

Candidate's Name: _____

CT Group: _____



PIONEER JUNIOR COLLEGE

H2 HISTORY

JC 2 PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION 2018

**H2 9752/2: The Making of Independent Southeast Asia
(Independence to 2000)**

DATE: 19/09/2018 (WED)

TIME: 0800–1100

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES:

Write your answers on the separate answer paper provided. Start each answer on a new piece of paper.

Write in dark blue or black ink.

If you use more than one sheet of paper, fasten the sheets together.

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer **two** questions.

Information to candidates:

You are reminded of the need for grammatically correct English and clear presentation in your answers.

For official use

Question No.	Full Marks	Marks Obtained
1 (a)	/10	
1 (b)	/30	
	/30	
	/30	
	TOTAL: 100	

Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

MYANMAR'S MEMBERSHIP IN ASEAN

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

Source A

The most troublesome problem is Myanmar's admission into ASEAN as it places ASEAN in the undesirable position of being an international advocate for State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC)* and a defender of human rights violations. SLORC was using ASEAN to protect its own position internationally and to deflect pressure from the West, especially in the context of their recent crackdown on democratic movements. ASEAN accordingly insisted that the issue was an internal one and that the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of member countries applied. Aung San Suu Kyi asked ASEAN to consider economic sanctions against SLORC, a demand that was supported by Western delegations at the ASEAN Regional Forum. ASEAN was warned that ties with the European Union could be undermined by its support for SLORC.

*SLORC was the official name of the military regime that governed Burma (Myanmar) in the aftermath of the 8888 Uprising.

Adapted from an article by an academic, ASEAN's New Challenges, 1997.

Source B

This Summit is taking place at a time when our region is facing unprecedented challenges. One of them is the strengthening of ASEAN unity. In an organisation composed of 9 nations, and hopefully soon to be 10, it is natural that while we enjoy many similarities, there are also differences in levels of development and outlooks. However, there are some people, particularly from outside the region, who are criticising ASEAN values and the ASEAN way of life. But these people are wrong. Some nations may be readjusting politically, economically and socially to new circumstances and conditions, but all ASEAN members remain united in the commitment to ASEAN ideals for regional integration. The ASEAN way of seeking consensus continues to be valid today. By pursuing quiet diplomacy and enhanced positive interaction, we shall surely be able to overcome the pessimists and build an ASEAN worthy of taking its rightful place in the international community.

*Opening remark by Senior General Than Shwe,
Prime Minister of Myanmar, at the 6th ASEAN Summit, December 1998.*

Source C

The Foreign Ministers welcomed warmly the admission of Laos and Myanmar into ASEAN. They expressed satisfaction that the admission of Laos and Myanmar, on the 30th Anniversary of ASEAN, had advanced the vision of the Founding Fathers to build a united community of the Southeast Asian Nations. The Foreign Ministers recalled the decision taken by ASEAN Heads of State/Government at the 5th Summit in Bangkok in December 1995 to admit Cambodia into ASEAN and underlined their conviction that the admission of Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar would serve the long term interest of regional peace, stability and prosperity. They agreed that a firm foundation for common action to promote regional cooperation in Southeast Asia is being accomplished.

From the Joint Communiqué of the 30th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, July 1997.

Source D

The Myanmar issue has already shaken up the Southeast Asian grouping, which has been criticised in the past for its policy of not interfering in the internal affairs of member states. ASEAN appeared to break with this tradition during its annual ministerial meeting in Cambodia last month, demanding the Nobel peace laureate's release.

Mahathir said, "We have already informed them that we are very disappointed with the turn of events and we hope that Aung San Suu Kyi will be released as soon as possible... We are very disappointed over these things and of course, we have done our very best to try and get them to change their minds but if they are willing to defy the world, then what can Malaysia do? We don't criticise member states unless what one state does embarrasses us, causes a problem for us. We are thinking about ourselves as ASEAN, we are not criticising Myanmar for doing what is not related to us, but what they have done has affected us, our credibility. Because of that, we have voiced our views."

