



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

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**HISTORY**

**9731/02**

Paper 2 History of Southeast Asia, c1900-1997

**29 Aug 2016**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials:          Writing Paper

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**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.

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



Innova Junior College

9731/02/IJC/AUG16

**[Turn over**

## 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

Curiously, ASEAN was a conflict resolution organization without any conflict resolution mechanism: its own mode of operation precluded it from having one. Far from pointing out this contradiction, analysts made a virtue out of the fact that the 'ASEAN Way involves a commitment to carry on with consultations without any specific formula or modality for achieving a desired outcome.' This was completely self-delusional. The ASEAN Way did not deal with underlying tensions, it simply ignored them.

In retrospect then, analysts exaggerated ASEAN's diplomatic role in resolving the Cambodian conflict. ASEAN appeared effective only because its actions coincided with superpower interests. Seemingly at the forefront of events, ASEAN was just a convenient front for external actors and interests. This role, moreover, contradicted ASEAN's stated principles on neutrality. The fact that China and the USSR effectively solved the problem through bilateral diplomacy once again illustrated the region's continuing dependence upon external actors and ASEAN's failure to influence the course of the settlement.

*From an academic text on ASEAN by an Australian professor, published in 2006.*

#### Source B

Nowhere has your leadership been more inspiring than in moulding the world's response to the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Cambodia. After the collapse of South Vietnam, ASEAN took a strong stand against Vietnamese expansionism. When Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1978, you recognised the threat and reacted quickly. The strength of your commitment and the direction you've provided on this vital issue have been much admired by the United States. In 1981, ASEAN organised the International Conference on Kampuchea. We continue to support the settlement of the Cambodian situation agreed upon at the conference: the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces under international supervision; the restoration of Cambodian independence; a Cambodian government chosen in free elections under international auspices. ASEAN's efforts are consistent with American desires to bring peaceful resolution to the tragic cycle of events that has plagued the Cambodian people. We continue to believe a negotiated settlement with ASEAN is in Vietnam's interest and in the best interest of everyone in the region.

*From an address by Ronald Reagan to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations Ministerial Meeting in Bali, 1986.*

#### Source C

One of the most important chapters in the history of ASEAN diplomacy took place during the Kampuchean conflict. The ASEAN-sponsored resolutions at the United Nations General Assembly, which called for a durable and comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea,

received consistent support from the international community. With Indonesia as interlocutor, ASEAN maintained its dialogue with all parties to the conflict. The process would take a long time and the help of many nations and the United Nations. It would extend to the early 1990s and would involve France and Indonesia, the UN Security Council, and the UN Secretary-General as well as the various Cambodia factions. Eventually, a peace was signed which paved the way for the formation of the Cambodian Supreme National Council (SNC) in which all four factions participated and the successful holding of elections under the supervision of the United Nations. The cause of peace was greatly advanced in Southeast Asia and the rest of the Asia-Pacific region.

*An extract taken from the official ASEAN Website.*

#### **Source D**

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. They voted for our resolution because among other things ASEAN regional cooperation was an exemplary Third World manifestation. Here were five countries whose relations were fraternal. This had considerable impact on many Third World countries so that when we put forward our resolution, despite their admiration for Vietnam's heroic anti-colonial struggle, the majority voted for us.

Since 1979, with each meeting, we have been regularly able to increase the votes against the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia. The fact that ASEAN is able to mobilize 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.

*From an interview with S. Rajaratnam, Singapore Deputy Prime Minister and former Foreign Minister, 1985.*

#### **Source E**

Not long after the Vietnamese invasion, 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 article, 2011*

Now answer the following question.

*How far do sources A-E support the view that the Cambodian Conflict of 1978-1991 had exposed ASEAN's irrelevance?*

**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 more the colonial powers tried to control the Southeast Asian nationalist movements, the more it fuelled their rise." How far do you agree with this judgment in the period before World War II?
- 3 How far do you agree that the nature of decolonization in Southeast Asia was largely peaceful?
- 4 How effective were 'maximum' governments in maintaining control over their countries since independence?
- 5 To what extent was the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997 the result of negligence by the Southeast Asian governments?
- 6 "Historical disputes were the biggest threat to regional stability in Southeast Asia in the post-independence era." How far do you agree with this view?