asean

a social science course for asean citizens

ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်အမည်

ဒေါ်ကလျာ၊ ရွှေပုံနှိပ်တိုက် (မြဲ – ၀၀၂၁၀) အမှတ် (၁၅၃/၁၅၅)၊ သစ်တောအောက်လမ်း၊ မောင်လေးဝင်းရပ်ကွက်၊ အလုံမြို့နယ်၊ ရန်ကုန်မြို့။

> ထုတ်ဝေသူ ဦးအောင်မြတ်စိုး

စာပေတိုက်အမည် မုခ်ဦးစာပေ

အမှတ် (105–A)၊ ရတနာမြိုင်လမ်း၊ ရတနာမြိုင်အိမ်ရာ၊ အမှတ် (၁) ရပ်ကွက်၊ ကမာရွတ်မြို့နယ်၊ ရန်ကုန်တိုင်းဒေသကြီး။ ဖုန်း – ၀၉ ၇၉၀ ၇၈၃ ၃၆၄၊ ၀၉ ၄၀၄ ၀၆၀ ၉၃၁

ပုံနှိပ်မှတ်တမ်း ထုတ်ဝေခြင်းလုပ်ငန်း အသိအမှတ်ပြု လက်မှတ်အမှတ် – ၀၁၉၄၇

> ပုံနှိပ်ခြင်း ဒုတိယအကြိမ်၊ အုပ်ရေ ၁၀၀၀ ဧပြီလ၊ ၂၀၂၃ ခုနှစ် တန်ဖိုး – ၄၀၀၀ ကျပ်

> > 200

မော်ဂန် မက်ဒေါ်နယ်၊ စတန်ဂျက်ဂါ၊ မက်သယူးဆင်ဆမ်

ASEAN: A Social Science Course for ASEAN citizens, Student's Book (Second Edition)

ရန်ကုန်၊ မုခ်ဦးစာအုပ်တိုက်၊ ၂၀၂၃။

၉၆ စာ၊ ၂၁ စင်တီ။

မူရင်းအမည် – ASEAN: A Social Science Course for ASEAN citizens, Student's Book (Second Edition)

၁။ မော်ဂန် မက်ဒေါ်နယ်၊ စတန်ဂျက်ဂါ၊ မက်သယူးဆင်ဆမ်

ال ASEAN: A Social Science Course for ASEAN citizens, Student's Book (Second Edition)



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How to use ASEAN...

Before you use this book, read the information on these pages. It will help you to understand how it works. The aim of this book is to help you learn more about ASEAN, to develop useful social science skills while you learn, and to reflect upon the main ideas in the texts.

Task Types

To help you in your learning, there are three kinds of tasks:

- Exercises mainly focus on checking your knowledge about Southeast Asia and ASEAN.
- Activities mainly focus on developing and practising important skills such as reading and interpreting graphs and charts, interpreting statistics, understanding political cartoons, debating and critical thinking.
- Discussions deeper understandings of the issues and ideas in the book. They encourage you to develop your understanding by expressing your opinion and listening to the views of others.

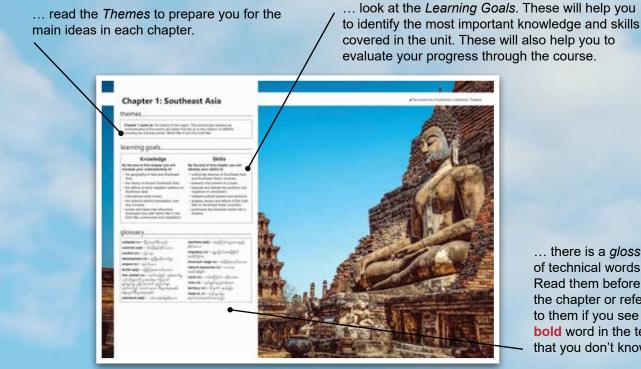
Structure

This book is divided into three chapters. Chapter 1 looks briefly at the history and geography of Southeast Asia. Chapter 2 focuses on ASEAN itself and how the different parts of it work, and Chapter 3 looks at some problems and issues that ASEAN and ASEAN nations face.

Use of Words

In this book, we often use the words country, nation and state. They all mean country. We also use ASEAN nation and ASEAN member state. They mean member of ASEAN.

Before each chapter...



... there is a glossary of technical words. Read them before the chapter or refer to them if you see a bold word in the text that you don't know.

As you read...

... every subsection starts with a *Preview*. These encourage you to think about the topic that you are going to study. They focus on what you already know and think about the topic.

... Activities are designed to help you practise useful skills. These include interpreting data, map-reading, prioritising, ranking and organising information, and researching topics and giving presentations.



... Exercises develop your ability to work with information. They ask you to find and think about information in texts by answering questions about them.

... Discussions encourage you to discuss the ideas in the text and how they relate to important or controversial issues affecting your country and community.

Additionally...



FOCUS ON ... THAILAND AND CAMBODIA

THE PREAH VIHEAR TEMPLE DISPUTE

Thailand and Cambodia disagree about who owns the land around the 11th century Preah Vihear temple. It is on the border between the two countries. The dispute has been going on for over 100 years.

Tensions grew between 2008 and 2011 but ASEAN did not intervene. In early 2011, fighting started between the Thai and Cambodian armies. The United Nations Security Council referred the conflict to ASEAN.

Indonesia was the chair of ASEAN in 2011. It offered to send observers to monitor a ceasefire between the two



sides. At first, Thailand and Cambodia agreed to the plan. However, later the Thai army rejected the plan. They said it interfered with Thailand's sovereignty. In 2011, Cambodia referred the dispute to the International Court of Justice (ICJ), which is a part of the United Nations. In 2013, the ICJ judged that Preah Vihear was within the territory of Cambodia. It ordered that Thai soldiers leave the area. There is still disagreement between the two countries.

- 1. What was ASEAN's role in the dispute?
- 2. Why was ASEAN not more involved in the solution?
- 3 Who did Cambodia ask to help resolve the dispute?

... there are *Focus on...* sections, which look at the main theme of the section in relation to one or more countries in the region.

Chapter 1: Southeast Asia

themes

Chapter 1 looks at: the history of the region. This should give learners an understanding of the events and ideas that led up to the creation of ASEAN, including the colonial period, World War II and the Cold War.

learning goals.....

Knowledge

By the end of this chapter you will increase your understanding of:

- the geography of Asia and Southeast Asia;
- · the history of ancient Southeast Asia;
- the effects of early migration patterns on Southeast Asia;
- international trade routes;
- the reasons behind colonisation, and why it ended;
- events and ideas that influenced Southeast Asia after World War II (the Cold War, communism and capitalism).

Skills

By the end of this chapter you will develop your ability to:

- outline key physical features of Southeast Asia and Southeast Asian countries;
- · research and present on a topic;
- evaluate and debate the positives and negatives of colonialism;
- interpret political posters and cartoons;
- analyse causes and effects of the Cold War on Southeast Asian countries;
- synthesise key historical events into a timeline.

glossary.....

collapse (v) – ပြိုလဲပျက်စီးသည်။

colonial (adj) – ကိုလိုနီနှင့်ဆိုင်သော။

conflict (n) – ပဋိပက္ခ။

development (n) – ဖွံ့ဖြိုးတိုးတက်မှု။

empire (n) – အင်ပါယာ။

fertile (adj) – မြေဩဇာကောင်းသော။

free market (n) – ထုတ်ကုန်နှင့်၊ ဝန်ဆောင်မှု လုပ်ငန်းများကို ဥပဒေအရ ကန့်သတ် ချုပ်ချယ်မှု မရှိသလောက် နည်းပါးစွာ လွတ်လပ်ခွင့် ပေးထားသော စီးပွားရေးစနစ်။ ဈေးကွက်စီးပွားရေးစနစ်။

mainland (adj) – ပင်မကုန်းမြေဧရိယာ။

maritime (adj) – ရေကြောင်းသွားလာမှုနှင့် ဆိုင်သော။

migration (n) – ရွှေ့ပြောင်းအခြေစိုက် နေထိုင်ခြင်း။

minimum wage (n) – အနိမ့်ဆုံးလုပ်အားခ။

natural resources (n) – သဘာဝ အရင်းအမြစ်။

route (n) – လမ်းကြောင်း။ ခရီးလမ်း။

ruler (n) – အုပ်ချုပ်သူလူတန်းစား။

territory (n) – ပိုင်နက်။ နယ်မြေ။

trade (n, v) – ကုန်သွယ်မှု။ ရောင်းဝယ်ဖောက်ကားသည်။



■ The ancient city of Sukhothai in Sukhothai, Thailand.



What are the names of the continents?

exercise

Are the sentences true or false? If false, say why.

- 1. Asia is usually divided into five sub-regions.
- 2. More than half the world's population lives in Asia.
- 3. Bangladesh is in Central Asia.
- 4. South and Southeast Asia are the same.
- 5. South Korea is in South Asia.

1.1 Where Is Southeast Asia?

There are seven continents in the world. Asia is the largest. It also has the largest human population. Almost 60% of the people in the world live in Asia.

Because it is so large, Asia is often talked about as different sub-regions. The main sub-regions of Asia are:

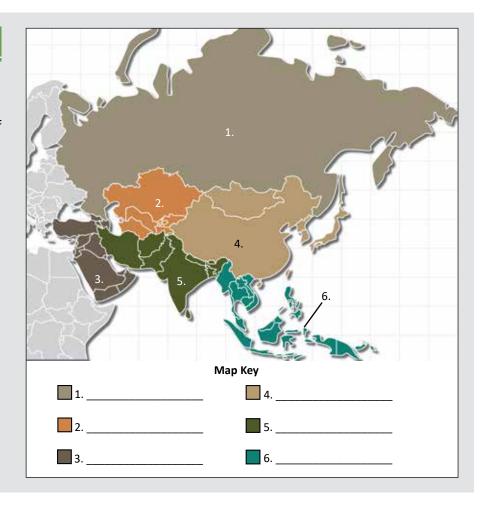
- Northern Asia: includes the Russian Far East and Siberia.
- EAST ASIA: includes China, Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, Japan, South Korea and North Korea.
- Western Asia: includes Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Oman (sometimes also called the "Middle East').
- CENTRAL ASIA: includes Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.
- South Asia: includes Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Iran, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.
- Southeast Asia: is Brunei, Timor Leste (East Timor), Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.

Because Southeast Asia is between India and China, it is sometimes called "Indochina" by Europeans.

exercise

Label the map key with the correct sub-regions.

Use the map of Asia at the back of the book if necessary.



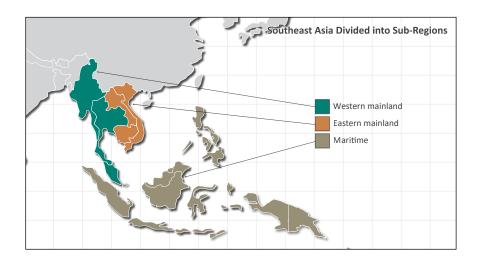
1.1.1 Mainland and Maritime Southeast Asia

Sometimes people talk about "mainland" Southeast Asia and "maritime" Southeast Asia (or island Southeast Asia). Mainland Southeast Asia is joined to the rest of Asia. Maritime Southeast Asia is separated from the mainland by sea. It is made up of many large and small islands.

There are long rivers and mountain ranges running through mainland Southeast Asia. The **fertile** valleys and plains around the rivers are used for agriculture. Mainland Southeast Asia is often divided into western and eastern regions.

The seas around the islands of maritime Southeast Asia have been important for ships and trade.

Most Southeast Asian countries are either on mainland Southeast Asia or in maritime Southeast Asia. However, Malaysia has two regions: *West Malaysia* and *East Malaysia*. West Malaysia is part of the mainland and East Malaysia is in maritime Southeast Asia, on the island of Borneo.



Mainland Southeast Asia Western Eastern Maritime Southeast Asia

preview

- 1. What does maritime mean?
- 2. What does mainland mean?

exercise

Put every Southeast Asian country into the correct column in the table. Use the Southeast Asia and Oceania maps at the back of the book if necessary.

Why do you think there are more Buddhist countries in mainland Southeast Asia and more Islamic countries in maritime Southeast Asia?

- 1. What is migration?
- 2. Why do people migrate?

Borders

Countries are quite a modern idea, and most borders are quite new. In the past, borders were between kingdoms or empires, not countries. It was often not clear where one ruler's land ended and another ruler's land began. Most current borders in Southeast Asia were created after 1945, when the modern countries of Southeast Asia were created.

exercise

- 1. Who brought Buddhism to Southeast Asia?
- 2. Who brought farming to Southeast Asia? Who did they teach it to?
- 3. What kingdoms developed in Thailand?
- 4. What kingdoms came before the Malacca Sultanate in maritime Southeast Asia?

1.2 Ancient Southeast Asia

Migration in Ancient Southeast Asia

Migration is when people choose to move from one country (or area, or region) to another. For thousands of years, people have moved around Southeast Asia. New groups of people have brought new cultures, new religions and new languages. In maritime Southeast Asia, the Austronesian peoples first arrived about 5,000 years ago. On the mainland, some important groups that arrived between 5,000 and 1,500 years ago included:

- THE VIETNAMESE (4,800 years ago): who developed kingdoms in the Red River Valley in eastern mainland Southeast Asia.
- THE Mon (around 2,500 years ago): who brought Buddhism to Myanmar and Thailand.
- THE KHMER (more than 2,000 years ago): who brought rice farming techniques with them to eastern parts of Southeast Asia.
- The Tai/Thai (around 1,500 years ago): were influenced by the Buddhist Mon and learned farming skills from the Khmer. They later ruled the large empire of Ayutthaya.
- **THE BAMAR** (around 1,500 years ago): who developed kingdoms along the Ayeyarwaddy River and Delta in present-day Myanmar.

Kingdoms, Sultanates and Empires

Empires, kingdoms and sultanates are political structures. In them, a monarch (the emperor, king or sultan) is the **ruler**. Through history, empires and kingdoms fought over land, trade and power in Southeast Asia. The borders between them often changed.

On the mainland, the Van Lang Kingdom in what is now Vietnam existed from 2,879 – 258 BCE. Later, the Khmer Empire ruled large parts of the mainland, from 802 – 1431 AD. Later still, the Thai kingdoms of Sukhothai (1238 – 1438 AD) and Ayutthaya (1351 – 1767 AD) rose up. Each kingdom fought with others around it. One of the final empires on mainland Southeast Asia was the Bamar Konbaung Dynasty from 1752 – 1885 AD in what is now Myanmar. The Konbaung Dynasty took control of Ayutthaya in 1767.

One of the first kingdoms in maritime Southeast Asia was Srivijaya on Sumatra, Indonesia. It began around 683 AD and lasted for more than six hundred years. The Kingdom of Singapura (in modern Singapore) lasted from 1299 to 1398 AD. It was replaced in around 1400 AD by the Malacca Sultanate. The Sultanate controlled parts of the modern nations of Malaysia and Indonesia until 1511 AD.

Many countries today are proud of the kingdoms of the past. Most areas have been ruled by different kingdoms and empires at different times. Because of this, different countries sometimes claim to own parts of the same areas today.

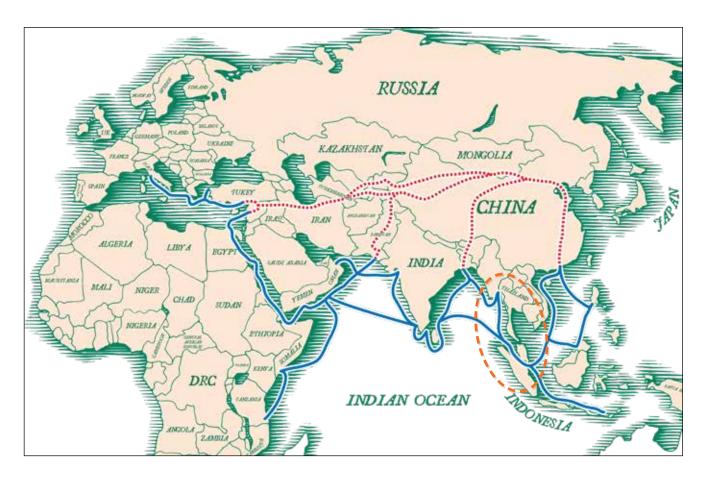
Use this map of Southeast Asia to identify which kingdoms the following cities and towns belonged to in the 15th century:

- 1. Hanoi, Vietnam
- 2. Luang Prabang, Laos
- 3. Kyaukse, Myanmar



<u>exercise</u>

- 1. What are some possible advantages of migration to a region or a country?
- 2. What are some possible disadvantages?
- 3. In what ways do the migrations and empires of the past still have an effect on countries today?
- 4. Which Southeast Asian groups were not listed in *1.2 Ancient Southeast Asia*?
- 5. Why do you think they were not discussed here? How can we learn more about them?



- 1. What is trade?
- 2. What are trade routes?

1.3 Trade and Trade Routes

Rulers often fought to control the trade of **natural resources** in and from Asia. These resources included spices such as turmeric and materials such as silk. It was possible to become very rich and powerful if you controlled access to these resources.

A trade **route** is the paths, ports, rivers and seas that buyers and sellers use to transport and trade resources. Control of trade routes was important because traders had to pay taxes along the way, and a ruler could stop others from using that route to make money.

Some of the most important resources from Southeast Asia were spices. A spice is any dried part of a plant that is used in cooking (and sometimes in medicine). Many plants that grow in Asia do not grow easily in Europe, therefore Europeans could only get spices from Asia.

Spices were very expensive for Europeans in the 14th and 15th centuries. Some were more valuable than gold. Because of this, spices could make people very rich. One reason that Europeans began travelling to other parts of the world was for access to trade routes and natural resources. Some of them wanted the wealth and power that came with spices.

