



INNOVA JUNIOR COLLEGE
JC 2 PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION 2
in preparation for General Certificate of Education Advanced Level
Higher 2

HISTORY

9731/02

Paper 2 History of Southeast Asia, c1900-1997

12 September 2012

3 hours

Additional Materials: Writing Paper

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name and class on all the work you hand in.
Write in dark blue or black ink 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, answers for Section A and Section B should be fastened **separately**. Section B should be fastened with a cover page.
All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

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

This document consists of 4 printed pages.



Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

ASEAN SECURITY COOPERATION

- 1 Read the sources, and then answer the question which follows. When answering **Question 1** candidates are advised to pay particular attention to the interpretation and evaluation of the Sources both individually and as a group.

Source A

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum (ARF) was one of the most conspicuous additions to the evolving security architecture in the Asia-Pacific in the 1990s. However, from the very outset, assessments of the ARF have been shaped by questions over its usefulness and future direction. A key issue has been when and how the ARF would move beyond confidence building to preventive diplomacy, the second of the three stages of security co-operation envisaged in the 1995 ARF Concept Paper. In the event, given the very diverse political outlooks of participant states and their different vulnerabilities, even defining preventive diplomacy proved a major challenge... Participants' failure to move unequivocally beyond dialogue and confidence building, while nevertheless recognizing the overlap between confidence building and preventive diplomacy, reinforced widespread criticisms of the ARF as a 'talk shop'.

Written by academic Ju"rgen Haacke, The ASEAN Regional Forum: From Dialogue to Practical Security Cooperation, 2009.

Source B

The time has come for ASEAN to lay down its heavy and now risky burden of trying to find a solution to the Cambodian problem if it is not to suffer further humiliation and hurt from its Western partners. The villains and victims that ASEAN and its Western allies had agreed upon eleven years ago have been unilateral and unexpectedly reversed by the latter. The new objectives, now that accord has been reached between the Western nations and the Soviet Union, required that the Vietnamese, rather than the Cambodians, should win the battle for Cambodia. It was fear of the Soviet Union which earlier prompted the Western powers to cheer ASEAN's efforts to force the Soviets' proxy to disgorge tis fruit of aggression. But since Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev descended from the mountain five years ago bearing the perestroika and glasnost tablets proclaiming an end to the East-West Cold War, it has become necessary to reward the Soviets by ditching the Cambodian coalition and reinstating the Vietnamese as the overlords of all Indochina. Hence the need to also ditch the ASEAN solution.

Former Singapore Foreign Minister, Mr S. Rajaratnam, in an article contribution to the Straits Times, 3 August 1990.

[Turn over

Source C

Finally, I suppose one of the most significant consequences for Singapore was that ASEAN became a more cohesive and coordinated grouping. It was through the careful handling of the Cambodia issue that ASEAN proved its mettle and showed the international community that it had the ability to solve problems, and was a "serious" and "credible" organisation. Today, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar are part of ASEAN. For the most part, its members have eschewed conflict and tensions to pursue a shared vision of economic growth, development and prosperity.

Former Deputy Prime Minister and Former Coordinating Minister for National Security, Mr Wong Kan Seng at the S Rajaratnam Lecture 2011, 23 November 2011, presenting a speech on Lessons for Singapore's Foreign Policy: The Cambodian Conflict.

Source D

...ASEAN Regional Forum's (ARF) accomplishments are even more remarkable considering that not so long ago there were wars and conflicts in the region and within many ASEAN countries... there's a common desire to work together to build a nuclear weapons-free region of peace, freedom and neutrality... There cannot be any doubt that member countries have contributed towards governmental rationality and serious concern for the well-being and rapid development of member states. The members seem to learn from each other how to administer and develop their countries... ARF has proven that regional cooperation among developing countries is possible and can produce results.

Dr. Mahathir Mohamed speaking in a keynote address at the 30th Meeting of ASEAN Foreign Ministers, 1997.

Source E

In mid-1991, fresh from diplomatic success in helping to end the Cambodian civil war, Indonesia took the initiative in seeking to open multilateral negotiations on competitive South China Sea claims, especially those claims involving jurisdictional disputes over the Spratly Islands. Indonesia has taken a leading role in diplomatic initiatives and cooperative agreements to resolve South China Sea issues, particularly through the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) forum, which has called for the peaceful arbitration of territorial claims... Indonesia hosted the first of these workshops in 1990. The ASEAN foreign ministers have reiterated the invitations to all parties directly concerned to subscribe to the principles of the ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea.

Taken from <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/spratly-diplomacy.htm>,
10 August 2012.

Now answer the following question.

How far do Sources A-E support the hypothesis that ASEAN has successfully managed regional security issues from 1967 to 1997?

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Section B

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

2. Was economic exploitation or education the main reason for the rise of nationalism before 1941?
3. "The successes of the nationalist movements were overrated." Assess this statement from 1942 onwards.
4. "Military governments were the preferred choice for Southeast Asian countries since independence." How far do you agree with this statement?
5. "The minority problem was the greatest hindrance to national unity." Discuss this with reference to independent Southeast Asian states.
6. Assess the consequences of interstate tensions between independent Southeast Asian states.