



**ST ANDREW'S JUNIOR COLLEGE**  
**Preliminary Examinations**  
**General Certificate of Education Advanced Level**  
**Higher 2**

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**HISTORY**

**9731/02**

Paper 2 History of Southeast Asia c.1900-1997

**3 September 2014**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

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**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write your name and class on all the work you hand in.  
Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.  
You may use a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.  
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, fasten all your work securely together.  
All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

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This document consists of **4** printed pages.

**[Turn Over**

## Section A

You must answer Question 1.

### ASEAN AND REGIONALISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

1 Read the sources and then answer the question.

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

MINDFUL of the existence of mutual interests and common problems among countries of South-East Asia and convinced of the need to strengthen further the existing bonds of regional solidarity and cooperation;

DESIRING to establish a firm foundation for common action to promote regional cooperation in South-East Asia in the spirit of equality and partnership and thereby contribute towards peace, progress and prosperity in the region;

CONSCIOUS that in an increasingly interdependent world, the cherished ideals of peace, freedom, social justice and economic well-being are best attained by fostering good understanding, good neighbourliness and meaningful cooperation among the countries of the region already bound together by ties of history and culture;

CONSIDERING that the countries of South East Asia share a primary responsibility for strengthening the economic and social stability of the region and ensuring their peaceful and progressive national development, and that they are determined to ensure their stability and security from external interference in any form or manifestation in order to preserve their national identities in accordance with the ideals and aspirations of their peoples.

*Excerpt from The ASEAN Declaration, 8 August 1967.*

#### Source B

Interviewer: You were quoted to have openly criticized those who are lukewarm to the ideal of regional integration. What are the imperatives for regional integration?

Severino: I said at the Eighth Southeast Asia Forum, which was held in Kuala Lumpur on 15 March 1998, that some in ASEAN seem to pay mere lip service to the ideal of regional solidarity and cooperation. The financial crisis, the haze problem caused by massive forest fires in Kalimantan and in Sumatra, and the recently resolved Cambodian situation have brought home to all of us the need to forge a stronger sense of unity in ASEAN if our most serious problems are to be addressed.

In an increasingly global world economy, ASEAN members must realize that they must work more closely as a group in international negotiating forums if they are to have any influence in shaping the emerging architecture of the global economy and the new structure of international finance. Otherwise, they will have to resign themselves to having their destiny determined by others.

*Interview with Rodolfo C. Severino, Jr., Secretary-General of ASEAN, 1999.*

**Source C**

Currently ASEAN summits and forums allow only for member states to air their concerns. Because member states are not bound to honor any proposed or passed resolution, these assemblies lack the power to force action. Over the years, this arrangement has helped to avoid the creation of internal power blocs, where the biggest and most powerful states could have tried to dictate the affairs of smaller members. The absence of any binding force, however, has rendered ASEAN essentially ineffective in leading the region or resolving crises.

*Extracted from 'Time for a New ASEAN Way', by a Vietnamese lawyer based in Canada. This article was published in an online news website in 2012.*

**Source D**

In the 1960s, the outlook for regional security and stability in Southeast Asia was particularly grim. The region was portrayed variously as a 'region of revolt', the 'Balkans of the East', or a 'region of dominoes'. The weak socio-political cohesion of the region's new nation-states, the legitimacy problems of several of the region's post-colonial governments, inter-state territorial disputes, intra-regional ideological polarisation and intervention by external powers were marked features of the geopolitical landscape of Southeast Asia. These conflicts posed a threat not only to the survival of some of the region's new states, but also to the prospects for regional order as a whole. Against this background, the establishment of ASEAN in August 1967 did not inspire much hope for peace and stability in the region. Indeed, the very survival of ASEAN was placed in doubt as inter-state disputes (such as that between Malaysia and the Philippines over Sabah) escalated. Functional cooperation, including trade liberalisation, was also slow to emerge.

*An academic's view on the early years of ASEAN, 2001.*

**Source E**

ASEAN admitted Vietnam, Cambodia, Myanmar and Laos for political, economic and security reasons. It believed that the opportunity for uniting Southeast Asia was highly auspicious in the post-Cold War period and might not present itself again for a long time. ASEAN leaders were afraid that Myanmar's isolationist tendencies would reassert themselves if they did not act quickly. Other political considerations played a role. President Suharto and Prime Minister Mahathir saw their political careers winding down and wanted the unification of Southeast Asia as part of their legacies. Perhaps most importantly, ASEAN believed that its international voice would be far louder, and its economic appeal greatly enhanced, if it could present a united front to the world.

*A historian's account, 2002.*

Now answer the following question.

*How far do Sources A – E support the view that ASEAN had been successful in building a regional community in Southeast Asia from 1967 - 1997?*

**Section B**

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

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

- 2 Assess the view that Southeast Asian nationalism during the pre-war period was dominated by radical movements.
- 3 'The most significant impact of the Japanese Occupation in Southeast Asia was the empowerment of nationalist leaders'. How far do you agree with this statement?
- 4 How valid is the perspective that communist influences posed the greatest threat to post-independent governments in Southeast Asia?
- 5 Assess the view that post-independence Southeast Asian governments' policies towards the ethnic minorities were a disaster.
- 6 To what extent did interstate tensions impede bilateral and regional cooperation in Southeast Asia from 1960 – 1997?