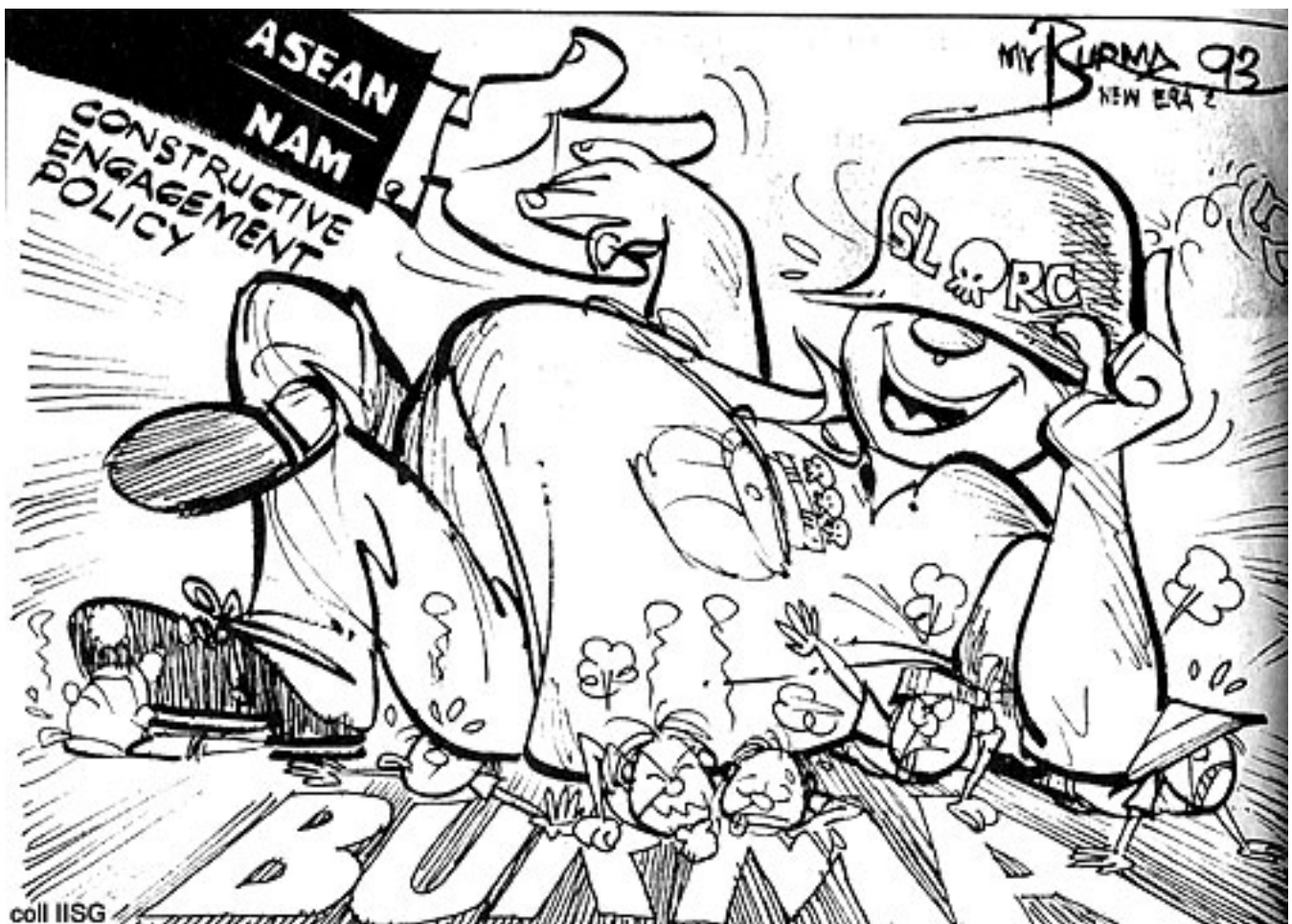
*Mahathir Mohammed, Prime Minister of Malaysia,
speaking to journalists from Agence France-Presse, 20 July 2003.*

