

H2 History (Paper 2)

Theme 1: Search for Political Stability

Argument	Indonesia	Thailand	The Philippines	Burma	Vietnam	Malaysia	Singapore
Pre-Independence							
Violent and abrupt / peaceful and gradual decolonisation	1949 Hague Agreement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Dutch withdrew quickly from Indonesia in the 1949 Hague Agreement under immense US pressure Swift 1950 roll-back of federalism established only one year earlier 		Early democracy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Self-government since 1907 Philippine Act Elected Senate, House, President with a Filipinised administration 10-year independence runway under the 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act 	1947 Attlee-Aung San Agreement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Burmese independence was obtained in January 1948 as promised in the Attlee-Aung San Agreement Low election turnout in the 1951 elections 	Indochinese Wars <ul style="list-style-type: none"> March 1954: VCP success at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu Jan 1968: Tet Offensive North Vietnam repelled US attacks in the 2nd Indochinese war, successfully reuniting the country in 1975 	Malayan Emergency <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Templer's psychological warfare campaign won the hearts of the Chinese 1954: 5 Malay states had been declared White Areas where the communists had been substantially overcome 	Merdeka Talks <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Merdeka Talks succeeded only under Lim Yew Hock, after the strong suppression of the SCMSU riots Merger with Malaya <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1962: Merger Referendum <ul style="list-style-type: none"> PAP secured a decisive victory, winning 71% of votes 1963: Operation Coldstore Communists were arrested and detained, removing left-wing opposition
Political tutelage by colonial powers				Overreliance on Aung San's personal legitimacy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feb 1947: Panglong Conference and the Panglong Agreement Aung San toured Frontier Areas to gain minority support Aung San gave two autonomous states for the Shans and Kachins July 1947: Aung San assassinated and replaced with U Nu 		Early democracy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1951 Member System gave 6 local officials from the Legislative Council (including 3 Malays) experience in helming ministries Elections held in 1952, 1955 Remained in power until 1955 Elections: Alliance won 81% of votes and 51/52 seats, proving clear, mass support 	Early democracy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Self-governance in the form of Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly Elections were held in 1948, 1951, 1955 and 1959 Full internal self-government in 1959 gave local leaders full control over internal affairs
Historical enmity				Karen vs Burmans <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Christian Karens and Buddhist Burmans fought on opposite sides during the three Anglo-Burmese wars that toppled the Konbaung Dynasty 		British divide-and-rule <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Education policies favoured Chinese and Indians at the expense of Malays Professional occupations were Chinese-dominated <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dentists: 89% Chinese, 3% Malay Engineers: 71% Chinese, 7% Malay Japanese divide-and-rule <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Malays were offered military training and political experience Indians could join the anti-British Indian National Army 	

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						<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chinese were subject to genocide, e.g. Sook Ching Massacre 	
Geographic divisions	Archipelagic geography <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 252 million people spread across 18,000 islands and 1.9 million sqkm 		Mindanao <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 76% Muslim in 1903 	Lower vs Upper Burma <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lowland peoples shared Buddhism, a common dialect and rice cultivation around the Irrawaddy delta Upland areas were populated by diverse communities, e.g. Chins, Kachins, Karens, Shans 		Ethnic division of labour <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chinese labourers flocked to Chinese settlements near tin mines Indian workers worked in plantations Malay natives remained in peasant communities 	
Uneven incorporation	East Timor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> East Timor was not part of the Dutch East Indies, instead colonised by the Portuguese Aceh <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Used to be an independent kingdom as the Sultanate of Aceh Aceh was only conquered in 1904 		Mindanao <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Historically independent Sultanates that never came under Spanish rule 	Lower vs Upper Burma <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lower Burma (annexed in 1852) and Upper Burma (annexed in 1886) 			
Early Years							
Rebellions and separatism	Regional rebellions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1957 Permesta rebellion in Sulawesi, 1958 PRRI rebellion in Sumatra 1950s: Darul Islam rebellion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sought to establish an Islamic theocracy 		1968: Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1968 Jambidah Massacre angered Moro Muslims in Mindanao Continued separatist insurgency, which would eventually justify martial law 	Separatist groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1948-49: Karen National Defence Organisation rose up in rebellion, seizing Moulmein, Bassein and Prome Arakanese and the Mons demanded separate states By 1962: 10% of the nation was controlled by ethnic insurgents 		Social Contract <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Malays were guaranteed political superiority (Article 153 of the Constitution) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Top political posts would go to UMNO politicians Yang di-Pertuan Agong would always be chosen from Malay rulers Weighting votes in favour of rural electoral constituencies Favourable admissions requirements in civil service and education Special allocation of licenses Chinese were allowed to retain their economic power <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Finance Minister was from the MCA until 1974 Also granted 	

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						<p>generous citizenship provisions</p> <p>Opposition to the Alliance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ultras (e.g. PAS and Partai Rakyat) opposed UMNO and the Social Contract • MCA opposed by the PAP and subsequently the Democratic Action Party (DAP) • MIC failed to gain traction among the diverse Indian community <p>Race riots</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1964 Race Riots, which contributed to the 1965 expulsion of Singapore • 1969 Race Riots post-election, claiming 196 lives 	
Communist presence	<p>PKI membership</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PKI membership reached 1 million by 1955 and 3 million by early 1960s, second in Asia only to China 	<p>Communist strikes and membership</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Phibun collaborated with communists to agitate against post-war economic chaos • Street demonstrations and worker strikes erupted • Association of United Workers of Thailand gained 60,000 members over 2 years <p>1973-76: CPT resurgence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1973-75: 1333 strikes, 322 demonstrations and 30 assassinations of politicians and farmer leaders • 1975 National Assembly Elections: Socialist parties captured 13.8% of vote 	<p>1946-54: The Hukbalahap Uprising</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Membership swelled to 20,000 in 1945 • Waged guerrilla warfare for 8 years against US-backed Philippine government • Defeated by President Magsaysay's land reform programme <p>1969: New People's Army</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Huks and Communist Party of the Philippines merged to form the New People's Army • Alleged involvement in the 1971 Plaza Miranda bombing would justify Marcos' martial law 	<p>1946: AFPFL expulsion of communists</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jan 1946: AFPFL expelled communist 'Red Flag' guerrillas led by Soe • Oct 1946: AFPFL expelled communist 'White Flag' guerrillas led by Than Tun <p>1948-89: Extended communist insurgency</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communist insurgency from 1948-89, one of the longest in the world 	<p><i>VCP is communist!</i></p>	<p>Malayan Emergency</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Templer's psychological warfare campaign won the hearts of the Chinese • 1954: 5 Malay states had been declared White Areas where the communists had been substantially overcome 	<p>Merdeka Talks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Merdeka Talks succeeded only under Lim Yew Hock, after the strong suppression of the SCMSU riots <p>Merger with Malaya</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1962: Merger Referendum <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ PAP secured a decisive victory, winning 71% of votes • 1963: Operation Coldstore • Communists were arrested and detained, removing left-wing opposition
Incompetent leaders	<p>Hyperinflation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sukarno's nationalisation of numerous sectors • 1965: Inflation was 500% <p>Reckless foreign policy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1963 Konfrontasi alienated regional neighbours • Reckless spending on military intimidation to win West Irian 		<p>Corruption</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roxas gave US rehabilitation funds to affluent families • Quirino oversaw rise of corrupt officials ('ten percenters') who demanded bribes • Election fraud, to the point where Magsaysay enlisted the military to collect ballot boxes in 1953 elections 	<p>Buddhist Socialism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • U Nu pursued Buddhist Socialism to placate communists, antagonising non-Buddhist minorities like the Baptist Karens and Christian Chins and Kachins <p>Land of Happiness</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • U Nu's 4-year socio-economic plan to create a Land of Happiness 		<p>1967 National Language Act</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognised Malay as the sole national language and the language of instruction in schools • Sparked anger among minorities and feelings of Malay supremacy 	

