

VICTORIA JUNIOR COLLEGE

Preliminary Examinations

HISTORY 9731/02

Date: 18 September 2015

Duration: 3 hours

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READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name, index number and class on all the work you hand in.
Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper, but start your answer for each question on a fresh piece of paper.
You may use a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.
Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue and/or correction fluid.

Answer FOUR questions in total. One from Section A and three from Section B.

At the end of the examination, fasten and submit the answer scripts for Section A and Section B separately. Attach the cover page to the front of Section B.

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

You are advised to spend no more than 45 minutes answering each question.
You are reminded of the need for good English and legible handwriting in your answers.

Section A: ASEAN, 1967-1997

You must answer Question 1.

THE ASEAN WAY

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

ASEAN resists “interference in the internal affairs” of its members. Although this served the region well in the years after ASEAN's founding in 1967, enabling old sores to be salved and mutual confidence to be built ... the “ASEAN way” no longer works. The organisation has, since last July, faced serious challenges to its effectiveness on three fronts: the economic, with the contagious effect of currency depreciations and market meltdowns; the political, from the bloody putsch in Cambodia just before it was due to join ASEAN; and the environmental, because of the poisonous smog from Indonesian forest fires. In each case the organisation's cardinal principle of non-interference has run into the reality of interdependence.

From an article published in The Economist, a weekly newspaper based in London, February 1998.

Source B

Most of us have diverse populations, with significant differences in race, religion and language, all of which are highly emotive issues. The surest and quickest way to ruin is for ASEAN countries to begin commenting on how each of us deals with these sensitive issues. Each of us deals with them in our own way, in our common effort to achieve harmony and stability in our societies. ASEAN countries' consistent adherence to this principle of non-interference is the key reason why no military conflict has broken out between any two ASEAN countries since the founding of ASEAN. As any historian of Southeast Asia can tell us, such peace was not the norm for the previous 200 years. The past thirty years of peace is remarkable achievement. Let us maintain it in the 21st Century.

From a speech by Professor S. Jayakumar, at the 30th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, July 1997.

Source C

Historically we have seen many examples of seeking security through the formation of alliances and confrontation among difference alliances, which often severely undermined the security of other countries and brought heavy burdens to the allies themselves. Exclusive military alliances are outdated. Furthermore, they are not helpful for building trust and hence are perilous. The new type of security partnership should be inclusive and aimed at fostering mutual trust on the basis of full respect for each other's core interest. We believe that the ASEAN Way, which has gradually taken shape through practice and features equality, decision through consensus, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, is a role model of the new type of partnership.

From an address by General Ma Xiaotian, a China military official at a forum for Asia-Pacific Defence Ministers, June 2010.

Source D

Call me a party pooper, but rather than celebrating the 40th anniversary of ASEAN today, we should be contemplating its future, assuming there is a future for the regional organization in the first place.

ASEAN has already lost so much ground and time by sticking to its consensual decision-making mechanism, while China and India are fast making inroads into the construction of the new Asian order. The ASEAN Way is cumbersome, and this is not likely to change if we go by the draft of the charter.

When ASEAN was still only a six-member group, reaching a consensus... was already a difficult and time consuming task. Since the joining of Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam to the grouping between 1995 and 1999, decisions have been even harder to come by. Since the ASEAN-10 is quite a mixed group of political systems... inevitably members do not see eye to eye on many issues. Forging a consensus becomes that much more difficult.

ASEAN, and the ASEAN Way, is responsible for the emergence of the Asian "economic tigers"... but these tigers no longer have the exclusive prairie they enjoyed in the 1990s. Now they have to make way for the fiery Chinese dragon and the stomping Indian elephant, both of which seek to dominate the playground. If the tigers are to survive, first they have stay together, and second, they have to be smart.

An extract from an opinion piece published in The Jakarta Post, August 2007.

Source E

In aspiring to be a rule-based organisation it cannot hide behind its non-intervention principle. Furthermore, there are clear inconsistencies in the way ASEAN has applied this principle. The hypocrisy is evident in the way ASEAN has intervened in internal matters of the member states when it suits them. For example, in the Cambodian crisis in 1970s, in legitimising Indonesia's move in annexing East Timor and when several member states were very vocal when Indonesian forest fires created widespread atmospheric pollution. Glaringly evident is the fact there is clear intervention of capitalist elites influencing national economic policies and measures of ASEAN member states.

It is only in areas of human rights violations and exploitation of social conditions that ASEAN member states invoke their so-called adherence to the non-intervention principle. Despite the adoption of various ASEAN charters and declarations, it continues to lose credibility in not addressing violations such as enforced disappearances of human rights defenders, intra-state ethnic and religious violence, persecution, torture, environmental degradation and many more. It has become a political tool that is used to undermine its obligations towards elimination of discrimination and human rights violations and has resulted in member states acting with impunity.

From an interview with a human rights activist, published in a regional magazine based in Cambodia, January 2015.

Now answer the following question.

How far do Sources A-E support the view that the ASEAN Way has been beneficial for the regional association?

Section B

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

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

- 2 Which was more critical in obstructing the growth of nationalism in Southeast Asia before World War Two: nationalist weaknesses or colonial actions?
- 3 To what extent did World War Two shape the process of decolonisation in Southeast Asia?
- 4 'Democracy was the preferred political model in independent Southeast Asia.' Discuss.
- 5 How effectively did independent Southeast Asian states manage their economies up till 1997?
- 6 What were the most serious causes of inter-state tensions in independent Southeast Asia?