



**VICTORIA JUNIOR COLLEGE
JC2 PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION 2018
HIGHER 2**

H2 History

9752/02

Paper 2

18 September 2018

The Making of Independent Southeast Asia (Independence-2000)

3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your class, index number and name on all the work you hand in.

Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.

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

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

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer **two** questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten and submit your work for Section A and Section B separately.

Ensure that your work is fastened securely.

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

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

[Turn over

Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

ASEAN AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION

1 Read the sources and answer the questions that follow.

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 the 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 liberalisation policy, starting with a 10 per cent 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.

An excerpt from the memoirs of former Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, published in 2000.

Source B

Economic cooperation among members produced some results, though not particularly impressive. Negotiations were conducted on trade, tariffs, quotas and also economic and technical cooperation with the European Community, the United States, Japan, Australia, and other countries, obtaining here and there some limited satisfaction but nothing earth-shaking. However, within the organisation, intra-regional trade and industrial joint projects made little headway, because of exacerbated nationalism shown by technocrats laying the groundwork for their political superiors. Moreover, certain members on several occasions have displayed a bazaar rather than co-operative spirit by insisting on taking more than giving, as evidenced in the case of industrial joint ventures and a few others. Also, there is no common market in the making.

An extract from an article by former Thai Foreign Minister Thanat Koman, published in an academic journal on Southeast Asian affairs, September 1988.

Source C

The President of the Republic of Indonesia, General Suharto, in his opening address pointed out that the present meeting is significant as the world situation demands that appropriate measures be taken for the survival and the prosperity of mankind.

While referring to the serious situation in Southeast Asia which resulted from armed conflicts in Indochina and the influx of refugees into its neighbouring countries, the President said that ASEAN countries had offered its good offices in order to find a peaceful solution. [...] Turning to development in ASEAN, the President noted that ASEAN as an organisation had shown to the world its solidarity in facing the turbulent situation. This was a step forward in its efforts to consolidate its strong desire to provide substance to regional cooperation.

The meeting expressed its appreciation to the ASEAN Economic Ministers for their role in accelerating ASEAN economic cooperation. It was noted that under the ASEAN Preferential Trading Arrangements, 1,326 items have already been implemented and that an additional 1,000 items have been exchanged. [...] On ASEAN industrial cooperation, the meeting noted that in addition to the ASEAN Urea Project (Indonesia) and the ASEAN Urea Project (Malaysia), the ASEAN Rock Salt-Soda Ash Project (Thailand) has been accepted as the third ASEAN Industrial Project.

From the Joint Communiqué of the Twelfth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, 30 June 1979.

Source D

With a market of more than 590 million people and a combined GDP of \$737 billion, ASEAN has total trade of \$720 billion, the fourth largest in the world after the European Union, the United States and Japan. Our experience of crisis and recovery has revitalised our commitment not only to open markets but to structural reforms reviving these markets. We have accelerated implementation of the ASEAN Free Trade Area to greatly enhance the region's competitiveness. [...] We also have embarked on a plan whereby each country would grant domestic market access to foreign investors in the manufacturing sector.

To keep the tempo of recovery going, ASEAN seeks to promote financial stability through a surveillance process to monitor economic performance, especially macroeconomic indicators and capital flows. We are encouraging our members to strengthen regulatory regimes for the banking systems and to improve corporate governance, transparency and disclosure while continuing to deregulate their financial services.

ASEAN has gone through serious challenges in recent years, from the regional currency crisis, to the forest fires in Sumatra and Kalimantan, but we are emerging with a new recognition of the contributions we can make and the opportunities we can offer in a free and dynamic global marketplace.

*Statement by ASEAN Secretary General Rodolfo Severino,
published in the International Herald Tribune, 25 November 1999.*

Source E**Intra-ASEAN Trade as a Share of Total ASEAN Trade, 1980-2000**

Figures for ASEAN-6: Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand

Year	Intra-ASEAN-6 exports (US\$ billion)	% share of intra-ASEAN-6 exports in total ASEAN exports	Intra-ASEAN-6 imports (US\$ billion)	% share of intra-ASEAN-6 imports in total ASEAN imports
1980	11.9	16.8	9.0	14.1
1985	13.2	18.4	11.2	17.4
1990	26.2	18.6	23.2	14.7
1995	71.5	23.0	56.2	16.6
2000	87.2	21.6	72.2	21.1

From the United Nations Commodity Trade Statistics Database.

Source F

In 1993 and 1994, ASEAN governments addressed the concerns of domestic interests adversely affected by AFTA. Thailand provided an 8 billion baht fund to support AFTA-affected industries. In other ASEAN countries, industries successfully lobbied for the implementation of non-tariff barriers or placement on the AFTA-exclusion list. These side deals were made even as ASEAN states accelerated regional liberalisation.

There are legitimate questions about the extent to which AFTA can affect regional economic integration. Even if AFTA's primary purpose is to attract foreign investments, its success will ultimately be measured by the increased level of intra-ASEAN trade. The volume and value of intra-ASEAN trade has increased markedly in recent years. Nonetheless, intra-ASEAN trade remains a relatively small percentage of overall ASEAN trade.

An extract from a book on Southeast Asian regionalism, written by a Canadian academic, published in 2002.

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources C and D on the challenges faced by ASEAN. [10]
- (b) How far do Sources A-F support the view that ASEAN has been significant in promoting regional economic cooperation? [30]

Section B

You must answer **two** questions from this section.

EITHER

- 2 How important was the experience of decolonisation in shaping independent Southeast Asian states' approach to governance? [30]

OR

- 3 'Response of minorities towards government policies undermined efforts towards achieving national unity.' Discuss with reference to independent Southeast Asian states. [30]

AND EITHER

- 4 'Economic development of independent Southeast Asia was driven more by state than non-state actors.' How far do you agree? [30]

OR

- 5 To what extent were there more similarities than differences in the response of Southeast Asian governments to the Asian Financial Crisis? [30]