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	Sukarno's secular Pancasila <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sukarno's secular Pancasila alienated religious minorities in Aceh and Celebes 		Excessive debt <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1965-69: State close to bankruptcy with PHP 400 million of domestic debt 	<p>'failed miserably'</p> 1958 request for Ne Win's caretaker government <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ne Win stabilised the political situation over 18 months, making U Nu look weak 1961 State Religion Bill <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recognised Buddhism as the state religion Reneging on Arakanese and Mon promises <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reneged on 1960 election promises to establish separate states for the Arakanese and Mons Original plan to establish separate states was met with military opposition, since it desired centralised control 			
Political gridlock	1951-55 Cabinet changes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4 Cabinets in as many years, involving over 4 parties 1955 Election gridlock <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'Big Four' parties were locked in a stalemate, discrediting the parliamentary system by producing a weak coalition government PNI: 57 seats Masjumi: 57 seats NU: 45 seats PKI: 39 seats Sukarno's precarious power balance (military, Islamists, PKI) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sukarno needed the army for his campaign in West Irian and owed a debt of gratitude to the military for putting down regional revolts Military was given power via martial law and control over nationalised Dutch enterprises Sukarno needed the Islamists due to importance of Islam Sukarno needed the PKI for 	1945-47: Government changes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 9 administrations in two years 1973-76: Interregnum <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4 governments over this 3 year period One government lasted barely a week 1975 National Assembly Elections <ul style="list-style-type: none"> None of 22 parties came close to winning a majority 	Party switching <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1965: Marcos won after switching from Liberal Party to Nationalist Party 	1958: AFPFL split <ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Stable" AFPFL under Socialists U Ba Swe, U Kyaw Nyein "Clean" AFPFL under U Nu U Nu had to unconstitutionally pass the budget without a vote 			

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	its mass audience and support of his militant campaigns <ul style="list-style-type: none"> PKI given uninhibited power, e.g. aksi sepihak (unilateral action) to seize land 						
Weak democratic participation	Sukarno's communalist style <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sukarno's affinity for mushawara and gotong royong Regional rebellions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1957 Permesta rebellion in Sulawesi, 1958 PRRI rebellion in Sumatra 1950s: Darul Islam rebellion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sought to establish an Islamic theocracy 			Separatist groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1948-49: Karen National Defence Organisation rose up in rebellion, seizing Moulmein, Bassein and Prome Arakanese and the Mons demanded separate states By 1962: 10% of the nation was controlled by ethnic insurgents Low voter turnout <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1951: Voter turnout was low at 20%, as only 1.5 million voters out of an eligible 8 million participated 			
Prestige of the military	ABRI repulsion of Dutch <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The ABRI's successful repulsion of 1947 and 1948 Dutch Police Actions led to its rise in prominence Would go on to play a key role in Sukarno's NASAKOM Cabinet, wielding power through martial law and its control of nationalised enterprises 			Ne Win's Thakin roots <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ne Win's personal prestige as member of the original Thakin movement and founding member of the BIA's Thirty Comrades Ne Win's caretaker government <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ne Win would go on to run a caretaker government from 1958-60, gaining legitimacy 	VCP's Indochinese Wars <ul style="list-style-type: none"> March 1954: VCP success at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu Jan 1968: Tet Offensive North Vietnam repelled US attacks in the 2nd Indochinese war, successfully reuniting the country in 1975 		
Outcome	Sept 1965: Gestapu Coup <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Surviving military leadership launched a brutal retaliatory attack on the PKI Led by Army Chief of Staff Nasution and Major-General Suharto PKI outlawed Massacred half a million suspected communists and economically influential Chinese March 1967: Suharto assumed the presidency	Nov 1947 Coup <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Phibun, alongside other generals and royalists, led coup April 1948: Phibun became PM 1951 Silent Coup <ul style="list-style-type: none"> New Cabinet formed with 19/25 members from the military Oct 1976: Coup <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Right-wing militias attacked university campus, with fighting (officially) killing 46 Military seized power again in a coup under the pretext of suppressing violence 	Sept 1972: Proclamation No. 1081 announced martial law 1973 Constitution <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Marcos could exercise the powers of both President and PM Parliamentary system replaced old presidential system 	March 1962: Ne Win seized power in a largely bloodless coup <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Civilian politicians were arrested and detained Ne Win suspended the 1947 Constitution and replaced it with the Union Revolutionary Council <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Led by himself and 17 senior military officers 		May 1969: Demonstrations deteriorated into ethnic violence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Up to 800 people possibly killed Destroyed the political credibility of Tunku Abdul Rahman 1969-71: Parliament suspended <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Temporarily replaced by a National Operations Council (NOC) Membership included the armed forces 1971: Restoration of Parliamentary rule <ul style="list-style-type: none"> NOC was dissolved Military returned to professional role of defence 	

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						(in contrast to other nations where crises led to stronger military presence)	
Rising Middle Years							
Violent crackdowns	1974 Malari Riots <ul style="list-style-type: none">770 arrested and ended in 2 days 1984 Tanjung Priok Riots <ul style="list-style-type: none">Military opened fire, killed 28 and jailed 30, including former military commander Dharsono	1973 Pro-Democracy Uprising <ul style="list-style-type: none">Thanom deployed tanks and attack helicopters, killing hundreds of demonstrators 1992 Pro-Democracy Protests <ul style="list-style-type: none">General Suchinda nominated as PM even though he was not an MP500,000 took to the streetsBlack May: Brutal military suppression resulted in hundreds of deaths	1970 First Quarter Storm <ul style="list-style-type: none">Used firetrucks to disperse protestersSeveral hundreds wounded over multiple protests 1978 Election Demonstrations <ul style="list-style-type: none">600 arrested	1962 Rangoon University protests <ul style="list-style-type: none">Student protests against URC's policy of closing student political organisationsMilitary occupied Rangoon UniversityMilitary blew up the university students' union buildingKilled up to 100 students 1974: U Thant funeral crisis <ul style="list-style-type: none">Unrest surrounding U Thant's burial led to citywide demonstrationsMarital law was declaredMore than 100 were killed 1988 8888 Protests <ul style="list-style-type: none">41 youth suffocated in a police van which they had been stuffed into3000 killed in the ensuing suppression			
Extralegal purges and persecution	1967-75: PNI's leading intellectual Situmorang imprisoned without trial 1971: General Nasution forced into retirement 1974: Fired Secret Service General Sumitro 1988: Replaced once-loyal commander Murdani	1948: Several Pridi supporters arrested <ul style="list-style-type: none">Accused of plotting rebellion 1948: 3 pro-Pridi MPs were shot while in police custody 1952: Arrested over 1000 leftists and Pridi supporters	1966: Forced 14/25 flag officers into retirement 1966: Replaced 1/3 of provincial commanders 1972: General Order No. 2 <ul style="list-style-type: none">Compelled military to arrest and detain politicians, opposition leaders1977: 70,000 Filipinos held as political prisoners Aquino <ul style="list-style-type: none">1972: Arrested1980: Effectively exiled to the US1983: Assassinated	1963: Aung Gyi <ul style="list-style-type: none">Number-two man in 1962 URC, but ousted in 1963Imprisoned because of differences with Ne Win from 1965 to 1968 and again from 1973 to 1974	Re-education camps <ul style="list-style-type: none">Former supporters of the South Vietnamese regime, merchants, religious leaders and middle-class employees in the South were sentReligious leaders like Father Tran Huu Thanh sent for re-education1/3 of the population were sent to camps at some point	1987 Operation Lalang <ul style="list-style-type: none">Detained over 100 activists, politicians, students and intellectuals under the Internal Security Act 1988: Dismissed the Lord President of the Supreme Court and two other judges that had offered unfavourable rulings 1998: Charged Anwar for sodomy and corruption	1963 Operation Coldstore <ul style="list-style-type: none">More than 100 left-wing politicians and activists were detained 1987 Operation Spectrum <ul style="list-style-type: none">22 Roman Catholic activists and church workers detained for 'hatching a Marxist conspiracy' 1988: Francis Seow <ul style="list-style-type: none">Solicitor-General and President of the Law Society Francis Seow was detained under the ISA after joining the WP ahead of the 1988 elections 1997: Tang Liang Hong <ul style="list-style-type: none">WP candidate Tang Liang Hong sued by PAP leaders after the election for 'questioning their integrity by making remarks about their

