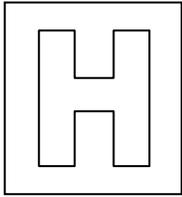


Class Adm No

Candidate Name: \_\_\_\_\_

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## 2014 Preliminary Examination 2

### Pre-university 3

### H2 HISTORY

#### History of Southeast Asia

9731/02

18<sup>th</sup> 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 or graphs.  
Do not use paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Begin each question on a fresh sheet of writing paper.

#### Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

#### Section B

Answer any **three** questions.

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

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This question paper consists of 4 printed pages.

[Turn over

Candidate Name: \_\_\_\_\_

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**Section A**You **must** answer Question 1**ASEAN and Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia**

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**

Thailand was the ASEAN state most directly threatened by the Vietnamese invasion, which radically altered the regional balance of power by destroying Kampuchea (Cambodia) as a buffer state between Thailand and Vietnam. Thailand's primary response to the invasion was to call on great powers. ASEAN was a part of Thailand's diplomatic response to Vietnam, but it was only a secondary factor in the Thais' overall strategy. The organisation could not provide the raw power necessary to roll back the Vietnamese invasion; such power was available from much larger players.

In January 1979, Thailand struck a secret bargain with China whereby it facilitated Chinese material support to the deposed Khmer Rouge. In February, Thai Prime Minister Kriangsak Chomanan visited Washington to secure a reiteration of U.S security guarantees to Thailand.

Excerpt from a book by a Canadian historian specialising in ASEAN, 2002

**Source B**

During the Second Indochina War, each ASEAN state pursued its own Vietnam policy. Malaysia and Indonesia maintained strict neutrality, whereas Thailand and the Philippines contributed personnel and material to South Vietnam. Perceptions of Vietnam as a possible threat to the region also varied among member nations. Indonesia and Malaysia viewed Vietnam as a buffer against Chinese expansionism, whereas Thailand, wary of possible repetition of historic patterns of confrontation with Vietnam, turned to China for protection following the war's end and the subsequent withdrawal of United States forces from Thailand.

Following the 1978 invasion of Cambodia, however, the ASEAN nations were united in their condemnation of Hanoi. They took the lead in mobilizing international opinion against Vietnam, and, in the UN General Assembly, they annually sponsored resolutions calling for withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and for internationally supervised elections. The ASEAN nations also were instrumental in preventing the Vietnam-sponsored Heng Samrin regime in Phnom Penh from taking over Cambodia's UN seat. In June 1982, ASEAN was instrumental in persuading three disparate Cambodian resistance elements to merge into a coalition resistance government.

Excerpt from an academic book prepared by the US Library of Congress, 1989

Candidate Name: \_\_\_\_\_

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**Source C**

1. The ASEAN member countries reaffirm that: peace and stability are essential for the national development of the respective countries in the region of Southeast Asia.

2. In conformity with the principles of the UN Charter, and of the Bandung Declaration and mindful of the solemn pledges enunciated by the countries in Southeast Asia, they call upon all countries in the region to strictly, respect each other's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and political system; to refrain from using force or threatening to use force in their bilateral relations, from interfering in each other's internal affairs, and from carrying out subversive activities, directly or indirectly, against each other; to settle all differences between the countries by peaceful means through negotiations, in a spirit of equality, mutual understanding and respect.

ASEAN's Statement on the Armed Conflict between Vietnam and Cambodia, 9 January 1979

**Source D**

Nowhere has your leadership been more inspiring than in moulding the world's response to the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Cambodia. After the collapse of South Vietnam, ASEAN took a strong stand against Vietnamese expansionism. When Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1978, you recognised the threat and reacted quickly. The strength of your commitment and the direction you've provided on this vital issue have been much admired by the United States. In 1981, ASEAN organised the International Conference on Kampuchea. We continue to support the settlement of the Cambodian situation agreed upon at the conference: the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces under international supervision; the restoration of Cambodian independence; a Cambodian government chosen in free elections under international auspices. ASEAN's efforts are consistent with American desires to bring peaceful resolution to the tragic cycle of events that has plagued the Cambodian people. We continue to believe a negotiated settlement with ASEAN is in Vietnam's interest and in the best interest of everyone in the region.

Address by Ronald Reagan to the Ministerial Meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations in Bali, 1986.

**Source E**

Nonetheless, although ASEAN's strategy of coercive diplomacy contributed to Vietnam's withdrawal from Cambodia in 1991, its diplomatic success relied heavily on the specific interest and power patterns of the external key actors within the Cold War context. Indeed, both the effectiveness and the coherence of ASEAN's Vietnam strategy throughout the 1980s were circumscribed by its relationship to the great powers, solely able to exert hard pressure on Hanoi. Lacking the capacities to enforce its own regional standards by itself, the relative success of ASEAN's containment role has been inextricably linked to the large overlap of interests and threat perceptions within the Association and between the regional and extra-regional key players, notably China and the United States. The importance of (lacking) similar threat interests and threat perceptions for the coherence of ASEAN's posture has been tellingly demonstrated by Thailand's changing Vietnam's policy in 1988.

An academic writing by a renowned political scientist, 2007.

How far do Sources A to E show that ASEAN's role in the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in 1978 was irrelevant?

Candidate Name: \_\_\_\_\_

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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. Assess the view that the development of Southeast Asian nationalism before World War Two was influenced more by western ideologies than religion.
  
3. Evaluate the impact of the Japanese Occupation on the process of decolonisation in Southeast Asia from 1945 to 1957.
  
4. To what extent do you agree that the failure of democracy was the most important factor for the rise of authoritarian governments in post-independent Southeast Asia?
  
5. "Southeast Asian governments have failed to foster a sense of nationhood in its minorities." To what extent do you agree with this statement?
  
6. How far do you agree that achieving regional cooperation in post-independent Southeast Asia was difficult and futile?

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**Copyright Acknowledgements**

- Question 1 Source A © Shaun Narine, "Explaining ASEAN: Regionalism in Southeast Asia" 1 Jan 2002  
Question 1 Source B © Ronald J. Cima, ed. Vietnam: A Country Study. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1989  
Question 1 Source C © 1979 Statement by the Indonesian Foreign Minister as Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee, Jakarta, 9 January 1979, accessed 17 August 2014  
Question 1 Source D © Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Ronald Reagan, 1986  
Question 1 Source E © Peter Goldschagg, "Does ASEAN Matter?", 2007