

By AIU

Topic 1: SOUTHEAST ASIA

Was the use of culture in nation building more divisive or unifying in independent SEA states?

Stand

The use of culture in the region met varied outcomes but overall, it can be argued that this strategy was more unifying than divisive. Various cultural policies related to national culture, language and religion were employed and in most cases, an accommodating and multicultural approach was adopted.

Para 1

The creation of a national culture can aid in nation-building, but the values propagated would determine whether the national culture espoused was divisive or unifying.

Burma - burmanization to assimilate minorities into burman culture, schools had burman practices like buddhism, assimilative approach caused unrest from minorities

Thailand - Thai national culture and identity was overtly Thai, clear emphasis on buddhism, marginalised minorities such as Malay Muslims in the Pattani region. Rise of separatist movements such as the Pattani United Liberation Organisation - assimilative

In contrast, Indonesia - Pancasila national ideology. Belief in divine entity but not specifying any religion to reduce animosity between religious groups. Values such as social justice were also relevant and suggested the pursuit of equity.

Malaysia - adoption of Rukunegara in 1970 to heal the divide from the 1969 KL riots. Malaysian national ideology advocated national values such as belief in God, rule of law and good behaviour and morality regardless of ethnicity. - can be unifying if it is largely accommodative

Para 2

Another critical aspect of culture is language and contrasting outcomes of Burma and Malaysia highlight how it can be both divisive and unifying, depending on whether the government accords respect to minority cultures.

burma - priority given to teaching of burmese language, sidelining vernacular languages. in order to erode western culture, use of english was banned, further infuriating minorities, Karens established separate school system to preserve their culture

malaysia - selection of malay as national language was well-reasoned and hence accepted by minorities, complemented by protection of vernaculars, accomodating the needs of minorities, making them more likely to attend the national school system thus inculcating national values and ideals.

Elsewhere in Southeast Asia, governments select a neutral working language, or even a minority language as the national language. Such cultural strategies are also effective in uniting the nation.

singapore - english as working language effective in uniting the nation as english was widely accepted and fostered communication across groups. vernaculars taught actively in school to preserve culture of each ethnic group. policy of bilingualism, minimised animosity between groups. all 4 languages were recognized as official languages.

indonesia - bahasa indonesia as national language over the majority javanese, signalling the accommodating stance and assuage minority fears of javanisation.

Para 4 - again overlaps

Yet another cultural strategy utilised by Southeast Asian states is religion and the selected would determine whether it was divisive or unifying. The promotion of a majority religion often split the nation while advocating freedom of religion has the ability to unite.

burma - promoted buddhist religions against minority christians and muslims. government measures to repress minority culture through complicated processes for the building of religions monuments and newly built churches torn down. strengthened the resolve of ethnic nationalist and deepened the divide.

indonesia - recognized the five main faiths as equal and allowed the right to profess and practise their respective religions.

Para 5

Lastly, the treatment of culture in terms of how each was celebrated also determined its effect. In states where only majority culture is commemorated, cohesion remained elusive, but in states where multiculturalism is celebrated, unity was attainable.

thailand - various buddhist celebrations were commemorated while other religious holidays were not included as national holidays

singapore - multiculturalism is well practised with celebrations such as racial harmony day, important religious festivals are mandated as public holidays allowing singaporeans to preserve their culture and carry out their practices freely

- Accommodation vs assimilation
- Can't make sure stand on one tool

Assess the significance of the Cold War context in shaping politics of post independent SEA

Stand

the Cold War context was only significant in shaping broad political developments, but was not significant for the distinct nuances in the specific forms of democracies or authoritative regimes formed in Southeast Asia, which is better accounted for by the specific local conditions of each state at the time.

Para 1 - decolonisation experience

The Cold War context influenced the initial choice of democracy as the intensification of Cold War tensions coincided with decolonisation. The Western powers saw the rampant spreading of communism not just in Europe but also in Asia with the Korean War in the early 1950s.

Burma, Malaysia and Singapore, elections were held even before independence. British made preservation of democracy a prerequisite for independence, especially due to diverse ethnic profiles. Hence, the British prepared its colonies for democracy prior to independence.- political elites influenced by western ideals

Burma - elections were held in 1947, where Aung San AFPFL won majority. This familiarised the population to democratic practices and helped ensure the continuation of elections after independence in 1948.

Malaya - the British held federal elections in 1955 in which the Alliance won a huge majority of seats, preparing colony for a long tradition of elections after independence in 1957.

Singapore had elections in 1957, 1959, 1961 and 1963 in addition to a referendum about the Merger with Malaya held in 1962.

Para 2 -communist threat

The Cold War context also influenced the rise of authoritarianism. In the Cold War context, various communist groups were set up to spread communism in their own states. These groups destabilised the country and shifted most states towards authoritarianism to maintain law and order.

Burma - white flag communists started insurgency in 1948, U Nu lost control and military coup in 1962 led by Ne Win transitioned Burma into a military dictatorship

Singapore - elements of authoritarianism. ISA operation Cold Store in 1963 where Barisan Sosialis leaders were arrested and detained without trial under the suspicion of communism. NTUC controlled trade unions to prevent left wing influences from infiltrating and destabilising the country

Para 3

However while the broad Cold War context can explain the broad shift to authoritarianism, but it is not significant in explaining the distinct nuances in how authoritarian each state became.

burma - transition to military dictatorship due to armed communist insurgents, prone to violence after japanese occupation and proposing violence to gain independence. ne win acted swiftly to start military dictatorship to quell armed insurgencies

singapore - communists participated in politics via formal avenues, barisan sosialis shared similar goals as malayan communist party(left wing) but not militant and much less severe than burma, singapore saw to softer methods to restrict civil liberties

While the Cold War can account for the broad choice of democracy, it cannot account for the distinct nuances of Southeast Asian politics in the immediate post-independent period, which are better accounted for by their own local circumstances. This is because the Cold War context in this case largely influences the colonial master's attitude towards their soon-to-be former colonies during decolonisation, such that only the broad choice of democracy mattered to them while the other nuances was of little concern.

indonesia - unitary system, sukarno was wary of federalism sought a unitary system to ensure unity of indonesia

burma - federal system, aung san accomodated the ethno-linguistic groups , panglong agreement created a union of burma allowing greater autonomy in minority regions

both political elites at independence moulded this political decision

Point 1 : communist threat- shift to auth from liberal democracy,sig bcus it changed pol process - very significant as its effects change

Point 2 : CW effects not that relevant over time - communist threat settled

Point 3 : maintain auth stance due to convenience (CW no longer significant in political stance) - leaders still want to maintain power

Point 4: shift to auth was due to failures of democratic process (Indo and Burma) (not significant at all)

Impact didn't last long,shift was not even due to CW so overall not significant

To what extent did mass political participation shape the politics of independent SEA states?

Stand

In independent Southeast Asia, mass political participation by communists and mass revolutions by the people has been argued to shape politics in independent Southeast Asia. However, it was the political elite that were the ones who shaped politics more as they were able to control the extent of their influence. (should broaden intro to talk on the vote of the people to give mandate and power to govt)

Para 1 - initial

Mass political participation can be argued to shape politics as the initial choice of democracy and federal systems was meant to meet the demands of the people for democratic elections and political representation.

burma - masses demanded representation leading to formation of AFPFL and federal system allowing greater autonomy, shaping formation and presence of democracy

indonesia - mass political participation produced democratic system with many political parties taking part in elections and many coalition governments from 1949 to 1957

malaysia - formation of umno because many mass protests against malayan union plan. federation of malaysia was formed with less rights given to chinese because of mass political participation

Para 2 - over time

Mass political participation in the forms of people revolutions and student protests also appeared to shape politics as they often resulted in a shift to democracy and the resignation of political elite.

burma - 8888 revolutions highlighted limits of authoritarianism and forced resignation of ne win

thailand - mass demonstrations in 1973 and 1992, ushered in new period of democracy and removal of army generals

indonesia - mass protest of AFC resulted in resignation of suharto after years of student protests against cronyism and authoritarianism

Para 3

However, political leaders played a greater role in shaping politics as the structure of governments and political system were still eventually determined by their personalities and preferences.

burma - aung san's personality (conservative - panlong agreement but he was assassinated) and u nu's (less for that, shift to unitary rather than federal, had to deal with factionalism, so he didn't want to sustain democracy) support for democracy maintained political system of democracy. although mass political participation could shape politics, it was the leader who determined it the most

indonesia - ability for masses to shape politics were severely curtailed by sukarno, as a figurehead president in early years of democracy allowed chaos from political plurality, shift to guided democracy when he felt the need for more stability

Para 4

Furthermore, while these mass movements could be seen as large turning points in the shaping of politics, they either did not last very long or were assisted by the political elites. This proved once again that mass political participation, while able to shape politics, could not be as influential as the political elite.

burma - 8888 uprising did not lead to significant change in the long term. although ne win resigned, SLORC stayed in power, able to shape politics by determining elections and ignored results if it was not in their favour
1990 NLD won 60% of votes

thailand - revolutions assisted by monarchy who forced military generals to resign and for military to stop massacre of civilians, mass demonstrations was limited by how much it can draw political elite support

indonesia - mass political participation brought down the government, political elites had stopped supporting the suharto government as it had less credibility during AFC. while mass political participation shaped politics and still determined by political elites

Masses vs leaders point 1 and 3

2 and 4

The decolonization process largely defined the approach to governance for independent SEA states.' HFYDA?

Stand

As cracks and the weaknesses of the democratic structure began to pose significant threats to the survival of the newly independent states, (need to explain how decol defined the approach to governance at first) the influence of the process waned. The political elites, some with the support of the masses, turned to authoritarianism as the concerns over political stability and security took centerstage. By the late 1980s and 1990s, the influence of the decolonisation process had become diminished and insignificant.

Para 1

The decolonisation process shaped the governing system in the way how the process unfurled, and the interaction between the colonial masters and the colonies. The influence of the decolonisation process could be seen by the adoption of democratic governance and rise of western educated elites into political power after independence. In a post-World War and Cold War climate where maximum governments were viewed unfavourably, and with the choice of a return to monarchy not an option, the decolonisation process was negotiated with western educated leaders who would adopt the democratic governance as the default political model. Also, the nature of the transition (struggle or peaceful transfer of power from colonialists) also had a significant impact on the approaches to governance and governing mentality. While countries that underwent a more peaceful transfer of power leaned towards democratic structures and models, the presence of armed struggles resulted in states that had more centralising tendencies and even favoured a more authoritarian model of governance due to insecurity caused by the struggles.

Burma - AFPFL won 1947 general elections formed the basis of democracy. Western educated leaders like Aung San and U Nu within AFPFL favoured and continued democracy after independence.
Singapore and Malaysia - peaceful decolonization, preferred democracy. British ensured elections before transfer of power and constitutional processes continued after independence. - maintained colonial ties
Indonesia - anti imperialist govt after bloody battle against Dutch

Para 2

Also, decolonisation had the impact of shifting to a more democratic form of government in independent SEA states due to the effect of mass participation during the process. Fuelled by nationalist aspirations, the process witnessed the rise in mass participation by the people, particularly among ethnic, religious and regional groups. They were eager to be part of the political process to protect their interests and rights in the post-colonial era. The decolonisation process had also resulted in largely fragmented states with diverse communities, with borders being based on the old colonial political systems. During the decolonisation process, the colonial masters obligated the nationalist leaders to confront the issue of ethnic diversity. As a result, the need to cater to the different groups for unity and stability saw the adaptation of democratic form of governance.

Burma, Malaysia and Singapore, elections were held even before independence. British made preservation of democracy a prerequisite for independence, especially due to diverse ethnic profiles. - Jap occupation also inculcated nationalist values, it disillusioned them with the colonialists

Burma - 1947 Panglong agreement for autonomy of minority states.

Singapore - general elections every 5 years. despite PAP dominance, workers' party and Singapore Democratic Party always made it a point to contest.

Para 3

However, the consideration of political stability became more prominent than the influence of decolonisation process as the democratic governments shifted to more authoritarian mode of government in the 1950s and 1960s. The influence of the decolonisation process waned as the weaknesses of the democratic system threatened political stability. Communist insurgencies and ethnic separatism had made the issue of national disintegration and state failure very real. In addition, the democratic process and the political struggles had created a political paralysis within SEA states. As a result, SEA states turned towards authoritarianism to maintain stability.

Burma - ethnic separatism and external threats like KMT presence and communist civil war. government was unable to address the threats as opposition groups were legitimate political agents. minority demands complicated governance. 10 percent of the country was controlled by ethnic rebellions.

Indonesia - perceived threat by communist and PKI in 1965 prompted Suharto and military to take over completely establishing maximum government

Para 4 - more due to contemporary devt and current circumstances

However, By the late 1980s and the 1990s, the influence of the decolonisation process had become diminished and insignificant over time. Instead, the rise of popular opposition and the frustrations over the lack of civil liberties, coupled with the impact of external environment such as the Asian Financial Crisis (Indonesia) and growing political awareness, led to the collapse of authoritarian governments who could no longer keep the peace in society.

Philippines - People Power movement of 1983, fall of Marcos regime and restoration of democracy

Burma - 8888 uprising, compelled military junta to intensify control over country SLORC government brutally suppressed dissenters, refusing outcome of the 1990 elections and placed leader of NLD Aung San Suu Kyi under house arrest in 1995

Political elites monopolised the politics of independent SEA. Discuss

Stand

the given view is hardly accurate as it only holds true in the example of Singapore, and to an extent Malaysia, while elsewhere in the region, political elites' authority was often questioned and significantly undermined by other political agents such as the military (should be part of elite) and ethnic rebels.

Para 1

Politics of independent Southeast Asia featured many prominent political elites, most of whom were cultivated by western powers during the colonial era. Pressed with the need for collaborators, western colonial powers, and later the Japanese, accorded the privileged class western education, and in some instances, some semblance of power by granting them positions in administration. Such experiences gave rise to political elites who would dominate politics upon independence.

Indonesia - Sukarno and Hatta were utilized by the Dutch to garner mass support for colonial cause. After Japanese occupation declared independence and led Republicans to victory against Dutch colonists, affirming position in post-independence Indonesia. PNI by Sukarno held key governmental posts and had largest share of election votes in 1955.

Burma - U Nu led AFPFL in signing the independence agreement with A.L.E. in 1947 and became the first prime minister of Burma.

Singapore - British rule saw emergence of western educated politicians forming PAP (Lee Kuan Yew, Goh Keng Swee, S. R. Rajaratnam and Othman Wok.) Western education and administrative experience during period of self-rule, PAP plays a hegemonic role in Singapore politics till this day.

Para 2

However, in most of Southeast Asia, the contesting aspirations of various political agents and their ability to win support allowed them to influence politics and undercut the elites' hold on power.

Indonesia - domination of PNI, PNI desire for secularism was wildly contested by Masyumi party (Islamic) and PKI (Communist). Darul Islam movement declared an Islamic state of Indonesia in 1949 and encouraged ethnic rebellions in Muslim majority areas of South Thailand and Aceh in 1951 and 1953. Sukarno adopted guided democracy model in 1955, shift to authoritarianism, delicate balance of military and PKI, was not well liked by Muslim population, no monopoly of power. PKI growing influence, introduced Aksi Sepihak and held arms, agitating Muslims and military who acted to remove PKI and Sukarno.

Burma - White Flag Communists offensive. Civil war ensued and U Nu government had control over only a few urban centers. Faced ethnic-religious challenge to his rule, Kayah rebels led by KNU threatening to declare independence.

Para 3

In contrast, the less diverse political landscape of Singapore allowed the PAP to maintain their monopoly on power, aided also by the actions of political opponents who sabotaged their political futures, essentially erasing themselves from politics. It can be also traced to sound policies which effectively blunted the appeal of opposition voices that was so prominent elsewhere in the region.

singapore

1. PAP led government sought guidance from the west, opening up the economy to FDI, claiming the title of an Asian tiger, transformed from third world to first world in one generation. government instituted policies like meritocracy and bilingual language policy to protect minority rights and ensured minority participation in politics with GRC

2. Barisan Nasional had differing views from PAP on merger, though ideologies were largely similar. BS supposed communist inclinations undermined their position, Operation Coldstore. Upon independence, BS parliamentary representatives resigned, triggering by-elections which PAP won, boycotting of elections by BS meant PAP facing competition only by Workers Party and minor candidates, resounding victory of all 58 seats in parliament

Malaysia - UMNO lost considerable power, but power still just changes to other elites

Para 4 - pt 2 (can include military as political elites)

Over time however, even the omnipresent military in different states also lost their monopoly of power, witnessing powerful mass movements that crippled and toppled some governments. Even so, political elites failed to gain ascendancy, much less monopoly, as the post-military era was often more liberal and diverse, and the elites had to contend with sharing power with other political agents.

Indonesia - Suharto resigned in 1988 following mass protests led by students. Habibie took over and efforts to liberalize country meant that Indonesia's political elites faced difficulty regaining control.

Burma - 1988 uprising signaled end of military regime, student movements and NLD continued to destabilize Burmese politics, proving that politics was no longer the sole preserve of the military.

Thailand - 1992 revolt, military fired at demonstrators, violent response saw the monarchy intervening with the appointment of interim PM followed by democratic elections, pro-military parties remained dominant and coalition government had to rely on small pro-democracy parties not necessarily led by elite ruling class

Pt 2 nd 4 edit

Shld talk on the transfer to common people (elites vs masses)

How effective were governments in maintaining political stability in independent SEA states?

Stand

By defining political stability as the absence of political upheaval, one can see that with the exception of the initial democratic era, political stability was largely maintained by Southeast Asian governments. However, the curtailment of representation and liberties with centralization of power also had limitations which resulted in some instability. Governments that could overcome these limitations were most effective in maintaining political stability.

Para 1

Political stability was not maintained in the initial years after independence by many countries. Stability was difficult to achieve as there were too many challenges that needed to be dealt with and governments were also not well equipped to deal with them. Many governments were democratic and lacked the constitutional tools and the willingness to deal with opponents ruthlessly.

thailand - spreading of rumours and power plays caused instability since there was no clear leader that could unite the disparate political parties and the different factions. due to political plurality, there was no effort to restrict communists who can actively take part in politics

indonesia - 5 cabinets in 6 years as coalition governments fell apart every other year. communists' Aksi Sepihak created political upheavals

burma - u nu was not effective in dealing with challenges, 10 percent of the country was controlled by ethnic separatists in 1961 and communist threats led to civil war

Para 2

However, governments were more effective in maintaining stability over time as they adapted to the challenges faced and adopted more forceful means when dealing with various problems. By centralizing power, governments could reduce the ability of communists to stir up the masses via political participation and control the narrative that the government could bring stability.

thailand - sarit government ensured military rule, consolidating army factions and uniting thai people. centralizing politics under the military made it easier to suppress communism and prevent the spread of ideologies that could cause unrest.

indonesia - suharto used suppressive methods to reduce unrest and curb insurgencies from communist and protests against his reign, reducing political upheaval. creation of Golkar and other 2 parties maintained stability under suharto for about 3 decades

To make it convincing, to show change - use the same countries

Para 3

It must be noted that there are limitations in governments using authoritarian measures as although it allows for some measure of stability, they ultimately could not meet the demands for representation from both the ethnic minorities, and the masses. This still resulted in moments of instability.

thailand - public clamoured for greater civil liberty and a greater political voice led to large protests in 1973 and 1992

indonesia - minority insurgencies such as east timor and aceh. AFC and failure to provide economic stability led to frustration of lack of civil liberty and government accountability leading to suharto stepping down

burma - populace wanted more political say 8888 revolution forced ne win to resign and military caretaker government was successful under SLORC and ensured general political stability

Para 4

However, in dealing with the problems of ethnic unrest, governments took authoritarian measures to clamp down on dissent from ethnic groups. This, coupled with the use of suppression against insurgents, was extremely effective in maintaining political stability. They could also overcome this limitation by adapting and ensuring that representation for minorities were present and there was some recourse to mass political participation. Although not perfect, it ensured that there was less resentment from the populace and effectively maintained political stability

Repeat the same case studies of Burma and Thailand and Indo (goes for econ change)

malaysia - sensitive matters amendment prevented discussion of race maintaining political stability as populace could not get triggered

singapore - NCMP and NMP programmes. representation for minorities using grc system and DAP and PAS allowed ethnic and religious groups to have a legitimate voice in politics reducing unrest and maintaining political stability.

What was the greatest source of instability in independent SEA?

Stand

The greatest source of instability in independent Southeast Asian states was dealing with ethnic challenges and unrest. This was a problem that plagued all countries in Southeast Asia and remained a challenge even after a long period of time. Other sources of instability such as student movements and economic problems also cause instability but never as consistently across all countries and often lasted only for a short time. Thus, the greatest source of instability was ethnic challenges.

Para 1

Ethnic challenge posed by minorities ranged from requests for provisions to safeguard culture and religion, to secessionist demands. Across the region, this issue affected Southeast Asian states in varying ways and was consistently an issue from independence till this day.

malaysia - UMNO, MCA and MIC formed the alliance formula to share authority in newly independent state. yet ethnic challenges continued to undermine stability, 1969 racial riots, suspending democracy for 21 months. subsequent introduction of NEP to address socio-economic disparities, later revised to address minority concerns.

burma - karen demanded secessionist from onset, refusing to be party to the panglong agreement. karen national union took up arms in their fight for independence and threatened territorial unity. ethnic rebellion was also common among chin, shans and mons. resulted in 10 percent of country being controlled by ethnic separatists

thailand - lack of affinity with malay muslims, attempts to assimilate in 1960 but heightened minority anxiety resulting in using military force in south thailand to ensure stability.

Para 2

The communist challenge is also a source of instability and In some cases, it can be argued that they posed a greater challenge than ethnic challenge in the initial years. However, this did not affect all independent countries and in the long term, the end of the cold war meant that communism ceased to be a source of instability.

burma - communist party of burma 'white flags' gained support of half the burmese army and launched civil war in 1948 caused paralysis in government and control of most burmese country side. continued for a decade until ne win military

thailand - communist party of thailand gained support of students and peasants who were unhappy with military rule and poor economic situation in northeast thailand. communist insurgency lasted till 1983 creating instability and anti-communist reprisals. thammasat university massacre in 1976 created more instability

indonesia - communists formed part of sukarno's power tripod, supported by USSR. raised tensions and brought instability as muslim populace feared communist takeover.

Para 3

In the later years, economic difficulties arguably pushed urban workers and students to take to the streets to demonstrate their disapproval at the lack of economic development, and also to contest the illiberal policies of authoritarian governments. The resultant protests became a source of instability but were inconsistent and only lasted for a short period of time.

indonesia - great economic difficulty due to poor decisions of suharto. Instability occurred in 1997, masses expressed unhappiness of suharto regime, replaced by habibie and democracy.

burma - 8888 revolution, saw army intervention and shooting of demonstrators,

Additionally, ethnic insurgencies threaten to dismember the state, and despite changes in government or greater economic development, some factions remain dissatisfied and continued to pose a threat to instability.

HFDYA that maximum governments were necessary for stability in independent SEA states?

Stand

while the adoption of maximum governments in the initial years was motivated by a keen desire for stability, it was not the only solution, and over time, the maintenance of a maximum government was more the desire of those in power, rather than necessitated by stability.

Para 1

The necessity of maximum governments can be seen by the immense problems faced by newly independent Southeast Asian states whereby a stronger form of government was deemed essential to bring stability.

indonesia - 5 coalition governments in 6 years, underlining the sheer instability plaguing the nascent nation.

burma - civil war within a year of independence with White Flag communists taking offensive, joined by half of government troops and a faction of the PVO, leaving the government in control of only a few urban centres by 1949. u nu's government was further destabilised by a split in the AFPFL. fear of burman domination fuelled ethnic unrests with groups such as the KNU forming armed resistance and demanding for secession. The inability of parliamentary democracies to address the political and social challenges in the early years of independence also meant little attention given to economic development, further generating dissent.

Para 2

Across the region, the adoption of maximum governments managed to address the dire situation that confronted parliamentary democracies, demonstrating not only their effectiveness but also necessity.

indonesia - sukarno failed power tripod signalled the need for maximum government. attempt at balancing PKI against the military ended in political casualty. New order featured a highly centralized government with president suharto assuming head of state and government. parliament was dissolved in favor of the MPR. centralization of power was also evident in the politicisation of society with only the state Party Golkar and the PPP and PDI, both of which pledged allegiance to Golkar. new order had unparalleled political stability. burma - centralization of power was seen in the replacement of the supreme court by the chief court controlled by the military and establishment of the revolutionary council which ruled by decree. BSPP was the sole political party and all buddhist organizations had to vow disengagement in politics. political factionalism that was rife under u nu's parliamentary democracy was removed, ushering in greater stability. military was regularly deployed in the restive peripheral regions and state councils and chief ministers were replaced by civilian leaders and military officers under central control.

Para 3

Yet, the case study of Singapore and Malaysia points to the ability of soft authoritarian regimes to establish stability, proving that maximum governments were not always necessary.

singapore - elections were contested regularly and singapore saw opposition in the form of workers' party, united national front, PKMS and singapore democratic party.

malaysia - barisan nasional coalition was opposed by PAS, DAP and malaysian's people's party.

both instituted authoritarian measures such as internal security act which allows for detention of political actors without trial. Mahathir era eroded power of the sultans. allowed PAP and BN to dominate politics and effect measures swiftly with little opposition while both won the mandate of their people. both less ethnically diverse, much integration and no particular group is concentrated in particular states, limiting the risk of secessionist movements. Hence, the adoption of maximum government can be largely traced to the need for stability —Singapore and Malaysia did not adopt the maximum government model as there was relative stability, whereas the volatility in Indonesia and Burma made it imperative to adopt a highly centralized and authoritarian model.

Para 4

The case study of Thailand and Burma also suggest that the adoption of maximum government was not truly necessary but was more the result the military's desire to command or either due to leaders' unwillingness to relinquish control. Indeed, maximum governments failed to bring lasting stability, yet the system remained in place due to authoritarian measures used against the people.

Thailand - 1932 revolution saw the end of absolute monarchy, Pridi unseated by the military. military rule was interrupted shortly at the end of 1946 to usher in parliamentary democracy as a means to gain political legitimacy and economic assistance from the west, Pridi reinstalled as head of state. Thailand's adoption of maximum government was less due to instability and more the result of the military's commanding influence in society. military rule was not necessarily stable, Phibun faced tremendous opposition, 1949 palace rebellion seeking democracy, 1951 mutiny led by naval officers. The shaky military government hence challenges the view that maximum government was adopted due to the need for stability — evidently, maximum government in Thailand did not offer greater stability than the democratic experiment of civilian leaders.

Burma - 1948 revolution

Why was democracy sustained in some SEA states but not in others?

Stand

Easier to sustain if the state contained less ethnic diversity, lack of communist threat, strong economic progress and lack of legacy for the military.

Para 1

Easier to sustain in SEA states that contained less ethnic diversity, and when the government was able to address minority concerns. The less complex human geography and ability of pol leaders to manage the diversity thus allowed both countries to ensure a sustained democracy as they did not have to resort to authoritarian measures to deal with ethnic challenges.

singapore and malaysia - less ethnic groups, easier to manage and ethnic rebellion and separatism were less of a problem'

singapore - provisions were made for minorities, 4 official languages and meritocratic system ensuring fair opportunities

malaysia - political leaders attained a social contract (alliance formula) allowed 3 main ethnic groups to play a role in politics. ability of alliance to win mandate ensured maintenance of stability and sustenance of democracy. - complex enough in 1969 yet they don't go to the other side - prudent use of constitution vs falling back to the military

where there was a large ethnic diversity, the plural system proved to be a challenge as the government was often confronted with having to seek consensus and in some instances, ethnic rebellions which parliamentary democracies are ill-suited to address due to lack of coercive force. - brma indon

Para 2

Easier to sustain when the threat of communism was already dealt with before independence was attained. where there was a strong communist threat, independent governments often allowed a military takeover or a reduction in democracy to better deal with the communist threat.

malaysia - Only accorded independence in 1957, after the British were certain that the Malayan emergency was coming to an end.

singapore - operation cold store carried out in 1963, communist elements under internal security act were removed, thus independence in 1965 was already in a period of stability.

Indo - communist presence with PKI prevalent and gilded democracy under skarno

Para 3

Easier to sustain in states where the military did not possess a strong legacy. where the military played significant role in the attained independence, democracy was more easily undermined. - provided alternatives to civilian leaders, NOC for 21 months, Brma and Indo colonial legacy

Ethnic rebellions required military intervention

singapore and malaysia - military was instituted after independence, had no historic role or any prestige and authority. governments took steps to ensure that the armed forces' role in politics were minimal and did not overshadow the civilian government

singapore - armed forces linked to civilian segments under government control

indonesia - military important role in resisting and driving out the dutch (battle of surabaya) portrayed the army as an important defender of the indonesian republics

burma - military was important in japanese occupation as well as in pushing the british to grant burma a relatively swift independence.

Para 4

Easier to sustain when states had strong economic progress. while poor economic prospects resulted in unhappiness and revolts from its people and often led to coups and changes to more authoritarian governments.

singapore - transformed third world to first in one generation and experienced significant gdp growth continuously, becoming a strong financial power in the world

malaysia - attained annual increases in gdp averaging 8%, making it hard for dissenters to raise opposition against the govt

Under initial democracy, econ prog stck so needed to transition to authoritarian - indonesia

How leaders choose to move forwards and whether they fall back to military when they face challenges - have to be balanced, give a perspective which undermines your argument first then u argue how they still stick to democracy

'Constitutional process and elections were essential for political stability in independent SEA states.' HFDYA?

Stand

with the problems of communist threats and ethnic unrest, constitutional processes and elections became less essential as they could not deal with these problems and was replaced by military rule for stability. Nevertheless, even authoritarian governments needed a semblance of constitutional process and the appearance of elections to appease the populace. In general, following constitutional processes and having elections were indeed essential for political stability.

Para 1

Constitutional processes and elections were initially seen as essential for political stability. Mass political participation during decolonisation as well as the diverse nature of Southeast Asia meant that elections were important to the populace. Decolonization allowed populace to get involved in politics and important for political elites to gain political support. Along with providing legitimacy to govts, it brought political stability as it conveyed the message that not anybody could take over the government as long as they had support of the military or were willing to use coercion.

Burma - During decolonisation minorities like Shan, Kachin and Chin signed Panglong agreement, bringing stability to Burma.

