

# VICTORIA JUNIOR COLLEGE

## Preliminary Examinations

### HISTORY 9731/02

Date: 23 September 2013

Duration: 3 hours

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#### **READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write your name, index number and class on all the work you hand in.

Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper, but start your answer for each question on a fresh piece of paper.

You may use a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.

Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue and/or correction fluid.

**Answer FOUR questions in total. One from Section A and three from Section B.**

**At the end of the examination, fasten and submit the answer scripts for Section A and Section B separately. Attach the cover page to the front of Section B.**

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

You are advised to spend no more than 45 minutes answering each question.

You are reminded of the need for good English and legible handwriting in your answers.

**Section A: ASEAN, 1967-1997**

You must answer Question 1.

**THE UNITY OF ASEAN**

**1** Read the sources and then answer the question.

**Source A**

For all the divergent viewpoints and interests, the ASEAN partners have tended to hang together in moments of challenge, reasoning that otherwise they might hang separately.

‘Even for Malaysia and Indonesia, which are more concerned about China, Beijing is a potential threat rather than an immediate threat,’ said Singapore’s deputy prime minister and veteran chief diplomat, S. Rajaratnam.

‘We may dream different nightmares about the future, but when the alarm goes off in the morning, we wake to deal with the problem at hand. And we are all strongly backing Thailand when it is confronted with the immediate threat,’ Rajaratnam said.

*An excerpt from a newspaper article, 5 July 1980.*

**Source B**

The so-called ‘ASEAN Way’ is what made ASEAN a peaceful region and what makes ASEAN increasingly relevant to the modern world. We may have political differences and on occasion, our national agenda may take precedence over regional agenda, leading sometimes to disputes. Certain quarters sensationalise such intra-regional disagreements. But they fail to point out that we in ASEAN are steeped in our ways of thinking and acting that lend themselves to harmony and stability. Our tolerance towards our diverse social and political backgrounds, cultures, ethnicities and religions is a key factor in our resilience – in helping us resolve conflict and maintain peace among ourselves.

*Address by Ong Keng Yong, Secretary-General of ASEAN, November 2003.*

**Source C**

The drive to expand ASEAN membership to include Cambodia, Laos and Burma may jeopardize its cohesion... It may also threaten ASEAN’s structural integrity and effectiveness, making it more vulnerable to outside influences.

ASEAN is based on consensus, something that will be increasingly hard to achieve as it expands. Procedurally, new members may be a drag on decision-making. The adoption of a policy of majority agreement would create second class membership, given the huge disparities between the organization’s richest and poorest members. As a result, ASEAN will likely continue to talk through rather than try to actively solve problems.

*A report by an American think tank, 1996.*

### Source D

The failure of the 10-nation grouping to produce even a routine communiqué amid a squabble over the wording of a reference to recent South China Sea tensions was seen by many analysts – and some of China’s state press – as a diplomatic victory in the short term for Beijing, denoting its growing influence. The breakdown has poisoned prospects for progress this year on a once-vaunted code of conduct between ASEAN and China to govern tensions – another potential victory for Beijing, which has long demanded one-to-one talks with individual claimants to demarcate the South China Sea even as it dealt with the grouping as a whole.

Ian Storey, of Singapore’s Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), said perceptions that ASEAN was weak in the face of growing security challenges could force its members to intensify efforts to forge individual security arrangements. That trend is already under way, and goes beyond America’s high-profile “pivot” back to Asia. The Philippines, a South China Sea claimant, is considering requesting 10 large Japanese coast guard cutters under aid talks with Tokyo, while Vietnam is getting Indian naval training to prepare for receiving its first submarines from Russia this year.

*An article published in South China Morning Post, August 2012.*

### Source E

It was during those days of groundwork that the similarities in culture emerged. The spirit of good neighborliness guided Indonesian leaders in 1967 to restore relations with Malaysia which had been affected by Indonesia’s *Konfrontasi* in 1963. The first step was the visit of Adam Malik to Thai Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman which led to the idea of a region-wide cooperation which then became ASEAN...

Officials of the association acknowledge that indeed there are differences of opinion but there is a healthy feeling about these differences. As General Suharto said in Bali, those ‘differences clearly indicate that our minds remain active and our conceptions are developing prior to reaching a consensus.’ As for the problems of adjustment and learning cooperation, they have been viewed as a ‘necessary prelude to a new phase of consolidation – a new thrust towards more meaningful interdependence... there is a unity of thought that ASEAN’s end is peace and its means are peaceful, and that politics of confrontation merely sap energy and resources better devoted to development purpose.’

*An extract from a book by a scholar of ASEAN, 1999.*

### Now answer the following question.

How far do Sources A-E support the view that ASEAN is more united than divided?

## Section B

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

2. To what extent did ideology influence the development of nationalist movements in Southeast Asia before World War Two?
3. 'Independence was attained because the colonial powers were willing to relinquish control.' How far do you agree?
4. Assess the view that authoritarianism in Southeast Asia was a choice rather than a necessity.
5. Why has national identity been stronger in some states than others in Southeast Asia since independence?
6. Evaluate the attempts by independent Southeast Asian states to address tensions that have arisen between them.