

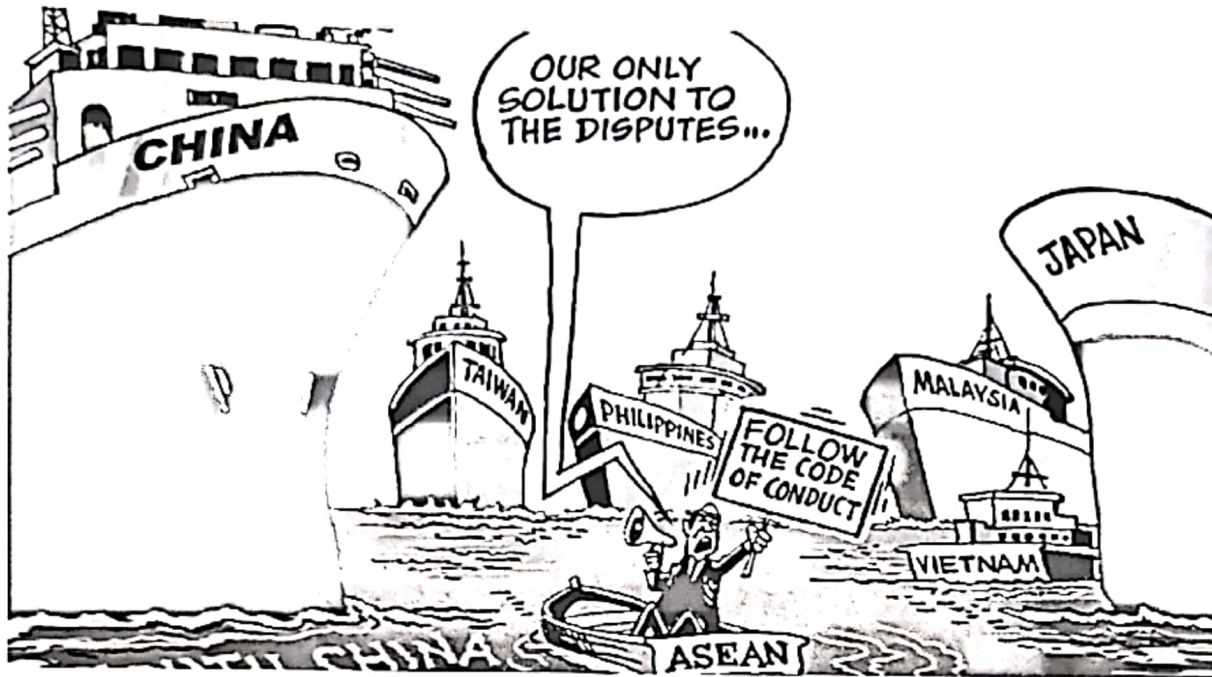
Section A

You must answer Question 1.

ASEAN AND THE SOUTH CHINA SEA

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

Source A



Political cartoon published by a United Arab Emirates newspaper, 2014.

Source B

China's sense of entitlement and Southeast Asian anxieties have not prevented a degree of mutual accommodation between Beijing and the ASEAN states with regard to the South China Sea since 1995. While ASEAN's Declaration on the South China Sea failed to secure the desired Chinese commitment to take a more measured approach towards the issue, in April 1995, ASEAN senior officials startled their Chinese hosts with a surprisingly forthright collective statement. However, in May 1996, China ratified UNCLOS.

While China has exercised a degree of self – restraint in its South China Sea posture, the ASEAN states – notwithstanding indications of collective toughness in 1992 and 1995 – have had their own reasons for seeking to minimize tensions with China over conflicting maritime claims. ASEAN governments understand that dialogue and economic interdependence are insufficient mechanism for the constraint of China's regional ambitions is clear from their continued reliance on the United States to maintain the regional balance despite their political and economic differences with Washington.

Extracted from a research paper published by a British academic, 1998.

