicts.

Question 2
Nation states enter into agreements with other nation states for a wide variety of reasons

a. (0.78/1)
Name one post–World War II agreement made between two or more nation states.

Some leniency was given over the meaning of 'agreement', but it had to cover more than a specific arrangement to cover a precise circumstance. Thus 'agreements' could be either formal or more informal, but had to be specifically entered into by **more than one state**. The implication of the question was for a specific set of more permanent and more enduring arrangements. Vague or imprecise responses such as the 'War against terror', or 'agreement to end Cuban Missile Crisis' were considered too imprecise. An answer such as 'agreement allowing weapons inspections' was not rewarded as it involved only one state (Iraq) and UN (not a nation state).

b. (0.7/1)
State one aim that any of the participating nation states hoped to achieve by making this agreement

Credit was given for specific and definite aims such as:
- 'protection against invasion' or 'defence protection' – Australia's aim with ANZUS
- 'access to increased international trade' – or 'gaining international legitimacy' – China's joining the WTO.

c. (0.99/2)
Explain the extent to which this aim was achieved

This demanded some evaluation, and more successful answers were able to show some qualifications or doubt as to whether a result was achieved. For example, whether Australia gained security protection through ANZUS is doubtful: the treaty has never been directly tested; since the Nixon–Guam doctrine there is doubt as to its obligations.

Some credit for reasonable responses to part (b) and (c) was given even if (a) was not rewarded.

Question 3 (2.44/4)
Explain two of the following terms as used in the study of international relations.

The key words here are 'as used in the study of international relations'. Explanations consisting of two clearly identified points based on their normal usage in the literature were expected.

Sovereignty – legitimate or widely recognised ability to exercise effective control of territory within recognised borders.

Trade Liberalisation – the removal or reduction of restrictions on international trade through subsidies, tariffs, and the opening up to more market oriented forces.

Nationalism –the use of, or appeal to, theories which emphasised national unification, self determination, anti-colonialism, as the basis for international action. Note that 'patriotism was not enough'. Nationalism is normally something more than patriotism which normally means simply love of country. 'Nationalism' usually involves a political extension: its **use**, *for example* in creating feeling or an environment for – national unification, self determination, anti-colonialism; to prevent secessionism, or national break up; or a sense of its being used by ruling elites to create popular support for policies.

Containment – specific reference to 'Expansionist Communism' and a Cold War context was expected for full marks. Alternative precise uses such as 'the attempt to limit the spread of Iraq' were acceptable.

Communism – both economic and political elements. The theory of communism as involving state (Government) ownership or management of the main sectors of the economy as summed up as a 'centralised command economy' satisfied the economic aspect. Comments on political features of communist regimes such as a 'one party state', a 'proletarian dictatorship', or totalitarianism were not fully rewarded by themselves. They needed to be in addition to economic elements.

Section B – Short-answer questions

Question 1

*In your course this year you studied some competing perceptions of national interests **within** one Asia–Pacific nation state (other than Australia). In the space provided below, name the nation state you studied, and then answer the following questions using examples from the nation state you studied.*

Name of nation state.

Clearly the entity had to be a 'state' within the region, though tolerance was allowed for 'states' whose status was problematic – Tibet, Taiwan, East Timor before 2001 etc.

a. (3.79/6)

Name two groups that have (or had) competing perceptions of the national interests of their nation state, and briefly describe these competing perceptions.

The key element here was '***competing** perceptions*' ***within*** a nation state as defined. Credit could not be given for different but not necessarily competing perceptions within a state such as Aceh and East Timor. Marks were allocated on the basis of the adequacy and comprehensiveness of detail of the explanation. Some reference to ***definable groups of people*** with specific and defined aims was required. As with other questions for 3 marks, 1 mark was awarded for identification of the groups and 2 for adequacy of the description.

b. (1.64/4)

Explain the way in which any one of the perceptions you have listed above affected the foreign policy directions of that nation state.

