

RAFFLES INSTITUTION
PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION 2020
General Certificate of Education Advanced Level
Higher 2

HISTORY

9752/02

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

September 2020

3 hours

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your **full name**, class and index number on the answer booklet(s).

Write in dark blue or black pen.

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

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer **two** questions.

Use **only** the answer booklet provided and use both sides of the paper.

This document consists of **5** printed pages, and **1** blank page.

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Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

ASEAN IN THE POST-COLD WAR WORLD

1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

Source A

ASEAN will continue to contribute to the stability, security and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific countries. ASEAN created the ASEAN Regional Forum. It initiated the Asia-Europe Meeting. ASEAN members also play an active role in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation. These gatherings build confidence and strengthen ties between regions. They lead to more trade and investments and a better understanding of each other.

ASEAN's key strength is its openness. It is outward-looking. It is now reaching out to other regional groups. Its leaders will soon have a summit meeting with leaders from China, Japan and Korea. These meetings will lead to greater co-operation and understanding amongst East Asian countries. ASEAN is growing in strength. Its Free Trade Area or AFTA will be followed by liberalisation in the investment and services sectors. These moves are not painless. But they have to be made. They will integrate the ASEAN economies, turning them into one huge market-place. This will benefit all the people in ASEAN.

From the statement by PM Goh Chok Tong on the 30th Anniversary of ASEAN, 1997.

Source B

The ministers found it necessary to meet jointly because, as the recent financial crisis has shown, the utmost consultation and coordination must be undertaken among themselves and their ministries in order for the ASEAN member countries to effectively meet the challenges facing the region.

In this context, the ministers resolved to ensure closer consultation and coordination in developing regional responses to the financial crisis and its economic, social and political consequences. They likewise affirmed the need to advance the integration of ASEAN's economies, and to address the challenges and opportunities of the time, some of which are increasingly transnational in scope.

The ministers expressed their support for sustaining reforms and regional economic and financial cooperation, and encouraged a further deepening of the integration of the ASEAN market. In this regard, they resolved to give joint impetus to the acceleration of AFTA and the ASEAN Investment Area.

From the press statement of the Chairman of the ASEAN Special Joint Ministerial Meeting in Manila, 1999.

Source C

The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) is a historic achievement which would not have been possible a few years ago. It is therefore unique in that it is the sole multilateral forum which brings together all the major actors of the Asia-Pacific into the regional security dialogue process...

Certainly no one expects that decisions will be immediately taken at the ARF on sensitive issues such as the South China Sea disputes. It is still very early days for the ARF. It has not acquired the sophistication to see itself through an ambitious agenda. The ARF has to go through a series of regular meetings committed to free and frank exchanges before graduating to more substantive undertakings.

A “step-by-step” approach on the ARF seems to me to be the most suitable for the time-being. A comfortable relationship among participants...must come first before we take on more ambitious plans. If we establish such a relationship, then it lays the foundation for the peaceful resolution of disputes in times of crisis. This is not to say that we should see the ARF as a mere “talk shop”. What I hope for is that the ARF will take a life of its own, at a pace comfortable to all.

We have entered uncharted waters. ASEAN has no tried and tested formula for a regional security or economic framework. However, ASEAN has recognized that a predictable pattern of relationships in the Asia-Pacific region is a vital pre-requisite to managing the tensions that come with rapid growth and change.

From the opening statement by the Singapore Foreign Minister Prof S Jayakumar at the 27th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in Bangkok, 1994.

Source D

The South China Sea problem is a prime example of the ARF’s relative irrelevance to real conflict management. In light of its stated mission, it would seem that the ARF would be an appropriate venue for the airing of the South China Sea conflicts. Instead, the ARF has largely remained on the side-lines, primarily because of the PRC’s refusal to give the ARF a voice in any matter related to Chinese sovereignty. Despite Philippine prodding, ASEAN has been unwilling to press China on the issue for fear of alienating it from the ARF. The ARF has been content in its annual Chairman’s Statement to praise the commitment of the parties to peaceful settlements of dispute in accordance with the principles of international law and the United States Convention Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), even if that “commitment” might be questioned. The ARF has welcomed negotiations for the proposed “Code of Conduct in the South China Sea” but has had no voice in fashioning it. In the South China Sea disputes, as in the other conflict areas in the ARF’s footprint, the group becomes cognizant of problems but, in the absence of any interventionist mechanisms or change in its operational code, cannot be proactive.