Singapore - military needs 2/3 support based on a referendum before it can govern. makes coups more difficult as it reduces possible legitimacy if it doesn't follow the constitution

Thailand - military takeover from democracy in 1947, coups were common, palace rebellion in 1949 and Manhattan rebellion in 1951 and coup by Sarit in 1957. shows instability and lack of legitimacy as constitutional processes were not followed.

Para 2

However, ethnic unrest and separatism created breakdowns in the political arena as factions formed in the government. The use of armed revolt and guerrilla tactics by ethnic separatists also cannot be dealt with well by constitutional processes and elections. Changing these methods to deal with this challenge became essential for stability.

Malaysia - 1969 racial riots led to National Operations Council and suspension of constitution and elections

Burma - 1/10 of Burma being under control of separatists forced a coup by Ne Win to ensure political stability. Factionalism within AFPFL, different members with different intentions

Para 3

Nevertheless, even authoritarian states saw the value of constitutional processes and elections to maintain stability. By instituting a facade of elections and promulgating a new constitution in favour of the authoritarian state, these states could then legitimise their rule ensuring political stability.

Burma - Ne win's change of constitution in 1974 lead to having elections even if they were at the village level or rigged. a facade of elections to maintain political stability and instill legitimacy within the government.

Thailand - Songkram keeping up a semblance of democracy by allowing the existence of political parties and elections in 1948

Para 4

TS6 - Finally, the fact that people still wanted democracy over time, meant that elections were still vital in order for there to be political stability.

without severe threat to political stability, the populace is more likely to want political representation. Clamor for return of elections in Thailand (1992), Burma (1988) and Indonesia (1997) shows elections were still needed for political stability in times of crises show us this.

Assess the view that language and religion were more important than multiculturalism in creating national unity in independent SEA

Language and Religion:

Important for the creation of cultural/ethnic identity and response based on unifying instincts. Most states seek to build a sense of national identity by identifying one linguistic, religious or racial community as the ethnic core of the nation. They portray the modern nation as having traditional 'ethnic' roots in order to give it historical authenticity, and thus legitimacy.

Important because communities feel strongly about them. (shapes their values/beliefs)

Even multicultural societies' govts used lang and religion as vehicles to create new identity. (Comparison)

Multiculturalism:

Important for the creation of new identity and acceptance of differences

Important because this approach was suitable in addressing the challenges of a culturally diverse society, as the multiculturalist dimension seeks to resolve the contentions by promising compromise and conciliation.

Increasingly more important, where we witnessed more inclusive visions of national identity to be articulated more explicitly in the 1990s as govts attempted to appease the resentments generated by perceptions of state bias in favour of an ethnic core.

Intro: Nat uni achieved when there is a common identity, no social unrest, through govt policies such as language and religion. However, language and culture was successful to a certain extent, multiculturalism still proved to be most important in achieving national unity in the long run.

TS1: Indeed, language was impt in govt efforts where communities were held together by a common language and that facilitates understanding and unity. In Vietnam, from the 1950s to 1980s, there was a nation-wide literacy campaign to achieve the use of Vietnamese as the medium of instruction in educational institutes, resulting in 90% of the population utilising the language. Similarly, in ID, the Aug 1945 Constitution stipulated Bahasa Indonesia as the national and official lang of the new republic. The govt then utilised education and the media as a vehicle to spread the language, resulting in over 80% speaking the language in 1990 compared to 40.7% in 1971. The phenomenal spread of the national language then became the most important for the people in both countries as it served as the basis for communication and facilitates interaction (eval: distinct source of id only works if langs well accepted by entire pop, not only attuned to dominant culture and group, it can lead to rejection by minorities)

TS2: For countries with ethnic majority, it was a natural choice for their governments to tap on existing dominant religion to forge national unity through cultural assimilation, based on the unifying instinct. For instance, given the Thai-Buddhist majority, Buddhism became the symbol of nat uni in TH. In 1966, Phra Thammathud was set up to send monks to rural villages to deliver sermons on the dharma but also loyalty to the govt, nation and king. Largely, this strengthened popular attachment to Buddhism in rural communities, expanding the scope of the Thai majority subscribing to the national identity. Similarly in Burma, Buddhism was adopted as the state religion, where U Nu established the Buddhist Sasana Council to spread Buddhist doctrines. Though in the SR such policies could enhance social order, in the LR, minority groups retaliated, feeling strongly about their religion and wanting to preserve it.

TS3: Hence, religious policies confused the shared identity of a large majority of the population with the unity of the entire nation, given the backlash from the minority groups. Feelings of exclusion often fuelled the cultural and political mobilisation of ethnic minorities against the govt. In Burma, U Nu passed the State Religion Act defining non-Buddhists as second-class citizens, alienating religious and ethnic minorities which eventually resulted in the Kachin Rebellion. Similarly, in the long term, the Thai Muslims saw Thai policies as attempts to weaken their Muslim identity, resulting in the formation of Patani United Liberation which led intermittent outbreaks of guerilla warfare in Patani. Hence, it was clear that assimilation based on religious identity was not successful given how minority grps often felt attached to their religion and wanted to protect it.

TS4: On the other hand, govt of ctys that were more diverse and evenly distributed realised the importance of creating a new, often neutral, identity that transcended the ethnic differences to unite their people, given the lack of a dominant traditional core. In MY, Tunku Abdul Rahman's constitution provided protection for minorities, including state funding for Mandarin and Tamil up to the secondary school level and the observance of public Chinese and Indian holidays. Similarly, in SG, the PAP in 1966, declared Eng as the main medium of instruction, also making it compulsory for students to learn a second language depending on their racial background. freedom of religion in the country in mysia and sg, in sg, 4 official languages are recognised

(NAQ but good assimilation to accommodation para) TS5: There were also ctys that utilised the dominant culture as support for their education policies. Through education, the govt could shape national identity, downplaying the cultural identities of minorities to consolidate a common identity. In Burma, the AFPFL established state education to be taught in the Burmese language, and national history was taught from the majority's perspective. Similarly, in MY the medium of instruction was changed to Malay after the NEP in 1969, and introduced the racial quota system to guide the bumiputras. As such, in both cases, education became a centrifugal force as it privileged the dominant cultures at the expense of other cultures. Hence, in attempts to bridge the ethnic divide, govts then shifted to a more multicultural approach, with the AFPFL upgrading the Sagaing Academy for the Dvlpment of National Grps to university status and in MY, the return of Eng as the medium of instruction in 1993. As a result, given the failure of govts in their attempts to unify the cty under a dominant culture, the later shift towards multiculturalism to embrace the minorities allowed gocts to step closer to nat uni through a non-discriminatory promotion of a common civic identity.

Quite clearly, the ethnic make-up of the country had a huge impact on how able its government was in creating NU and identity. By and large, mainland SEA countries tended to be dominated by one ethnic group in overwhelming majority, such as the Thai and the Burmese. Since ethnicity and culture are more immutable than civic identities, therefore governments of many mainland SEA states found it easier to use ethnocultural traits as identity markers when there was a clear majority culture to tap on. (clear limitations, while it was preferred by state, it didn't lead to the outcome of NU) On the other hand, maritime SEA states, SG and MY tended to have more evenly-distributed demographics, which meant they had to look for a common identity that transcended their religious or ethnic differences.

To what extent was the achievement of national unity in SEA from independence to 2000 reliant on multiculturalism

TS1: SEA states that lacked a dominant culture relied heavily on multiculturalism, to overcome the absence of traditional ethnic 'roots' by seeking the creation of new civic identities.

Multiculturalism was very important to states that sought new identities as it was able to allow the govt to create new shared characteristics that the civilians could focus on and feel a sense of belonging to, instead of focusing and identifying oneself by their ethnicities or religion, which could alienate and amplify their distinct differences. This unifies the people as they do not see themselves as different, as their identity would be embedded into the common understanding brought about by multiculturalism.

TS2: Similarly, leaders who wanted to address the challenges of a culturally diverse society turned to multiculturalism, since the multiculturalist dimension sought to resolve the contentions by promising compromise and conciliation.

Multiculturalism is significant for it addresses the challenge of embracing the differences of the many different ethnic groups of SEA by prioritising national interest over collective. With the very nature of the approach being compromising and conciliating, this prevents any challenge to ethnic harmony from even erupting into full-blown conflicts that are disruptive and violent in nature by nipping any potential for social unrest caused by the diversity. Hence, this reduces opposition to the govt caused by issues of diversity.

TS3: The fact that countries that prev. adopted a more assimilative approach are also moving towards multiculturalism reinforces that SEA were increasingly becoming more reliant on this approach of accommodation.

This trend reveals that there are flaws in the assimilative approach as the dominant culture often creates a sense of exclusiveness which exacerbates the minority vs majority complex, which manifests in the form of inter-ethnic divisions and instability.

TS4: However, should the diverse ethnic minorities pose any immediate cause of threat to stability of the cty, multiculturalism would be less relevant as the violent responses from the ethnic minorities would become an obstruction to development of the cty's economy and brood disunity in the cty, which would instead warrant the politics of suppression.

Minority communities largely impeded nat uni efforts. How valid is this statement for the SEA states from independence to 2000.

I: Across most SEA states, ethnic minorities often demanded (indigenous) for autonomy and/or independence or fled the country as they felt a loss of identity and cultural alienation, thus since not all people accepted the national unity policies of the govt, it can be said that they did largely impede nat uni efforts. Though, to a small extent, some immigrant minorities did adapt to the policies of the govts.

TS1: Certain indigenous ethnic and religious minorities across SEA, actively resisted state efforts at assimilation from the early years of independence as state policies eroded their cultures. Eg the Shan grps in Burma utilised lang as a tool of resistance, forming new literary societies in the mid-1950s to publish books and magazines in the Shan language. Later, the 1965 Censor Law that made it increasingly difficult for minorities to produce publications in their ethnic languages, threatening the removal of their languages. Thus, there was active resistance against the policies of the govt to create a common lang, leading to an inability to completely create a common identity among all Burmese citizens. Similarly, in TH, the Pattani muslims view Islam and 'Malay-ness' as largely indivisible, thus all integrative efforts by the govt have been seen as attempts to weaken their identity. For instance, the Phibun's Thai Customs Act of 1944 outlawed Malay dress, names, lang and Muslim teaching and law. This then resulted in separatist agendas such as the Pattani United Liberation Organisation (PULO) formed in 1968, threatening the territorial integrity of the state, indicating a clear failure in their ability to create nat uni. (TS1 + TS3 combine)

TS2: Yet, some states saw immigrant minorities accommodating to the govt policies despite their discriminatory nature to maintain their econ dominance. For instance, in ID, the indigenous ppl widely resented the Chinese minorities controlling approximately 70% of the wealth. Thus, Sukarno's 1959 law revoked licences of Chinese businessmen in rural areas to appease the indigenous ppl. Yet, it saw the adaptation of Chinese minorities through the formation of Ali-Baba ventures where the nominal head was an indigenous Indonesian, though it was Chinese immigrants running the business. Similarly, in TH, to reduce Thai resentment towards Chinese migrants dominating banking and finance industries, Phibun increased taxes on the Chinese and started reserving occupations for Thai nationals. However, when the Thai govt started allowing for the Chinese to change their nationalities, many willingly involved themselves, by changing their names, speaking Thai and converting to Buddhism. However, national unity was only a facade, which was revealed during the AFC where there were anti-Chinese riots as the Chinese were made the scapegoats of corruption in ID and TH.

TS3: Minorities across SEA impeded nat uni efforts through their separatist mvmts, as a result of forced accommodation. In Burma, the Karen National Union (KNU) was formed in 1947 to demand for greater autonomy. When it became evident that autonomy would not be granted, their resistance took on a military nature but was similarly met with force from the govt. The overwhelming military of the SLORC, although able to broker ceasefire agreements btwn 1989 and 1999, were unable to completely suppress tensions and as such, conflicts continued beyond the year 2000. Since the separatist mvmts reflected a threat to territorial integrity, the inability to suppress them suggests a lack of nat uni. Similarly, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) was created in 1972 as they did not see themselves as part of the Filipino nation, considering their geographical distance from the central govt. In spite of Marcos declaring martial law in 1972 and engaging in open warfare to suppress the insurgency as well as Aquino's and Ramos' negotiations with MNLF, up til the 2000s, the "Moro question" was still far from resolved. Thus, in PH, the govt was unable to

achieve nat uni as they could not suppress the separatist mvmt, in fact, the use of force further hardened the mvmts. (military action perpetuated the desire to secede and undermine NU)

TS4: Yet, ctys that were accommodative in nature often saw minorities supporting the policies of the govt. In MY, Tunku Abdul Rahman's constitution provided protection for minorities, including state funding for Mandarin and Tamil up to the secondary school level and the observance of public Chinese and Indian holidays. This ensured that their cultural identities were protected. Thus, ethnic minorities over time, came to accept the pro-Malay policies such as Bahasa Melayu as the national lang. Similarly, in SG, the PAP in 1966, declared Eng as the main medium of instruction, also making it compulsory for students to learn a second language depending on their racial background. Furthermore, in 1970, the Presidential Council of Minority Rights (PCMR) was established as a constitutional safeguard to ensure that minorities rights were safeguarded, including religious minorities were not discriminated against. The absence of racial riots and sig. tensions remains a testament to how the inclusion of minorities meant that they would not have a reason to impede nat uni, and thus, allowed the state to be successful in achieving nat uni. However, though there were no overt tensions in MY, a 2000 survey found that 90% of students tended to identify with their races before their nationality, suggesting that ethnic minorities not feeling included in society often led to the inability to create intangible nat uni.

Majority not willing to accept the minority (east javanese who didnt want to accommodate non-muslims/not just imposing cultural,also exploited economically and thus lead to urban-rural divide as more devt focused in java) - ethno nationalism that was more of a prob - majority are the ones responsible, as majority cause probs and minorities react in retaliation to the attitudes of the majority)

OJ: Whether or not minorities impeded nat uni often depended on the nature of nat uni policies that the govt adopted. For instance, when policies threatened to erase the cultures of the minorities through the use of force, they often impeded nat uni as they felt strongly about their ties to their own ethnic cultures such the Pattani Muslims in TH, thus resulting in separatist mvmts. Whereas, when faced with econ discrimination, most minorities chose to adapt to the govt policies. Yet, largely these assimilative policies still failed as nat uni was merely a facade. In contrast, when govts chose to accommodate minorities, they made no attempt to impede the govt's nat uni attempts, thus successfully allowing the govt to achieve nat uni.

How imp't was national ideology in forging unity in the independent SEA states?

I: National ideologies are sets of beliefs and values that are advocated to create and cement national loyalty that transcends ethnic divisions. It can come in the form of flags, pledges and ideologies such as Pancasila. Across SEA, most states utilised some form of national ideology, and were successful, thus making them important to forging unity in independent SEA.

TS1: Some ctys in SEA utilised national ideologies as the basis of national unity, making them integral to the forging of nat uni in those states. For instance, ID utilised Pancasila, which formed the basis of political ideology and a set of values to promote pluralism. It was imp't to ID as it was utilised as a tool of govt control. It became the only accepted ideology of political parties and mass organisations, where even opposition parties utilised it in their election campaigns. Thus, it was imp't in forging nat uni as it created a basis for nation-building that united the majority of people in ID. In TH, the concept of “Nation-Religion-King” became the bedrock of Thai identity. It was imp't as the govts could utilise the monarchy and the patron of Buddhism to legitimise the assimilative policies of TH that were grounded in religion. Thus, it can be said that the ideology that crystallised the national identity of TH was crucial in its importance in forging unity in TH.

TS2: Other SEA states on the other hand, chose to utilise national symbols that became integral to the national identity of the cty,

The impact of ideology in bringing about nu is more evident in how these states use figures to cement their nat id thus aiding them in forging nat uni. For instance, in Vietnam, a personality cult was created around Ho Chi Minh, where his image was omnipresent throughout the cty, on banners, posters, paintings, statues and most importantly bank notes. This allowed the Vietnamese govt to spread the common identity based on the personality cult of Ho Chi Minh. Thus, most subscribed to the communist ideals of the cty w/o question. Their unchallenged national identity proved that the use of national symbols was crucial for Vietnam as it could unite the locals under the communist banner, regardless of their differing ethnicities. In TH, the monarchy became a national symbol as King Bhumibol's was part of their ideology of “Nation, Religion, King”. As a result of his rural reforms that won over the rural community, their national identity became tied to the King. In fact, the colour yellow was associated with the monarchy, where they would wear yellow shirts on Mondays to honour the King, suggesting how integral the King was to their national identity.

TS3: However, not all govts saw national ideologies as imp't to the forging of nat uni, as it **often backfired against the regime**, thus they were likely to reduce its significance in building nat uni.

Burma utilised the Burmese Way to Socialism (BWS) to create a socialist economy and depoliticising ethnic relations to create a new national identity based on Buddhist-Socialist ethos

Failed because it didn't bring abt econ success, and its failure failed to unite the people bcus it failed to even unite the majority - leads to diff outcome even amongst majority

Yet, it failed to create national unity as communists and ethnic minorities cont. to rebel against the central govt, while new forces supporting democracy cont. to rise. Thus, given its inability to bring divergent grps tgt, it was not imp't to forging nat uni for Burma. Furthermore, they utilised Aung San as the architect of independent Burma, displaying his portrait in govt schs and offices and engraving it on the state's currency notes. This allowed the govt to create a common identity to transcend ethnic divides, yet it backfired on them as the students employed Aung San as a symbol of opposition to the military regime, thus resulting in the junta limiting the use of Aung San as a national symbol, limiting its impact on creating nat uni.

TS4: Though govts utilised national ideologies, they were not as impt as education policies to forging nat uni, as education was required as a medium to spread such values. In Sukarno's ID, education was used to promote Pancasila from 1959 onwards. The utilisation of education allowed the ideology to be spread to the general public and be utilised as common values that transcended their ethnic or religious differences. Similarly, in SG, National Education was introduced in 1997 and integrated into the sch curriculum to foster national cohesion and instil a sense of national identity among young Singaporeans. This was done through an emphasis on the core values of meritocracy, multiracialism and multi-religious harmony. It was the main platform to disseminate, so its impt for most as its dominant in most platforms and used by most countries

OJ: Whether or not national ideologies were impt in forging nat uni depended on the political legitimacy of the incumbent regime.

Whilst in most ctys, they could be utilised to buttress the legitimacy of the govt through the spread of a common identity in line with the other govt policies, in ctys like Burma, they could be utilised by insurgents unhappy with the govt to unite against the govt. Furthermore, national ideologies, though impt, were often not enough on their own, where ctys such as ID and SG turned to complementary policies such as education as a vehicle to spread the common identity to a wider audience.

'A product of political personalities. How far do you agree with this view of the establishment of different forms of government in independent Southeast Asian states?

Point 1: Political personalities played a decisive role in the establishment of different forms of Western educated leaders such as Lee Kuan Yew and Tunku were key leaders of the Singapore and Malaysia government respectively. Alongside their contemporaries such as S. Rajaratnam and Tan

Cheng Lock who were similarly western educated, it was no surprise that both Singapore and Malaysia adopted a parliamentary democratic system. In both countries, free and fair elections were held every 4-5 years with clear separation of powers. Malaysia adopted a federal system to offer some autonomy to the local state governments and

assuage minority concerns. Likewise in Burma, Aung San played an instrumental role in shaping Burmese political landscape. His negotiations with minority leaders culminated in the 1947 Panglong Agreement, paving the way for the adoption of a federal system that accorded minority regions some degree of autonomy. While he was assassinated prior to Burma's independence, it is undeniable that he left an indelible mark on

Burmese politics. Aung San's successor, U Nu, also influenced politics in his own way. A devout Buddhist, U Nu passed many laws in support of Buddhist practices such as the 1951 Buddha Sasana Act and declaring Buddhism state religion in 1961.

Point 2: However, it is important to recognise that forms of governments that emerged were also a product of circumstances.

While we credit the political personalities for the adoption of a democratic system, it would only be fair to trace their inclinations to the context they were in. The provision of western education, exposure to western ideologies and experience in colonial administration made the political elites more predisposed towards adopting a political system that mirrors the colonial powers.

Additionally, decolonisation also impacted the forms of governance that emerged. The Alliance Formula was not entirely a local conception; the British delayed independence until a suitable political model could accommodate the ethnic minorities that emerged, paving the way for a multi-ethnic system of representation.

The cold war also arguably shaped governments in Southeast Asia. Both Singapore and Malaysia shifted towards soft authoritarianism in a bid to quell communist threat, seen in the ISA stilled against alleged communist leaders. In fact, the ISA itself was a British legacy, suggesting that governments were largely shaped

by colonial legacy

Yet, while we recognise that political personalities do not exist in a vacuum, it is apparent that their response to the prevailing context was what truly shaped governance. While the political personalities in Singapore and Malaysia eliminated the communist threat and shifted their governments towards soft authoritarianism, Indonesia's Sukarno instead sought to form power tripod with the PRI and military. Instead of eliminating the communists, he leveraged his popularity and allowed to follow the PK's ideology to affect policy-making, most apparent in Aksi Seplo which allowed them to seize land.

Evidently, decisions of political personalities were what shaped their respective governments. While most of the region shifted towards authoritarianism, the manner in which they did so differed, and that was due to their respective political personalities.

Point 3: The view that the different forms of governments were a product of political personalities is also apparent when one considers how their beliefs and background is reflected in their style of governance.

Lee Kuan Yew believed that stability was paramount to economic development, and introduced the Employment Act and Industrial Relations (Amendment) Act of 1968 to prevent repeat of worker riots and make Singapore a more appealing destination for MNCs. The 1974 Newspaper and Printing Presses Act limited press freedom, effectively minimising political dissent and helping the PAP entrench itself in power. The creation of a one-party dominant state in Singapore can hence be attributed to its first Prime Minister.

His successor Goh Chok Tong also left a mark. While maintaining the soft-authoritarian slant of the PAP government, he imbued his more consensual style in politics, seen in the NMP scheme which allowed for more diverse voices in parliament.

In Malaysia, Mahathir proposed several amendments to the Constitution in 1983 to curb the powers of the Sultans. This can be traced to his commoner background, the first Malaysian PM to not have any familial affiliation to the monarchy.

Point 4: Regardless, one can argue that with the emergence of popular opposition in the late 1980s and growing demands for democracy, it appears that the masses started to play a larger role in shaping Southeast Asian governments.

Years of political repression and authoritarianism pushed the masses to mount a resistance and demand for democracy.

Indonesians took to the streets in 1998, forcing the resignation of Suharto and restoration of democracy. His successor Habibie did

not last long, owing to his decision to hold a referendum in East Timor, and neither did Habibie's successor Gus Dur. The latter lasted barely two years before he was impeached and replaced by Megawati Sukarnoputri. The inability of these three leaders to stay in power amidst a more democratic political climate clearly points to the fact that political personalities have lost control and that the Indonesian government was no longer created in the image of political personalities but reflects the people's interests.

Nevertheless, elsewhere in the region, it is apparent that political personalities retained their influence. The 8888 uprising undeniably forced the resignation of Ne Win, yet it did not witness growing influence of the masses. Though the NLD led by Aung San Suu Kyi won the elections, the

results were ignored and the military leaders retained power. While one can argue that the government instituted measures to appease pro-democracy demands, such as abolishing the 1974 Constitution and forming SLORC, it must be noted that the extent of freedom and concessions were at the hands of the military. While Ne Win was removed from power, other political personalities within the military emerged and held the reins of power.

Likewise in Singapore, the PAP's declining popularity arguably forced the government to introduce democratic elements. Yet, as aforementioned, the consensual approach can be attributed to the different personality of Goh Chok Tong, not just the circumstances he faced when he took over from Lee Kuan Yew. Similarly, the extent of freedom and democracy was largely the prerogative of the leaders. While the masses desired more free speech, this was granted in the form of Speakers' Corner, which came with a slew of restrictions and regulations.

3. "Constitutional processes were adequate for the consolidation of power in independent Southeast Asian states Discuss

Introduction: From the use of elections to garner a mandate, to laws that preserve inter-ethnic relations and maintain stability, constitutional amendments to manage political conflicts, constitutional processes have been employed in various ways by both democratic and authoritarian governments across Southeast Asia to consolidate power and maintain power. How adequate power has widespread over time suggests efficacy as a tool to wield. However, the use of constitutional processes alone often proves inadequate. Both Marcos and Suharto utilised constitutional measures to entrench themselves in power, yet were deposed in 1996 and 1998 respectively. The same in contrast with Singapore and Malaysia where the PAP led 1959 government and UMNO-led BN coalition successfully held on to power. Thus, constitutional processes alone prove inadequate and must be complemented with government performance

Point : Constitutional processes unful in commodation of power, seen i democratic societies allow leaders to elections offer a veneer of legitimacy. obtain wlections in penple's mandate, or in authoritarian government In Singapore, elections were held every 5 years and the PAP maintained political hegemony since

1955 Malaysia's Alliance Party similarly dominated poltici and when its popular vote teclined regrouped and expanded its base of support through the creation of National Front τη Νάνανα 1973

During Suharto's Now Onder regime, elections

held every 5 years, and the official perty of the

government, Golkar, consistently maintained their majority, garnering approximately 50% of votes, lending credence to the constitutional authoritarian government Evidently, Southeast Asian governments employed constitutional measures the form of regular

elections to gain the peopl'r's mandate and consolidate power

Point 2 Statues and laws were also helpful in consullidiation of power as it can help preserve inter-ethnis relations and ensure stability, contributing towards support for the incumbent government.

Malaysia established a Constitutional Commission to provide for multiracialism in the constitution and

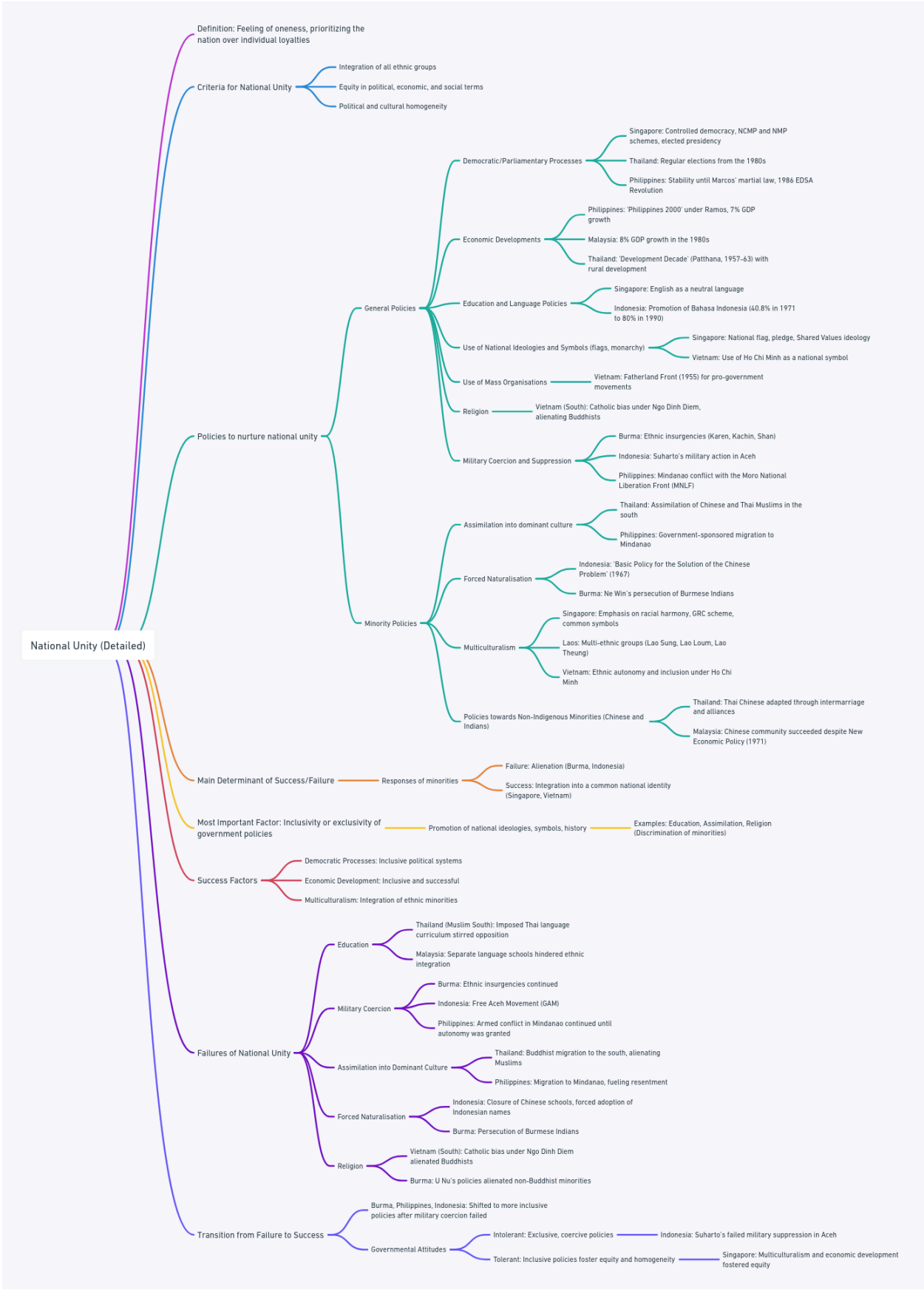
Article 155 actords the Agong rights to protect special position of the Malays, a move that won the

government much support from the bumiputras. Following the 1960 racial riots, the Sensitive Matters Amendment restricts public discussion of "sensitive" lines in a bid to preserve racial relations. Likewise in Singapore, Article 152 autines special position of the Malays and the Presidential Council for Minority Rights was introduced in 1970 to uphold rights of all minorities.

The Malaysian government albo assuaged minority concerns through laws the protect their nighty such at language art that ensures gradual implementation. n of Baltasa Ma Maleysis, and the preservation of

vernácular schools at the lower levels.

Preservation of minority rigtits and interethnic, relations via constitutional measures translate into consistent support for the incumbent anut and the governments in comidation of power



Topic 2: GROWTH OF GLOBAL ECONOMY

1) How far did the global economy benefit from the liberalisation of trade during the period 1945 to 2000?