One of the most important trade routes in Southeast Asia was through the Strait of Malacca. This is the small sea between Malaysia and the Indonesian island of Sumatra (circled in orange on the map above). Crossing the Indian Ocean was dangerous when the weather was

■ Above: Map showing the main trade routes for spices (in blue) and silk (in red) across Asia and Europe through history.

bad. Ships could sail more safely through the Strait of Malacca from maritime Southeast Asia to India.

The South China Sea was another trade route between Southeast Asia and China. Before European powers arrived in Asia in the 15th century, China controlled much of the South China Sea.

In the late 1400s, the Malacca Sultanate controlled the Strait of Malacca. It became rich and powerful. In 1511, Portugal attacked Malacca and took control of the Strait. In 1641 the Netherlands (Holland) captured Malacca from the Portuguese. From the 1600s until the 1900s, European nations competed for control of Southeast Asia, its resources and its trade routes. This is known as the European colonial period.

- 1. What was the relationship between trade and power in Southeast Asia?
- 2. Why were spices so expensive in Europe?
- 3. What is the relationship between spices and European colonisation?
- 4. Why was the Strait of Malacca important for traders?
- 5. Which European country first took control of the Strait of Malacca?

exercise

Researching - The Spice Trade of Asia

- 1. Work in groups. Choose a spice. You can choose one from the list below or another spice that you would like to know more about. For the spice that your group chooses, research:
 - a. what it is;
 - b. where it first came from;
 - c. when it was first used;
 - d. what it is/was used for;
 - e. who uses/used it;
 - f. any other interesting information.
- 2. Make a short presentation and give it to the class.
- 3. Listen to other groups' presentations and take note of where each spice comes from.
- 4. Make a map showing where each spice comes from. (You can copy or use the blank map of Asia at the back of the book if you want to.)

activity

Spices of Asia

- cardamom
- cinnamon
- star anise
- turmeric
- tarrierie
- nutmegpepper
- ginger
- clove



- 1. Does control of trade routes give countries power today? Why?
- 2. How is trade different today than in the past? What are the reasons?

- 1. What is colonialism?
- 2. Who were the colonial powers in Southeast Asia?



■ Steamboats were an example of the powerful new inventions that helped Europeans nations colonise other parts of the world.

exercise

- How did the industrial revolution in Europe affect the peoples of Southeast Asia?
- 2. Which four European countries controlled most of Southeast Asia in 1898?
- 3. Which Southeast Asian country was not colonised?

1.4 The Colonial Period

The industrial revolution was a period in the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe and America. During that time there were many new inventions. It began in England with steam-powered factory machines and trains. The industrial revolution improved communication, transport and banking. It also helped the militaries of the European countries. They had better ships and weapons than non-Europeans.

These inventions made it easier for European companies and rulers to take and control parts of Africa, Asia and the Americas. European empires colonised other parts of the world from the 15th century until the mid-20th century. The three biggest colonial powers in Southeast Asia were Great Britain, France and the Netherlands.

Between 1786 and 1886, Britain took control of what is now Brunei, Malaysia, Myanmar and Singapore. Between 1863 and 1887, France took control of what is now Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. By 1874, the Netherlands controlled what is now Indonesia, and Portugal controlled Timor Leste. After winning the Spanish–American War, the USA captured the Philippines from Spain in 1898.

The European colonisers sometimes fought each other for control of important ports, islands and land with natural resources.

The European colonial powers brought **development** to their colonies, like railways, large ports, universities and factories. However, they controlled resources like spice, rubber and minerals. Much of the money from the trade in these resources made the European countries more powerful and wealthy than the places that they colonised.

The colonial period ended in the middle of the 20th century, after World War II.

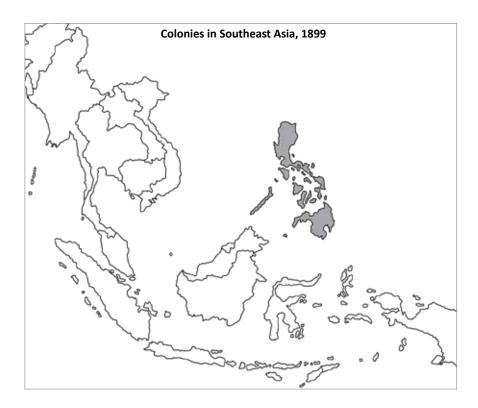
activity

Evaluating – Positives and Negatives of Colonialism

Who benefitted more from colonisation – the colonisers or the colonised?

- 1. Find information in the text and your own ideas.
- 2. Which of the columns has the most examples? What does this tell you about the system of colonialism?

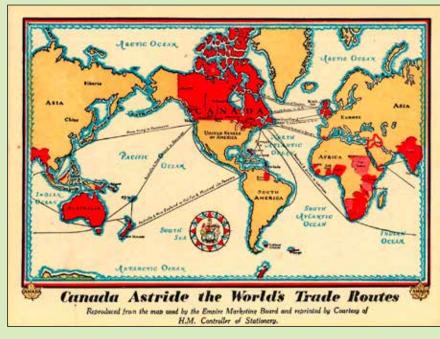
For the Colonisers		olonised
Negatives of Colonialism	Positives of Colonialism	Negatives of Colonialism
	Negatives of	Negatives of Positives of



exercise

- Colour (or shade) the map and key to show which countries were colonial powers in Southeast Asia in 1899.
- 2. Add labels, colours and/or shading to the key.

Map Key
1. The USA
2.
3
4



activity

Interpreting – A Colonial Era Poster

- 1. What is this British colonial-period poster saying about:
 - a. the British Empire?
 - b. the relationship between empires and trade?
- 2. Who is the audience for this poster?

Source: http://www.begbiecontestsociety.org/COLONYNATION.htmcom/2012/09/canada-astride.jpg

Were the European colonial powers better, worse or the same as the kings and sultans of Southeast Asia? Why?

What effects did World War II have on Southeast Asia?

The USSR

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was a country that existed from 1922 until 1991. It was made up of 15 countries, including Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Georgia. Its capital was Moscow, Russia. It was a communist country (see 1.6). After 1991, it became separate countries.





■ **Top:** A newspaper reporting Singapore's independence from Malaysia in 1965; **Above:** A postage stamp celebrating Singapore's independence.

1.5 World War II and Independence

World War II

In 1939, World War II (the Second World War) began in Europe. It began after Nazi Germany attacked countries in Europe. Britain and France then declared war on Germany. More countries joined one side or the other. The USA fought on the side of Britain, and Japan fought on the side of Germany. The USSR also fought with Britain, France and the USA after Germany invaded the USSR in 1941.

The war spread around the world, and to Southeast Asia. During the war, Japan attacked and took control of many European colonies in Southeast Asia, including what are now the Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia and Myanmar.

The war ended in 1945. Germany and Japan were defeated by Britain, France, the USA and USSR. However, the European empires were weaker. During the war they spent large amounts of money and it was becoming more difficult for them to manage their colonies.

The USA benefitted from the war. By 1945, its economy was stronger than many European countries'. The USSR also benefitted from the war because it was able to control or influence many countries in Europe. Both countries became major world powers.

Independence in Southeast Asia

By the end of the war, many people in Southeast Asia wanted to rule themselves and create new, independent countries. Talks began between European countries and their colonies. Some European countries did not want to allow independence, and there were **conflicts**. Other countries won their independence very quickly.

Both Britain and the USA wanted their colonies to become independent. The Philippines got its independence from the USA first, in 1946. Myanmar became independent from Britain soon after, in 1948. Malaysia did not become independent until 1957. The British and Malaysians had a long process of negotiation, and a war in Malaysia started in 1948. The negotiations and the war slowed down the process of independence. Singapore, which was previously part of Malaysia, became independent in 1965.

The final British colony in Southeast Asia, Brunei, did not become independent until 1984. It had previously had an agreement with Britain that allowed self-rule.

The Netherlands and France both tried to keep their empires. The Netherlands started a war in 1945 to keep the Dutch East Indies. They lost in 1949 and the colony became Indonesia. France fought to keep its colonies too. However, Laos and Cambodia became independent in 1953. Vietnam got its independence one year later.

- 1. Which country took over European colonies in Southeast Asia during World War II?
- 2. Who were the winners and losers of World War II?
- 3. Why did World War II make it more difficult for Europeans to keep their colonies?
- 4. Which colonial powers were happy for their colonies to become independent and which were not?

exercise

Year Independence Won by Southeast Asian Countries				
Country	Year			

exercise

Complete the table showing when the independence of Southeast Asian countries happened, in chronological order.

Debating - "We Want Independence": A Roleplay

- 1. Imagine that you are living in 1945. In pairs, list reasons why your country should get its independence. Look at the *Positives and Negatives of Colonialism* activity that you did in section 1.4 if you want ideas.
- 2. Join with another pair and make a shared list of arguments for independence.
- 3. How would a European person who was living in your country respond? Think of possible arguments against independence.
- 4. Create a roleplay between independence activists and Europeans who are living in your country. You know the other group. You meet on a busy street in 1945. The independence activists want to convince the Europeans that independence should come soon. The Europeans do not agree at first. What happens next? Can you find agreement?
- 5. Perform your roleplays for the rest of the class.

activity

- 1. Can you think of any problems caused by independence?
- 2. Can you think of any people, businesses or organisations that would have been against independence movements in Southeast Asian countries?





- 1. What is communism?
- 2. What is capitalism?

■ Above, from left: American soldiers raising the US flag after winning a battle on the Japanese island of Iwo Jima in 1945; Soviet (USSR) soldiers raising the Soviet flag after reaching Berlin, Germany, in 1945; Soviet soldiers giving pro-communist newspapers to villagers in Poland (in Central Europe) after World War II.

1.6 The Post-World War II World

After World War II, the two most powerful countries in the world were the communist USSR and the capitalist USA. The were sometimes called the "superpowers". The USSR controlled communist governments in Eastern European countries. The USA supported capitalist countries in Western Europe. A new war of ideas began between capitalist and communist countries. It was called the Cold War.

Communism is a political system. It calls for the redistribution of land – from the rich to the poor – and shared ownership of property, farms and factories. To do this, the government has a lot of control over how people live and work.

The capitalist system believes in private ownership of land, businesses and goods. Capitalism also believes in a **free market**. This means that the government has little control over business.

In Southeast Asia most people in former colonies were still very poor. To some people, communism seemed better than the old system of kings, empires or colonial rulers. However, communism scared the governments of Western Europe and the USA. Their systems were capitalist and they believed that capitalism gave people more freedom than communism. The leaders of European countries were also worried that communism would spread to their former colonies, where they had made a lot of money from trade.

The USSR and the USA were very powerful, but they did not want to directly fight each other. Instead, they gave weapons, training and money to other countries and armies. These armed groups fought either to create communist countries, or to stop communist countries from being created.





Communist forces in Southeast Asia were usually supported by the USSR or communist China, and anti-communist forces were usually supported by the USA and Britain.

Conflicts between communist and anti-communists groups in Southeast Asia began in the late 1940s and continued until the 1980s.

- 1. What was the Cold War?
- 2. What did communism offer the people of poorer countries?
- 3. Why did communism scare Western European countries?
- 4. How did the USSR and the USA fight each other?

exercise

- 1. The government takes away land from a rich man.
- 2. The government owns a large farm and gives free milk to every family every month.
- 3. A woman decides to open a noodle shop with money that she has saved
- 4. A group of people manage a paper factory for the government.
- 5. One person from the town hires ten employees from the village to harvest a rice paddy and pays them **minimum wage**.
- 6. People go to the market to buy shoes and find many different kinds of shoes to choose from, at different prices.

exercise

Read the scenarios. Do they describe a more communist or a more capitalist system?

- 1. Which system do you prefer, communism or capitalism? Why?
- 2. Which idea has worked better in the past? why?

What happened in Southeast Asia during the Cold War?

The Vietnam-American War

The Vietnam-American war was fought between a communist government and army in North Vietnam and an anti-communist government and army in South Vietnam. From 1965 until 1975, the USA sent soldiers to fight on the side of South Vietnam against the communists. It dropped millions of bombs on Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia during that time. Through the war, the USSR and China supported the communist government of North Vietnam.

In 1975, the USA left Vietnam and the North took control of the South. Vietnam has had a communist government since.

1.7 The Cold War Period

During and after World War II, many revolutionary groups were formed. The Pathet Lao in Laos, the Viet Minh in Vietnam and the Khmer Issarak in Cambodia all began in the 1940s. They started as anti-colonial armies but they also had communist beliefs and were fighting to create communist countries.

Almost every newly independent Southeast Asian country had conflicts between communist and anti-communist groups during this period. In Malaysia, the government fought a war against communists from 1948 until 1960. Strong communist armies fought against the governments of Thailand and Myanmar in the 1960s and 1970s. From the mid 1970s, communists took control of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia.

One of the biggest conflicts of the Cold War period in Southeast Asia was the Vietnam-American War.

There were also conflicts *between* the newly independent countries. For example, Malaysia and Indonesia fought over their borders between 1963 and 1966.

In 1959, Tunku Abdul Rahman, Malaysia's first prime minister, talked about a "new mental approach" to deal with Southeast Asia's problems. Southeast Asian countries planned or formed three regional organisations between 1959 and 1963. All three organisations failed because of disagreements and conflicts between member countries.

Finally, in 1967, the non-communist countries of Southeast Asia agreed to work together, and formed ASEAN.

The Cold War ended in 1991, when the USSR **collapsed**. Today in Southeast Asia, Vietnam and Laos still have communist governments.

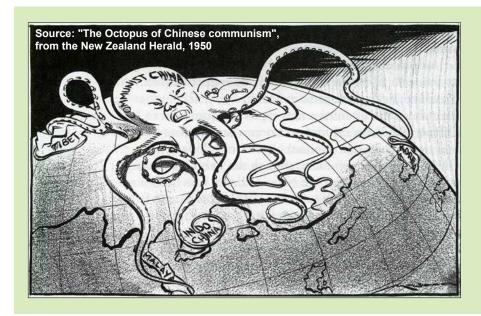
exercise

Using the information in 1.6 and 1.7, complete the table summarising the different actors operating in Cold War Southeast Asia and their aim or aims.

Regional Actors in Cold War Southeast Asia				
Name	Aim(s)			
China				
Khmer Issarak				
Indonesian Government				
Malaysian government				
Myanmar government				
Pathet Lao	A communist state in Laos			
Thai government				
USA				
USSR				
Viet Minh				

- 1. What problems existed within countries in Southeast Asia in the Cold War period?
- 2. What problems existed between countries in Southeast Asia in the Cold War period?
- 3. What role did foreign powers play in Southeast Asia in the Cold War period? What was the result?

exercise



activity

Interpreting – A Newspaper Cartoon

- 1. What does this cartoon mean?
- 2. Was the New Zealand Herald for or against communism at the time? How do you know?

- 1. What did Tunku Abdul Rahman mean about a "new mental approach" by Southeast Asian nations?
- 2. Are there still problems over borders and **territory** in Southeast Asia? Give examples.
- 3. How did the Cold War influence your country?

discussion

Transferring Information - A Timeline of Events

- 1. In groups, create a timeline of all the significant events that have been discussed in this chapter. Research additional information if necessary.
- 2. Decide on the three most important influences on Southeast Asia today.
- 3. Present these to the class. Give reasons why these events were influential, and how they have affected Southeast Asia.

activity

Chapter 2: asean

themes.

Chapter 2 looks at: how ASEAN began, how ASEAN works, and the ASEAN communities (pillars).

learning goals.....

Knowledge

By the end of this chapter you will increase your understanding of:

- the politics, economics and demographics of ASEAN member states;
- the ASEAN Charter and its Purposes and Principles;
- the process for nations to join ASEAN;
- the ASEAN Communities (pillars);
- · GDP and per capita GDP;
- · globalisation;
- · important ASEAN meetings;
- the roles of different actors and bodies in ASEAN;
- · consultation and consensus;
- decision making in ASEAN;

Skills

By the end of this chapter you will develop your ability to:

- identify and describe key demographic features of ASEAN and ASEAN countries;
- identify elements of personal and group identity;
- rationalise the case for and against "Asian" and "Western" values;
- calculate and interpret GDP and per capita GDP;
- · research and present on a topic;
- evaluate trends that may affect ASEAN's non-interference policy;
- · create mind-maps.

glossary.....

consensus (n) – ဘုံသဘောတူညီချက်။ consultation (n) – ညှိနှိုင်းတိုင်ပင်ခြင်း။ criteria (n) – စံနှုန်း။ မှတ်ကျောက်များ။ dispute (n, v) – သဘောထားကွဲလွဲမှု။ အငြင်းပွားသည်။ diversity (n) – ကွဲပြားစုံလင်မှု။ economic growth (n) – စီးပွားရေး ဖွံ့ဖြိုးတိုးတက်မှု။ export (n, v) – ပို့ကုန်။ ကုန်တင်ပို့သည်။ implement (v) – အကောင်အထည်ဖော်သည်။ အထမြောက်စေသည်။ import (n, v) – သွင်းကုန်။ ကုန်တင်သွင်းသည်။ infrastructure (n) – အခြေခံအဆောက်အအုံ။ integrate (v) – ပူးပေါင်းသည်။

interference (n) – ဝင်ရောက်စွက်ဖက်ခြင်း။

manufacture (v) – ထုတ်လုပ်သည်။ mass produce (v) – အလုံးအရင်းဖြင့် ထုတ်လုပ်သည်။ poverty (n) – ဆင်းရဲနွမ်းပါးမှု။ prospective (adj) – မျှော်မုန်းရသော။ rule of law (n) - ဥပဒေစိုးမိုးရေး။ smuggle (v) – မှောင်ခိုတင်သွင်း။ တင်ပို့သည်။ sovereignty (n) – အချုပ်အခြာအာဏာ။ stability (n) – တည်ငြိမ်မှု။ sustainable (adj) – ရေရှည်အကျိုးရှိသော။ ထိန်းထားနိုင်သော။ tensions (n) – တင်းမာမှုများ။ အားပြိုင်မှု။ စိုးရိမ်ပူပန်မှု။ trafficking (n) – ကုန်ကူးခြင်း။ violation (n) – ချိုးဖောက်ခြင်း။ စော်ကားခြင်း။





- 1. Is your country a member of ASEAN?
- 2. What other countries are members of ASEAN?

