

Section A

You must answer Question 1.

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

Thai-Cambodian Interstate Tensions

Source A

The International Court ruled today that the ruined Temple Of Phra Viharn* on the Cambodia-Thai border falls under Cambodian sovereignty. The voting of the judges was nine to three.

Cambodia, the applicant state, had asked the court "to judge and declare":

- (1) That Thailand is under an obligation to withdraw the detachments of armed forces it has stationed since 1954 in the ruins of the temple and
- (2) That territorial sovereignty over the temple belongs to Cambodia.

The court ruled also by nine votes to three that Thailand would have to withdraw any military or police forces that might be stationed in the temple. By seven votes to five the court ruled that Thailand was under an obligation to restore to Cambodia any objects that might have been removed from the temple. The court found that, in fact, Thailand had accepted a map of the Dengrek range showing the temple on the Cambodian side.

Extracted from The Bangkok Post, 16 June 1962

*Phra Viharn is the Thai name for the Preah Vihear Temple

Source B

I had feared that we would be treated with injustice. The World Court judges include nationals of Communist countries. Nationals of some countries which we consider as friends have turned to enemies. In actual fact, we are not under the jurisdiction of the World Court. We did not renew our application for membership after the first application had expired. Foreign experts have inspected the Khao Phra Viharn area and given the view that it is impossible, when the question of the watershed is taken into consideration, for the temple to be in Cambodian territory. The judges never came here to look at the terrain. We should not accept the judgment and we should not give Kao Phra Viharn to Cambodia. As far as I am concerned, I will fight to keep what is Thai. What the Government view is, I do not know yet. It will depend on this evening's meeting. A report will be made to the people.

General Thanom Kittikachorn, Vice Premier and Defense Minister, in an informal talk with reporters, June 16, 1962

Source C

In March 1958, thousands of students, policemen and civil servants marched past the Thai Embassy in Phnom Penh to protest against a perceived lack of respect from Thailand. The demonstrators carried signs celebrating Cambodian nationalism and attacking Thailand, with slogans such as 'Thais invade their neighbours', 'Thais are slaves of America' and 'Prince Sihanouk is the Father of Independence, Long Live the Nation.' Following their rally, the protestors gathered in front of the royal palace to listen to a speech by Sihanouk. 'The Thais have cheated us out of Preah Vihear,' Sihanouk told his audience, 'the Khmers must demand its return'. From this point on, the temple's recovery became an important plank in Sihanouk's nationalist political platform. The public protest was followed by a flurry of press attacks portraying Cambodia as the target of a resurgent Thai imperialism.

Cambodian leaders used the appropriation of Preah Vihear as evidence that Thai land was in the process of launching both internal and external attacks against their country. The Khmer press accused General Phao, the then Thai police chief, of supporting dissident Song Ngoc Thanh, who founded the Khmer Serei militia in an effort to overthrow the Sihanouk government.

Taken from an academic critique of the Thai perspective on Preah Vihear, 2013.

Source D

Thailand is officially neutral, but privately, Thai officials, particularly in the military, make no secret of their hope that the Pol Pot forces will continue to be a viable foe of the Vietnamese. Thailand views Vietnam's supposed striving for regional superiority with far greater concern than the cruelty of the former Pol Pot regime and wishes that regime had survived.

As a result, Thailand wants all Cambodians who have fled here since the Vietnamese invasion to return, the Pol Pot troops in order to continue the fight, and the others to prevent their becoming an obstacle to good relations with the Cambodians resisting the Vietnam dominated regime of Heng Samrin.

On April 12, Thai military authorities loaded more than 1,700 refugees, who had sought asylum in Aranyaprathet since the Vietnamese conquest of the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh on Jan. 7, onto buses and told authorities in Aranyaprathet that they were being transferred to the southern camp of Klong Yai. A well-informed source reported today that the refugees, mainly women and children, were unloaded at a Thai border village and marched for two days without food to a camp controlled by guerrilla troops of the right-wing Khmer Serei movement, which has had clandestine Thai military support since 1975.