[Turn over

Source C

China is entitled to have its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and continental shelf rights in the Spratly Islands areas in accordance with the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). China might first define its baselines of territorial seas in the Spratlys by taking base points from small islands such as the Swallow Reef and the Spratly Islands, then draw straight lines connecting them in a rectangular form. This will define the 200 nautical mile continental shelf instead of the nine-dashed intermittent line.

Two small-scale conflicts in 1974 (in the Paracels) and in 1988 (in the Spratlys) between China and Vietnam are often cited as examples of China's resort to force to settle the disputes. Both sides used force; and it was China that won. Hence, China suggests that all concerned should agree to maintain the present status quo without further occupation of islands and reefs, without immigration into the already occupied islands and reefs, and without unilateral exploration in the overlapping areas.

Extracted from a research paper published by a Chinese academic, 1999.

Source D

Manila is also trying to internationalize the issue as much as it can, with the quiet support of Vietnam. If Manila can keep the issue in the headlines and if ASEAN can get its act together, Beijing, which has always opposed multilateral talks on the Spratlys, may have to concede. Bilateral talks, such as the series between China and Vietnam, have so far made no headway. The principle concern of the USA is the freedom and safety of navigation and Beijing have assured Washington that its claims would not affect these.

The Philippines can lead ASEAN in a diplomatic campaign to challenge China's claim to the South China Sea in the same way that Singapore and Thailand did against Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia. Perhaps it is fortunate that the South China Sea may not have as much oil as previously believed. The ball is now clearly in ASEAN's court.

Extracted from a publication by a Singaporean defence analyst, 1999.

Source E

Today, the ARF has emerged as the only security forum that brings together all the major powers in the region, including the United States, Japan, China and Russia and others. It has provided an important avenue for countries in the region to discuss sensitive political issues. It will remain an important mechanism to build confidence, comfort levels and nurture habits of co-operation among all the powers. In the long run, ARF will move from confidence-building to preventive diplomacy and from preventive diplomacy to conflict resolution. It may evolve and play a role in conflict resolution. We are still in the stage of confidence building. A certain comfort level has been established and ARF is gradually moving toward preventive diplomacy. For instance, at the fourth ARF meeting in Kuala Lumpur in July 1997, it was decided that defense officials will be included in the meeting since the meetings will be talking about security, a positive development.

Extracted from a speech by a Singaporean Foreign Minister at Los Angeles, November 1997.

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Source F

The two sides commit themselves to the maintenance of peace and stability in the South China Sea. They agree to promote a peaceful settlement of disputes through bilateral friendly consultations and negotiations in accordance with universally-recognized principles of international law, including the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. They reaffirm their adherence to the 1995 joint statement between the two countries on the South China Sea and agree not to take actions that might complicate or escalate the situation. The two sides expressed their determination to follow through the work of the China-Philippines Working Group on Confidence Building Measures to enhance peace and stability in the region. They reiterate that they will contribute positively toward the formulation and adoption of the regional Code of Conduct in the South China Sea.

The two sides agree to continue their coordination and cooperation at the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, ASEAN Regional Forum, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, ASEM, World Trade Organization, United Nations, and other multilateral fora. They will actively promote and protect the common interests of developing countries in regional and international fora, particularly in the areas of trade and finance, human resources development, and the promotion of the interests of labor, farmers, and women and children, among others.

Extracted from a Joint Statement between China and the Philippines on the Framework of Bilateral Cooperation in the Twenty – First Century, November 2000.

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in sources B and C in showing the nature of China's actions in the South China Sea. [10]
- (b) How far do sources A to F support the view that ASEAN was making progress in the South China Sea dispute? [30]

Section B

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

EITHER

- 2 'Political stability has been achieved by the use of the military.' How far do you agree with this statement? [30]

OR

- 3 'Independent Southeast Asian states forged national unity through economic means.' Discuss the validity of this statement. [30]

AND EITHER

- 4 'Agricultural policies assisted independent Southeast Asian states to achieve economic development.' To what extent do you agree with this statement? [30]

OR

- 5 Assess the view that the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997 caused more social and political than economic consequences [30]