2.1 Southeast Asian Nations Today

History, geography and different religions and ethnic groups have all contributed to the countries of Southeast Asia. Below is some information about the ten modern Southeast Asian countries in ASEAN today.

exercise

- 1. Read the country information and label the countries (A-J).
- 2. Fill gaps i-x with information from the box on page 23.

A. Myanmar

Government: Presidential Republic

Capital City: Nay Pyi Taw **Population:** 53,437,159

Economy: agriculture, tourism

Economy: agriculture, natural resources (i)

B. _____
Government: Constitutional Monarchy
Capital City: Bangkok
Population: 67,725,979
Ethnicity: ______(ii)
Religion: 94%; 4%; †1%; \$\frac{1}{2}\$ 1%

C. ____

Government: Constitutional Monarchy

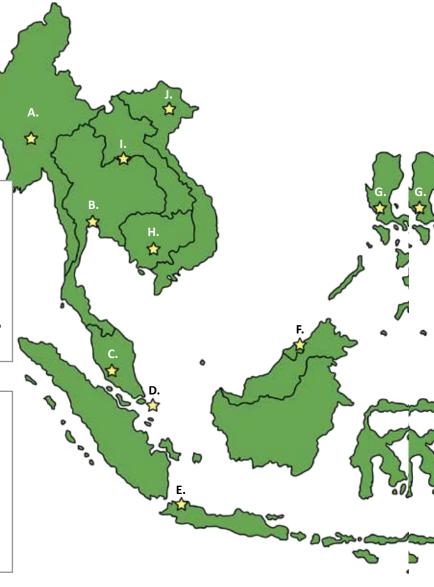
Capital City: Kuala Lumpur

Population: 29,901,997

Ethnicity: Malay 50%, Chinese, 23%,
Indigenous 12%, Indian 7%, Other 8%

Religion: ______(iii)

Economy: manufacturing, energy



- a. Thai 90%, Mon/Khmer 6%, Malay 3%, Other 1%
- b. C 60.5%; 19%; †9%; 3 6.5%, 5 5%
- c. 254,454,778
- d. Monarchy
- e. Agriculture, shipbuilding, manufacturing
- f. 5,469,700
- g. Khmer 90%, Vietnamese 5%, Chinese 1%, Other 4%
- h. Communist
- i. **4** 80%; **2** 20%
- j. agriculture, natural resources

J		
Government: Communist		
Capital City: Hanoi		
Population: 90,730,000		
Ethnicity: Viet 86%, Tai 2%, Thai 2%, Muong 1.5%,		
Kho Me 1.5%, Others 7%		
Religion:(x)		
Economy: agriculture, natural resources, tourism		

onomy: agriculture, natural resources, tourism | Economy: tourism, agriculture, natural resources

Key to religious symbols



Atheism/no religion

Buddhism

† Christianity

3 Hinduism

C Islam

Other Sikhism

H. _____ **Government:** Constitutional Monarchy

Capital City: Phnom Penh **Population:** 15,328,136

Ethnicity: ______(viii)



G. _____Government: Constitutional Republic

Capital City: Manila **Population:** 99,138,690

Ethnicity: Visayan 34%, Tagalog 28%, Ilocano 10%,

Bicolano 7%, Moro 5%, Other 16% **Religion:** †99%; **C** 10%; © 1%

Economy: _____(vii)

E. _____
Government: Constitutional Republic
Capital City: Jakarta
Population: ______(v)
Ethnicity: Javanese 43.5%, Sundanese 15.5%,
Malay 3.5%, Madurese 3.5%, Other 34%
Religion: 87%; 1%; 3%; 30.5%; 8.5%
Economy: agriculture, mining, manufacturing

Economy: energy

- 1. What do you know about ASEAN?
- 2. What do you think you know?
- 3. What do you want to know?

The ASEAN Declaration

The ASEAN Declaration has five main articles. They are:

- NAME: It will be called the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.
- 2. Two Main Aims:
 - 1) Economic growth, social progress, cultural development; 2) To promote peace and stability in the region.
- 3. STRUCTURE: How it works.
- 4. **MEMBERSHIP:** Open to all Southeast Asian countries.
- 5. **PRINCIPLE:** ASEAN represents the will of Southeast Asian people to live together in friendship.



2.2 What Is ASEAN?

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was created on August 8, 1967, in Bangkok, Thailand. Leaders from five Southeast Asian countries – Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines – formed a new regional organisation. They wrote the aims and purposes for this organisation in a short document called the ASEAN Declaration. This was the beginning of ASEAN. The main aims in the declaration were **economic growth**, social and cultural development, and peace and **stability** between countries in Southeast Asia.

The declaration established ASEAN as a regional organisation. Other examples of regional organisations include the European Union (EU), the African Union (AU) and the Organisation of American States (OAS). Countries in a regional organisation try to cooperate on issues that affect all members. For example, economic, political, social or environmental problems.

For many years, there were only five members in ASEAN

– Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. In 1984, Brunei joined, followed by Vietnam in 1995, Laos and Myanmar in 1997 and finally Cambodia in 1999. Today ASEAN has ten members and two prospective members: Timor Leste and Papua New Guinea.

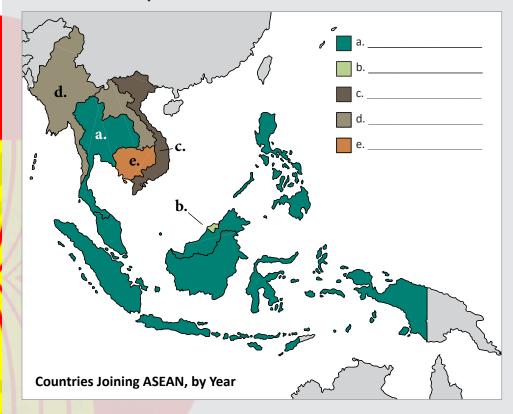


- 1. Which current ASEAN members did not join ASEAN in 1967?
- 2. What is the purpose of regional organisations?
- 3. What other regions have organisations like ASEAN?

exercise

- 1. Based on the information in the text, complete the map with the years that different countries joined ASEAN.
- 2. Identify the two prospective members and circle and label them on the map. Use the map of Southeast Asia at the back of the book if necessary.

exercise



- 1. Why were peace and stability included in the ASEAN Declaration?
- 2. What are possible reasons for why some Southeast Asian countries were not included in ASEAN in 1967?
- 3. Do you think ASEAN is important in your everyday life? Why?
- 4. How will ASEAN affect you in the future?

- 1. What is a charter?
- 2. What is the purpose of a charter?

2.2.1 The ASEAN Charter

The ASEAN Charter was written in 2008. Southeast Asia and ASEAN both changed a lot between the 1960s and the 2000s. By 2008, Southeast Asia was more stable than in the past. Also by 2008, ASEAN had ten member countries. The Charter gave ASEAN a formal structure and set out a plan for the ASEAN community.

The Charter describes the Purposes and Principles of ASEAN. The Purposes are the things that ASEAN would like to happen in Southeast Asia, and the Principles are the things that ASEAN believes in. The Charter includes processes for resolving disputes and making decisions.

exercise

- 1. Read the list of Purposes. Eight in the list are real and five are not. Decide which ones belong to the ASEAN charter.
- 2. Give reasons why you chose those five.

ARTICLE 1 **PURPOSES**

The Purposes of ASEAN are:

- a. To maintain peace and security in the region.
- To follow Buddha and his teachings.
 To keep Southeast Asia a Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone.
- To keep Sourneast Asia a Nuclear verapori-Free Curis.
 To control every ASEAN economy by using the army.
 1. To create a free-market economy in the ASEAN region. to create a tree-market economy in the ASEAN region.
 To reduce poverty and the development gap within ASEAN through cooperation.
 To respond to threats, transnational crimes and cross-border problems.

- noruel problems.

 h. To promote the economic interests of China. To promote sustainable development and protect the environment and resources of the region.
- To develop human resources in ASEAN through education, science and technology.
- education, science and technology.

 k. To collect information to help the President make the collection of the President make the collection of the President make the preside
- 1. To work together to build a drug-free environment for the people of ASEAN.
- m. To maintain worldwide peace and security.

ARTICLE 1 PURPOSES

The Purposes of ASEAN are:

- a. To maintain peace and security in the region.
- b. To follow Buddha and his teachings.
- c. To keep Southeast Asia a Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone.
- d. To control every ASEAN economy by using the army.
- e. To create a free-market economy in the ASEAN region.
- f. To reduce poverty and the development gap within ASEAN through cooperation.
- g. To respond to threats, transnational crimes and crossborder problems.
- h. To promote the economic interests of China.
- i. To promote sustainable development and protect the environment and resources of the region.
- To develop human resources in ASEAN through education, science and technology.
- k. To collect information to help the President make foreign policy decisions about Southeast Asia.
- To work together to build a drug-free environment for the people of ASEAN.
- m. To maintain worldwide peace and security.

Source: http://www.asean.org/asean/asean-charter/translations-of-the-asean-charter

ARTICLE 2 PRINCIPLES

ASEAN and its member States shall act in accordance with the following Principles:

- (a) Respect for **sovereignty** and the national identities of members.
- (b), (c), (d) Promoting regional peace and solving of disputes through dialogue and **consultation**, without aggression.
- (e), (f) Non-interference in member states, and respect for all states' right to non-interference.
- (g) Increasing the ability to meet for emergency situations.
- (h) Respect for rule of law and democracy.
- (i), (j) Following international laws relating to human rights, social justice and international trade.
- (k) Not doing anything to threaten the security of ASEAN or member states.
- (I) Respecting different cultures but promoting shared values.
- (m) Appointment of a Secretary-General and permanent representatives of ASEAN for world politics.
- (n) Encouraging regional integration of trade.

activity

Prioritising – The Most Important Principles of ASEAN

In groups, read these Principles from the ASEAN Charter.

- Choose the three most important principles and rank them in order of importance to you.
- 2. Join with another group and explain why they are the most important principles.

(simplified text)



- 1. Is it important to have a charter for an organisation like ASEAN? Why or why not?
- 2. How should ASEAN and other organisations decide what their Purposes and Principles are?



What happens at the different ASEAN meetings each year?

2.3 ASEAN Meetings

The ASEAN Summit

The ASEAN Summit meeting happens twice each year. All ASEAN leaders and ASEAN foreign ministers attend. The summit is where ASEAN leaders discuss economic, political and social issues and try to make important decisions. Leaders of countries outside ASEAN can also join the Summit.

No news media or other observers are allowed to listen to what the ASEAN leaders talk about. There is a statement at the end of the meeting. It explains the decisions and agreements.

The Chair

A *chair* is a usually a person (or people) who arranges and oversees meetings. In ASEAN, the Chair is a country. It is responsible for hosting and organising the ASEAN Summit. The Chair in ASEAN changes every year, in alphabetical order. Brunei chaired in 2021 and Cambodia in 2022.

Only the most urgent issues are discussed at the ASEAN Summit. The Chair must organise meetings and develop the agenda. Because of this, the Chair can focus on important issues for their country. In 2015, when Malaysia was chair, Malaysia's Foreign Minister said that their priorities included the ASEAN Community, trade, peace and security.

exercise

Are these statements true or false? If false, say why.

- 1. Only ASEAN leaders attend the ASEAN Summit.
- 2. The Chair is where the most important leader sits.
- 3. The Chair is not allowed to discuss issues that affect their country.`

The ASEAN Regional Forum and the East Asia Summit

Two other important meetings that happen each year involving ASEAN are the *ASEAN Regional Forum* and the *East Asia Summit*. They have similar aims to the ASEAN Summit; they are an opportunity for leaders to meet, discuss and make decisions on important issues. They take place around the same time and location as the ASEAN Summit so that it is convenient for all of the leaders.

The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) is a meeting between ASEAN and other countries in the Asia-Pacific region. The ARF discusses peace and security issues. The ARF has 27 members: all ASEAN member countries, plus others, including: Australia, China, Bangladesh, Timor Leste, Canada, India, North Korea, South Korea, Russia and the USA.

The East Asian Summit (EAS) is a meeting between leaders of 18 ASEAN and East Asian countries such as China, Japan and South Korea. It also includes India, Australia, Russia and the USA.

The Asia-Pacific Region

The Asia-Pacific region consists of countries from East and Southeast Asia, Oceania, and the Pacific Islands. "Pacific" means the Pacific Ocean. All of the countries

in the Asia-Pacific region are close to the Pacific Ocean.



- 1. Why are the ARF and EAS held around the same time?
- 2. Which meeting includes Bangladesh and Timor Leste?
- 3. Which meeting has more member countries: The ASEAN Regional Forum or the East Asia Summit?

exercise

Prioritising – Most Important National and Regional Issues Work in groups.

- 1. If your country was the Chair of ASEAN for one year, and you had two summits, what two national issues would be most important? Why?
- 2. What two regional issues would be most important to all ASEAN countries? Why?
- 3. Work with another group. What two national and two regional issues do they think are important? Are they the same as yours? Debate your issues.
- 4. As a class, decide what the top national and regional issues would be at your Summits.

activity

- 1. The US *Council on Foreign Relations* has suggested that the more powerful countries in ASEAN should permanently control the chair. Would this be good or bad? Why?
- 2. Could there be another, better, system for chairing ASEAN? How?

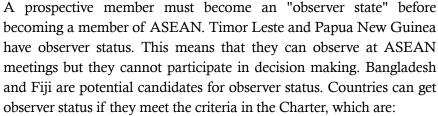
- What do you think the rules are for a country joining ASEAN?
- 2. What do you think the steps are for joining ASEAN?

2.4 Joining ASEAN

The ASEAN Charter has rules about becoming a member country of ASEAN. If new countries want to join ASEAN they have to go through an application process. After that, all ASEAN members have to agree to let the new country join. A country must meet the **criteria** in the ASEAN Charter. If they meet those criteria, the country and ASEAN then take more steps before the country can be a member.



■ Right: Huli-man, Papua New Guinea, wearing traditional costume; Below: Map of Southeast Asia showing Timor Leste (circled in orange) and Papua New Guinea (circled in blue).





- **b.** recognition by all ASEAN Member States;
- c. embassies in all ASEAN Member States;
- **d.** agreement to follow the ASEAN Charter;
- e. ability and willingness to carry out the obligations of membership.

New member countries also need to be able to participate in ASEAN, including free trade agreements that ASEAN has with other countries (see 3.4.1 for more information on free trade agreements). The ASEAN members decide by **consensus** to accept or not accept a new member. This decision is made at the ASEAN Summit.



exercise

- 1. In which ASEAN document are the joining criteria for new member states?
- 2. What is an observer state allowed to do and not allowed to do?
- 3. Which non-ASEAN states are currently observer states?
- 4. Who decides whether new states can join, and how is it decided?

FOCUS ON ... TIMOR LESTE PROSPECTIVE ASEAN MEMBER

Timor Leste is a small country in maritime Southeast Asia. It has a small population of approximately 1.7 million. Its economy is based on agriculture and natural resources such as coffee beans, timber and oil.

Timor Leste got independence from Indonesia in 2002. It then became a member of the United Nations, and ASEAN recognised Timor Leste and accepted it as an observer state. It applied for full ASEAN Membership in 2011.

Timor Leste experienced some periods of political instability and violence in the first years after its independence. Some ASEAN members, such as Indonesia and the Philippines, supported Timor Leste's application. Others, such as Singapore and Laos, did not. They were worried about Timor Leste's



■ A traditional Timorese wooden house

small economy. ASEAN agreed to let Timor Leste join in the future.

To become a full member, Timor Leste had to have embassies in all ASEAN countries and be able to host large meetings with thousands of attendees. It would also need to make changes to its economy before it could **integrate** with other ASEAN economies.

In 2013, U Aung Htoo, ASEAN Affairs Department deputy director, at the time, said Timor Leste was not ready to join because its **infrastructure** was still not developed and it did not have embassies in every ASEAN country. By 2015, Timor Leste had opened embassies in all ASEAN countries.

In 2022, ASEAN agreed in principle to Timor Leste becoming its 11th member, with a roadmap for full membership to be submitted at the next ASEAN summit. The President of Timor said it might still take years for Timor Leste to gain full ASEAN membership.

Source: https://www.reuters.com/world/asean-agrees-principle-admit-east-timor-11th-member-2022-11-11/

- 1. According to the text, in the past, which criteria for joining ASEAN did Timor Leste meet and which did it not meet?
- 2. Why did Laos and Singapore not support Timor Leste joining ASEAN in the past?
- 3. Why did ASEAN not support Timor Leste joining in the past?
- 4. More recently, what was ASEAN's position on Timor Leste?
- 1. Why does the ASEAN Declaration have no joining criteria about what kinds of political systems members can have?
- 2. Should there be criteria for political or economic systems when a country joins ASEAN? Why?
- 3. Suggest some other possible joining criteria. Why are they important?
- 4. What are the advantages and disadvantages of allowing new members?





What should ASEAN do to help the countries of Southeast Asia?

Foreign Investment

Foreign investment is when a company in one country puts money into (invests in) factories, construction, or businesses in another country. Often resources are cheaper, people work for lower wages and the company pays less tax in the country it invests in. The country gains money, development and more jobs for its people from the foreign investment.

2.5 The ASEAN Communities

Integration is one of the main goals of ASEAN. Integration means ASEAN countries bringing their economies, governments and societies closer together. At the 2003 Summit, ASEAN leaders agreed to establish the "ASEAN Community" by 2015. They chose this date because they knew integration would be a difficult task.

