



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

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## HISTORY

**9752/02**

Paper 2 The Making of Independent Southeast Asia  
(Independence to 2000)

**12 September 2018**

**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 **TWO** 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.

The number of marks is given in brackets [ ] at the end of each question or part question.

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

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This document consists of **5** printed pages.



Innova Junior College

**[Turn over**

9752/02/IJC/SEP18

## Section A

You **MUST** answer **Question 1**.

### THE VIETNAMESE INVASION OF CAMBODIA

**1** Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

#### Source A

The presence of Vietnamese troops in Cambodia is the result of China's using the stooge Pol Pot against Cambodia and Viet Nam. One must respect the rights of the peoples, particularly the right of the Cambodian people, to get rid of the genocidal Pol Pot regime and build their country in accordance with their aspirations. China is trying to create a diversion, by pitting Thailand and other ASEAN countries against the Indochinese countries, in order to wreck peace and stability in Southeast Asia. The just cause of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia enjoys broad approval from the socialist countries, and from peace and justice-loving people in the world. The trend towards peace, cooperation and friendship among Southeast Asian nations is developing because it is the earnest aspiration of hundreds of millions of Southeast Asia. All attempts by the Chinese expansionists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, to oppose Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and to pit them against the ASEAN countries are doomed to dismal failure.

*Excerpt of a memorandum from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Socialist Vietnam,  
August 1980.*

#### Source B

After the Soviets were installed in Da Nang and Cam Ranh Bay with the permission of the Vietnamese who bargained away their sovereignty for arms and money to launch the Kampuchean campaign of conquest and annexation, the whole of Southeast Asia, the ASEAN area included, has been turned into a potential arena for rivalry, contest and possible conflict, first between the proxies of the PRC and the USSR and then, God forbid, between the principals themselves.

ASEAN's energetic efforts to find a political solution to Vietnam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea have gone beyond the regional scope although, basically, it is a local and regional problem. But since ASEAN, including Thailand, has been doing everything possible to avoid being involved in military operations and prefers to bring the issues to the United Nations forum, the problem has been shifted out of its regional framework and has assumed an international or global coverage. This was not meant to please Vietnam and its supporters, notably the Soviet Union, who would rather put a regional lid on this question, knowing full well that world public opinion would throw its massive votes in support of the ASEAN Resolution on Kampuchea.

*Extracted from the reminiscences of Thanat Khoman, former Foreign Minister and Deputy  
Prime Minister of Thailand, September 1988.*

### Source C

**Interviewer:** Would you be prepared to meet Mr. Gorbachev?

**Deng:** If Gorbachev takes a solid step towards the removal of the three major obstacles in Sino-Soviet relations, particularly if he urges Vietnam to end its aggression in Kampuchea and withdraw its troops from there, I for my part will be ready to meet him.

**Interviewer:** The Vietnamese said just this morning that they would like to engage in negotiations with China to bring an end to the difficulties between Vietnam and China.

**Deng:** Vietnam has said that at least a hundred times. We have told them explicitly that the prerequisite is the withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. The question of Kampuchea should be settled by the four parties in Kampuchea through consultation.

**Interviewer:** So, as far as a summit between Deng and Gorbachev is concerned, the ball is in Mr. Gorbachev's court?

**Deng:** He should ask Vietnam to withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea. On this question, the Soviet Union can play its part. Because without Soviet backing, the Vietnamese could not go on fighting in Kampuchea for a single day.

*Excerpts from an interview with Deng Xiaoping, Paramount Leader of the People's Republic of China, 2 September 1986.*

### Source D

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 by an Australian professor, published in 2006.*

### Source E

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 recognized the threat and acted 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 organized the International Conference on Kampuchea. We continue to support the basic principles for the settlement of the Cambodian situation agreed upon at that conference: the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces under international supervision; the restoration of Cambodian independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity; a Cambodian government chosen in free elections under international auspices.

*From Ronald Reagan's address to the Ministerial Meeting of the Association of South East Asian Nations in Bali, 1 May 1986.*

### **Source F**

Through ASEAN, Southeast Asian countries have attained a degree of solidarity that has magnified ASEAN's influence in the world to an extent that would not be possible for each individual member acting alone. ASEAN's influence was at its most prominent in the group's handling of the Vietnamese incursion into and presence in Cambodia in the 1980s. ASEAN itself undertook no military action but used diplomatic skills and its solidarity and prestige – with the indispensable support of the permanent members of the UN Security Council – to bring about a settlement from which emerged an independent Cambodia.

*From a book by former ASEAN Secretary-General, Rodolfo Severino, 2006.*

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources A and B on the reasons behind the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in 1978. [10]
- (b) How far do Sources A-F support the view that ASEAN was effective in managing the Cambodian conflict of 1978-1991? [30]

**Section B**

You must answer **two** questions from this section.

**EITHER**

**2.** To what extent did the decolonisation process shape the political development of Southeast Asian states after 1945? [30]

**OR**

**3.** How successful have independent Southeast Asian states been in dealing with their minority groups? [30]

**AND EITHER**

**4.** How effective was the role of the government in determining the economic development of independent Southeast Asian countries till 2000? [30]

**OR**

**5.** "The Asian Financial Crisis of 1997 was a disaster waiting to happen." How far do you agree with this view? [30]