The global economy benefited from the liberalisation of trade in the early period, from 1945 to 1973. It brought about the Golden Age of Capitalism - a period of growth and innovation

Trade liberalisation - lifting of govt control & restriction - allowed for greater private participation in the economy

- Opened up economies to foreign capital and investment
 - Easier for importing + Exporting
 - Diversifying products Cheaper prices
 - Earn money from export revenue - Transnational trade exponentially increases a country's access to a larger market and consumer base
 - Encourages countries to specialise in the production of goods they have comparative advantage
 - Competition amongst firms Incentive to innovate
- GATT rounds: Promote free trade by removing tariff barriers through various discussions
 - Kennedy Round 1964-7: Reduction of non-agricultural tariffs among industrial countries by 1/3
 - Tokyo Round 1973: Cut in tariffs of 25 to 30%, bringing average tariffs rates down from 7% to 5% in the next 8 years (9 and 7 per cent in the United States, 7 and 6 per cent in the European Economic Community, and 7 and 5 per cent in Japan)
- Countries who relied on this free trade regime: USA (imported a lot of goods), W Germany, France as well as Japan

However, over time, the global economy did not benefit, due to the problems that it caused for certain economies. Liberalisation was unfair for certain economies, as those who exported more benefited more. Though, liberalisation was not effective and felt around the world.

Liberalisation was unfair for newly industrialising or developing economies.

- E.g. Southeast Asian/Latin America economies: Barely started industrialising Unable to compete against the larger foreign firms who could produce cheaper imports Unfair trade
- Developing economies: Often needed to import large amounts of raw materials for industrialisation and production, only could sell lower-value products such as agricultural goods Import value > Export value - part of liberal trading regime but it's not beneficial for them

Furthermore, there were other factors that benefited the global economy, such as the international aid given that was most beneficial for the global economy in the initial stages, for it paved the way for economies to recover their economies.

- International aid, mostly given by the USA:

- Marshall Plan – US\$13 billion
- Aid to Asia – US\$5.9billion
- Dodge Plan – helped Japan balance budget deficits and end inflation
- Loans – International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)
- BWIs:
 - WB – large contributor for low-interest long term loans
 - IMF – large contributor for short term loans for budgetary problems
- More beneficial than liberalisation of trade during this period, as economies needed to recover from the destructions of the war first, to recover their economies and infrastructure before they could start trading

Liberalisation helped out in the start - consumer and innovation boom

But eventually lead to protectionism in regional trading blocks - Italy and Germany farmers

Trade liberalisation - mainly state agents - giving access to markets overseas

Econ lib - removing restrictions on access, MNCs role important as well

2) To what extent was the Golden Age of Capitalism a result of **government action**?

The Golden Age of Capitalism was a result of government action – in particular, the US government's decision in providing aid, trade and investment for other countries.

- US worked on the principle of 'Peace Through Prosperity'
- After years of being closed-off from the world (isolationist), the US government made the decision to become more involved in global affairs, becoming the 'global policeman'.
- Economic supremacy and CW context led to International aid, mostly given by the USA:
 - Marshall Plan – US\$13 billion
 - Aid to Asia – US\$5.9 billion
 - Dodge Plan – helped Japan balance budget deficits and end inflation
- Trade:
 - Open markets for countries all around the world as long as they adopted capitalist practices
 - expansion in GT critical to economic development - contributor and indicator of global productivity
 - One-way trading relationship with Japan - willing to facilitate recovery of allies even if it hurt their BOT
 - CW context primary motivation for govt action
- Investments:
 - US MNCs such as Ford who initially invested in countries such as Japan and W Germany
 - Set the precedence for other countries to follow suit
- \$-Gold convertibility under US leadership
 - Stability and predictability for international trade over fixed value of goods
 - held veto rights due to its contributions to the IMF, WB and BWS
 - US govt allowed for the free flow of capital and ensured GE development

The Golden Age of Capitalism was also a result of developing countries' government action, for they made the choice to step towards export-oriented industrialisation.

- Asian Newly Industrialising Economies: HK, Singapore, S Korea, Taiwan – Took the necessary measures to attract FDI - Infrastructure – transport, utilities, communication
 - Investment in human capital
 - Management of human resources (e.g. control over trade unions in Singapore)
- Transform themselves from developing to developed in 20-30 years
- 1980 – 1990: Singapore largest recipient of foreign investment 70% of manufactured exports were from foreign-owned firms
- Involved in international trade
 - HK's trade ratio as a percentage of GDP in 1985: >200%
 - Asian NIEs share of world trade grew to reach 9.2% in 1997

However, the Golden Age of Capitalism is not merely a result of government action for there were other factors such as the role of established institutions as well as private businesses.

- International established institutions
 - BWI: WB – low-interest long term loans
 - IMF – short term loans for budgetary problems
 - GATT – promoted free trade
- MNCs
 - Invested in foreign economies Helped economies to grow
 - By 1973: MNCs had invested \$200 billion around the world

- E.g. German chemical giant Hoechst 117 plants in 45 countries, generating jobs and increasing production levels in the global economy

Yet, the established institutions were actually founded upon the action of governments to encourage this, and the private businesses only flourished due to great government support for it.

- [Institutions] BWS was largely dependent on USA
 - IMF + WB: USA as a large contributor + Other countries who pay a sum to gain entrance into these institutions
 - GATT: many GATT rounds required active participation and consensus by governments to take greater steps for tariff reductions
- [MNCs] Governments promotion of natural resources in a certain country Incentivised MNCs to set up mines/plantations/production facilities there
 - E.g. fruits in Latin America, oil in Middle East, cotton in Asia
- [MNCs] Government restriction of imports deter MNCs from investing in the country
 - E.g. European governments limited direct import of Japanese cars Japanese motor car factories invested in Europe and built factories there to sell their cars

3) To what extent was the **USA** responsible for the growth of the global economy from **1945 to 1973**?

USA was responsible for the growth of the global economy to a very large extent.

- Aid and assistance
 - Marshall Plan – US\$13 billion
 - Aid to Asia – US\$5.9billion
 - Dodge Plan – helped Japan balance budget deficits and end inflation
- Trade:
 - Open markets for countries all around the world as long as they adopted capitalist practices - One-way trading relationship with Japan
- Investments:
 - US MNCs such as Ford who initially invested in countries such as Japan and W Germany
 - Set the precedence for other countries to follow suit
- \$-Gold convertibility
 - Stability and predictability for international trade over fixed value of goods

However, other players, such as the multi-national corporations (MNCs) were responsible for the growth of the global economy as well.

- Invested in foreign countries Technological transfer / Jobs
- Incentives for industrialising countries to build up infrastructure and attract MNCs
 - Private Japanese firms FDI in mining/petroleum facilities in SEA
 - German chemical MNCs eg Bayer and Hoechst expanded in W Europe and US markets

However, USA was still more responsible.

- USA – trendsetters + set precedence for global investment
 - First wave of MNC activity: 1960s – US car manufacturing accounted for 25% of European car sector - US investment – 80% of Europe's computers
- Other countries merely sustained this MNC activity

There was also the role of the other state agents, which was also responsible for the growth of the global economy.

- Japan - flying geese model in SEA, important in driving regional growth and
- Western Europe - establishment of EEC, total integration of all economic markets with complete free trade and a common tariff against outside world - single market

However, USA was still more responsible.

- Jap and Europe initial capital came from USA

- Were also unable to lead the GE like USA as they had internal issues as well
- WB + IMF – USA provided a large portion of the subscription fees
- GATT – USA took the leading role in promoting trade with its open markets

4) How important was the USA for the development of the global economy from 1945 to 2000?

The USA was extremely important for the development of the global economy, especially during the years of the Golden Age, as its provision of financial aid to Europe as well as to Asia was integral to the economic rejuvenation of two key economic regions around the world. Likewise, its commitment to spread the ideals of free trade was essential in establishing a system of liberal trade networks which helped to facilitate the export-oriented strategies of many developing economies, spurring overall economic growth from 1945 to 1971. Whilst other factors such as the role of international frameworks (BWS) and role of MNCs should be considered, they are typically underpinned by American vision and initiatives. The decline of the USA from 1971 saw its prominence temporarily diminished, as other economic entities such as major industrialised economies, and even the IMF, took greater ownership of the global economy. However, the USA continued to be more important, especially in light of how its recovery in the 1990s sparked a new age of innovation and entrepreneurship in global economic development.

5) Assess the importance of international economic cooperation for the development of the global economy from 1945 – 2000.

International economic cooperation was critical in helping many countries recover from wartime devastation and embark on the path of development.

- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development – Rehabilitation of economies after WWII devastation - \$250 million loan to France in 1947
- USA European Recovery Programme from 1948 onwards
 - \$13 billion into European markets in return for open markets for US trade and investment - Asia received \$5.9 billion aid from the USA, also accepted much developmental assistance and loans from other developed economies and the WB
- WB agencies facilitated the process of economic development in countries where loans were channelled to
 - o International Finance Corporation (1956)
 - o International Development Association (1960)

Beyond post-war reconstruction, international economic cooperation was essential in creating stable and open conditions for international trade and investments to proliferate.

- BWS – Fixed exchange rate, with currencies pegged to the US dollar, which was fixed to the rate of gold - Stable and predictable environment for trade and investment
 - Made production more efficient
 - Low risk economic environment Increased rate of FDI transfers
- GATT, WTO

- Encouraged members to reduce tariffs and non-tariff barriers to further promote liberalisation of trade - E.g. Kennedy Round 1964, Tokyo Round 1973
- MNCs advanced international economic cooperation between developed and developing countries - Cheaper factors of production and access to markets for developed
- Capital, technology and skills transfer to developing Structural transformations, produce higher value added goods, integration into global economy
- E.g. 1960s: American car and computing firms invested in Europe and Japan, 1970s: Japanese firms invested in SEA mining and petroleum facilities

During the Crisis Decades however, there was a shift in attitude towards international economic cooperation. It appeared that an open and liberalised global economic environment brought about uneven development and unfair benefits, causing grave reservations towards full international cooperation. This led to competitive strategies and protectionist tendencies to safeguard national and regional interests.

- E.g. USA: One-way trading relationship with Japan, accepting their closed door protectionist policy yet allowing the Japanese goods to flood the US domestic market US trade deficit Devaluation of the USD in 1971 that ended the fixed exchange rate system
- E.g. SEA/Latin American economies: Barely started industrialising Unable to compete against larger foreign firms who could produce cheaper imports Unfair trade
- Developing economies: Often needed to import large amounts of raw materials for industrialisation and production, only could sell lower-value products such as agricultural goods Import value > Export value • Domestic protectionism, thwarting the efforts of GATT and WTO to reduce trade barriers
- E.g. OPEC used cartel action to reduce supply and raise prices Oil shocks in 1970s Oil-importing, oil dependent capitalist world affected through inflation, trade deficits and rising unemployment
- E.g. Some third world countries turned to profit-making private commercial banks for loans, compounding their problems when interest rates were raised and a debt spiral resulted.

However, one could argue that the problems of the Crisis Decades underscored the importance of international economic cooperation. Cooperation had to be effected in order for the world to overcome the problems faced.

- Oil crisis because OPEC countries did not cooperate with the rest of the world, protectionism because countries placed national interests before global interests
- 1985 Plaza Accords: collective effort to manage global currency exchange rates
- GATT continued to engage members in its discussions on the merits of free trade
- IMF attempted to alleviate the Third World Debt Crisis (loans, bailout packages, austerity measures etc.)

6) To what extent did the **Cold War** shape the growth of the global economy from 1945 to 1991?

The Cold War made the USA committed to the establishment of a robust capitalist network, to prove the superiority of the capitalist growth model. As such, the USA contributed to the reconstruction and development of economies in the capitalist world, to stave off poverty and blunt the appeal of communism. During the Cold War, proxy wars fought in various regions fuelled the rise of regional economic powerhouses. However, the Cold War also had a negative impact on the growth of the global economy. Resources were devoted to military spending instead of being more productively used for economic development. Countries not aligned with the USA were excluded from the global growth trajectory. Furthermore, Cold War politics touched the ME region, giving rise to oil being used as a political weapon and precipitating a global oil crisis. Nonetheless, there were also other factors not related to the Cold War that collectively drove the growth of the global economy, such as MNC's profit-driven motives and individual states' growth strategies. In the final analysis, it was still the Cold War that created the global economic environment conducive to the growth of the MNCs and many national economies, making the Cold War the factor that shaped global economic growth to the largest extent.

- US establishment of capitalist network
 - Aid given e.g. Marshall Plan, Aid to Asia, Dodge Plan
 - Championed the formation of the BWI to integrate its allies in a tight capitalist network reliant on American leadership and assistance
- Cold War proxy conflicts
 - Korean War and Vietnam War fuelled a boom in several SEA economies, as American troops based in the region procured supplies from those economies to support their war efforts Rise of Japan economy + Asian Tigers, models of capitalist success
 - Repeated crises in Berlin USA supported West Germany in order to serve as a regional engine for Western European recovery and growth Formation of European Economic Community to strengthen Europe as a bulwark against communism
- Cold War negative influence
 - Arms race, proxy wars etc Huge budget deficits for the USA
 - US tolerance of unfair trade practices of its Cold War allies Eventually US devalued the USD in 1971 and embraced protectionist measures
 - Divided Middle East, with USA supporting allies such as Israel, while some Arab countries looked to the USSR for political leverage Arab nations emboldened to use oil as a political weapon, when the USA backed Israel in the 1973 Yom Kippur War Set the stage for oil crises
 - Most populous countries in the world could not be included in the global growth trajectory (India part of NAM, China did not open its economy until the late 1970s)
- Cold War not the only factor that drove growth
 - MNCs profit-making motives US firms investment in Europe and Japan rose from \$2 billion in 1950 to \$41 billion in 1973

- Annual outflow of FDI from Japan shot up to \$2 billion a year in the 1980s
- Asian NIEs and SEA became major destinations for Japanese FDI
- Newly independent countries due to the decolonisation period were also hungry for growth in a bid to cement their sovereign status
- 1950s: Latin American countries – ISI
- 1960s and 1970s: Diversified, moving away from traditional dependence on extractive industries or monoculture, to developing viable manufacturing bases

- Cold War still most important factor

- MNCs able to flourish because of BWIs
- Initial MNCs were American e.g. Ford, McDonalds, of which the US government incentivised to support their capitalist outreach efforts
- Most successful developing economies were those that chose to align themselves with the USA in the bipolar Cold War order, therefore receiving a huge amount of American aid, developmental assistance and market access

Devt of Western Europe

- Key driver to growth in the region as countries came together to

Lacking balance - need to focus on another point on why it's importance was not needed for American problems - more fixated on global econ perspective,

Impt in driving growth in early years til 70s, once US started to face problems, it was no longer a main reason to influence decisions of the GE

- Once the BWS collapsed as the US experienced it's twin deficits of inflation and trade balance, the US had to take a step back and focus on it's internal issues
- Required international cooperation to manage and support the GE ie. Smithsonian and Plaza Accords
- Multilateral cooperation was required to coordinate GE as US export revenue ↓, compromising its ability to prop up the dollar and lead the GE's devt

7) 'It was politics rather than economics that determined the fortunes of the global economy from 1945 to 2000.' Discuss.

The post-WWII era saw the USA establish a political commitment towards a robust capitalist network, in order to win over allies and showcase the ideological superiority of the capitalist growth model. Nonetheless, there were also other factors unrelated to politics, which supported the development of the global economy, such as multinational corporations' (MNCs) profit-driven motives. The USA's 'twin deficits' and the collapse of the Bretton Woods System ushered in the global economic crises from 1971, and this brought economics to the forefront as the key reason to the changing fortunes of the global economy. Thus, while it was more prevalent that politics instead of economics determined the fortunes of the global economy from 1945 to the early 1970s, it was the reverse in the last three decades where economics were more important.

The Golden Age of Capitalism (1945-1973) was more a result of politics, rather than economics, as the global economy in its infancy needed the political leadership of the USA to set the stage for global economic growth.

- Cold War: USA needed to gain political allies, therefore providing aid to countries that aligned themselves with USA's liberal democratic and capitalist tendencies. Aid also to blunt the appeal of communist ideology e.g. Marshall Aid, Dodge Plan, aid to other anti-communist Asian, Latin American and ME allies
- USA championed formation of BWS to integrate its allies in a tight capitalist network reliant on American leadership and assistance e.g. Many countries joined WB and IMF to access low-interest loans for developmental assistance. In return, they opened up their economies to world trade and investment. USA dominated these institutions, having a veto on major issues such as admittance of new members and changes to laws of the organisations
- American involvement in proxy wars + heavy military spending to contain communism enhanced the economies of some nations e.g. Korean War and Vietnam War fuelled a boom in the economies of Japan, S Korea, Taiwan and SEA economies, as US troops based in the region procured supplies from those economies to support their war efforts. Led to Japanese economic miracle and rise of Asian Tigers, models of capitalist success

Even during the Golden Age of Capitalism, economic considerations of MNCs also brought about the spectacular growth of the global economy. Nonetheless, MNCs flourished only because of the conducive environment provided by the BWS that was established primarily because of the USA's political motivations.

- MNCs enticed by the cheaper costs of production in developing countries and the huge potential consumer markets which could become more accessible should they outsource the manufacturing process. In investing in other countries, MNCs facilitated the transfer of capital, technology and skills, encouraging the structural transformations of many economies around the world.
- E.g. US firms investment in Europe and Japan from \$2billion in 1950 to \$41billion in 1973. Annual outflow of FDI from Japan shot up from \$3.6billion/year in the 1970s to \$22billion/year in the 1980s
- MNCs able to flourish because of BWS, which the USA set up. Most successful MNCs were American e.g. Ford, General Motors, McDonalds, which the US government incentivised to support the superpower's capitalist outreach efforts

The twin deficits suffered by the USA led to the collapse of the BWS, which commenced the decline in the fortunes of the global economy. In that sense, it was clearly the USA's economic concerns that determined many of the developments in the crisis decades.

- While US budget deficits could be attributed to its political commitments, the ending of the dollar-gold convertibility and devaluation of the USD was largely an economic decision premised on the desire to reverse the USA's trade deficit
- Ending of BWS Lack of predictability and fortunes derived from global free trade
- Gave rise to a series of global economic crises e.g. Oil crises of the 1970s, increased protectionism

The post 1970s global economic crises (oil, protectionism and debt) that brought about a decline in the global fortunes were also largely due to economic reasons.

- Seemed political: OPEC used the pricing of oil as a weapon to punish the USA for their support of Israel in the 1973 Yom Kippur War. Iranian Revolution and subsequent Iran-Iraq War caused an oil-price spike in 1979. However, ME crisis had been ongoing with the USA strongly supporting Israel for decades, yet that political crisis did not bring about price hikes earlier on
- In contrast, oil producing countries were responding to the devaluation of the USD in 1971, which threatened to erode their earnings since oil was sold in USD. Hence OPEC quadrupled the price of oil to reflect changes and profits made after the devaluation of the USD, which was an economic move.
- 1970s: Increased trade barriers towards imports. Governments around the developed world realised the comparative advantage enjoyed by developing countries in terms of producing lower-valued and quality goods, with cheaper labour and greater loan assistance. Developed countries imposed tariff and non-tariff barriers
- Debt problem: huge influx of 'petro-dollars' in the wake of the oil crisis, prompting developing economies to borrow extensively at close to zero or even negative interest rates. However, over time, USA shored up their funds and increased their interest rates, resulting in inability of developing countries to repay the interests, let alone the principal of their loans. Debt crisis due to economics as Western commercial banks wanted to claw back as much money from debt ridden countries as possible.

After the Cold War ended in 1991, the fortunes of the global economy hinged even more on economic factors, as political affiliations mattered less in the increasingly integrated global economy.

- USA did not need to focus on CW politics turned its attention to revitalising the domestic economy • Plaza Accords 1985, when both Japanese Yen and German Deutschmark were allowed to appreciate as CW tensions were greatly reduced with the summit diplomacy
- 1990s: Global economy largely dependent on innovation and movement into the IT with the largest economy, USA, leading the way, followed by Asian NIEs and a resurgent China
- Opening up of China was also motivated by economic considerations of the Chinese government led by Deng. Ideological and political differences no longer mattered in dictating the economic relations between China and the rest of the capitalist world.
- Role of MNCs and new tech giants like IBM, Apple and Microsoft played a crucial role in the continued R&D and the global movements towards IT, and these economic motivations provided an upsurge in the fortunes of the global economy

8) **'The most important reason for the growth of the global economy from 1945 to 1973 was the rapid recovery of Western Europe after WWII.' How far do you agree?**

The rapid recovery of Western Europe after WWII meant a very important regional engine of growth was revived. Subsequently, Western Europe became a significant centre for industrial output, an important destination for global exports, a source of investment funds and technological expertise and a vital contributor to the Bretton Woods Institutions. However, one must not forget that Western Europe could recover so rapidly only because of US assistance and generosity. The USA was far more important in driving the growth of the global economy via its contributions of aid, developmental assistance, its open market and its leadership of the BWIs. - Japan's rise and regional impact

9) **How important was the role played by the Bretton Woods Institutions in the growth of the global economy from 1945 to 1971?**

The Bretton Woods Institution, namely the WB, IMF and GATT were instrumental in establishing a framework for international economic cooperation in the provision of loans and the development of trade and commerce.

- WB agencies facilitated the process of economic development in countries where loans were channelled to -
 - International Finance Corporation (1956)
 - International Development Association (1960)
- GATT, WTO
 - Encouraged members to reduce tariffs and non-tariff barriers to further promote liberalisation of trade - E.g. Kennedy Round 1964, Tokyo Round 1973

However, it is inadequate to consider the system in isolation from the 'players' who established and utilised it. The USA was crucial for global economic growth as it helped to prop up the system with its strong currency and free trade principles, as well as persuade other countries to participate in this system.

- Aid and assistance
 - Marshall Plan – US\$13 billion
 - Aid to Asia – US\$5.9billion
 - Dodge Plan – helped Japan balance budget deficits and end inflation

- Trade:
 - Open markets for countries all around the world as long as they adopted capitalist practices - One-way trading relationship with Japan
- Investments:
 - US MNCs such as Ford who initially invested in countries such as Japan and W Germany
 - Set the precedence for other countries to follow suit
- Role in the BWIs
 - \$-gold – Pegged US currency to gold as a stabiliser
 - WB + IMF – USA provided a large portion of the subscription fees
 - GATT – USA took the leading role in promoting trade with its open markets

Individual economies, members of the BWS, also helped to translate the decisions made at the conference in 1944 into real policies that could sustain real economic growth in the long run.

- Asian Newly Industrialising Economies: S Korea, Taiwan, Japan – Took the necessary measures to attract FDI
 - Infrastructure – transport, utilities, communication
 - Investment in human capital
 - Management of human resources (e.g. control over trade unions in Singapore)
- Transform themselves from developing to developed in 20-30 years

Finally, non-state actors such as the MNCs also helped to contribute to global economic growth by making use of the framework established at the BWS to move capital, skills and technology around the globe, ensuring rapid economic growth.

- Invested in foreign countries Helped economies grow + Technological transfer / Jobs
- Incentives for industrialising countries to build up infrastructure and attract MNCs
 - By 1973: MNCs had invested \$200 billion around the world
 - E.g. German chemical giant Hoechst 117 plants in 45 countries, generating jobs and increasing production levels in the global economy
 - Private Japanese firms FDI in mining/petroleum facilities in SEA

10) How important was the role played by the **Bretton Woods Institutions** in the growth of the global economy from **1945 to 2000?**

The Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates and its institutions were important to the development of the global economy in facilitating core economic processes especially in the Golden Age, and later in terms of crisis mitigation during the 'Crisis Decades'.

- Golden Age: Established a framework for international economic cooperation in the provision of loans and the development of trade and commerce.
 - WB agencies facilitated the process of economic development in countries where loans were channelled to:

International Finance Corporation (1956), International Development Association (1960)

- GATT, WTO: Encouraged members to reduce tariffs and non-tariff barriers to further promote liberalisation of trade e.g. Kennedy Round 1964, Tokyo Round 1973

- Crisis Decades: limited impact

- Rise in protectionism undermined by global commitment to free trade that made negative implications less serious e.g. GATT, WTO continued to engage countries in discussion of the merits of free trade - GATT

Uruguay Round 1986: Reduced tariffs by 40%% globally

- Despite AFC in 1997, volume of trade in goods and services continued to increase by 3.6% in 1998 - Latin America: Imports grew by 9.5%, EU: 7.5%

However, it should be noted that the Bretton Woods system ultimately a supporting role to larger American economic prerogatives from 1945 to 1971.

- \$-gold – Pegged US currency to gold as a stabiliser

- WB + IMF – USA provided a large portion of the subscription fees

- GATT – USA took the leading role in promoting trade with its open markets

Likewise, during the crisis decades, whilst the Bretton Woods Institutions played a larger role in mitigating economic challenges such as the rise of protectionism and the Third World Debt Crisis, their attempts were not always effective and even further exacerbated the global economic problems.

- Dollar-gold convertibility ended

- Brady Plan: Suggested that banks write off large amounts of debt in return for smaller amounts of debt bonds required third world countries to implement IMF adjustment programmes to the running of their economy, which was unacceptable for many countries

Lastly, from 1990 to 2000, whilst we do see GATT's evolution into WTO in 1995, the concurrent end of the Cold War and resurgence of American economic dominance further entrenched the argument that the Bretton Woods System was at best, playing second fiddle to other more important components in the global economy from 1945 to 2000.

- 1989: End of Cold War

- Need not support political allies from CW (Japan – no longer a one-way trading r/s)

- Lessen military support from places such as Afghanistan and E Europe

- US as a trendsetter

- Rise of new sectors – IT, Communications, Biotechnology

- Unprecedented areas of development and FDI for the global economy

- Even after the end of \$-gold convertibility Dollarisation

- Panama, Mexico, Peru etc pegged national currencies to US dollar even after end of \$-gold for stability

11) TWE were intl organisations and arrangements beneficial for the development of the global economy from 1945 to 2000?

Introduction: After World War II, the global economy became increasingly integrated, as many economies were dependent on one another for trade, investments and developmental assistance. To facilitate global economic cooperation, international arrangements and organisations were established. At the forefront were the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates and the Bretton Woods institutions of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD, later World Bank), initiated in 1944. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was introduced with its first round held in 1947, and later institutionalised as the World Trade Organisation in 1995. While these arrangements and organisations were largely crucial for coordinating efforts to promote transnational trade and investments as well as enable development, the benefits which they brought about was not sustained over time and proved more advantageous to the developed world rather than the developing countries and socialist bloc.

Point 1: Firstly, the Bretton Woods System of fixed exchange rates did benefit the development of the global economy during the Golden Age of Capitalism.

The gold exchange standard system fixed the US dollar to 1/35 ounces of gold and external value of other currencies to the US dollar. This system allowed for predictability and stability in currency exchange rates, thus facilitating international trade and investments. It also encouraged fixed capital formation.

Free trade encouraged countries to specialise in production of goods which they had a comparative advantage, resulting in more efficient resource allocation, economies of scale and increased output. With increased output, jobs were created and income levels rose. International free trade also encouraged competition and innovation, which could translate to economic growth. For instance, the fastest growing economies of the world in that era were those most focused on exports (e.g. USA, West Germany, Japan).

The positive correlation between the Bretton Woods System and rising global trade and investments can be seen in the following figures: from 1950 to 1970, value of global exports increased five-fold from US\$62 billion to US\$310 billion; from 1950 to 1966, American MNCs raised the number of their foreign affiliates from about 7,500 to over 23,000.

These MNCs brought about transfers of capital, technology and skills to many countries in Western Europe and Asia and created millions of jobs. Evidently, the fixed exchange rate system benefitted the development of the global economy.

Point 2: However, the benefits brought about by the Bretton Woods System attenuated over time.

For the dollar-gold convertibility to work, the USA must have the economic prowess to maintain it. But from 1948 to 1959, US gold holdings fell from US\$24.4 billion to US\$19.5 billion, as a result of massive expenditure on Cold War commitments (e.g. Korean War, security alliances, nuclear arms race). It was made worse by the mounting trade imbalances due to stiff competition and unfair trade practices of the USA's trade partners.

In 1960, for the first time, foreign dollar holdings exceeded US gold reserves and in November, the first run on the dollar occurred. While crisis was averted due to the ability of the USA to maintain the value of the dollar and the efforts of the Group of Ten to establish a fund for exchange rate management in 1961, the situation continued to worsen.

The USA's subsequent intervention in the Vietnam War worsened its budget deficit. Meanwhile, Western Europe, Japan and even the Asian Tiger economies began flooding the US market with cheaper but high-quality manufactured exports such as automobiles, electronics and textiles, causing US trade balance to turn negative in 1971, the first time it occurred since 1893.

By 1971, the USA's 'twin' deficits made it impossible for it to maintain the value of the US dollar. Hence, Nixon made the announcement to devalue the US dollar, paving the way for the ending of the Bretton Woods System. Thus, the benefits conferred by the system ended with its collapse.

Point 3: Unlike the fixed exchange rates system, the Bretton Woods Institutions-the IMF and World Bank-created more enduring benefits for the global economy over time.

- Established at the same conference in 1944, the two institutions outlived the fixed exchange rate system and even extended their reach to more beneficiaries over time.

Initially, IMF and World Bank provided loans mainly to the developed world, more specifically the ideological allies of the USA, which called the shots within both institutions.

IMF was designed to hold a buffer stock of currencies which it loaned to members when they experienced balance of payments deficits. It was meant to complement the Bretton Woods System, as such loans could help countries avoid competitive devaluation. Even after the collapse of the system, IMF helped countries such as Italy and UK with financing payments imbalances. The IBRD (later World Bank) provided long term low interest loans to members for developmental projects, such as transport, housing and education. The earliest recipients of the loans were war devastated European countries. E.g. in 1947, US\$250 million was loaned to France to finance infrastructure projects and purchase coal, oil and industrial raw materials; Netherlands received \$195 million for importing equipment and materials required for reindustrialisation.

Over time, both institutions focused more on assisting the developing world. From the 1970s, World Bank shifted its attention to poverty eradication in the Third World. E.g. Thailand received assistance to develop education and communications; India received loans which financed a major land reclamation project; Morocco used the loans to expand its network of roads to facilitate urbanisation. Other major recipients of World Bank loans include Argentina, Brazil, Indonesia, Pakistan, China, Russia and Hungary, a testament to how World Bank loans benefitted the Third World and even the former socialist bloc.

The IMF rose to prominence in the 1980s, with its role in managing the Third World Debt Crisis. Debtor nations approached the IMF for bail-out loans, which were disbursed when Structural Adjustment Programmes were adopted. SAPs often required borrower nations to reduce public expenditure, privatise and deregulate the economy.

By the end of 1983, 17 Latin American countries and a number of African countries had adjustment agreement with the IMF. Though a long-drawn and painful process, debt management eventually worked and a number of debtor nations returned to a state of creditworthiness by the 1990s.

Point 4: Nonetheless, there were harsh criticisms of the World Bank and IMF, with allegations of their loans and policy recommendations being uneven and detrimental to recipients.