The European Union (EU) is an example of integration in Europe. EU countries allow goods, services and people from other EU countries to move freely across their national borders. Most EU countries also share a common currency called the *euro*.

Member states of ASEAN are now trying to integrate their countries through ASEAN's three communities (also called "pillars'):

- the ASEAN Political-Security Community;
- the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community;
- the ASEAN Economic Community.







Political-Security Community

The Political-Security Community discuss peace and security issues between ASEAN countries, and between ASEAN and other countries. They also discuss non-traditional security issues such as natural disasters, terrorism and climate change.

Socio-Cultural Community

The Socio-Cultural Community promotes tolerance, understanding and unity in **diversity** between different ASEAN peoples and countries. It focuses on peoplecentred issues such as health, education, the environment, gender equality and human rights.

Economic Community

The Economic Community focuses on trade and foreign investment between ASEAN countries and other countries. It also focuses on the integration of the ASEAN members' economies.

Below is a list of important topics for the different communities. Match them with the correct pillar.

<u>exercise</u>



trade agreements crime
human rights environment
foreign investment
poverty security food
tax on **imports**drugs women's rights
terrorism HIV
pollution religious issues
border conflicts
natural disasters

- What are the biggest security problems for your country?
- 2. What are the biggest security problems for ASEAN?

2.5.1 The Political-Security Community

ASEAN cooperates on political and security issues for two reasons. Firstly, it helps to avoid conflict between ASEAN countries. Secondly, the Political-Security Community helps ASEAN to face threats from outside. By working together, ASEAN countries hope that they can discourage threats from larger countries.

The Political-Security Community also helps ASEAN countries to work together on problems that affect all members. These problems include human **trafficking**, terrorism, drug **smuggling**, organised crime and climate change.



FOCUS ON ... THAILAND AND CAMBODIA THE PREAH VIHEAR TEMPLE DISPUTE

Thailand and Cambodia disagree about who owns the land around the 11th century Preah Vihear temple. It is on the border between the two countries. The dispute has been going on for over 100 years.

Tensions grew between 2008 and 2011 but ASEAN did not intervene. In early 2011, fighting started between the Thai and Cambodian armies. The United Nations Security Council referred the conflict to ASEAN.

Indonesia was the chair of ASEAN in 2011. It offered to send observers to monitor a ceasefire between the two



sides. At first, Thailand and Cambodia agreed to the plan. However, later the Thai army rejected the plan. They said it interfered with Thailand's sovereignty. In 2011, Cambodia referred the dispute to the International Court of Justice (ICJ), which is a part of the United Nations. In 2013, the ICJ judged that Preah Vihear was within the territory of Cambodia. It ordered that Thai soldiers leave the area. There is still disagreement between the two countries

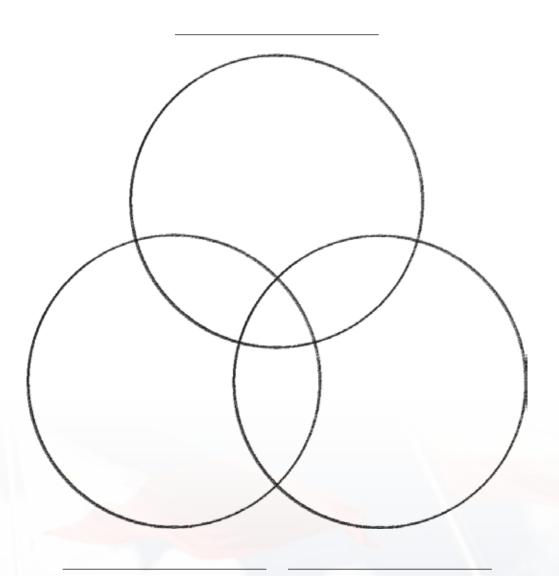
- 1. What was ASEAN's role in the dispute?
- 2. Why was ASEAN not more involved in the solution?
- 3. Who did Cambodia ask to help resolve the dispute?

Identifying – Shared Features of ASEAN Countries

Complete the Venn diagram using three ASEAN countries then discuss the questions.

- 1. What do the countries share?
- 2. Do these shared features make security easier or more difficult? Why?
- 3. What would happen if you added more countries? What does this tell you about building regional relationships?

activity



What does the Thai-Cambodian example tell us about relationships between ASEAN members?



What kinds of identity do people have?

Identity

Our identity is who we believe we are. Our identity can be made up of many parts, such as our role in our family, our beliefs or our ethnicity. Other things also make up our identity, for example, our job, our interests (football or chess, for example), and the things we like (such as rock or rap music).

2.5.2 The Socio-Cultural Community

The ASEAN Identity

There is a lot of ethnic and religious diversity across the countries of ASEAN. One of the goals of the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community is to promote a common ASEAN identity. The motto of ASEAN is "One Vision, One Identity, One Community".

Human Rights and Other Issues

The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community also deals with education, health, the environment, gender equality and human rights. These are important issues for people living in ASEAN countries.

Human rights are the idea that every human in every country has basic rights, and governments cannot take those rights away. Human rights apply to every person (of every gender, race, religion, ethnicity and political belief). Human rights include the right to be free from slavery or torture, and the right to basic education.

The United Nations recognised human rights in 1948, in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (see page 92). Governments in ASEAN countries have sometimes not recognised people's human rights. For example, people have been put in prison for saying things that are against their governments.

In 2009 ASEAN created its Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights. Representatives from each country in ASEAN are on the human rights commission for three years. The governments of each country on the Commission choose their representatives. In 2012, the Commission released the *ASEAN Human Rights Declaration*. However, the commission has been criticised for doing very little about human rights **violations** in ASEAN countries.

"Western Values" Vs "Asian Values"

In the 1990s, some ASEAN leaders said that human rights were only important to European societies and not Asian ones. Instead, they talked about "Asian values".

Doctor Mahatir Mohamad was prime minister of Malaysia from 1981 to 2003, and again from 2018 to 2020. Lee Kuan Yew was prime minister of Singapore from 1959 to 1990. They said that Western human rights focused on individual freedoms, but Asian values were about people working together. Asian values focused on community, family, social order and respect for leaders, they said.

They also said that some human rights were less important than economic security and stability. For example, in 2000, Dr Mahatir warned that too much democracy could lead to instability.

However, others disagreed. Devan Nair (the former president of Singapore) and Myanmar pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi stated that human rights are universal – they apply to everyone. They argued that the debate was not about values or rights; it was about political power.

The UN's vs ASEAN's Understandings of Human Rights

According to the United Nations:

"[It] is the duty of States to promote and protect all human rights and freedoms. It does not matter what political, economic and cultural systems they have."

The ASEAN Human Rights Declaration says:

"Human rights and freedoms will be respected but they may be limited to meet the requirements of national security, public order, public health, public safety, public morality, and the general welfare of the peoples in a democratic society."

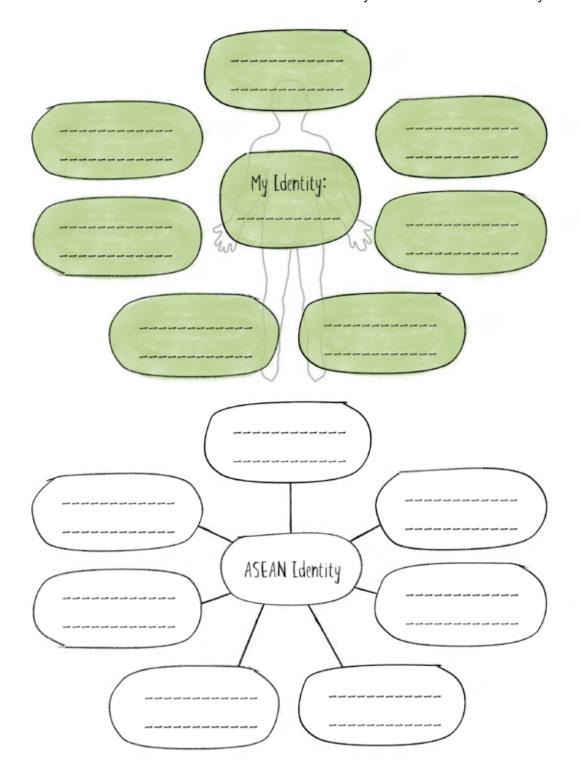
- 1. What are human rights?
- 2. Who has human rights?
- 3. Why has the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights been criticised?
- 4. What did Doctor Matahir and Lee Kuan Yew say was the difference between Western values and Asian values?

exercise

activity

Identifying – Elements of Identities

- 1. Individually, complete the "my identity" diagram. Add extra boxes if necessary.
- 2. In groups, compare your diagrams. Did you include the same things or different ones?
- 3. In groups, decide what the "ASEAN identity" should be. Think about: race, ethnicity, culture, religion, history, traditions, political systems, etc..
- 4. As a class, discuss:
 - a. Was it easy to think of an identity for all of ASEAN?
 - b. What does that tell you about the "ASEAN identity'?



Assessing – Possible Applications of the *ASEAN Human Rights*Declaration

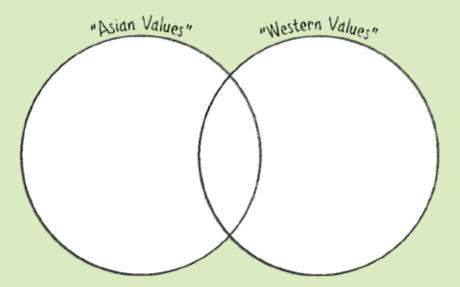
How could the following be justified by the *ASEAN Human Rights Declaration* (see page 37)?

- 1. arrest of protesters
 Public order, safety and health because protests might disrupt
 the public, create insecurity, or cause damage to buildings
- 2. banning political books
- 3. banning meetings
- 4. denying visas to foreigners
- 5. penalties for women who wear modern clothes
- 6. destroying slums in urban areas
- 7. laws that outlaw writing school books in minority languages

activity

Analysing – Do "Asian" and "Western" Values Exist?

- 1. Place the statements into the Venn diagram.
- 2. Compare your diagram with another group's and explain your answers.



- a. Respect for leaders is most important.
- b. I can choose who I want to marry.
- c. Everyone in my community should choose the leader together.
- d. I can criticise the government in public.
- e. I have been leader for thirty years so I know what is right.
- f. If change is too quick, the country will be unstable.
- g. My country needs a strong economy.
- h. My country needs a democratic government.

activity

- i. I want people to respect me so I can stay in power.
- j. Children are the most important thing in my society
- k. People must be strongly punished for breaking laws.
- Adults (over 18 years old) should be able to make their own decisions.
- 1. What could leaders gain by claiming to promote "Asian values"?
- 2. Do you agree that there are "Asian values" or "Western values"?
- 3. Which is more important: Asian values or human rights? Why?



What do you know about the economy of your country? Is it growing or shrinking?

2.5.3 The Economic Community

The economies of ASEAN are all very different. Some are based on tourism and agriculture and some are based on oil, gas and minerals. Others are based on manufacturing of clothes or electronics. The five original members of ASEAN have much bigger economies than the newer members.

The economies of ASEAN nations are all growing, but some are growing faster than others. The gross domestic product (GDP) of Vietnam, for example, grew by 6.8% between 2014 and 2015. In the same time, Singapore's GDP increased by only 1.9%.

One of the main aims of economic integration in ASEAN is **sustainable** economic growth. ASEAN believes that this economic growth will benefit all countries and increase stability in the region.

The Nation of Smallistan:

- Value of goods & services \$10 billion (bn)
- Cost of production of goods & services & value of imports – \$5 bn
- Population 1 million (mn)

A. Calculating Its GDP:

- \$10 bn \$5 bn
- GDP = \$5 bn

B. Calculating Its Per Capita GDP:

- \$5 bn (GDP) / 1 mn (pop.)
- per capita GDP = \$5,000

Gross Domestic Product

There are different ways to measure a country's wealth and productivity. One way is to look at its gross domestic product (GDP). GDP is the total value of goods and services produced in a country, minus the cost of their production and the value of imports into the country (see example A, left).

GDP is usually compared to GDP in previous years. This can show whether an economy is growing or shrinking.

GDP shows you the size of an economy, but it does not give any information about the wealth of the people. One way to find out about the average wealth of a person in a country is to divide the GDP by the number of people (total population) living in the country. This gives us the *per capita GDP* (per person) (see example B, left).

Integrating ASEAN Economies

Economic integration is a very important issue for ASEAN. Southeast Asia is between India and China. This is good because India and China are large countries with growing economies. ASEAN businesses can trade with both of them.

However, India and China are both powerful countries. On their own, Southeast Asian nations may not be able to compete or negotiate with India or China. If ASEAN nations work together as one, they have more power to negotiate. They can make trade agreements that are better for all countries in ASEAN.

The other reason for integration is globalisation. Other countries in the world have begun to integrate their economies. There is now a lot of competition from other regions. ASEAN countries also need to be able to compete and bring in businesses and investment from outside. New businesses and investment can help ASEAN countries' economies grow and provide more jobs.

Globalisation

Globalisation is a process of international integration. The process began in the colonial era. Because of the industrial revolution, European nations could **mass produce** goods. Often the resources came from colonised countries. Global trade changed the economies of countries. They began to specialise in manufacturing goods, or in **exporting** resources like rubber, timber or oil used to **manufacture** goods.

Today, people in poorer countries often work for lower wages. Businesses open factories in those places because it is cheaper. Global production networks use resources, factories and workers from many different countries. For example, minerals are mined in several countries, then made into computer parts in other countries. Those parts are then sent to another country where they are assembled into computers. The computers are then sent to another country, where they are sold.



Are these statements true or false? If false, say why.

- 1. All ASEAN countries have very small economies.
- 2. GDP tells us about the size of an economy by adding up all of the goods and services in a country and dividing it by two.
- 3. Economic integration is important for ASEAN because it needs to compete with China and India.

exercise

activity

Calculating and Interpreting Data – GDP of ASEAN Countries, ASEAN, and Neighbouring Countries

- 1. What can you say about ASEAN nations' economies from the data in columns 2 and 3?
- 2. Calculate the GDP of ASEAN in 2014.
- 3. Calculate the per capita GDP for 2014 for the nations in the table.
- 4. Calculate the per capita GDP of ASEAN in 2014.
- 5. When combined, what can you say about the ASEAN economy compared to India and to China?

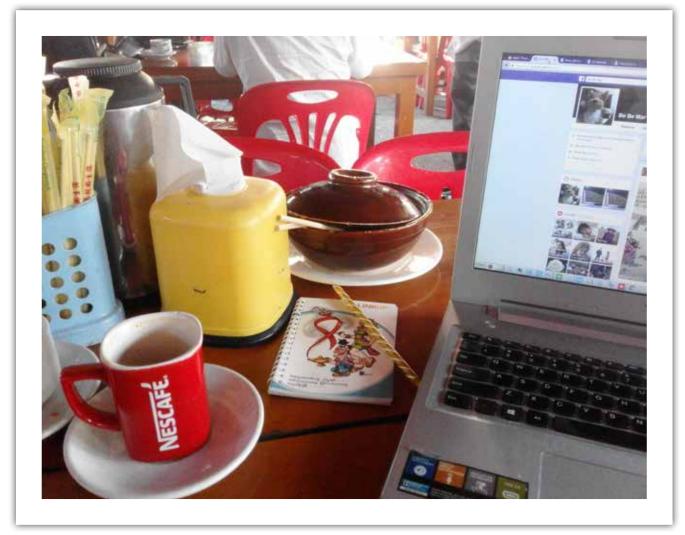
Est. GDP of ASEAN, China, India, 2010 – 2014, Plus Per Capita GDP, 2014						
1. Country	2. GDP 2010, billion USD	3. GDP 2014, billion USD	4. Population 2014, millions	5. Per Capita GDP 2014, USD		
Brunei	12	17	0.4			
Cambodia	11	16.5	15.3			
Indonesia	755	888	254			
Laos	7	12	6.5			
Malaysia	255	338	30			
Myanmar	41 (estimate)	64.5	53.5			
Philippines	200	285	100	2,850		
Singapore	236	308	5.5			
Thailand	341	405	67.5			
Vietnam	116	186	91			
ASEAN	1,974 (est.)		623.7			
China	6,039	8,237	1,395	5,905		
India	1,708	2,198	1,344	1,635		

Source: http://data.worldbank.org/

activity

Recognising - Globalisation in Your Daily Life

- 1. Look at the picture on the opposite page. Make a list of all the things you see that have a global connection. These are things that might be made in another country, things invented in or traditional to another country.
 - E.g.: Chopsticks: Traditionally Chinese, made in China.
- 2. How has globalisation influenced you so far today? Make a list of the goods and services you have seen or used with a global connection.



Researching - Globalisation in Southeast Asia

- 1. Choose one of these questions to research.
 - a. What is the impact of globalisation on women in Southeast Asia?
 - b. Is there a connection between globalisation and poverty in Southeast Asia?
 - c. Do some people in Southeast Asia dislike globalisation? Why?
 - d. How does globalisation affect smaller ethnic or indigenous communities in Southeast Asia?
- 2. Get information from the internet, media or books. You can also talk to people with knowledge and/or ideas on the topic.
- 3. Present your findings to the class.

1. Is per capita GDP a good way to measure the living conditions of people in a country?

- 2. Is globalisation good or bad for your country?
- 3. Which ASEAN community do you think is the most important Political-Security, Socio-Cultural or Economic?

activity

- 1. What do you know about the ASEAN Secretariat?
- 2. Who is the current ASEAN Secretary-General?



2.6 The Secretariat

What Is the Secretariat?

The ASEAN Secretariat is the administrative centre of ASEAN. It coordinates the work of the Political-Security, Socio-Cultural and Economic Communities. The Secretariat also organises ASEAN meetings and checks that ASEAN policies are being carried out by member countries. For example, the ASEAN Secretariat has an office to monitor ASEAN economic integration. The ASEAN Secretariat is based in Jakarta, Indonesia. Approximately 300 staff from the countries of ASEAN work at the Secretariat.

