

**SECTION A**

You must answer Question 1.

**The Expansion of ASEAN**

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

**Source A**

A financial storm of unprecedented scale has swept through our region. It has given rise to the perception that ASEAN is in disarray and its image tarnished. The building of consensus, and the supreme importance attached to not interfering in the internal affairs of members have been the hallmarks of ASEAN existence. Now, there are calls, first from outside ASEAN and now also from within ASEAN, for change.

The fundamental ASEAN principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states is now under scrutiny. It is one reason why many members find it comfortable to join ASEAN, and remain in it. To abandon this time-tested principle would set us on the path towards eventual disintegration. I am afraid we may take for granted the stable political environment and the positive interstate relations between members. This healthy environment has much to do with our adherence to the principle of non-interference.

*Adapted from a speech by Malaysian Foreign Minister at the 31<sup>st</sup> ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, July 1998.*

**Source B**

Asia's economic crisis has diminished the influence of ASEAN, and it must drop its foundation policy of non-interference, Thai Foreign Minister Surin said. "As we have suffered economic downturn, and as some leaderships in the region have been affected, ASEAN's contribution to regional affairs has been diminished," Surin told a business seminar in Sydney. "Thailand is now suggesting flexible engagement on issues that have a negative impact on others in the region, be it economic or political," he said.

Surin said Thailand was vulnerable to its neighbours' problems, citing 100,000 displaced people on its borders, and 700,000 illegal workers. Surin also said Southeast Asia needed to work together to achieve a regional economic recovery, if Asia was to avoid depression as warned by the World Bank. He said ASEAN's vision for 2020, when the organisation would probably represent ten nations, was for "one democratic, pluralistic Southeast Asia." Thus, ASEAN must "gather its inner strength to consolidate regional unity through region-wide macroeconomic policy coordination and more flexible engagement."

*Adapted from a British news article reporting on the Thai Foreign Minister's speech in Australia, July 1998.*

**Source C**

The West believed that economic sanctions could force the government to hand power to Aung San Suu Kyi. I did not think this was likely. Unless the United States or the United Nations is prepared to send in armed forces to hold the country together, Myanmar without the army would be ungovernable. The West is impatient with ASEAN's constructive engagements and was puzzled when its leaders admitted Myanmar as a member in July 1997. But what better way is there to have the country develop, open up and gradually change? The generals will eventually have to adjust and change to a form of government more like their ASEAN neighbours. This will come about sooner if their contacts with the international community increase.

*Adapted from a biography of Singapore's ex-Minister Mentor  
Lee Kuan Yew, 2000.*

**Source D**

ASEAN argued that it did not interfere in the domestic affairs of other nations, and that Myanmar's internal politics were not relevant to the question of ASEAN's membership. It also argued that by a policy of "constructive engagement" within an ASEAN framework, the junta would be moved into the direction of political change and greater respect for human rights. The policy also kept the doors open for investment and economic exploitation of Myanmar's resources, particularly from Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand. The leaders also feared that if they had admitted Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to ASEAN but isolated Myanmar, the junta would become a Chinese client. Finally, there was ASEAN's refusal to cave in to the American pressures, which illustrated the diminished American political leverage resulting from the end of Cold War security concerns. From the Myanmar side, ASEAN membership gave the junta a fraction of international legitimacy, indirect access to Western markets, and a hedge against China.

*Adapted from an academic book, November 2015.*

**Source E**

When one country imposes its will on another, that is intervention. But when ASEAN and its partners help a nation overcome civil war and build democracy, we are not imposing; we are helping others realize their aspirations. Thus, one nation in which we have all expressed an interest in is Indonesia. We want Indonesia to emerge from its current difficulties as prosperous as it has ever been, and with the commitment to democracy that it needs to stay strong in the years to come. That is why the United States strongly supports the additional International Monetary Fund assistance to Indonesia announced earlier this month. With both Cambodia and Indonesia making some political progress, I find it especially sad that we must still address the lack of movement toward reconciliation in Burma. The situation there has gotten worse in the last year; the threat it poses to the stability of this region has grown.

*Adapted from a speech by a US Secretary of State, at an  
ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) meeting, July 1998.*

Source F



*A cartoon by a Burmese activist on a meeting between ASEAN and Myanmar, 1996.*

Now answer the following questions.

- a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources A and B on the effects of the Asian Financial Crisis on ASEAN. [10]
- b) How far do sources A to F support the view that Myanmar's admission into ASEAN strengthened the organisation? [30]



**Section B**

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

**EITHER**

- 2      "A stabilising force". How far do you agree with this assessment of the military in independent Southeast Asia? [30]

**OR**

- 3      Assess the view that education was key to the creation of national unity in independent Southeast Asian states. [30]

**AND EITHER**

- 4      To what extent were the non-state actors more important than state actors in promoting economic development in independent Southeast Asia? [30]

**OR**

- 5      "Southeast Asia countries had little success in responding to the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis". How far do you agree with this judgement? [30]