Published in the New York Times, 1979

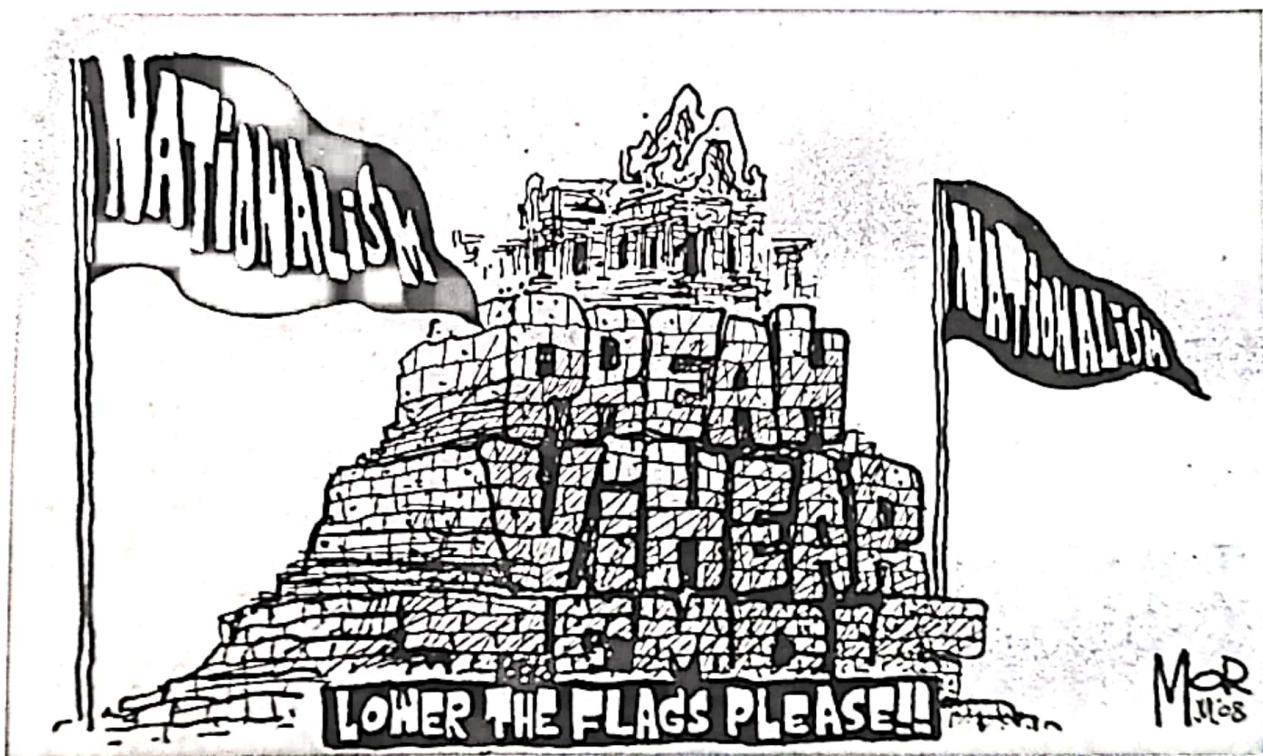
Source E

While [Thai Prime Minister] Kukrit always stressed that his government did not want to interfere in the internal affairs of neighboring countries, he urged Washington on the eve of the Khmer Rouge victory that South Vietnam and Cambodia would not be able to survive if they did not receive enough aid. If these two states fell, the political situation in the region would change, including Thailand's foreign policy.

When it became clear that there would be no U.S. military intervention in Indochina, the Thai leaders realized that they had to try to live with communist neighbours. The Kukrit government soon moved toward rapprochement by offering the Khmer Rouge regime recognition on 18 April. However, it was necessary for Thailand to maintain the rebel armed forces along the borders to destabilize the communist regimes.

An analysis by an independent Thai researcher, 2021

Source F



Published in a Thai newspaper, 2008.

Answer the following questions:

- Compare and contrast the evidence in Sources D and E on Thai response to the political instability in Cambodia. [10]
- How far do Sources A – F support the view that Thailand is the cause of its interstate tensions with Cambodia? [30]

Section B

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

You must support each answer with examples drawn from **at least three** countries.

EITHER

2. 'Democratic governments had only themselves to blame for their collapse.' How far do you agree? [30]

OR

3. To what extent was religion more significant than language and education in the search for national unity in post-independent Southeast Asia? [30]

AND EITHER

4. Assess the role of ethnic minorities in the economic development of post-independence Southeast Asia. [30]

OR

5. Assess the role of the Southeast Asian governments in resolving the Asian Financial Crisis. [30]

Copyright Acknowledgements

Question 1 Source A	"A Matter of National Pride", The Bangkok Post, 15 April 2013. https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/345427/a-matter-of-national-pride , accessed 19 August 2021.
Question 1 Source B	"Thanom: Orders Given to Police at Prah Vihear", The Bangkok Post, June 16, 1962. https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/345427/a-matter-of-national-pride , accessed 19 August 2021.
Question 1 Source C	"A pile of stones? Preah Vihear as a Thai symbol of National Humiliation" South East Asia Research Vol. 21, No. 1, March 2013. Accessed 19 August 2021.
Question 1 Source D	"Fleeing Cambodians: A Delicate Problem for the Thai regime", <i>The New York Times</i> , 24 April, 1979. https://www.nytimes.com/1979/04/24/archives/fleeing-cambodians-a-delicate-problem-for-thai-regime-news-analysis.html , accessed 19 August 2021
Question 1 Source E	"Thailand's response to the Cambodian Genocide", Puangthong Rungwasdisab. Accessed 17 August 2021.
Question 1 Source F	"Finding the Border at Preah Vihear", <i>The Nation State</i> , 3 October 2008. http://nationsstate.blogspot.com/2008/08/finding-border-at-preah-vihear-part-4.html accessed 20 August 2021