The ASEAN Secretary-General

The Secretary-General of ASEAN is chosen at the ASEAN Summit for a term of five years. The Secretary-General is chosen by the foreign ministers of the ASEAN countries. They also choose four Deputy Secretary-Generals. They must come from different countries to the Secretary General, and from countries different to each other. Usually, the ASEAN Secretary-General has experience working in government foreign affairs. For example, the ASEAN Secretary-General for 2017 – 2022, His Excellency Dato Paduka Lim Jock Hoi (left), was previously the Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade for Brunei.

exercise

- 1. What important parts of ASEAN is the Secretariat in charge of?
- 2. How is the ASEAN Secretary General selected?
- 3. What criteria for selecting Secretary Generals and Deputy Secretary Generals are mentioned in the text?

The Secretary-General of ASEAN...

- organises the ASEAN Summit and Foreign Ministers' meetings;
- implements the policies decided by ASEAN foreign ministers at ASEAN meetings and summits;
- helps the ASEAN Community Councils to implement projects;
- participates in all ASEAN meetings;
- acts in the interests of ASEAN and does not favour their own country.

The Foreign Ministers of ASEAN Countries...

- maintain relations with other countries and international organisations;
- represent the interests of their country and citizens;
- negotiate with other foreign ministers on policies for trade, aid, diplomatic relations and international agreements.

Match the tasks (a – g) with the job of either the ASEAN
 Secretary-General or a foreign minister of an ASEAN member country.

exercise

2. Who would make statements (i - iv), the ASEAN Secretary-General or a foreign minister of an ASEAN member country?

Tasks

- a. Negotiate a trade agreement for your country with a country in Europe.
- Listen to a complaint from neighbouring countries about your country and negotiate a fair deal for everyone.
- c. Oversee the ASEAN Economic Community plans for integration.
- Meet the foreign minister of a neighbouring country to agree on a border between your two countries.
- e. Organise the ASEAN Summit meeting.
- f. Participate in choosing the Secretary General of ASEAN.
- g. Sign an international treaty on behalf of your country.

Statements

- i. "We are 50% of the way through implementation of the ASEAN Economic Community."
- ii. "Our farmers will suffer if we import too much rice from Vietnam."
- iii. "It's important that we hold the Summit somewhere close to the airport."
- iv. "This is not a good deal for our region. Laos will not benefit."
- v. "At the summit, I will explain why we need a new airport near our capital city."

Identifying – The Qualities of an ASEAN Secretary-General

- 1. What qualities should an ASEAN Secretary-General have? In pairs, list the most important qualities. (e.g.: fair, honest...)
- 2. Join with another pair. Agree on the five most important qualities and why you think they are the most important.
- 3. Present your list and your reasons to the class.

activity

- 1. What are possible reasons for ASEAN having a small budget compared to other regional organisations like the European Union, African Union or Organization of American States?
- 2. Should the countries of ASEAN give more money to the ASEAN Secretariat?
- 3. What are the advantages of making the Secretariat stronger?
- 4. What are the disadvantages of making it stronger?

- 1. How are important decisions made in your country?
- 2. How are they made in ASEAN?

2.7 Decision Making

Three important principles in the ASEAN Charter are:

- non-interference;
- using consultation to solve problems;
- making decisions by consensus.

These principles and practices together are sometimes called the "ASEAN way".

Non-interference means that countries should not try to influence or publicly comment on problems inside neighbouring countries. The reasons for non-interference in ASEAN are mostly historical. ASEAN was created after the end of the colonial period, and during the Cold War. It was a time of conflicts in Southeast Asia and countries were worried about their sovereignty. Non-interference meant ASEAN could not become involved in problems in member countries.

However, because of the principle of non-interference, ASEAN often cannot deal with important issues. For example, ASEAN can only become involved in issues in an ASEAN country if that country invites ASEAN to do so.

The Future of Non-Interference

In 2015, the prime minister of Malaysia questioned the value of the non-interference principle. During 2015, smoke and haze clouds from large fires in Indonesia reached Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand (see 3.8.1 for more information). ASEAN countries had made an agreement to reduce the haze clouds. However, ASEAN could not do anything about the fires in Indonesia.

The principle of non-interference may become less important in ASEAN in the future. There are three main reasons for this:

- **1. GLOBALISATION** means that countries are more connected and integrated by trade and communication.
- **2. D**EMOCRATISATION means that most governments want to be seen to be supporting democracy, even if they are not completely democratic themselves.
- **3.** If HUMAN RIGHTS are seriously violated inside a country, it brings a lot of international criticism.

exercise

Are the statements true or false? If false, say why.

- 1. Non-interference means not discussing politics with other countries in the region.
- 2. Historically, ASEAN wanted to avoid being involved in conflicts inside member countries.
- 3. Only ASEAN is allowed to interfere in the politics of countries in Southeast Asia.



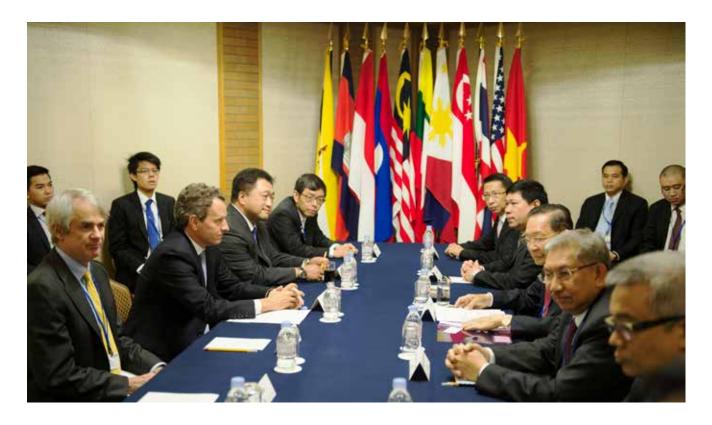
Evaluating – Trends That May Affect ASEAN "Non-Interference"

According to the text, non-interference may become less important because of globalisation, democratisation and human rights.

- 1. Read the scenarios below. State which idea or ideas from the text (*globalisation, democratisation, human rights*) affect the events in the scenario.
- 2. How else might these three ideas affect ASEAN and its principle of non-interference? Give examples (real or imaginary) of situations within and between ASEAN nations and explain your reasons.

activity

- a. People are tortured in an ASEAN country. Citizens in other ASEAN countries are angry and make public statements condemning that country. This forces their leaders to also condemn them.
- b. There is civil war, conflict and instability in an ASEAN country. Because of this, foreign investors do not want to invest in the country. Instead they choose to invest in a neighbouring country. This forces the government to make a ceasefire. The armed groups form political parties and take part in elections.
- c. ASEAN and its neighbouring countries make an environmental agreement. The neighbouring countries feel that ASEAN countries pollute too much, and will not invest money until ASEAN agrees. It benefits some ASEAN countries and forces others to enact laws to limit pollution.
- 1. Who would benefit most from a move away from non-interference?
- 2. Who would benefit least?
- 3. Should ASEAN keep the principle of non-interference? Why or why not?



- 1. What is consultation?
- 2. What is consensus?

2.7.1 Consultation and Consensus

The decision-making process in ASEAN involves consultation and consensus. Consultation means asking for the opinions of those affected by an issue before reaching a decision. In ASEAN, consultation helps to avoid conflict between members.

Consensus means reaching a decision that everyone can agree to. In ASEAN, all countries need to agree before an action or decision is made. This is different to a majority voting system. In majority voting, if 51% or more of the votes support a decision or an action, then it can be taken.

The Impacts of Consensus Decision Making

The difficulty with ASEAN's consensus decision making is its speed. Because every member must agree, it can take months or years to make decisions. Sometimes a decision is never made or the final outcome is weakened. For example, if nine countries agree to reduce pollution by 50% but one country refuses. Because of this, the agreement may never happen. Alternatively, the tenth country may weaken the agreement. The final agreement may only be to reduce pollution by 20%.

However, consensus does give every member country an equal voice in decision making. It also makes all members consider how a decision will affect the other members.

exercise

- 1. What other decision-making system is mentioned in the text?
- 2. What problems are there with consensus decision making?
- 3. What benefits are there?

- 1. Two women are arguing in the market. One believes that the other stole from her.
- 2. Two groups of neighbours have a conflict over a piece of farmland. The government also wants to take the farmland.
- 3. A man beats his wife when he is drunk.
- 4. A powerful ASEAN country wants to change its border with a smaller ASEAN country. The new border will give the powerful country more land.
- 5. ASEAN knows about human rights abuses in a member state. The member state says that it will solve the problem itself. It threatens to leave ASEAN if ASEAN intervenes.

activity

Explaining – Reasons to Interfere (or Not)

Look at the situations. How might they be made better or worse by:

- a. non-interference;
- b. consultation and consensus.

Should ASEAN change its decision-making process from consultation and consensus to majority voting? Why or why not?

discussion

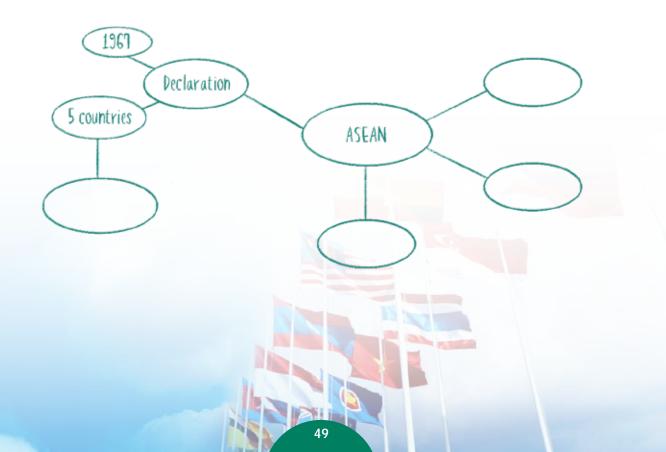
Transferring Information – An ASEAN Mind-Map

In groups, make a mind-map about ASEAN.

- Include all areas of ASEAN covered in this chapter.
- Organise information logically and visually (different colours, use of images, links, etc.).
- Research additional information if necessary.

Present your mind-map to the class.

activity



Chapter 3: Issues Facing **asean**

themes.

Chapter 3 looks at: the problems facing ASEAN in relation to population issues, rising inequality, territorial and separatist conflicts, and environmental issues.

learning goals.....

Knowledge

By the end of this chapter you will increase your understanding of:

- population issues facing ASEAN nations;
- · modern migration issues;
- people smuggling and human trafficking;
- conflicts within and between ASEAN countries, and with other countries;
- special economic zones and free trade agreements;
- the rivalry between the USA and China and its causes and effects;
- · economic inequality;
- the effects of drugs and the illegal drug trade:
- the problems of haze pollution and deforestation;
- · hydropower dams.

Skills

By the end of this chapter you will develop your ability to:

- interpret tables, bar charts and pie charts and relate them to situations in ASEAN and their communities;
- compare and contrast migration now and in the past;
- interpret political posters and cartoons;
- classify the advantages and disadvantages of free trade;
- classify factors that affect development;
- evaluate problems and solutions surrounding the supply and use of illegal drugs.
- assess causes and effects of, and solutions to, environmental issues faced by ASEAN countries.

glossary.....

code of conduct (n) – ကျင့်ဝတ်စည်းမျဉ်း။ corporation (n) – ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးလုပ်ငန်းများ ဆောင်ရွက်ရန် တပေါင်းတည်း စုဖွဲ့ထားသော အဖွဲ့။

corrupt (adj) – လာဘ်စားသော။

dam (n) – ရေကာတာ။ ဆည်။

deforestation (n) – သစ်တောပြုန်းတီးခြင်း။

food security (n) – စားသောက်ကုန် အာမခံချက်။

immigration (n) – ပြည်တွင်းသို့ လာရောက် နေထိုင်ခြင်း။

life expectancy (n) – (ပျမ်းမျှ) သက်တမ်း။

navigation (n) – ရေကြောင်းသွားလာမှု။ persecution (n) – ဖိစီးနှိပ်စက်မှု။

plantation (n) – စိုက်ခင်း။ ဥယျာဉ်ခြံ။

refugee (n) – ဒုက္ခသည်။

reproductive health (n) – မျိုးဆက်ပွား ကျန်းမာရေး။

rivalry (n) – ဂုဏ်တုဂုဏ်ပြိုင်မှု။ အပြိုင်အဆိုင်။

separatist conflict (n) – ခွဲထွက်ရေး ပဋိပက္။

territorial dispute (n) – နယ်နိမိတ် အငြင်းပွားမှု။

transition (n) – အကူးအပြောင်း။

undocumented migrant (n)

– သက်သေအထောက်အထား မရှိသော ရွှေ့ပြောင်းနေထိုင်သူ။

working conditions (n) – လုပ်ငန်းခွင် အခြေအနေ။



■ A rice field in rural Indonesia.



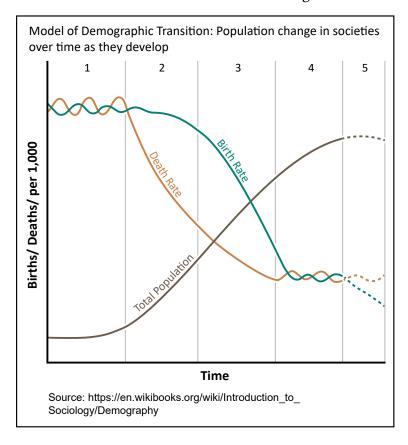
- 1. What is the population of your country?
- 2. Is it increasing or decreasing?

3.1 Population Issues

Development and Population

There are now more than eight billion people on Earth. The population is growing faster in some parts of the world than it is in others. In some places the population is even decreasing.

The development of a country affects its population growth. "Development" describes improvements that are made in a country. For example, better medical care, education and healthier food. All of these things increase life expectancy, and populations increase.



However, once a country is more developed, the population increase can become slower. This is because people choose to have fewer children. For example, in Thailand in 1925, the average number of children per mother was 6. In 2022, the average number of children per Thai mother was 1.5.

In some developed countries, the population is decreasing. In Japan, for example, the population has been falling every year since 2011.

The diagram to the left is a *demographic transition model*. It shows population change over time in a country or society. It shows five stages of a society or country, from "undeveloped" to "ageing developed". The three lines represent the numbers of births and deaths, and the overall population at different stages of the society.

activity

Interpreting – A Demographic Transition Model

- 1. Match the stages (a-e) to the diagram (1-5).
- 2. Explain what happens at each stage.
 - a. <u>Ageing Developed Country</u>: Population decreases because of decreasing birth rates and stable death rates.
 - b. <u>Country in **Transition**</u>: Population rises more. Birth rates and death rates drop more.
 - c. <u>1</u> <u>Undeveloped Country</u>: Low population, high birth rates and high death rates.
 - d. <u>Developing Country</u>: Health improves so death rates fall. Birth rates begin to fall. Population rises.
 - e. <u>Developed Country</u>: Population is high but there is a low birth rate and a low death rate.

Increasing Populations

People in Southeast Asia live longer than before. The population grew approximately 285% between 1950 and 2000. It will probably grow another 35% by 2050. In 1950, only 3% of the population of Southeast Asia was aged over 65. By 2050, more than 15% of the population will be over 65 years old.

This presents three important problems for ASEAN countries. The first problem is **food security**. People need access to enough food and clean water. Already, Myanmar has areas that are becoming desert because of over-farming and climate change. The seas around Indonesia have lost most of their fish because of overfishing.

The second problem is the environment. As the population grows there is more pressure on land, water and natural resources. Forests are being cut down for timber and land. Cities and factories are polluting the air, rivers and oceans.

The third problem is ageing societies. Traditionally, children looked after their parents when they got old. Now people live longer, and often have fewer children. In the future, society will need to feed and take care of more older people for longer.

ASEAN countries have different problems and policies related to population growth. The Philippines has one of the highest birth rates in the world. Its government encourages people to use contraceptives to slow birth rates. Singapore has falling birth rates. Its government offers money and benefits to families with more children.

Currently ASEAN does not have any policies related to population growth. It does have policies about the effects of population growth like pollution (the ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution) and deforestation (ASEAN Agreement on Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources).



■ Motorcyclists in Vietnam.

- 1. How much is Southeast Asia's population likely to grow between 2000 and 2050?
- 2. What is the link between population growth and natural resource usage?
- 3. What happens in an ageing society?

exercise



■ An older Filipino woman.

activity

Interpreting Data – Population Growth Data

Look at the data in the table. What development stage might each country be in? Give reasons for your answer.

- a. Developing country
- b. Country in transition
- c. Developed country
- d. Ageing developed country

Population Data for Selected East and Southeast Asian Nations						
	1. Japan	2. Laos	3. Myanmar	4. Singapore		
Population Growth (2015, est)	-0.16%	1.55%	1.01%	1.89%		
Birth Rates per 1,000 of population	7.93	24.25	18.39	8.27		
Death Rates per 1,000 of population	9.51	7.63	7.96	3.43		
Life expectancy, years	84	66	66	83		
Average Number of Children per Mother	1.4	2.82	2.16	0.81		

Source: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/

activity

Writing a Story – Changing Lives Across Three Generations

- 1. Write a story in three parts. Each part describes the lives of a generation living in different times of development. Do online research if necessary to get more information.
 - a grandparent generation;
 - a parent generation;
 - a child generation.
- 2. Tell the story to the class.

FOCUS ON ... THE PHILIPPINES FAMILY PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

Overpopulation in the Philippines is becoming a problem. It has a population of 100 million and it will probably double in size by 2080. Only 20% of the Philippines' forests are left, and over-fishing is damaging its seas. To feed its people, the Philippines imports more rice than any other country.

