



**ST ANDREW'S JUNIOR COLLEGE**  
**Preliminary Examinations**  
**General Certificate of Education Advanced Level**  
**Higher 2**

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**HISTORY**

**9731/02**

Paper 2 History of Southeast Asia c.1900-1997

27 August 2015

3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

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**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 staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

**Section A**

Answer **Question 1**.

**Section B**

Answer any **three** questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.  
All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

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This document consists of **4** printed pages.

**[Turn Over**

## Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

### ASEAN AND THE SOUTH CHINA SEA DISPUTE

- 1 Read the sources and then answer the question.

When answering **Question 1** candidates are advised to pay particular attention to the interpretation and evaluation of the sources both individually and as a group.

#### Source A

WE, the Foreign Ministers of the member countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations;

HEREBY

1. EMPHASIZE the necessity to resolve all sovereignty and jurisdictional issues pertaining to the South China Sea by peaceful means, without resort to force;
2. URGE all parties concerned to exercise restraint with the view to creating a positive climate for the eventual resolution of all disputes;
3. RESOLVE, without prejudicing the sovereignty and jurisdiction of countries having direct interests in the area, to explore the possibility of cooperation in the South China Sea relating to the safety of maritime navigation and communication, protection against pollution of the marine environment, coordination of search and rescue operations, efforts towards combatting piracy and armed robbery as well as collaboration in the campaign against illicit trafficking in drugs;
4. COMMEND all parties concerned to apply the principles contained in the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia as the basis for establishing a code of international conduct over the South China Sea;
5. INVITE all parties concerned to subscribe to this Declaration of principles.

*Extracted from ASEAN Declaration on The South China Sea, signed in Manila, Philippines, dated 22 July 1992.*

#### Source B

The issue of the South China Sea has been addressed in dialogues between ASEAN and China with some strong talking at the initial occasion in April 1996 in the wake of the revelation of the seizure of Mischief Reef, but without any practical outcome for conflict resolution. Correspondingly, the issue of the South China Sea has been raised in general terms within the working sessions of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). The ARF, like ASEAN, is not a problem-solving vehicle but is concerned primarily with general confidence-building and has not taken any significant initiative to try and resolve the competing claims to sovereign jurisdiction.

*Extracted from an academic paper, 1999.*

**Source C**

The attempts to manage potential conflicts in the South China Sea began with informal diplomacy and some agreements became formal intergovernmental positions. For example, the principles of cooperation agreed by the South China Sea Workshop in 1991 became in 1992 the formal ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea. The Workshop attempts to study and promote a “code of conduct” in the South China Sea resulted in the current willingness of China and ASEAN to discuss a “code of conduct” in the formal ASEAN-China dialogue. The Workshop efforts also laid the groundwork for the formal bilateral “codes of conduct” between the Philippines and Vietnam. The Workshop’s formulation of cooperative efforts in the fields of marine science, environmental protection, safety of navigation and others have similarly been initiated in the larger context by other formal discussion platforms, including the dialogues between ASEAN and China and in the ASEAN Regional Forum and the Council for Security Co-operation in the Asia-Pacific. The good lesson that can be learned from this process is that informal initiatives can be very useful in inducing formal cooperation, albeit at other platforms.

*An Indonesian academic’s account, 2001.*

**Source D**

ASEAN has outlived its usefulness. Hopes that ASEAN can promote harmony and stability in ASEAN are misplaced. The regional group’s membership, history and its principles are irreconcilable with the most important element in achieving them – democratic principles. Moreover, the outlook for ASEAN and the ARF is not promising. The ARF was founded to discuss security issues. However, it has too many partners with different interests; ARF’s progress is bound to be limited. China has also cultivated influence in ASEAN, especially among Myanmar, Cambodia and Laos. ASEAN is an anachronistic regional institution that had failed to guarantee the region’s security and freedom.

*From an article from ‘The Asia Wall Street Journal’, August 2001.*

**Source E**

Until 1995, ASEAN had not taken a public position regarding the South China Sea. But a series of unilateral Chinese actions from 1992 culminating in the Mischief Reef issue of January 1995 led to a change of stance. Two days before the bilateral talks between the Philippines and China in Beijing, on 18 March 1995, ASEAN, for the first time, adopted a united stand by issuing a statement calling for all parties concerned to adhere to the letter and spirit of the Manila Declaration on the South China Sea.

However, four years on, in response to the second Mischief Reef incident of January 1999, ASEAN was apparently unwilling to confront Beijing more strongly despite the fact that this was China’s second transgression. Although China is not the sole claimant of the Spratlys, she is the principal source of worry. It is aggravated by the fact that Beijing’s words regarding maintaining the status quo and her deeds have not been entirely consistent.

*From an article by a Singaporean academic, published in 2000.*

Now answer the following question.

*How far do Sources A – E support the view that ASEAN played an insignificant role in the South China Sea dispute?*

**Section B**

You must answer **three** questions from this section.

You must support your answer with examples drawn from **at least three** countries.

- 2 How important was the role of nationalist leaders in the development of nationalist movements in Southeast Asia before World War Two?
- 3 How far was the process of decolonization affected by the increasing communist threat in Southeast Asia after World War Two?
- 4 'The experiences of post-independence Southeast Asian states have shown that party-based political systems were not suitable for them.' How far do you agree with this claim?
- 5 'An economic miracle.' To what extent is this an accurate description of the economic development of post-independence Southeast Asia?
- 6 Were interstate tensions in Southeast Asia since independence more a result of historical legacies or ethnic and religious differences?