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							financial dealings'
Constitutional processes	<p>Suharto intervened in selection of other party leaders</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> E.g. 1993: Removal of PDI President <p>1969: New election law</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government to appoint 22% of DPR (lower house) and 33% of MPR, preventing constitutional amendments <p>1972-73: Opposition merger</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 9 opposition parties were forced to merge into 2 parties (PDI from non-Islamic parties and PPP) from Islamic parties), creating internal conflict and lost supporters E.g. 1985: NU withdrawal from PPP 	<p>1949 Constitution</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Royalists prepared new constitution to increase King's formal powers, appointing the Senate, vetoing legislation, issuing decrees <p>1951 Constitution</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Military restored a modified version of the 1932 Constitution, with 19/25 of Cabinet from the military <p>1968-71 Constitution</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 128/164 members of nominated Senate from the military PM to be the selected by the Head of Senate (from the military) Political parties were legalised but subject to a complex registration process 	<p>1973 Constitution</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Marcos could exercise the powers of both President and PM Parliamentary system replaced old presidential system <p>Ruling through referenda</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Referenda gave options on policies rather than voting Marcos out of power <p>1978: First Parliamentary Elections</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> New Society Movement won all seats Hundreds of Opposition members (from LABAN) arrested after the elections 	<p>1974 Constitution</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Handed power from the URC to the People's Assembly Elections for the People's Assembly held every 4 years, but candidates were approved by the Party and voters could either accept or reject a candidate Affirmed Burma's status as a single-party state, led by the Burmese Socialist Programme Party (BSPP), i.e. the Lansin Party 	<p>1980 Constitution</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> National Assembly was legally supreme but acted at the direction of the VCP's Politburo, making it an agent of the Party Party resolutions are transmitted down the Party hierarchy for study and implementation, ensuring uniform, universal implementation 	<p>1971 Constitution (Amendment) Act</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Banned public and parliamentary discussion on the special position of Malays, the use of Malay as a national language, the citizenship rights of any ethnic group and the sovereign position of Sultans Framed challenges to the Constitutional rights of Malays as sedition <p>Regular elections</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> One held every 4 years <p>Incumbency advantage</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1978: Opposition not allowed to hold open air rallies for national security reasons Westminster-style system enables the incumbent party to call for elections at any time Short campaigning period leaves the Opposition with limited time for campaigning <ul style="list-style-type: none"> E.g. 1995 Elections: BN parties were told in 1994 to 'ready themselves' 1995: Gerrymandering increased the number of Malay-majority constituencies 	<p>Regular, fair elections</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vote-buying and party funding to transport voters do not happen Voting is compulsory Few restrictions on the formation of political parties Independent candidates are allowed to stand for elections <p>Some incumbency advantage</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Westminster style: Incumbent party can call elections at a favourable point Gerrymandering of political constituencies take place <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Eunos GRC (1991) and Cheng San GRC (1997) absorbed into surrounding GRCs after hotly-contested elections <p>1970: Presidential Council for Minority Rights</p> <p>1984: Non-Constituency Member of Parliament (NCMP) scheme</p> <p>1988: Group Representation Constituency (GRC) scheme</p> <p>1990: Nominated Member of Parliament (NMP) scheme</p> <p>1992: Elected Presidency</p>
Restrictions on free speech and political space	<p>1970: Golkar</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Golkar became compulsory political affiliation for government employees Government officials encouraged to campaign for Golkar candidates and highlight positive aspects of the government Opposition candidates were forbidden from criticising the government or President <p>1974: SK 028 restricted off-campus student protests</p>		<p>Ruling through referenda</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Referenda gave options on policies rather than voting Marcos out of power <p>1978: First Parliamentary Elections</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> New Society Movement won all seats Hundreds of Opposition members (from LABAN) arrested after the elections 	<p>1962: Burmese Way to Socialism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lansin Party served as a mouthpiece for the state's Burmese Way to Socialism Controlled all educational and cultural organisations Censored the press via a system of registered printers <p>1962: Buddhist Sasana Council (established by U Nu to promote Buddhism) was dissolved</p> <p>1965: Excluded the Buddhist clergy from voting and holding</p>		<p>1971 Constitution (Amendment) Act</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Banned public and parliamentary discussion on the special position of Malays, the use of Malay as a national language, the citizenship rights of any ethnic group and the sovereign position of Sultans Framed challenges to the Constitutional rights of Malays as sedition <p>Press controls</p>	<p>Article 89 of the Constitution</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Highlights the special position of the Malays, limiting challenges <p>Maintenance of Religious Harmony Act</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Forbids religious groups from political interference <p>Sedition Act</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Allows Parliament to restrict free speech in the interest of public order

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	<p>1977: NKK/BKK policies placed students under campus bureaucracy with military oversight</p> <p>1978: Closed major newspapers</p> <p>1980: Foreign media sources were banned from reporting on local politics</p> <p>1985: Mass Organisation Legislation (Ormas)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restrained political organisations outside of Golkar from recruiting mass supporters • Forced them to adopt Pancasila 			<p>office</p> <p>1980: Adopted rules to control the behaviour of monks, and controlled the sangha via senior monks who worked with the state</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Straits Times owned by UMNO until 1993 • Papers under Utusan Melayu owned by UMNO leaders <p>1975 Amendment to Universities and Colleges Act</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prevented students from participating in political activities 	<p>1974 Newspapers and Printing Presses Act</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Required newspapers to obtain a permit from the Minister to be published • All print media (with the exception of TODAY) was printed and distributed by Singapore Press Holdings (SPH), which received government funding • Television and radio channels were run by state-owned MediaCorp <p>1961: National Trades Union Congress (NTUC)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kept labour movement quiescent using a tripartite negotiation framework between employees, employers and the government
Involvement of military	<p>Ibnu Sutowo</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ibnu Sutowo headed state oil company Pertamina, only answerable to the President <p>Ali Murpoto</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ali Murtopo, who led the Kostrad and became Suharto's personal assistant 	<p>1948-73: Thailand was under military rule!</p> <p>Military's administrative role</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Head of Air Force was chairman of the national airline, airport authority and communications authority • Head of Navy was chairman of the port authority • Military owned the Thai Military Bank and hundreds of radio and TV channels 	<p>Military's administrative role</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Judicial functions: military commissions rule on economic sabotage, arson etc. • Management of public utilities • 1973: Investment corporations set up for military personnel <p>Military's expanded size</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1967-86: Military manpower tripled • 1972-76: Military budget increased tenfold • 1986: Military spending comprised 45% of government expenditure <p>Enrile</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1970: Made protégé Enrile Secretary/Minister of Defence <p>Fabian Ver</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1970: Promoted loyalist Fabian C. Ver to Brigadier General and leader of National Intelligence Security Agency 	<p>Military's political role</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Union Revolutionary Council was controlled by Ne Win and 17 other senior military officers • 1974 Constitution affirmed Burma's status as a single-party state, led by the military-backed Burmese Socialist Programme Party (BSPP), i.e. the Lamsin Party 			
Co-optation of	Sudono Salim / Liem Sioe Leong	Sophonphanic family	Conjuangco			Daim Zainuddin	

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economic cronies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1969: Bulog appointed Bogsari (owned by the government, Sudono Salim and Suharto's step-brother) as the sole flour miller 1984: Sudono Salim received a monopoly for imports of cold-rolled steel, adding 25-45% to the cost of steel sheets <p>Bob Hasan</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Timber King" 1988: Bulog awarded soymeal monopoly to PT Sarpindo, owned by Tommy Suharto and Bob Hasan Appointment to Trade Minister in 1998 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Founded the Bangkok Bank, financing over 42% of total exports Occupied directorships on the Industrial Finance Corporation of Thailand <p>Pornprapha</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Siam Motors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Coconut monopoly San Miguel Corporation <p>Benedicto</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sugar monopoly <p>Floriendo</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Banana monopoly 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Finance Minister Given shares in Sports Toto and Berjaya in return for government approval for listing <p>Wan Azmi Wan Hamzah</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Head of Malaysian Banking and Bank Bumiputra Ensured his companies had access to credits <p>Hong Leong Group</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Acted as a business proxy for UMNO 	
Co-optation of local authority		<p>Sarit and Bhumibol</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Made troops swear allegiance to the throne King accepted honorary command positions Restored royal ceremonies Sarit posed as a mentor to the young King Bhumibol <p>Sarit and Sangha</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Used Buddhist monks to curb Communist Party insurgency 		<p>1962: Ne Win drew upon Aung San's reputation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aung San's and Ne Win's portraits hung side-by-side in government buildings Ne Win capitalised on background of being in the Thakin movement and Thirty Comrades with Aung San <p>1964: Combined Marxist-Leninist ideas with Buddhism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entrenched its legitimacy with a larger moral imperative 			
Co-optation of political opponents						<p>1974: Formation of Barisan Nasional</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Comprised all opposition leaders except the DAP Gained 87% of the vote in 1974 elections, demonstrating buy-in <p>1982: Anwar</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Anwar formed the Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia Mahathir would ask him to stand for election and immediately appoint him as DPM and Minister for Youth, Sports and Culture in 1983 	<p>1968: Tommy Koh</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Critical academic was brought into the Foreign Service and made head of IPS <p>1978: David Marshall</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Labour Front leader David Marshall was offered an ambassadorship to France <p>1996: Chan Heng Chee</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Critical academic Chan Heng Chee was called to start the Institute of Policy Studies and made ambassador to the US in 1996
Economic development	<p>1970-97</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poverty rate slashed from 	<p>1957-73: Sarit and Thanom's agricultural promotion</p>			<p>1987 Foreign Investment Law</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Allowed foreign investors to 	<p>1971-90: New Economic Policy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1970: 75% of households 	<p>1961: National Trades Union Congress (NTUC)</p>