The Philippines has one of the highest birth rates in the world and the highest teenage pregnancy rate in the Asia-Pacific region. In 2012,



Filipino President Benigno Aquino signed the *Responsible Parenthood and Reproductive Health Act*. This means that government hospitals and health centres have to provide **reproductive health** education, maternal health care and contraceptives to everyone who asks for them.

The Catholic Church is strongly against it. They have threatened to ban the president, and politicians that support the Act, from the church. A Catholic woman with 16 children said "We don't listen to the Church. They are not giving birth again and again. We must find a way to care for our children." In the slums of Manila, another woman has been pregnant 22 times. She has 17 surviving children. She said "Many times, we sleep without eating."

Source: http://www.nj.com/times-opinion/index.ssf/2013/02/opinion_family_planning_a_phil.html

- 1. What are the impacts of population growth in the Philippines?
- 2. What is the Responsible Parenthood and Reproductive Health Act?
- 3. What was the Church's reaction to the Responsible Parenthood and Reproductive Health Act?
- 1. Does your country have:
 - a. food security problems?
 - b. environmental problems?
- 2. What are the causes of these problems?
- 3. Does your country have an ageing society? Is this a problem? Why or why not?
- 4. Who should be responsible for population issues? Families, each country or ASEAN? Why?
- 5. Which stage in the demographic transition model is your country?





- 1. Why do people want to work in other countries?
- 2. Why are migrant workers important to the economy of some countries?
- 3. Why do businesses employ migrant workers?

Refugee Crises

Southeast Asia has had several refugee crises since its countries gained independence. Some continue until today. After the Vietnam-American War ended in 1975, over one million refugees left Vietnam. In 1979, 700,000 Cambodian refugees crossed into Thailand after a war between Vietnam and Cambodia. They lived in refugee camps on the Thai-Cambodian border. Since the 1980s, hundreds of thousands of people from Myanmar have fled to other countries to escape war and conflict there.

3.2 Human Migration

Refugees

Refugees are people who have to leave their own country to escape war, **persecution** or natural disasters. An international treaty to protect refugees has been signed by 145 countries. In ASEAN, only Cambodia has signed the treaty. However, since World War II, there have been several refugee crises in Southeast Asia.

Economic Migrants

Today, people often migrate for economic reasons. They move for jobs (or better paying jobs) or better living conditions. Migrants often move from countries with less wealth and weaker economies to richer countries with lots of jobs.

A documented migrant has official permission to move to another country. An **undocumented migrant** does not have official permission to enter a country and work. People sometimes try to escape poverty, and will try to migrate to another country, even if they don't have the legal documents (ID card, passport, visa, etc.) to do so.

Undocumented migrants are sometimes called "illegal immigrants" because they enter and work in a country illegally. However some people feel that no human can be "illegal" and disagree with this term.

Undocumented migrants are often treated very badly. For example, employers force them to work extra hours but sometimes do not pay them. They may also be forced to do dangerous tasks.

They often can not or will not report abuses to authorities. This is because they are afraid of being deported or put in jail. Migrants may also face violence from local people. Locals sometimes feel that migrants are taking their jobs.





In Southeast Asia there are a lot of migrant workers. They are usually looking for work across borders. There is demand for people who will work for low pay. It is cheaper for employers in a country to hire undocumented migrants. They will work for less money and in worse conditions. Migrant workers provide a cheap workforce for ASEAN's growing economies.

People Smuggling and Human Trafficking

People smuggling and human trafficking are related but different. Undocumented migrants pay people smugglers to help them enter a country illegally. When they arrive, the deal is finished.

Sometimes undocumented migrants are tricked. They pay people to get them into a country. However, they are instead forced or sold into bad **working conditions** for little or no pay. Men have been trafficked to work on fishing boats. They work 18 hours a day, and the boats stay at sea for months at a time. Women and children have been trafficked to work in the sex industry. This is human trafficking.

Undocumented migrants are often afraid to leave jobs that they have been forced or tricked into. If they try to leave, employers sometimes threaten them with violence or with arrest.

In 2004, ASEAN released the *Declaration Against Trafficking in Persons, Particularly Women and Children*. It called for member countries to work together on the problem, and for individual countries to make laws against human trafficking. However, ASEAN has made little impact on trafficking.

exercise

- What is the difference between a refugee and an economic migrant?
- 2. What are the similarities between them?
- 3. What is the difference between a documented migrant and an undocumented migrant?
- 4. What is the difference between a people smuggler and a human trafficker?

exercise

Match the statements with the words and phrases below. There may be more than one possible correct answer for each.

- a. documented migrant
- b. undocumented migrant
- c. human trafficking
- d. people smuggling
- e. refugee



- 1. I left my country because it is poor. There was a war when I was younger, and life is still difficult.
- My family is poor. My auntie said her friend would give me a job in Thailand. When I got there, I had to work for no money for two years.
- 3. My brother knows a man in Malaysia. He takes people from my home country to there. I paid him \$5,000 from my home to Kuala Lumpur. He paid the police and army at the border.
- 4. I have no passport, so it is very dangerous living here. If the police catch me, I might go to jail.
- 5. My sisters and I live Dubai. We all have the correct ID cards and paperwork and work for different companies.
- 6. I paid \$2,000 for a man to take me to Singapore. However, the boat went to another country. A man paid the smuggler and I had to work on a palm oil plantation. They paid me only \$2 a day. I had no passport so I couldn't leave.
- 7. My village is between different armed groups. There is often fighting. It is very dangerous so I left and came here. Because of my ethnicity, I have no ID or passport. My sister's husband helped me leave the country. He knows who to pay.
- 8. One day my daughter was gone. She was only 13. I think they took her to China.
- 9. At first I came to this country without any ID, but later the law changed, so now I work here legally and safely.
- 10.I studied abroad then, when I finished my degree, I got a work visa to teach in an international school in the capital city.
- 11. Soldiers destroyed my village, I lost everything. We ran away. I paid money to go and work on a fishing boat but the boat owner didn't pay me. I got help from an NGO in the fishing town and escaped.
- 12.I went abroad to start a new job. But the agent took my passport when I arrived. I had to work with no pay to get it back.

activity

Comparing and Contrasting – Migration Now and in the Past

How is migration now different to the past? List the ways that human migration is similar and different now to:

- 1. ancient times;
- 2. colonial times.

- 1. What could the ASEAN do to help solve some of the problems of migration?
- 2. Which ASEAN Community should be the most involved, the Political-Security, the Socio-Cultural or the Economic? Why?

3.3 Separatist Conflicts and Territorial Disputes

In the past, the borders of kingdoms and empires in Southeast Asia changed often. Colonisation also changed those borders. Some groups lived outside the complete control of any empire or kingdom. When independence came, some people were unhappy about the new countries and borders that they were in. This has led to **separatist conflicts** within some Southeast Asian countries.

An example of conflict within an ASEAN country was in the province of Aceh in Indonesia. A rebel group, the Free Aceh Movement, fought for their own state against the Indonesian Army from 1976 to 2005. A peace agreement in 2005 allowed the local Aceh government some independence and a 70% share of the wealth from local resources, but Aceh remained within Indonesia.

There are still conflicts with ethnic and religious armed groups inside the borders of ASEAN countries. Examples include: Southern Thailand, the Philippines, Irian Jaya in Indonesia, and Myanmar.

There have also been **territorial disputes** between Southeast Asian countries. The border dispute between Cambodia and Thailand over the area around the Preah Vihear temple is an example (see 2.5.1). There were also conflicts between some Southeast Asian countries before they became ASEAN members. In the early 1960s, Indonesia and Malaysia fought over their borders. In 1979, Vietnam and Cambodia fought a war and Vietnam occupied Cambodia until 1989.

Conflicts within and between countries are still an issue for ASEAN. ASEAN's principle of non-interference has often been criticised because it makes ASEAN unable to solve conflicts or disputes.

In 2021, ASEAN began a process to try and help resolve the political crisis in Myanmar that began in February 2021. It has been criticised by many people. Some say that is has not followed its own rules, and has tried to interfere in Myanmar's politics. Others say that it should become more involved so that the crisis can end more quickly.

preview

- 1. What is a separatist conflict?
- 2. What separatist conflicts are happening in Southeast Asia?
- 3. What is a territorial dispute?
- 4. What territorial disputes are happening in Southeast Asia?



■ A Thai soldier in the south of Thailand, where a separatist conflict has been ongoing since 2004. More than 7,000 people have died in the conflict.

- 1. What was the goal of the Free Aceh Movement?
- 2. What was the outcome of this dispute?
- 3. What may stop ASEAN being able to help countries who have separatist and territorial issues?
- 4. What criticism has ASEAN faced about its role in the political crisis in Myanmar?

exercise

Do you think the Acehnese people were satisfied with the peace agreement? Why or why not?



- Where is the South China Sea?
- 2. Which ASEAN countries are in the South China Sea?

3.3.1 The South China Sea Disputes

Countries often claim that they own an area of land or sea, Claims to the sea. Claims to the sea are called maritime claims. Because many Southeast Asian countries have coasts (or are islands) there are maritime claims from several ASEAN countries.

The South China sea is located between China, Vietnam, Malaysia, Brunei and the Philippines. All those countries have maritime claims to parts of the sea or islands in the sea. The disputes are mostly about access to fishing, oil and gas under the sea, and shipping and trade routes. Many of the claims also focus on two island groups: the Paracel Islands, southeast of China's Hainan Island, and the Spratly Islands, north of Brunei.

China's claim is the biggest. It claims almost all of the South China Sea and the islands in it. Vietnam's claim also covers much of the same area as China's. Other claims are much smaller. Brunei, for example, claims only an area of sea northwest of Brunei.

exercise

Are these statements true or false? If false, say why.

- 1. The disputes are about tourism and pollution in the area.
- 2. Vietnam's claim is the biggest.
- 3. Many of the claims are in the same area as China's.
- 4. The blue line on the map shows Malaysia's claim.
- 5. The purple line on the map shows the Philippines' claim.





What do you think ASEAN's role is in the South China Sea disputes?

3.3.2 ASEAN's Role in the Disputes

In 2002 ASEAN and China agreed to a *Declaration of Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea* (DOC). The DOC described how nations should behave until the disputes are settled. It called for peaceful behaviour in the sea. Negotiations have continued between ASEAN and China to create a **code of conduct** with guidelines for nations in the South China Sea. However, confrontations in the South China Sea have become more aggressive. In 2014, Chinese and Vietnamese ships collided during confrontations. In 2015, China started building an airfield on the Spratly Islands.

In 2011 and 2012, ASEAN held talks to try to solve the disputes between its members and China. However, ASEAN countries are divided about the issue. Some are not interested and want good relations and trade with China. Other ASEAN countries have strong feelings about their claims. In the end, the talks failed.

In 2013, the Philippines challenged China in an international court established under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. In 2016, the court ruled that China's historical claims to the Spratly Islands had no legal basis. However, China has not recognised the court's decision.

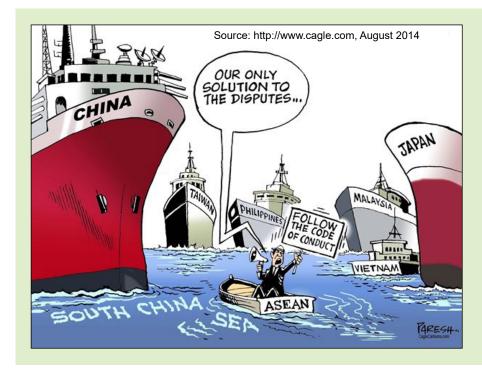
Because of the conflicts over the South China Sea, ASEAN looks weak and divided. It has not made China change its policies about the disputed areas.

The USA has also become interested in the South China Sea recently. It does not want China's military to become too powerful in the area. Because of this, it wants to work more closely with some ASEAN nations and their militaries. However, there is no official ASEAN agreement with the USA on South China Sea issues.

Many of the disputes are about exploration for oil and gas in the sea. However, fishing is also very important to the lives of many people in maritime Southeast Asia. As their populations increase, most of those countries will want more access to the natural resources in the South China Sea. If ASEAN cannot help to resolve these disputes, they will probably continue for a long time.

- 1. What was the purpose of the 2002 Declaration of Conduct between ASEAN and China?
- 2. What events have increased tensions in the South China Sea?
- 3. Why were the disputes not settled in 2011 and 2012?
- 4. According to the text, does China now accept ASEAN countries' arguments about the South China Sea?
- 5. According to the text, how have the disputes affected the image of ASEAN internationally?

exercise

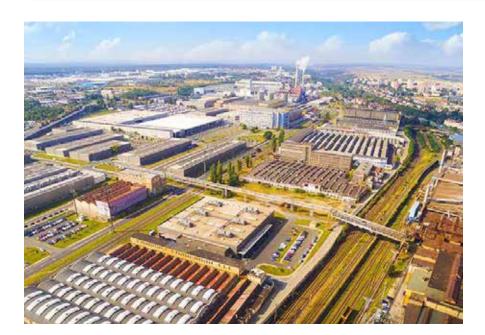


activity

Interpreting – a Newspaper Cartoon

- 1. What does the cartoon mean?
- 2. What is it saying about the different actors in the situation?

- 1. Do the South China Sea disputes affect your country?
- 2. Will consensus decision making and non-interference help solve these disputes? Why?
- 3. Why do you think the South China Sea area is so important for so many countries?
- 4. Are there any territorial disputes involving your country?
- 5. Are there any separatist conflicts in your country?





- 1. What is free market capitalism?
- 2. What is a special economic zone?

■ Above left: There are many SEZs in Southeast Asia; Centre: Factories in SEZs produce cheap consumer goods for large corporations like Adidas and Disney; Right: A protest by a labour rights group about working conditions in an SEZ.

3.4 Free Market Capitalism

Free market capitalism has become the dominant economic system in the world. In the past, countries often tried to protect local businesses and industries from outside competition. Today, most countries are part of the global capitalist economy. Countries in Southeast Asia, even communist ones, want to encourage foreign investment. They are all trying to make their economies grow and create more jobs for their people. However, the goal of **corporations** is to make money. Many Southeast Asian countries provide opportunities for corporations to make profits from their investment.

Special economic zones (SEZs) are areas inside a country where laws about working conditions and wages are different from the rest of that country. SEZs increase trade, foreign investment and new jobs in the country by attracting corporations to set up production there. To encourage businesses to work in an SEZ, the government makes policies about wages, working conditions, regulations and taxes that are good for businesses.

Because of these policies, wages for people working in SEZs often stay low, and workers usually have fewer labour rights. For example, they may not be allowed to form unions and they may have to work long hours in poor and dangerous conditions.

exercise

- 1. Why are SEZs good for a country?
- 2. Why are SEZs good for businesses?
- 3. What are the advantages and disadvantages for workers in SEZs?





FOCUS ON ... INDONESIA SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONES IN INDONESIA

Indonesia has nine special economic zones (SEZs) but the Indonesian government wants to open seven more. It wants to create more jobs in the country and increase economic growth.

The President, Joko Widodo, wants foreign investment to come into the country because the government does not have much money itself. Indonesian SEZs give cheap labour to



foreign investors, but they also offer other benefits. Foreign investors pay very little tax for ten years, and in the future they may be able to buy land and houses in the SEZs.

Indonesia's economic growth is slow at the moment. Other ASEAN countries, such as Cambodia and Vietnam, can offer cheaper labour and less regulations for investors.

Source: http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/indonesia-seeking-investors-to-build-sezs

- 1. Why is Indonesia trying to open more SEZs?
- 2. How does Indonesia make its SEZ competitive to investors?
- 3. Why is it difficult for Indonesia to increase economic and job growth?
- 1. Are SEZs a good or a bad thing? Why?
- 2. Are SEZs necessary? Why?
- 3. Do the people working in the SEZs benefit from them? Why?

- 1. What is a free trade agreement?
- 2. What is an open border?

3.4.1 Free Trade and Open Borders

A tariff is a tax on the import of goods. Governments place tariffs on imports so that it is hard for foreign corporations to sell their goods cheaply inside the country. This is called "protectionism" because the government tries to protect jobs and industries inside the country from foreign competition.

Free trade is the opposite of protectionism. It lowers or reduces tariffs and encourages competition. This is often done through free trade agreements. FTAs are official documents between two or more countries. They agree to lower or remove tariffs and often have other agreements, for example about labour, taxes and government powers.



ASEAN hopes to increase trade and develop ASEAN countries' economies through removing tariffs, ending protectionism and making FTAs. The *ASEAN Free Trade Area* (AFTA) has reduced tariffs between ASEAN countries.

ASEAN has also made FTAs with countries outside Southeast Asia. For example, ASEAN has a FTA with China, and a FTA with Australia and New Zealand.

Another important part of economic integration is open borders. This means that people can move freely to other countries and compete for jobs based on their skills and experience. ASEAN planned to have an open border by the end of 2015. However, ASEAN countries all have different **immigration** rules, so this may not happen for many years.

SEZs, FTAs and open borders make it easier to do business internationally. Businesses choose where to invest, based on the cost of goods and services in different countries. They can then compete with businesses in other countries.

exercise

Are these sentences true or false? If false, say why.

- 1. Free trade agreements increase tariffs on imported goods.
- 2. An open border is an agreement between nations about tariffs on goods.
- 3. ASEAN has made free trade agreements with other nations.

Classifying - Advantages and Disadvantages of FTAs

Classify the scenarios into advantages and disadvantages of FTAs.

activity

- Corporations have to compete. They try to pay lower wages and give fewer benefits to workers. This often happens in developing countries without strict labour laws.
- Imported goods, clothes, food and entertainment that come into a country with free trade may replace the traditional culture of the country.
- 3. Businesses and governments negotiate FTAs privately so citizens do not know what is agreed until later.
- When countries integrate and sign FTAs, they rely more on each other economically. They cannot afford to create conflict, because conflict will harm trade and damage their economies.
- 5. Countries and corporations compete more, so the price of goods gets lower.
- Because factories can make things more efficiently, they need fewer people to work in them.
- 7. Corporations bring new technology, computers, machinery, or business practices when they set up business in less developed countries.

