



**DUNMAN HIGH SCHOOL**  
**Year 6 Preliminary Examination 2009**

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**HISTORY**

**9731/02**

Paper 2 History of Southeast Asia c1900-1997

**17 Sep 2009**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Paper  
Cover Page

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**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write your name on all the work you hand in.  
Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.  
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, fasten all your work securely together.  
All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

**Section A**

**You must answer Question 1.**

**ASEAN AND REGIONAL SECURITY**

Read the Sources and then answer the question.

**Source A**

Since 1967 no ASEAN member has engaged a fellow ASEAN member in major armed confrontation. ASEAN was also instrumental in bringing the decade-long Vietnamese-Cambodian conflict to the negotiating table in 1989 and in reaching a peace agreement in 1991. Vietnam, then seen as an obstacle to regional stability, is now a valued member of the organization. Finally, as the Cold War ended, it was ASEAN which provided the platform for building broader regional institutions that would engage a rising China and other major players in East Asia. Without ASEAN's neutral facilitating role, China might not have joined the ASEAN Regional Forum, established in 1994 as East Asia's only official multilateral security forum. ASEAN commands attention and respect from regional organizations in other parts of the developing world. It acts as the hub, if not the leader, of regional multilateral forums for East Asia. The fact that the region's most powerful players -- including China, India, and the United States -- show deference to ASEAN by participating in these forums demonstrates that ASEAN still matters.

*Extract of an article published during the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of ASEAN*

**Source B**

ASEAN had little influence over either Vietnam or China, or the conflict between them, and was unable to offer Vietnam any incentive for a withdrawal of forces without the cooperation of China or the Soviet Union. ASEAN contributed to the resolution adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea of July 1981 and developed the phased withdrawal in 1983. ASEAN, in this sense, assumed a valuable international role in taking the diplomatic lead in the dispute and in defining possible solutions which at some later stage may acquire international endorsement. Nonetheless, the passing of unimplementable resolutions did little to maintain morale within ASEAN when there was little serious expectation of a solution. The realization that a solution required the active involvement of the great powers and that these powers were to a large extent unresponsive to ASEAN's proposals raised questions about the relevance of the organisation to the resolution of the dispute. ASEAN would lose status among its members if it were seen largely as a body coordinating diplomatic approaches to the great powers without an ability to produce a more direct input into the resolution of regional disputes.

*Extract of an academic article published in 1987*

### Source C

When Vietnam invaded Cambodia, the Vietnamese really believed that the ASEAN response would be no more than passing, sterile rhetoric. ASEAN decided that it had to do something to help out a partner, Thailand, who was immediately threatened. We were convinced that if we did not stand up to Vietnamese aggression, we would be the next victims. 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. To the surprise of the Vietnamese and their friends, nothing of that happened. The fact that ASEAN is able to mobilise more support in the UN against the combined lobbying of Vietnam and its communist allies is proof that ASEAN is not ineffectual.

*Interview given in 1985 by S. Rajaratnam, former Singapore's Minister for Foreign Affairs*

### Source D

The next serious challenge to ASEAN was the end of the Cold War. ASEAN's answer was stronger solidarity within itself and the establishment of the ASEAN Regional Forum. In its short four-year life, the ARF has become the principal multilateral body for advancing the security of the region, engaging the major powers in regional security affairs. It is also a prime instrument for the ASEAN nations to have a hand in shaping the destiny of their own region. The ARF serves not only as a forum for valuable consultations on regional security issues but also as a framework for building confidence through cooperation in areas such as search and rescue, disaster relief, the promotion of transparency, military education and training, and other forms of defense and military interaction. It is now generally recognized that it is only ASEAN that could have gathered such powers as the United States and China, Japan and India, Russia and Korea, the European Union and Canada, Australia and New Zealand under one roof to consult and cooperate on the region's security.

*Remarks by former ASEAN Secretary-General in a conference on 'Weathering the Storm' in 1998*

### Source E

The global economic crisis has affected the balance of power in the Asia-Pacific in a way that, more than ever, requires America's presence as a stabilizing force in the region. The Asian economic crisis of 1997-1998 has had profound implications for Southeast Asian security. ASEAN political cohesion, armed forces modernization and the quest for greater security autonomy have all been challenged by the region's most serious economic crisis. The economic crisis and its effect on defense budget and arms modernization have threatened members' ability to participate in joint military exercises with US. With ASEAN armed forces modernization programmes essentially stagnant, there could be serious implications for the protracted dispute among the Spratly Island claimants. In strategic terms, they reveal an Association unable to create a common external security front even as China continues to upgrade its installations in the Spratlys. Beijing may be taking advantage of what it perceives to be a period of ASEAN weakness to expand and strengthen its presence in the South China Sea.

*Extract from Asian Research Study published in 1998*

Now answer the following question.

*How far do Sources A-E support the view that ASEAN had been successful in managing challenges to regional peace and security?*

**Section B**

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

- 2 'Moderate and elitist rather than revolutionary and mass-based.' Is this an accurate assessment of Southeast Asian nationalist movements before 1941?
- 3 'Without World War Two, decolonization would not have taken place in Southeast Asia.' How far do you agree with this statement with reference to the period up to independence?
- 4 Assess the claim that the establishment of 'maximum' governments has done more harm than good in independent Southeast Asia.
- 5 Why did some Southeast Asian economies developed faster than others after independence?
- 6 To what extent have interstate tensions affected regional cooperation and security in Southeast Asia?