Critics of the World Bank alleged that loans came with ideological and political obligations. For instance, loans were denied to the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Poland during the Cold War.

Furthermore, World Bank loans to Third World governments encouraged greater state involvement in the economy, but state enterprises often proved less efficient and innovative compared to private enterprises. Also, the lack of monitoring of how loans were used and channelled resulted in the poorest citizens not benefiting from loans.

IMF management of the debt crisis also came under fire. Stabilisation and austerity programmes attached to IMF loans often imposed cruel social and economic costs on the poorest people (e.g. ending of fuel and food

subsidies, cutting of healthcare and education expenditure), resulting in political upheavals and social unrest in countries such as Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil and Ecuador.

It also came under harsh criticism for its 'one size fits all' recommendations for reforms without taking into account unique conditions of countries, and for imposing penalties on excessive borrowers, but not doing the same to excessive lenders (i.e. commercial banks). In addition, IMF ran into a lot of difficulties recalling loans, as many developing countries experienced debt fatigue and were less able to repay their loans due to compound interest.

Hence, although World Bank and IMF did sustain its involvement in helping the global economy over time, the benefits of its loans and policy prescriptions were uneven and questionable.

Point 5: Finally, GATT and WTO consistently worked towards trade liberalisation, encouraging more economies to lower and remove trade barriers, which benefitted global development.

As mentioned earlier, free trade brought significant benefits to the global economy. Through consecutive trade rounds, more and more economies came together to negotiate the eradication of trade barriers.

At the Geneva Round of 1947, 23 participating countries agreed to 45,000 trade concessions affecting US\$10 billion worth of trade. At Tokyo Round of 1973-79, 102 nations agreed on tariff reductions worth more than US\$300 billion. Non-tariff barriers were debated and Third World countries received more flexible privileges.

The increased membership and tangible reductions in trade barriers for manufactured products over the years attest to the success of GATT in promoting global free trade, thus benefiting the global economy on a wider scale.

At the Uruguay Round of 1986-94, the WTO was established, which institutionalised the mechanisms of GATT. Being a rules-based and formal institution, WTO agreements are legally-binding. It also deals with trade in services and intellectual property, not just goods. It has a dispute settlement system which is faster and more automatic than the old GATT system, and a trade policy review mechanism which increases the transparency of members' trade practices. Overall, WTO made it harder for protectionism, since trade rules became far more stringent.

Statistics looked promising: in 1998, imports grew by 10.5% in Canada and the USA, 7.5% in the EU, 9.5% in Latin America and 10% in the countries of the former Soviet bloc; even with the contraction of many Asian economies following the Financial Crisis of 1997, the volume of trade in goods and services grew by 3.6% in 1998.

Point 6: Despite the boost to free trade, there remained criticisms of GATT and WTO widening the gap between rich and poor, which once again underscores the unequal benefits brought about by international arrangements and organisations.

In the early decades of GATT's existence, membership was dominated by developed countries rather than developing countries. GATT tariff negotiations reduced barriers to manufactured goods which developed countries exported, but barriers to the commodity exports of developing countries were left intact.

The unequal balance of power within GATT and WTO persisted over time, with many smaller developing nations having weak bargaining power, such that the concessions benefitted them less. For example, at the Seattle meeting of 1999, the EU and Japan dug in on agricultural subsidies, while the USA called for trade sanctions against countries which exploited cheap labour and contributed to environmental degradation in a clear reference to many poor developing nations. As such, the Third World found it hard to overcome the protectionist measures of the First World, even as they were bound to remove barriers against the exports of the rich nations.

Conclusion: While international arrangements and organisations did bring significant benefits to the global economy by facilitating trade, promoting investments and accelerating development over time and for more countries, these benefits were mostly uneven, often benefiting the First World more so than the Second or Third World.

Topic 3: PROBLEMS OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

1) Which created more problems for the development of the global economy between 1970 and 2000: **protectionism or the third world debt crisis?**

The debt crisis created more problems for the development of the global economy as it only had negative implications.

- High external debt Hyperinflation + capital flight
 - Latin America government sector external debt rose 10 times from 1973 – 1983
 - 1982: Mexico government even had to default on its debts
- Banks stopped loaning money Decreased investments/production/trade Decreased economic growth - Major US and British banks increase loan loss reserves from 25 – 30%
- Third world: Money goes to repaying debts lost potential for development Decreased economic growth - 1965 – 1980: 6.3% a year 1980 – 1990: 1.7% a year
- Socio-economic problems: Austerity drives Increased cost of living
 - Brazil: price of beans increase by 769%, price of rice increase by 188%
- Chile: Cutbacks on state provision of clean water/sanitation Massive water-borne diseases

In contrast, while there were negative implications to protectionism, there were also positive implications, meaning that protectionism caused fewer problems for the development of the global economy.

- (-ve): Inefficiencies created by overdependence on protectionism
 - E.g. Thailand: Import duties to protect the economy ended up protecting inefficient domestic producer (infant industries that were meant to develop), hindering competitiveness
- (+ve): Protect domestic markets
 - E.g. USA: Oil shock + recession 100% tariffs on \$1 billion worth of Chinese goods to protect imports from flooding markets
 - E.g. Japan + EU: quotas + import duties on exports from Asian NIEs who were rapidly producing and exporting

The debt crisis also created more problems for the development of the global economy as compared to protectionism due to the greater persistence of this problem, as well as the failure of its solutions to be manifested.

- Baker Plan:
 - Proposed for commercial banks to begin making loans to debtor nations again
 - Banks refused due to massive defaults by some debtor nations such as Mexico
 - Debtor nations also refused to submit to stricter adjustment conditions of proposed structural reforms by the IMF
- Brady Plan
 - Suggested that banks write off large amounts of debt in return for smaller amount of debt-bonds - Limited in application

- IMF bail-out loans
 - Debtor nations go to IMF to plan a programme to recover economy in return for IMF lending a small amount of money to them
 - Did not work e.g. Mexico foreign debt rose from the compounding interest rates on prior loans
- In contrast, problems created by protectionism were ultimately solved in the long run.
- Negative implications of protectionism mitigated over time
- Global commitment to free trade
 - GATT rounds continued e.g. Tokyo Round: cut in tariffs of 25-30% worldwide + measures to remove non tariff barriers such as lengthy customs clearances, quotas etc
 - GATT → WTO, a more formalised institution that held members together
 - Proliferation of MNCs → Always in search of new markets to produce and sell e.g. China opening of Special Economic Zone in the 1980s for trading, Creation of trade blocs such as the Asean Free Trade Area (AFTA), North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum (APEC) for free movement of capital and goods

2) The most important problem facing the development of the global economy in the period 1945 to 2000 was the **oil crises of the 1970s**. HFDYA?

Oil crises of the 1970s were the most important problem as it created vastly negative impacts on trade, production and developing countries.

- Oil Global dependence + Made up 43% of total global energy use
- Slowdown in production 1974 to 1975: Industrial output decreased by 10% globally
- Oil used for transport Transportation costs increase Slowdown in trade
- Developing countries in the midst of industrialisation and therefore had continued reliance on oil
Had to keep importing oil Borrow money to finance imports Set the ground for debt crisis in the later years -> banks had to frantically reinvest petrodollars, in order to repay the interest payments for OPEC members and were willing to give it to any nation that needed it > financial mismanagement

However, the oil crisis was not a problem for the entire global economy as some still benefited from it, meaning it was not the most important problem facing the development of the global economy.

- Benefitted oil-exporting countries
 - Arabs grew wealthy from the oil shock
 - Creation of PETRODOLLARS: surplus funds in short term investments and pumped into financial markets (EROR)
 - OPEC members used THEIR BOP surplus to fund their own countries devt
 - Shah of Iran even took the opportunity to modernise Iran in the 'White Revolution'
- Benefitted US/European manufacturers who were doing business with these oil-exporting countries
- E.g. arms manufacturers, banks, shipping, industrial building

Additionally, the oil crisis was a problem that caused long term positive impacts, and hence was not the more important problem facing the development of the global economy throughout this period.

- • Industrialised countries developed more energy-efficient methods of production
 - Japan: Decreased consumption of oil by 5% and created more sustainable energy sources ie; nuclear energy plants
 - Other non-OPEC producers: search for alternative forms of energy e.g. coal, hydro-electric power, natural gas etc
 - ultimately, revealed key weakness in depending on oil and allowed countries eyes to be opened to the problems of relying solely on oil for the devt of the nation

On the other hand, a more important problem in the global economy would be the trade imbalances faced by certain economies, and thus the increased protectionist measures they put in place. Protectionism resulted in inefficiency and misallocation of resources, a longer term problem as compared to the oil crises that were overcome quite quickly.

- Inefficiencies created by overdependence on protectionism
 - E.g. Developing nations like Thailand and Indonesia: Import duties to protect the economy ended up protecting inefficient domestic producers, hindering competitiveness
- Misallocation of resources
 - E.g. Indonesia: Invested in oil/minerals which was unsustainable in the long run as they will run out - E.g. Latin American countries such as Mexico

However, once again, protectionism, like the oil crises, was overcome in the long run due to the global commitment to free trade. Furthermore, protectionism only affected the efficiency of the economies, not having a direct impact on the global economy unlike the oil crises. (maybe can cut this)

- GATT rounds continued e.g. Tokyo Round: cut in tariffs of 25-30% worldwide + measures to remove non-tariff barriers such as lengthy customs clearances, quotas etc
- GATT → WTO, a more formalised institution that held members together
- More regional investment → China opening of Special Economic Zone in the 1980s for trading, Creation of trade blocs such as the Asean Free Trade Area (AFTA), North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum (APEC) for free movement of capital and goods → protectionism kind of lead to increased amounts of trade as well as countries relied more on the regional trading blocs

In contrast, the most important(severe) problem facing the development of the global economy in this period was the debt crisis of the third world, for it created no positive impacts, and was a problem which persisted longest, in comparison to the oil crises and protectionism. - resulted in lost decades, and they never truly recovered back

- High external debt Hyperinflation + capital flight
 - Latin America government sector external debt rose 10 times from 1973 – 1983
 - 1982: Mexico government even had to default on its debts
- Banks stopped loaning money Decreased investments/production/trade Decreased economic growth - Major US and British banks increase loan loss reserves from 25 – 30%
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- Socio-economic problems: Austerity drives Increased cost of living
 - Brazil: price of beans increase by 769%, price of rice increase by 188%
 - Chile: Cutbacks on state provision of clean water/sanitation Massive water-borne diseases
- Failure of solutions to manifest
 - Baker Plan: Proposed for commercial banks to begin making loans to debtor nations again but banks refused due to massive defaults by some debtor nations such as Mexico
 - Brady Plan: Limited in application
 - IMF bail-out loans: Did not work due to their limited impact in solving the root cause of the issue e.g. Mexico foreign debt rose to \$80 billion in 1993

3) To what extent was the **US** responsible for problems in the global economy in the period from 1970 to 2000?

From the 1970s, the global economy experienced a deep malaise, wracked by the oil crises, the exchange rate volatility and the Third World Debt Crisis. The dominance of the US economy meant that it could not share responsibility for the various problems. However, the policies of OPEC, competitive undercutting by the USA's economic rivals, economic mismanagement by Third World governments and lack of regulation and transparency of commercial banks also contributed immensely to the problems of the global economy. As such, while the USA was responsible for the way it manipulated the global economy to suit its own interests, other economic agents must shoulder a larger extent of responsibility for creating the pressures which even the USA was unable to adequately respond to.

4) To what extent do you agree that the problems affecting the global economy in the 1970s and 1980s were brought about by the policies of the developed countries?

STAND: Culmination of competing economic interests of both developed and developing nation. Lack of global consensus wrt economic direction upended global economic stability

It can be argued that policies by developed countries brought about problems affecting the global economy as it was the developed countries that first pursued protectionist measures to protect their individual economies. This in turn led to a larger global economic crisis in the rise of trade imbalances and protectionism.

However the rise of protectionism cannot be entirely blamed upon the policies of the developed countries as it was also an active economic choice made by individual developing nations.

Aside from the rise of protectionism, policies by developed countries also brought about the oil crisis which brought about widespread implications of a stagflation in the global economy as cost of production rose rapidly.

However, the blame with regard to the oil crises cannot be placed solely on the policies of developed nations as it was the political developments in oil-producing nations that also played a crucial part.

The Third World Debt Crisis was also a long term implication of the oil crisis that developed due to the monetary policies of developed countries.

Ultimately, even while the policies of developed countries contributed to the Third World Debt Crisis, it was still the poor investments made by such countries that fundamentally created such a problem.

-protectionism in developing countries really only hurt the developing countries as the developed countries also enacted protectionism(completely closed of the market for developing countries)

- unsustainable i/r by developed countries also contributed to the debt crisis as countries

5) Assess the severity of the problems faced by the global economy from 1973 to 2000.

PROBLEM	NEGATIVES	POSITIVES
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<p>1973 and 1979 Oil Crises</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global dependence on oil – oil amounted for almost half of total global energy use • Increase in oil prices Costs of production increase Production slowed down in various countries • Global industrial output drop by 10% following 1st Oil Crisis • Inflation in many countries: France 14%, Japan 23% • Social strife that occurred from the increase in prices, e.g. demonstrations by taxi drivers against rising gas prices in Japan • Made foreigners more wary of investing, deterring FDI necessary to fund industrial growth in the economy • Oil needed for transport Increased transport costs Decreased trade between countries Decreased export revenue • Developing countries: 1970s aggressive industrialisation IS measures meant they needed oil to fuel their industrial growth, and had no choice but to continue importing oil at inflated prices • US\$30 billion spent on imports in 1st oil crisis, US\$50 billion in 2nd • Precursor for Third World Debt Crisis as developing countries had to borrow money to pay for their imports, which they had trouble returning in the later years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative implications only lasted for a short period • OPEC not a monolithic bloc Producers did not fully adhere to cartel agreements to limit supply of oil to keep prices high • Indonesia, Iran, Nigeria tries to ride on increased oil prices to increase production and sell more oil • Increased supply of oil lowered inflationary pressure, solving slowdown in production, trade and investments • By 1986: oil prices had decreased from more than \$30 a barrel to \$10 • OPEC countries also used money benefitted from increase in oil prices to invest petro-dollars in short term investments in the USA and Western European countries e.g. Germany and France, earning money from profits and interests that helped grow their economy • Long term positive effects, which undermined negative impacts in the short run • Countries began to develop more energy efficient methods of production e.g. Japan: decreased consumption of oil by 5% in 1980 • Non-OPEC producers in USA and South America started searching for natural gas, hydro-electric power etc • More sustainable forms of energy to stimulate manufacturing and industrialisation in the global economy, causing negative impacts to become less severe
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Rise of Protectionism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trade imbalances by certain countries • Negative implications on trade and production • Misallocation of resources that hampered the growth of the global economy Resources allocated to industries that were not efficient e.g. Indonesia: government invested in research and development for accessing oil and minerals, but unsustainability of raw materials in the long run • Overdependence of industries on government protection Loss of competitiveness of industry and inefficiency e.g. Japan: economy dominated by large conglomerates such as Hitachi, Toyota, Fuji, that were non-competitive and inefficient Difficult for other small companies to compete, making them less incentivised to innovate or improve productive efficiency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No direct impact on population, as compared to social strife that resulted from oil crises • Undermined by global commitment to free trade that made negative implications less serious e.g. GATT, WTO continued to engage countries in discussion of the merits of free trade • GATT Uruguay Round 1986: Reduced tariffs by 40%% globally - move to more intl cooperation • Despite AFC in 1997, volume of trade in goods and services continued to increase by 3.6% in 1998 • Latin America: Imports grew by 9.5%, EU: 7.5% • Global economy's trade not directly affected by increase in protectionist measures • Protectionism even helped to develop regional trading blocs and increase trade volume
Third World Debt Crisis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most severe, as it only had negative implications and solutions could not be carried out, making the problem much more persistent, lead to 'lost decades' for latin american countries like Mexico - however, its impact was mostly regional and didn't impact global trade • Developing countries industrialisation period Import value > Export revenue Trade deficits • Need to industrialise continue importing raw materials borrow money from banks to pay for their imports • External debt increased e.g. debt of Latin American countries increased by 10 times between 	

	<p>1973 and 1983</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • External debt long lasting and difficult to overcome as interest rates increased at a compound rate, and developing countries ended up borrowing money just to repay interests of their original debts Massive increase in debt • Default of payments of debts by Mexican and Brazilian governments made banks less willing to loan money for fear of no return less money to fund MNC investments to spur the growth of global industries -> led to lost decades for latin american countries • Problem compounded by Oil Crises of the time, which caused developing countries to have to import oil at inflated prices. Protectionism also made access to markets for exports harder. • Solutions failed to be carried out • Baker Plan: Proposed for commercial banks to make loans to debtor nations failed as banks refused to loan money after witnessing the default of loans by countries (e.g. Mexico, Brazil) • Brady Plan: Suggested that banks write off large amounts of debt in return for smaller amounts of debt bonds required third world countries to implement IMF adjustment programmes to the running of their economy, which was unacceptable for many countries • Even when this was applied, debt reduction was not achieved – e.g. Mexico's debt came up to \$99 billion in 1997 from \$80 billion in 1993 • External debt of all developing countries reached \$1601 billion by 1993
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★ Severity: Third World Debt Crisis

- Oil crises brought about increase in costs of production across all economies, yet this could be mitigated with the advancement of more fuel efficient technology (nuclear energy movement in Japan -> lowered reliance on oil)
- Similarly, for protectionism, growth of regional trade limited the negative implications that came with the decline in global free trade
- However, with the Third World Debt Crisis, damage may have been restricted to developing countries, but it was still a severe problem which could not be easily solved. Mounting interests forced debtor nations into a near impossible task to repay their debts

★ Significance: Oil Crisis

- Virtually every single oil importer (whether developed or developing) was confronted by astronomical oil import bills and severe recession that slowed down their development
- Oil crisis exacerbated the trade imbalances faced by many countries, accelerating the trend towards protectionism
- Roots of the Debt Crisis can be found in the Oil Crisis, where petrodollars were readily recycled as loans to the Third World
- In contrast, rise of protectionism and Third World Debt Crisis were problems of lower intensity and afflicted the developed economies less severely than the developing economies
 - Caused the countries to move in different strategic directions and diversify as it highlighted the issues of depending on oil - important as it made people realise issues that were not thought of

“The global economy escaped unscathed from problems of the Crisis Decades” HFDYA

Introduction: The Crisis Decades of the 1970s and 1980s saw the emergence of problems such as the oil shocks of the 1970s, the rise of protectionism on a global scale and the onset of the Third World Debt Crisis of the 1980s. These problems brought about severe disruptions to production, investments and trade, caused significant economic downturn and even recessions, and created an urgent need to transform the way which the global economy functioned. Nonetheless, while the Crises Decades did slow down the pace of global economic development, many of the developed and newly industrialising economies were able to respond nimbly to the problems, and thus escape unscathed. Unfortunately, this was not the case for much of the developing world, which struggled to overcome the problems and experienced long term economic difficulties thereafter.

Point 1: The 1970s oil shocks brought severe disruptions to global production and trade, thus negatively affecting the development of the global economy.

1973 oil shock came about following the Yom Kippur War-Arab nations in OPEC used oil as a weapon to retaliate against USA and other western nations supporting Israel. OPEC nationalised oil companies, cut back on production and embargoed oil shipments. Oil prices quadrupled. 1979 oil shock took place following the Iranian Revolution. Since the 2nd largest oil exporter was unable to sustain production levels, decrease in supply caused prices to skyrocket once more.

Oil prices shot up to unprecedented levels, vastly adding to import bills (eg. 1st oil shock added \$30 billion to developing nations imports; 2nd oil shock added \$50 billion); balance of payments deficits occurred (e.g. in 1974, Japan's deficit was \$8 billion and Britain's \$10 billion); inflation worsened (eg. in 1974, consumer prices rose 12% in USA; 23% in Japan). As a result, costs of production went up and producers had to cut back on production (e.g. 1974-75, industrial output dropped 10% in the industrial world); unemployment rose to unacceptable levels, consumption levels fell (e.g. 1979-83, global consumption fell 10%) and recession followed. This abruptly ended the Golden Age of Capitalism and wreaked havoc on the global economy.

Point 2: However, while the oil crises created upheaval for many oil importing nations, some coped with the problems so decisively that their economies bounced back, leaving them unscathed.

In developed economies, short-term emergency energy-saving measures adopted (eg. temporary ban on Sunday motoring in Belgium and Denmark; halving of street lighting in UK and Greece), over time, industrialised countries developed energy-efficient methods of production (eg in 1980, Japan decreased consumption of oil by 5% but still grew economically by 4%).

Alternative sources of energy sought (eg. harvesting from new oil fields in North Sea and South America; use of hydroelectric and nuclear power). Quite effective, such that reduced dependence on OPEC oil made the global economy less vulnerable to OPEC's actions. In 1985-86, 'reverse oil shock occurred, where oil prices fell sharply. Furthermore, in the 1980s, with transformation of the global energy market and also OPEC disunity (some members did not adhere to production quotas), the oil cartel collapsed. As such, periods of instability ended and developed economies continued to chart positive growth rates.

Against the backdrop of oil crises, Asian Tiger economies also coped by moving away from energy intensive industries, steering their economies towards technologically-driven industries and tertiary sectors instead. E.g. South Korea and Taiwan developed the electronics sector, which was less energy-dependent but higher value-added, following the 1985 recession, Singapore diversified away from manufacturing, leveraging on

financial services to grow its economy further

However, the same could not be said of many developing countries, as they were in the midst of industrialisation and heavily dependent on oil imports. As such, they were compelled to borrow heavily to sustain industrialisation and purchase oil at inflated prices. To compound matters, the availability of petrodollars and low interest rates offered by commercial banks to recycle petrodollars set the stage for the Third World debt crisis, as will be discussed later.

Point 3: The rise of protectionism created productive inefficiencies, gave rise to trade wars and suppressed the growth of developing countries, making it an extensive problem for the global economy.

In 1970s and 1980s, a wave of protectionist sentiments arose against the context of global economic recession. Governments of developed economies were pressured by domestic producers to erect trade barriers to guard against unfair competition from both the developed and the developing world (eg. automobile industry in USA, farm lobbies in France). Amongst the developing countries, the import substitution industrialisation model also entailed the use of protectionist measures to nurture infant industries (eg. electronics sector for South Korea and Taiwan; automobile parts and electronics parts in Thailand).

However, protectionism raised costs and made producers less competitive, prices raised for consumers as well. E.g. in 1980s, import restrictions on computer parts forced American computer makers to shift production overseas (eg. Apple); imposition of voluntary export restraints on Japanese automobile imports decreased competitive stimulus, resulting in US automakers modernising much slower.

Furthermore, trade disputes broke out between USA and Japan over automobiles and electronics, and between USA and Europe over agricultural commodities, severely disrupting diplomatic relations. Eg. 1982, Hitachi executives arrested over allegedly stealing (BM technology).

The rise of protectionism also created global inequalities as it affected the developing countries more severely. Even though trade concessions were offered at GATT and WTO rounds, they did not favour the developing world. For instance, the Tokyo Round saw more concessions on manufactured goods than agricultural commodities, which benefited developed countries more than developing countries. Even following the Uruguay Round where more concessions were granted to agricultural goods, terms of trade were still against the developing world. EI and Japan imposed zero tariffs on unprocessed coffee beans but tariff levels were 7-12% on roasted beans, which restricted the volume of higher valued added exports from the developing world

Point 4: Nonetheless, while rising protectionist sentiments were difficult to eradicate, the negative experiences created the impetus to diversify the global trading network and to develop new sectors for growth, hence steering trade-driven development back on track and leaving much of the global economy unscathed.

Though trade negotiations were stymied during the Tokyo Round of 1973-79 and the Uruguay Round of 1986-94, such as the developed nations refusal to make concessions on agriculture and textiles, many countries continued to recognise the importance of trade and began negotiating bilateral free trade agreements or form regional trade blocs to facilitate free trade on a smaller scale. As such, trade blocs such as APEC, NAFTA and AFTA were formed, helping to drive regional trade and investments, key basis for further growth in the Asia-Pacific, North America and Southeast Asia.

WTO established in 1995, creating a more stable framework to govern trade relations. Unlike GATT, WTO has a sound legal basis and is a rule-based organisation operating on the basis of consensus. WTO deals with trade in services and intellectual property, not just goods. WTO has a dispute settlement mechanism that is faster and

more automatic than the old GATT system, and it also introduced a trade policy review mechanism that increases the transparency of members' trade policies and practices. Institutionalisation of the global trading system helped steer global free trade back on course

The leading players in the global economy also devised new economic strategies to maintain a continuous trajectory of growth despite the rise of protectionism. In the 1980s, Japan leveraged on the strong yen to invest in Southeast Asian economies, so as to cultivate new markets to circumvent American and European protectionism on its automobile and electronic exports. Following the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, the USA developed new sectors of growth in information technology, popular entertainment and biotechnology, so that its exports continued to flood global markets due to absence of competition.

Nonetheless, protectionism continued to plague the developing world. Not only did they remain as the targets of the developed world's protectionist measures (eg. in the 1990s, the USA shifted its attention to China's cheap manufactured exports), their governments found it hard to remove protectionism due to resistance by local producers and crony capitalism, which made the state continue to shield inefficient industries from foreign competition (eg. Thailand and Indonesia saw continued protection of labour-intensive manufacturing sectors).

Point 5: The 1980s debt crisis sent shock waves across the global financial system and also gravely derailed the growth of the Third World.

Roots of debt crisis could be traced to oil crisis-following oil shocks, petrodollars earned by OPEC oil producers were deposited into the world's financial markets (around \$150 billion from 1974- 80); banks moved quickly to lend the money out at low interest rates to developing nations in need of credit for oil imports and to sustain industrialisation drives. Loans were mismanaged by the Third World governments (e.g. stashed away by corrupt regimes or used for military build-up).

To compound matters, interest rates kept rising after US Federal Reserve announced interest rate hikes in 1981. Borrower nations struggled to repay loans-share of export earnings diverted to debt servicing rose from 16% in 1977 to 25% in 1982. In Aug 1982, Mexico announced a default; in Dec 1982, Brazil did the same. With defaults, value of several major banks fell on stock markets of the world, fuelled by the collapse of confidence in the international banking system. Severe economic downturn hit the most heavily indebted nations-eg. in 1983, rate of investment fell by 21% and GDP fell by 2.9%; over the course of the 1980s, real income of workers in parts of Latin American declined by 40%.

Austerity measures recommended by IMF resulted in governments spending less on health care, education and infrastructure, which hampered development. Food prices skyrocketed everywhere (eg. in Brazil, price of beans rose 769% in one year, in Bolivia, price of bread quadrupled and bottled gas for cooking rose 20 times). Between 1985 and 1992, 56 IMF riots broke out in developing countries around Latin America, Africa and Asia, leaving many injured and millions of dollars in losses from looting and vandalism. Such instability in the Third World exacerbated capital flight and deterred investors from returning.

Point 6: Still, it is important to bear in mind that though economic development of the worst-hit debtor nations was completely derailed during their 'Lost Decades', other developing nations overcame the debt burden. The global financial system also escaped unscathed.

IMF responded swiftly to help drag debtor nations out of economic morass-it offered bail-out loans on condition that debtor nations adhered to a programme of macroeconomic stabilisation and economic adjustments. Targets for inflation, government spending, balanced budgets were set; countries were expected to privatise, deregulate industries and open up to foreign trade and investment. IMF also helped debtors negotiate for rescheduling of debt. By end of 1983, 17 Latin American and a number of African countries had adjustment agreements with IMF.

Unfortunately, by 1989, some 70 countries still struggled under the burden of IMF demands. In 1990, 30.9% of Indonesian exports, 26.8% of Indian exports and 24.5% of Bangladeshi exports went to servicing foreign debt, with debt fatigue setting in, some Latin American countries suspended debt payment. This dented investor confidence and economic stagnation persisted.

However, other debtor nations managed to restore creditworthiness and economic stability. Eg. 1988-92, Mexico grew at an annual average rate of 3.5%; it joined GATT in 1986 in a bid to shift towards export-oriented development; it signed the NAFTA agreement to open up to regional investments and trade with USA and Canada. Turkey and South Korea also made quick structural adjustments and resumed growth; in fact, South Korea rose to become an Asian Tiger economy.

The danger of a global financial meltdown from defaults on Third World debt was also eliminated as the world's largest banks which were substantially exposed managed to sell off the loans, diversify their portfolios and set aside financial reserves against the possibility of Third World losses. These measures were effective, such as by 1992, developing country debt had fallen to roughly half of capital assets for the 9 largest US banks.

Conclusion: Although the problems of the Crisis Decades were far-reaching and extremely disruptive, the developed world did escape relatively unscathed through bold and innovative measures to overcome the problems. In contrast, the developing world was less able to cope with the problems, suffering more long-lasting disruptions and damage.

Topic 4: CONGO CRISIS (1960-1965)

1) Context of Congo Crisis

a) Background to the Congo Crisis

i) Colonial legacy sowing the seeds of secession

- Divide and rule.

Belgian Congo was administratively divided into 6 provinces and each province further divided into districts. These districts were further divided into territories, each territory managed by a territorial administrator.

The deliberate separation of the people of Congo posed a significant roadblock to national unity as each sought to secure their ethnic interests and privileges as independence loomed near.

In addition to division of the population, the Belgian colonial administrators also treated ethnic groups differently, prompting local agitation for power and authority.

E.g. South Kasai: At first, colonial administration favoured the Kasai Baluba and promoted Kasai Baluba to positions above other ethnicities. However, from the 1950s, the Belgians began to fear that the rise of a powerful Kasai Baluba elite would threaten colonial rule and began supporting Bena Lulua organisations. This further contributed to the growing ethnic polarisation between the two groups.

In addition, not all provinces were administered directly under the Belgians. For instance, Katanga was administered separately until 1933 when administrative reorganisation brought Katanga in accordance with other provinces under the central colonial administration. The separate administration of Katanga for a significant part of their history seeded their desire for a more autonomous position after independence.

- Promoting integration.

Katanga is home to the dominant native/indigenous ethnic groups. These groups however have historically claimed to be underrepresented in the central government. Hence, the desire for greater representation fuelled demands for greater local authority and autonomy, paving the way for secessionism.

Further compounding Katanga's desire for autonomy was the threat posed by immigration. Belgian corporations and colonial administration promoted immigration from neighbouring territories and colonies to fuel the booming industries. Transmigration within Congo was also promoted.

