



**NATIONAL JUNIOR COLLEGE**  
**General Certificate of Education Advanced Level**

**SH2 PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION 2014**

**HISTORY**  
**9731/02**  
**Higher 2**

**Paper 2**  
**History of Southeast Asia, c.1900-1997**

**15 September 2014**  
**3 Hours**

**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write your name and registration number in the space provided on the answer paper.

Write in dark blue or black ink.

Write your answers on the separate answer paper provided.

Please start each answer on a fresh sheet of paper, and label your answers clearly according to the question number.

**Section A**

Answer **Question 1**.

**Section B**

Answer any **three** questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.

Please place the cover sheet in front of your examination script.

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

You are reminded of the need for good English and clear presentation in your answers.

## **Section A**

You must answer Question 1.

### **POLITICAL AND SECURITY COOPERATION IN ASEAN**

1. Read the sources and then answer the question.

#### **Source A**

The purpose of this Treaty is to promote perpetual peace, everlasting amity and cooperation among their peoples which would contribute to their strength, solidarity and closer relationship. [...] The High Contracting Parties shall have the determination and good faith to prevent disputes from arising. In case disputes on matters directly affecting them should arise, especially disputes likely to disturb regional peace and harmony, they shall refrain from the threat or use of force and shall at all times settle such disputes among themselves through friendly negotiations. To settle disputes through regional processes, the High Contracting Parties shall constitute, as a continuing body, a High Council comprising a Representative at ministerial level from each of the High Contracting Parties to take cognizance of the existence of disputes or situations likely to disturb regional peace and harmony. [...] When deemed necessary, the High Council shall recommend appropriate measures for the prevention of a deterioration of the dispute or the situation.

An excerpt taken from the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, signed in Indonesia, 24 February 1976.

#### **Source B**

Southeast Asia has been increasingly focused on the South China Sea as a possible catalyst of armed conflict since the Spratly Islands are claimed in whole or in part by six governments, three of them ASEAN members. Because China initiated both the 1974 and 1988 South China Sea battles, China's attitude is crucial to whether there will be a peaceful resolution of the Spratly dispute. Already, the islands in the South China Sea have been the scene of two battles in the last two decades: in January 1974 and March 1988. A series of workshops, initiated by Indonesia, is designed to bring all the claimant countries together to discuss not their conflicting claims of sovereignty but non-political issues such as the environment, navigation and marine research to encourage dialogue. While these workshops were being held, however, other events occurred that suggested that the underlying problems had by no means been resolved. China in February 1992 promulgated a law on the territorial sea and the contiguous zone, laying claims to all the Spratly and Paracel islands.

A current-affairs news article entitled "Eye on Asia: Scientific Meetings being held to reduce Spratly Tensions", published in the Far Eastern Economic Review, 1993.

#### **Source C**

Although ASEAN has acted as a diplomatic community with a collective voice beyond its walls both within and without Southeast Asia, the Association has never been effectively responsible for regional peace-making as opposed to helping to keep the peace through exercising a benign influence on the overall climate of regional relations. In the Cambodian Crisis, the process of regional peace-making was taken out of ASEAN's hands and addressed directly and with ultimate success by the Permanent Members of the United

Nations Security Council who were responsible for the terms of an accord reached at an international conference in Paris in October 1991. Although ASEAN governments were represented at that conference, the Association had been confined, in effect, to the diplomatic margins. ASEAN took part in the peace process which resolved the Cambodian conflict as an international problem, but the conflict was not resolved through an ASEAN peace process.

An academic journal article entitled “Indochina and ASEAN: Seeking a New Balance”, written by a British academic, published in 1999.

#### **Source D**

With superpower confrontation swept from the world scene, regional diplomacy is taking on a more prominent role in shaping the Asian security agenda. A natural vehicle for this shift is the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which has begun playing a more powerful part in regional relations this year. ASEAN Ministers decided that, for the first time since the organization was founded 25 years ago, ASEAN's six member nations could discuss security issues among themselves, as well as with their seven dialogue partners. The approach taken in this dialogue has been typically ASEAN. It is pragmatic, not theoretical. It is flexible. It seeks to build upon existing structures rather than invent new ones, thus allow ASEAN to dynamically respond to post Cold War security concerns. The security of Southeast Asia cannot be isolated from the security of the larger Asia Pacific region. Countries outside Southeast Asia have legitimate interests in the region, and with the demise of the Cold War, the regional security order is likely to evolve.

Adapted from a newspaper editorial, titled “ASEAN charts a New Regional Order”, written by Tommy Koh, a Singaporean diplomat, published in the Asia Wall Street Journal, August 1992

#### **Source E**

ASEAN has made a substantial difference to the peace and security of not only the ASEAN sub-region, but also to Southeast Asia as a whole. [...] Before the birth of ASEAN, relations between Kuala Lumpur and Singapore were tense in the aftermath of separation. Worse than strangers, many of the relationships were relationships of enmity. ASEAN has contributed to the security of the ASEAN community in the area of actual conflict resolution, the most serious of which, was the conflict between Malaysia and Philippines over Sabah. The process of political and diplomatic de-escalation only started as a result of the Indonesian initiative of May 1969. And it took another seven month to re-establish diplomatic relations between the two member-states. Through the ASEAN process of having the issue swept under the carpet (an under-rated technique for dealing with conflicts), ASEAN played as important a role in sublimating and defusing conflicts.

Adapted from a journal article titled “ASEAN and Regional Security”, written by a Malaysian academic, published in 1986.

#### **Now answer the following question.**

“Since its inception, ASEAN was crucial to ensuring the preservation of regional peace and security.” How far do Sources A to E support the given statement?

## **Section B**

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

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

2. "The provision of political concessions was most critical in impeding the success of nationalist movements in Southeast Asia." Discuss with reference to the period before 1942.
3. "The use of confrontation was integral to the attainment of independence." How far do you agree with this statement, with reference to Southeast Asia after World War II.
4. Assess the effectiveness of maximum governments in their exercise of control over Southeast Asia.
5. To what extent was the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis a result of economic liberalisation?
6. How far do you agree that the resolution of interstate tensions in Southeast Asia was an abysmal failure?

**GOOD LUCK – YOU CAN DO IT!**