

### Section A

You must answer Question 1.

#### POLITICAL AND SECURITY COOPERATION IN ASEAN

“Since its inception, ASEAN was crucial to ensuring the preservation of regional peace and security.” How far do Sources A to E support the given statement?

<b>SOURCE COMPREHENSION [L2/L3] [6-8/9-13]</b>	
<b>Support Sources: ASEAN was crucial to ensuring the preservation of regional peace and security</b>	<b>Challenge Sources: ASEAN was not crucial to ensuring the preservation of regional peace and security</b>
<b>[Source A]</b> <b>- Indication of ASEAN’s actions’ /behaviour and its importance</b> – Establishment of an agreement/treaty that binds ASEAN member states from using violence; creation of High Council for dispute resolution, meant to prevent or settle disputes <b>- Intended/Actual Outcome of ASEAN’s actions</b> – “promote perpetual peace, everlasting amity and cooperation among their peoples which would contribute to their strength, solidarity and closer relationship”	<b>[Source B]</b> <b>- Indication of ASEAN’s actions /behaviour and its lack of importance</b> – Irrelevant presence as “because China initiated both the 1974 and 1988 South China Sea battles, China’s attitude is crucial to whether there will be a peaceful resolution of the Spratly dispute.” <b>- Intended/Actual Outcome of ASEAN’s actions</b> – Even when Indonesia individually conducted workshops during the Spratly Islands conflict, China continued with its territorial claims.
<b>[Source D]</b> <b>- Indication of ASEAN’s actions’ /behaviour and its importance</b> – “ASEAN’s six member nations could discuss security issues among themselves, as well as with their seven dialogue partners”; ASEAN’s growing relevance due to its pragmatic and flexible approach <b>- Intended/Actual Outcome of ASEAN’s actions</b> – ASEAN able to respond dynamically to the post-Cold War security challenges through greater engagement with the external powers and larger regional players.	<b>[Source C]</b> <b>- Indication of ASEAN’s actions /behaviour and its lack of importance</b> – ASEAN “has never been effectively responsible for regional peace-making as opposed to helping to keep the peace through exercising a benign influence on the overall climate of regional relations”. <b>- Intended/Actual Outcome of ASEAN’s actions</b> – During Cambodian Crisis, ASEAN was placed on the margins, while conflict resolved, it was not resolved via an ASEAN peace process
<b>[Source E]</b> <b>- Indication of ASEAN’s actions’ /behaviour and its importance</b> – “ASEAN has contributed to the security of the ASEAN community in the area of actual conflict resolution” via ASEAN process of sweeping the issue under the carpet. <b>- Intended/Actual Outcome of ASEAN’s actions</b> – “substantial difference to the peace	

and security of not only the ASEAN sub-region, but also to Southeast Asia as a whole.	
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## Section B

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

You must support each answer with examples drawn from **at least three countries**

2. “The provision of political concessions was most critical in impeding the success of nationalist movements in Southeast Asia.” Discuss with reference to the period before 1942.

### **Question Analysis**

Key words: “provision of political concessions”, “critical”, “impeding” and “success of nationalist movements”

- 2 key approaches can be used to analyse this question: Assessment of the carrot and stick policy and which was most critical to impeding success OR assessment of political concession provision to other factors (i.e. lack of mass support, policies used by nationalists etc.)

### **(A) Argument**

A1. Providing political concessions was particularly important in affecting the success of nationalist movements in SEA as it reduced the credibility of these movements in the eyes of the masses, affecting the amount of popular support that can be achieved by nationalists who received these concessions.

- E.g. Burma – Western-educated politicians were able to agitate for Home Rule in the 1930s and the colonial powers did grant Home Rule, the Burmese people desired independence immediately, and cared little for these concessions (i.e. evident from low voter turnout of 25% for dyarchy reforms in 1925). This resulted in the Western educated politicians to lose even more mass support. This lack of mass support essentially coincided with the disregard for the concessions, and made the British even less willing to grant independence as the Western-educated politicians didn't have the political legitimacy

### **(C) Counter-Argument**

C1. The lack of mass support was similarly critical in slowing down the success of nationalist movements, as it determined whether the nationalists were able to develop a sizeable following to carry out activities that could pressure the colonial powers into promising independence to the nationalists.

