



CANDIDATE
NAME

CT GROUP

INDEX
NUMBER

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HISTORY

History of Southeast Asia, c.1900 – 1997

9731/02

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

September 2014

3 hours

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

Despite all its weaknesses, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has arguably played a significant role in shaping and contributing to regional security in Southeast Asia and beyond. Even though it has not ridden itself completely from sources of conflicts and tension, Southeast Asia has enjoyed a rather long period of peace and stability. By the 1990s, ASEAN had managed to incorporate former “enemies” such as Vietnam and Laos into the grouping, and even completed the idea of ASEAN-10 with the admission of Cambodia and Myanmar as members. Indeed, within Southeast Asia, ASEAN has played a central role in ensuring that war is no longer an acceptable instrument of conflict resolution among its members. The focus of inter-state relations among regional countries soon turned into regional economic cooperation and building trust.

An excerpt from an Indonesian academic’s work published in 2010.

Source B

ASEAN did not make much headway for about ten years and in its first decade, external observers credited the organisation for a single achievement: that it had survived. However, according to some observers, this changed with the onset of the Cambodian conflict and – more importantly – the changed role of the United States after the loss of the Vietnam War in 1975 and the rise of Vietnam as a Communist state. As the Soviet Union began to exert increasing influence over Vietnam, the primary threat came from outside the region rather than within the states. In the following years and until the signing of the Paris Peace Accords of 1991, which officially ended the Cambodian conflict, ASEAN carved out for itself a diplomatic role in the management of the Cambodian problem and members managed to maintain their solidarity.

An excerpt from a European think-tank’s academic article published in 2011.

Source C

ASEAN’s leading role in the ARF is not without problems. The ASEAN approach is not necessarily the most suitable one for dealing with some complex issues. Itself a product of the Cold War, ASEAN until recently confined its membership to a limited geographic area within Southeast Asia, and its member states generally have shared common interests and concerns. The only diplomatic initiative ASEAN has undertaken to date is with regard to Cambodia, and even there ASEAN found itself insufficiently equipped – in order to achieve a settlement, it had to obtain assistance from the major powers and the UN.

An excerpt from an article published by an American think-tank in 2000.

Source D

As a close neighbour of Myanmar and a fellow ASEAN member country, Thailand is naturally concerned over her troubled economic and political situation. For uncertainty or, worse, instability, in neighbouring countries sooner or later have a way of affecting us, not least of all through border incidents and large influxes of displaced persons. Already faced with enormous financial and economic problems, our country can scarcely afford to bear additional security burdens or undertake more humanitarian responsibilities.

Comments by a Thai Deputy Foreign Minister at a regional conference in 1998.

Source E

The initial preference for informality reflected the twin desire for increased contact and dialogue between members without relinquishing authority to ASEAN. The informality was well captured by Malaysia's Tun Razak's reference to "sport shirt diplomacy" in ASEAN's early years. This conjures the image of state leaders in an informal setting enabling personal interactions to establish a foundation of goodwill, mutual respect and understanding. The former Foreign Secretary of the Philippines, Carlos Romulo said, 'I can pick up the phone now and talk directly to Adam Malik and Rajaratnam [Indonesia's and Singapore's foreign ministers respectively]. We often find that private talks over breakfast prove more important than formal meetings.' This informality was epitomised by the perception that important decisions were made on the golf course.

An excerpt from a Western academic's book on ASEAN published in 2012.

Now answer the following question:

How far do Sources A-E support the view that ASEAN has been successful in promoting regional security since 1967?

[25 marks]

Section B

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

- 2** To what extent was repression the most effective colonial response to nationalist challenges before World War Two? [25 marks]
- 3** How far do you agree that the Japanese Occupation (1942-1945) marked a turning point for nationalist movements in Southeast Asia? [25 marks]
- 4** “How stable the political system was best explains the varying degrees of military involvement in politics after independence”. Assess this view. [25 marks]
- 5** How successful have Southeast Asian governments been in integrating the minorities within their countries? [25 marks]
- 6** “The consequences of inter-state tensions in Southeast Asia have been primarily negative.” Discuss. [25 marks]

END of PAPER