> 1/3 of Katanga's population in the late 1950s was comprised of immigrants from Kasai (different region from Katanga). In large Urban centres, immigrants comprised of half the population.

In a bid to secure their political future, the indigenous groups of Katanga advocated for autonomy from central authority. Native Congolese sought to defend their interests against immigrant communities.

ii) Western economic interests

- Congo is drenched in mineral wealth. Possessing high amounts of Cobalt, Diamonds and Copper.
- Those administering the Belgian colony were heavily invested in its wealth. Belgian royal family and the Belgian government had strong connections with the mining companies and profits coming out of the Congo. In 1952, five holding companies controlled 70% of all Congolese investment and the government held a strong interest in all 5. E.g UMHK/ Forminiere
- Beyond economic interests linked to Belgian colonial legacy, several American financial groups acquired interests in Belgian dominated companies. American firms eventually deepened investment by floating loans and investing directly in the Congo.
- The British also had companies which held shares in companies operating in the Congo, and owned infrastructure such as railways.
- The desire to preserve their economic interests encouraged both governments and corporations to cultivate relationships with local leaders, culminating in the support for secessionist movements in resource rich areas.
- Belgium could no longer keep the Congo isolated by the 1950s. Congolese leaders increasingly turned to both the USA and the Soviet Union for moral and financial support.

- b)
- c)
- d)
- e) **Independence of Congo**

i) Negotiations for an independent Congo

- Late 1950s -> witnessed the emergence of independence leaders and two stood out: Patrice Lumumba and Joseph Kasa-Vubu. 1958-> A group of Congolese intellectuals (evolues) presented Congo Governor General with a petition demanding that a date be set for independence.
- Two young Congolese however, quickly found themselves in competition with each other

Lumumba: Movement National Congolais (MNC) -> only NATIONWIDE (not ethnic) political organisation. Wanted genuine responsibility (control) of Congo's government for political, social and economic development. Wanted 'total emancipation' -> complete end of Belgian colonial rule and the establishment of full independence for the Congo.
MNC->STRONGLY ANTI IMPERIALIST

Kasa-Vubu: Alliance des Bakongo -> ETHNIC organisation in Leopoldville. Called Lumumba's ideas too complicated and demanded political rights and liberties for the Congolese without delay.

- Round Table Conference : Jan 27, 1960.

Messy conference. By the time the conference ended, the Congolese had achieved almost everything they wanted. Independence was set for June 30, 1960.

Exception: Economic questions such as control over mining sites and western commercial entities were deferred to a subsequent conference.

The Belgians were apprehensive of the prospect of a protracted pre-independence struggle and uncertain of its capacity to manage them. Panicking at the first strings of African nationalism, the Belgians hence rushed to withdraw.

Exception: However, despite the decision to grant independence, the Belgians planned to maintain control in areas of defence, finance and foreign affairs, and expected the Congolaise to agree to some form of continued guardianship. Not surprisingly, all the major Congolese participants objected, except Moise Tshombe.

- Moise Tshombe. Tshombe was a leader from Katanga, a resource rich province that was previously managed separately from the rest of the Congo. Tshombe and his wealthy family had close relations with western corporations and he was keen to perpetuate

these relations for his own benefit. Specifically , he wanted greater control over the resources and considered partnership with the west more beneficial.

ii) The MNC-ABAKO marriage of convenience

- Joseph Kasa-Vubu's ABAKO.

Kasa-vubu began his political advocacy while employed by political authorities. He was chief of clerk, the highest level of employment for Congolese civil servants under Belgian rule. He rose to become leader of ABAKO after the resignation of its leader. ABAKO grew in strength under his leadership, winning municipal elections (city level elections) and making demands for independence.

- Leopoldville riots of 1959.

An ABAKO political gathering organised by Kasa-Vubu (JAN 1959) became a key milestone that pushed the Belgians into granting independence.

Kasa-Vubu was scheduled to address the crowd on African nationalism but colonial authorities banned the meeting. This agitated the crowd and the gathering erupted into violence, sparking the Leopoldville riots, a pivotal moment in the Congolese struggle for independence.

The Belgian authorities were unable to calm the crowd and thousands of Congolese began rioting. Kasa-Vubu was arrested, along with several other leaders, and imprisoned for inciting the riot. He was released two months later.

- Patrice Lumumba and the MNC.

Lumumba was the leader of the Congolese National Movement (MNC) , the biggest nationalist party in Belgian Congo. In contrast to Kasa-Vubu whose movement was essentially ethnic, MNC's demands for independence related to the entire country.

However, the MNC was divided into the moderate evolves (europeanised africans) and the more radical mass membership

- Split MNC (1959)

An attempt to create a more radical party advocating for federalism rather than centralisation did not take off but the episode split the MNC.

MNC-L -> Evolves -> Advocate for centralisation, strong central govt to unite Congo

MNC- Kalonji -> 'more radical mass membership' -> attempt to create a more radical party -> pushed for federalisation rather than centralisation.

- Parliamentary elections of 1960.
Both factions competed in Congo's first parliamentary elections in June 1960, where Lumumba's party emerged as the largest nationalist faction.

Lumumba subsequently formed a national coalition with a handful of other parties, including the conservative and FEDERALIST ABAKO party led by Kasa-Vubu. Lumumba emerged as the Prime minister of independent Congo while Kasa-Vubu the president

- Lumumba's weakness of a lack of a power base.

In addition to factionalism within the MNC, Lumumba also had quite a weak power base because he was a Batela with no large ethnic base anywhere in the Congo. Lumumba's support base was derived from his oratorical and organisational skills and concentrated in three provinces of Kasai, Orientale and Kivu. Lumumba failed to make any inroads into Leopoldville and Katanga, arguably the two most important centres of power in Congo, which were in control of the parties who advocated for specific ethnicities (ABAKO and CONKAKAT)

iii) Belgian Congo general elections (May 1960)

- Political parties and political campaigns that emerged in the period leading to independence showcased a clear ethnic dimension.
- The main parties that contested power were polarised along ethnic lines, except for Lumumba's MNC, which advocated national unity (centralisation) and transcended ethnic affiliation.
- ABAKO: ethnic movement of the Bakongo people. Had proclaimed the objective of working toward the reconstruction of Bakongo polity. (wanted the revival of Bakongo culture and leadership structures) ABAKO's vision for the Congo was rooted in federalism, where different ethnic groups, including the Bakongo, could have autonomy within a larger, decentralised state.
- CONKAKAT: established to defend the interests of 'authentic Katangese'. These 'authentic Katangese' were against the immigrants mostly from Kasai who migrated due to economic opportunities, as part of the Belgian colonial policy.
- CONKAKAT's emergence was also motivated by the outcome of the 1957 elections (municipal elections) where no "authentic Katangese" were elected.

- Ethnic tensions were also heightened in certain provinces during the elections. Kasai: clashes between Baluba and Lulua erupted during the campaigns . Such episodes suggest that ethnic tensions were never far from the surface.
- Growing nationalism and Lumumba's personality helped MNC garner the most seats on the elections. Along with close allies and a negotiated collaboration with ABAKO, Lumumba emerged as the forerunner for the position as prime minister.
- As aforementioned, MNC-L emerged as largest nationalist faction and subsequently formed a national coalition with a handful of other parties, including the conservative and federalist ABAKO party- led by Kasa Vubu

iv) USSR capitalising on Lumumba's electoral success

- Moscow saw advantage in Lumumba's government , owing to Lumumba's trade unionism and anti-west sentiments.
- Meanwhile, Washington grew increasingly weary. During the election campaign, the US embassy in Brussels warned of growing Soviet Interest, claiming "in it inevitable that the Communists envisage the Congo as a fertile field of activity.
- Cases of Soviet support.
 - 1) USSR purportedly offered economic and technical aid to counter the UN aid package that was under study.
 - 2) 25 June , soviet government published a statement warning that the Belgians were plotting to remove Lumumba
 - 3) Soviet newspaper, Pravda, supported his 3 demands as he formed his government (full independence/ preservation of the unity of the country / the immediate withdrawal of Belgian troops still scattered in bases around the country.)
- Soviet public support paid off. Lumumba immediately accepted Soviet representatives in Congo and a Soviet ambassador would attend the independence day celebrations.

V) Congo's independence day

- Belgium's King Baudouin got the ceremonies off to a bad start with an ill-advised speech claiming to have delivered the Congo from Arab slavery while putting it on the path of modern civilisation.

- President Kasa-Vubu expresses Congolese goodwill and promised to continue working with the Belgians
- Prime minister Lumumba subsequently approached the Lectern, although he was not scheduled to speak. Lumumba reminded the audience that independence had come as a result of a long struggle to put an end to "the humiliating slavery that had been forced upon us"
- Kasa-Vubu and Lumumba's contrasting reaction to their former Colonial powers speech reflected their political inclinations and signalled the tensions that would arise in the coming weeks.
- Informed observers sincerely believed that the Congolese had not been adequately prepared for independence (only 16 people in the entire country had a college degree). US ambassador sent a message to Washington. "If we are not here soon with enough aid the Communists will be"
- Sensing trouble brewing, both superpowers sought to buttress their respective allies, turning Congo into a cold war battle field.

Summary

1958 -> Petition by évolués demanding that date be set for independence

- Late 1950s -> emergence of independence leaders -> two stood out: Patrice Lumumba and Joseph Kasavubu

1959 -> Leopoldville riots. Pivotal moment in the Congolese struggle for independence.

Jan 1960 -> Round table conference

- Economic questions deferred to subsequent conference
- Belgians expected Congolese to agree to continued guardianship: all the major Congolese participants objected except Moïse Tshombé

May 1960 -> Belgian Congo general elections

- MNC + ABAKO marriage of convenience: coalition government
- Most parties based on ethnic lines
- Ethnic tensions heightened during elections

June 1960 -> Congo independence day

- Contrasting reaction to colonial powers speech

- USA and USSR sought to buttress their respective allies.

Hasty decolonisation or CW battle - development of Congo crisis

Congo Crisis first emerged as a decol conflict but became entangled in CW politics whereby SP intervention emboldened local leaders and deepened the conflict. Ultimately however, conflict was driven by persistent disagreements on Congo's political structure and this was a product of the Belgian's hasty exit. Local disagreements led to them seeking SP support, thus underlining importance of the legacy of decol.

f) Cold war and Congo

i) Initial superpower disinterest

- USA: By the end of the 1950s, the importance of Congo's resources was diminished by discoveries of uranium in Canada and South Africa. Depriving the Soviet Union of Congolese uranium became less critical after the Soviet Union found its own supplies in Central Asia. The Congo hence presented little interest to the Americans who were engaged in multiple other Cold war proxies elsewhere.
- USSR: Did not respond to Lumumba's requests for aid in organising propaganda and preparing political cadres.
- USSR's change of attitude after Stanleyville riots .

Stanleyville riots: Lumumba made a speech in the MNC congress calling for a nationwide campaign of civil disobedience. Riots broke out in Stanleyville in November 1959.

Pravda -> Soviet newspaper -> Published 6 full length articles about the riots and their aftermath. Emphasising the unrest in the colonial world

Soviet representative in the UN trusteeship council also claimed that the riots were evidence of Belgian arrogance and refusal to introduce basic steps toward self-determination.

- Recall: Lumumba's electoral victory deepened Soviet interest and the Kremlin re-evaluated the degree of support they would be willing to grant Lumumba's government.

Moscow saw advantage in Lumumba's government , owing to Lumumba's trade unionism and anti-west sentiments.

Cases of Soviet support.

- 1) USSR purportedly offered economic and technical aid to counter the UN aid package that was under study.
- 2) 25 June , soviet government published a statement warning that the Belgians were plotting to remove Lumumba
- 3) Soviet newspaper, Pravda, supported his 3 demands as he formed his government (full independence/ preservation of the unity of the country / the immediate withdrawal of Belgian troops still scattered in bases around the country.)

Soviet public support paid off. Lumumba immediately accepted Soviet representatives in Congo and a Soviet ambassador would attend the independence day celebrations.

ii) 1960 “year of africa” and development of Superpower interests.

- 1960 -> year of Africa -> 17 countries preparing for independence.
- Decolonisation presented AMPLE opportunities for both sides to compete for the allegiance of newly independent African states, thus setting them on a Collision course
- USSR beefed up its new policy in Africa and the Kremlin began to pay greater attention local African communists
- USSR also faced communist competition as China started to cultivate relations with the Congolese, highlighting Chinese experience with communism in a peasant society. This rivalry perhaps encouraged the Soviets to adopt a more active role in Congo.
- USA: US ambassador to Belgium William Burden advocated for greater American presence to secure economic and political stability. Arranged meeting with Lumumba: Lumumba talked about the ‘very bad ‘ influences of communism , however Burden suspected he had accepted financial support from communist sources . Lumumba pledged to protect foreign investment in the Congo, but did not mention guarantees for specific investment projects. Burden's characterisation of Lumumba gave the impression of shrewdness and one who would certainly play one superpower off against the other to get what he wanted.
- Eisenhower administration was however not forthcoming with aid and held the view that Belgium ought to “give as much assistance as they could” While the US held its position as a reserve banker

- 1960 elections seeded superpower interests. Tshombe and other pro-Belgian Congolese portrayed Lumumba as communist to damage MNC's reputation and scare wealthy westerners. During rallies, Lumumba did express admiration for America but such views rarely made it to print.
- Lumumba and MNC's victory and his alleged soviet leanings encouraged the Americans to adopt a more active role in Congolese politics.

Causes and development of the Congo Crisis

a) Crisis of authority: mutiny, competing nationalisms and secessionism

i) Mutiny and Belgian intervention

- The middle and upper echelons of the colonial government and military were dominated by Belgians and other europeans. Despite promising independence , the Belgians attempted to maintain control in several areas.
- Local troops resented the continued authority of Belgian officers despite having gained independence on 30th June 1960. Thus, on July 5th 1960, the Congolese National Army (ANC) mutinied.
- President lumumba attempted to manage the situation by taking steps to africanise the officer corp. Despite these changes, the ANC mutiny continued to spread , ushering in a period of violence, civil disorder, rape and murder.
- Belgium decided on 10 July to intervene Militarily by employing forces to preserve european lives and properties. However, since Congo was already independent, this act was deemed by the Congolese as external intervention by Belgium

ii) Secessionism of Katanga and South Kasai

- On 11 July 1960, with the help of Belgian forces , Moise Tshombe of Katanga proclaimed the total independence of Katanga from Congo.
- Tshombe argued for the need to restore order and to prevent political anarchy in the central government from affecting the economic and administrative system of Katanga.
- Belgian intervention was premised on protecting Belgian citizens in Katanga but in reality, support was so forthcoming as the Belgians viewed a breakaway state under Tshombe to be beneficial to their economic interests. (compared to centralisation under Lumumba who at independence delivered strongly anti west and anti-colonial stance)

- To make matters worse, Albert Kalonji of South Kasai declared autonomy on 8 august

iii) UN involvement

- 12 July 1960, Lumumba and Kasa Vubu sought UN help to deal with a major crisis in the authority of the new state.
- Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld agreed to send in a peacekeeping force and they were stationed in Katanga in an attempt to prevent escalation of violence. UN intervention was however limited- its role was only to keep peace, but not end secessionism (this would entail interference in foreign affairs)

b) Secessionism in Katanga

i) Moïse Tshombe, CONAKAT and Ethnic politics

- 1958: CONAKAT was co-founded by Tshombe, advocating for a federal Congo, independent of the Belgian colonial empire. A member of the Lunda ethnic group that is indigenous to the Katanga province, Tshombe's foray into politics was encouraged by the perceived threat of immigrant domination.
- CONAKAT's emergence can be traced to antagonism between indigenous and immigrant communities. As revealed in the earlier lecture, the Belgians promoted immigration, paving the way for ethnic animosities.
- Katanga's rich mineral deposits made immigration more pronounced- the thriving mining industry offered the prospect of well-paying jobs, thus attracting immigrants from elsewhere in Belgian Congo.
- These immigrants were also more industrious and skilled and were recruited by large Belgian companies. To make matters worse, the sudden fall of world copper prices led to unemployment of unskilled manual workers who were mainly indigenous.
- Ethnic animosities hence undertook an economic dimension, spurring the creation of a political entity that aimed to advocate indigenous interests. Indigenous desire for authority and control -> also contributed to secessionism
- CONAKAT's emergence was also motivated by the outcome of the 1957 (municipal) elections where no "authentic Katangese" were elected.

ii) Competition for political influence

- Katangese secessionism was also a product of political rivalry between CONAKAT and the MNC-L faction.
- May 1960 GE: CONAKAT won control of the Katanga provincial legislature (had the right to pass the laws for its province) -> Tshombe became president of the Autonomous Province of Katanga.
- However, disagreements arose over positions and portfolios within the government

Tshombe objected that Lumumba's MNC members were given the portfolios of national defence and interior in the national government

The portfolio for economic affairs was awarded to a CONAKAT member, but this was undercut by the MNC control over the Ministry for Economic Coordination. Additionally, mines and land affairs were placed under portfolios which were not under the purview of the CONAKAT member.

- Tshombe declared that this diluted CONAKAT's influence, and subsequently rendered his agreement to support the government 'null and void'. He announced Katanga's secession from the rest of Congo on 11 July 1960.

iii) Economic motivations in Katanga

- The decision to secede was supposedly premised on the ongoing political instability confronting the Lumumba-Kasa Vubu government - Katanga wanted to distance itself from the chaos to preserve Katanga's economic interests. Katanga's leaders were reluctant to see its rich resources squandered by the central government.
- Tshombe and CONAKAT's intent was perhaps more insidious- to keep the wealth generated by the lucrative mining industry within Katanga and into the local leaders' pockets. Tshombe had business links with mining companies. These business dealings also made Tshombe amenable (easily persuaded or controlled) to the west
- Tshombe was perceived as an 'acceptable' African leader by the Belgians. He would allow the transition from colony to nation without altering the "existing order". This arrangement would preserve western economic interests and ensure that communists would not gain a foothold. Hence.. UMHK which had extensive operations in Katanga -> motivated to support Katanga's secessionist movement. (supported by Belgians/ UMHK)
- On the part of the central government: Concerted efforts to quell the secessionist movement can be explained by Katanga's tremendous economic value. Copper, Cobalt, Uranium deposits offered significant economic prospects.

- While CONAKAT was established to champion for indigenous rights against the context of perceived immigrant dominance, it simultaneously harboured economic interests, and the economic interests of western corporations (Belgiums/ British / Americans) were what propped up the secessionist movement and prolonged the crisis.
- Belgian intervention was premised on protecting Belgian citizens in Katanga but in reality, support was so forthcoming as the Belgians viewed a breakaway state under Tshombe to be beneficial to their economic interests. (compared to centralisation under Lumumba who at independence delivered strongly anti west and anti-colonial stance)

c) Declaration of autonomy in South Kasai

i) Ethnic Animostities fuelling desire for autonomy

- Kalonji's preference for federalism can be traced to his claim that the Kasai Baluba people were persecuted in Congo and hence needed their own state in their traditional Kasai homeland.
- Initial preference and promotion of Kasai Baluba interests later made way for political repression. August 1959 -> Kasai Baluba demonstrations against colonial proposal to move Kasai Baluba farmers out of Bena Lulua land and to less fertile land. Kasai Baluba demonstrations against the plan were violently repressed by the colonial military and police.
- Kasai Baluba demonstrations reflected their anxiety that a centralised Congo could undermine their interests. Developments in the early weeks of independence stoked such fears and fuelled desire for autonomy.
- Lumumba promoted a Bena Lulua candidate as provincial president , while Kalonji was denied an important ministerial portfolio in Lumumba's government.
- Disgruntled , Kalonji subsequently declared autonomy of diamond-rich South Kasai on 8 August 1960, with himself as the head. However, Kalonji's declaration of autonomy was not the same as Tshombes', rather it was autonomy WITHIN a federalised Congo and Kalonji and MNC-K members continued to sit in Congo parliament.

ii) economic motivations in South Kasai

- Similar to the province of Katanga, South Kasai also possessed rich mineral deposits, specifically diamonds and gold. Control over these resources offered South Kasai leaders confidence of financial independence (from the central government) .
- The desire for autonomy and greater economic independence was partly motivated by socio-economic needs of their people, considering how the Kasai Baluba people were attempting to regain dominance over the Bena Lulua.
- Colonial Belgian plan of relocating Kasai Baluba farmers scared the Kasai Baluba, made control over agricultural resources CRITICAL. South Kasai was known for it's fertile land.
- Desire for economic control was not entirely for altruistic reasons. South Kasai leaders sought to gain economic benefits Kalonji purportedly gained personal wealth through control of the region's resources and influence over trade networks.
- Kalonji was supported by Forminiere, Belgian mining company. Forminiere received concessions in return for financial support.

d) Breakdown of Kasa-Vubu and Lumumba alliance and the emergence of the Kasa-Vubu Mobutu alliance

i) Dismal response to the Katanga's secessionism and South Kasai's declaration of autonomy further undermined the central government.

- ANC started it's offensive in South Kasai on 23rd August . The poorly armed South Kasaian army and police, and Kasai Baluba militants were unable to resist the ANC forces and Kalonji fled to Katanga.
- Despite successfully seizing the South Kasai capital, the ANC became embroiled in local strife. Kasai Baluba civilians resisted ANC troops and the latter committed several massacres, resulting in approx. 3000 civilian deaths
- The massacres in South Kasai capital were met with international condemnation, with the United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld publicly referring to the ANC_perpetrated massacre of Baluba civilians as 'genocide'

ii) Collapse of the government

- 5 September : Kasa Vubu dissolved Lumumba's government, blaming the deteriorating conditions in South Kasai on him. Kasa-Vubu claimed the Prime Minister's insistence on centralism had plunged the country into civil strife, and dismissed him from the premiership . (Recall ABAKO-> federalist)
- Lumumba refused to accept his dismissal and announced Kasa Vubu's dismissal, essentially giving rise to a political stalemate until 14th September when Army Chief of staff Joseph-Désiré Mobutu seized power and arrested Lumumba.
- On 18th September, Mobutu agreed with UN officials to end the fighting, and the ANC withdrew from South Kasai six days later. (South Kasai persisted in their demand for autonomy until 1962 when Kalonji was overthrown and the ANC occupied it)

iii) Death of Lumumba

- Following Mobutu's coup, Lumumba's government was dissolved , and he was taken prisoner. Lumumba was later moved to Katanga, following concerns of his growing popularity among soldiers, who might release him. Lumumba was brutally beaten and tortured by Katangese soldiers as the Central Government deliberated his fate.
- Lumumba was executed the same day he was transferred to Katanga, on 17th January 1961, by a firing squad led by a Belgian mercenary. There were allegations of CIA involvement/ CIA being supportive of the decision to eliminate Lumumba.
- To prevent a burial site from being created, Lumumba's corpse was dismembered, dissolved in Sulphuric acid, bones ground and scattered. Lumumba's execution however did not end opposition to the central government but instead hardened the resolve of their political opponents.

iv) Cyrill Adoula

- Cyrill Adoula, with some political manoeuvring by the Americans, was appointed prime minister in August 1961.
- Adoula, alongside Lumumba, was one of the co-founders of MNC but joined the MNC-K faction after the split.
- As Congo fell into political chaos, Adoula distanced himself from Lumumba and lobbied for the UN to put down the Katanga secessionism
- Adoula's presentation of himself as a liberal anti-communist alternative to Lumumba attracted the interest of the United States.

e) The Kwilu and Simba rebellions led by Lumumbists

- Kwilu and Simba rebellions happened simultaneously, and was part of the wider struggle for power within the newly independent Congo. These rebellions can be traced back to the assassination of Lumumba and how the ascendancy of Kasa-Vubu-Mobutu alliance marginalised Lumumba supporters.
- Kwilu rebellion in central Congo - Led by Pierre Mulele - Served as Education Minister under Lumumba. Was a prominent and vocal advocate for Lumumba's beliefs.
- Simba rebellion - east of the country - led by Antoine Gizenga (Lumumba's deputy prime minister) and Christophe Gbenye (Lumumba's interior minister). These two resumed their ministerial positions under the Adoula administration temporarily, but accused the government of treason, taking umbrage at the West's influence and control over the Adoula government.
- In contrast to Katanga and South Kasai's secessionist movements, the Kwilu and Simba rebellions were motivated by militant ethnicity, and sought to diminish/ eliminate foreign influence. (hostile to foreigners)

i) Ethnic Origins of the rebellions

- In both rebellions, ethnic identity served as a rallying point to mobilise support.
- Both Mulele and Gizenga were from ethnic groups that claimed to be marginalised by the central government. The ethnic discrimination manifested in the form of limited economic and political opportunities.
- While these rebellions' ethnic orientation facilitated recruitment of combatants, it hampered them from gaining ground beyond the territory of these ethnic groups.
- Furthermore, as these rebellions aimed to address social stratification and secure economic opportunities for locals, they thus could not count on external economic interests for support. These rebellions hence relied entirely on the local population's resistance against the central government.

ii) Economic Origins of the rebellions

- Following independence in 1960, a period of social stratification occurred, with significant differential in access to material rewards. Those who were able to move into the former Belgian-occupied roles in society, and those who were unable to achieve such opportunities for status mobility received a vastly different quality of life.
- The political instability within the country acted as a catalyst to turn discontent into revolt.
- Many of the revolutionaries were young men, who felt disenfranchised and unsupported by the central government. The attitude of many within Congo during this period was “fighting against foreign imperialists and their congolese lackeys”.
- Late 1963 (recall Lumumba died in 1961), the value of the Congolese franc had plummeted, schools were overcrowded, and unemployment was high in the Kwilu region. Many Congolese viewed themselves as worst off than they were prior to independence, and lent their support to rebel leaders.
- First few months -> systematic attacks. Government, administrative and wealthy individuals were targeted first. Discontent of differential material rewards manifested in violence against groups who possess economic and political authority.
- As rebellion spread, it became more disruptive and no longer adhered to a ‘value system’. The rebels committed numerous massacres in the captured territories under the pretext of removing political opposition. Murder, pillaging, and attacking women became more prevalent as time passed. This became particularly apparent after Europeans were evacuated from Kwilu, and the Congolese army arrived.

iii) The rebellions as anti-imperialist/Anti-west struggle.

- These rebellions also aimed at removing imperialist and western influence.
- Lumumbists leading the Kwilu and Simba rebellions were opposed to American intervention and alleged involvement in Lumumba’s assassination. These rebellions did receive support from the other major powers, the USSR and China.
- The USSR took the opportunity to capitalise on the widening rebellion and called on neighbouring nationalist regimes to support these rebellions.
- To aid in their objective of ridding the country of foreign influence, the Armée Populaire de Liberation (APL) was established, generally nicknamed “Simbas” but were mostly poorly armed, relying on machetes and magical protection. Regardless, with support from the government of Burundi, the APL successfully intimidated well-equipped ANC forces, capturing much needed weaponry for the insurgency movement.

- ANC's brutal counter insurgency actions however, alienated the population in the eastern provinces , further undermining the authority of the central government.

f) Tshombe's ascension to power and initial success of the rebellions.

- Amidst these developments, the US government pressured president Kasa-Vubu to install Tshombe as the prime minister in July 1964. Tshombe was perceived by the west as not only friendly to their interests, but also a more effective leader than Cyrill Adoula.
- However, Tshombe's rise to power and his pro-west stance caused considerable consternation in Congo and other african countries.
- This prompted Uganda to offer covert support for the Simbas , even when serving alongside the rebels in some instances. Egypt and Algeria also sent covert military support and training.
- In August 1964, the Simbas captured Stanleyville and acquired the weapons and vehicles which the ANC left behind as they fled.
- The rebels subsequently proclaimed a "people's republic of the Congo"
- As the rebel movement spread, acts of violence and terror increased. Thousands of Congolese were executed in systematic purges by the Simbas, including government officials, political leaders of opposition parties, provincual and local police, teachers and other believed to have been westernized.
- With much of northern Congo and the Congolese upcountry under their control, the Simbas moved south against Kasai province. Beyond it's rich mines, Kasai was also a strategic key to more lasting control of Congo. Capturing Kasai would cut government forces in half, isolating the lucrative Katanga province and severely overstretching ANC lines.

g) Tshombe and the US crush the rebellions

- Tshombe turned towards the US for support. Anxious of a soviet- influenced socialist state in the middle of Africa, the US aided Tshombe's efforts to repel the Simbas.

- The US airlifted Tshombe's Katangese soldiers exiled in Angola. These soldiers composed primarily of highly disciplined Belgian trained Katangese who served the Belgian central authority.
- The force was accompanied by a score of mercenary pilots flying second world war surplus training planes fitted with Machine guns. The combined force marched on Kasai province and the Simba rebels encountered heavy losses, forcing them to abandon their attacks.
- In a bid to gain leverage, the Simbas took their local white population as hostages and forced them into hard labour. This move became counter productive, in late October 1964, nearly 1000 European and US citizens were taken hostage, prompting a US military intervention
- The ANC also launched several major counter-offensives from late 1964, spearheaded by battle hardened mercenaries and backed by western powers, the rebels suffered heavy defeats and disintegrated. By November 1965, the Simba rebellion was effectively defeated.

Conflict management in the Congo crisis

1) Katanga's secessionism and presence of Belgian troops

- 5 July - ANC mutiny against Belgian officers, ushering period of civil disorder, rape and murder against the whites. This caused the deployment of Belgian troops, supposedly to protect its settlers and property, but subsequently also saw attacks on the Congolese.
- 11 July - Moise Tshombe declares Katanga province independent of the Congo government, with the help of Belgian forces and the economic support of UMHK.
- 12 July - Lumumba -Kasa Vubu government requests the UN for troops to assist against aggression of the uninvited dispatch of Belgian troops, who had built a sizable presence in Katanga, and taken over Leopoldville airport in the capital city by this time.