Argument	Indonesia	Thailand	The Philippines	Burma	Vietnam	Malaysia	Singapore
	60% to 11%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Constructed road networks and large-scale irrigation projects to increase productivity and the cultivation of new areas Encouraged use of tractors, fertilisers and new crops, e.g. maize, cassava <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1947-69: Expanded irrigated land from 600,000 hectares to 2.2m 1968: Export value of other crops surpassed rice 			<p>operate through joint enterprises and foreign-owned companies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Guarantees against nationalisation were provided for 20 years <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1991: \$173m invested across 34 projects by Vietnam's neighbours 1986-96: Economic growth doubled from 3% to 6% in 1990, before reaching heights of 9.5% in 1995 and 1996 (the highest in the world!) 	<p>below the poverty line were Malay</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interventionist approach to uplift bumiputera community, via urbanisation and industrial development Malay equity ownership increased 13-fold, while Chinese doubled 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enabled tripartite negotiation between the government, employers and labour Labour unrest was practically unheard of given 8.3% overall growth <p>1972: National Wages Council</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formed for wage negotiations Labour unrest was practically unheard of given 8.3% overall growth
Foreign aid	<p>1967: Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 14 nations (including the US and Japan) and international organisations formed the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), a major funnel for aid Over \$600m per year by the 1970s Helped with performance legitimacy: cultivation of crony networks, and 6% growth under Suharto's rule 	<p>US anti-communist aid</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1958: Sarit's second coup and rollback of democratic protections was met with \$20m in US aid Sarit's control of US military aid (2.5x the domestic military budget) enabled him to strengthen his grip on the military Helped with performance legitimacy: 7-8% growth under Sarit's rule 					
Leaders' personal styles	<p>Personal reporting / One-to-one</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ibnu Sutowo headed state oil company Pertamina, only answerable to the President Ali Murtopo, who led the Kostrad and became Suharto's personal assistant <p>Rotation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1971: General Nasution forced into retirement 1974: Fired Secret Service General Sumitro 1988: Replaced once-loyal commander Murdani 	<p>Sarit and Bhumibol</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Made troops swear allegiance to the throne King accepted honorary command positions Restored royal ceremonies Sarit posed as a mentor to the young King Bhumibol <p>Sarit and Sangha</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Used Buddhist monks to curb Communist Party insurgency <p>Prem's balancing act</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1978 Constitution enabled military and bureaucracy to retain control over most ministries, but elections were held and multiple political parties were allowed Coalition governments were formed between military (Prem) and civilian parties 1965, 1967: Parliament 	<p>Bloody persecution</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1977: 70,000 Filipinos held as political prisoners 1980, 83: Exile and assassination of Aquino 	<p>1962: Ne Win drew upon Aung San's reputation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aung San's and Ne Win's portraits hung side-by-side in government buildings Ne Win capitalised on background of being in the Thakin movement and Thirty Comrades with Aung San <p>Judicious persecution</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1962-64: Imprisonment of political opponents lasted only 2 years 1980: Amnesty offered to all political prisoners and insurgents who surrendered within 90 days <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enabled former dissidents (e.g. U Nu) to return to Burma and reintegrate into Burmese life 		<p>Tunku Abdul Rahman's laid-back style</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Close relationship with the British smoothed Malaysia's road to independence Easy trust with other ethnic groups helped him create the Alliance formula and the Social Contract <p>Mahathir's relative authoritarianism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1987: Operation Lalang 1988: Curbs on judicial powers 1998: Persecution of Anwar 	<p>Goh's Consultative Turn</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1997: Formed Singapore 21 Committee <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consulted 6000 Singaporeans Sought to articulate a common vision for Singapore in the 21st century Tapped on private sector expertise in policymaking through governmental review committees <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1997 Committee on Singapore's Competitiveness 1998 Financial Sector Review Committee

Argument	Indonesia	Thailand	The Philippines	Burma	Vietnam	Malaysia	Singapore
		defeated military attempts to extend influence via the Constitution					
Outcome (+)	1967-98: Suharto's longevity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 31 years of continued rule! Contrasted with 4 cabinets in as many years (1951-55) 	1947-73: Authoritarian longevity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 26 years of continued military rule! Especially impressive, given that democracy since 1946 lasted a year 	1965-86: Marcos' longevity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 21 years of continued rule! 	1962-88: Ne Win's longevity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 26 years of continued rule without a major challenge! 	1975-: Regime longevity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> No change of government since independence 	1957-: Regime longevity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> No change of government since independence 1990s: Political legitimacy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1999: BN survived challenge from BA 	1965-: Regime longevity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> No change of government since independence 1990s: Political legitimacy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1997: PAP won back 2 of the 4 seats it had lost in 1991 2001: PAP won 75% of the popular vote, up from 65% in 1997
Falling Middle Years							
Nepotistic corruption	1997 AFC <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tommy Suharto's National Car Project protected 16 banks closed but 2 owned by Suharto's family re-opened 1998 Cabinet filled with family and cronies, such as Bob Hasan as Trade and Industry Minister Tien Suharto <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Suharto's wife called Madam Tien Percent, as she siphoned 10% of funds for personal use 		Imelda Marcos <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1975: Governor of Manila 1978: Minister of Ecology and Human Settlements Owned 3000 pairs of shoes 	March 1988: Perceived official corruption <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Youth arrested in a student brawl was released by the police, ostensibly because he was the son of a BSPP official 			
Economic mismanagement	1997 AFC <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inflation reached 65% 56% of population in poverty 		1972-86: Debt <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1972-83: \$2.2bn debt ballooned to \$25bn Debt service ratio exceeded 20% 1986: Poor use of borrowed funds left the Philippines with \$27bn of debt 	1985, 87: Black market crackdowns <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1985: Declared that 20, 50 and 100-kyat notes were worthless 1987: Declared that 25, 35 and 75-kyat notes were worthless Did not allow currency to be exchanged, hurting not just black market traders but also law-abiding Burmese who lost their life savings 	Southern resistance to collectivisation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Destroyed equipment and slaughtered livestock before the state could seize them Refused to perform collective labour 1982: Only 0.6% of households in the Mekong Delta had joined agricultural cooperatives Rice production plummeted <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1976-79: Mekong Delta production dropped from 950,000 tonnes to 400,000 tonnes 1977-80: Rice was rationed at a level matching the lowest supply in North Vietnam during the war, forcing 3 million tonnes of rice to be imported annually 		

Argument	Indonesia	Thailand	The Philippines	Burma	Vietnam	Malaysia	Singapore
Retraction of aid	US withdrawal of aid <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1990s: Clinton administration was less forgiving about Suharto's human rights record 1993: US vetoed an arms sale 				1979: Chinese withdrawal of aid <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea led China to cut off loans Declining USSR aid <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Soviet assistance was reduced as the USSR had its own difficulties and funds were going towards defence spending US trade embargo <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ideological differences led to an enduring trade embargo 		
Botched liberalisation	1987-1994: Keterbukaan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Democracy Forum / Tolerance of trade unions 1988: Strikes over power rate hikes 1992: Strikes over new traffic laws 1993: Strikes over state-sponsored lottery May 1994: Medan Strikes 	1968-71 Constitution <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Political parties were legalised but subject to a complex registration process 1969 Elections: Businessmen won 46% of seats 1971: Thanom forced to abolish 1968 Constitution 					
Extralegal purges and persecution			Aquino <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1972: Arrested 1980: Effectively exiled to the US 1983: Assassinated 			1988: Dismissed the Lord President of the Supreme Court and two other judges that had offered unfavourable rulings 1998: Charged Anwar for sodomy and corruption	
Military discontent	1979-80: Petition of Fifty <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Leading citizens and military officers (e.g. Nasution and Dharsono) criticised use of military to garner Golkar votes and Suharto's family deals Created a precedent for military dissidence 1987: Murdani tried to change oath of allegiance from the head of state to the flag and Constitution <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Was replaced by Suharto 20 May 1998: Loss of military support <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Allies including Golkar head and military generals publicly supported Suharto's resignation 		Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Young military graduates formed Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM) RAM plotted with Defence Minister Enrile to overthrow Marcos Feb 22 1986: Defence Minister Enrile and Deputy Chief of Staff Ramos staged a military mutiny <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pledged support to Corazon Aquino Seized vital military installations in Manila 				

