



HWA CHONG INSTITUTION
College 2 Preliminary Examination 2009
General Certificate of Education Advanced Level
Higher 2

HISTORY

9731/02

PAPER 2 History of Southeast Asia c.1900-1997

22 September 2009

3.0 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name and CT on all the work you hand in.
Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.
Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer any **three** questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.
All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

This document consists **4** printed pages.



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[Turn over

Section A

You must answer Question 1.

ASEAN AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- 1** Read the sources and then answer the question.

SOURCE A

Achieving this end-goal of an ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) may appear daunting at first glance but ASEAN is not starting from scratch as some of the building blocks towards an economically integrated ASEAN are already in place. Existing ASEAN economic integration programmes such as the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services (AFAS) and the ASEAN Investment Area (AIA) are currently being implemented to eliminate intra-regional barriers in the movement of goods, services and investments. In other words, the formation of an AEC should be seen as a logical next step up the economic integration ladder.

An excerpt from an article by Denis Hew, "Build an ASEAN Economic Community Step by Step", The Business Times, 15 June 1997.

SOURCE B

The existing low level of intra-ASEAN trade has always been the rallying point for the 'regionalists', who strongly advocate a rapid growth of intra-regional trade in order to diversify the region's market base and to reduce its over-dependence on the industrialised countries. However, the intra-ASEAN trade since 1976 has simply failed to take off in real terms and remains stagnant at around 15 percent level, despite the implementation of some regional trade liberalisation measures. In a sense, the sluggish expansion of intra-regional trade in ASEAN brings to the fore the inefficacy of the technique of trade cooperation adopted by ASEAN.

A study by the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation on ASEAN issued in 1983.

SOURCE C

The data bears out the limited effectiveness of AFTA. First, intra-ASEAN trade has accounted for only about one-fifth of ASEAN's total trade, this share remained stagnant over the last decade (and much of the intra-ASEAN trade is due to Singapore), at the expense of its increasing trade linkages with the two Asian giants China and India. Intra-ASEAN trade is also far lower than other regional economic alliances such as the European Union (two-thirds) or the North American Free Trade Area (one half). Second, only a small proportion of intra-ASEAN trade is conducted under the CEPT. In addition, little to no progress has been made in facilitating intra-ASEAN services trade. One of the prime reasons behind this has been political constraints, associated with the protectionist interests of those who might lose from reforms in AFAS.

Besides the AFTA and AFAS initiatives that provide a limited *de facto* building block for economic integration, there is also the ASEAN Investment Area (AIA) initiative that accords ASEAN investors preferential treatment with regards to market access and the granting of national treatment, for all sectors except for those deemed to be sensitive. However, as expected, implementation of this scheme has been uneven among newer and older ASEAN members. Indeed, the framework of agreement of the AIA lacks substantive details, although being legally binding, as the implementation is left to the individual members.

A comment by a historian, in a journal article entitled "ASEAN Economic Integration: Glass Half Empty or Half Full?" published in 1999.

SOURCE D

3. To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest in the economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative fields.
4. To provide assistance to each other in the form of training and research facilities in the educational, professional, technical and administrative spheres.
5. To collaborate more effectively for the greater utilisation of their agriculture and industries, the expansion of their trade, including the study of the problems of international commodity trade, the improvement of their transportation and communication facilities and the raising of the living standards of their peoples.

An excerpt from the Bangkok Declaration, 8 August 1967.

SOURCE E

It has been said that the progress of ASEAN's economic integration has been hampered by the admission of the four new members. I fail to see how this is so. If the four had not been admitted into ASEAN, the AFTA, for example, would have included only the six older members...

In the light of their small share in intra-ASEAN trade and in investments in ASEAN, the ASEAN-4 cannot be the obstacle to ASEAN's economic progress that they are sometimes accused of being. In fact, the accession of the ASEAN-4 to the AFTA and related agreements has, at least theoretically, given investors a wider choice of where to place their investments in the free trade area according to the availability and cost of other resources, the effectiveness and enforcement of the legal and policy regime, the overall investment climate, and so on.

An excerpt from Southeast Asia: In Search of an ASEAN Community, written by Rodolfo C. Severino, former ASEAN Secretary-General, in 2006.

Now answer the following question.

Using Sources A to E, show how far the evidence supports the assertion that "Since the 1970s, ASEAN has successfully fostered regional economic cooperation."

