



TEMASEK JUNIOR COLLEGE  
JC2 Preliminary Examinations  
HIGHER 2



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## HISTORY

**9752/02**

Paper 2 The Making of Independent Southeast Asia (Independence to 2000) **11 September 2018**  
**3 hours**

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### READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your centre number, index number, name and CG on all the work you hand in.  
Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.  
Start each answer on a fresh piece of writing paper.  
You may use an HB pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.  
Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid.

#### Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

#### Section B

Answer **two** questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together with the cover sheet on top.

The number of marks is given in brackets [ ] at the end of each question or part question.

**SECTION A**

You **must** answer Question 1.

**THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ASEAN AS A REGIONAL ORGANISATION**

- 1 Read the sources and then answer the questions which follow.

**Source A**

Then came ASEAN's first big test. Even when ASEAN submitted a resolution to the United Nations 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. However, 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 a Vietnam which for years had been an object of adulation in the Third World. Since 1979, the fact that ASEAN is able to mobilise 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.

*Memoirs of Mr. S. Rajaratnam (Singapore's Foreign Minister 1965 – 1980),  
published in 1987.*

**Source B**

Acting US Secretary of State Strobe Talbott welcomed the ASEAN participants and observed that the dialogue provides an opportunity to discuss a broad range of economic and political issues. The US attaches special importance to the new ASEAN Regional Forum. ASEAN, and the US-ASEAN dialogue, can play a leading role in magnifying the positive features of our growing interdependence and in controlling the negative ones. Far more important than any differences among us are the interests and values that bind us together.

ASEAN Secretary-General Dato Ajit Singh emphasised the importance of the now 17-year-old ASEAN-US dialogue process, noting our substantial trade and investment ties and the shared political and security interests. He said ASEAN looks to enhance regional security consultations with US to foster trust and confidence so matters can be peacefully resolved. The Secretary-General concluded that ASEAN considers the US an important partner in the region.

*An extract from a joint press statement from the Meeting of the Twelfth US-ASEAN  
Dialogue in Washington D.C, May 1994.*

### Source C

The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), composed of twenty-one foreign ministers who meet annually, is trying to build on sand. The ARF can do little to help security in the wider Asia-Pacific region, and in some circumstances might work to undermine it.

Even in ASEAN's own front yard, the ARF has done nothing to improve security. Four years after the ARF was formed, what is most striking is ASEAN's deepening disarray and China's unremitting strategic pressure in the South China Sea. Consensual and procedural approaches along the lines of the "ASEAN model" simply cannot work if one party will not play.

*An academic book on the ASEAN Regional Forum, 1998.*

### Source D

ASEAN is a geopolitical miracle. When ASEAN was founded in 1967, almost no one believed it would last. Two earlier regional groupings had already failed. At the beginning of ASEAN's existence, the tensions between the delegates from member states were high. During the 1971 meetings, the suspicion and distrust in the room was palpable. Each country tried to gain at the expense of others. Two decades later, the initial distrust had fallen away and replaced by goodwill and a sense of common purpose. Today, the commitment to peace amongst these nations is exemplified by the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC). Furthermore, ASEAN Member States also lead by example. Singapore and Malaysia demonstrated their respect for international legal norms when they turned to the International Court of Justice for the resolution of the Pedra-Branca dispute. ASEAN members are no fair-weather friends. They have been through some truly bad times together. From 1997 to 1998, ASEAN took a massive hit from the Asian Financial Crisis.

*An extract from an article by a Singaporean academic and former diplomat, 2015.*

### Source E



*A Filipino cartoonist depicting ASEAN in a Singapore newspaper, 2015.*

**Source F**

Each of the ASEAN members pursued distinct foreign policy orientations in the Cold War divide: from being pro-Western, pro-Soviet, pro-China to non-aligned. To ASEAN's credit, however, such realities did not deter its evolution, in order to remain relevant in the constantly changing environment. Thus, while the 1978-91 Cambodian conflict served as one of most vivid illustrations of the deep divide in Southeast Asia, it served as a catalyst for new dynamics in the region. The Jakarta Informal Meeting process initiated in 1988, which led to the conflict's resolution through the 1991 Paris Peace Agreement, for instance, ushered the early beginnings of habit of communication among Southeast Asian countries, despite their sharp differences.

*An Indonesian academic and former diplomat writing in an academic journal commemorating ASEAN's 50th anniversary, 2017.*

Now answer the following questions:

- a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources A and F on ASEAN's role in dealing with the Cambodian conflict. [10]
- b) How far do Sources A-F support the assertion that ASEAN was an effective regional organisation? [30]

**SECTION B**

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

**EITHER**

- 2** How important was democracy in the maintenance of political stability of independent Southeast Asian states? [30]

**OR**

- 3** Why were some independent Southeast Asian countries less successful in forging national unity than others? [30]

**AND EITHER**

- 4** How effective were the industrialisation policies to the achievement of economic development in Southeast Asian states? [30]

**OR**

- 5** How far were the governments of some Southeast Asian states more effective in their response to the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis than others? [30]

End of Paper

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