

CANDIDATE NAME	CT GROUP	
	INDEX NUMBER	

# HISTORY

9731/02

3 hours

13 September 2012

Paper 2 History of Southeast Asia, c.1900 - 1997

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

# INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

Write your **name** and **CT class** clearly in the spaces at the top of this page. Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper. Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

# Attempt both Section A and Section B.

Attempt one question from Section A and only three questions from Section B.

Please start every question on a *fresh* sheet of paper and label each question clearly.

If you did not manage to complete a question, please hand in a piece of blank paper with your name and CT on it.

At the end of the examination, fasten your responses with the string provided together.

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

#### **Section A**

## You must answer Question 1.

#### ASEAN AND REGIONAL SECURITY

1. Read the sources and then answer the question.

#### Source A

ASEAN has been one of the most durable examples of regional multilateralism. 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. ASEAN's positive image was built around three areas of accomplishment in its first three decades. First, since 1967 no ASEAN member has engaged a fellow ASEAN member in major armed confrontation, in spite of occasional border skirmishes and bilateral territorial disputes and political tensions. Second, ASEAN was instrumental in bringing the decade-long Vietnamese-Cambodian conflict to the negotiating table in 1989 and in reaching a peace agreement in 1991. 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.

An excerpt from an ASEAN academic's work published in 2008.

#### Source B

Until 1995, ASEAN had not taken a public position regarding the South China Sea. But a series of unilateral Chinese actions from 1992 culminated in the Mischief Reef issue of January 1995. Two days before the bilateral talks between the Philippines and China in Beijing, on 18 March 1995, ASEAN adopted a united stand by issuing a statement calling for all parties concerned to adhere to the letter and spirit of the Manila Declaration on the South China Sea.

According to Lauro Baja Jr., Philippines Foreign Affairs Undersecretary, Manila was not getting international community aid in protesting China's continued occupation of Mischief Reef. In his words, "on Mischief Reef, we were left alone...The other countries said that while they understand our situation, this issue is a Philippine-China problem. Even some of our ASEAN friends are either mute, timid or cannot go beyond espousal of general principle of peaceful settlement of disputes and polite words of understanding given in the corridors or meeting rooms."

An excerpt from an Australian academic's work published in 2000.

#### Source C

ASEAN hopes that its efforts to intensify regional security discussions within ASEAN, with its dialogue partners [in ARF] and with China and Russia will eventually evolve into a regional process for promoting political and security cooperation. ASEAN made headway on a number of the most difficult issues, such as the disputes over territory in the South China Sea claimed by several nations. Among the other achievements was the accession of Vietnam and Laos to the ASEAN Treaty of Amity and Cooperation. That treaty, adopted in Bali in 1975, lays down a number of principles governing relations between states. By acceding to the treaty, Vietnam and Laos have signaled their wish to put an end to the confrontation of the Cold War era and to become more closely associated with ASEAN.

An excerpt from an article published in the Asia Wall Street Journal in 1992.

## Source D

Last night, Foreign Minister Thanat spoke to me about the Kuala Lumpur ASEAN Meeting, putting major emphasis on extended informal talks about the problem of Communist China. Thanat said that those participating were fully agreed that the major problem facing Southeast Asian countries is aggressive Communist China, and that they must find some means of containing the threat. No immediate solutions, of course, were found. But it was agreed that the most useful action these actions could take was to present a united front and to act in common to make clear their solidarity.

An excerpt from a telegram from the US Embassy to the State Department in 1969.

# Source E

Dramatic changes are taking place in the political and security situation in the Asia-Pacific region. The end of the Cold War unleashed great opportunities among nations to redefine their relationships towards closer positive cooperation. The prospects for multipolarity in global and regional politics have increased as more and more nations break their dependence on major powers and develop wider relationships with new or emerging power centres. Open regionalism has gained adherents as a new framework for constructive cooperation among nations or group of nations.

Within this context, ASEAN is moving towards a higher plane of political and economic cooperation to secure regional peace and prosperity. ASEAN succeeded in establishing the mechanism for effective consultations on matters that have region-wide repercussions. Over time, it is hoped that these mechanisms can mature into effective regional institutions.

Annual report from the ASEAN Security Committee (ASC), 1992-1993.

Now answer the following question:

How far do Sources A-E support the view that ASEAN has been successful in promoting regional security since its founding? [25 marks]

## Section **B**

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

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

**2** How far were nationalist movements in pre-World War II Southeast Asia focused on the construction of a national identity? [25 marks]

**3** To what extent can the Japanese Occupation (1942-1945) be considered a watershed in the fortunes of nationalist movements in Southeast Asia? [25 marks]

**4** How far do historical legacies explain the varying degrees of military involvement in Southeast Asian politics after 1945? [25 marks]

**5** Assess the view that the minorities in Southeast Asia have been successfully integrated into the newly-independent countries after 1945. [25 marks]

**6** How successful have the Southeast Asian countries been in resolving tensions among them by 1997? [25 marks]

#### END of PAPER