



NATIONAL JUNIOR COLLEGE
General Certificate of Education Advanced Level

SH2 PRELIMINARY EXAMINATIONS 2015

HISTORY
9731/02
Higher 2

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

16 Sept 2015
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.

ASEAN WAY AND REGIONAL COOPERATION

1. Read the sources and then answer the question.

Source A

This Summit is taking place at a time when our region is facing unprecedented challenges. One of them is the strengthening of ASEAN unity. In an organization composed of 9 nations, and hopefully soon to be 10, it is natural that while we enjoy many similarities, there are also differences in levels of development and outlooks. However, there are some people, particularly from outside the region, who are criticising ASEAN values and the ASEAN way of life. But these people are wrong. Some nations may be readjusting politically, economically and socially to new circumstances and conditions, but all ASEAN members remain united in the commitment to ASEAN ideals for regional integration. The ASEAN way of seeking consensus continues to be valid today. By pursuing quiet diplomacy and enhanced positive interaction, we shall surely be able to overcome the pessimists and build an ASEAN worthy of taking its rightful place in the international community.

We remain confident that the solidarity of our Association can be further consolidated by reaffirming the guiding principles of respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of one another.

Opening Remark by Senior General Than Shwe, Prime Minister of Myanmar, at the 6th ASEAN Summit, December 1998

Source B

The idea of a free trade zone within ASEAN is at the moment “taboo”, and something the regional five do not discuss, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew said yesterday at a press conference in the Istana. The Prime Minister said the term ‘free trade zone’ aroused immediate “tremendous emotional upset”. He added: “The idea of having to compete on par within ASEAN and having to lower one’s barriers of taxes and having factories wither away because they are inefficient, immediately makes it a taboo word”. He stressed that the first priority was to get on with what the Association has agreed on – and that was the preferential trading agreement. “Let us concentrate on what we have achieved – the PTA; let us get on with the five projects and let the experience of this implementation be a process of education which must take place”.

Mr Lee said another important objective was to consolidate the organisation of ASEAN whose members were at different states of economic growth, following different administrative systems, political philosophies and economic methods of development. “So, I think we will make haste by talking slowly and going slowly”.

A newspaper article titled “Why ASEAN free trade zone idea is taboo”, published in The Straits Times, 29 April 1977

Source C

This singular achievement of the absence of inter-state conflict in ASEAN may be attributed to ASEAN’s approach to the conduct of relations among members. In its approach to issues that could lead to conflict, ASEAN places a premium on dialogue and consultation in place of posturing and confrontation. It prefers quiet discussions over ‘megaphone diplomacy’ and ‘feel-good diplomacy.’ It considers mutual respect and understanding as vital to regional peace and stability and to the future

of the association itself. In ASEAN, bilateral issues – whether they have to do with boundaries, borders or the movement of people – are managed bilaterally, without being complicated by unnecessary regionalization or internationalization. ASEAN’s insistence on consensus ensures that the association takes no action that threatens the vital interests of any member.

Public address by Rodolfo Severino, ex-ASEAN Secretary-General, at the European Policy Center, 2001

Source D

As ASEAN’s first common position on the Spratly Islands conflict, the 1992 Declaration of South China Seas was an attempt to introduce an informal code of conduct based on self-restraint, the non-use of force and peaceful resolution. It did not deal with the issue of sovereign jurisdiction over the Islands; it was not an expression of consensus on the territorial question, but rather an attempt for peaceful management of the issue. This non-binding code of conduct should thus be associated with the notion of conflict avoidance or compartmentalisation, than conflict resolution. The limited nature of the code stemmed from ASEAN claimants’ unwillingness to make concessions regarding territorial claims, and the divergent priorities of members. The expansion of ASEAN’s membership further strained intra-organisational solidarity, weakening ASEAN’s ability to exercise a collective voice. Unsurprisingly, ASEAN claimants continue to engage in military threatening behaviour.

An excerpt from a book entitled “Cooperative Security and the Balance of Power in ASEAN and the ARF”, written by an American academic, published in 2012.

Source E

The conventional wisdom among the region has always been that bilateral disputes should be settled by the two parties concerned, without involving ASEAN or anyone else. Not every dispute, after all, disturbs or seems likely to disturb regional peace. Instead of the public washing of dirty linen, the parties handled the dispute behind the scenes. Also, if necessary and by mutual agreement by the parties, a bilateral dispute can always be referred to the High Council provided for in the 1976 Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC). Yet as of 2007, the High Council still existed only on paper. No two bilaterally disputing ASEAN states had ever agreed to refer their disagreement to the High Council. As specified in TAC, the High Council can only recommend appropriate measures for the prevention of deterioration of disputes. Even if such a Council was convened, it would have no authority to render a binding judgement. The Council’s advice might help cool things down, but its purely advisory status meant that it cannot be used to settle a dispute.

An academic journal article entitled “Institutional Reform: One Charter, Three Communities, Many Challenges”, written by Dr Termsak Chalermpanupap, ex-official working in the ASEAN Secretariat, published in 2009.

Now answer the following question.

“The ASEAN Way is ineffective in bringing about regional security and cooperation”.

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. Who was more responsible for undermining the nationalist cause in Southeast Asia before World War Two: nationalist leaders or colonialists?
3. "Cold War concerns dictated the process of decolonisation after 1945". Discuss.
4. Why was communism more significant in the politics of some independent Southeast Asian countries than others?
5. "More bane than boon". Discuss this statement with reference to government intervention in the economic development of independent Southeast Asia.
6. "Given the inter-state rivalries in independent Southeast Asia, promoting regional cooperation and security was doomed to failure". How far do you agree with this statement?

GOOD LUCK – YOU CAN DO IT!