



SERANGOON JUNIOR COLLEGE

JC2 PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION 2008

HISTORY

Higher 2

9731/2

Paper 2

**Tuesday
26 August 2008**

3 hr

Additional materials: Answer paper
Cover page

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

- Write your name and civics tutorial group in the spaces provided on the cover page and on every answer.
- Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.
- Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.
- Write your answers on the separate answer paper provided.
- Candidates are to answer **Question 1** in Section A, and answer any **3** questions in Section B.

INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES

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

Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

ASEAN AND REGIONAL SECURITY

1 Read the sources and then answer the question.

Source A

Even when ASEAN submitted a resolution calling on the Vietnamese to withdraw from Cambodia, the Vietnamese really thought that ASEAN would make a lot of noise and then we would accept the situation. They told Tommy Koh that the Security Council could pass any resolution it liked but that after three months the United Nations would lose interest in Cambodia. To the surprise of the Vietnamese and their friends, nothing of that sort happened. 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 Vietnam, which for years has been an object of adulation in the Third World. 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.

Comments by former Foreign Minister of Singapore, S. Rajaratnam, in 1987

Source B

The face of ASEAN's external solidarity concealed different internal strategic perceptions. Malaysia and Indonesia, alarmed at the great power implications of confrontation with Vietnam, advanced at a March 1980 bilateral summit in Kuantan, Malaysia, the Kuantan Principle. Conceptually rooted in the ZOPFAN, it called for an end to Soviet influence in Vietnam but at the same time recognised Vietnam's security concerns with respect to China. It assumed a Vietnamese political sphere of interest in Cambodia in return for a peaceful Thai-Cambodian border.

Donald E. Weatherbee, an American academic, writing in 2005.

Source C

Selected Voting Record of UN Resolution entitled "The Situation in Kampuchea" which called for the "withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cambodia".

Date of Resolution	YES	NO	ABSTAIN	Total
1983	105	23	19	147
1987	117	21	16	154

Extracted from the United Nations Bibliographic Information System, UNBISNET.

Source D

Whereas US administration officials pretended that they were merely supporting a policy formulated among non-Communist Southeast Asian states, the reality was that US diplomats pressured Thailand to aid both the Khmer Rouge and the KPNLF and Sihanoukists. The US role was active but quiet. Meanwhile, ASEAN was divided on the Cambodia issue. Singapore's obnoxious rhetoric on Cambodia annoyed both Indonesia and Malaysia, which preferred diplomacy, since a continuation of war was strengthening China's role in the region and thereby encouraging the Soviet Union to intrude. Thus, although ASEAN publicly presented a united front on the Cambodia issue, the truth was that ASEAN unity prevailed despite Cambodia. The State Department wanted to avoid scrutiny of its policy toward Cambodia, so support for US allies in the region was a convenient foil. The dishonest claim that US presidents were merely backing their ASEAN allies was a convenient way to avoid a policy debate in Washington.

Michael Haas, an American academic's comments on United States' policy on Cambodia, 1991

Source E

The ASEAN countries have been largely successful in persuading the West and Japan to withhold their bilateral economic assistance to Vietnam until the problem of Cambodia is resolved. Vietnam has been seriously embarrassed. From 1975 to 1978, Vietnam was seen by the Third World as a heroic country, having defeated first the French and then, the United States. Today, Vietnam is viewed by most of the countries of the Third World as an aggressive and expansionist state.

Comments given in a speech by a Singaporean diplomat, Tommy Koh, in 1989.

Now answer the following question.

***“ASEAN’s role in the resolution of the Cambodia conflict was inconsequential.”
How far do sources A-E support the above statement?***

Section B

You must answer **three** questions from this section

2. "The rise of nationalism cannot be understood without considering anti-colonial sentiments." How far do you agree with the above statement?
3. "It was the Cold War that fuelled the rise of authoritarian regimes in Southeast Asia" How far do you agree with the above statement?
4. To what extent do you agree with the following statement? "The countries of Southeast Asia have only themselves to blame for the Asian Financial Crisis."
5. "Regional tensions in Southeast Asia can be traced to the colonial legacies of the individual nations." To what extent is this statement true?
6. How have traditional disputes contributed to inter-state tensions between Southeast Asian states since independence?

End of Paper