- Workers in some factories might not be well trained or paid and the quality of goods they produce may be lower.
- Because corporations must compete to keep production costs low, they will spend less money on environmental protection.
- 10. It is more difficult for governments to intervene in business or the economy if there is free trade and free movement of people and goods.

Sources: http://www.ehow.com/about_4777659_pros-cons-free-trade.html, http://www.wisegeek.com/what-are-the-pros-and-cons-of-free-trade.htm,



activity

Interpreting – a Newspaper Cartoon

- 1. What does this cartoon mean?
- 2. Is the cartoonist for or against free trade? Why?

1. Who benefits most from free trade agreements?

- 2. Who benefits most from open borders?
- 3. Is it good or bad to remove import tariffs from goods?
- 4. Are there any problems or dangers with open borders?
- 5. Are there any problems or dangers with FTAs?

- 1. On what issues might the USA and China have disagreements?
- 2. Why might they disagree about these?



Freedom of Navigation

Freedom of navigation means that any ship, from any country, can sail in international waters and use any port. Freedom of navigation is a right under the *United Nations Convention* on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). This agreement has been signed by 157 countries, including China. The US, however, has not signed it.

3.5 US-China Rivalry

Economic and military competition between the United States and the People's Republic of China has increased in recent years. Both countries are developing advanced technology for military purposes, surveillance and spying on each other. They are also competing for economic influence around the world, including in East Asia and Southeast Asia.

One issue between the USA and China in the Southeast and East Asia regions is China's claims to the South China Sea (see 3.3.1) The USA has sent navy ships through the South China Sea to enforce what it calls "freedom of **navigation**". This is to challenge China's claims in the sea.

Another issue is China's threats towards Taiwan (China says that Taiwan is a breakaway province of China). The USA has said that it would help Taiwan if China tried to invade and reclaim the island.

The **rivalry** between the two global superpowers is creating challenges for the countries of Southeast Asia. The governments of most ASEAN countries are trying to maintain good relations with both China and the USA. However, some have developed closer relations with China, and others are closer to the USA. For example:

- Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia and Brunei have tried to balance relations between the two superpowers.
- Cambodia and Laos have grown closer to China through economic relations and China's investment and loans.
- The Philippines has some small northern islands close to Taiwan and has close military relations with the USA. Vietnam has improved its relations with the USA recently because of tensions with China over the South China Sea.

The relations of different ASEAN countries with the USA or China are often influenced by their economic relations with the two superpowers. China is ASEAN's biggest trading partner. It has invested in infrastructure, including transport and construction in ASEAN countries through its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The BRI is China's global development strategy, with investment in infrastructure projects in more than 150 countries. China is also the most powerful member of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). The RCEP is a free trade agreement, established in 2020. The RCEP includes all ASEAN countries plus China, Japan, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand.

In 2022, the USA announced the creation of the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity (IPEF). Seven ASEAN countries plus the US, India, Australia, Japan, South Korea and New Zealand have expressed interest in IPEF, but it is in its early stages and is not a free trade agreement like RCEP. The RCEP and IPEF show how

economic competition between the USA and China involves and influences ASEAN countries.

Concerns in Southeast Asia about conflict between China and the USA have led to some leaders and observers using a saying: "when elephants fight, the grass gets trampled". However, some observers also point out that ASEAN's good relations and diplomacy with both superpowers could help them to improve relations and avoid conflict.

- 1. What are examples of the increasing competition between the USA and China?
- 2. In what locations in Asia are there tensions between the USA and China?
- 3. What has influenced the Philippines' closer relations with the USA?
- 4. What is a reason for Vietnam's concerns about China?
- 5. What has influenced Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Myanmar?
- 6. What does the BRI do?
- 7. What are differences between the RCEP and the IPEF?
- 8. What does the saying "when the elephants fight, the grass gets trampled" mean?

exercise



activity

Interpreting – A Newspaper Cartoon

What does this cartoon suggest about US-China relations and ASEAN countries?

Source: https://www.scmp.com/comment/opinion/article/3204418/how-steer-us-and-china-away-conflict-asean-showed-us

- 1. Do you think the USA and China will resolve their rivalry? Why or why not?
- 2. What can ASEAN do about its position on US-China rivalry?

- 1. Is there much inequality between ASEAN nations?
- 2. What causes inequality between ASEAN nations?

3.6 Economic Inequality

3.6.1 Inequality Between ASEAN Nations

Economic inequality is the gap between the rich and the poor. There are both rich and poor countries in ASEAN. ASEAN calls these differences "development gaps". Some experts talk about a "two-tier" economic structure in ASEAN. This means there are high income countries and low income countries. Other experts say that ASEAN has a "three-tier" structure, with high, middle and low income countries.

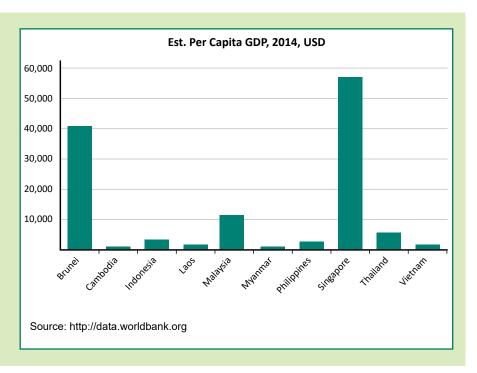
One way of comparing inequality between ASEAN countries is to look at per capita GDP (see 2.5.3 for more information). For example, in 2014, the per capita GDP in Singapore was \$56,000. In Cambodia, the per capita GDP was only \$1,078.



activity

Interpreting Data – Inequality between ASEAN Nations

- Look at the GDP data in the chart. Would you categorise ASEAN countries as
 - a. high income and low income (a two-tier economy) or;
 - b. high, middle and low income (a three-tier economy)?
- 2. Give reasons for your answer.



Factors Influencing Inequality

Many factors influence whether a country experiences faster or slower development. For example, the levels of peace and stability, the amount of natural resources and foreign investment can all have an effect.

Original ASEAN member nations, such as Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia, have good hospitals, high-speed internet and public transport. Many people in rural Myanmar, Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia, however, still have no access to modern health care, clean water or modern communications.

Overall in Southeast Asia, GDP has grown and poverty has been reduced in recent years. However, this has not reduced the inequalities between ASEAN nations, and poorer ASEAN nations still lack the infrastructure of wealthier nations.

■ ASEAN inequality? **Left:** Singapore by night; **Below:** A remote village in Laos.



Faster Development	Slower Development	Both

activity

Classifying – Factors that Affect Development

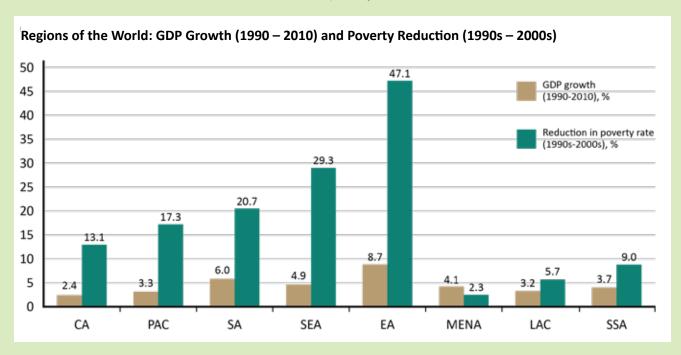
- 1. Classify the factors into their effects on development.
- 2. Discuss these factors and their effects.

- a. Worked closely with capitalist countries during the Cold War
- b. Natural resources to export
- c. Strategic location close to important trade routes
- d. Early independence
- e. Investment in education and healthcare
- f. Little money spent on modernising industries
- g. Bad government policies and practices (corruption, etc.)
- h. High gender equality
- i. Worked closely with communist countries during the Cold War
- j. Internal conflicts and civil wars in the country
- k. Poor physical infrastructure (bad roads, railway lines, etc.)

activity

Interpreting Data – GDP Growth and Poverty Reduction

- 1. How much did GDP grow in Southeast Asia between 1990 and 2010?
- 2. How much did poverty decrease in Southeast Asia between the 1990s and 2000s?
- 3. Which region of the world saw greater poverty reduction?
- 4. How do South Asia, Southeast Asia and East Asia compare in terms of poverty reduction?



CA = Central Asia; EA = East Asia; GDP = gross domestic product; LAC = Latin America and the Caribbean; MENA = Middle East and North Africa; PAC = Pacific; SA = South Asia; SEA = Southeast Asia; SSA = Sub-Saharan Africa.

Sources: *Inequality in Asia and the Pacific*, Kanbur et al, Asia Development Bank, p27 http://www.economywatch.com/economic-statistics/country/Developing-Asia/

Covid-19 and Inequality

The Asia Development Bank estimates that over nine million people in Southeast Asia lost their jobs during the Covid-19 pandemic of 2020-2022. Many of these jobs were in the hospitality industry (hotels, bars, restaurants, etc.). Because ASEAN countries have very different economies, the effects of Covid-19 were different in each country. Some countries, such as Thailand, rely on tourism and hospitality. Singapore, however, has a large financial sector and many people could work from home.

It is not yet clear what the long-term effects of Covid-19 will be on ASEAN countries' economies. However, Covid-19 has impacted every country in the world. Its effects on global trade and globalisation will be felt for many years.

The Results of Inequality

One result of inequality is differences in life expectancy. People in richer countries have better health and better access to education. Therefore, people in richer countries generally live longer than people in poorer countries.

Another result of inequality is weaker infrastructure. Roads and railways in poorer countries are not as good, and they have fewer skilled engineers. Weak infrastructure can slow development and stop foreign investment. For successful economic integration and development, ASEAN needs roads to connect Southeast Asia to other countries. For example, there is a need for roads to connect China to India, through Myanmar.

However, it is possible for poorer countries to develop faster than wealthier countries. Labour is cheaper, there are fewer regulations and taxes are often lower. Corporations will try to invest in those countries so they can make bigger profits.

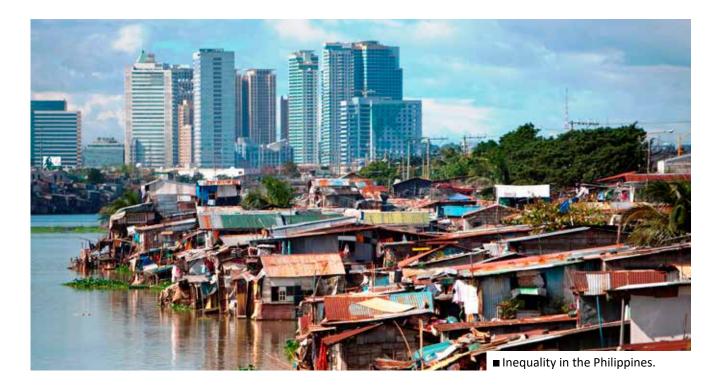


■ A homeless person in Chiang Mai, Thailand. Thailand has seen a rise in homelessness since the Covid-19 pandemic. Many people there lost their jobs and homes during the pandemic.

- 1. How has Covid-19 affected ASEAN countries' economies?
- 2. Why have the economic effects of Covid-19 been different across ASEAN?
- 3. What socio-cultural impacts does inequality have on nations?
- 4. What economic impacts does inequality have?
- 5. Why do developing countries sometimes have an economic advantage over more developed ones?

exercise

- 1. Should richer ASEAN nations help poorer countries to improve their infrastructure?
- 2. If richer ASEAN nations help poorer nations to develop their economies and infrastructure, should richer nations have more decision-making power within ASEAN?
- 3. According to the text, the effects of Covid-19 on other countries also affect ASEAN nations. How and why?
- 4. What economic effects of the Covid-19 pandemic have you seen around you? What caused them?



preview

- 1. Is there much inequality in your country?
- 2. What factors cause inequality in your country?

3.6.2 Inequality Within ASEAN Nations

Inequality *between* ASEAN countries is decreasing but inequality *within* countries is not. For example, there are gaps between the wealth of rural and urban people, and between more-educated and less-educated people. Also, most of the wealth from new businesses and factories goes to people who are already rich because they can afford to buy or invest in them.

The richest people are often business owners, political leaders, and government or military officials. The table below shows the share of the total income held by three groups in society: the highest-income 20%, the second highest-income 20%, and the lowest-income 20% in seven ASEAN nations.

activity

Interpreting Data – Inequality within ASEAN Nations

- Choose one of the countries in the table and describe what the data is saying about inequality in that country.
- 2. Choose two of the countries in the table and compare them. What differences are there?
- 3. Look at the whole table and decide what the overall trend is in those ASEAN nations.

Total income held by different groups in society over periods of years								
Country	Years		Income share,		Income share,		Income share,	
	Reported		highest 20%		second 20%		lowest 20%	
	Initial	Final	Initial	Final	Initial	Final	Initial	Final
	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year
Cambodia	2004	2007	49.4	51.7	10.0	9.4	6.9	6.5
Indonesia	2002	2005	39.6	42.8	13.0	12.0	9.5	8.3
Lao PDR	2002	2008	41.6	44.8	12.3	11.3	8.5	7.6
Malaysia	2004	2007	44.8	51.4	10.8	8.7	6.5	4.7
Philippines	2000	2009	52.3	49.7	8.7	9.4	5.3	6.0
Thailand	2000	2008	50.0	47.7	9.6	10.1	6.2	6.6
Vietnam	2002	2008	45.6	43.4	10.9	11.5	7.5	7.4

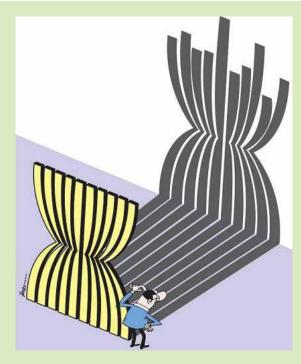
Source: http://www.voxeu.org/article/asean-does-convergence-mean-polarisation

Integration and Inequality

Some experts believe that ASEAN economic integration will increase inequality between ASEAN nations. They think it might also increase inequality within ASEAN countries. Some of the reasons for this are:

- Salaries for highly skilled workers will increase faster than unskilled workers;
- Many jobs will be in construction;
- Many jobs will go to migrant workers;
- Some ASEAN countries have large populations of young people and others have large populations of older people;
- Some countries will be able to offer cheaper labour than other countries.

Other economists believe economic integration in ASEAN will reduce inequality. They say integration will encourage businesses to set up production networks across the ASEAN region. That will lower costs for these businesses and create more jobs. Inequality will reduce because people will earn more money in those jobs.



activity

Interpreting – a Newspaper Cartoon

- 1. What is the cartoon saying about equality in ASEAN?
- 2. Design a cartoon about inequality.

Source: Asean Integration Remains an Illusion, The Straits Times (Singapore), March 2015

Look at the reasons for increased inequality (above) and discuss the questions.

- 1. Which of the reasons will affect your country? How?
- 2. Which people or groups will be affected negatively?
- 3. Which people or groups will be affected positively?
- 4. Which of the reasons will affect you and your family? How?





preview

- 1. List the drugs you know.
- 2. What kinds of problems can drugs cause?
- 3. Why do criminal gangs produce and sell drugs?

3.7 Drugs

Drugs affect people's health, mood and behaviour. They can make people feel sick, well, happy, sad, angry, awake or sleepy. Some drugs are made from plants like the areca nut (betel), marijuana (cannabis) or opium. Other drugs like methamphetamine (speed or *yaba/yama*) are made using chemicals.

Coffee, tea, betel, alcohol and tobacco are widely used drugs. They are usually legal, although alcohol is banned in some Muslim countries.

Heroin and methamphetamine are examples of illegal drugs. Governments make these drugs illegal because of health problems and crime associated with them. People sometimes become addicted and commit crime to get money for drugs. Violent criminals often sell the drugs. Some governments in Western Europe and North America have made some drugs legal. This is to stop criminals making money from selling them. Also, it may be easier for drug addicts to get help if the drug is legal.

Governments in Southeast Asia have arrested a lot of drug users and drug smugglers. Courts in Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam and Singapore have given the death penalty to drug smugglers. However, the amount of methamphetamine smuggled across borders in the ASEAN region has increased almost four times since 2008.

Drugs can have serious public health impacts. The HIV virus is spread from person to person through bodily fluids, such as blood. People who inject drugs (such as heroin and methamphetamine) sometimes use the same needles. If someone with HIV has used a needle, the virus can enter the blood of the next user of the needle.





In Indonesia, 36% of people who inject drugs (methamphetamine or heroin) are HIV-positive. In Cambodia, nearly 25% of injecting drug users are HIV-positive. In Myanmar and Thailand, the rate is 22%.

Drugs also cause economic problems. In Shan State in Myanmar, some farmers depend on growing opium. They usually sell the harvested opium to armed groups. These groups then make it into heroin to sell in other countries. The heroin is worth lots of money when it is resold. The United Nations has tried to get farmers to grow other types of crops (such as coffee, garlic or cocoa) instead of opium. However, most other crops do not sell for as much money and the farmers often continue growing opium.

In June 2022, Thailand made marijuana legal. There have also been discussions in Malaysia about making it legal there too. In Singapore, however, drug law are still strictly enforced. In mid 2022, human rights groups criticised the Singaporean government's executions of eight people who were convicted of drug smuggling.

ASEAN sees drugs as a threat to security and stability. The *ASEAN Senior Officials on Drug Matters* (ASOD) group meets every year to discuss ASEAN policies on drugs. The ASEAN way to deal with drugs has been through cooperation between governments, police and security forces.

■ Above, from left: Opium poppies, used to make heroin; migrant workers injecting heroin in Kachin State, Myanmar; A protest against the execution of a Malaysian man in Singapore in. He was found guilty of heroin smuggling in 2010 and executed by the Singaporean government in 2022.

Are the sentences true or false? If false, say why.