Source E

The enlargement of ASEAN sought to seek and develop new markets within Southeast Asia with the intention of enhancing the international competitiveness of ASEAN against rival closed trading blocs like the European Union. It was believed that the expansion of ASEAN to include Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Burma would be an economic boon as it greatly increases the population of ASEAN, allowing for a larger consumer base that will attract international investments and increase intra-ASEAN trade. Burma's entry is of particular interest as she has an abundance of inexpensive natural resources coveted by ASEAN members, including lumber, natural gas and minerals. As Southeast Asia's forests are systematically exploited and despoiled, Burma's still large reserves of tropical hardwoods have become a magnet for regional and foreign investment. Many foreign investments in Burma's forestry industry are from companies in ASEAN. ASEAN's inclusion of Burma will prove to be economically beneficial to both Burma and ASEAN.

From an academic article, 1999.

Source F



A cartoon from a newspaper by Burmese exiles, 1993.

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources A and B on the effectiveness of the ASEAN Way in ASEAN's handling of Myanmar. [10]
- (b) 'Myanmar's admission into ASEAN strengthened the regional organisation.' How far do Sources A to F support this assertion? [30]

Section B

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

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

EITHER

- 2 How important was the process of decolonisation in shaping the way that post-independent Southeast Asian countries were governed? [30]

OR

- 3 Assess the view that the successful integration of minorities into the newly-independent Southeast Asian states was an unrealistic goal. [30]

AND EITHER

- 4 How far do you agree with the view that governments play a positive role in the economic development of Southeast Asian states? [30]

OR

- 5 'The severity of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis was exaggerated.' Discuss with reference to the Southeast Asian states. [30]

---THE END---

Suggested Answer Guide

SOURCE-BASED STUDY

MYANMAR'S MEMBERSHIP IN ASEAN

Source A

The most troublesome problem is Myanmar's admission into ASEAN as it places ASEAN in the undesirable position of being an international advocate for State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC)* and a defender of human rights violations. SLORC was using ASEAN to protect its own position internationally and to deflect pressure from the West, especially in the context of their recent crackdown on democratic movements. ASEAN accordingly insisted that the issue was an internal one and that the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of member countries applied. Aung San Suu Kyi asked ASEAN to consider economic sanctions against SLORC, a demand that was supported by Western delegations at the ASEAN Regional Forum. ASEAN was warned that ties with the European Union could be undermined by its support for SLORC.

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*Opening remark by Senior General Than Shwe,
Prime Minister of Myanmar, at the 6th ASEAN Summit, December 1998.*

(c) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources A and B on the effectiveness of the ASEAN Way in ASEAN's handling of Myanmar.
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Similarity: ASEAN Way appeared to be ineffective in ASEAN's handling of Myanmar as it exposed ASEAN to international criticisms over Myanmar

Difference: regarding the extent to which the ASEAN Way was ineffective in ASEAN's handling of Myanmar

Evaluation: consider the context of 1997 (when Myanmar officially joined ASEAN) and 1998 (1 year into Myanmar's membership of ASEAN) as well as the source provenances (academic article in 1997 vs Than Shwe's agenda at the 6th ASEAN Summit in 1998)

Source C

The Foreign Ministers welcomed warmly the admission of Laos and Myanmar into ASEAN. They expressed satisfaction that the admission of Laos and Myanmar, on the 30th Anniversary of ASEAN, had advanced the vision of the Founding Fathers to build a united community of the Southeast Asian Nations. The Foreign Ministers recalled the decision taken by ASEAN Heads of State/Government at the 5th Summit in Bangkok in December 1995 to admit Cambodia into ASEAN and underlined their conviction that the admission of Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar would serve the long term interest of regional peace, stability and prosperity. They agreed that a firm foundation for common action to promote regional cooperation in Southeast Asia is being accomplished.

