

HISTORY

Paper 2 History of Southeast Asia c1900-1997

9731/02 20 September 2012 3 hours

No Additional Materials are required

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name and civics tutorial group on all the work you hand in. Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper. You may use a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working. Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Section A

Answer Question 1.

Section B

Answer any three questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together. All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

Section A

You must answer Question 1.

ASEAN AND THE SPRATLY ISLANDS CONFLICT

1. Read the sources and then answer the question.

Source A

"It was one of the most heated meetings in the history of ASEAN," one diplomat said. Another described Cambodia, which holds the revolving ASEAN chairmanship this year, as "the worst chair", and said China had effectively bought its loyalty and that of some other states with economic donations.

The deep discord revealed during the ASEAN summit has left attempts to craft a maritime Code Of Conduct this year between ASEAN and China in tatters, raising the risk that growing incidents of naval brinkmanship over the oil-rich waters will spill over into conflict.

An article published in 2012 on Reuters, an international multimedia news agency based in the UK.

Source B

In 1992, recognising that any conflict in the South China Sea could directly affect peace and stability in the region, ASEAN issued a declaration "urging all parties concerned to exercise restraint in order to create a positive climate for the eventual resolution of all disputes." ASEAN further "emphasised the necessity to resolve all sovereignty and jurisdictional issues about the South China Sea by peaceful means, without resort to force."

An excerpt from the ASEAN official website.

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.

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Source D

The Philippines' contingent then upset their hosts by insisting on an official announcement that mentioned their navy's standoff with Chinese vessels at Scarborough shoal, a group of mostly submerged rocks in the Spratlies. The Cambodians balked and in the end delegates failed to strike any deal on the Code of Conduct over the Spratly Islands dispute. For the first time it its 45-year history ASEAN's delegates also failed to issue a closing statement.

An article from The Economist published in 2012.

Source E

The same article reported that Beijing had stressed "both publicly and privately that disputes should be solved bilaterally between China and individual claimant countries rather than through 'arguments' at ASEAN - a move that ... effectively strengthened Beijing's position given its emerging economic and military power". As the 2010 chair of ASEAN, Vietnam tried fruitlessly to make the conflicts in the South China Sea the central agenda item of ASEAN meetings. Although they had issued a declared objective of reaching a legally binding code of conduct between ASEAN and China on the South China Sea, the approach has not gone beyond rhetoric. According to a high-ranking Vietnamese representative, meetings by ASEAN always yield great optimism about the Spratly Islands conflict. ASEAN proceedings with China are often left with China directing discussion and setting the tone... (as ASEAN does not have an) effective, unified position towards the role of China in the Spratly conflict.

An article published in 2011 on the Harvard International Review, an officially recognized student-run publication of Harvard College.

Now answer the following question.

How far do sources A–E support the view that the ASEAN Regional Forum has been effective in enabling ASEAN to pursue its post-Cold War interests?

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Section B

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

- 2. "Southeast Asian nationalism before 1941 was largely anti-colonial in nature." How far do you agree with this statement?
- 3. "The main reason why nationalist movements in Southeast Asia failed to achieve independence before World War II was factionalism." Discuss.
- 4. How valid is the view that, "popular support was the main reason for the rise of military governments" in independent Southeast Asia?
- 5. What were the effects of government interventions in the economies of the newly-independent Southeast Asian states?
- 6. To what extent were inter-state tensions in Southeast Asia a product of territorial disputes?