Argument	Indonesia	Thailand	The Philippines	Burma	Vietnam	Malaysia	Singapore
Crony discontent			Lopez <ul style="list-style-type: none"> State-run Philippines Sugar Exchange controlled overseas marketing of sugar Denied them petrochemical opportunities Forced them to sell utilities at discounted rates to wife Imelda Marcos Redistributed their lands 				
Mass mobilisation	12 May: Trisakti University Protests <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12 May: Soldiers killed 4 students in the Trisakti University protests, sparking greater discontent 14-17 May: Most of Jakarta on fire from rioting and looting 18 May: Student march from Parliament to Presidential Palace flanked by military officers 	Communist Party of Thailand <ul style="list-style-type: none"> CCP provided CPT with weapons, military training, and propaganda radio channel (Voice of the People in Thailand) 1967: Spread through much of Northern Thailand 1979: Over 10,000 insurgents across Thailand 	1972-86: New People's Army <ul style="list-style-type: none"> New People's Army (NPA) insurgency grew 20% annually and set up own government in parts of Mindanao and Negros New People's Army (NPA) saw 13-fold increase in manpower, 9-fold increase in firearms Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Saw 40% increase in manpower, 15% increase in arms Catholic Church <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Catholic Church under Cardinal Sin condemned Marcos Asked Catholic bishops in the US to push for a stop to arms sales Feb 1986: EDSA <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Over 1 million Filipinos formed a human barricade on EDSA 				
Violent crackdowns		1973 Pro-Democracy Uprising <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Thanom deployed tanks and attack helicopters, killing hundreds of demonstrators 1992 Pro-Democracy Protests <ul style="list-style-type: none"> General Suchinda nominated as PM even though he was not an MP 500,000 took to the streets Black May: Brutal military suppression resulted in hundreds of deaths 		1988 8888 Protests <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 41 youth suffocated in a police van which they had been stuffed into 3000 killed in the ensuing suppression 			
Outcome (-)	20 May: Loss of military support <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Allies including Golkar head 	14 Oct 1973: King Bhumibol ordered Thanom and DPM to	Feb 1986: EDSA <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Over 1 million Filipinos 	18 Sept: General Saw Maung led a coup to end the protest	1986: Old Guard Le Duan died and was replaced by reformist Nguyen	1988: Semangat 46 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Razaleigh, who had 	

Argument	Indonesia	Thailand	The Philippines	Burma	Vietnam	Malaysia	Singapore
	<p>and military generals publicly supported Suharto's resignation</p> <p>21 May: Suharto forced to resign</p>	<p>resign, forcing them to flee Thailand</p> <p>1991: King Bhumibol compelled Suchinda to 'reconcile' on live TV and step down</p>	<p>formed a human barricade on EDSA</p> <p>Feb 26: Marcos fled in exile to Hawaii</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formed the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) 	<p>Van Linh</p>	<p>challenged Mahathir, formed a new political party</p> <p>1998: Reformasi and Barisan Alternatif</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> After Anwar was charged with corruption and sodomy, supporters formed a Reformasi movement and called for his release New coalition of Barisan Alternatif formed, managing to pull off a 9% swing against BN in 1999 	
Late Years							
Political instability	<p>1998-2001: Leadership changes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Premiership changed hands 3 times, from Habibie to Abdurrahman to Megawati 	<p>1992-2000: Leadership changes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Premiership changed hands 3 times 	<p>2001: EDSA II</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Estrada embroiled in corruption allegations Crowds gathered along EDSA to call for his resignation Jan 16: Military withdrew support for Estrada Jan 20: Supreme Court swore in Estrada's Vice-President Macapagal-Arroyo 				
Social unrest	<p>1998 Pogroms</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Over 1000 people — mostly Chinese — died in riots across Medan, Jakarta and Surakarta 						
Lack of genuine change				<p>1990 Elections</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Voter turnout was high at 70%, delivering a resounding rejection of the military <ul style="list-style-type: none"> NLD won 392/485 seats NUP won 10 seats SLORC invalidated the results and refused to hand over power <p>1989-95: Aung San Suu Kyi</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Placed under house arrest from 1989-95 <p>May 1996</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arrested more than 250 NLD members 			
Balanced		1978 Constitution			1992 Constitution		Goh's Consultative Turn

Argument	Indonesia	Thailand	The Philippines	Burma	Vietnam	Malaysia	Singapore
democratisation		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Military and bureaucracy retained control over finance, defence and interior ministries • House of Representatives elected by Senate mostly appointed • Student and labour groups were legalised and free print media was permitted, but electronic media was under state control • Multiple political parties and elections were held, but military dominated highest leadership posts 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collective presidency was replaced by a single President • Could request the National Assembly to review policies and appointments • Non-party candidates were allowed to stand for election (although they were approved by a VCP organisation) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1997: Formed Singapore 21 Committee <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Consulted 6000 Singaporeans ◦ Sought to articulate a common vision for Singapore in the 21st century • Tapped on private sector expertise in policymaking through governmental review committees <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ 1997 Committee on Singapore's Competitiveness ◦ 1998 Financial Sector Review Committee

Argument	Indonesia	Thailand	The Philippines	Burma	Vietnam	Malaysia	Singapore
Context							
Composition	Extremely heterogeneous <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Javanese only constituted 40% of population 				Relatively homogeneous <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 87% Kinh • Dominant Confucianist culture, stressing centralisation and unity 	Not so large majority <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not so large Malay majority (only 50%) necessitated accommodative compromise 	Relatively homogeneous <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 74% Chinese • Largely immigrant population
Historical / colonial enmity	Aceh <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Javanese perceived as colonisers, just like the Dutch 		Mindanao <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1898-1902: Muslims fought a bloody war of resistance against the US • 1902: Moro province was subjugated to harsh direct US rule, separate from the rest of the country • Christians could apply to own up to 24 hectares of land, while non-Christians could own only 10 hectares 	Karen vs Burmans <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christian Karens and Buddhist Burmans fought on opposite sides during the three Anglo-Burmese wars that toppled the Konbaung Dynasty 	Communist triumph <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • March 1954: VCP success at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu • Jan 1968: Tet Offensive • North Vietnam repelled US attacks in the 2nd Indochinese war, successfully reuniting the country in 1975 	British divide-and-rule <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education policies favoured Chinese and Indians at the expense of Malays • Professional occupations were Chinese-dominated <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Dentists: 89% Chinese, 3% Malay ◦ Engineers: 71% Chinese, 7% Malay Japanese divide-and-rule <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Malays were offered military training and political experience • Indians could join the anti-British Indian National Army • Chinese were subject to genocide, e.g. Sook Ching Massacre 	

