

RAFFLES INSTITUTION  
PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION 2018  
General Certificate of Education Advanced Level  
Higher 2

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**HISTORY (REVISED)**

**9752/02**

Paper 2 The Making of Independent Southeast Asia (Independence to 2000)

**September 2018**

**3 hours**

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

**Section A**

Answer **both parts of Question 1**.

**Section B**

Answer **two** questions. Either Question 2 or Question 3; **and** either Question 4 or Question 5.

Begin every question on a separate sheet of paper.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together with the given cover sheet.

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This document consists of **5** printed pages, **including** this page.

## Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

### ASEAN'S ROLE IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA DISPUTE

- 1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

#### Source A

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.

*Extract of the 1992 ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea.*

#### Source B

In the follow-up negotiations on the draft guidelines for the implementation of the Declaration of the Conduct of Parties [DOC] in the South China Sea [in 2002], the work got stuck mainly because of the difference over the modality of their (ASEAN member states') consultations. The key issue is whether the ASEAN Member States should consult among themselves first before their consult with China. ASEAN members insist on such a consensual approach towards China, while the Chinese side does not think this is in line with the understanding of the DOC...The whole issue of South China Sea is not a matter between ASEAN as an organisation and China, but among the relevant countries. ASEAN could serve as a valuable facilitator to promote mutual trust among the Parties, but not turn itself into a party to the dispute.

*Xue Hanqin, China's ambassador to ASEAN, in a presentation to a forum in the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore, 2009.*

### Source C

Aside from deriving negotiating strength from the association in dealing with a behemoth that is China, ASEAN does operate as a group in a matter in which all its members, and not just the four claimants, have an interest...ASEAN as a group holds discussions with China on the South China Sea in a number of forums. It negotiated the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea as a group. All the ASEAN foreign ministers – and China's special envoy – signed the Declaration on the occasion of the ASEAN-China summit meeting in Phnom Penh in November 2002. The joint communiqués of the annual ASEAN Ministerial Meeting and the chairmen's statements of the yearly ASEAN Regional Forum foreign ministers' meetings carry repeated references to ASEAN in relation to the South China Sea.

*Article by Rodolfo C. Severino, former Secretary-General of ASEAN (1998-2002), published in 2010.*

### Source D

Since 1990, Indonesia has sponsored a series of annual, multilateral workshops on conflict resolution, entitled "Managing Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea". Academics and government officials (in an unofficial capacity) from the ASEAN states, the Indochina region, and China attend these talks...The workshops have contributed to confidence building and the facilitation of contacts between regional state. However, they have been more notable for what they have not achieved. Besides rejecting suggestions to formalise the workshops, the participating states have been unable to agree on basic confidence-building measures, such as halting military expansion or creating transparency. Moreover, as the states meet and learn more about their respective positions, their differences become clearer.

*Article by Shaun Narine, a Canadian academic, published in 2002.*

### Source E

Mechanisms such as the ASEAN Regional Forum [ARF] and this Post-Ministerial Conference complement our bilateral efforts to promote stability and prosperity. The ARF is already encouraging meaningful discussion of security issues, confidence-building measures, and other forms of cooperation. It is playing a valuable role in defusing tensions surrounding territorial claims in the South China Sea and the Spratly Islands. It can be particularly useful in supporting non-proliferation and the transparency of conventional arms transfers. U.S. engagement in the ARF will deepen as we make further concrete progress on our work programme, and on moving from confidence-building to preventive diplomacy.

*Written Statement by US Secretary of State Warren Christopher at the ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference, 1996.*

## Source F

In this troubling dispute, ASEAN is exerting itself as a force for peace. Three of those claiming the Spratly Islands are ASEAN member countries: Malaysia, Brunei, and the Philippines. What ASEAN has been doing during the past few years is to bring the disputed area under a regime of peace, cooperation and mutual confidence.

Beginning in 1990, Indonesia, which is not a party to the dispute, hosted three workshops on the subject of managing potential conflicts in the South China Sea. As a result of these workshops, the Philippines hosted this year a working group meeting among claimants to the Spratlys on marine scientific exchanges. This represented the first concrete form of cooperation in the area, as well as a tangible confidence-building measure.

In 1992, at the initiative of the Philippines, ASEAN issued a Declaration in Manila calling on claimant nations to refrain from the use or threat of force to resolve the dispute, and appealing to them to set aside the issue of sovereignty and explore the possibility of cooperation in the area...

Such exercises in preventive diplomacy are conducive to the peaceful resolution of disputes, but they cannot check the ambitions of an adventurist power.

*Excerpt of a speech by Fidel V. Ramos, President of the Philippines,  
to an American think tank in 1993.*

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided by Sources C and D on the level of ASEAN cooperation over the South China Sea dispute. [10]
- (b) How far do Sources A-F support the view that ASEAN's efforts in the South China Sea dispute have been a failure? [30]

**Section B**

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

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

**EITHER**

- 2** Assess the significance of the Cold War on the domestic stability of the independent Southeast Asian states. [30]

**OR**

- 3** How far did minorities pose a challenge to government efforts at national unity since independence? [30]

**AND EITHER**

- 4** To what extent were governments' economic policies beneficial to the independent Southeast Asian states? [30]

**OR**

- 5** Why were the consequences of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis more severe in some independent Southeast Asian states than others? [30]