

**Section A**

You must answer Question 1

**The Formation of ASEAN**

- 1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow

**Source A**

The country was also under President Suharto when ASEAN was established on 8 August 1967 in Bangkok. The primary objective of this association was to promote and increase economic, social and cultural growth of the member states. The member states wanted to protect the political and economic stability of the region and the association would serve as a venue for resolving inter-regional differences. The founding members were Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia and the Philippines. Asia (and the Southeast Asian nations in particular) has come a long way since Indonesia's independence in 1945.

*From Suharto's biography, 2007.*

**Source B**

As the ASEAN summit in 1992 approaches, there appears to be renewed support for the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA). The idea was revived by Thai Prime Minister Anand Panyarachun earlier this year, and was supported by Singapore Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong. Thailand endorsed the idea of achieving the AFTA by the turn of the century whereas Singapore has been more cautious in suggesting that it be reached in 20 years. At the recent ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (AMM) in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysian Prime Minister Dato' Seri Mahathir Muhammad also indicated support for the AFTA idea. Indonesia, which has traditionally been more reluctant to reduce its trade barriers, is now in a more amenable position to accept the AFTA since it has already undertaken substantial unilateral liberalization on its own. The rising economic performance and confidence in Indonesia would be an important contributory factor to the long-term success of the AFTA.

*From an academic article in the ASEAN-ISIS Monitor, 1992.*

### Source C

Effectively, economic co-operation among members produced some results, though not particularly impressive. Negotiations were conducted on trade, tariffs, quotas and also economic and technical co-operation with the European Community, the United States, Japan, Australia, etc., obtaining here and there some limited satisfaction but nothing earth-shaking. However, within the organization, intra-regional trade and economic as well as industrial joint projects made little headway, because of exacerbated nationalism shown by technocrats laying the groundwork for their political superiors. Moreover, certain members on several occasions have displayed a bazaar rather than co-operative spirit by insisting on taking more than giving, as evidenced in the case of industrial joint ventures and few others. Also, there is no common market in the making.

