



INNOVA JUNIOR COLLEGE
JC 2 PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION 2
in preparation for the General Certificate of Education Advanced Level
Higher 2

HISTORY

9731/02

Paper 2 History of Southeast Asia, c1900-1997

16 September 2014

3 hours

Additional Materials: Writing Paper

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

If you have been given an Answer Booklet, follow the instructions on the front cover of the Booklet.

Write your name and class on all the work you hand in.

Write in dark blue or black ink 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, answers for Section A and Section B should be fastened **separately**. Section B should be fastened with a cover page.

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

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

This document consists of **4** printed pages.



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Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

ASEAN AND REGIONAL COOPERATION

- 1 Read the Sources, and then answer the question which follows.

When answering **Question 1** candidates are advised to pay particular attention to the interpretation and evaluation of the sources both individually and as a group.

Source A

It was not long after the Vietnamese invasion, however, that deep differences between Indonesia and Thailand regarding the long-term interests of ASEAN were revealed. Although compelled to make a show of solidarity with Thailand by its interest in sustaining ASEAN itself, Indonesia began to see the prolongation of the war in Cambodia, the “bleeding Vietnam white” strategy, as not being in its or the region’s interests. Although never retreating from ASEAN’s central demand of Vietnamese withdrawal and Khmer self-determination, Indonesia actively sought to engage the Khmers and Vietnamese and their external sponsors in a search for a settlement that would recognise the legitimate interests of all sides. Indonesia’s gradually assertive role in the Cambodian peace effort demonstrated that Jakarta was not entirely willing to place its commitment to ASEAN solidarity above its own national interests. The Jakarta Post, often reflective of official positions, thundered in an editorial, “It is high time to spell out clearly to our ASEAN partners, as the largest archipelagic state in Southeast Asia with a growing national interest to protect, that we simply cannot afford the endless prolonging of the Kampuchean conflict.”

From an Indonesian academic publication, 2011.

Source B

The fact of the matter is that ASEAN at the end of the Twentieth Century is not the same kind of entity that flourished during the 1980s. Economic turmoil has led to ASEAN being taken less seriously in the eyes of the world because it is no longer seen as a set of dynamic economic tigers. Lacking also is the absence of the low-profile leadership role that used to be played with some effect by an Indonesia that is now trying to reform in the worse possible economic circumstances. Because of the extent to which its government has been so distracted by its domestic issues, it cannot be expected to play the same constructive role as in the past. Moreover, its failings of governance during the Suharto era have had serious environmental consequences which have been beyond the cooperative capacity of ASEAN to address. The return of the so-called haze arising from forest fires in Sumatra and Borneo is not a trivial matter and reflects on the impotence of ASEAN in this critical aspect of regional cooperation.

The condition of ASEAN is problematic. Its international standing has been diminished because of regional economic adversity, while the problems of managing consensus have been worsened by political divergence among founding governments, by the effects of enlargement as well as by an acute problem of leadership.

Michael Leifer, an academic, speaking at the 13th Asia-Pacific Roundtable, June 1999.

Source C

The slow, cautious start of ASEAN was understandable. The five founding members still nursed historic animosities toward and suspicions of one another. It required remarkable statesmanship and a veritable act of faith on the part of ASEAN's founders to see beyond those animosities and suspicions to articulate and commit themselves to a shared vision and common aspirations. ASEAN's start was, inevitably, tentative. Yet with the hindsight of history, we can say that the ASEAN Way has served Southeast Asia well. By not forcing its incredibly diverse and mutually suspicious members into legally binding standards, ASEAN has done the remarkable job of moving its members from animosity to the close cooperative relationship that they enjoy today, a relationship in which violent conflict is all but unthinkable.

From an address by Rodolfo C. Severino, Secretary-General of ASEAN, at a conference in Kuala Lumpur, September 2001.

Source D

Most of us have diverse populations, with significant differences in race, religion and language, all of which are highly emotive issues. The surest way to ruin is for ASEAN countries to begin commenting on how each of us deals with these sensitive issues. Each of us deals with them in our own way, in our common effort to achieve harmony and stability in our societies. ASEAN countries' consistent adherence to the principle of non-interference is the key reason why no military conflict has broken out between any two ASEAN countries since the founding of ASEAN. As any historian of Southeast Asia can tell us, such peace was not the norm for the previous 200 years. The past thirty years of peace is a remarkable achievement. Let us maintain it in the 21st Century.

From a statement by Professor S. Jayakumar, Foreign Minister of Singapore, at the 30th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, 24 July 1997.

Source E

Southeast Asian leaders have failed again to make any headway on resolving the dangerous territorial disputes over various islands in the South China Sea. A binding code of conduct has been on the ASEAN agenda for more than a decade, but riven by factionalism, the group seems to have no clear way forward, despite increasing tensions over several territorial disputes. ASEAN has never been very efficient at making policy, nor has it been very good at policing its own members, in part because of the so-called "ASEAN Way," which prohibits members from interfering in each other's domestic affairs. The group also requires a unanimous vote on any major decisions. A single dissenter can block an otherwise-unanimous decision - effectively creating a hung jury.

Security analysts and regional leaders say that nasty maritime standoffs over the contested islands, due in part to a more assertive and far-reaching China, have made a code of conduct more necessary than ever. A brushing incident at sea has the potential to rapidly escalate: One nation's "bumping" is another's "ramming." As one ASEAN diplomat puts it, such situations can get "a little tricky."

From an article in the New York Times, 2012.

Now answer the following question.

How far do Sources A-E support the view that the ASEAN Way has been effective in fostering regional cooperation?

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 failure of nationalist movements prior to World War Two was in large part due to their inherently elitist nature.' How far do you agree with this view?
- 3 'The Japanese Occupation was just a cursory footnote in the development of Southeast Asian nationalism.' Discuss the validity of this statement.
- 4 Assess the view that Communism wielded little influence in the politics of independent Southeast Asian states.
- 5 To what extent was the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997 caused by the inherent problems of Southeast Asian economies?
- 6 How far do you agree that inter-state tensions in independent Southeast Asia caused regional cooperation to deteriorate?