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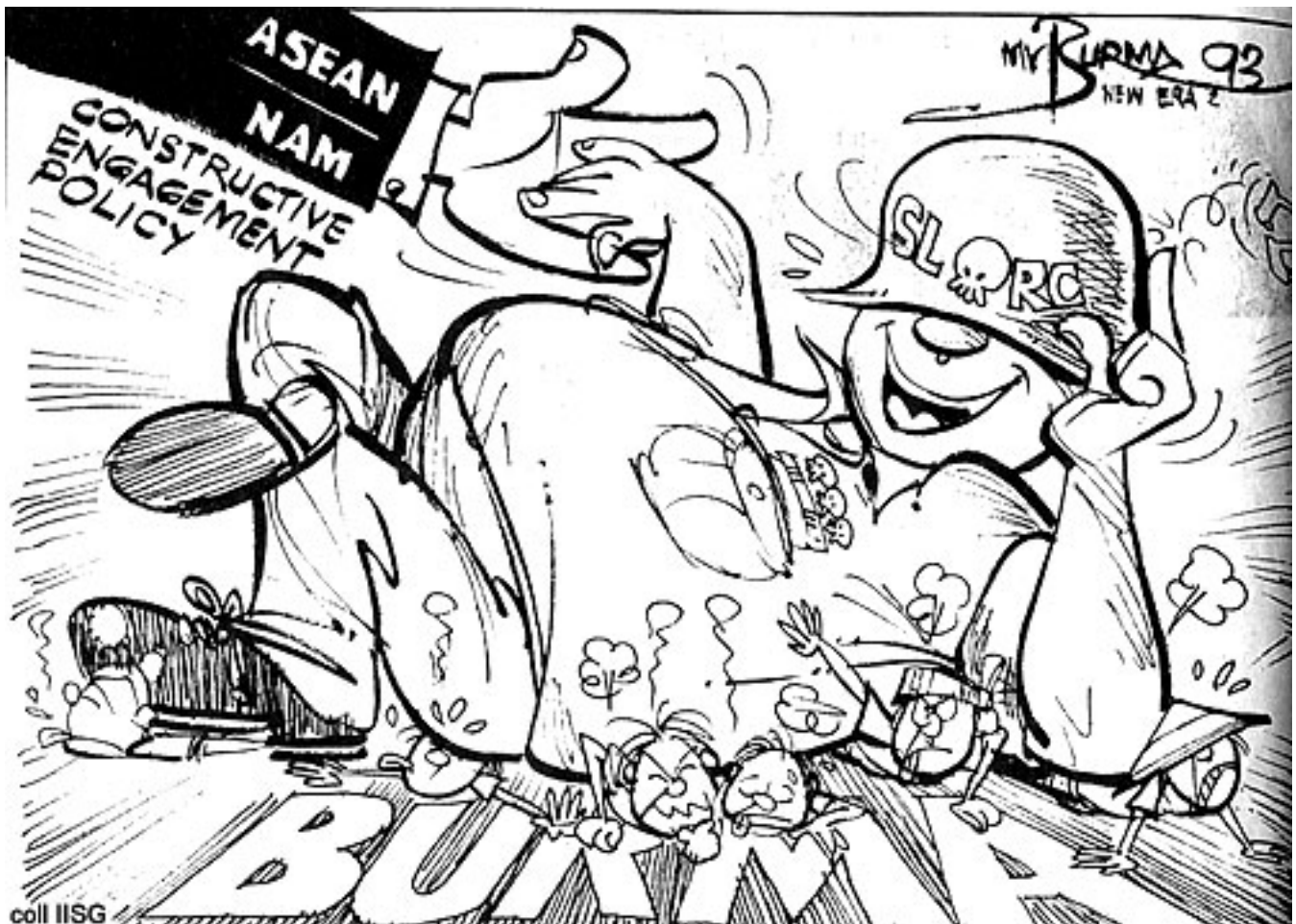
Source E