Section B

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

2 To what extent is it valid to assert that the achievements of the nationalists in Southeast Asia paled in comparison to their failures from 1900 to 1941?

3 "Disillusionment caused more by broken and unfulfilled promises than wartime dislocation and destruction." How far is this quotation an accurate explanation for the loss of native support for Japanese rule?

4 "The rise of military as a pivotal political actor in many Southeast Asian countries in the post-1945 period must be attributed to its inherent strengths." Discuss.

5 "Efforts at nation-building have largely failed in Southeast Asia." Discuss the validity of this claim.

6 How far has inter-state conflict been caused by territorial disputes in Southeast Asia?

Section A

ASEAN AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Using Sources A to E, show how far the evidence supports the assertion that “Since the 1970s, ASEAN has successfully fostered regional economic cooperation.”

SOURCE BASED ANSWER SCHEME

L1 WRITES ABOUT THE HYPOTHESIS, NO VALID USE OF SOURCES

[1-5]

These answers will write about ASEAN and economic development. Sources may be mentioned. However, candidates will not use the sources as information/ evidence to test the given hypothesis. If sources are used, it will be to support an essay style answer to the question.

L2 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM THE SOURCES TO CHALLENGE **OR SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS**

[6-8]

These answers use the sources as information rather than evidence
The sources are used at face value only with no evaluation/ interpretation in context

Example:

EITHER

Yes, ASEAN was effective in promoting regional economic development. Source A illustrates this point when it states that “*existing ASEAN economic integration programmes such as the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services (AFAS) and the ASEAN Investment Area (AIA) are currently being implemented to eliminate intra-regional barriers in the movement of goods, services and investments.*”

Source C also shows that ASEAN’s less industrialised members have helped the aims of ASEAN as “*the ASEAN-4 to the AFTA and related agreements has, at least theoretically, given investors a wider choice of where to place their investments in the free trade area according to the availability and cost of other*

resources, the effectiveness and enforcement of the legal and policy regime, the overall investment climate.”

OR

No, ASEAN has been ineffective in upholding regional economic development. You can tell this from Source B, which states that *“intra-ASEAN trade has accounted for only about one-fifth of ASEAN’s total trade, and this share remained stagnant over the last decade.”*

Also, in Source D, the source states that *“the sluggish expansion of intra-regional trade in ASEAN brings to the fore the inefficacy of the technique of trade cooperation adopted by ASEAN.”*

L3 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM THE SOURCES TO CHALLENGE **AND**
SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [9-13]

Example:

ASEAN has been effective in promoting regional economic development. Source A illustrates this point when it states that *“existing ASEAN economic integration programmes such as the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services (AFAS) and the ASEAN Investment Area (AIA) are currently being implemented to eliminate intra-regional barriers in the movement of goods, services and investments.”*

Source C also shows that ASEAN’s less industrialised members have helped the aims of ASEAN as *“the ASEAN-4 to the AFTA and related agreements has, at least theoretically, given investors a wider choice of where to place their investments in the free trade area according to the availability and cost of other resources, the effectiveness and enforcement of the legal and policy regime, the overall investment climate.”*

At the same time, we see that ASEAN has been ineffective in upholding regional economic development. You can tell this from Source B, which states that *“intra-ASEAN trade has accounted for only about one-fifth of ASEAN’s total trade, and this share remained stagnant over the last decade.”*

Also, in Source D, the source states that *“the sluggish expansion of intra-regional trade in ASEAN brings to the fore the inefficacy of the technique of trade cooperation adopted by ASEAN.”*

- L4 BY INTERPRETING/EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE **OR** SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS

[14-16]

These answers are capable of using sources as evidence, i.e. demonstrating their utility in testing the hypothesis, by interpreting them in their historical context i.e. not simply accepting them at their face value.

Example

EITHER supporting the question or opposing the question

Candidates are expected to use either the skills of usefulness or reliability

Reliability (look at provenance and intention; not so much the tone.)

Usefulness (Source does or does not provide information needed for determining the effectiveness of the UN in the area specified)

- L5 BY INTERPRETING/EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE **AND** SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS.

[17-21]

These answers know that testing the hypothesis involves attempting both to confirm and disconfirm the hypothesis, and are capable of using sources as evidence to do this (ie both confirmation and disconfirmation are done at this level).