An academic commenting on the conflict in the South China Sea, 1998.

Source E

The Governments of the Member States of ASEAN and the Government of the People's Republic of China,

Reaffirming their determination to consolidate and develop the friendship and cooperation existing between their people and governments with the view to promoting good neighbourliness and mutual trust;

Cognizant of the need to promote a peaceful, friendly and harmonious environment in the South China Sea between ASEAN and China for the enhancement of peace and prosperity in the region;

...

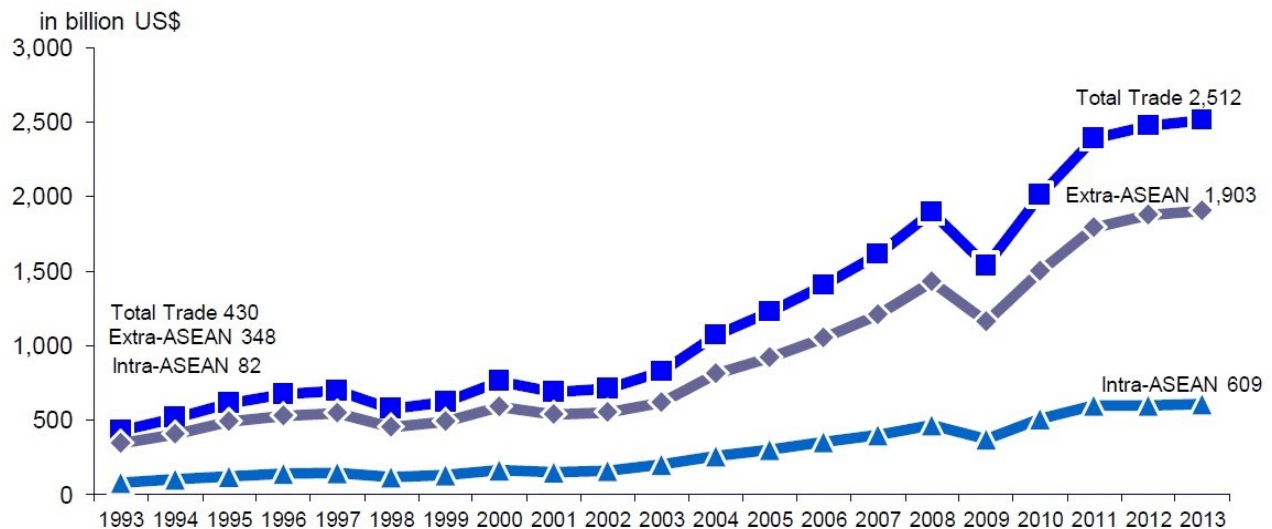
Hereby declare the following:

1. The Parties reaffirm their commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the 1982 UNCLOS, the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia which shall serve as the basic norms governing state-to-state relations ...
4. ... The Parties concerned undertake to resolve their territorial and jurisdictional disputes by peaceful means without resorting to the threat or use of force...

From the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea, 2002.

Source F

Trend of ASEAN Total Trade and Intra-ASEAN Trade, 1993-2013



From the ASEAN Trade Statistics Database, 2014.

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided by Sources C and D on the role of the ASEAN Regional Forum in managing the South China Sea dispute. [10]
- (b) How far do Sources A-F support the view that ASEAN was effective at fostering regional cooperation in the post-Cold War world? [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** Maximum or democratic: which form of government could better achieve domestic stability for the independent Southeast Asian states? [30]

OR

- 3** Why were some independent Southeast Asian governments more effective than others in managing their minorities? [30]

AND EITHER

- 4** How successful were governments in dealing with the economic challenges of the independent Southeast Asian states? [30]

OR

- 5** Assess the view that the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis brought about severe consequences to the independent Southeast Asian states. [30]