2) UN peacekeeping force to supervise withdrawal of Belgian troops

2.1) Achievements

- Reacted with tremendous enthusiasm and speed to respond to Congo's appeal for help, with much personal initiative from the UN secretary general Dag Hammarskjöld

- **Resolution 143 (14 July 1960)** . UN security council passed resolution 143, calling for Belgium to withdraw its troops from Congo and authorised the secretary general to provide military and technical assistance to the Congolese government until the country's own security forces could maintain order
- The primary aim of Resolution 143 was to assist the Congolese government in maintaining law and order and to ensure the withdrawal of Belgian troops. The resolution called for the deployment of a UN peacekeeping force, the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC), to restore stability and support the Congolese government.
- Resolution 143 treated the Congo crisis as an inter-state conflict. Called upon Belgian government to withdraw its troops from the territory of the republic of Congo.
- Superpowers saw it as a win-win. For USSR, measures to secure the withdrawal of Belgian troops and the restoration of Congolese sovereignty was in line with its staunchly anti-colonial, anti-imperialist stance. For the USA, UN intervention was a win-win. Belgium's withdrawal could secure the support of the African state in the cold war and UN presence could also be used to protect the country from Soviet influence , as well as the economic interests of its european allies.
- The sec-gen formed the UN operations in the Congo (ONUC). Built up >14000 troops, reached 20000 at it's peak. Members of the ONUC were drawn from countries that did not hold seats in the security council (mostly African states) . ONUC was to be accountable only to the sec gen and not to the contributing member states/ major powers.
- 16 July 1960 -> contingents of ONUC arrived in Congo via american airlift. Military and civilian personnel were rushed to the congo to help ensure the continued operations of essential public services.
- **Resolution 145 : 22 July 1960.** This resolution noted Belgium's dawdling in troop withdrawal. Called on Belgium to 'implement speedily' the security council resolution 143 on the withdrawal of its troops and authorised the sec-gen to "take all necessary action to this effect"
- This resolution reflected UN ability to address the changing dimensions in the Congo crisis, establishing a clear link between the internal unrest in Congo and the external interference, as it acknowledged the role of foreign mercenaries in supporting Katanga's secession. (Belgian political and military advisors)
- Resolution 145 also reflected Hammarskjöld and the UN's determination to prevent/minimise superpower interference in the Congo. Gave each superpower the right to criticise each other's activities in the Congo should the need arise.

- Resolution 145 -> Belgian troops withdrew from Leopoldville and the surrounding area in 23 July 1960, but continued to hold a strong presence in Katanga and the two military bases of Kamina and Kitona.
- **Resolution 146: 9 August 1960:** Dag Hammarskjöld was convinced that Belgian withdrawal from Katanga was essential for peace. He announced on 2 August 1960 that UN troops would enter Katanga by the end of the week to pressure Belgians to withdraw. However, he was refused entry by Moïse Tshombe, who issued a government statement calling proposed UN entry a declaration of war and promised Katangan resistance by all means.
- Resolution 146: Called upon the Belgian government to “withdraw immediately its troops from the province of Katanga”. By now, it was imperative that Belgian withdrawal was secured, as another national crisis was brewing. On the same day, 9 Aug 1960, South Kasai under Albert Kalonji announced its secession from Congo.
- 10 Aug 1960, one day after resolution passed, Hammarskjöld made a trip to Elizabethville, the capital of Katanga province, to discuss directly with Moïse Tshombe the deployment of the UN troops in Katanga; it was promised peaceful entrance of the UN forces in Katanga in exchange for non-interference in Tshombe’s dispute with the central government.
- 12 August 1960, UN troops entered Katanga, setting off the process of withdrawal of Belgian troops from the province. Belgian troops were also withdrawn from the military bases of Kamina and Kitona, which were taken over by ONUC.
- Overall, ONUC brought about the withdrawal of Belgian troops from the whole of Congo within 6 weeks.

ii) Limitations

- Despite the aforementioned success, UN efforts were beset with significant roadblocks. Disagreements between Lumumba and Hammarskjöld generated tensions and contributed to perceptions of the UN’s lack of neutrality. The secessionist movement in Katanga persisted, despite the withdrawal.

Disagreements between Lumumba and Hammarskjöld

- Despite Resolution 143, the Belgians were not keen to withdraw as they feared the loss of their mining interests. A few days after Resolution 143 had passed and there was still no sign of Belgian willingness to comply. Believing that the UN and the Americans were acting in favour of the Belgians against the Congolese, Lumumba grew impatient.

- Lumumba also took issue with the fact that the UN troops were not placed at the disposal of the Congolese central government for putting down secessionist movements in Katanga and Kasai, which he believed were provisions granted by the second paragraph of resolution 143. Because the Congolese government did not have control over the ANC, it was unable to put an end to Katanga's secession without outside military assistance.
- However, Hammarskjold believed that using ONUC to help put down secessions would contravene article 2 of the UN charter and undermine the neutrality of the UN operation.
- On 17 July 1960, Kasa Vubu and Lumumba addressed an ultimatum to the secretary-general, warning that if the Belgian forces did not depart by 19 August, they would request troops from the Soviet Union. This antagonised high ranking UN officials, including Hammarskjold, who was already wary of Lumumba, harbouring strong fears that Lumumba was being used by Moscow to create a satellite state or Cold war ally in central africa.
- As such, Hammarskjold's plans to go to Elizabethville to meet Moise Tshombe on 10 August 1960 to negotiate UN entry into Katanga was made without the consultation of Lumumba. The Congolese government were informed of the outcomes of the discussion only after the arrangements were made.
- Lumumba upset, charged that the sec-gen himself had breached resolution 143 in taking the necessary steps without the consultation of the Congolese government , and conspired with the Katangan secessionists. Lumumba denounced Hammarskjold as a Belgian puppet, calling for his replacement. He called for the takeover of UN-held airfields by the ANC, and for UN planes to be at the Congo government's disposal to transport soldiers to Katanga.
- 15 Aug 1960, Lumumba wrote a letter to the USSR, requesting for military aid to end the Katangan secession, to which the Soviets acceded, in the form of technical aid. Soviets saw an opportunity to expand their influence. This led American officials to confirm that Lumumba was an equivalent of "Castro or worse"

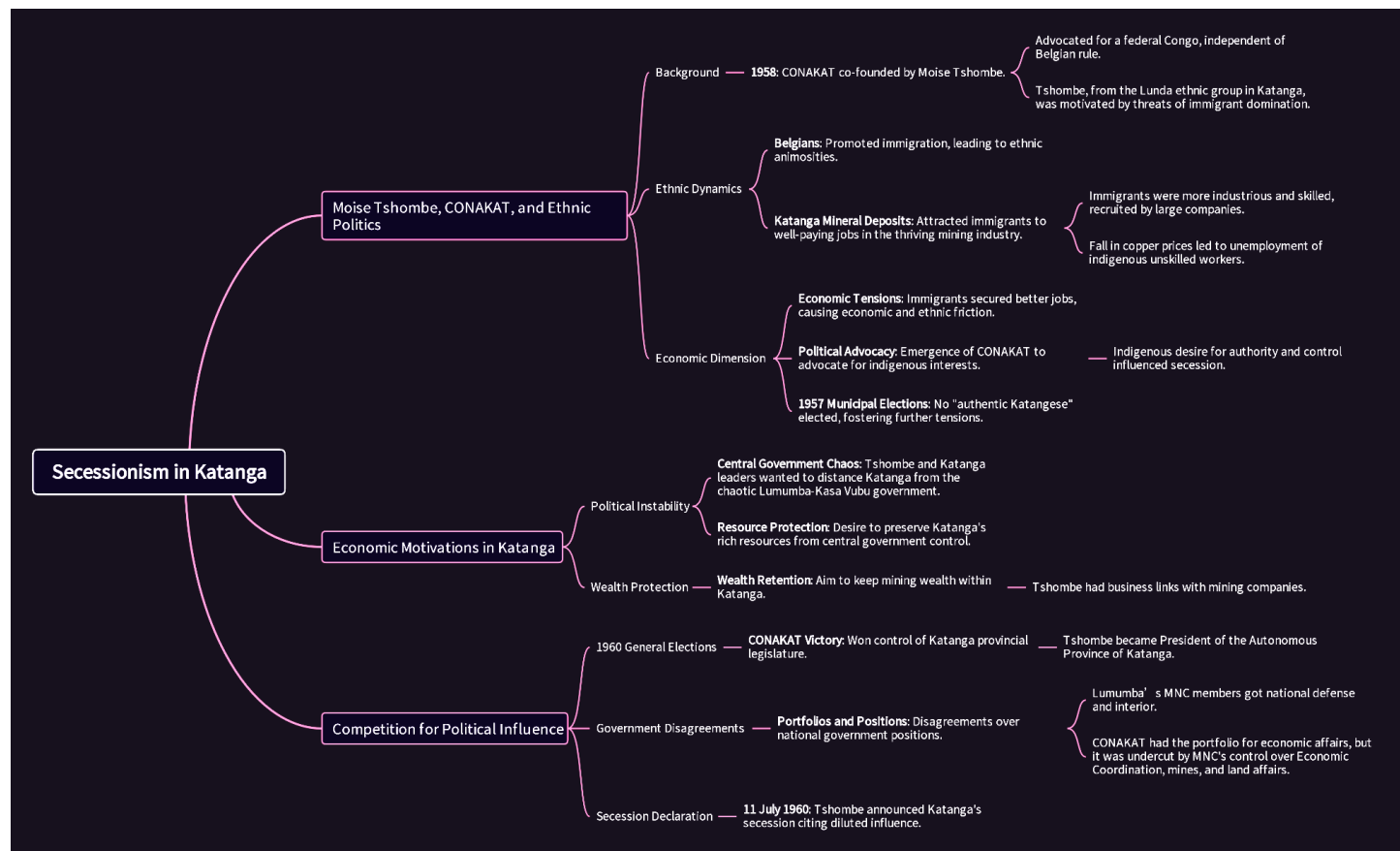
Perceived lack of UN neutrality by Lumumba

- Following the Lumumba-Hammarskjold falling out, there was fear in America of Lumumba asking UN forces to leave, and asking for soviet help to end Katangese secession
- Lumumba seen as having left-leaning, communist inclinations.
- In the following months when Lumumba and Kasa Vubu dismissed each other, both the UN and USA were clear about Lumumba's exclusion from the new government. By

September 1960, the White House was even drawing the conclusion that Lumumba had to be forcibly removed, first by encouraging KV's break from Lumumba, and later culminating in plans to assassinate Lumumba.

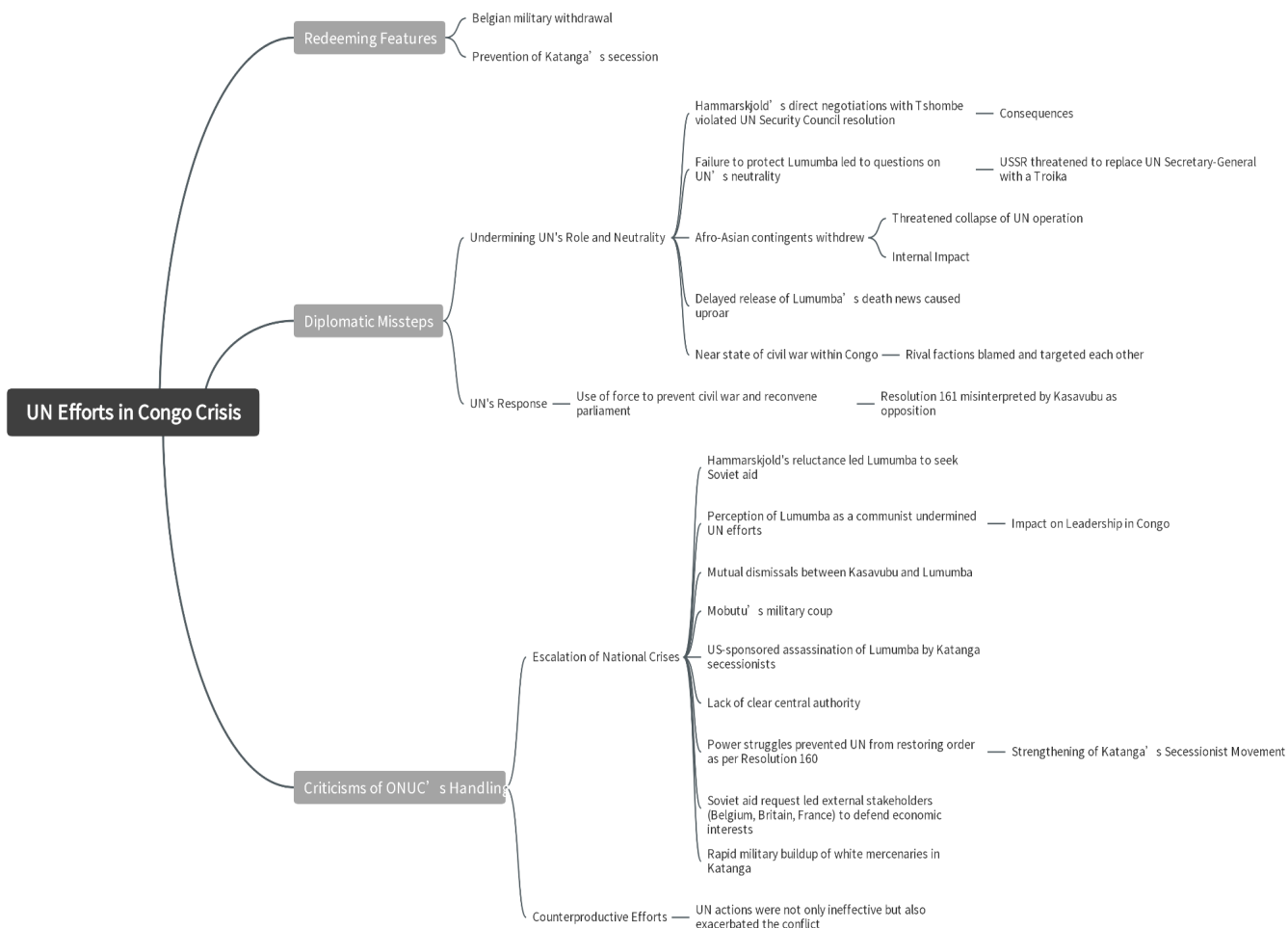
Summary: Lack of neutrality eroded UN's legitimacy amongst local Congolese leaders and generated local opposition to UN involvement; also contributed to member states' decision to withdraw their support from UN, severely undermining operational capabilities of ONUC peacekeepers

- **Superpowers' competing cold war objectives and interference** complicated UN's efforts and contributed to perception of UN taking sides (e.g. USSR perceived UN to be pro-west and on the side of the imperialists, but UN did facilitate the withdrawal of Belgian forces)
- Ultimately, **local leaders' rivalry and animosity** presented the biggest stumbling block to UN's management of the Crisis; the pursuit of narrow political interests to accusations being levelled against the UN for its supposed lack of neutrality (e.g. Lumumba dissatisfied that Hammarskjöld refused to utilise ONUC to subdue Katangese secessionist movements)
 - Superpower involvement can be traced to efforts by local leaders to engage superpowers
 - Local leaders' rivalry and animosity and subsequent courting of superpowers led to local warring factions acquiring huge amounts of arms, thus compromising ONUC's ability to keep peace



Development of the Congo Crisis





Topic 5: ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION OF CHINA

- 1) China's economy under MAO
 - a) Limitations of Mao's state ownership and central planning
 - b) Impact of five year plans/ great leap forward and the cultural revolution
 - c) Economic stagnation and pressure for economic reform
- 2) Rise of Deng Xiaoping and start of the reform era
 - a) Deng's rise to power
 - b) Deng's philosophy of pragmatism and gradualism
- 3) State intervention
 - a) Strategic directions to promote economic transformation
 - b) Emphasis on education
- 4) Market-oriented reforms
 - a) Establishment of household responsibility system in agricultural section
 - b) Creation of township and village enterprises
 - c) Creation of dual track (planned and market system)
 - d) Reform of state owned enterprises (SOEs)
 - e) Development of private enterprises
 - f) Reform of employment and wages system
- 5) Open door policy
 - a) Creation of special economic zones to encourage FDI and technology transfer
 - b) Provision of special tax incentives for foreign direct investment (FDI)
 - c) China's preparation for WTO membership- Legal reforms
- 6) International developments facilitating China's economic transformation
 - a) Sino-US rapprochement
 - b) Rise of Japan and the Asian Tigers
 - c) Role of overseas chinese communities
- 7) Managing the impacts of economic transformation
 - a) Controlling inflationary pressures and managing an overheated economy
 - b) Deng's southern tour

China's economy under Mao

a) Limitations of state ownership and central planning

Mao's Rural Sector Policies - cooperatives and collectivisation

- Land seized from the rich landlords and peasants were redistributed among the poor and landless peasants . Landlords suffered beatings and death (lead to the destruction of the power and existence of landlords as a class) while peasants were indoctrinated and politicised to ensure no return to the traditional ways.
- From 1953 -> the peasants were organised into cooperative units, which were pools of 30 to 50 households working on the land. Eventually, by 1956, the cooperative units were expanded into full socialist co-operatives (>100 families or entire villages working on the lands) . There was division of labour and specialization within the cooperatives to generate greater output.
- The entire farm output of the country's 600 million peasants thus came under state control for the first time. The state took most of the produce and peasants could not keep any extra they produced, aligned with communist doctrine

Anti Burgeoise Policies

- "Hundred Flowers campaign" & the "Anti Rightist campaign"

At first, Mao encouraged self-critique to encourage criticism of bureaucrats who were behaving like elites , and consolidate his position, However , when the intellectual debate and criticism escalated and extended to criticism of the entire communist regime, Mao backtracked and ordered a crackdown on the 'rightist enemies of the state'

Implications: The effect would be that it silenced the intellectuals and left few people who were able to point out the problems the country would face later during the great leap forward . It also decimated the numbers of those able to help run the economy in a capable manner

b) Impact of Five year plans/Great Leap forward/Cultural revolution

- First five year plan (1953-1957) : Had the key objective of the rapid development of heavy industries (steel/coal/machinery/transportation/infrastructure) -> the priority was focused on agricultural production. Agricultural development was seen as a foundation for industrial growth. There was an increase in agricultural output to SUPPORT industrialisation efforts.
- Second Five year plan (1958-1962) / The great leap forward : Mao wanted to mobilise

the previously agriculture focused peasantry for large scale rural capital construction and industrialization. Armies of peasants from the countryside were mobilised into communes for large scale infrastructure projects. The peasants core business, food production, was de-emphasised as Mao believed they had produced beyond their needs

Peasants in the rural areas were mobilised to work in the new labour-intensive heavy industries (develop agricultural machinery/aid in construction of infrastructure/enhance the defence industry). Failed spectacularly. BACKYARD IRON AND STEEL CAMPAIGN where over one million blast furnaces were set up throughout China's countryside and pieces of useless steel were made by the tens of millions of peasants melting down previously useful things made of iron. (misguided industrialization strategy)

Impact: between 1959 and 1961 an estimated 15-20 million people died due to the policies of the great leap forward. Mao withdrew into the background voluntarily. The period from 1962-65 marked a retreat from the Great leap forward as China sought to recover. However, when MAO returned as he felt he was being pushed too far into the background by the moderate pragmatists.

- Third Five year plan (1966-1970) aimed to purge capitalist and revisionist elements, aligned with the Cultural revolution. In the face of growing international isolationism, China focused on self-reliance and mobilisation of domestic resources to support economic development.
- Cultural Revolution (1976-1977): Mao launched the Great Proletariat Cultural revolution' where millions of young people 'Red Guards' were given the task of an all-out attack on the four olds- (old customs, old habits, old culture and old thinking) which was deemed bourgeois or elitist.

CR was mostly focused on politics, hence it did not disrupt economic activities as much as the great leap forward.

As the cultural revolution was taking place in the cities, rural production was not really affected. The factories in the cities however, experienced severe disruptions as workers too became part of the red guard movements and formed red guard units amongst themselves. The movement soon spun out of control and even Mao knew he had to reel them in.

The obsession with ideological purity and the subservience of economic development to political goals damaged government administration and factory management for years. The indoctrinated Red Guards attitude that 'Red was better than expert' had a negative impact on people's general attitude towards work and achievement.

c) Economic stagnation and Pressure for economic reform

- Between 1952-1978, average growth rate was 6% p.a.

- China did engage in trade, primarily with other socialist countries. However, Mao's self-reliant development strategy means there was no deficits nor external debt -> they financed their imports only with their own exports.
- China's main trading partner in the 1950s was the USSR. In the 1960s it was Japan due to deteriorating relations with the USSR. By the 1970s, trade with non communist countries had increased exponentially.
- As china's main export was basic goods, the Chinese economy did not expand exponentially.
- Central planning and control of prices meant no inflation, and income distribution was quite equal as no one was allowed to own any assets.
- Overall, while the Chinese economy was not in crisis, China was also not productive nor dynamic nor efficient nor rich nor modernized.

Rise of Deng Xiaoping and start of the reform era

a) Deng Xiaoping's rise to power

1970s: Power struggles due to death of Lin Bao (vice chairman of ccp) and Zhou Enlai (Premier of the PRC) There was a rise of the Gang of four which led to the purge of Zhou's protege, Deng Xiaoping from his political positions.

1976: Saw the passing of Mao Zedong and the decline of power of the Gang Of Four . Mao's successor was Hua Guofeng (left wing) who believed whatever Mao said and decided had to be upheld

1977: Deng is rehabilitated in July 1977. He was from the right wing group that had been purged during the cultural revolution by Mao Zedong and the Gang Of Four.

1978-1980: There was a subtle power struggle where the right wing group led by Deng eventually rose to power while the left-wing declined. (Evolving views as the excesses of the CR were previously blamed on the Gang of Four and not Mao himself/ Economic problems persisted and Huo Guofeng could not solve them)

1981: By December 1981, Deng and his right-wing group had successfully manouvered all the left-wing elements. Hence, the moderate reformers came to control China and set it firmly on it's way to becoming a 'socialist market economy'.

b) Deng's philosophy of pragmatism and gradualism.

- Pragmatism: an approach that evaluates theories or beliefs in terms of the success of their practical application.

- Deng did not want to blindly follow Mao's policies: His mission was to modernize China, and so he recognised the need to copy some of the traits of the western capitalist countries.
- He was able to justify the use of capitalist methods in his economic reforms and resolve the seeming contradictions between ideology and practice. "*there is planning under capitalism and the market economy happens under socialism ,too*" ~ Deng Xiaoping
- Gradualism: Deng was fully aware of the enormity of China's economy and he did not believe in a 'big bang' approach to reforms.
- Gradual and incremental reforms were the way to modernize China and avoid societal chaos. Tight political control was retained while market forces were introduced
- Importantly, Deng emphasized the importance of upholding the leadership of the CCP and its central role in governing China.
- Dissent was not tolerated and activist,dissidents and intellectuals who went against the government were subjected to censorship, harassment or detention. Tight political control aided Deng's introduction of market reforms as he could effectively mute discontent.

State intervention

Deng encouraged the formation of rural enterprises and private businesses, the liberalisation of foreign trade and investment, relaxed state control over some prices , and invested in agricultural production and the education of it's workforce.

Despite efforts at liberalisation, it is important to note that state intervention did persist to a certain degree. Deng balanced efforts at liberalisation with maintaining control over resources and the trajectory of the economy. This section outlines various aspects of government intervention.

a) Strategic directions to promote economic transformation

- Four modernizations in Chinese society - Agriculture, Industry, Science and Technology, National defence

Ultimately, they still stressed economic self-reliance. However, China was now seeking to accelerate the modernization process by stepping up the volume of foreign trade. This

would open up its markets for foreign goods and investment, increase access to modern technology and expose Chinese workers to management experience.

Modernization of agriculture

Dismantled collective farming and introduced the household responsibility system. HRP allocated lands to individual households and allowed farmers to seize the surplus produce after meeting state quotas. This reform incentivized agricultural production, encouraged entrepreneurship in rural areas, and laid the foundation for the growth of agribusinesses and rural industries.

Modernization of Industry

Focused on revitalizing China's industrial sector, which had been severely weakened during the Maoist era by policies such as the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural revolution. This modernization involved the adoption of market-oriented reforms, the promotion of technological innovation and the opening up of the economy to foreign investment and technology transfer. Special Economic Zones (SEZs) were established to attract foreign investment and facilitate export-oriented manufacturing, while state-owned enterprises (SOEs) underwent restructuring and reforms to improve efficiency and competitiveness.

Modernization of Science and technology

Goal of promoting innovation, driving economic growth and advancing China's competitiveness in the global arena. Deng prioritised investments in education, research and development to build a skilled workforce, expand scientific infrastructure and stimulate technological innovation across various sectors of the economy. This included initiatives such as strengthening higher education, establishing research institutions, promoting collaboration with foreign scientists and institutions, and incentivising entrepreneurship and innovation through policies such as patent reform and technology transfer.

Modernization of National Defence

Aimed to strengthen China's military capabilities and enhance its national security in the face of geopolitical challenges and regional tensions. It involved investments in defense technology, research and development, as well as improving military training, organisation and doctrine. Deng emphasised the importance of a capable military to defend China from potential adversaries and protect China's sovereignty.

- Socialism with Chinese characteristics.

This was Deng's name for a socialist market economy. SWCC combines the basic principles of socialism with China's particular circumstances. Deng needed to placate and court the conservatives to minimise opposition to his reforms, hence the emphasis on adherence to socialist dogma.

Deng astutely played down the impact of ideology in economic decision making, but could still placate the conservatives by justifying reforms from an ideological angle.

Economically, China adopted a multi-ownership oriented basic market economic system, with the public ownership in the strategic domains of heavy industry, infrastructure, and key resources (coal and steel).

By keeping strategic industries under state ownership, the Chinese government could claim that it was still upholding the principles of socialism, even as it embraced market reforms in other areas. This ideological continuity was important in maintaining the legitimacy of the Communist Party and ensuring broad support for the reforms.

- Financial reform - Building the modern banking and credit system

Maoist Era

During the Maoist era, the only bank in China was the People's bank of China . Banks simply implemented the financial plans of the central government and they had no independence. Profits were paid to the government and losses were offset by subsidies by the government.

Separation

In 1979 , 4 major state-owned professional banks were separated from the People's Bank Of China and the Ministry of Finance. The initial structure led to inefficiencies and conflicts of interests, separation allowed for the various professional banks to focus on economic activities within their purview

Industrial and commercial bank of China

Agricultural Bank of China

Construction bank of China

Bank of China

Private banks

In 1995, the commercial bank law took effect. This allowed for the establishment of commercial private banks. These private banks offered a wide range of financial products and could better react to market/ consumer demands.

The liberalization of the Chinese financial sector thus supported the transformation of the Chinese economy through the supply of funds and capital.

b) Emphasis on education

Before Deng, there was an emphasis on revolutionary fervour rather than real academic achievement.

- Primary education

Deng made primary education free and compulsory. Every Child had to attend 4 years of formal schooling. Laws were put in place to allow students whose families had financial difficulties to receive subsidies. It was also made illegal for any organisation or individual to employ youths before they completed their nine years of schooling.

- Higher education

Modernization depended on a vastly increased and improved capability to train scientists and engineers for innovation. Hence, there was renewed concern for higher education and academic quality.

The curricula and pedagogy took to borrowing from abroad for advanced training in the scientific fields.

Certain schools were designated as 'key schools' and given the best facilities, best teachers, best students and the most funds. Key schools recruited the best students for special training to compete for admission to top schools at the next level.

Private schools and technical schools , both strictly prohibited during the cultural revolution, were re-opened.

Aligned with Sino-US rapprochement , Chinese students began to arrive at american universities. Many of the students sent abroad were technical personnel sent abroad for further advance study.

The emphasis on tertiary education produced graduates equipped with knowledge , theory and practice of technological innovations , and werw able to fuel china's economic transformation.

Market Oriented reforms

a) Establishment of household responsibility system in agricultural section

- The government raised the prices of produce acquired by the state (increase income of peasants) and reduced the amount required by the state (provide peasants more flexibility in selling their excess crop)
- The practice of collectivisation and the organisation of families into communes was ended (socialist cooperatives) . Replaced by the Household Responsibility System (HRS) in 1978 .
- In 1980, 15% of land was designated as private plots and there was complete freedom of decision making for peasants on those plots.
- As for state owned land, households had more autonomy to decide when and what to grow and what methods to use as long as they produced enough to reach government quotas.
- Families now found their incomes linked to the production and farmers had greater autonomy in deciding how to increase production.
- Families were allowed to sell their excess produce for their own benefit
- To avoid everyone growing cash-crops which earned higher revenues, quotas were set on the amount of grain each HH still had to produce/ year

b) Creation of township and village enterprises

- Markets were once again revived as farmers brought their surplus produce to sell to others. This increased diversification and productivity of crops.
- As productivity increased on the countryside , surplus labour was released for non-farming activities (making bricks/crafts/household items)
- These new activities and the sale of surplus from the farms gave rise to rural township and village enterprises.
- These TVEs were so dynamic and efficient that they started to pose a challenge to state enterprises. The rise of TVEs is considered one of the greatest achievements of the reforms as they were the driving force for growth across the vast countryside

c) Creation of dual track (planned and market system)

- From 1984, the government introduced a dual-track price system. Free market prices for ordinary consumer goods and controlled prices for key-commodities such as coal, steel, petroleum and grain.

- From 1988, more reforms were instituted with the goal of phasing out the dual track system to pave the way for more liberalisation. The number of commodity items that remained under state control and increased the number of goods whose prices were determined by the free market.
- The restructuring resulted in a boom for consumer oriented industries and agriculture , and helped newly established private enterprises thrive.

Why did they do this ?

- Deng realised that a profit-oriented market system could not have the government controlling the price of commodities. Hence, they realised the need for price liberalisation.
- However, Deng believed that the reforms had to be administered gradually and cautiously to prevent any complications or market collapse (gradualism)

d) Reform of state owned enterprises (SOEs)

- SOE-> Company whose assets are owned by the state government . Reform of such SOEs was aimed to increase efficiency and productivity.
- In the first stage of reform, SOEs were allowed to keep a proportion of their profits. There was greater autonomy as the SOEs had to be responsible for both their profits and losses. However, the government soon found that they had less revenue as more of the surpluses went to bonuses. Hence, a 'tax for profits' system was introduced to make enterprises pay taxes before they could retain their net profits.
- The second stage of reform stated that if they exceeded their production quotas, enterprises were allowed to sell their products outside the state plan (could sell their products as as much as 20% above the state plan) . This effectively expanded the dual-track (planned and market system) to the SOEs.
- However, economic performance of the SOEs was not good. Hence, gradual privatisation was introduced (ownership reform). The corporate law (1993), provided the legal framework for converting SOEs to modern corporations, with state ownerships converted to shares.
- At the same time, government facilitated the bankruptcy of insolvent SOEs. The government only continued owning and controlling strategically important firms (firms in resources/utilities/energy) .