- L6 AS L5 PLUS **EITHER** (a) EXPLAINS WHY EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE/SUPPORT IS BETTER/PREFERRED **OR** (b) RECONCILES/EXPLAINS PROBLEMS IN THE EVIDENCE TO SHOW THAT NEITHER CHALLENGE NOR SUPPORT IS TO BE PREFERRED.

[22-25]

For (a), the argument must be that the evidence for agreeing/disagreeing is better/preferred. This must involve a comparative judgement ie not just why

some evidence is better, but also why other evidence is worse. They may include evidence from the sources, which are mentioned in L5 band descriptor to support and sustain the case offered.

Eg **Preferred view (consolidate all the issues discussed)**

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For (b), include all L5 answers which support the evidence to modify the hypothesis (rather than simply seeking to support/contradict) in order to improve it. This is especially so when the evidence from the sources are finely balanced.

Modification of Hypothesis

Section B

2 To what extent is it valid to assert that the achievements of the nationalists in Southeast Asia paled in comparison to their failures from 1900 to 1941?

This question requires candidates to evaluate the achievements and failures of nationalists in Southeast Asia in the pre-war period. Candidates could define the achievements of nationalists in the areas of securing concessions from the colonial regimes either through collaboration or the use of confrontation; as well as securing bases of mass support. Examples can be drawn from the Philippines where the relationship between the Manila elite and the Americans fostered a close relationship which paved the way for constitutional advance. In Burma, nationalist agitation provided the impetus for the provision of constitutional concessions such as dyarchy in the 1920s. There were also some instances of nationalist movements and figures which were able to win a broad base of support, either through the personal charisma of their leaders or the use of religion. Evidence can be drawn from the charismatic leadership of Tjokroaminoto of the Sarekat Islam and Sukarno of the PNI in Indonesia and prominent pongyi activists such as U Ottama in Burma. Candidates may argue against these points by highlighting the fact that most nationalist movements failed in securing independence from colonial rule, were rent by factionalism and tended to lack mass support. On top of that, their latitude for action was heavily circumscribed by colonial repression. No single nationalist movement managed to overthrow colonial rule by 1941; testament to their failure to achieve the ultimate goal. Also, many nationalist movements were factionalised along the lines of strategies, goals and ideologies. Evidence can be drawn from the VNQDD and the communists in Vietnam, the fragmentation of the GCBA in Burma over the issue of dyarchy and the splintering of the ICP in Vietnam. The Partido Nacionalista in the Philippines was divided also by the personal rivalry between Osmena and Quezon. The elitist nature and western-educated leadership of many nationalist groups also meant an inability to bridge the urban-rural divide and win mass support. A probable conclusion could be that while some nationalists were able to make progress in some areas, the general tone of nationalist movements in the pre-1941 period tended to be one of failure.

3 “Disillusionment caused more by broken and unfulfilled promises than wartime dislocation and destruction.” How far is this quotation an accurate explanation for the loss of native support for Japanese rule?

This question requires candidates to discuss the reasons behind the loss of native support for the Japanese Occupation. Although there was initial euphoria in some parts at the end of the colonial regimes, this was soon replaced by growing disenchantment with Japanese rule. Candidates are expected to evaluate the relative significance of the reasons stated in the quotation and explain what promises were made by the Japanese. The Japanese promises to the Southeast Asians were along the lines of promising liberation and independence from colonial exploitation and domination, equality between the ‘liberated’ Southeast Asians and the Japanese (Asia for the Asiatics) and

ushering of a new era of prosperity and progress under Japanese aegis (Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere). Candidates need to illustrate the 'broken and unfulfilled' nature of these promises. Liberation from colonial rule did not end the subservient relationship of the Southeast Asians with the Japanese as their rule was no less oppressive than the Westerners they replaced. Evidence may be drawn from the continued Japanese domination of the administration in the conquered territories. In addition, the promise of independence was never fulfilled in reality. Burma and the Philippines were given 'independence' with strings attached and no other conquered territory came close to winning its freedom. The promise of equality rang hollow with Japanese attempts at imposing its sense of superiority on the populations. This can be seen in the policy of Nipponisation (language, religion, culture and customs) which was introduced in the occupied territory. The reign of brutality and terror unleashed also revealed the superficiality of such claims of equality. The wartime dislocation and destruction can be linked to the failure of the Japanese to fulfil their claims of the GEACPS. Candidates may use evidence of the economic turmoil from various countries (starvation, black markets, hyper-inflation) and the subjugation of regional economies to the war effort to illustrate their point. Candidates may then weigh the factors against each other to come to an evaluative judgement on the reasons behind the loss of native support for the Occupation.

