



H2 History

9731/02

Paper 2: History of Southeast Asia c.1900-1997

21 September 2016

3 Hours

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name and civics group clearly on all the work you hand in.
Write in dark blue or black ball point pen on both sides of the paper.
Write the number of the question that you are attempting in the margin of every sheet of paper used.
Start each question on a fresh sheet of paper.
At the end of the examination, fasten this cover sheet and all your answers (in chronological order) securely together.

Section A

Answer Question 1.

Section B

Answer any three questions.

All questions in this paper carry **25 marks**.

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

Question	Marks
1	
Total	

This document consists of 4 printed pages.

SECTION A

You **must** answer Question 1.

ASEAN IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA

1. Read the sources and then answer the question which follows.

Source A

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'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 forums, including the dialogues between ASEAN and China and in the ASEAN Regional Forum. The good lesson that can be learned from this process is that informal initiatives can be very useful in inducing formal cooperation, albeit in areas other than the South China Sea.

Comment by an Indonesia convener of the annual Workshops on Managing Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea, 2001.

Source B

During January 1995 the aptly named Mischief Reef was the latest Spratly feature to be occupied by one of the six claimants – in this instance, the People's Republic of China (PRC). This westward expansion of installations continues a pattern of Chinese conduct, and brings the contest close to the Philippine home islands. In directly confronting a member of ASEAN, China might be giving a warning to ASEAN, which is about to add Vietnam as its newest member. The PRC is pressing ASEAN's weakest member in a part of the South China Sea outside that claimed by other current members (Brunei and Malaysia). This reduces the likelihood of a strong ASEAN response from an organisation that is already divided on how to proceed in the Spratlys. Once the PRC reduced the number of ships at the Reef, appeals by the other ASEAN countries appeared to taper off. On 18 March the ASEAN foreign ministers issued a statement expressing serious concern over developments in the South China Sea. They urged all parties to observe the Manila Declaration and specifically called for 'an early resolution of the problems caused by recent developments in Mischief Reef.' On 22 March Vietnam endorsed the ASEAN ministers' relatively mild statement of concern.

Excerpt from an article by an American government official and expert on international boundary issues, 1995.

Source C

China's Asia strategy is to deal with everyone bilaterally so that China's weight can be used to maximum advantage. This is particularly true when pressing China's claims to oilfields in the South China Sea that are also claimed by ASEAN members. But ASEAN, by using solidarity as a substitute for military power, has forced China to deal with its members as a group. So when the Philippines found itself in a dispute with China over the oil-rich Mischief Reef, ASEAN stood behind the Philippines and swayed China into a dialogue on the issue. It helps too that ASEAN nations are among the biggest investors in China. "Although strategically ASEAN is not a cohesive military entity, China cannot challenge any one of these states without having a problem with all of them," said Juwono Sudarsono, Indonesia's leading strategic analyst.

From a US newspaper, July 1997.

Source D

The first ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) ministerial meeting took place in 1994. It was generally agreed that the situation in the South China Sea was one of the flashpoints of potential conflict in the region.

However, sensitive to China's preference for bilateral rather than multilateral discussions on the subject, the ARF took up the South China Sea over dinner rather than during meetings, even though meetings were held behind closed doors. The next year, with alarm and concern rising as a result of the discovery in Mischief Reef, the ARF ministers included a paragraph expressing concern on developments in the South China Sea in their chairman's statement. Subsequent ARF chairman's statements carried references to the South China Sea. For a number of years, ASEAN continued seeking to 'internationalise' the South China Sea issue, not only in ASEAN and ARF meetings but in other international gatherings as well.

*Excerpt from a book by Rudolfo Severino,
ASEAN Secretary-General from 1998-2002, 2010.*

Source E

In March 1995, the ASEAN foreign ministers reprimanded China through a joint statement expressing serious concern over developments in the South China Sea; the Association referred to the spirit of the 1992 ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea, or the Manila Declaration, in reiterating its call for restraint from destabilising actions. Meanwhile, ASEAN encouraged China to participate in 'a network of regional organisations' and workshops or, what has been termed, an 'embryonic structure of good international citizenship'. Despite these efforts, Beijing maintained its long-held position that it was willing to enter into bilateral discussions with other claimant states but that it would not enter into multilateral negotiations with ASEAN.

The period between 1992 and 1995 represented the height of ASEAN solidarity over the South China Sea disputes. However, while ASEAN unity de-escalated public and official tensions over the dispute, China continued its 'creeping assertiveness', and by 1999 it had further fortified its structures in disputed territories, including Mischief Reef.

Excerpt from an article on the role of ASEAN by two Australian academics, 2012.

Now answer the following question:

“ASEAN achieved little in the disputes with China over the South China Sea in the 1990s.”
How far do Sources A to E support this view?

SECTION B

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

- 2 “Without the measures by the colonial governments, the pre-WWII nationalist movements in SEA would have succeeded.” How far do you agree with this hypothesis?

- 3 Which method was the most effective in the struggle for independence from 1942:- collaboration, resistance, or a combination of both?

- 4 Assess the significance of Communist influence on the politics of independent Southeast Asian states since 1946.

- 5 How far was the Asian Financial Crisis the outcome of currency speculation?

- 6 “Ideological issues played a greater role than territorial disputes in giving rise to inter-state tensions.” How far do you agree with this statement?

- End of Paper-