- 1. All drugs are illegal in ASEAN countries.
- 2. Injecting drugs can cause health problems.
- 3. Opium farmers make more money than gangs who sell heroin.
- 4. Marijuana was made legal in Malaysia in 2022.
- 5. Drug smugglers in Singapore have recently been executed.

exercise

activity

Inferring – Singapore's Position on Drugs

- What important ideas in ASEAN does Mr Masogos speak about?
- 2. What is the "liberal approach towards drugs" that he talks about?



As members of the ASEAN community, we respect every country's rights and responsibilities. Each country can decide on the best approach to the drug problem. We also must respect the decision of those who choose not to have the liberal approach towards drugs. Those who choose to stand firm, to stand together, to say that this approach is not for us.

(simplified text)

Masagos Zulfiki, Minister in the Prime Minister's Office, Singapore. Speaking at the 36th Annual meeting of the ASEAN Senior Officials on Drug Matters.



In the early 2000s some armed groups in Myanmar changed from producing opium and heroin to making methamphetamine pills. They were easier to produce, and most were smuggled into and sold in Thailand.

In 2003, the Thai government declared a "war on drugs". The police were instructed



"to act decisively and without mercy." Some people were executed without any trial. Human rights groups estimated that 2,700 people were killed in anti-drug operations in Thailand in three months in 2003.

A Thai government report in 2007 showed that more than half of them were not involved with drug crime. Thousands of people were arrested and forced to have treatment for drug addiction in government-run centres. The campaign also affected programs trying to treat HIV among injecting drug users. People with HIV stayed away from the programs and did not receive treatment.

However, the war on drugs was popular with many citizens in Thailand at the time who were concerned by the rise in drug use. 65% of prisoners in Thailand's jails were there for drug offences. They are mostly small scale drug smugglers or drug users. Most of the time, powerful criminals and drug gang bosses did not go to prison. In 2015, the Thai Minister of Justice announced plans to change drug laws. He stated that the war on drugs and harsh anti-drug laws had led to police corruption, and prisons full of non-violent offenders who were mostly from poor communities.

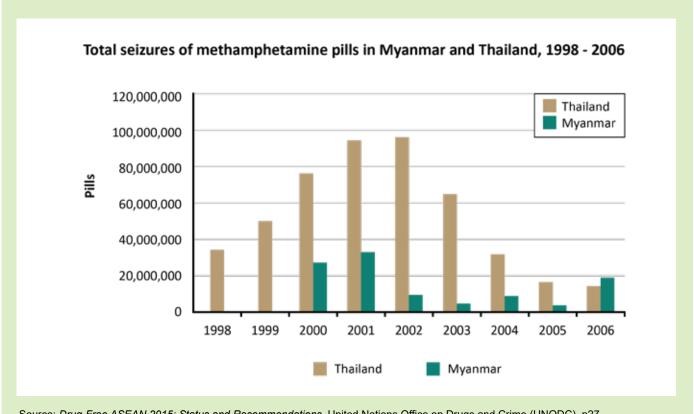
Sources: http://2bangkok.com/10-years-ago-this-month-thaksins-war-on-drugs.html http://www.thebody.com/content/art24963.html http://idpc.net/blog/2015/07/drug-law-reform-coming-to-thailand-but-how-far-will-it-go

- 1. What was the change in the type of drugs produced by armed groups in Myanmar?
- 2. What percentage of prisoners in Thailand were in prison for drug offences?
- 3. What were the problems with the "war on drugs" in Thailand?

Interpreting Data – Drug Seizures by Year

activity

- 1. What year was the most methamphetamine seized?
- 2. Why was so much seized in that year?
- 3. What are some possible reasons for the lower numbers of seizures in 2005 and 2006?



Source: Drug-Free ASEAN 2015: Status and Recommendations, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), p27

- 1. Should illegal drugs be made legal? Why or why not?
- 2. What could ASEAN do to reduce drug-related problems?

preview

What are the most important environmental issues in ASEAN?

3.8 Environmental Problems

3.8.1 Cross-Border Haze Pollution

Haze pollution over Southeast Asia happens every year. Fires are used to clear land for farming and palm oil **plantations**. Palm oil is used in the manufacture of cooking oil, processed foods, soap, bio-diesel and other products. Most of the smoke in the haze clouds comes from large fires on Sumatra and Borneo in Indonesia.

In 2002, ASEAN created the *Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution*. Most ASEAN members joined the agreement between 2003 and 2006. Indonesia, where most of the smoke was from, did not join the transboundary haze agreement until 2014.



■ Haze pollution from fires over Southeast Asia, September 2015.

When a large haze cloud happened in 2015, Malaysia and Singapore offered assistance to Indonesia to put the fires. Indonesia refused their help. Indonesia said it could deal with the problem itself. Indonesia eventually sent soldiers and firefighters to try to stop the fires.

The Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution is supposed to be a legal document, but ASEAN has no court system or power to force a member country do anything. Additionally, because of ASEAN's focus on non-interference, it could not directly deal with the problem.

exercise

- 1. What causes haze pollution?
- 2. Which country causes most of the problem?
- 3. Which industries are involved in creating the haze pollution problem?

- 1. Is the principle of non-interference helpful in this situation?
- 2. What can ASEAN do to solve this problem?

preview

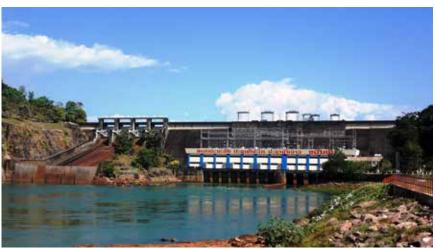
What is hydropower?

3.8.2 Hydropower Dams

The rapid growth of Southeast Asian countries has increased the demand for electricity. Hydropower makes electricity by putting dams on rivers to control the flow of the river. The water turns turbines, and they generate electricity.

The Mekong River runs through parts of mainland Southeast Asia. It begins in the Himalayan Mountains and flows through China, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam, to the South China Sea.

There are 17 large dams already on the Mekong River and eleven more dams are planned. There are also 134 smaller dams on its tributaries. Laos wants to become the "battery of ASEAN", by exporting electricity from hydropower.



ning

■ Nam Ngum 1 Dam, near

Vientiane, Laos.

There are also many dams built or planned on other rivers running through Myanmar. Myanmar needs reliable sources of electricity for its people and to grow its economy.

Supporters of hydropower say it is clean and causes less pollution than burning coal or oil. However, hydropower dams create problems. Over the past 60 years, the World Commission on Dams reports that 40 – 60 million people have been displaced by large dams. Often, the people forced from their homes are indigenous or small ethnic communities. Their way of life is threatened because their governments force them to move into the cities. Often they are farmers and cannot support themselves once they lose their land.

Dams are also a threat to fish. Fish are a source of food and income for people living downstream from dams. Additionally, dams change the level and courses of rivers. These changes affect the lives of people who live and grow crops on land close to the rivers.

- 1. What is a dam and how do they work?
- 2. What are the benefits of hydropower?
- 3. What problems do they cause?

exercise



Laos started building the Xayaburi dam in 2012. It was completed in 2019. Construction of the dam stopped temporarily in 2012 because of complaints about the dam from Cambodia and Vietnam. Thailand funded the construction of the dam and expects to buy around 95% of the electricity the dam produces. Cambodia is downstream from the dam. Since the dam was completed, changes downstream to river levels and flow have been reported. There are concerns about the loss of fish in the river because of the dam. However, Cambodia is also building dams on the river.



Local community-based and non-governmental organisations in Cambodia have asked ASEAN to discuss the Mekong dams at ASEAN Summits. However, ASEAN has maintained its non-interference position on the dams. Hydropower dams are a potential cause of regional disputes between ASEAN countries.

Sources: https://www.mdpi.com/2073-4441/13/3/265/htm http://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/ngos-issue-one-more-plea-stop-xayaburi https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/amid-hydropower-boom-laos-streams-ahead-on-latest-mekong-dam

- 1. Who benefits from the Xayaburi dam? How?
- 2. Who does the dam create problems for? How?

activity

- 1. Decide if each of the statements is for or against the building of hydropower dams in Southeast Asia.
- 2. Rank the statements, from the most to least important reasons.
- 3. Think of arguments that disagree with each statement.
- 4. What other arguments for or against hydropower can you add?
- a. "Hydropower is clean because it does not burn coal or oil to make electricity."
- b. "Sediment in rivers downstream from dams causes big floods."
- c. "Hydropower doesn't make gases that cause global warming."
- d. "Fishing areas used by people are destroyed."
- e. "Dams on rivers are the only way to make enough electricity for Southeast Asia."
- f. "Countries can make money by selling electricity to their neighbours."

- 1. What is more important, clean energy for humans (not from oil or gas) or the fish and other animals in the rivers?
- 2. What is more important, clean energy for everyone, or the rights of people who live near dam sites?
- 3. Why is it important to Laos to become the "battery of ASEAN'?

3.8.3 Deforestation

Almost all of the land in Southeast Asia used to be covered in forest. Today less than half of Southeast Asia is still covered in forest. Forests in Southeast Asia have rapidly declined over the last fifty years. The remaining forests are disappearing at the rate of 1.2% per year. The main causes of deforestation are: logging of timber for export, cutting down forests for agriculture and palm oil plantations, and large infrastructure projects like dams.

Rapid economic development in ASEAN countries means land is being cleared to meet demands for resources. Forests are cut down for timber, and to grow coffee, palm oil and rubber. For example, many of the forests in Vietnam have been cut down to make furniture for export. The trees have been replaced by coffee plants. In less than ten years, Vietnam has become number two in global coffee production.

Much of the logging of forests in Southeast Asia is illegal. However, the laws against illegal logging in ASEAN countries are often weak or they are not enforced because of corruption.

preview

What is deforestation?

■ A rice paddy on deforested land, Thailand.

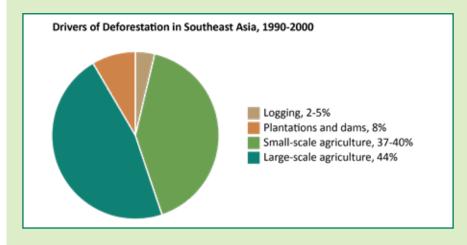


- 1. Which industries are involved in deforestation?
- 2. How are haze pollution, dams and deforestation linked?

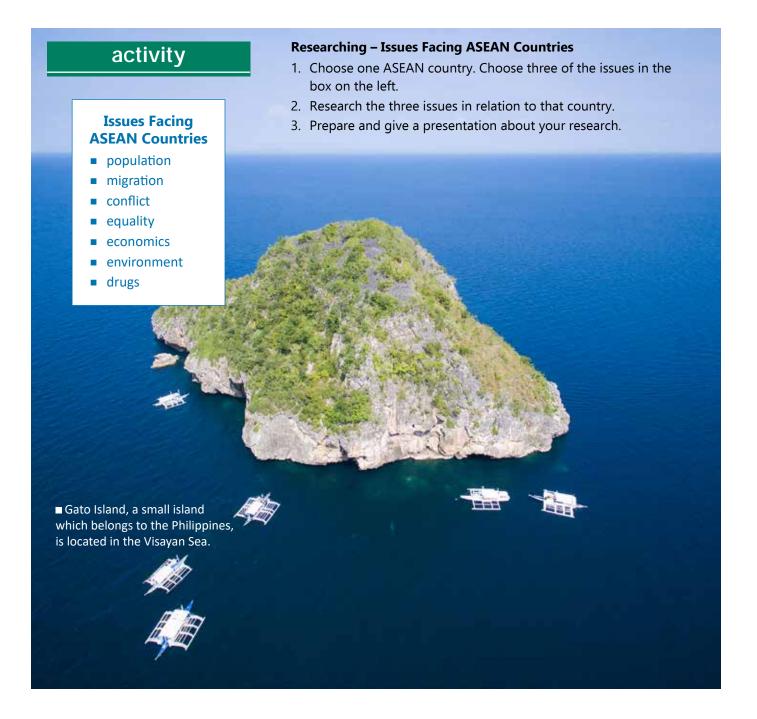
exercise

Interpreting Data – Deforestation in ASEAN

- 1. What is the leading cause of deforestation in Southeast Asia?
- 2. What does the pie chart tell us about the link between deforestation and other issues discussed in this chapter?



activity



- 1. What should ASEAN prioritise, the environment or economic development? Why?
- 2. Should ASEAN change its rules on non-interference for environmental issues? Why or why not?
- 3. Will more economic development be good or bad for the environment? Why?
- 4. What can people do to look after their environment better?

Group Project: Our ASEAN, A Photo Essay

- 1. In groups, discuss the questions.
 - a. A photo essay is a set of photos that tell a story about a community, an event, or an issue. What issue and community are shown in the photo essay on the next page?
 - b. What do you feel when you look at this set of pictures?
 - c. What do you think the photographer is telling you?
 - d. How does the photographer make the photos different from each other?
 - e. How is it related to what you have learned about ASEAN?
 - f. What would be a good title for this photo essay?
- 2. In groups, make a photo essay.
 - Choose one of these topics (or think of your own):

i. Youth In ASEAN

Who are the young people of your area in Southeast Asia? What do they like to do? What challenges do they face?

ii. What ASEAN Needs To Know About Our Community

What issues does your community need help with? Or, what has your community done to make it a good example for others in Southeast Asia?

iii. How Globalisation Has Affected Our Community

Has your life changed because of decisions or policies made by other ASEAN countries? What is the impact of these changes—is it positive or negative, or both?

- Choose a local issue or event to tell a story about this theme.
- Take a lot of photos of your issue or event.
- Choose five ten photos which best tell your story
- Write a caption of 30 50 words for each photo.
- Choose a title for your story
- 3. Publish your story, either on social media or as a poster.

How to Create an Interesting Photo Essay – Tips

- Take a lot of photos more than you need. Choose the best photos for the story from them.
- Use your best picture as your first photo in the story.
- Use different angles: standing up to take your photos, sitting or laying down, or standing over or under your subject.
- Use different distances: close-up pictures, with details, or landscape photos that show a whole scene.
- Use different lighting: bright sunlight, early morning, evening, indoors, outdoors. Different light shows different feelings.
- When you write captions, tell the viewer what they are seeing, but also give background on the issue.



Moken women in Ranong, Thailand look for clams on the seashore while their husbands are out fishing. There are 2,000 - 3,000 Moken in total.

The Moken people used to live on the sea. Many of them now live on the land. Moken people live in Thailand and Myanmar. They are marginalised in both countries.



Fishing is a traditional livelihood. But now Moken fishermen must compete against bigger Thai fishing companies to get the same fish. These corporations sell throughout Southeast Asia and the world. It is more difficult for locals doing small-scale fishing to get enough fish to survive. Sometimes, the Moken can only catch enough fish to eat, not to sell, so they cannot get money for other things they need.



Moken children cross a river on a raft to get to school, because there is no bridge. They are the only people in their village who can read and write Thai, and the first to attend government school. It is difficult for the Moken to develop their communities, because most cannot communicate in their country's main language.



The World Bank reports that access to electricity in Thailand is 100 percent, but Moken children sit by candlelight in the evening in Ranong. Thailand imports large amounts of electric power from neighbouring countries. These children wonder if, one day, electricity will be distributed to their village.

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77	Freemalaysiatoday.com	Unknown	https://www.freemalaysiatoday.com/category/nation/2022/04/26/ nagaenthran-death-sentence-a-horrible-blotch-on-singapores- image-says-branson/	
81	Chaoborus	Le barrage Nam Ngum 1, sur le Nam Ngum, au Laos.	https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berkas:Nam_Ngum_1_Dam.JPG	CC-BY-SA 3.0
83	Takeaway	Rice paddies and recently cleared forest land in Amphoe Mae Chaem	https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chiang_mai_province_road_1263.jpg	CC BY 3.0
84	Gato Island aerial photo	Tol.lynx	https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Gato_Island#/media/File:Gato_Island.jpg	CC-BY-SA 4.0

Credit where it's due:

Mote Oo Education would like to thank everyone involved in this project. Without you all, it would never have been possible. Below is a list of those who have worked on this project (in alphabetical order).

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Universal Declaration of Human Rights

- 1. All human beings are born equal with freedom, dignity, reason and conscience.
- 2. Everyone has the rights in this declaration regardless of race, gender, colour, language or political beliefs.
- 3. Right to life, liberty and security.
- 4. Right to freedom from slavery.
- 5. Right to freedom from torture, cruel, inhuman, or degrading punishment.
- 6. Right to recognition as a person before the law.
- 7. Right to equality and protection before the law.
- 8. Right to compensation for violation of fundamental rights.
- 9. Right to be free from arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.
- 10. Right to a fair and public hearing (trial).
- 11. Right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty.
- 12. Right to privacy and freedom from interference in home and family.
- 13. Right to freedom of movement and residence and to leave or return to a country.
- 14. Right to seek asylum from persecution.
- 15. Right to nationality.
- 16. Right to freedom of consenting marriage and equality within marriage.

- 17. Right to own property and not be arbitrarily deprived of it.
- 18. Right to freedom of thought, conscience and religious beliefs.
- 19. Right to freedom of opinion, expression and to give or receive information.
- 20. Right to freedom of assembly and association.
- 21. Right to political participation and to vote.
- 22. Right to social security, economic, social and cultural development.
- 23. Right to employment, fair working conditions, equal pay and to join unions.
- 24. Right to rest, leisure and holidays.
- 25. Right to an adequate standard of living, food, clothing, housing and medical care.
- 26. Right to free basic education that promotes understanding and tolerance.
- 27. Right to participation in cultural life, arts and sciences of the community.
- 28. Right to a social and international order that recognises these rights.
- 29. Everyone has duties and responsibilities to respect the rights and freedoms of others.
- 30. Nothing in this declaration permits acts that destroy any of the rights and freedoms established in it.

http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Pages/Language.aspx?LangID=eng

ASIA





