



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

18 Sept 2015

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 the Cambodian Conflict

- 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

The time has come for ASEAN to lay down its heavy and now risky burden of trying to find a solution to the Cambodian problem if it is not to suffer heavy humiliation and hurt from its Western partners. The villains and victims that ASEAN and its Western allies had agreed upon eleven years ago have been unilaterally and unexpectedly reversed by the latter. The new objectives, now that accord has been reached between the West and the Soviet Union, required that the Vietnamese, rather than the Cambodians, should win the battle for Cambodia. It was fear of the Soviet Union which earlier prompted the Western powers to cheer ASEAN's efforts to force the Soviets' proxy to disgorge its fruit of aggression. But since Mr Gorbachev descended from the mountain five years ago bearing the perestroika and glasnost tablets proclaiming an end to the East-West Cold War, it has become necessary to reward the Soviets by ditching the Cambodian coalition and reinstating the Vietnamese as the overlords of all Indochina. Hence the need to also ditch the ASEAN solution.

From S. Rajaratnam, Former Singapore Foreign Minister, in a Straits Times article, 1990.

Source B

ASEAN applied political and economic pressure to Vietnam and its client government of Kampuchea. It focused its diplomatic efforts on international forums such as the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement. Its political goal was to deny the new People's Republic of Kampuchea (PR) international recognition and access to international aid. ASEAN also sought to deny Vietnam access to economic aid from the West and Japan. In order to maintain pressure on Vietnam, ASEAN kept the conflict in the international public eye and established the orthodoxy that the Vietnamese invasion caused the Cambodian conflict, which could only be resolved therefore if Vietnam withdrew. However, ASEAN states remained divided on how to achieve its stated goals. While the ASEAN states could agree on political and economic pressures against Vietnam, they disagreed on the form of military pressure.

From Shaun Narine, 'Explaining ASEAN: Regionalism in Southeast Asia, 2002.

Source C

The Cambodian issue was essentially a Sino-Soviet proxy conflict. This was clearly beyond the powers of Singapore or even ASEAN as a whole, to resolve. What ASEAN could do was to prevent a fait accompli so that when the constellation of major powers shifted a diplomatic solution would still be possible. Thus when the Permanent Five members of the UN Security Council decided to get directly involved in the Cambodian conflict in 1990, we stepped back. Since the issue had already gained traction internationally, there was no need for us to be

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heavily involved and indeed, even if we wanted to, the big boys would ultimately have called the shots. The alliance of convenience between the US and China could not in itself have held the line. The tenor of the times in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s was such that if ASEAN had not taken the lead to argue the point of principle, the tide of international opinion in the UN and other international organizations would certainly have turned against the US and China, particularly in view of the odious Khmer Rouge regime. Southeast Asia would today be a different place if the invasion of Cambodia had been allowed to undermine the fundamental principles that are the foundation of regional peace and stability.

From a speech by Singapore's Former Coordinating Minister for National Security, Wong Kan Seng, 2011.

Source D

The two-stage proposal was eventually applied in both meetings, held in Indonesia. Organized by Ali Alatas, who had been appointed Indonesia's foreign minister in March 1988, the meetings failed to reach a regional solution to the conflict. Yet they enabled Indonesia to open negotiations with Phnom Penh and Hanoi and to co-chair the International Conference on Cambodia of October 1991. The meetings also confirmed that the military leadership in Jakarta rejected the Chinese policy of attrition against Vietnam imposed on the Association. By acting as a mediator, Indonesia gained credibility as a responsible and peaceful regional player and indicated its position of leadership within ASEAN. These diplomatic efforts should therefore be regarded as an Indonesian attempt to enhance its managerial position in Southeast Asia.

From Ralf Emmers, 'Cooperative Security and the Balance of Power in ASEAN and the ARF', 2002.

Source E

The Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchea impelled the ASEAN countries for the first time to adopt a common stance in rejecting Hanoi's intervention as an affront to national sovereignty. Over the next ten years, ASEAN was to lead the way in barring the Hanoi-backed regime's admission to the United Nations and supporting a government-in-exile. In doing so, ASEAN acquired enhanced international respect as a body with political and diplomatic influence, promoting a policy in Indochina which found favour with both in the United States and China.

From Historian C.M. Turnbull, 'Regionalism and Nationalism', 1994.

Now answer the following question.

How far do Sources A to E support the view that ASEAN played an integral role in the resolution of the Cambodian Conflict?

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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. "The measures taken by the colonial powers against Southeast Asian nationalists before World War Two only further fuelled their rise." How far do you agree with the statement?
3. "Foreign powers were the architects of Southeast Asia's road to independence." Assess this view in relation to the decolonization process of Southeast Asian states.
4. How far do you agree that Communism had a limited role in the political development of Southeast Asia after independence?
5. How far was the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997 caused by the flawed governmental policies of Southeast Asian states?
6. Assess the view that interstate tensions between independent Southeast Asian states have impeded their will to cooperate.