

**HISTORY** 

Paper 2 History of Southeast Asia c1900-1997

9731/02 23 September 2016 3 hours

No Additional Materials are required

## READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name and civics tutorial group 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.

## **Section A**

Answer Question 1.

# **Section B**

Answer any three questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together. All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

### **Section A**

You must answer Question 1.

#### **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

SLORC has used ASEAN as a way of managing international criticism, which places ASEAN in a dilemma. To apply the principle of non-interference into Myanmar's affairs gives SLORC a degree of international protection and legitimacy, which would enable the regime to arrest all movement towards democracy. After a meeting with SLORC Premier General Than Shwe, Mahathir argued that Myanmar's entry in ASEAN would accelerate economic and political change and that "constructive engagement" had improved conditions there. It is a judgement not shared by all within ASEAN circles as it is understood that the issue tarnishes the organisation's international image. ...Myanmar may trigger conflict between the diplomatic leadership of ASEAN and democratic movements and human rights groups within the ASEAN countries, which could disrupt the façade of unanimity that ASEAN presents to the world.

Excerpt from ASEAN's New Challenges by Leszek Buszynski, in Pacific Affairs, 1998.

# Source B

We believe that support from ASEAN -- which comprises Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore, Brunei, Laos and Vietnam and which Burma recently joined -- is crucial to our quest for democracy. If ASEAN can persuade or put pressure on the present regime to convene the Parliament that was elected by the people, this could be the first step towards democratisation. While some countries are very active in helping hasten this process, the ASEAN countries are not. Because of its policy of non-interference, ASEAN has rejected calls from other governments outside the region to nudge the Burmese government into allowing greater freedom for its people. Instead, it has opted for a non-confrontational "constructive engagement" stance in relation to Rangoon. This policy of non-interference is just an excuse for not helping. In this day and age, you cannot avoid interference in the matters of other countries. For example, many ASEAN countries are investing in Burma. Is that not interference in our internal affairs? How can they say they will get involved in economic matters but not in politics? Economics and politics are unquestionably closely related.

Aung San Suu Kyi's open letter to ASEAN leaders in an American weekly journal of progressive political and cultural news, The Nation, in 1999.

[Turn over

#### Source C

The so-called 'ASEAN Way' is what has made ASEAN a peaceful region and what makes ASEAN increasingly relevant to the modern world. We may have our political differences and on occasion, our national agenda may take precedence over the regional agenda, leading sometimes to disputes. Certain quarters sensationalise such intra-regional disagreements. But they fail to point out that we in ASEAN are steeped in ways of thinking and acting that lend themselves to harmony and stability. Our tolerance towards our diverse social and political backgrounds, cultures, ethnicities and religions is a key factor in our resilience – in helping us resolve conflict and maintain peace among ourselves.

An address by Ong Keng Yong, Secretary-General of ASEAN, at the Public Relations Academy of Singapore, November 2003.

#### Source D

Since its formation in 1967, ASEAN has become a regional cooperation initiative that has demonstrated its dynamic persistence in the context of international politics, which is increasingly fast-changing...The durability of ASEAN as a regional cooperation initiative creates a dynamic region both economically and politically. In terms of dealing with traditional issues such as security, economic and regional cooperation, ASEAN has demonstrated its capacity. There has been almost no significant turmoil in the region that would indicate open conflict among members. From this comes the kind of patterns of conflict resolution and integration models that are known as the "ASEAN Way".

From an article in the Jakarta Post by two Indonesian lecturers from the Department of International Relations, Muhammadiyah University, Yogyakarta, 2013.

#### Source E

In the aftermath of the 1997 Asian economic crisis and the haze problems, Surin commented:

ASEAN members perhaps no longer can afford to adopt a non-committal stance and avoid passing judgment on events in a member country, simply on the grounds of 'non-interference'. To be sure, ASEAN's respect for the sovereignty of its 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, not to mention regional peace and prosperity, much can be said in favor of ASEAN members playing a more proactive role.

Excerpt from a comment by Dr. Surin Pitsuwan, Thailand's Foreign Minister, June 1998.

Now answer the following question.

How far do Sources A to E support the statement "The ASEAN Way served ASEAN well"?

[Turn over

## **Section B**

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

- 2. 'The main reason nationalist movements in Southeast Asia failed to achieve independence before World War II was factionalism'. Discuss.
- 3. How effectively did colonial governments deal with the challenge of nationalist movements in Southeast Asia in the period before World War Two?
- 4. Did the military play a dominant or a subordinate role in the development of the political structures of Southeast Asia after independence?
- 5. 'The Asian Financial Crisis was caused by Southeast Asian governments'. How far do you agree with this statement?
- 6. Assess the validity of the claim that interstate tensions in Southeast Asia have hindered the process of regional integration.