4 "The rise of military as a pivotal political actor in many Southeast Asian countries in the post-1945 period must be attributed to its inherent strengths." Discuss.

This question requires candidates to discuss the various factors which contributed to rise of the military as a political actor in the period after WWII. The inherent strengths of the military as an institution would include the following: possession of the tools of coercion/armed force, high level of prestige as a result of involvement in independence struggle (Indonesia and Burma) as well as Thailand where the military was seen as an embodiment of the sakdina system and the preferred profession of many Chakri princes. In addition, the military was a more cohesive institution with a single socialisation process, which gave it more unity vis-à-vis its civilian counterparts. These factors can be explained as the underlying advantages the military enjoyed which gave them the potential to become a key political player. Other factors which led to this development must also be discussed, particularly the weaknesses of democratic governments in providing political stability and national cohesion as can be seen in Burma under U Nu and Indonesia during the party based governments before Guided Democracy. In addition, the military was also given a political role by authoritarian leaders keen to cement their power such as Sukarno under Guided Democracy and Marcos during his New Society. External factors, most importantly the Cold War, also had a role to play. The United States favoured the entrenchment of military regimes in South Vietnam and Thailand during the height of the Vietnam War as they were seen as bulwarks against communist expansion. Taking all these factors into consideration, it is evident that despite the military's strengths, local and external conditions had a role to play in its assumption of a political role.

5 “Efforts at nation-building have largely failed in Southeast Asia.” Discuss the validity of this claim.

This question requires candidates to evaluate the degree of success Southeast Asian governments have achieved in nation building. In this case, the term can encompass the creation of a sense of nationhood and belonging/identity among the population. The assertion in the question states that such efforts have largely failed. Candidates could distinguish the two major approaches towards nation building, namely assimilation and multiculturalism. In many countries, an assimilative approach tended to increase tensions between the majority ethnic group and minorities while countries which embraced multiculturalism are able to foster a stronger sense of nationhood and belonging among the different groups. How success/failure is evaluated can be determined by the level of cohesion among the different groups and the degree of ethnic tensions and conflicts in these countries. These two approaches would shape the different kinds of efforts made by various governments which may include language policy, education systems, dominant cultures, use of religion and the employment of ideologies. These efforts can also be integrated into the discussion of minority policies which also would have created cleavages along ethnic lines in the various countries. Through the use of these comparative approaches, it would be evident that such efforts at nation-building were more dismal in countries where the governments sought assimilation and disregarded minority concerns.

6 How far has inter-state conflict been caused by territorial disputes in Southeast Asia?

This question requires candidates to discuss the different causes of inter-state conflict in Southeast Asia. The given factor is territorial disputes which is largely the product of colonial rule which had arbitrarily demarcated the boundaries of Southeast Asian nations. Candidates may use examples from the Sabah dispute between Malaysia and the Philippines and the Litigan and Sipadan islands dispute between Malaysia and Indonesia. In addition, there have been other causes which can be classified under historical animosities, economic disputes, religious and ethnic concerns. Historical animosities can be traced to long standing rivalry between countries such as the case of Thailand and Myanmar as well as Thailand and Cambodia/Laos. They can also be fairly recent as can be seen in the period of Confrontation between Malaysia/Singapore and Indonesia. Economic disputes revolve around competition for natural resources or disagreements over economic issues. This can be seen in the competition for the natural gas and oil as well as fisheries in the Spratlys as well as the disagreements between Singapore and Malaysia over the sale of water to the former. Religious disputes can be also increase conflict as seen in the outcry of Singapore’s Muslim neighbours over the visit of Chaim Herzog, the President of Israel. Ethnic tensions seen in the reprisals of the Myanmar military junta against its ethnic minorities have increased conflict between Myanmar and Thailand. Malaysia has also been accused by Thailand of aiding the insurgents in the restive Muslim southern provinces. Clearly, territorial disputes are but part of the different causes of inter-state conflict in the region.