Argument	Indonesia	Thailand	The Philippines	Burma	Vietnam	Malaysia	Singapore
Geographical divisions	Archipelagic geography <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 252 million people spread across 18,000 islands and 1.9 million sqkm 	Pattani <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Region became 78% Muslim, with a Muslim minority that comprised 7% of the Thai population 	Archipelagic geography <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 7,641 islands Mindanao <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 76% Muslim in 1903 	Lower vs Upper Burma <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lowland peoples shared Buddhism, a common dialect and rice cultivation around the Irrawady delta Upland areas were populated by diverse communities, e.g. Chins, Kachins, Karens, Shans Upland areas were populated by diverse communities, e.g. Chins, Kachins, Karens, Shans 	Centralised administration <ul style="list-style-type: none"> One political unit since French Indochinese days 	Ethnic division of labour <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chinese labourers flocked to Chinese settlements near tin mines Indian workers worked in plantations Malay natives remained in peasant communities 	
Uneven incorporation	East Timor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> East Timor was not part of the Dutch East Indies, instead colonised by the Portuguese Aceh <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Used to be an independent kingdom as the Sultanate of Aceh Aceh was only conquered in 1904 	Pattani <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Became part of Malaya in 1896, before returning to Thailand in 1909 	Mindanao <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Historically independent Sultanates that never came under Spanish rule 	Lower vs Upper Burma <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lower Burma (annexed in 1852) and Upper Burma (annexed in 1886) 			
Intransigence from the outset	Aceh <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aceh supported the 1953 Darul Islam Rebellion that sought to establish a Muslim theocracy, with Hasan di Tiro proclaiming himself the FM of that new state 		Mindanao <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1946: Moro leaders issued a memorandum declaring they did not want to be included in the Philippines 	Karen <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Karens resisted participation in the new Burmese state since the Panglong Conference 			
Economic inequalities	Chinese immigrants <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1980s: Less than 4% of the population, but held 75% of its wealth 1990: Growing resentment towards Chinese wealth compelled Suharto to summon the country's leading tycoons to his cattle ranch and compel them to hand over 25% of their equity to cooperatives 		Chinese immigrants <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1.3% of Chinese controls 60% of the economy, making integration difficult 			Chinese immigrants <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1971: Non-Malays owned 34% of the Malaysian economy, while Malays had less than 3% Sowed tensions, but made social contract arrangement natural 	
Foreign support	Aceh <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1985: Regained momentum after securing Libyan support GAM guerrillas were trained in Libya Gaddafi supplied weapons to the rebels 	Pattani <ul style="list-style-type: none"> PULO maintained a wide network of international Arab contacts Military arm (Pattani United Liberation Army, PULA) received training abroad 	Mindanao <ul style="list-style-type: none"> MNLF had strong ties to overseas Muslims and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference 1976 Tripoli Agreement brokered by OIC and Ministerial Commission with representatives from Saudi 				

Argument	Indonesia	Thailand	The Philippines	Burma	Vietnam	Malaysia	Singapore
			Arabia, Somalia, Libya and Senegal <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1996: Malaysia successfully urged the Ramos administration to broker peace with the MNLF 				
Assimilative / Coercive Policies							
Ideology	Sukarno's Pancasila <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Comprised 5 principles: Belief in God, Nationalism, Humanitarianism, Social Justice, Democracy 1978: P4 Pancasila Guidance Courses for civil servants 1985 Ormas decreed that all mass organisations had to subscribe to Pancasila 1989 National Education System Law required teachers to have a Pancasila qualification Sukarno's Gotong Royong <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Javanese expression and concept, reflecting the dominance of the majority-Javanese culture 1945: Sukarno thrust gotong royong into the national limelight in a speech "The Indonesian State that we erect must be a gotong royong state!" PKAT <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conversion of people to official religions Educational programmes taught Bahasa Indonesia and Pancasila values 	<i>Nation, Religion, King</i> Sarit and the King <ul style="list-style-type: none"> King Bhumibol was encouraged to tour the countryside and use his engineering skills to help farmers with irrigation and water supply Devoted large amounts of time to the less-developed North, Northeast and South with the most minority groups Revived traditional royal ceremonies discontinued in 1932 1976: National Identity Board (NIB) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Expressed tradition (religion and monarchy) and modernity (democracy) as key pillars of Thai national identity 		Tatmadaw's Burmese Way to Socialism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> BSPP became a mouthpiece for military-dominated ideology 1988-99: Military junta established 20 museums exhibiting its role in Burmese history SLORC monopolised important national holidays, e.g. Independence Day, Union Day, Army Day, Martyrs' Day 	Communism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Complete domination of state institutions and military makes state and party effectively synonymous Government policy is set by the Politburo, a 13-member executive elected by the Party Central Committee Day-to-day government policy is directed by the Party Secretariat 	1970: Rukunegara <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Similar to Indonesian Pancasila Introduced with 5 key principles <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Belief in God Loyalty to King and Country Sanctity of the Constitution Rule of Law Good Behaviour and Morality 1971: Malay-dominated National Cultural Policy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dictated that national culture must be based on indigenous culture and centred on Islam, even as suitable elements from other cultures can be integrated 	
Language	Bahasa Indonesia <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1971: 40% of Indonesians could speak it 1990: Over 80% of Indonesians over 5 could speak Bahasa 1967 "Basic Policy for the Solution of the Chinese Problem" <ul style="list-style-type: none"> All but one of the Chinese-language newspapers (Harian Indonesia) were closed 	1939 Cultural Assimilation Policy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Forced Malays in southern Thailand to speak Thai and embrace Thai identity in all aspects other than religion 1967: Ministry of Education made Thai the medium of instruction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Led to poor academic performance among hill tribes 	Filipino, based on Tagalog <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1970: Filipino used by only 26% of the population as their first language, indicating the failure of language policy 	1952: Burmese language made obligatory for government businesses 1956: Use of the Burmese language commonplace among government clerks in the Shan states		1967: Malay became the national language and a compulsory subject 1970: National University of Malaysia <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Established with Malay as its sole medium of instruction 1971: Educational quotas for bumiputera introduced 1982: All primary and secondary	

Argument	Indonesia	Thailand	The Philippines	Burma	Vietnam	Malaysia	Singapore
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chinese medium schools were phased out and fully closed by 1974 Chinese script was banned from public display Chinese were forced to take on Indonesian names <p>PKAT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conversion of people to official religions Educational programmes taught Bahasa Indonesia and Pancasila values 					<p>English schools converted to Malay medium</p> <p>Orang Asli</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Malay curriculum and education imposed in Orang Asli villages, leading to high dropout rates 1994: 2/3 of Orang Asli children were not attending school 	
Education	<p>1989 National Education System Law</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Required teachers to have a Pancasila qualification All schools from kindergarten to university propagated Pancasila values <p>1967 "Basic Policy for the Solution of the Chinese Problem"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chinese medium schools were phased out and fully closed by 1974 <p>PKAT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conversion of people to official religions Educational programmes taught Bahasa Indonesia and Pancasila values 	<p>1967: Ministry of Education made Thai the medium of instruction</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Led to poor academic performance among hill tribes <p>1921 Primary Education Act</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Closed pondok schools and mandated state education be conducted in Thai and on Buddhist ethics 	<p>Christianisation of unified curriculum</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Christianisation of curriculum was inevitable given the Manila-based bureaucracy crafting the policy Textbooks were criticised for being offensive or culturally foreign to Muslim students Many Muslims preferred to attend Muslim schools 	<p>1966: Basic Education Law</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tightened supervision over all schools Closed down monastic schools and madrasahs 	<p>Universal education</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Universal education for nine years implemented to achieve literacy and socialist indoctrination <p>1953: Institute of History</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Institute of History set up to highlight patriotic Vietnamese resisting foreign aggression Trung sisters who led a successful revolt against the Han Dynasty Tran Hung Dao who led heavily outnumbered Vietnamese forces to defeat Mongol invasions <p>By 1985: Standardisation of education</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Curriculum standardised, with Marxist textbooks sent from the North Southern teachers were forced to attend retraining sessions 		
Religion	<p>Sukarno's Pancasila</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pancasila's tenet of Belief in God requires Indonesians to follow one of six official religions: Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism <p>Official patronage of Islam</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1990: Suharto allowed the formation of the Organisation of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI) 	<p>1938-44: Phibun's promotion of Buddhism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1930s: Government sponsored the new "Temple of the Great Stupa" Non-Buddhists faced the loss of promotion opportunities or even their jobs <p>1965: Thammacarik and Thammathut Programmes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sought to convert tribal peoples to Buddhism 		<p>1951: Created state-financed agency for propagating Buddhism</p> <p>Buddhist Socialism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> U Nu pursued Buddhist Socialism to placate communists, antagonising non-Buddhist minorities like the Baptist Karens and Christian Chins and Kachins <p>1961 State Religion Bill</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Declared Buddhism as the state religion 	<p>1975-86: Directive 214</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Removed indigenous cultural practices, e.g. funeral rites, buffalo sacrifices and harvest feasts 	<p>1957: Islam became the state religion</p> <p>Orang Asli</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Religious officers deployed in Orang Asli villages to Islamise them Converts were offered better housing and employment opportunities 	