This was one of the least well answered questions, as many students did not meet the demands of the question to show how the competing perceptions influenced foreign policy outcomes in specific ways. The answer was rewarded in terms of its effects on ***foreign*** (not internal) ***policy***.
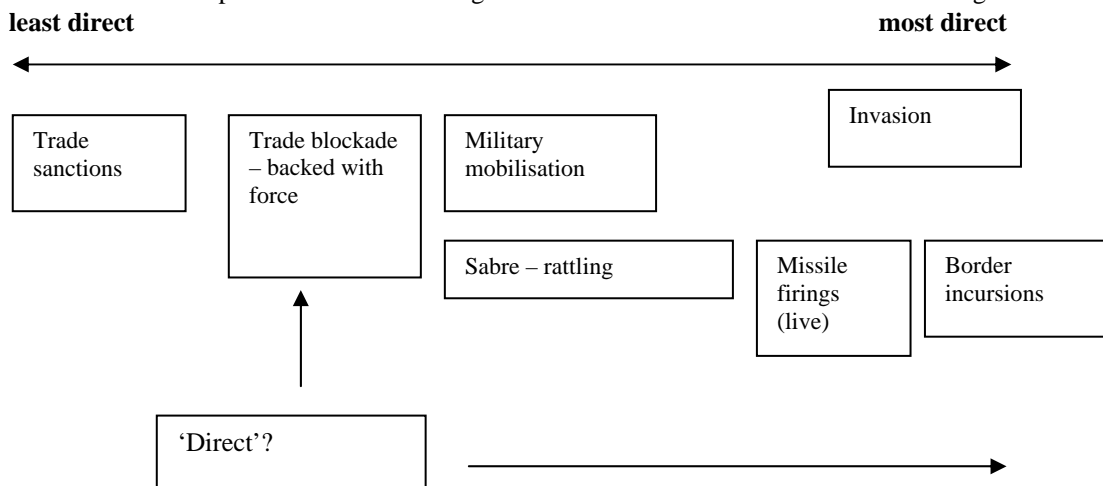
Question 2

Power grows out of the barrel of a gun (Mao Zedong)

a. (2.67/1)

Give one example of the direct use of military power in the Asia–Pacific in the past twenty-five years.

The example offered had to be within the last 25 years and in the Asia–Pacific. Some tolerance was given if the example began before the last 25 years but continued after (i.e. an extension to 1975 under strict conditions). The Indonesian invasion of East Timor of that year was accepted as it began close to, and continued during the last 25 years. However, North Vietnam's victory over South Vietnam of the same year was not allowed as the direct use of military power in this example does not really continue after 1975. The question implied the 'external' use of 'direct' military power but it did not specify this. Thus, internal use of direct military power was allowed, as in many Asian countries, the use of the army for internal purposes has greater legitimacy than in the west. Specificity was rewarded and to be acceptable the answer had to identify more than place or name, Therefore reference to the ***army*** 'massacre' in Tiananmen Square 1989, or Army massacre Dili 1991, were allowable. However, responses such as 'East Timor by Indonesia', United Nations, Spratly Islands were judged as not specific enough, The Gulf war or India–Pakistan were not within the Asia–Pacific region.

There were serious problems of the meaning of 'direct'. A continuum such as the following was used to adjudicate:

least direct   **most direct**

b. (1.59/3)

Describe how effective the military action was in settling the issue.

'Effectiveness' of the example was the key discriminator here. Many students did not really examine 'effectiveness' in any consistent way. Comments on 'effectiveness' had to contain some *evaluative* aspects and in practice this demanded some balancing or nuancing of the response. This was best done with an approach which mentioned 'On the one hand' … while 'on the other hand'. Evaluation also frequently demands some attention to the aims or intentions of the policy. The best student responses were precisely detailed and balanced in their evaluations in relation to national interest aims.

c. (0.72/1)

*Name **one** non-military instrument of foreign policy.*

A wide variety of answers was accepted on the condition that it did not involve military elements. Examples such as propaganda, economic instruments (boycotts, preferential tariffs), diplomacy, and negotiations were rewarded. Note that 'economics' by itself was not accepted as it is too vague. Similarly, 'trade' or 'economic growth' by themselves without further elucidation are not a direct instrument of foreign policy. 'Clandestine intervention' was accepted as a kind of 'non-military' instrument on the grounds that frequently such clandestine intervention involved non-official military forces, such as the 'militia' in East Timor in 1999.

d. (1.5/3)

*Give **one** example, over the past twenty-five years, where a non-military instrument was used in an attempt to settle a specific issue in the Asia–Pacific region. Explain how effective the instrument was.*

The 'non-military instrument of foreign policy', did not have to be the one given in part (c), but it did have to be continuing over the past 25 years, and related to a specific issue in the region. 'Effectiveness' had to be specifically addressed.

