

SECTION A

You must answer Question 1.

ASEAN AND THE SOUTH CHINA SEA DISPUTE

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

Source A

When the Premier Li Peng visited Singapore in August 1990 and Malaysia in December 1990, he said that China was willing to discuss joint offers to develop the Spratlys and shelf the question of sovereignty. The then Chinese president Yang Shangkun conveyed a similar message during his visit to Thailand and Indonesia at the beginning of 1992. But soon after, Beijing passed the controversial Territorial Waters Law on 25 February 1992. Almost immediately after attending the Third Indonesian-sponsored Workshop on "Managing Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea" (29 June – 3 July 1992) in Jogjakarta, the Chinese occupied Da Lac Reef which was claimed by Vietnam. Despite having expressed support for the ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea during the 26th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in July 1992, Beijing built structures on the Mischief Reef, which was also claimed by the Philippines, in 1994.

Ang Cheng Guan, Academic Journal, 'The South China Sea Dispute Revisited',
August 1999

Source B

This year, the ARF has made substantive progress. Much has been achieved by the ARF in promoting trust and cooperation. Positive progress has been made in consultations between China and ASEAN concerning the Code of Conduct in the South China Sea. Meanwhile, given the diverse political, economic and security concern in the region, we believe that the ARF should retain its nature as a political and diplomatic forum and focus more on confidence-building. Principles such as non-interference in each other's internal affairs and consensus-building which have taken shape and proved to be effective should continue to be observed. China's policy on Asia-Pacific security focuses on long-term national strategic interests. Of the primary importance is to safeguard state sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and security. China's policy on Asia-Pacific security is committed to the maintenance of peace and stability with mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination at its core.

*Adapted from an address by Chinese Foreign Minister at the
8th Foreign Ministers' Meeting of ARF, 2001.*



Source C

In this troubling dispute, ASEAN is exerting itself as a force for peace. 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. In 1992, at the initiative of the Philippines, ASEAN issued a Declaration in Manila calling on claimant nations to refrain from the use of 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. The Declaration received the strong endorsement of the United Nations and of many countries. Vietnam expressed full support for the Declaration, China expressed appreciation for some of the basic principles and indicated that it was ready to enter into negotiations with countries concerned when the conditions are ripe.

Excerpt of a speech by Fidel V. Ramos, President of the Philippines to the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, November 1993

Source D

The signing of the code of conduct (1995) did not, however, signal an end to the dispute. A minor skirmish took place between Chinese and Philippine warships in January 1996, and between March and May of the same year it was reported that the structures on Mischief Reef had been upgraded. In April 1997, tensions rose again when eight Chinese naval vessels were sighted near Mischief Reef. At the same time, two vessels owned by the Chinese State Oceanic Administration were intercepted by the Philippine Navy near Scarborough Shoal, a small reef lying 130 miles west of Luzon (Scarborough Shoal is not part of the Spratly group, but its ownership is disputed by both the PRC and the Philippines). The captains of the Chinese vessels informed their Filipino counterparts that the PRC considered Scarborough Shoal its territory, a claim rejected by the Ramos administration. Not wishing to escalate tensions, the Chinese vessels withdrew.

An excerpt of an academic article that focuses on Chinese foreign policy in the South China Sea Dispute, 1999.



Source E



An American online political cartoon, 2012

Source F

Laoro Baja, Jr. the Philippines foreign affairs under-secretary stated, "On Mischief Reef, we were left alone. The other countries said that while they sympathise and understand our situation, the issue is only a Philippine-China problem." Tension also rose around this time between the Southeast Asian claimants. In October 1999, Vietnamese troops fired on a Filipino plane during an overflight of Tennent Reef. Vietnam built structures on Cornwallis South Reef and Allison Reef also contested by the Philippines. In addition... Malaysia moved to occupy additional reefs in the archipelago. In March 1999, it built an outpost off Investigator Shoal, a feature also claimed by the Philippines, causing Manila to protest. Moreover, Malaysia built structures on Erica Reef in August 1999, claimed by both the Philippines and Vietnam.

Ralf Emmers, Professor of International Relations,
'Geopolitics and Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia', 2010.

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Source C and D on ASEAN's role in the South China Sea dispute. [10]
- (b) How far do Sources A-F support the view that ASEAN effectively managed the tensions in the South China Sea dispute? [30]



SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

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

EITHER

- 2 To what extent did the disposition of leaders shape the way that post-independent Southeast Asian countries were governed? [30]

OR

- 3 To what extent do you agree that Southeast Asian Nations were not successful in achieving national unity since independence? [30]

AND EITHER

- 4 'It was the government rather than the ethnic communities which contributed more to the economic development of newly independent Southeast Asian nations.' Discuss. [30]

OR

- 5 'The state was the most responsible for the effective management of the impact of the Asian Financial Crisis.' How far do you agree? [30]

