



CANDIDATE
NAME

CT GROUP

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NUMBER

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HISTORY

Paper 2 Making of Independent Southeast Asia
(Independence-2000)

9752/02

September 2021

3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

Write your **name** and **CT class** clearly in the spaces at the top of this page.

Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.

Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Section A

Attempt **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer **two** questions.

Please start **every question** on a *fresh* sheet of paper and label each question clearly.

If you did not manage to attempt a question, write down the question number on the cover page of the booklet you would have attempted.

At the end of the examination, **insert** any additional writing paper used for responses into the response booklet.

This document consists of **5** printed pages, including the coverpage.

The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.

Section A

You must answer Question 1.

ASEAN AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION

1. Read the sources and then answer the question.

Source A

Thai officials told us that neither an ASEAN free trade area nor any similar proposal was discussed during a just-concluded visit of President Marcos. Despite joint communique statements expressing "determination to explore all avenues for fruitful cooperation" and "to make ASEAN a working and dynamic organization" They in fact said that no substantive discussions were held on ASEAN other than working out of a communique.

It was speculated that the Southeast Asia Council for Development proposed by Marcos in Kuala Lumpur could possibly be a forum for discussions of such free trade area, but Thai officials said that Marcos had not even mentioned the council in his talks here.

The National Secretariat for ASEAN is not now considering any free trade area proposals for consideration by ASEAN standing committee.

~ A dispatch from the US Embassy in Thailand to the Department of State, 20 January 1968.

Source B

The idea of a free trade zone within ASEAN at the moment is 'taboo- and something leaders of the regional five do not discuss, Mr Lee Kuan Yew said. He told West German industrialists and journalists at a press conference in the Istana: "It is out of the question, we do not talk about it".

The Prime Minister said the term aroused immediately "tremendous emotional upset".

He added: "The idea of having to compete on par within ASEAN and having to open, to lower one's barriers of taxes and having factories wither away because they are inefficient and so on, immediately makes it a taboo word". He stressed that the first priority was to get on with what the regional association has agreed on – and that was the preferential trading agreement'.

~ An article from the Straits Times, 29 April 1977

Source C

1. Member states shall cooperate in the fields of trade in order to promote development and growth of new production and trade and to improve the trade structures of individual states and among countries of ASEAN conducive to further development and to safeguard and increase their foreign exchange earnings and reserves.
2. Member states shall progress towards the establishment of preferential trading arrangements as a long term objective on a basis deemed to be at any particular time appropriate through rounds of negotiations subject to the unanimous agreement of member states.

~ An extract from the ASEAN Concord, February 1976

Source D

	Percentage of ASEAN Imports		
	1970	1980	1990
Intra-ASEAN	11.8	13.2	16.3
Japan	25.6	21.7	23.6
Europe	44.7	43.5	53.7
Rest of the world	17.9	21.6	6.4

~ A table of trade statistics on ASEAN's economic integration, published in 2002

Source E

In 1988, ASEAN augmented the ASEAN Industrial Complementation programme with brand-to-brand complementation specifically for the automotive industry to enhance vertical foreign direct investment across ASEAN states. It provided a 50% percent tariff margin of preference for specified parts and components of vehicles of a particular brand traded among approved participants. Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand were the initial participants, joined later by Indonesia. The first such schemes were approved in 1989 with proposals from Mitsubishi, Volvo, and Mercedes-Benz, followed in 1990 by proposals from Toyota, Nissan, DAF (Belgium), Mitsubishi, and Volvo. The scheme was expanded in 1991 to cover non-automotive items as well.

~ An extract from an economic history of ASEAN, published in 2015

Source F

Still, intra-ASEAN trade did not grow much. Because of the coverage of the PTA was negotiated product by product, the tendency of the ASEAN member-countries, true to the protectionist spirit and import-substitution policies of the time, was to include mostly items that were not likely to be extensively traded. The inclusion of snow ploughs and nuclear reactors became the object of derision in knowing circles. The national exclusion lists were long. In any case, even with a margin of preference of 50 per cent, a PTA tariff would remain high if the most-favoured-nation tariff was set at a lofty level. Tariff rates were not brought down; those ASEAN products that were covered were only given 25 to 50 per cent discounts on high tariffs. At their 1991 meeting, the economic ministers observed that, while intra-ASEAN trade in items covered by the PTA had grown from \$121 million in 1987 to \$578 million in 1989, it accounted for an "insignificant" proportion of total intra-ASEAN trade.

~ An extract from a book by a former ASEAN Secretary-General, published in 2006

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence in Sources A and B about ASEAN members' attitudes towards economic integration. [10]
- (b) How far do Sources A-F show that ASEAN members made progress in economic cooperation from 1967-1991? [30]

Section B

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

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

EITHER

- 2 "A flawed solution to a complex challenge." How far do you agree with this verdict of the attempts by authoritarian Southeast Asian governments to maintain stability? [30]

OR

- 3 How far do you agree with the assertion that nation-building in Southeast Asia has failed to build nations out of colonies? [30]

AND

EITHER

- 4 To what extent were Southeast Asian governments driven by ideology in developing their economies after independence? [30]

OR

- 5 "Nothing but an unmitigated disaster." How far do you agree with this verdict of the Asian Financial Crisis? [30]

END OF PAPER

Acknowledgements:

Source A	Ang Cheng Guan and Eddie Lim, <i>ASEAN 1967-1999: A Documentary History</i> .
Source B	"Why ASEAN free trade zone is taboo," <i>The Straits Times</i> , 29 April 1977.
Source C	1976 Declaration of ASEAN Concord.
Source D	Batara Simatuping, "ASEAN's Free Trade Area" in <i>Regionalisation and Globalisation in the Modern World Economy</i> , 2002.
Source E	Siow Yue Chia, Michael G. Plummer <i>ASEAN Economic Cooperation and Integration</i> , 2015.
Source F	Rodolfo Severino, <i>Southeast Asia: In Search of an ASEAN Community</i> , 2006.