Question 3 (3.65/6)

Name any two regional or global organisations and explain their role and influence in the Asia–Pacific region since 1945.

This question pointed to the role of any of the organisations specified in the study design. Many students did not immediately consider organisations such as ASEAN, ARF, SPF, UN, WTO (often assessors had to rule against a range of plausible suggestions as there had be an organisational structure; a range of NGOs and even terrorist groups was accepted if they clearly possessed organisational structures with international components and were not just 'pressure groups'). Above all students had to show its 'influence' in the region since 1945. Many students did not have sufficiently detailed comments and could not be highly rewarded.

Essays (Section C and D)

Conflict (8.09/15)

As well as the 'normal' problems of poor expression, limited understanding of events and too much simplified narrative focus, there were two main problems:

(i) an inability or unwillingness to analyse – pull statements apart and critically examine them
(ii) discuss the various subject content of the course in the terms of the basic concepts.

In this year's paper, there was a noticeable vagueness and imprecision over core concepts such as foreign policy 'instruments', and the ways elements of national interest can be described such as national unity, ethnicity, nationalism, ideology.

Question 1

During the Cold War, ideology was the underlying factor in most conflicts. In more recent years, issues such as ethnicity and nationalism have had far more influence.
*Discuss this statement with reference to **at least one** Cold War conflict and **at least one** post–Cold War conflict.*

This was a straight-forward question which asked students to compare the relative role of 'ideological factors' in Cold War conflicts, with 'ethnicity' and 'nationalism' in post–Cold War conflicts.

There appeared to be a reluctance to discuss the meaning of 'ideology' and evaluate its role in Cold War conflicts. The question really asks students to evaluate the extent to which ideology was an important, even if underlying factor, in a chosen Cold War conflict. While 'ideology' is a somewhat slippery concept, students were expected to engage in some discussion of its meaning and application in chosen conflicts. For example students could have contrasted both the economic and political structures of 'communism' and 'capitalism', and showed how these merged into issues of regional and global hegemony –the struggle for influence of rival world views. Such an analysis was necessary for high marks.

For most conflicts, ideological conflict as defined was normally a component but it was not necessarily a major component. In the case of the Cuban Missile crisis, while there was an ideological dimension through the fear of the 'infiltration' of communist ideology into US sphere of influence in Central America, the dominant motive appears to have been more simply one of power.

The US perceived its national security to be in danger from an enhanced first strike capacity from the USSR through MRBMs in Cuba, to be in danger of losing their first strike advantage and be more vulnerable to nuclear blackmail in

other parts of the world such as Berlin. Considerations of control and influence over allies was important. Such comments also apply to the Berlin crises, Korea and the Vietnam War. However, arguably there was less of a threat to direct interests and more of an ideological dimension to preventing the further spread of communism in the case of Vietnam. It is arguable, that in the case of the Afghanistan conflict during the Cold War, 'ideological' involvement is present in a different form. It was permissible to extend 'ideological' to include 'religious' factors such as the USSR's desire to prevent the influence of Islam. The USSR wished to limit the expansion of fundamentalist Islam within its sphere of influence and minimise the potential threat this implied for its own national unity.

The case of Vietnam raises other complications. While from the US perspective it may be considered to be at least partly 'ideological' in origins, from the North Vietnam, or even the Viet Cong perspective such 'ideological' dimensions were far less important than nationalism. The desire for national unification, self determination and anti-neo-colonialism were strong factors from the Communist side, and while they are 'ideological', it is in a different way from the Communist versus Capitalist ideological dimension. More successful answers were rewarded if they were able to discuss and intelligently analyse these more sophisticated aspects.

For the second, post-Cold War part of the question, students were expected to analyse and if necessary, debate the involvement of 'ethnicity' or 'nationalism' as a component of the chosen conflict. While these terms are clearly appropriate to the collapse of Yugoslavia for example, they have limited relevance to the major issue discussed by many students, the Gulf War. Simply asserting the dominance of the motives of 'oil' or 'economics' in this example is clearly not sufficient for high marks. Some attempt to apply these concepts, even if to show they are not highly relevant, was necessary for an evaluation of the motivation in the case of recent international terrorism and the war against it.