Argument	Indonesia	Thailand	The Philippines	Burma	Vietnam	Malaysia	Singapore
	PKAT <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conversion of people to official religions Educational programmes taught Bahasa Indonesia and Pancasila values 	1938-44: State Cultural Directives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Banned sarongs, Malay names, the Malay language, sharia law and Islamic instruction 					
Management of religion	Institute of Islamic Studies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Religious preachers in mosques pass through a government Institute of Islamic Studies 1980s: Government started sending religious teachers to Western centres of Islamic studies, e.g. McGill and Leiden 	1962 Sangha Administration Act <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Centralised power under the Supreme Patriarch in Bangkok 		1965: Buddhist clergy excluded from voting or holding political office 1966: Basic Education Law <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Closed down monastic schools 1980: Implemented full registration of monks	1981: Vietnam Buddhist Church <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Established as the only official representative of Buddhist groups Buddhist monks who did not support the state were imprisoned, constituting the bulk of Vietnam's political prisoners 1983: Committee for Solidarity of Patriotic Catholics <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Official Catholic organisation 		
Xenophobia / cultural insularity	1967 "Basic Policy for the Solution of the Chinese Problem" <ul style="list-style-type: none"> All but one of the Chinese-language newspapers (Harian Indonesia) were closed Chinese medium schools were phased out and fully closed by 1974 Chinese script was banned from public display Chinese were forced to take on Indonesian names 	1913 article by King Vajiravudh <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Called Chinese the "Jews of the East" 1939 Cultural Assimilation Policy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Forced the Chinese to disclaim loyalty to China, speak Thai and take on Thai names Closed all but 1 Chinese newspaper 	1954 Anti-Chinese Retail and Nationalisation Act <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Forced the Chinese out of the corn and rice trades 1958 Congress bill <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mandated that important industries must be 60% owned by Filipinos 	Beauty contests, horse racing, English-language teaching banned 1963: Foreign missionaries were turned away 300,000 Indian and Pakistani nationals were forced to leave 1974 Citizenship Act <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Excluded Chinese and Indian immigrants from BSPP membership 	1978: "Anti-Capitalist" campaign launched (with the deterioration in Sino-Vietnamese relations) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wealthy merchants were publicly criticised, had their property confiscated or even executed Chinese merchants were forced to resettle in rural New Economic Areas 1978-80: 2/3 of 545,000 boat people leaving Vietnam were Chinese 		
Transmigration	Outer Islands / Aceh <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1969-89: 730,000 families from Java, Bali and Madura shifted to the Outer Islands 	Pattani <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sarit distributed 7-10 acres of arable land to each Buddhist migrant family 1961: 100,000 Buddhist Thais settled in the South 1969: Another 60,000 Buddhist Thais settled in the South 	Mindanao <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1990: Muslims comprised 19% of the population of Mindanao, down from 76% in 1903 		Highland minorities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Central Highlands had the highest number of New Economic Zones that encouraged transmigration Central Highlands population jumped from 420,000 in 1926 to 4 million in 2001 		
Economic exploitation	Aceh <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Acehnese resources contribute 11% of Indonesia's national wealth (US\$2 bn a year from natural gas alone), but Aceh remains one of the poorest provinces PKAT <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In Central Sulawesi, one 	Hill tribes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1976: Allocated 18% of the budget despite 34% of the population Government seized forest resources, depriving local tribes of their means of subsistence 1968 National Reserved Forests Act detailed punishments for forest 	Mindanao <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Laws allowed the expropriation of Muslim lands for resettlement Foreign investment led to exploitation of Mindanao's natural and mineral resources, with the wealth redirected to Luzon Cordillera	Shan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Army exploited Shan state's teak, oil, gems and silver 	Highland minorities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Highland minorities were also resettled for fixed cultivation via sedentarisation programmes Government failed to consider the unsuitability of highlands for permanent cultivation 	Orang Asli <ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Regroupment Schemes" relocated communities into consolidated settlements Often built on inadequate wastelands unsuitable for cultivation 1993: 81% of Orang Asli were in poverty 	

Argument	Indonesia	Thailand	The Philippines	Burma	Vietnam	Malaysia	Singapore
	<p>group expected to grow coconuts was resettled into a swamp after the originally allocated land had been seized by a local official to create a lucrative coconut plantation</p> <p>1980s: Land grabs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1980s: State classified over 75% of the nation's land as state land in a huge land grab <p>1995: Tangkit Tebak</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Park rangers used elephants to destroy 4000 ha of coffee farms and homes, forcing 2400 people out of the Tangkit Tebak Protected Area 	<p>destruction, but was targeted at local communities rather than logging companies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1967-73: Forced resettlement project led to the 1968 Meo Revolt among the Himong people <p>Pattani</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> GDP per capita of Kelantan, Malaysia's poorest state, was 60,000 baht, more than 38,000 to 57,000 baht of the southern Thai provinces 36% of Muslims in the South live below the poverty line 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Usurpation of ancestral land Mid-1970s: Hydroelectric dam project in the Chico and Pasil rivers 				
Abrogation of political rights	<p>Aceh</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Elections of governor and regents required Suharto approval, preventing indigenous candidates from being elected 	<p>Pattani</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1948: Government rejected proposal for Malay representation in local administration, instead replacing Malay rulers with Thai officials 		<p>Shan</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1950: Shan elites forced to give up judicial powers 1952: Southern Shan state under military administration 1959: Administrative powers of the Shan elites were terminated in return for financial compensation 		<p>Social Contract</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Top political posts would go to UMNO politicians Yang di-Pertuan Agong would always be chosen from Malay rulers Weighting votes in favour of rural electoral constituencies Favourable admissions requirements in civil service and education Special allocation of licenses <p>1971 Constitution (Amendment) Act</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sealed the special position of the Malays, sovereignty of Malay rulers, national language and citizenship from public debate Made such discussions punishable under the Sedition Act 	
Military suppression	<p>1975 East Timor occupation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Genocide killed 100,000 to 300,000 Timorese 1979: Large-scale fighting erupted 1980s: Leader Xanana Gusmao called for a "Defence of the Motherland" 1991: Santa Cruz massacre of >250 East Timorese protestors... 	<p>1975</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Thai marines allegedly murdered five Muslim youths The government allegedly failed to conduct a proper investigation into the matter <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> PULO organised mass protests in response to the event, which were joined by 70,000 Malay Muslims 	<p>1968 Jabitah Massacre</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Filipino army massacred rebellious Muslim trainees after they discovered they were to be used for a secret mission in Sabah to agitate them against Malaysian rule Led to the formation of the Muslims (Mindanao) Independence Movement (MIM) 				

Argument	Indonesia	Thailand	The Philippines	Burma	Vietnam	Malaysia	Singapore
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2002: Eventual secession 1989: Suharto declared Aceh a "Military Operations Area" <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Placed it under martial law • Rape and torture in detention centres • Detention and execution without trial • Corpses of executed GAM sympathisers displayed in public spaces 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A bomb was thrown into the crowd killing 12 and injuring at least 30 protesters 					
Integrative / Accommodative Policies							
Ideology	1945: Removal of Jakarta Charter from the Constitution <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Belief in the one and only God with the obligation to live according to Islamic law for Muslims" • Pancasila thus became a religiously neutral ideology tolerant of numerous religions, e.g. Islam, Christianity, Buddhism 					1981: "Malaysia Boleh" 1991: Bangsa Malaysia	Multiculturalism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnicities recognised under four-race CMIO model • English, Chinese, Malay and Tamil recognised as official languages • Self-help groups established for respective ethnic communities Asian Values <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasises Confucianist notions of collective effort and collective reward • 1991: Parliament adopted five Shared Values, based on a White Paper
Language	1998: Habibie accommodated the Chinese after pogroms <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ban on learning Chinese was lifted 		1974 Bilingual Education Policy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formalised both English and Filipino as media of instruction and official languages Vernacular instruction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Islamic schools were allowed in southern Philippines • 1985: Number of Islamic schools had risen to 2000, indicating popularity 		1960 Constitution <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guaranteed equal rights for indigenous minorities to preserve their cultures and languages 1954-75: Vernacular instruction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offered for the first four years of education, e.g. for the Tay, Nung, Thai and Meo 1986-: Vernacular instruction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cholón schools offered Chinese as a foreign language • Textbooks for technical subjects and the penal laws were printed in Chinese • Teochew operas, news, radio programmes and propaganda were translated into Chinese 	Vernacular use <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English was the official language in administration and parts of the education system • Private schools could use Chinese and Tamil as mediums of instruction • 1993: National University of Malaysia allowed the use of English as the teaching medium 	Official languages <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English, Chinese, Malay and Tamil recognised as official languages 1969 Bilingual Education Policy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English became the official medium of instruction in all schools • Each child learns a mother tongue: Chinese, Malay or Tamil 1975: Nanyang University increased the use of English in teaching
Education	Christian accommodation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christians can send their children for Christian education in state schools 	1960: Tribal Research Center <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Signaled acceptance of Northeast hill tribes and Hmong culture 1961: Sarit repealed the Thai Customs Decree					1957 Education Ordinance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gave the Ministry of Education oversight over teachers and the education system 1966: Introduction of flag-raising