*From an article by Thanat Khoman about his experiences in ASEAN, 1988.*

### Source D

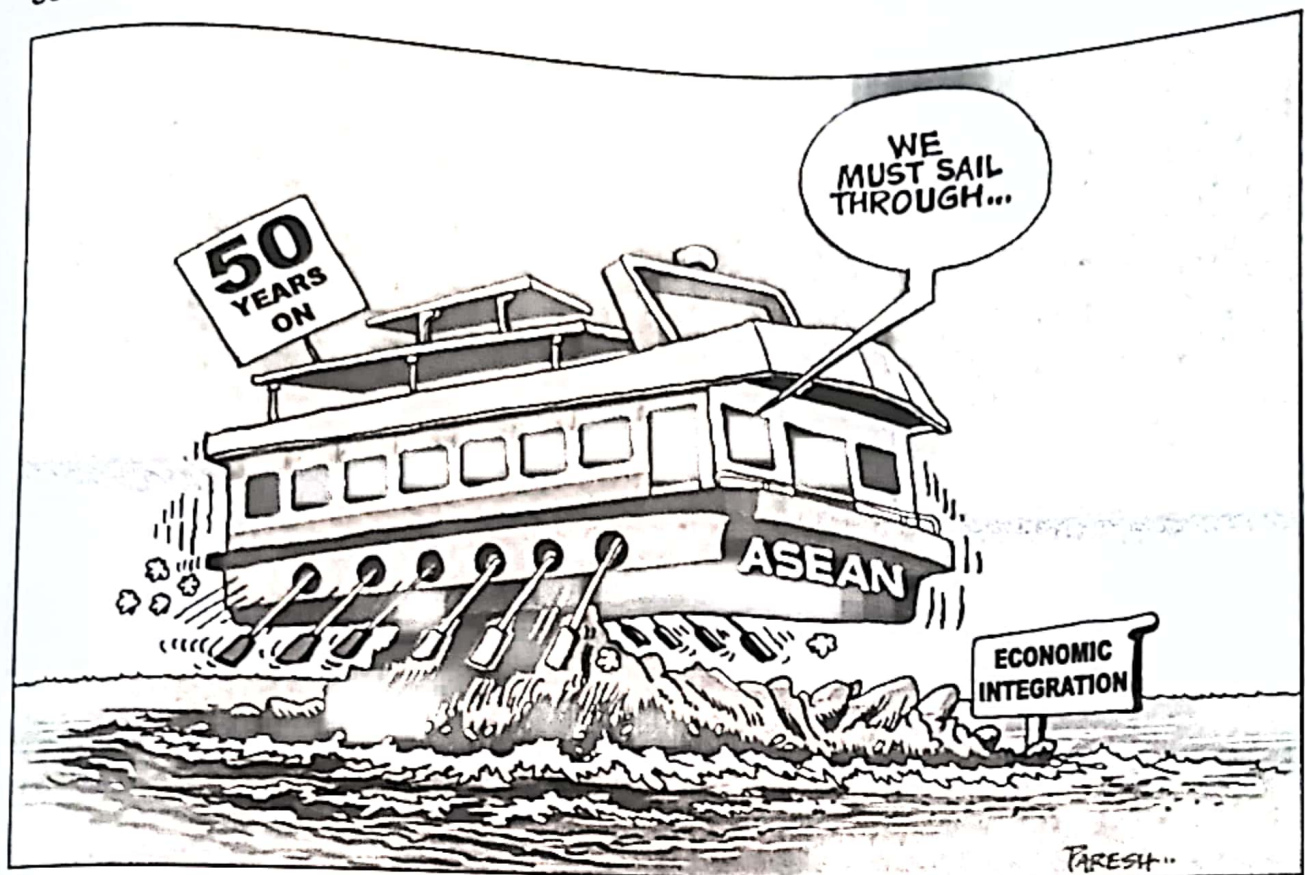
Due to the Asian Financial Crisis that spread throughout ASEAN from the plunge of Thai Baht in July 1997, many media commentators and academic analysts viewed that "ASEAN member-countries would retreat into their national shells because of the financial crisis" and that "AFTA, in fact, was dead. While AFTA was viewed as "dead", ASEAN was unified in this unprecedented crisis by holding a new ambitious target of tariff elimination and by accelerating and deepening the AFTA schedule and elimination deadline. In response to serious economic issues that could not be dealt with by a single country, as was the case with the Asian Financial Crisis, ASEAN strengthened intra-regional economic cooperation and encouraged collective action, such as setting out to enhancing liberalization. This has fostered ASEAN's credibility as a desirable investment destination and has elevated the AFTA into an attractive FTA that emphasizes a high level of liberalization.

*From an online journal, 2021.*

### Source E

When ASEAN was founded, there was understandably very little hope for its survival. But ASEAN has done more than survive: it has succeeded. No other regional organization has done as much to improve the living conditions of a broad swath of humanity. The more than 600 million people living in the region have seen remarkable progress in the fifty years since the formation of the association. ASEAN has brought peace and prosperity to a troubled region, generated inter-civilizational harmony in the most diverse corner of the planet, and brought hope to many people. The organization may have also acted as a critical catalyst for China's peaceful rise. As Mahbubani wrote for the Straits Times, "In the 1980s, the strategic alignment of interests between ASEAN, China, and the United States to reverse Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia enabled China to open up to the world. In the 1990s, after the West isolated China following the Tiananmen Square protests in 1989, ASEAN kept engaging with China.

*From an academic paper, 2018.*



*An article from an international news agency, 2017.*

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast sources A and B as evidence of Indonesia's attitude towards regional cooperation. [10]
- (b) How far do sources A-F support the assertion that ASEAN's success was mainly economic in nature? [30]

## SECTION B

You must answer two questions in this section.

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

**EITHER**

- 2 "The struggle by independent Southeast Asian states to achieve political stability was primarily caused by their decolonisation processes." How far do you agree with this statement? [30]

**OR**

- 3 'Ethno-religious differences were most responsible for the failure of independent Southeast Asian states' attempts at national unity.' How far do you agree with this statement? [30]

**AND EITHER**

- 4 To what extent was Southeast Asian states' failure to achieve economic success since independence mainly caused by their lack of expertise? [30]

**OR**

- 5 'The Asian Financial Crisis had more significant political consequences compared to economic ones.' Discuss. [30]