Name:   Index Number:   Class:
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# DUNMAN HIGH SCHOOL Preliminary Examinations Year 6

# **H2 HISTORY**

9752 / 02

19 September 2017 3 hours

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

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

### **READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write your Centre number, index number and name 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 two questions.

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

This document consists of **5** printed pages.

[Turn over]

#### Section A

You must answer all questions from this section.

#### ASEAN EFFORTS TO ENGAGE IN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

1. Read the sources and then answer the question which follows.

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

While ASEAN's declared objectives were economic, social and cultural, all knew that progress in economic cooperation would be slow. The fall of Saigon to the communists in April 1975 increased our sense of danger from subversion and insurgency. ASEAN had to undertake economic development more effectively to reduce domestic discontent. At a bilateral meeting with Suharto in Bali in September 1975, I tried to persuade him to agree to set economic targets for ASEAN at its first summit, and to go for a trade liberalization policy starting with a 10 percent reduction by member countries of tariffs on selected items and leading eventually to a free trade area. Suharto's close aide later told our ambassador that after [he] met me, his technocrats had advised him against free trade.

Former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew in his memoir, 2000.

#### Source B

When I opened the Ninth Meeting of the ASEAN Economic Ministers Meeting in 1980, the outlook for the world economy was sombre. World trade was slowing down, unemployment was rising and protectionism was widely practiced. In spite of these trends, there is much for ASEAN to be proud of. ASEAN continued to make progress in the area of trade cooperation. In the last two years, trade preferences exchanged under the ASEAN Preferential Trading Arrangements (PTA) have increased from 2,827 to 8,560 products. Across-the-board tariff cuts of 20-25% on items with import values of below USD 2.5 million have been implemented.

To further stimulate intra-ASEAN trade within the existing framework, we can do more to make deeper tariff cuts, expand trade liberalisation for products on a sectoral basis, and review the exclusion lists. We must be careful not to follow the paths of governments which resorted to protectionism to solve their immediate problems. We must, with true ASEAN solidarity, continue to commit ourselves to the principles of free trade and work against economic policies which will in the long run, undermine our own prosperity.

Adapted from a speech by then Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew at the opening of the Meeting of ASEAN Economic Ministers, November 1982.

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Source C

Comparison of Average Tariff Rates across ASEAN Member States from 1994 to 2000 (1996 has been omitted)

Year /	1994	1995	1997	1998	1999	2000
Country						
Indonesia	17.27	15.22	8.53	7.06	5.36	4.76
Malaysia	10	9.21	4.12	3.46	3.2	3.32
Philippines	11.37	10.65	9.22	7.72	7.34	5.18
Singapore	0.01	0.01	0	0	0	0
ASEAN-6	10.97	10	6.38	5.22	4.79	3.64
Vietnam	-	-	4.59	3.95	7.11	7.25
Myanmar	-	-	-	2.39	4.45	4.43
New	-	-	4.59	2.98	6.31	7.51
ASEAN						
countries						
(Post-1996)						

Published by the ASEAN Secretariat in 2016.

## Source D

In the short run, the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) could result in initial losses of government revenue. Inefficient sectors could become vulnerable to competition. Industrial restructuring and readjustment could also lead to temporary unemployment in some countries. Nonetheless, the overall long-term benefits of AFTA will more than compensate for any short-term loss.

Besides freer flow of trade, the establishment of AFTA would lead to a larger ASEAN market of 360 million people which would surely be more attractive for investments than six separate markets. ASEAN will be in a much better position to attract investment as goods would be produced more economically and sold at a more competitive price. Today, it is especially critical for us to match the other regions in attractiveness both as a base for investment as well as a market for our products.

Adapted from a speech by then Thai Prime Minister Anand Panyarachun, delivered during the Fourth ASEAN Summit in 1992.

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#### Source E

We are fully aware – at its early stage – that the Common Effective Preferential Tariff (CEPT) scheme will cover only several products, and applied to Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. In due course, on par with the conditions and readiness of the respective countries, we will also implement it to the rest of other ASEAN countries in accordance with the timetable we commonly agreed upon.

It is with full awareness that we designed the CEPT with its format we currently possess. As an initial stepping stone to implement the ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (AFTA), we decided to limit its application only to some varieties and groups of products. This is the critical in helping to address any worries that any given country would be sacrificing rather than gaining benefits from this scheme. In unison, we (ASEAN member states) successfully developed this agreement. This has proven ASEAN's ability to take concrete, realistic steps towards engaging in deeper economic cooperation.

Adapted from a speech delivered by then Indonesian President Megawati Soekarnoputri, at an ASEAN Free Trade Symposium, 2002.

# Source F

Since the 1990s, efforts at economic integration had been accelerated. Yet, trade among the ten Southeast Asian countries remain relatively low at only 24% of total exports, as compared to 22% in 1993. The ASEAN Way of upholding sovereignty contributes to encouraging protectionism among member states, particularly the newer ones. At the end of the day, the ASEAN Way may help encourage interaction among member states, but it cannot trump their individual national interests.

ASEAN is unable to draw up any kind of treaty like the 1957 Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community. A treaty with clear rules and procedures would have arguably bound and guaranteed commitment from member-states. Yet, this was fundamentally at odds with the ASEAN political culture, which holds sovereignty and non-interference sacred. As ASEAN remains committed to these norms, it faces a tougher time in creating institutional structures that are essential in enhancing intra-trade ties and deepening economic integration.

An excerpt from an academic article published in Denmark, 2004.

# Now answer the following questions.

- a. Compare and contrast the evidence provided by Sources A and B on the consistency of ASEAN member states' commitment to deeper economic cooperation. [10]
- b. How far do Sources A F support the view that ASEAN efforts to engage in economic integration had been effective? [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.** Evaluate the significance of the Cold War context in shaping the political developments of independent Southeast Asian states. [30]

# OR

3. How far do you agree that multi-cultural policies towards the minorities was most critical in maintaining national unity in independent Southeast Asian states? [30]

#### **AND EITHER**

**4.** To what extent was the Asian Financial Crisis a result of foreign influence over the Southeast Asian economies? [30]

# OR

5. How important was the role of ethnic minorities in shaping the economic development of independent Southeast Asian states? [30]

# **END OF PAPER**