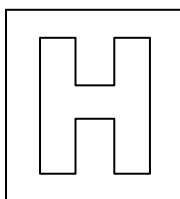


Candidate Name: _____

Class Adm No

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2012 Preliminary Examination II

Pre-university 3

HISTORY (HIGHER 2)

9731/02

Paper 2

19 September 2012

3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name, class and admission number in the spaces at the top of this page and 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.

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.

This question paper consists of 4 printed pages.

[Turn over

Section A

You **must** answer Question 1

GOING THE 'ASEAN WAY'

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

For 32 years, ASEAN nations have boasted of a special spirit of harmony. It was "the ASEAN way" of doing things. In truth, "the ASEAN way" is a cover for inaction and ineffectiveness, for tolerating bad policy and worse politics. When a crisis strikes, whether it's the 1997-98 Asian economic crisis, the trauma of the 2004 tsunami, or the permanent stain of the military dictatorship in Burma, ASEAN specialises in standing by uselessly. No matter the nature of the problem - economic, seismic or political - the "ASEAN way" is consistent in its utter failure to take effective action. Through the last two decades, ASEAN spins out a tropical cyclone of paper describing the alleged free trade zone it is creating, supposedly a precursor to a grand, seamless economic union in the model of the European Union. ASEAN's paralysis meant it was left to the International Monetary Fund to deal with the economic crisis. It was left to outside powers and charities to respond to the tsunami.

From an article published in an Australian online newspaper in November 2009.

Source B

After the Asian Financial Crisis, ASEAN members can no longer afford to adopt a non-committal stance and avoid passing judgment on events in a member country, simply on the grounds of 'non-interference'. ASEAN's respect for the sovereignty of fellow members is one reason why the grouping has come this far and enjoyed such longevity. However, if domestic events in one member's territory impact adversely on another member's internal affairs or even regional peace and prosperity, ASEAN members should play a more pro-active role. Consequently, it is obvious that ASEAN countries have an overriding interest in the internal affairs of its fellow members and may sometimes find it necessary to recommend certain actions on specific issues which may lead to direct or indirect consequences. Explicitly, we need to make intra-ASEAN relations more dynamic, more engaged and more "constructive" than before.

From a speech by Dr Surin Pitsuwan of Thailand at the Asia- Pacific roundtable in Kuala Lumpur, June 1998.

Source C

Many observers attribute ASEAN's intra-organizational success to the "ASEAN Way," a particular process of interaction. If ASEAN cannot reach a consensus on a difficult issue, then no organizational stand is taken. Instead, the member states agree to disagree, go their separate ways, and maintain, at least, the illusion of ASEAN unity. The practical effect of this approach is that ASEAN takes positions on the basis of the lowest common denominator on which its members can agree. This approach has enabled the organization to remain unified. Moreover, The ASEAN Way is a realistically modest approach to dealing with intra-ASEAN relations. It recognizes what it is possible to achieve between states. Through the practice of *Musyawarah* and *Mufakat* which provides advantages even to the poorer members, ASEAN does not allow disagreement in some areas to prevent cooperation in others. In these respects, it is a brilliant and productive approach to international relations; it is one of ASEAN's genuine strengths.

From an article titled, ASEAN and the Management of Regional Security, published c. 1998 by University of British Columbia.

Source D

Despite an unhelpful nonchalant approach to the problem by Indonesia, ASEAN's initial response to the smog or 'haze' was in line with the ASEAN Way. The haze was a concern not only for environmental and health reasons, but it also caused a drop in tourism. Singapore raised its concerns through private diplomacy, and ASEAN strengthened its joint environmental efforts by adopting a regional haze action plan in December 1997. Public criticism of Indonesia's government was limited and even Malaysia restricted news coverage of the haze. As a result, the impact of these measures were limited, leading to a departure from the non-interference principle where Singapore, out of exasperation and frustration at the lack of progress by Indonesian authorities, published the satellite images of fires in Indonesia produced by Singapore's own Centre for Remote Imaging, Sensing and Processing (CRISP) on the Internet.

From an article titled Security and Southeast Asia: Domestic, Regional, and Global Issues, published c.2005 by Association for Asian Studies.

Source E

THE "ASEAN Way", based on consensus and the principle of non-interference, has been fruitful as proven by the process of democracy that has started in Myanmar, said Datuk Seri Najib Razak. Saying that the "ASEAN Way" had also been featured in other instances, the prime minister said these included the approach adopted by Malaysia in resolving the claims of neighbouring countries, that could be settled amicably." Although ASEAN still holds strongly to the principle of non-interference, the ASEAN mechanisms centred on what is described as the 'ASEAN Way' enabled various sensitive and complex issues to be resolved through negotiations." In his special message in conjunction with the 45th ASEAN Day celebration which was aired last night, Najib pointed out that the ASEAN principle of non-interference had proven to be effective in maintaining peace and stability in the Southeast Asian region.

From an article published in a Malaysian newspaper, August 2012.

Now answer the following question.

How far do Sources A – E support the view that the 'ASEAN Way' acts as an obstruction to ASEAN's continued survival?

Section B

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

2. "Colonial rule unwittingly paved the way for the growth of nationalist movements." How accurate is this statement in accounting for the rise of Southeast Asian nationalism before World War Two?

3. "Southeast Asian nationalists had achieved nothing of significance before World War Two." Discuss.

4. Critically evaluate the role played by Communist parties in the newly independent Southeast Asian states.

5. "From 1945 – 1997, the Southeast Asian nations were not rewarded for their efforts at achieving national unity." How far do you agree with the above statement?

6. "In postcolonial Southeast Asia, inter-state tensions had become so deeply entrenched that it was impossible to resolve them." How far would you agree with this statement?

Copyright Acknowledgements

Question 1 Source A	©ADAPTED: 'ASEAN way' just means standing by uselessly; smh.com.au, (10 November 2009).
Question 1 Source B	© ADAPTED: http://www.aseansec.org/21689.htm , (June 1998).
Question 1 Source C	©. ADAPTED: Shaun Narine, <i>Pacific Affairs</i> , Vol. 71, No. 2 (Summer, 1998),
Question 1 Source D	© ADAPTED: Alan Collins, <i>The Journal of Asian Studies</i> , Vol. 64, No. 1 (February, 2005).
Question 1 Source E	© ADAPTED: Najib: Asean way fruitful; <i>Bernama News Agency</i> (20 August 2012)