Argument	Indonesia	Thailand	The Philippines	Burma	Vietnam	Malaysia	Singapore
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Allowed religious schools to operate if they offered both Islamic and secular education 					ceremonies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recitation of pledge and singing of national anthem 1969 Bilingual Education Policy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> English became the official medium of instruction in all schools Each child learns a mother tongue: Chinese, Malay or Tamil 1975: Nanyang University increased the use of English in teaching 1997: Introduced National Education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Familiarised students with Singapore's official history
Religion	Christian accommodation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Christians can worship freely and send their children for Christian education in state schools Some Christians occupy important military and bureaucratic posts Two of the most widely read dailies in Jakarta (Kompas and Suara Pembaruan) are controlled by Catholic and Protestant shareholders 					Freedom of worship <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Constitutionally guaranteed 	Freedom of worship <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Constitutionally guaranteed 1990: Maintenance of Religious Harmony Act (MRHA) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enabled the government to restrain anyone who disrupts racial and religious harmony Public holidays <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vesak Day, Good Friday, Hari Raya, Deepavali, Christmas Legal concessions for religious practices <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sikh motorcyclists are not required by law to wear a helmet
Co-optation / economic protection	Sudono Salim / Liem Sioe Leong <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Monopolies in flour and cement industries Bob Hasan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Timber King" Appointment to Trade Minister in 1998 	Pornprapha <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Siam Motors under the Pornprapha family Chinese comprised 10% of population but 81% of economy	Lucio Tan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Given a monopoly on tobacco 1975 Naturalisation Law <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Relaxed constraints on Chinese citizenship Enabled Chinese Filipinos to participate in the political process 			Finance Minister was from the MCA until 1974 1971-90: New Economic Policy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1990: Non-Malay share of the economy increased to 47%, up from 34% two decades earlier 	
Megaprojects		1976: National Highway System <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Facilitated the promotion of national pride 				1999: Petronas Towers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Became the tallest buildings in the world 2000: Proton	

Argument	Indonesia	Thailand	The Philippines	Burma	Vietnam	Malaysia	Singapore
						<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proton produced its first indigenously designed, non-badge engineered car, elevating Malaysia as the 11th country in the world with the capability to design cars from the ground up 	
Political concessions	1959: Government yielded and granted Aceh special territory status <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Could regulate its own affairs in customary law, education and religion 2005: Aceh granted special autonomy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local elections would be held 	1981: Southern Border Provinces Administrative Committee (SBPAC) and Civilian-Police-Military Taskforce 43 (CPM 43) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Listened to complaints of corrupt or abusive government officials and ordered extraditions 	1996: Ramos' peace deal with the MNLF <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Offered the establishment of the Autonomous Regions in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) Promised MILF recognition of Muslim ancestral lands 1997: Executive Order 20 to form a Cordillera Autonomous Region <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Delayed, and not formed even in 2005 		1940s-75: Autonomous regions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tay Bac, for 25 ethnic groups including Thai and Meo Viet Bac, for 14 ethnic groups including Tay and Nung 		1970: Presidential Council for Minority Rights (PCMR) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Protected minority interests in the passage of legislation 1988: Group Representation Constituency (GRC) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ensured ethnic representation in Parliament 1989: Ethnic Integration Policy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Established ethnic quotas for HDB estates and blocks to prevent the formation of enclaves
Economic upliftment		Joint UN-Thai Sam Muen Highland Development Project in the Chiang Mai area	1996: Ramos' peace deal with the MNLF <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Made the MNLF overseer of economic development projects in Mindanao for 3 years Formed the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD) 		1993: Committee on Ethnic Minorities and Mountainous Areas <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Undertook development projects for ethnic minorities 		Self-help groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1981: MENDAKI 1991: Singapore Indian Development Association (SINDA) 1992: Chinese Development Assistance Council (CDAC)
Outcomes							
Territorial unity	Early regional rebellions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1957 Permesta rebellion in Sulawesi, 1958 PRRI rebellion in Sumatra Resentment towards Javanese political domination and underdevelopment in the Outer Islands 1950s: Darul Islam rebellion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sought to establish a Muslim theocracy East Timor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1975: Genocide killed 100,000 to 300,000 Timorese 1979: Large-scale fighting erupted 	Pattani <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1967: Pattani United Liberation Organisation (PULO) founded Armed clashes and terrorist attacks 1970s: At least 20 separatist groups in Pattani 1975: PULO organised mass protests in response to the event, which were joined by 70,000 Malay Muslims A bomb was thrown into the crowd killing 12 and injuring at least 30 protesters 1997-98 Falling Leaves Campaign 	Mindanao <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1968-96: Continued resistance under Moro groups like the MNLF and MILF Ineffective ceasefires <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2000: Lack of willingness to cede full control led to MILF withdrawal from peace negotiations Full-scale war between MILF and government forces resumed 	Separatist groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1948-49: Karen National Defence Organisation rose up in rebellion, seizing Moumein, Bassein and Promé Arakanese and the Mons demanded separate states By 1962: 10% of the nation was controlled by ethnic insurgents 1980s-: At least 24 separatist factions Ineffective ceasefires <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Late-1990s: 17 armed groups had signed ceasefires, including the Kachin Independence Army 	No challenge	No challenge	No challenge

Argument	Indonesia	Thailand	The Philippines	Burma	Vietnam	Malaysia	Singapore
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1980s: Leader Xanana Gusmao called for a "Defence of the Motherland" 1991: Santa Cruz massacre of >250 East Timorese protestors... 2002: Fall of Suharto and international pressure with the end of the Cold War led to a UN-organised referendum that enabled successful secession <p>Aceh</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1976: Hasan di Tiro formed the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and declared Aceh independent <p>Some effective ceasefires</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1959 Special Territory status for Aceh 2004 Agreement 			<p>(1989) and the Shan Mong Tai Army (1996)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1999: 5 ethnic groups formed an alliance, including the Karen National Union, Shan State Army, Arakan Liberation Party, Karenni National Progressive Party and the Chin National Front 			
Social stability	<p>2001: Kalimantan clashes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2001: Hundreds were killed in Kalimantan in clashes between indigenous Dayaks and transmigrants from Madura, forcing the government to evacuate thousands <p>1998 Pogroms</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hundreds of Chinese killed, with looting and rape 	<p>Pattani</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1948 Dusun Nyiur Incident saw violent confrontation between police and Muslim villagers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Casualties of 400 Malay Muslims and 30 police officers 1975: PULO organised mass protests in response to the event, which were joined by 70,000 Malay Muslims A bomb was thrown into the crowd killing 12 and injuring at least 30 protesters 1997-98 Falling Leaves Campaign <p>Hill tribes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1968 Meo Revolt among the Hmong people, necessitating napalm and bombing and ended only in 1973 	<p>Cordillera</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1981: Cordillera People's Democratic Front (CPDPF) led a region-wide rebellion Did not fight for secession, but constituted a retaliation against Manila repression 		No challenge	<p>Race riots</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1964 Race Riots, which contributed to the 1965 expulsion of Singapore 1969 Race Riots post-election, claiming 196 lives <p>1977: Chinese boycotts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chinese graduates boycotted the installation of the Sultan of Johor as Chancellor of the Technological University of Malaysia when they were required to wear black Malay costumes 	No challenge
National identity	<p>Sukarno's Pancasila / Gotong Royong</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Late-1950s: Sukarno used gotong royong to justify his authoritarian Guided Democracy 1957: Gotong Royong Cabinet 	<p>Nation, Religion, King</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> King is seen as a core part of Thai life — so much so that he can command leaders to step down (e.g. 1973 Thanom, 1992 Suchinda) With the exception of the 	<p>Limited unifying identity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1970: Filipino used by only 28% of the population as their first language 		<p>Communism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extensive buy-in in VCP and socialist ideology 	<p>Communist tendencies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2000: Universiti Malaya survey found "very little ethnic mixing" among students <p>1980s: Islamic study groups rose in prominence in universities</p>	<p>CMIO model / self-help groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identification with individual ethnic group rather than a Singaporean whole

Land	The Philippines	Burma	Vietnam
th, Buddhism and ny are widely cross Thailand n s widespread ese objection by the earning Thai did not hold ative views of e % spoke the ge at home			