- E.g. VNQDD – Method of recruiting supporters was through recommendation, similar to secret societies, which made it difficult to reach out to a larger pool of masses. This saw many of VNQDD's 1930 rebellion to be easily crushed when the colonial powers used military might as the small pool of VNQDD forces could not withstand the sheer numbers of the French forces. With the clampdown of VNQDD, it eventually ended the party, and slowed down the Vietnam's attainment of independence as the French remained politically dominant.

C2. The lack of national unity also obstructed the success of Southeast Asian

<p>A2 . Granting of political concessions can also impede the success of nationalist movements as it reduces the desire for independence among the masses, and subsequently affecting the popularity of nationalism in SEA.</p> <p>- This can deter opposition to colonial regimes by cultivating an image that local representation is still present and is able to address the needs and concerns of the locals.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ E.g. Malaya – British establishment of Duitar able to maintain a semblance of local political authority as being present still. The Sultans were allowed to discuss local political issues with the British Residents. The Sultans were the traditional ruling elite, and were viewed as representatives of the Malay community. This farcical political arrangement had stemmed the desire for independence among masses, evident from the low popularity of Malay nationalism – KMM and KMS relative low mass support numbers; with the KMM having only 60 members in its party.</li> </ul>	<p>nationalist movements at attaining independence as it similarly affected the credibility of nationalists in the eyes of the colonial powers.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ E.g. Indonesia – Despite efforts by the nationalists to introduce national symbols to encourage national unity, the nature of the archipelago of Indonesia made it difficult for the PNI to reach out to the people living in the Outer Islands. Sukarno even established a PPPKI (a federation of anti-colonial parties known as the Association of Political Organizations of the Indonesian People). But this organisation remained divided over issues such as religion – for the parties from the Outer Islands and Aceh, these issues and national symbols promoted had little relevance to their actual livelihood and interests. Therefore, the Dutch were unwilling to grant any form of independence or concessions to PNI.</li> </ul>
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3. “The use of confrontation was integral to the attainment of independence.” How far do you agree with this statement, with reference to Southeast Asia after World War II.

**Question Analysis**

- Key words: “confrontation”, “integral”, “attainment of independence”, “after World War II”
- Student needs to establish the factors which were important to getting independence (or in this case, focused on the section of decolonisation due to the time frame limit)

**(A) Argument**

A1. Confrontation was integral to the attainment of independence as it allowed the nationalists to pressure the colonial powers into granting independence.

- Through the usage of violence in the confrontation against the colonial powers, it raised the costs for the colonial powers to maintain the control over the colony.

**(C) Counter-Argument**

C1. The usage of collaboration by the nationalists was similarly able to convince the colonial powers to grant independence to the nationalists.

- In light of the Cold War considerations as well as the colonial powers’ economic interests in Southeast Asia, it was

