



EUNOIA JUNIOR COLLEGE  
JC2 Preliminary Examination 2018  
General Certificate of Education Advanced Level  
Higher 2

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**HISTORY**

**9752/02**

Paper 2 The Making of Independent Southeast Asia (Independence to 2000)

**20 September 2018**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

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**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write your name, civics group and question number on the work you hand in.  
Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.  
Write your answer to each question on a fresh sheet of paper.  
Do not use paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

**Section A**

Answer **Question 1**.

**Section B**

Answer **two** questions.

Start each answer on a fresh sheet of writing paper.  
You are reminded of the need for good English and clear presentation in your answers.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.  
The number of marks is given in brackets [ ] at the end of each question or part question.

## Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

### EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ASEAN WAY

1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

#### Source A

While adherence to the principle of non-interference is not exclusively an ASEAN trait, ASEAN puts a higher premium on it than other regional groupings...

There are some roles ASEAN is better equipped to play than others. For example, it was well-suited to playing a coordinating role in the delivery of humanitarian aid in the wake of Cyclone Nargis in Myanmar. But when violence broke out in Myanmar's Kokang special region in August 2009, it was Beijing, with its direct interest in stopping the flow of refugees, who intervened to stop it. Most fighting in Myanmar that leads to refugees spilling into Thailand goes unnoticed by ASEAN. Despite the organization's most recent role on the Thai-Cambodian border, there is not even a limited agreement among the parties-least of which from Myanmar itself-that there is a role for ASEAN in this issue.

*Extract from an article on redefining the ASEAN Way published in 2011 by the International Crisis Group. It is a US-based independent NGO working to prevent wars.*

#### Source B

The fact is that the theory of regionalism is caught in a kind of contradiction – the effort to reconcile the theory of regionalism with the practice of nationalism. The problems of regional cooperation are primarily those deriving from our efforts to reconcile two apparently contradictory attitudes. It is this which gives the appearance of ambiguity and even deviousness to the regional policies of ASEAN. The immediate concern of Southeast Asian countries is not regionalism but how long the component parts of Southeast Asia can survive even as nation states. ASEAN cannot allow its member states to intervene in the affairs of another given that the major preoccupation in the area is how to preserve the integrity of the new nation states created less than two decades ago.

*From a speech by S. Rajaratnam, Singapore's Foreign Minister, 1970.*

#### Source C

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 favour of ASEAN members playing a more proactive role.

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

## Source D

We are pleased that Laos and Myanmar are able to join ASEAN as scheduled this year. They will join us in celebrating the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary. They will also join us in our reflections on the next 30 years. Success in the first 30 years is no guarantee that we will succeed in the next 30. But to improve our chances of doing so it may be useful to distil from our past experience the essential principles that have been responsible for ASEAN's success. In my view, these are also the principles which indicate the direction in which ASEAN is evolving.

...

The fifth principle, which encompasses all the earlier principles, is that each one of us has made ASEAN the cornerstone of our foreign policies. ASEAN has become a tangible and important factor in the foreign policy calculations of member states. Over the years, regular and frequent consultations have engendered a high level of confidence and comfort, and more importantly the realisation that ASEAN members stand to benefit more if they can forge a common position. As small countries on the world stage, only collective action can ensure that ASEAN's voice is Heard and ASEAN's interest protected. Almost all ASEAN countries have some form of bilateral differences or disputes with their neighbours. This is normal and natural. In many – if not most – parts of the world, such differences can lead to conflict. But among the ASEAN members, in the interest of preserving ASEAN, we have all agreed that there should be peaceful resolution of disputes.

*From the opening statement by Prof S. Jayakumar, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Singapore, at the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in 1997.*

## Source E

Some commentators have criticized ASEAN for its policy of non-intervention, as if this policy were ASEAN's exclusive preserve. Most recently, this criticism was directed specifically at ASEAN's alleged failure to deal effectively with the violence in East Timor, a failure, it is said, that stemmed from ASEAN's absolutist adherence to the non-interference principle.

Let us go beyond vague, general assertions and look at the facts. Two qualities characterised the ASEAN response to the crisis in East Timor. The first was that actions by ASEAN members were carried out within the UN framework. This was only to be expected in the light of the fact that the East Timor issue had been before the UN for almost two decades and the UN had been facilitating the Indonesia-Portugal talks on it. Indeed, those talks were leading to agreement on autonomy for East Timor when the crisis of 1999 erupted...

The second quality was that ASEAN – and, indeed, UN – actions had to be carried out with Indonesia's consent. In this case, ASEAN members, including Indonesia, undertook consultations, arrived at consensus, and let individual members decide what specific contributions to make to the UN effort. Any other course would not have been possible, desirable or effective.

*Excerpted from the address given by Mr. Rodolfo C. Severino, Secretary-General of ASEAN, in Singapore at the ASEAN Scholars' Roundtable, 3 July 2000.*

## Source F



*A political cartoon on the South China Sea issue featured in The Khaleej Times, UAE on 20 August 2014.*

Now answer the following questions:

- Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources A and B on the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of ASEAN member states. [10m]
- How far do sources A-F support the view that the ASEAN Way has not been effective in resolving regional issues? [30m]

**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 were democratic processes in the search for stability in post-independent Southeast Asian states? [30]

**OR**

- 3** How far do you agree that coercion was more successful than accommodation in the process of achieving national unity? [30]

**AND EITHER**

- 4** Assess the significance of migrant communities in the economic development of post-independence Southeast Asia. [30]

**OR**

- 5** 'Southeast Asian states' responses to the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis were undeniably ineffective'. Discuss. [30]