- These crucial industries remained under government control and grew larger/more profitable
- Privatized SOEs also did well and helped in the rapid expansion of the Chinese economy.

e) Development of private enterprises

Light Industry

- Though China was largely agrarian, the urban market reforms involving industries and trade were also critical elements for the success of the entire Chinese economy.
- In the industrial sector, more emphasis was placed on light industries which could produce goods for trade and which could usually earn a profit after an initial investment. Though heavy industries were not neglected, they were now not the only focus.
- Light industries -> Consumer goods and products that are typically less capital intensive and less complex in manufacturing process compared to heavy industries.
- More Chinese factories appeared and generated tens of thousands of jobs. China took over as the world's main producer of textile, garments, toys, shoes and consumer electronics (light industry)

Gradual privatisation of the economy

- 1981-> Government gradually contracted out certain industries to private individuals. These early entrepreneurs also received bank credit from the government.
- Thus began the gradual privatisation of the economy. Private enterprises were quick to grow and develop where opportunities were given. This included the service industries, retail distribution and light manufacturing industries.
- The government made it easier for private enterprises to develop

f) Reform of employment and wages system

- During the pre-reform period from 1956 onward, the bulk of the urban Chinese workforce was absorbed by the SOEs, which offered a life-long tenure and comprehensive

welfare. A smaller proportion of workers were also offered life long tenure in collectives but received lower benefits and wages than SOEs.

- In 1980, under the pressure to accommodate the massive number of unemployed youth, the state promulgated the “three elements employment” policy, whereby the state would provide guidance and coordination to facilitate job recruitment through three channels.
 - 1) Employment agents
 - 2) Looking for jobs on one’s own
 - 3) Private businesses.
- These measures caused a variety of new ownership to gradually override the monopoly of SOEs as major employers in China.

Relaxation of Rural-Urban Job Immobility

- Pre-reform employment arrangement -> ‘segregation’ of urban residents and rural migrants in the labour markets. Rural residents were prohibited from working in the cities through the Household Registration System
- After reform, control over population movement from the rural to urban areas was relaxed. The opening up of SEZs to foreign investment necessitated a huge supply of manpower which was met by the supply of rural labour made redundant by the end of collective farming.
- The rapid growth of privatised sectors also called for the relaxation of control over geographical and job mobility to ensure the continued supply of cheap labour from the rural areas.

Improved wages system

- Under centrally planned economy -> Wage system in China provided a low monetary wage but a comprehensive welfare-reward system. This arrangement served the purpose of making workers reliant on their work units for their means of sustenance.

The concept of "work units," or "danwei," was integral to China's centrally planned economy, functioning as both the primary place of employment and the central provider of welfare for workers. Through the comprehensive welfare reward system, work units offered essential services like housing, healthcare, education, and pensions, making workers heavily reliant on their danwei for their basic needs and quality of life. This dependency allowed work units to exert significant control over their members, as access to these services was contingent on maintaining good standing within the work unit. The danwei system also regulated personal aspects of workers' lives, such as marriage, family planning, and even mobility, reinforcing the state's authority and ensuring political and social conformity. ~ ChatGPT

- Wage reform was initiated in 1978 as the egalitarian wage system was blamed for the low efficiency in State Owned Enterprises (SOEs). The goal of reform was to link wage with profitability and productivity.
- The increase in prices of consumer goods was accompanied by an increase in the wage of workers and the provision of state subsidies.
- There was the revival of the bonus and piece rate system. The policy allowed SOEs to convert a portion of the wage bill to bonus payments upon the fulfillment of planned targets. There was the creation of an 'incentive fund' from the retained profits for managers to promote 20% of their workers in SOEs.
- Wage reform and the consequent improvements in SOL thus ensured that the needs of the populace were met , and this garnered support for the governments reform efforts.

Open door policy

a) Creation of special economic zones to encourage FDI and technology transfer

- Pre-reform-> FDI was deemed 'international monopolist capitalism'
- Deng was the first Chinese leader to visit the USA in 1979. He was impressed by the modern American economy and it helped convince him that China should open it's doors to foreign investment in order to modernize her economy. He was also inspired by the progress of Newly Industrialized Economies - Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan , Hong Kong
 - 1) 1980 -> China opened it's doors with the setting up of 4 Special Economic Zones (SEZs) where foreign investors were allowed to build factories , use cheap Chinese labour and produce goods largely meant for export. Capitalist methods of production were now in China.
 - 2) SEZ areas were selected as they were strategically located near major ports and transportation hubs.
 - 3) SEZs enjoyed considerable autonomy in their investment policies regarding both infrastructure projects and investment apporvals. They have preferential corporate income tax treatment and exemptions from import licenses, as well as tax and tariff concessions for raw materials and for intermediate and capital goods.
 - 4) SEZs also served as hubs for trade, finance, foreign exchange and other finance/banking services for international MNCs.

- 5) SEZs contributed to the growth of the service sector such as transportation and telecommunications, both essential for export-oriented growth. Tourism and hospitality sectors also expanded with the coming of domestic and foreign tourists.
- 6) Overall SEZs increased investment, increased exports, created over 30 million jobs, increased the income of participating farmers and accelerated industrialization, agricultural modernization and urbanization.

b) Provision of special tax incentives for foreign direct investment (FDI)

- Foreign investment injected critical capital and technological advancements that boosted economic transformation. This foreign money helped build factories, created jobs, linked China to international markets and led to important transfers of technology.
- 1979-> Law on Joint ventures using Chinese and Foreign investment was promulgated. This allowed foreign entities to establish equity joint ventures with Chinese companies. The state promised not to nationalise any joint venture. This law established a foundation for FDI.
- Tax holidays (temporary reduction or elimination of tax) were commonplace, where foreign companies were exempted from paying corporate income tax (CIT) .
- Additionally, Foreign companies could expect to benefit from reduction on import duties and value-added tax (reduced tax) on items approved for manufacturing. (recall SEZs-> tax and tariff concessions on raw materials/ intermediate goods/ capital goods)
- 'Joint venture' -> combination of two or more parties that seek the development of a single enterprise or project for profit.

c) China's preparation for WTO membership- Legal reforms

- As the Chinese attracted foreign investments and as the economy grew bigger and more attached to the global economy, institutional and legal changes were necessary. Creating and adopting economic and legal systems and norms were crucial to enable China to integrate into a rapidly globalised world economy.
- To prepare for China's accession into the WTO in 2001, substantial commitments were made to trade and investment liberalisation as conditions for it's membership. General commitments include **nondiscriminatory treatment of foreign and domestic enterprises, adherence to WTO rules on intellectual property rights , and the elimination of various requirements on FDI such as requirement for local content .**

- State intellectual property office -> Established to undertake the registration and administrative adjudication of patents and China revised its trademark law and Copyright law to align with international standards

International developments facilitating China's economic transformation

a) Sino-US rapprochement

- Deng's desire for reform and pragmatic considerations encouraged him to pursue relations with the USA.
- Trade wars with Japan and the need to seek lower costs of production pushed the US into exploring opportunities in China / Emergence of the New Cold War affirmed the need to improve relations with China, as a means to manage superpower relations.

Impact of Sino-US rapprochement

- Normalisation of relations allowed China to diversify its trade partners beyond the socialist bloc.
- It also allowed for an influx of US investment, advanced technology and management expertise from trade agreements and investment treaties with the USA and other western nations.
- Agreements were not only limited to American companies. Western cooperations were also eager to enter the Chinese market and poured in FDI and offered technological expertise.
- China's population of > 1 billion people presented a vast consumer market, one with increasing purchasing power. MNCs thus viewed China as an opportunity to expand their consumer base.
- China's vast population also meant abundant and inexpensive labour, compared to developed countries. MNCs were hence keen to outsource their manufacturing to China to lower labour costs and increase productivity.

b) Rise of Japan and the Asian Tigers

- In the 1950s and 60s, American businesses started to internationalise their manufacturing, and established manufacturing centers in Japan and Taiwan. Chinese leaders realised they were falling behind to traditionally smaller neighbours. Thus, China had to carry out economic reforms to modernise and open her doors so as to compete with the rest of the world.
- Apart from the rise of Japan and the Asian Tigers as a source of motivation that urged China to open up, the success of these economies also benefitted the Chinese economy.

Impact of Japan's and the Asian Tigers' Economic Development on China's Economy

- China's integration into the global supply chain was facilitated by the presence of the Asian Tigers as key nodes in regional production networks. China became a major beneficiary of supply chain integration, attracting investment from multinational corporations and participating in cross-border trade and investment flows facilitated by the Asian Tigers.
- Companies from Taiwan and Korea also set up factories and entered into joint ventures with Chinese firms. This created jobs and encouraged the growth of markets as well as technology transfer.

c) Role of overseas Chinese communities

- In the early years of reform, as political battles persisted and economic prospects remained hazy, international investors hesitated.
- Diaspora investors, however, possessed cultural and ancestral ties that mitigated the economic and political risks of investment.
- Diaspora-> Refer to communities of people who have left their homeland and settled in various parts of the world, while still maintaining a connection to their origin countries.
- The technology and capital they sank into the newly established SEZs powered China's export industries and encouraged the government to persevere on the path of liberalisation.

The enlarged role of overseas Chinese in China's economy must first be contextualized against Deng's reforms.

- Deng cut off support for communist parties outside of China after he came into power. He made it clear that China expected overseas Chinese to be loyal to their country of residence, not proxies for China. That gave confidence to these governments about

China's intentions, and about their ethnic Chinese populations, and rapidly accelerated their normalisation of relations with China.

- One of Deng's motives in reconfiguring China's relationships with the region and with ethnic Chinese abroad was to tap the wealth of overseas Chinese, to interest them in investing in China.
- Indeed , overseas Chinese, not only from Southeast asia but from Hong Kong and ultimately , from Taiwan, have become central to China's economic take-off.
- E.g. when western businesses shunned China following the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident, Taiwan took advantage of the void. Sectors such as textiles, footwear, luggage and labor-intensive light industrial goods shifted their manufacturing to the mainland.

Managing the impacts of economic transformation

a) Controlling inflationary pressures and managing an overheated economy

- As China's economy expanded rapidly, it faced high and volatile inflation.
- The central bank, the People's Bank of China (PBC) , utilised monetary policy tools such as interest rates and reserve requirements to control inflation.
- Credit controls were implemented to retrain lending and prevent build up of speculative bubbles.
- The govt reduced spending on non-essential projects and delayed infrastructural investments to prevent excessive demand and inflationary pressures.
- China did devalue the currency against the US dollar in 1994. -> improved China's trade balance / curbed speculation by disincentivising investments.

b) Deng's southern tour

- In the aftermath of the Tiananmen square massacre of 1989, conservatives took charge in Beijing and reforms almost came to a standstill as detractors questioned the ideological implications of economic reforms.
- The Tiananmen square incident had weakened Deng's appeal among the reformers, while strengthening the position of the conservatives.
- However, Deng saw the danger of a partially reformed economy and a half-hearted open door policy if China was to stop now. Hence to push on with economic reforms, in 1992,

Deng made a famous tour of South China, visiting Guangzhou, Shenzhen and Zhuhai, then spending time in Shanghai.

- He made it clear the importance of continuing the policy of economic reform and opening China's markets . He also took the chance to to criticise his conservative opponents by proclaiming that leftists were more dangerous than rightists for china. China was firmly set on the path to economic reform despite the political hiccups.

TOPIC 6: BOSNIA

1. Context and causes
2. Developments
3. Conflict management

Yugoslav Dissolution and the Bosnian War



Bosnian War Resolution



outbreak - economic interests, domestic politics, ethnic nationalism

Role of different actors in the development of conflicts – domestic actors (state and non-state) – the major powers and other external state actors – the United Nations and regional organisations

TOPIC 7: Economic Change in SEA

1) Did Econ change do more harm than good in independent SEA countries

Question is looking at EXTENT

GOOD but COULD be bad if not handled properly

- Met three main goals of
 - Economic growth
 - SINGAPORE> one of the most lucrative regional and global economies
 - Economic Equity
 - NO: THAILAND> rural-urban disputes. MALAYSIA-racial and class segregation, INDONESIA: Rural-urban disparities, Regional disparities, Pervasive 'crony capitalism'
 - Economic Nationalism
 - INDONESIA- failed miserably, ended up having to depend on the West anyways

HARM

- Unsustainable economic growth
 - THAILAND
- ASIAN FINANCIAL CRISIS
 - THAILAND
- High External debt
 - Indonesia
- Excessive speculation rather than real investment
 - Indonesia

Southeast Asia countries went through a period of economic change through **industrialisation, liberalisation and modernisation**. Ostensibly, the outcomes were positive due to the economic growth and development experienced by the states.

However, these **positive developments were often short-term and superficial**, with an **unsustainable foundation** due to the limitations in the structure of the economy. Furthermore, the high external debt due to the mismanagement by governments were a great burden and **harmed the economy significantly**. (Ultimately, while econ change did generate positive benefits, the detriments brought about by the AFC overshadowed the good experienced initially.)

Additionally, economic growth was achieved **at the expense of equity**, where income gap widened and

standard of living remained largely stagnant. Hence, economic change did more harm than good.

- 1) Causes - best explains change (state vs non state, internal, external, what were the motivations and the objectives of the econ (what did they prioritise), is it consistent and would it change across time and why)
- 2) Nationalism to EOI (successes in objectives and limitations)

Outcomes - rate of change (sg EOI from the start whereas Thai and Indo did ISI (capitalise and complacent in 1973 oil but then reverse oil in 1984, govt more imp't in reaction than the external circumstances, can have accelerated transformation, consciously trying to upgrade regardless of external circumstances can still improve and not be influenced by external shocks) - mitigate impact of external circumstances AFC in sg due to lack of crony capitalism,)

If making reference to something b4 hand repeat the case study

2) 'Characterised by economic dynamism.' How accurate is this assessment of economic development in independent Southeast Asian states?

Economic dynamism is characterised as the ability of the economy to adapt and respond quickly to the constantly evolving circumstances of the global economy. It also refers to a country's ability to possess forward thinking and be able to anticipate future changes. In the context of Southeast Asia, the region was highly competitive and susceptible to ebbs and flows of the larger global economy, resulting in the need to be economically dynamic. In considering the changes and transformation that the different Southeast Asian economies underwent over the years and how they responded to the global context, the above assessment is largely accurate over time.

Economic dynamism was more than present in the widespread nimble structural changes ranging across industries to suit the context of an increasingly industrialised world. While there were different rates of dynamism, the overall mentality was one that trended towards nimble and effective changes.

1. Thailand, Malaysia: successfully pivoted their agrarian economic into ISI so as to earn more revenue from higher value-added goods in a global market rife with agricultural protectionism
2. I.e. Thai government supported agri-businesses, swiftly liberalised the finance sector in order to take advantage of the many western and Japanese companies looking to invest
3. I.e. Malaysia: realised the value in technology and electronics and invested heavily in creating their own 'silicon valley'
4. ie Singapore: government recognised the importance of foreign investment and capital - Economic Expansion Incentives (1967) which granted pioneer status with tax exemption on profits

However, economic dynamism should not be generalised as a regional trend because in certain states there was great stagnancy and resistance towards structural reforms at the expense of economic development.

1. Viet's resistance to change due to its firm ideology -> collectivisation -> rudimentary means to engage in agri production -> low yield
2. gov's emphasis on heavy industries not light industries -> shortage of consumer goods -> reluctance to boost light industries -> SOL largely unchanged
3. Malaysia's persistence protectionism -> reliance on foreign tech and lack of innovation -> inefficiency
4. Perwaja Steel faced difficulty in finance and operation leading to a debt of \$2.3bn by 2000; high import duties on pharmaceutical products (Pharmaniaga, CCM Duopharma Biotech)

5. continued gov support in grants and incentives hampered desire to innovate, also unable to compete with global mkt
- 6.

Nonetheless, economic dynamism inevitable & necessary, especially to adapt to ext circumstances; pressurised to reform

1. Vietnam socialist state could recognise drawbacks of system -> vigorous Doi Moi reform of economy, opened up
2. The fact there was stiff competition especially among states w/ similar comparative advantages e.g. agriculture, low value-added goods -> economic dynamism in the manner they had to remain competitive and relevant to the global economy e.g. Thailand & Indonesia -> nature of economy impt, vs SG who has lesser competition & economic dynamism more obvious -> different rates of economic dynamism across region, but still present & characterised economic development

Ultimately, it is evident that southeast asia necessitated economic dynamism due to its vulnerable position subject to not just external economic fluctuations triggered by more dominant powers, but also the intense regional competition that arose from being surrounded by similar economies. Countries that were able to understand this, like Singapore, hence saw fantastic growth while others, like Vietnam and Malaysia, suffered from the encumberment of their ideology. Moreover, the persistent repercussions on the lower classes hence saw the rise of more practical leaders later on who pivoted their countries towards economic dynamism, as in the case of doi moi in Vietnam. However, by this point, it often came at the cost of the poorest and most vulnerable in society.

OR

Intro: Though high growth rates across Southeast Asian states may suggest a degree of economic dynamism, in reality, economic development was not characterised by dynamism upon deeper consideration of the significant roadblocks that remained unaddressed. Rampant protectionism, crony capitalism and socio-economic divides were issues that Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia were largely unable to resolve, thus highlighting their inability to constantly innovate and evolve with shifting circumstances. As a result, the dynamism of their economic development is called into question, as these long-standing issues continue to plague most of Southeast Asia.

Point 1: Protectionism plagued Southeast Asian states, preventing their industries from developing sufficient competitiveness and innovating.
examples

1. indonesia - in indonesia's industrial sector, protectionism persisted, most pribumi entrepreneurs also had no desire to improve productive capacity, lobbying for continued privileges for businesses, including protection from foreign competition and subsidies. restrictions raised the cost of doing business, damaging investment climate and reducing economic efficiency. overprotection of these industries led to lack of competitiveness for export, failing to develop the industrial base needed for sustainable transition to EOI. on the surface, it appeared that indonesia had successfully shifted to EOI and there was hence a surge in manufactured exports after 1987, but this masked the underlying issue of lack of technological development and advancement, as indonesia's exports were mainly labour-intensive, low-tech industries, and competitiveness relied on low wages. There was hence a

lack of a sustainable source of comparative advantage, and it had a more backward technological base than other newly industrialised economies in SEA.

2. malaysia - manufacturing sector had an annual growth rate of 9.9 percent, but protectionism persisted in industries like steel manufacturing. local steel corporations faced financial and operational challenges, like perwaja steel, leading to a racking up of debt. pharma companies from Malaysia also struggled to break into the international market because they mainly used existing formulations, rather than innovation and improvement. import duties imposed to encourage local production, but continued government support for pharma companies, lacking incentive to innovate and compete internationally
3. thailand - import tariffs rose substantially in the 1970s and 1980s, and strong business lobby groups emerged to pressure the government to retain protectionist barriers. As these industries had multiple ISI firms, their products which were used as inputs for other industries were highly priced. This led to export industries to lose out on potential cost competitiveness, reducing the economy's dynamism.

point 2: Crony Capitalism was rampant in the region and most countries witnessed a lack of transparency in financial and banking procedures and poor corporate governance

1. Firms and institutions with close links with politicians were often loosely regulated
2. Govts opted to bail out ailing businesses and institutions and didn't place any stringent standards for borrowing or proper risk assessment
3. This led to complacent practices and lack of productivity and competitiveness due to continued protectionist measures
4. Large number of projects in Indonesia and Thailand had not generated sufficient income to meet both principal and interest payments - Non-performing loans were estimated to have reached more than 20% of the total loan portfolio of many banks, rendering them technically insolvent prior to the currency crisis
5. Thus, Crony Capitalism hindered the removal of protectionism and inefficiencies remained, This prevented countries from changing their economy over time and slowed down their progress heavily - foundational piece which hindered economic dynamism

Initially they had full control

Liberalise and open up no longer have control and no longer able to dictate change

Topic 8 : Indo-Pak

Divergent stances between 2 states

- Religion
 - Hinduism and Islam have had a huge influence in shaping the region
 - Different dynasties and empires have ruled over the region yet **religion was not a means for identifying one another**
 - Bengali resistance movements from the 1920s cut across religious lines and saw recruitment from different segments of society
- Competing visions of nationalism and state-building
 - Gandhi-Nehru vs Mohammed Ali Jinnah - Sowed the seeds for differentiation
 - INC believed in a secular, democratic post-independence India which sought to represent all segments of indian society
 - However, Muslim elite expressed fears that Muslim minority would be disadvantaged - argued for a separate electorate to ensure proportional muslim representation
 - Strategy of Jinnah and Muslim League to highlight the “separateness” of the muslims in India, which eventually lead to a movement towards seeking a separate islamic state
- Refusal to compromise from INC
 - Initially both sides accepted a federal state where power was shared with the muslims that were scattered across the country
 - However, the INC’s repeated resistance of power sharing schemes and fixation on a unified centralised indian state under the banner of secularism made a series of missteps in its relations with the muslim league
- While most of the INC were arrested by the british for launching the Quit India movement, which demanded British withdrawal from India, Ali Jinnah and the Muslim League supported the British War effort, able to use this to strengthen their position and achieve a breakthrough in political support, becoming the the ‘third political force’ in India alongside Congress and the British
- **Direct Action Day and the Eruption of Communal Violence**
 - 1. Cabinet Mission & Failure (1946)
 - Sent by British to resolve Congress-Muslim League dispute on independence.
 - Congress & League disagreed on a united India with a strong center.
 - Muslim League demanded a separate Muslim state, pushing the idea of partition.
 - 2. Direct Action Day (16 August 1946)
 - Muslim League declared a hartal (mass strike) to protest Congress' stance.
 - Jinnah's statement: “either a divided India or a destroyed India.”
 - Intended as a political protest, but led to widespread communal violence.
 - Start of riots, especially in Calcutta, spread to Bihar, United Provinces, and Punjab - Great Calcutta Killings
 - Gandhi's attempts to restore peace (fasting, dialogues) were ultimately unsuccessful.
 - 3. Partition as a Compromise (1947)
 - With escalating communal violence, Partition became inevitable.
 - On 3 June 1947, leaders (Jinnah, Nehru, Mountbatten) agreed to divide India along religious lines.

- Two nations were created at midnight on 15 August 1947: India (Hindu-majority) and Pakistan (Muslim-majority).

Colonial Legacy & Hasty Decolonisation

- Divide and Rule: British policies emphasised communal divisions, fostering mistrust between Hindus and Muslims.
- Delays in granting independence throughout the 1930s made peaceful resolutions impossible.
- Jinnah gained British sympathy while Congress leaders were imprisoned during WWII, consolidating Muslim League's power.
 - Mountbatten's Rush for Exit (1947)
 - In Feb 1947, Britain, pressured by post-war challenges and US calls for decolonization, announced its exit by June 1948.
 - Mountbatten moved the deadline to mid-August 1947.
 - British troops focused on protecting Europeans rather than controlling riots.
 - Partition Plan (Radcliffe Line)
 - Sir Cyril Radcliffe, with no prior knowledge of India, was tasked with drawing borders between India and Pakistan in just 5 weeks.
 - Punjab and Bengal, with mixed Hindu and Muslim populations, became the focal points.
 - Gurdaspur (given to India) angered Muslims, as it gave India land access to Kashmir.
 - Nankana Sahib (Sikh founder's birthplace) went to Pakistan, angering Sikhs.
 - Violence & Population Exchange
 - The Partition sparked massive violence, especially in Punjab (30,000-45,000 killed in August 1947 alone).
 - British troops (Punjab Boundary Force) were too weak to contain rioting mobs.
 - No preparation for population exchange; a two-way exodus of 10 million refugees began, with East Punjab being emptied of Muslims and West Punjab of Hindus and Sikhs.
 - Princely States Dilemma
 - 550 princely states had to choose between India or Pakistan.
 - Many states, including Hyderabad and Kashmir, signed Standstill Agreements, delaying decisions on their future.
 - Kashmir: Muslim-majority but with a Hindu ruler. Its unresolved status became a long-term conflict, partly due to British failures in integrating princely states effectively.

Key Takeaways

- Direct Action Day set in motion irreversible communal violence, leading to the Partition.
- The hasty British exit exacerbated violence, leaving unprepared borders (Radcliffe Line) and unresolved princely state issues.
- The communal violence of Partition saw the mass displacement of millions, with Punjab as the epicentre.

- The Kashmir conflict is a direct legacy of the hurried and flawed decolonization process.

Kashmir Conflict: Strategic, Religious, and Political Significance

1. Strategic Importance of Kashmir

- **Geopolitical Location:** Kashmir borders **India, Pakistan, China, Afghanistan**, and the **USSR** (Cold War context), making it a strategic security buffer.
- **Water Resources:** Major rivers, including the **Indus, Jhelum, and Chenab**, flow through Kashmir, supplying water to both India and Pakistan. These water sources would become a contentious issue post-independence.

2. Kashmir's Role in Defining Nationhood

- **India's Perspective:** Kashmir's voluntary accession to India (despite its Muslim majority) would support the **secular nationalism** that India espoused. It demonstrated that Hindus and Muslims could coexist within one nation, countering the two-nation theory.
- **Pakistan's Perspective:** Kashmir's accession to Pakistan was central to the **Islamic identity** of Pakistan, as Pakistan's creation was based on the principle that Muslims in the subcontinent needed their own state (two-nation theory).

3. Religious and Ethnic Composition of Kashmir

- Kashmir's population was **75% Muslim** but ruled by a **Hindu Maharaja**.
- **Cultural divisions:** Hindu Pandits and Dogras were powerful, while the Muslim majority (mostly peasants) faced economic decline.
- The region today includes **Indian-administered Kashmir** (Kashmir Valley, Jammu, Ladakh) and **Pakistan-administered Kashmir** (Azad Kashmir, Northern Areas), along with **Chinese-controlled Aksai Chin**.

4. Kashmir's Initial Neutrality

- The **British** intended for princely states to join geographically suitable nations (India or Pakistan). However, Kashmir's geography allowed it to join either.
- **Maharaja Hari Singh** (Kashmir's ruler) sought independence, signing a **standstill agreement** with Pakistan, aiming to maintain the status quo without joining either country.

5. Accession to India (26 October 1947)

- **Tensions** in Kashmir, particularly the district of **Poonch**, grew after the Maharaja imposed new taxes and centralised control, leading to a **rebellion in October 1947**.
- **Pakistan's involvement:** Pakistan viewed the rebellion as a genuine uprising, while India accused Pakistan of instigating it as it gathered troops and resources for the attack.

- **Invasion by Pathan Tribesmen** (22 October 1947): Pakistani tribal forces, alongside Kashmiri Muslims, attacked and massacred **Dogra troops** and advanced toward **Srinagar**.
- **Maharaja's Appeal**: The Maharaja sought help from **India**, agreeing to accede to India in exchange for military support. On **26 October 1947**, the Maharaja signed the **Instrument of Accession**.
- **Indian Intervention**: Following the accession, India sent troops to **defend Kashmir**, marking the beginning of the **First Indo-Pakistani War (1947-48)**.

6. Disputes Over Legality of Accession

- **Pakistan's Objections**: Pakistan claimed the Maharaja signed under duress and that the accession violated the **status quo** agreed upon in the standstill agreement.
- **India's Counterargument**: India asserted that Pakistan's invasion nullified the status quo and that the Instrument of Accession was legally signed by the Maharaja.
- From the outset, Kashmir became a **disputed territory**, with both India and Pakistan contesting its legitimacy.

Water Issues Between India and Pakistan

a. Water Dispute of 1948

- In **April 1948**, during the Kashmir War, India **cut off water supplies** from East Punjab to West Punjab (Pakistan), threatening Pakistan's agrarian economy, especially during sowing season.
- **Radcliffe Line**: The partition of India-Pakistan split the **Indus River system** without clear water-sharing agreements.
- **Inter-Dominion Agreement (4 May 1948)**: Water flow was restored after Pakistan agreed to **pay** for water until it could secure alternative sources from the **western rivers** (Indus, Jhelum, Chenab).
- Pakistan's desire to claim Kashmir was strengthened by its need to secure control over these critical water resources.

b. Indus Water Treaty (1960)

- **World Bank Mediation**: Led by the **World Bank**, India and Pakistan negotiated the **Indus Water Treaty**, signed in **1960**.
- The treaty allocated control of the **eastern rivers** (Ravi, Beas, Sutlej) to India and the **western rivers** (Indus, Jhelum, Chenab) to Pakistan, while allowing each country specific uses on the other's rivers.
- The treaty created the **Permanent Indus Commission** to manage disputes and inspections.
- Although the treaty has largely been successful, Pakistan remains concerned that India's **upstream control** gives it a strategic advantage in managing water flows.

8. Conclusion

- The Kashmir conflict and water disputes are rooted in **historical and religious differences**, as well as post-Partition mismanagement.

- Both India and Pakistan have used Kashmir to justify their **national ideologies**: India's secularism and Pakistan's Islamic identity.
- The **Indus Water Treaty** remains a stabilising factor in their otherwise hostile relationship, though distrust continues to overshadow water-sharing agreements.

However, Pakistan has remained insecure about its water access, given that India has **a clear strategic advantage**, India is located upstream to Pakistan on all six rivers. Pakistan's lower geographical position not only to the Indus Rivers in India, but also to the Kabul River in Afghanistan - **makes it reliant on both neighbours for its waters**.

More significantly, Pakistan continues to fear that India will use its upper-riparian geography to manipulate the flow of waters through diversion or built-up storage in dams, flooding Pakistan during the rainy season or cutting water during the dry season.

Though it is unrealistic to assume that India could readily and easily violate the terms of the Indus Water Treaty, India and Pakistan do not have normal, trustful relations to begin with. This trust deficit, along with the fact that India once blocked water flows to Pakistan, has the military establishment convinced that they must hold on to their claim to Kashmir in an effort to maintain the country's water security.

Nevertheless, the Indus Water Treaty has generally been considered a success, and has survived multiple interstate tensions between the two parties. While tensions have continued to emerge over water issues given certain ambiguities of the treaty (in terms of dam construction and other infrastructure), resolving the fundamental issue of water resource ownership and access, under the auspices of the World Bank and the UN, prevented the hostility over Kashmir from flaring up further.

Key Takeaways

- **Kashmir** is strategically vital for both India and Pakistan, both in terms of **national identity** and **water security**.
- The legality of Kashmir's accession remains contested, with differing interpretations by India and Pakistan.
- **Water issues** between the two countries are deeply tied to the Kashmir conflict, and the **Indus Water Treaty** serves as a key framework for managing water disputes.
- From the very beginning, certain underlying factors such as religious differences, colonial experience, and the emergence of different ideological notions of statehoods meant that their relations would be fraught with difficulties. Yet, the deep-seated division and enmity that began with the painful division of Partition was not necessarily an inevitable outcome of the above issues. Rather, a series of missteps and political decisions made by the British and the leaders of both the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, turned religion into a political weapon, and made the differences so irreconcilable. Once they were set on this path, other issues such as the status of Kashmir and water access became supercharged with these politicised understandings of religion and statehood, pushing their already poisoned relations further into a quagmire.