There still appears to be a general reluctance to engage in conceptual analysis with many students still content with a simplified description of what happened. Students and teachers must remember that simple (or even more complex) description or narrative of events is never sufficient for high marks in any essay. Close engagement with the precise terms and intelligent analysis of the sophisticated issues raised by the questions is expected.

Question 2
The methods used to resolve international conflicts have changed dramatically since the end of the Cold War.
*Discuss this statement in regard to **one** Cold War conflict and **one** post–Cold War conflict.*
This was a popular question and a number of students failed to focus precisely on the means of resolution of the chosen conflicts in and after the Cold War. A more precise focus on 'resolution' implied some discussion as to if, how and when full permanent resolution occurred. Many students who did focus satisfactorily on resolution did not go to the more sophisticated point of analysing whether complete or satisfactory (to all sides) or permanent resolution was achieved. The popular examples discussed such as the Cuban missile crisis, often did not point out the less than satisfactory nature of the agreements for groups on both sides. For the US 'hawks', Cuba was permanently lost to communism or Castro's version of it, and the US had added complications in the hegemonic control of Central America. For the hardline Stalinists in the USSR, despite the forced removal of the Turkish missiles, the apparent capitulation by Kruschev representing a more liberal strand of communism implied a future threat to Kruschev's leadership, and the eventual replacement of his more liberal regime by the tougher Brezhnev neo-Stalinist model.

Question 3
Conflict was simpler to understand during the Cold War period: one side was clearly right, and the other clearly wrong. Situations are more complex today.
*Discuss this statement with reference to **at least one** Cold War conflict and **at least one** post–Cold War conflict.*
This was a less popular question. It was also an unusual form of a more basic question which can be reduced simply to – are conflicts more complex since the end of the Cold War? Sophisticated students were able to score well by answering that while the conflicts are not necessarily more complex today, and that just as they were complex in the Cold War period, it is difficult to decide right and wrong. Students should remember that under normal circumstances they are not expected to take sides. While this question appears to demand that they take sides this was not really necessary.

This proposition could easily be demonstrated by fully explaining the complexity of the chosen examples and why it is difficult to decide who is right or wrong. Popular examples such as the Cuban missile crisis, the Gulf war, could show this easily.

Answers to this question showed that many students are unable to 'deconstruct' to expose the essential underlying meaning of the question, and to analyse it seriously and deeply. Teachers might consider extra practice in 'question deconstruction'. One way of deconstructing this question was:

- were conflicts in the Cold War period less complex than those conflicts since the end of the Cold War? (Can this be demonstrated in the case of the Vietnam, Cuban, Berlin, Korean or Afghanistan conflicts?)
- was one element of any lack of complexity in Cold War conflicts, the fact that right and wrong were easily discernible? (Can this be demonstrated in the case of the Vietnam, Cuban, Berlin, Korean or Afghanistan conflicts?).

Australian Foreign Policy (7.88/15)

Question 1

Globalisation has meant that Australian foreign policy is now driven primarily by concerns about markets and resources.
Evaluate the importance of globalisation in comparison with other factors that have influenced Australian foreign policy over the last twenty years.

This question looked more difficult than it really was, and probably for this reason, it was not popular. In essence the question asked for an evaluation of the effects of the changes wrought by the Hawke government in economic liberalism, against other factors, such as regional engagement, and concentration on the US alliance in the new strategic situation in the late 1990s.

It was clear that among the few students who did attempt this question, there was little understanding of the international implications of the Hawke initiated economic changes – deregulation of the financial markets, floating of the dollar – 'which were broadly implied by 'globalisation'. Similarly the concerns for decreased protection (through APEC), and a focus on access to regional trade in the Keating years were also implied in this question.

There needs to be more emphasis on economic aspects as part of Australian foreign policy. While students may have been thrown by the use of 'globalisation' in this context, the course implies an ability to integrate domestic policies (such as economic de-regulation in the 1980s, as well as changes to immigration and settlement policies) in a foreign policy context. Arguably, in addition to changes to defence policy (such as the Dibb report), tensions and pressures over the US alliance (the MX controversy for example), the opening up of the Australian economy to international forces undertaken by the Hawke and continued by the Keating government, was of great importance in the positioning of Australia in the world.

