

## **RIVER VALLEY HIGH SCHOOL**

Year 6 Preliminary Examination 2 In preparation for the General Certificate of Education Advanced Level HIGHER 2

History 9731/02

Paper 2: History of Southeast Asia, c.1900 – 1997

**19 SEPTEMBER 2016** 

3 hours

# **READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write in dark blue or black ink.
You may use a HB pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.
Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid.
DO **NOT** WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

# **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.

This document consists of 5 printed pages.

### Section A

### You must answer Question 1.

# **ASEAN and Regional Cooperation from 1975**

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

All the ASEAN countries shared the same objective with regard to the Cambodian problem – the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia and self-determination for the Cambodia people. There were, however, differences in nuances and emphasis as to how the problem should be solved. It was difficult for all six different countries to totally agree on one approach. The differences in geopolitical perceptions, history, culture and other factors should be taken into account. However, these factors had not prevented ASEAN from acting as a united body. For instance, the Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM), convened in 1988, was the first time that all parties to the Cambodian problem had met, even though their respective positions remained incompatible. The year ended with the ASEAN-sponsored resolution on Kampuchea receiving yet another round of overwhelming support at the 43<sup>rd</sup> UNGA.

An excerpt from Ang Cheng Guan, "Singapore, ASEAN and the Cambodian Conflict", 2013

#### Source B

The ARF allows ASEAN a multilateral platform and forum where individual countries can air their views. However, the ARF is essentially an extension of the traditional ASEAN dialogue process. It cannot be considered to be designed to enhance ASEAN defence cooperation. As instruments for security cooperation, they are likely to be hamstrung by the ASEAN process of accommodation and dialogue. Moreover, the expanded security forum includes countries which have no experience of ASEAN's often long drawn-out dialogue process.

An excerpt from Desmond Ball, "The Transformation of Security in the Asia/Pacific Region", 2013

### Source C

There are a number of preventive security regimes which condition state behaviour over the Spratlys. The most important are those subsumed under ASEAN, namely the Declaration of a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN); the 1976 Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC); the 1976 ASEAN Concord; and the 1992 ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea. Together, the regimes embodied in these instruments exert significant normative pressures on the ASEAN claimants.

Additionally, the existence of a regional multilateral forum that brings together power rivals or countries in contention of some kind with each other is of benefit to the peace and stability of the region, even if the forum stays at the confidence-building stage (CBM). It is only in the ARF where they can consult, hold dialogues, network and discuss regional-security issues comprehensively and in a broad setting, with ASEAN at the hub of it all.

An excerpt from a book entitled "The ASEAN Regional Forum", written by Rodolfo Severino, former ASEAN Secretary-General, published in 2009

### Source D

The Foreign Ministers reaffirmed the principles contained in the ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea and its positive contribution to a significant reduction of tension in the region. They expressed appreciation that the on-going Workshop Series on Managing Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea, initiated by Indonesia, had promoted confidence-building among the countries directly concerned. They noted that some countries concerned were already having bilateral consultations. They were convinced that, given the political will and spirit of cooperation of all states concerned, peace and stability in the region could be significantly enhanced.

1994 Joint Communiqué of the 27th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting Bangkok

#### Source E

The political cohesiveness that allowed ASEAN to present a common front in the struggle to oust Vietnam from Cambodia originated in perceptions of a direct threat to the regional international order. It was politically defensive and did not derive from any inherent regional integrative process. Although ultimately diplomatically successful, the success was more a function of the real capabilities and interests of the external partners linked to the regional protagonists than to the capabilities of the ASEAN states. Second, the experience of the Third Indochina War revealed that there was no common ASEAN strategic perception. ASEAN states had disparate strategic orientations towards the United States and China. Third, it became clear that when an ASEAN state decided that its national interests were jeopardized by consensual ASEAN policy, national interests would take priority.

An excerpt from Donald Weatherbee, "International Relations in Southeast Asia", 2009

Now answer the following question.

How far do Sources A – E support the view that ASEAN was inadequate in dealing with regional security issues between the period 1975 – 1997?

### Section B

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

- 2 "Nationalist movements have only themselves to blame for the lack of achievements in the pre-war period." How far do you agree with this statement?
- **3** "Confrontation was the most viable path towards independence in the post-war era." Discuss.
- 4 "The rise of authoritarian regimes was largely due to historical, rather than circumstantial, reasons." How valid is this statement in relation to independent Southeast Asia?
- **5** To what extent was the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis caused by unsound governmental practices?
- 6 "Interstate tensions have hindered regional integration." How accurate is this statement in relation to the period 1945 1997?

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Source D © Desmond Ball, The Transformation of Security in the Asia/Pacific Region, 2013.

Source E © Donald Weatherbee, International Relations in Southeast Asia, 2009.