



H2 History

9731/02

Paper 2: History of Southeast Asia c.1900-1997

24 September 2014

3 Hours

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name and civics group clearly on all the work you hand in.
Write in dark blue or black ball point pen on both sides of the paper.
Write the number of the question that you are attempting in the margin of every sheet of paper used.
Start each question on a fresh sheet of paper.
At the end of the examination, fasten this cover sheet and all your answers (in chronological order) securely together.

Section A

Answer Question 1.

Section B

Answer any three questions.

All questions in this paper carry **25 marks**.

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

Question	Marks
Total	

This document consists of 4 printed pages.

SECTION A

You **must** answer Question 1.

ASEAN and the Vietnamese Occupation of Cambodia

1. Read the sources and then answer the question which follows.

Source A

The conflict in Indochina is distinguished by impasse and polarisation. It also enjoys an entangling complexity. Vietnam cannot really expect to resume a peaceful relationship with an intimidating China unless palatable concessions are made over Kampuchea. In order to counter a persistent threat from China, Vietnam is obliged to cultivate a dependent relationship with the Soviet Union which reinforces Chinese antagonism and serves also to sustain the hostility of the United States. For its part, ASEAN is beset by internal problems arising from differing interpretations of the appropriate balance of power in Indochina. Moreover, it is beset also by a sense of impotence because although it has forged a surface consensus over the issue of political succession in Kampuchea, it does not have the means required to implement it.

Adapted from Michael Leifer's lecture in November 1982, on "The Third Indochina Conflict".

Source B

Then came ASEAN's first big test. Even when ASEAN submitted a resolution to the United Nations calling on the Vietnamese to withdraw from Cambodia, the Vietnamese really thought that ASEAN would make a lot of noise and then we would accept the situation. However, ASEAN worked together and despite early bias in favour of Vietnam and the Russians in the United Nations, we were able to get majority support for our resolution against a Vietnam which for years had been an object of adulation in the Third World. Since 1979, the fact that ASEAN is able to mobilise more support in the United Nations against the combined lobbying of Vietnam and its communist allies is proof that ASEAN is not ineffectual. It is an ASEAN effort. We asked the Americans and our Western friends not to take the lead in this matter but to follow us.

Adapted from comments made by Mr S. Rajaratnam (Singapore's Foreign Minister 1965 – 1980), taken from a collection of his political memoirs, published in 1987.

Source C

The Paris Conference (30 July – 30 August 1989) brought together a total of nineteen countries: the parties involved and the parties concerned, namely, China, USSR, the United States, France, Britain, Canada, Japan, Australia and India. Indonesia, by virtue of its visible involvement in the conflict became ASEAN's main representative and Co-Chair of the Paris Conference together with France. The aim of the Conference was to lay the groundwork for a possible international body that would monitor the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia in September 1989, as declared by Vietnam, and also to monitor the proposed truce among the Cambodian warring factions.

Unfortunately the Conference failed to achieve its aims. The failure of the peace talks was further accentuated by the reluctance of the foreign ministers from the United States, USSR and China to attend the closing ministerial session which was perceived as the major

power's lack of urgency for a speedy and comprehensive settlement of the Cambodian conflict. In spite of ASEAN's prodding, it also appeared that the United States had no overriding interest in breaking the deadlock on Cambodia.

An extract taken from Mely Caballero-Anthony, "Regional Security in Southeast Asia: Beyond the ASEAN Way", 2005

Source D

The Foreign Ministers discussed at length the Kampuchean situation and noted with grave concern that despite the constructive efforts by ASEAN and the international community, the Kampuchean armed conflict remained unresolved. They viewed with serious concern that the increasing rivalry of outside powers in the Southeast Asian region which aggravated the existing tensions and undermines the earnest efforts of ASEAN member countries to seek a durable political solution to the conflict. In this context, the Foreign Ministers reaffirmed their commitment to Resolution 34/22 of the UN General Assembly on the Situation in Kampuchea of 14th November 1979, the ASEAN Joint Statements on the Kampuchean conflict, and the ASEAN-EEC Joint Statement on Political Issues of 7th March 1980. To this end they reiterated their request to the United Nations Secretary General to convene an international conference on Kampuchea.

Adapted from the Joint Communiqué of the 13th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Kuala Lumpur, 25 – 26 June 1980.

Source E

The Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict were signed in Paris on 23 October 1991 at the final meeting of the Paris Conference on Cambodia. They were the culmination of more than a decade of negotiations in which the United Nations had been closely involved from the outset.

The Security Council first considered the question of Cambodia in early 1979, following the intervention by Vietnam, but could take no action for lack of agreement among its permanent members. The General Assembly then took up the matter, and in November 1979, as it did annually for most of the decade that followed, called for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Cambodia and self-determination for its people.

The Paris Conference on Cambodia was held from 30 July to 30 August 1989. France and Indonesia co-chaired the Conference which, although mapping out a broad strategy to move towards peace, was unable to agree on a comprehensive settlement. Following that, there was intense diplomatic activity in the first half of 1990. The Cambodian parties met in Indonesia in February 1990 and in Tokyo in June 1990. In addition, a series of consultations was undertaken by the five permanent members of the Security Council beginning in January 1990. The basis for their discussions was a proposal put forward by Australia the previous October.

Adapted from the United Nations website on past peacekeeping missions.

Now answer the following question.

How far do Sources A – E support the view that ASEAN's handling of the Cambodian Crisis (1978 – 1991) proved its relevance as a regional grouping?

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 driving force behind the development of nationalist movements could be attributed to the political alienation that the locals felt, as a result of colonial rule.” How far do you agree with this view?

- 3 “The international climate, rather than the local situation, was more responsible for the Southeast Asian nationalist movements gaining independence after 1945.” Assess the validity of this view.

- 4 Why were maximum governments able to establish a foothold in newly independent Southeast Asian states?

- 5 Assess the effectiveness of government policies in the economic development of Southeast Asian states from 1945 - 2000.

- 6 “Conflicts that were political in nature, rather than economically-motivated, were more difficult to resolve.” Assess the validity of this statement in relation to interstate tensions in Southeast Asia from 1945 - 2000.

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