The question did not demand simply attention to the 1980s and early 1990s, but it gave sufficient latitude to consider and evaluate late changes such as those wrought by the Howard government. It was the evaluation which was the most important part of this question. Students needed to show that they were aware of the changes and could effectively 'weigh them up' against other changes in the last 20 years.

Question 2

Recent events have reconfirmed the value to Australia of its alliance with the USA.
Has the US alliance served Australia's national interest in the past, and does it continue to do so?

It is a concern that basic questions on Australian foreign policy appear to be receiving scant attention from teachers and students. This was a 'classic' generic question involving some consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of the US Alliance to Australia's national interest. It was in essence a simple cost-benefit question, contrasting the perceived advantages and disadvantages of the US alliance 'then' – 'at some point in the past' – and 'now'. Thus the question invokes issues of the changing nature of the US alliance, obviously a very important aspect of the topic. The evidence suggests that there is insufficient concentration on such basic questions. This question has of course an added sting in the tail, as it requires students to adjust the basic cost benefit analysis of the generic form of the question to a consideration of 'recent events'. In effect the question was a disguised version of the following: 'How, or to what extent, have recent events, altered the balance of costs and benefits in Australia's alliance with the US.'

Many students have an unreasonably simplistic notion of the US alliance. Others appear to believe that the US alliance automatically provides Australia with some defence protection. Students should debate the extent to which this is true, and such a debate should engage in some discussion of:

- the vagueness and ambiguities of the actual ANZUS agreement
- the initial reluctance of the US to join this agreement
- the perceived necessity of successive Australian governments to strengthen US obligations to Australian defence (US bases, support for US policies)
- changing US regional and global doctrines – the Nixon–Guam doctrine
- effects on the alliance of
    - changing governments (Coalition or Labor)
    - changing circumstances – the threat of proliferation of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction, and international terrorism.

Also relevant is the changing nature of the power asymmetries inherent in the relationship. The US recognises that Australia has the right to operate an independent regional foreign policy, which on a number of points has been directly opposed to the US. Australia still gains benefit from the alliance in terms of access to equipment, inter-operability, and joint military exercises, but above all intelligence sharing. The question left it open to students to define 'recent events'.

Question 3

Self-interest has been the main determinant of the general direction of Australia's foreign policy decisions.
Discuss Australian foreign policy over the past twenty years in the light of this statement.

The basic terms 'self interest', and 'main determinant' required considerable attention, and often this close analysis was not given. Similarly there was an obvious failure to link specific foreign policies and actions to the underlying motives

of national interest. Students and teachers need to remember that national interests are shown as much through what actions are taken, as through abstract discussions about what our national interests are.

Consider a simple subdivision of Australia's national interests:

(i) maintenance of sovereignty and security of Australia; including the recently publicised debates on 'border protection', as well as the direct issues of defence, and regional and global security.

(ii) economic growth and prosperity

(iii) concern for 'internationalism'; the 'internationalist agenda' is commonly taken to include actions to control and minimise piracy, slavery, international terrorism, narcotics, weapons of mass destruction, refugees and diseases (such as AIDs); concern to prevent environmental degradation.

 'Self interest' is obviously appropriate to the first two categories, and an effective answer could have been developed around the policies and actions Australia has adopted to further these basic aims. However, the third category is not just pure 'altruism' (concern for others). There is an element of self-interest in this 'internationalist agenda', simply to minimise potential difficulties for Australia in the future. Students and teachers should remember former Foreign minister Evans description of these as including '***being seen to be active*** in their control'. This points to the increase in international reputation and kudos which Australia has received in prosecuting some of these issues (and alternatively how we have lost reputation for some of our more recent actions). We gain direct diplomatic power and leverage through showing concerns on such 'internationalist' issues as refugees and immigration, environmental concerns (e.g. Kyoto).

 Some aspects of Australian foreign policy aims, which appear to have more of an altruistic feature such as immigration, control of terrorism, or environmental concerns have a strong self-interest component.