The enlargement of ASEAN sought to seek and develop new markets within Southeast Asia with the intention of enhancing the international competitiveness of ASEAN against rival closed trading blocs like the European Union. It was believed that the expansion of ASEAN to include Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Burma would be an

economic boon as it greatly increases the population of ASEAN, allowing for a larger consumer base that will attract international investments and increase intra-ASEAN trade. Burma's entry is of particular interest as she has an abundance of inexpensive natural resources coveted by ASEAN members, including lumber, natural gas and minerals. As Southeast Asia's forests are systematically exploited and despoiled, Burma's still large reserves of tropical hardwoods have become a magnet for regional and foreign investment. Many foreign investments in Burma's forestry industry are from companies in ASEAN. ASEAN's inclusion of Burma will prove to be economically beneficial to both Burma and ASEAN.

From an academic article, 1999.

Source F



A cartoon from a newspaper by Burmese exiles, 1993.

(d) 'Myanmar's admission into ASEAN strengthened the regional organisation.'
How far do Sources A to F support this assertion?

Support sources: B, C, E

Challenge sources: A, D, F

Possible Source Groupings

Sources C and E → political and economic benefits to ASEAN with Myanmar's membership

But the benefits to ASEAN as seen in **Sources C and E** need to be weighed against the serious damage to ASEAN's international credibility as reflected in **Sources A and F**

Source B (Than Shwe's defence of Myanmar's membership in ASEAN and the ASEAN Way) essentially confirmed the international criticisms of ASEAN over the Myanmar problem (as discussed in **Sources A and F**)

Finally, **Source D** directly contradicted **Source B's** claim about ASEAN's unity in the face of international criticisms over Myanmar and hinted at the growing concerns of ASEAN members that Myanmar's admission had negatively impacted on ASEAN, notwithstanding the benefits of Myanmar's membership mentioned in **Sources C and E**

ESSAY

6 How important was the process of decolonisation in shaping the way that post-independent Southeast Asian countries were governed?

Candidates need to have a good understanding of the differing decolonisation experiences of the Southeast Asian countries (focusing on peaceful transfer of power vs violent struggle for independence) and how such experiences shaped the creation and evolution of their political structures. While they can bring in other factors such as the Cold War climate, they will still need to evaluate the relative importance of the decolonisation process vis-à-vis these factors to clearly address the question. The weakest answers may end up factor listing or over-estimate the importance of decolonisation over the syllabus timeframe without convincing justifications.

7 Assess the view that the successful integration of minorities into the newly-independent Southeast Asian states was an unrealistic goal.

Candidates should realise that the question contains an absolute assertion that can be easily undermined by showcasing the successful integration of certain minority groups in various states, even though it may not apply to ALL minorities in Southeast Asia. While candidates may be tempted to argue that multiculturalism served as an effective approach to forge national unity, they should also bear in mind that the use of assimilation (or dominant culture) had demonstrated concrete success in integrating minorities too. Hence candidates who simplistically argued based on the dichotomy

between assimilation and multiculturalism may end up failing to address the question properly.

8 How far do you agree with the view that governments play a positive role in the economic development of Southeast Asian states?

This is a fairly straightforward question that focuses on the positive or negative role of governments in the economic development of the Southeast Asian states. Candidates will need to analyse the role of governments based on their key economic aims of growth, restructuring, equity and nationalism. They also need to demonstrate a good understanding of the extent of government interventions and consequences depending on their preference for free market policies or socialist-oriented economies. The best answers will recognise the flexibility of governments in responding to the shortcomings of their economic policies and making necessary rectifications to promote the economic development of their states.

9 ‘The severity of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis was exaggerated.’ Discuss with reference to the Southeast Asian states.

Candidates will need to clearly demonstrate an understanding of the term “exaggerated” and address the question with reference to the political, economic and social consequences of the Asian Financial Crisis. Candidates will realise that the crisis did not affect the Southeast Asian countries equally, with some of them (notably Indonesia and Thailand) the worst-hit in the region while others may be less affected by it. Candidates will need to adequately cover the differing impacts of the Asian Financial Crisis on this diverse group of countries before they can reach a reasoned judgement to address the question statement.