



History

9752/02

Paper 2: The Making of Independent Southeast Asia
(Independence – 2000)

22 September 2021
3 hours

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write in dark blue or black ink.

You may use a HB pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.

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

DO NOT WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

Section A

Answer Question 1.

Section B

Answer two questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.

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

This document consists of 6 printed pages and 2 blank pages.

Section A

You must answer Question 1.

ASEAN and Regional Economic Cooperation (1967 – 2000)

- 1 Read the sources and then answer the questions which follow.

When answering Question 1, candidates are advised to pay particular attention to the interpretation and evaluation of the sources both individually, and as a group.

Source A

TABLE 2a
Number of Items Granted PTA:
Introduction of New Items

	<i>PTA Items</i>		<i>New Items</i>			
	<i>1987</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>1989</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>1992</i>
Brunei	0	70	69	58	73	95
Indonesia	2,754	106	0	138	0	133
Malaysia	2,267	93	150	185	248	295
Philippines	3,443	80	80	84	81	80
Singapore	2,465	0	0	0	0	0
Thailand	1,854	1,330	36	35	26	110
Total Increase		1,679	335	500	428	733
Total Items	12,783	14,462	14,797	15,297	15,725	16,458

Statistics from the Committee on Trade and Tourism (COTT), ASEAN Secretariat, March 1992.

*The Preferential Trading Agreements (PTA), introduced in 1977, grants trade preferences for imports among ASEAN nations. Inclusion of PTA items are on a voluntary basis by the member nations.

Source B

In the implementation of recommendations made by ASEAN committees, there has been steady advance. In the first year, August 1967 to August 1968, there were 102 recommendations. None were implemented. In the second year, August 1968 to December 1969, of 161 recommendations, 10 were implemented, i.e. 6.2%. In the third year, December 1969 to March 1971, of 207 recommendations, 22 were implemented - 10.6%. I mention these figures not to belittle what has been achieved, but rather to remind us of what more needs to be done.

[...]

And as a percentage, trade within ASEAN to total ASEAN trade with the world dropped from 18.3% in 1966 to 15.7% in 1970. In other words, ASEAN partners decreased their trade amongst themselves and increased their trade with the rest of the world, from 81.7% to 84.3%.

Address by Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew, at the 5th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, April 1972.

Source C

Indeed, just as APEC's increase in membership undermined its cohesion, so, too, has ASEAN's expansion to accommodate all 10 countries in Southeast Asia led to divisions within the organisation. A number of the original members are seeking ways to renew and reinvigorate the association while the new members are intent on maintaining the status quo. Moreover, issues such as the extent to which members of ASEAN can bend the rule about non-interference and undertake "flexible engagement" or "constructive intervention" in the affairs of other members have prompted considerable debate. For example, questions have been asked about the extent to which it may be necessary to intervene in the affairs of member states so as to avoid the problems that arose leading up to and during the Asian economic crisis. As a consequence, an air of uncertainty had begun to pervade ASEAN. This evident discord within the association encouraged key member states such as Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand to advance the ASEAN Plus Three (APT) process to center stage in an attempt to give ASEAN a much-needed new sense of direction and purpose.

Excerpts from an academic source published in the journal, Asian Survey, 2002.

Source D

1. The financial and economic crisis has severely affected the ASEAN economies and business dynamism in the region. In order to regain business confidence, enhance economic recovery and promote growth, the ASEAN Leaders are committed to the realisation of the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA).

2. To accelerate the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), the Leaders agreed that the six original signatories to the Agreement on the Common Effective Preferential Tariff (CEPT) Scheme for the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) - Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand - would advance the implementation of AFTA by one year from 2003 to 2002. They also agreed to achieve a minimum of 90% of their total tariff lines with tariffs of 0 - 5% by the year 2000, which would account for 90% of intra-ASEAN trade.

[...]

5. The new members of ASEAN shall maximise their tariff lines between 0 - 5% by 2003 for Vietnam and 2005 for Laos and Myanmar, and expand the number of tariff lines in the 0% category by 2006 for Vietnam and by 2008 for Laos and Myanmar.

ASEAN Statement on Bold Measures, Hanoi, Vietnam, 16 December 1998.

Source E

ASEAN discussed establishing a regional mechanism, under ASEAN auspices, that would monitor the economic policies of its member states. The mechanism would be an early-warning device for economies following unsustainable policies, though it would not possess the resources to play any direct role in regional economic policymaking. The mechanism has encountered resistance, however, as many ASEAN states refuse to share economic data. ASEAN also created an ASEAN Investment Area (AIA), modelled on AFTA, and suggested measures to address questions of social safety nets and the construction of "ASEAN as a caring society." However, ASEAN countries lack the economic and political resources to see these initiatives become reality.

Moreover, initiatives designed to address the social welfare concerns of its member states lead into the domestic politics of its members. Many of the measures that ASEAN has proposed in the wake of the crisis require a level of coordination that ASEAN has deliberately avoided in the past. Ultimately, the individual ASEAN states faced the crisis on their own.

Excerpts from an academic source published in the journal, Global Governance, 2002.

INTRA-ASEAN EXPORTS STATISTICS*				
Country	1993	1995	1997	2000
Indonesia	4,997.2	6,475.9	8,850.9	10,883.7
Malaysia	12,986.9	18,435.6	23,248.7	24,408.6
Myanmar	-	-	204.5	393.5
Vietnam**	-	-	-	-
The Philippines	795.3	2,357.5	3,436.2	5,982.6
Singapore	18,406.1	31,770.7	35,793.8	37,784
Thailand	6,008.4	10,609.6	13,525.7	13,212.2
Total	43,681	70,178	85,351	93,380

* All figures are in US\$ Million.

** Vietnamese exports to ASEAN nations increased by 6.2% in 1999. In 2000, Vietnam cut taxes on 4,200 more items in accordance to the CEPT scheme.

Extracted from the ASEAN Trade Statistics Database, published in 2005.

Now answer the following questions:

(a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources D and E on ASEAN's response to the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997. [10]

(b) How far do Sources A - F support the view that ASEAN was effective in promoting regional economic cooperation from 1967 - 2000? [30]

Section B

You must answer **two** questions from this section. You must support each answer with examples drawn from at least three countries.

EITHER

- 2 To what extent do you agree that political leadership, more than mass political participation, played a decisive role in the political development of independent Southeast Asian states? [30]

OR

- 3 "It was more effective for minorities in the independent Southeast Asian nations to demand for autonomy than to adapt to government policies." Discuss. [30]

AND EITHER

- 4 "The success of governments in promoting economic development in post-independent Southeast Asian nations was down to the pursuit of liberal economic policies." How far do you agree with this statement? [30]

OR

- 5 How far was the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997 a shock to the economies of independent Southeast Asian states? [30]

Copyright Acknowledgements:

Source A	© ASEAN Secretariat, 1992
Source B	© 5 th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, 1972
Source C	© Asian Survey 1992
Source D	© ASEAN Statement on Bold Measures, 1998
Source E	© Global Governance, 2002
Source F	© ASEAN Trade Statistics Database, 2005