First Kashmir War

- Following Kashmir's accession to India on 27 Oct 1947, Indian troops rushed to Kashmir. However, 1/3 of the territory was already lost to Pakistan supported forces by then
- Led to full-scale fighting and remained in a stalemate till Dec 1947
- 1 Jan 1948 - Indian govt submits complaint to UN security council, which was done on the advice of Lord Mountbatten
- Objective: to clear the northern parts which were said to be illegally occupied by Pakistani forces

The UN responded by establishing the United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP), which sought to mediate the conflict. The Security Council passed Resolution 47 in April 1948, calling for:

1. A ceasefire.
2. The withdrawal of Pakistani forces.
3. The reduction of Indian forces in the region.
4. A plebiscite to determine the future of Kashmir.

Success: Immediate response!

Ceasefire and Line of Control (1949):

UNCIP successfully brokered a ceasefire agreement between India and Pakistan, leading to the formal cessation of hostilities on January 1, 1949. The ceasefire line (later known as the Line of Control, or LoC) effectively split Kashmir into areas administered by India and Pakistan. The UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) was established to monitor the ceasefire line and report violations.

Successes:

- **Prevention of Immediate Escalation:** The ceasefire was a major success in halting a full-scale war, preventing the conflict from escalating into a larger regional crisis.
- **Establishment of Monitoring Mechanism:** The creation of the UNMOGIP provided a continuous mechanism for managing ceasefire violations and ensured that the dispute would not flare into renewed warfare, at least temporarily.

Failure to Implement the Plebiscite (1949-1950)

Despite the success in establishing a ceasefire, the larger UN goal of organising a plebiscite to allow the people of Kashmir to determine their political future was never realised. Pakistan refused to withdraw its troops from the region as required by Resolution 47, arguing that India had no intention of holding the plebiscite. India, on the other hand, insisted that Pakistan's withdrawal must come first.

Key Factors:

- **Mistrust Between the Nations:** Both India and Pakistan were deeply suspicious of each other's intentions. Pakistan doubted India's sincerity in conducting a fair plebiscite, while India feared that Pakistan would not respect the outcome if it favoured joining India.
- **Instrument of Accession:** India argued that the Maharaja's accession to India was legally binding and gave India sovereignty over Kashmir. Thus, India's leaders, particularly Prime Minister Nehru, felt that the plebiscite was no longer necessary.
- **Cold War Politics:** As the Cold War unfolded, the UN's role became more complicated. Pakistan allied itself with the United States through military pacts (CENTO, SEATO), which fueled Indian suspicions of Western bias in favour of Pakistan. This geopolitical backdrop made it difficult for the UN to act as a neutral mediator.

Failures:

- **Deadlock on Plebiscite:** The UN's inability to break the impasse over the plebiscite was a significant failure, as it left the central issue of Kashmir unresolved. The ceasefire, while successful in the short term, was not a permanent solution.
- **UN's Declining Influence:** As both countries entrenched themselves in their respective positions, the UN's influence waned. The failure to implement a plebiscite showed the limitations of international organisations when state actors are unwilling to compromise.

Cold War Influence and External Actors

The broader Cold War context played a crucial role in shaping the conflict and its resolution, or lack thereof. The United States viewed Pakistan as a useful ally in its global strategy to contain Soviet influence, while India, under Nehru's leadership, adopted a policy of non-alignment but leaned toward the Soviet Union after the mid-1950s.

US-Pakistan Relations:

- **Military Support:** Pakistan received significant military and economic aid from the United States, which strengthened its position vis-à-vis India. This led India to believe that the West, particularly the US and Britain, were biased in Pakistan's favor, which reduced Indian willingness to engage with the UN on Kashmir.

Soviet-Indian Relations:

- **Soviet Support for India:** India's relationship with the Soviet Union became a key factor in UN deliberations on Kashmir. The USSR, by the late 1950s, began vetoing Security Council resolutions that were critical of India's stance, which further marginalized the UN's role in mediating the conflict.

Failures:

- **Polarisation of the Conflict:** The Cold War alliances made it difficult for the UN to operate as a neutral body. Both India and Pakistan were backed by powerful external actors, which meant they could continue to pursue their national interests without fear of complete isolation.

India's relationship with the west clearly declined in 1956 as well due to its support for Egypt during the Suez Crisis and its ambiguous position during the Soviet invasion of Hungary. HOWEVER, Pakistan gained currency by supporting the western positions!

Second Kashmir War

Change of circumstances in the 60s

- India lost a brief but significant border war with China which decided that the country needed a major revamp of the military and defence spending -> doubled between '62 and '65
- Indian military build up caused alarm in Pakistan -> while aimed at China, Pakistan believed it to be directed at them instead
- Thus, Pakistan tried to seize a window of opportunity in early 1965 to test India's will and military capacity, sending its troops to the Rann of Kutch
- Borders there had not been clearly demarcated due to a subject of dispute between the princely states in the area -> moreover, this was meant to be a rehearsal for another invasion later in the year

Operation Gibraltar - Pakistan's infiltration of Kashmir

- Pakistan's belief that India would not fight back due to their lacklustre performance in the conflict over the Rann of Kutch earlier in 1965;
- Pakistan's belief that the population of Kashmir will support its invasion against India due to anti-Indian riots of December 1963, and the second house-arrest of Sheikh Abdullah in 1965 by the new Indian PM;
- The awareness that Pakistan would not win any protracted conflict with an improving Indian military hence the need for a successful lightning strike to take Kashmir,
- The misplaced confidence that China would aid Pakistan against India, after a successful state visit to Beijing in March 1965 by President Ayub Khan and Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

As a result, Pakistan put together a force of over 30,000 "infiltrators" dressed like locals, and they proceeded to cross the ceasefire line into Kashmir Valley in August 1965. It was **part of Pakistan's strategy of employing 'proxy wars' to bleed India dry. The objective was to create confusion and to spark unrest.**

Pakistan's Expectations and War Outbreak (1965)

- **Expected Local Support:** Pakistan anticipated support from Kashmiri Muslims during incursions, but this failed to materialize. Locals quickly reported Pakistani movements to Indian authorities.
- **Full-Scale War:** The conflict escalated into full-scale war in Kashmir and spread to other cities like Lahore and Punjab.

Outcome of the 1965 War

- **No Clear Victor:** Both sides sustained losses, but no definitive victor emerged.
- **Pakistan's Defeats:** Pakistan suffered demoralizing losses in key battles at Khem Karan and Sialkot. Further discouragement came from China's lack of concrete support—China issued an ultimatum but didn't follow through after warnings from the USA and USSR.
- **Indian Unity:** Pakistan's attack unified India in an unprecedented way. Muslim intellectuals and religious leaders condemned the attack, expressing a willingness to defend India.
 - **Kashmiri Support for India:** Many Kashmiris supported the Indian army, despite previous frustrations with Indian interference. Secessionist demands declined as Kashmir's new government under GM Sadiq provided effective administration. The tourist industry boomed, easing economic troubles.

International Reactions

- **US Embargo:** Alarmed that US-supplied weapons intended to combat communism were being used in this conflict, the USA placed a military embargo on both nations. NATO allies followed suit, halting military supplies.
 - **UN Ceasefire:** Hostilities ended after UN Secretary-General U Thant negotiated a ceasefire. The battle stalemate in Punjab further contributed to the willingness to cease hostilities.
-

Role of the United Nations in the Peace Process

- **Superpower Diplomacy:** Both the USA and USSR exerted diplomatic pressure to bring India and Pakistan to the negotiating table. A UN Security Council resolution was passed on 22nd September 1965, calling for an end to the war.
 - **India's Disillusionment with the UN:**
 - India distrusted the UN due to past initiatives and saw the organization as biased toward Pakistan.
 - India walked out of a UN-sponsored peace meeting after Pakistan's Foreign Minister accused it of aggression and called for UN intervention in Kashmir.
 - **India's Stance:** India remained firm that the Kashmir issue should be resolved bilaterally, without external intervention, especially by the UN.
 - **Bypassing the UN:** Due to India's refusal to engage with UN peace initiatives, the peace process was mediated by the USSR rather than the UN.
-

Tashkent Declaration (1966)

- **US Involvement:** The USA did not participate in the peace process, as President Johnson was preoccupied with the Vietnam War and had grown weary of the intractable Indo-Pakistani conflict.
- **Soviet Involvement:**
 - The USSR, eager to counter growing Chinese influence in Pakistan, stepped in as the primary mediator. Rising Sino-Soviet tensions in the 1960s further motivated Soviet involvement in South Asia.
 - Premier Alexei Kosygin brokered peace talks between India and Pakistan, held in Tashkent, Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic (4-10 January 1966).
- **Agreement Provisions:**
 - Both sides agreed to respect the ceasefire, repatriate prisoners of war, and return to the pre-war status quo.
 - They committed to renouncing the use of force and to rebuilding good diplomatic and economic relations.
- **Limitations of the Agreement:**
 - The Tashkent Declaration did not include a no-war pact or address underlying tensions.
 - As a result, the declaration failed to prevent the outbreak of renewed hostilities in 1971.

Bangladesh War of 1971

- **War Overview:** In December 1971, a major war erupted between India and Pakistan over East Pakistan (now Bangladesh).
 - **India's Support:** Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's government supported the East Pakistanis, who felt oppressed by the West Pakistan government and demanded an independent homeland.
 - **Casualties:** The conflict resulted in over a million deaths due to the scale of the war.
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Background to the Conflict

- **Geographical & Cultural Anomaly:** Since the 1947 Partition, Bangladesh (then East Pakistan) presented a significant anomaly. Despite being geographically separated from West Pakistan by 1600 km, East Pakistan was also culturally distinct:
 - **Bengali Population:** East Pakistan's 75 million people were primarily Bengali Muslims, with large minorities of Hindus, Christians, and Buddhists. The Bengalis had a distinct political outlook that leaned towards secularism, democracy, and socialism, in contrast to the Islamic state advocated by West Pakistan.
 - **Economic Disparity:** Although East Pakistan had a larger population, it received significantly less funding (around 40%) compared to West Pakistan. This economic exploitation further fuelled resentment.
 - **Cultural & Racial Tensions:** Separated by distance, there was little integration between Bengali and Pakistani cultures. Racial tensions between East Pakistan's Bengali Muslims and the Pathans of West Pakistan worsened the divide.
 - **Bengali Language & Culture Suppression:** West Pakistan's attempts to suppress the Bengali language, political movements, and culture intensified the calls for secession in East Pakistan.
 - **Political Crisis in 1970:**
 - In the 1970 elections, the Awami League, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, won a majority in East Pakistan. However, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) refused to concede the premiership to the Awami League.
 - **Crackdown:** The Awami League's leader was arrested, and West Pakistani forces cracked down on East Pakistani dissidents. Many fled to India, and East Pakistanis rose in revolt, forming the Mukti Bahini, a civilian guerrilla force supported by India.
 - **Refugee Crisis:** Over 10 million refugees fled to India, leading to a humanitarian crisis, further escalating tensions between India and Pakistan.
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Bangladesh Liberation War

- **Military Campaign:** On 25 March 1971, West Pakistan, under President Yahya Khan, launched a military crackdown in East Pakistan, targeting Hindus and Bengali intellectuals.
 - **Indian Build-up:** As violence escalated, India built up its forces at the border, supporting the Mukti Bahini. Inspired by Israel's success in the 1967 Six-Day War, Yahya Khan launched a pre-emptive airstrike against India on 3 December 1971. This attack, though partially successful, provided India with the justification to counterattack.
 - **Atrocities Committed:** During the nine-month war, the Pakistani military committed grave atrocities, including the systematic killing of civilians (especially Hindus and intellectuals) and the rape of 200,000–400,000 Bengali women. These acts, encouraged by Pakistani religious and military leaders, are considered by many scholars to be genocide.
 - **India's Intervention:** India, recognizing a strategic opportunity, provided strong political, diplomatic, and military support to East Pakistan. India lobbied globally to raise awareness of the atrocities and supported the Mukti Bahini, ultimately engaging in full-scale war against Pakistan.
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Role of External Powers

- **China's Support for Pakistan:**
 - In April 1971, Zhou Enlai, the Chinese Premier, condemned Indian "interference" in Pakistan's internal affairs and dismissed the resistance in East Pakistan as the work of a "handful of saboteurs." Zhou promised support to Pakistan in case of Indian aggression.
 - **India's Diplomacy with the USSR:**
 - Indira Gandhi successfully sought to break Western support for Pakistan. She convinced Britain and France to distance themselves from the US stance on Pakistan. Additionally, India signed a Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation with the USSR in August 1971, which neutralized potential Chinese intervention.
 - **Cold War Dynamics:**
 - **Pakistan's Allies:** Pakistan received arms from the USA and China, aligned through the Sino-US rapprochement of the early 1970s.
 - **India's Allies:** India aligned with the USSR, and both sides received support from their respective superpower allies.
 - **Superpower Involvement:** The USA sent nuclear warships to the region, prompting the USSR to do the same. While indirect, the Cold War rivalry between the superpowers added tension to the conflict.
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Aftermath of the 1971 Bangladesh War: Simla Agreement (1972)

- **Pakistan's Defeat:** Despite military aid from China and the USA, Pakistan's forces were comprehensively defeated by India. The war ended on 16 December 1971, with the surrender of Pakistani forces in East Pakistan to the Indian and Mukti Bahini forces.
 - **Simla Agreement (1972):**
 - Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Pakistan's President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (who had replaced Yahya Khan) met in Simla, India, in mid-1972 to discuss post-war relations.
 - **Key Terms of the Agreement:**
 - Pakistan agreed to recognize the independence of Bangladesh.
 - India returned captured territories and 93,000 Pakistani prisoners of war without pursuing war crime charges.
 - A clause was added, at India's insistence, stating that all future disputes between the two countries would be settled through peaceful bilateral negotiations, thereby excluding UN mediation.
 - **Kashmir:** Both sides reaffirmed their commitment to refrain from using force over the Kashmir issue. They also recognized the 1948 and 1971 ceasefire line as the Line of Control (LoC).
 - **Informal Kashmir Agreement:** An informal understanding to divide Kashmir along the LoC was reportedly reached. However, Bhutto later claimed this agreement was made under duress and denied officially accepting the partition of Kashmir.
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Implications of the War for India and Pakistan

- **Creation of Bangladesh:** The war resulted in the creation of an independent Bangladesh, challenging the concept of Pakistan as the sole homeland for Muslims on the Indian subcontinent. This was a major blow to the ideological foundations of Pakistan.
- **Shift in Power Balance:** The war marked a significant shift in South Asian geopolitics, with India emerging as the dominant power and Pakistan temporarily weakened. The diminished Pakistan could no longer pursue the Kashmir issue with the same intensity.
- **Pakistan's Focus Shift:** Post-war, Pakistan shifted its focus away from Kashmir to strengthening relations with the Muslim Arab world. This shift resulted in a longer period of peace between India and Pakistan until the next major conflict in 1999.
- **India's Status:** India's victory in the war significantly enhanced its standing in South Asia and internationally. India was seen as having 'rescued' East Pakistan from atrocities, bolstering its image as a regional power.
- **Kashmir's Political Climate:** In the 1970s and 1980s, politics in Indian-administered Kashmir improved as Pakistan's influence waned and India granted greater autonomy and democracy to the region. This relatively peaceful period was marked by positive relations between Kashmir and the Indian government.

Topic 9 : Arab - Israeli

CAUSES OF WAR

Nakbah, 1948 - Prevention of occupation, political, conflicting ideologies, territorial disputes

1. Both Jewish and Palestinian Arab communities assert historical and ancestral claims to the same land, with Zionist movements seeking the re-establishment of a Jewish homeland in response to centuries of persecution, while Palestinian Arabs view the territory as their ancestral home, leading to irreconcilable nationalistic aspirations.

- Jewish historical claims are rooted in biblical times while the Arabs have longed lived in Palestine
- The Zionist movement sought a Jewish homeland in Palestine as a refuge from European anti-Semitism.
- Both communities developed strong national identities tied to the land, fueling conflicting aspirations.

2. As a result of the irreconcilable aspirations of the Jewish and the Arabs for the Palestinian land, the UN concluded that the Partition was the only viable solution but this eventually proved to lead to greater consequences.

- The UN Partition Plan proposed dividing Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab states, ignoring the complex ethnic proportions and distribution and the legitimate rights
- The plan faced significant resistance, with the Jews accepting it and the Arabs rejecting it.
- The Partition led to displacement and increased hostilities, failing to secure lasting peace —> first Arab-Israeli War

3. The UN Partition Plan was a destructive colonial legacy that paved the way for greater hostilities between the Arabs and the Zionists.

- The Partition Plan was seen as a colonial imposition without full local consent.
- It heightened animosities by dividing land without addressing underlying issues.
- The legacy of the Partition contributed to enduring conflict over territory and sovereignty.

4. While it seemed that the Jewish aspirations were as equally valid as the Palestinians', the historical acquisition of large tracts of Palestinian land that often displaced the Arab tenants demonstrates the Jewish violation of the Arab rights which fueled the tension between the Arabs and the Zionists.

- Jewish immigration and land purchases during the Mandate led to significant changes in land ownership, but also due to forceful eviction

- Displacement of Arab communities resulted in loss of homes and livelihoods.
- The sense of violation and dispossession among Palestinians intensified hostilities.

5. After the Partition, it is undoubted that the hostilities between the Arabs and the Zionists (turned Israelis) had escalated to greater heights upon the Arab's attack on the newly-formed Israel.

- Neighbouring Arab states (Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Iraq) launched a military intervention against the newly declared State of Israel.
- The resulting war caused significant casualties and territorial changes.
- The immediate escalation of violence undermined efforts for a peaceful resolution and complicated future negotiations.

Suez Crisis, 1956 - Security, Economic

1. Israel, facing constant hostility from its Arab neighbours, saw Nasser's nationalisation of the Suez Canal and the blockade of Israeli supply through the Straits of Tiran as a direct threat to its security and economic interests. Israel's subsequent military action, in coordination with Britain and France, aimed to weaken Nasser and secure its position in the region.
 - The nationalisation of the Suez Canal by Nasser restricted Israel's access to a crucial maritime route used for international trade and military logistics.
 - The blockade of the Straits of Tiran by Egypt effectively cut off Israeli shipping routes, impacting Israel's economy and its ability to import essential goods and - resources.
 - The military action taken by Israel, in collaboration with Britain and France, was intended to both challenge Nasser's authority and ensure continued control over key strategic waterways.

Six-Day War, 1967 - Security

1. The Six-Day War began with Israel's preemptive strikes against Egypt due to the fear of an overwhelming combined Arab attack. Prior to the war, Egypt entered into defence pacts with Jordan and Syria, creating a unified military front against Israel. These alliances increased the sense of imminent threat in Israel, which perceived the massing of Arab forces on its borders as a preparation for coordinated military action.
 - Israel launched preemptive strikes against Egypt fearing a large-scale Arab attack.
 - Egypt formed defence pacts with Jordan and Syria to create a unified military front.
 - The alliances heightened Israel's sense of imminent threat from a coordinated Arab military action.

Yom Kippur War, 1973 - Revenge, Recovery of territory, Territorial disputes

1. Driven by the determination to recover the territories lost to Israel during the Six-Day War of 1967, including the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights, and the West Bank, the Arab forces, primarily from Egypt and Syria, orchestrated a meticulously planned surprise attack on Israel. This offensive was deliberately timed to coincide with Yom Kippur, the holiest day in the Jewish calendar, when Israeli military readiness was at its lowest due to the observance of the holiday, thereby increasing the chances of a successful initial strike and maximising the strategic advantage.
 - Egypt and Syria sought to reclaim key territories like the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights, which were vital for their security and national pride.
 - Yom Kippur saw a significant reduction in Israeli military operations, as many soldiers were observing the holiday, which made Israel more vulnerable to attack.
 - The surprise attack aimed to exploit this reduced readiness to achieve quick victories and gain a tactical advantage before Israel could fully mobilise its forces.

Why was the UN Partition Plan problematic?

1. The UN Partition Plan is problematic because it shows that the UN had totally ignored the ethnic composition of the country's population. At the time of the partition, Jews constituted about one-third of Palestine's population, while Arabs made up roughly two-thirds. However, the UN Partition Plan allocated approximately 55% of the land to the Jewish state and 45% to the Arab state. This division was seen as unfair by the Arab population, especially since many areas designated for the Jewish state had a majority Arab population.
2. The partition of Palestine (which was overwhelmingly Palestinian) into two parts has proven so disastrous because it was carried out against the will of the indigenous population.
3. By broadcasting its intent to create equal Jewish and Arab political entities in Palestine, the UN violated the basic rights of the Palestinians, and totally ignored the concern for Palestine in the wider Arab world at the very height of the anti-colonialist struggle.

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

First Arab-Israeli War, 1948

1. When the first Arab-Israeli war broke out, the UNSC established the UN Truce Supervision Organisation (UNTSO) to assist the UN appointed mediator to supervise a four-week truce, as the situation in Palestine was already getting more chaotic with increased fighting. However the truce was seemingly futile as no heed was paid to it by either the Arabs or the Israelis.
2. Subsequently, when it became clear that the Arabs could not win the war, the UN sent Ralph Bunche, a mediator, to facilitate the signing of armistice agreements between Israel and the involved Arab states. This mediation effort in contrast saw a great degree of success because eventually, the warring parties were willing to negotiate.
3. However, while the war was halted, the UN did not manage to promote peace between the Arabs and the Israelis due to the unresolved territorial disputes. The Arabs continued to be unwilling to recognise the Jewish state founded on Palestine and the Israelis refused to give up the territories they had acquired illegally.

Suez Crisis, 1956

4. When the Suez War broke out in Oct 1956, the UNTSO requested Israel to withdraw its troops from the Sinai and cease fire but it was not heeded. Furthermore, initial Security Council meetings failed to produce any resolution, as they were vetoed by both France and Britain, who were involved in the war.
5. Fortunately, the US quickly intervened in the war and took the matter to the UN General Assembly, in order to produce an immediate ceasefire resolution. Furthermore, the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was also sent to secure an end to the crisis as

per the resolution. Eventually the war had stopped and Britain, France and Israel completed the evacuation of all occupied areas by March 1957.

Six-day War, 1967

6. Over time, the deployment of the UNEF I proved to be limited in its effectiveness as it was only able to operate with the consent of the host country. In 1967, after about a decade of having successfully maintained peace in the Middle East, the UNEF was removed at the request of Egypt as they were preparing for a war with Israel again.
7. After six days of intense fighting, the United Nations Security Council called for an immediate ceasefire on June 10, 1967. The resolution, Resolution 235, was accepted by all parties involved, and the ceasefire took effect, bringing an end to active hostilities.
8. The end of the six-day war saw the passing of the Resolution 242 that established the principles that were to guide the negotiations for an Arab-Israeli peace settlement. However, the refusal of the Arab states and Israel to compromise still became the stumbling blocks for the resolution to take effect.

Yom Kippur War, 1973

9. The UNSC had issued Resolution 338 which called for the immediate termination of all military activities and the implementation of Resolution 242(elaborate). Nevertheless, the fighting continued.
10. However, soon enough, realising the danger the war had posed for detente, both the US and USSR pressured Egypt and Israel to accept the UN ceasefire resolution. This was also in response to the unexpected halting of oil supply by Arab OPEC nations, which unleashed a global economic crisis. Eventually, the fighting stopped.
11. Furthermore, the Camp David accord in 1978 had also led to substantial peace negotiations and agreements which promoted some form of peace between Egypt and Israel. Nevertheless, the signing of the accord by Egypt had infuriated the other Arab countries as the move was seen to be an act of betrayal.

'A product of conflicting nationalistic goals'. How accurate is this assessment of the Arab-Israeli conflict from 1948-1979?

1. The Arab-Israeli conflict arose from conflicting nationalist goals of Arabs and Zionists in the 19th century.
2. While conflicting nationalistic goals contributed to the intense hostilities and rivalries in Palestine, it is crucial to acknowledge that the circumstances post-World War II also paved the way for the tensions in Palestine.
3. Moreover, the Arab-Israeli conflict has been a long time product of a history of failed peace processes and armistice agreements going beyond the fight of ideologies prominently due to the reluctance of the Israelis to cooperate with the relevant parties.

Assess the view that Arab aggression best explains the intractable nature of the Arab-Israeli conflict from 1948-1979.

1. Arab aggression had undoubtedly led to the escalation of hostilities between the Arabs and the Jewish as seen in the Arab attack on Israel after the UN decided to divide the Palestinian land into the Arab and Jewish territories. Furthermore, the invasion of the Jewish territories by the Palestinian guerillas in the 1950s further exacerbated the tensions between the Arabs and the Zionists.
2. However, it would be shortsighted to ignore the motivations behind the Arab aggression in the first place. Historically, the acquisition of large tracts of Palestinian land that often displaced the Arab tenants demonstrates the Jewish violation of the Arab rights which fuelled the tension between the Arabs and the Zionists.
3. Furthermore, both Jewish and Palestinian Arab communities assert historical and ancestral claims to the same land, with Zionist movements seeking the re-establishment of a Jewish homeland in response to centuries of persecution, while Palestinian Arabs view the territory as their ancestral home, leading to irreconcilable nationalistic aspirations. As a result of the irreconcilable aspirations of the Jewish and the Arabs for the Palestinian land, the UN concluded that the Partition was the only viable solution but this eventually proved to lead to greater consequences.

‘The international community must be held responsible for the failure to find a lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.’ Discuss with reference to developments from 1948-1973.

1. The international community did have some fault for the inability to find the solutions to the Arab-Israeli conflict since UN operations had limitations and the superpowers’ role as sponsors of war hindered peace brokering efforts.
2. The rise of Palestine nationalism also contributed greatly to obstructing the road to finding a lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, due to the distinct Palestinian-Israeli confrontation.
3. However, this issue stemmed from the failures of the international community, and the Arabs not actually attempting to help Palestine establish its own state.
4. Lastly, the fundamental disagreement over territory between Arabs and Israelis led to the inability to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict

1. **Palestinian Armed Struggle and the Rise of the PLO (Cause and Continuity)**
 - The failure of Resolution 242 and the aftermath of the 1967 War led to intensified Palestinian militancy. The PLO and organizations like Fatah and PFLP institutionalized Palestinian nationalism and resistance, reflecting continuity in the Palestinian struggle against Israel.
 - Radical factions within the PLO introduced new tactics, notably international terrorism (e.g., Dawson's Field hijackings, Munich Olympics massacre), demonstrating a shift in the scale and location of conflict beyond the Middle East, affecting global perceptions of the conflict.
2. **Arab States' Military Strategy and Changing Leadership (Change and Continuity)**
 - After Nasser's death, Sadat's leadership marked a shift in Egypt's strategy: a preference for limited war (Yom Kippur War) aimed at negotiating on more favorable terms, rather than total annihilation of Israel.
 - Sadat's willingness to initially pursue diplomatic solutions represented a notable change. However, his eventual decision to pursue war highlights the persistence of the Arab states' primary goal of recovering territories lost in 1967.
3. **Superpower Involvement (Continuity and Change)**
 - The U.S.-Israel relationship deepened in the 1970s, with substantial American military aid to Israel and continued strategic alignment, solidifying the U.S. as a major player in the conflict.
 - In parallel, the USSR's support of Arab states (e.g., arms supply to Syria) intensified, leading to a regional split into U.S.- and Soviet-aligned blocs, illustrating continuity in superpower rivalry but within the specific context of Middle Eastern alliances.
4. **Israeli Complacency and Miscalculations (Change)**
 - Israel's misjudgment of Egypt's and Syria's willingness to act militarily (due to past failures) was a crucial factor in the Yom Kippur War. The initial Arab successes revealed flaws in Israeli intelligence and underscored a shift in Israeli strategic thinking after the conflict, ultimately leading to reassessment and military restructuring. - post-war period saw increased vigilance and dependency on U.S. support.

PLO and Palestinian Militancy (Cause and Significance)

- The rise of the PLO under Arafat provided Palestinians with a unified political identity and greater agency within the Arab-Israeli conflict, marking a significant cause for sustained conflict and inter-Arab tensions. The increased legitimacy of Palestinian demands fueled regional instability, complicating Arab-Israeli relations and shaping international perception of the conflict.

Egypt and Syria (Cause and Significance)

- Egypt, under Sadat, demonstrated a dual strategy of diplomacy and limited war to reclaim Sinai, reflecting a pragmatic shift in Egyptian leadership. The coordinated

Egyptian-Syrian attack on Yom Kippur exposed vulnerabilities in Israeli defense and reshaped the balance of power, emphasizing Egypt and Syria's decisive role.

Superpowers (Cause and Continuity)

- The U.S. and USSR's direct military support for their respective allies in the conflict demonstrated the global significance of the Arab-Israeli war. This superpower competition affected both the conflict's progression and its resolution, underlining the influence of Cold War dynamics on Middle Eastern stability.

Geneva Conference (December 1973): Convened by the US and USSR but accomplished little beyond opening speeches.

Kissinger's Shuttle Diplomacy: US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger began diplomatic trips between Jerusalem, Cairo, and Damascus, successfully persuading Israel, Egypt, and Syria to negotiate. His approach included:

- Assuring Israel that agreements would reduce pressure for further concessions.
- Convincing Arab states that partial Israeli withdrawal could lead to full withdrawal.

Sinai I (January 1974): This disengagement agreement between Israel and Egypt:

- Pulled back Israeli and Egyptian forces.
- Installed UNEF II (created during the Yom Kippur War under Resolution 340) to supervise the buffer zones.

Sinai II (September 1975):

- Gave Egypt control over more of the Sinai Peninsula and access to oilfields.
- Led to the reopening of the Suez Canal for the first time since 1967.

Syrian Front – Golan Heights (May 1974):

- Israeli forces withdrew from areas near Quneitra on the Golan Heights, establishing a buffer zone monitored by UNDOF, in line with Resolution 338.

Loss of Momentum: Post-Sinai II, peace efforts stagnated until **Sadat's Historic Visit to Jerusalem (November 1977):**

- Sparked renewed US-Egypt-Israel diplomacy.
- Israeli PM Menachem Begin's visit to Ismailia, Egypt (December 1977) resulted in discussions but deadlocked over the West Bank and Palestinian self-rule. While Egypt demanded recognition of Palestinian self-rule, Begin only offered administrative autonomy.

US Dominance in the Region: The US prevented Israeli defeat, helped secure Israeli territorial concessions, and cemented its influence in the region, sidelining the USSR