<p>- The increased economic and social cost of maintaining the colony during this confrontation eventually forced the colonial powers to relinquish control over the colony and granted independence to the nationalists.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ E.g. Vietnam – After the earlier failed attempts at diplomatic means between the French and the Vietminh, Ho Chi Minh changed his strategy to one of confrontation by launching a social revolution in the countryside to counter French attempts at regaining control over Indochina. The guerrilla tactics used by Ho, involved the peasantry to counter the military campaigns launched by the French, placed increasing stress on the French resources (with the war dragging out for 9 years, and the failure of its attempts at putting in place Emperor Bao Dai). Eventually, the success at Dien Bien Phu convinced the French to disengage from Vietnam and conduct of Geneva Accords, allowing for Indochina to be declared independent</li> </ul> <p>A2. The presence of confrontation also enabled the nationalists to obtain international support to intervene in the conflict and secure independence.</p> <p>- In the event that both nationalists and colonial powers were caught in a stalemate, the presence of confrontation attracted external powers who were concerned about the growing instability of Southeast Asia becoming a hotbed for communist agitation.</p> <p>- These external powers had a stronger political influence and clout, and were able to pressure the colonial powers towards giving independence.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ E.g. Indonesia – This on-going confrontation between the Dutch and the Indonesians was broken when USA stepped in after December 1948. USA was</li> </ul>	<p>necessary to ensure a politically stable situation in order to secure their political and economic interests in the region.</p> <p>- Therefore, a collaborative relationship and the use of peaceful means could make the nationalists appear credible and make the colonial powers willing to transfer power to these colonial powers instead.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ E.g. Malaysia – Adopted a cooperative stance with British, seeking to address the issues of concerns highlighted by the British; Tunku gearing UMNO towards a partnership with the MCA so as to address the British concerns of communalism in Malaysian politics, while ensuring the masses' concerns regarding their ethnic interests. Success at 1955 elections assured the British that UMNO and the Alliance Party were a credible force</li> </ul> <p>C2. On the other hand, the usage of confrontational or cooperative means was not as integral as the colonial powers' attitude towards the issue of independence.</p> <p>- Colonial powers attitude towards self-determination and their depth of interest in retaining the colony determined how willing they were towards granting independence to the nationalists.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ E.g. Burma – Aung San usage of confrontation via the use of threats and strikes against the British had minimal impact on their decision. British decision to reopen negotiations on the issue of independence in 1946 and the conclusion of the Aung-San Attlee Agreement in 1947 coincided with India's attainment of independence in 1947. Burma had been obtained as a colony for its strategic interest to protect India, but with India's attainment of independence, the British had little need to hold onto Burma.</li> </ul>
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<p>concerned about communism's influence in Holland and was convinced of PNI's anti-communist stance, thus had threatened to withdraw Marshall Aid to Holland if the military engagement continued. This threat forced the Dutch to agree to a ceasefire and to recognise Indonesia as independent in 1949.</p>	
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**4. Assess the effectiveness of maximum governments in their exercise of control over Southeast Asia.**

**Question Analysis**

- Key words: "effectiveness", "maximum governments", "exercise of control"
- Need for student to consider extent in which maximum governments were able to sustain their control (usually assessed in the form of political control)
- Important for student to scope the question by defining the terms of "effectiveness" and "exercise of control"

**(A) Argument**

A1. Maximum governments were effective at exercising control over SEA due to its usage of legislative powers to control the political bodies in the state.

- Ensures that potential threats to the monopoly of the MG's rule being contained
  - E.g. Indonesia – Prevention of political parties from organising in the villages and sub-district, Formation of Golkar help to prevent political competition by compressing 9 political parties into just 3 groups. Even for the other 2 political alternatives, largely compliant towards Golkar. Resulted in Golkar gaining dominance, winning 1971 elections

A2. Maximum governments were similarly effective at asserting their political control through the establishment of large state institutions across the country to depoliticise its citizens.

- Large centralised state institutions focused on controlling and directing the socio-economic sector to help depoliticise the masses, by addressing the immediate socio-economic concerns related to low standards of living and ethnic divisions.
  - E.g. Malaysia – Introduction of NEP

**(C) Counter-Argument**

C1. Maximum governments were ineffective at exercising control due to growing affluence of middle class that began demanding for greater representation.

- Socio-economic successes led to masses to becoming more educated and therefore, increased resistance against MG's exercise of control.

- E.g. Thailand – Thanom faced increasing demands from the middle class in Bangkok for political participation; failed to provide such avenues and even cancelled elections, led to Thanom's military regime to collapse and lose political control.
- E.g. Burma – Return of Aung San Suu Kyi emerging as key opposition with great popularity among the masses; resulted in the military government to lose votes at the elections and forced to use more draconian means via the SLORC to enforce control.

C2. MGs unable to sustain their socio-economic policies due to lack of external support for their plans resulting in the

to address the low economic achievements of Malay community as well the ethnic divide between the Chinese and Malay communities. Division between ethnic groups had been main cause for 1969 riots that led to formation of MG structures. Success of NEP saw UMNO remaining in power, and regaining the confidence and support of the Malay community	collapse and fall of - Many of the economic plans in place were dependent on the patronage of external support and aid. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>E.g. Thailand – Economic development and growth largely dependent on USA aid; loss of aid with end of Vietnam War coincide with military regime loss of support</li> </ul>
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5. To what extent was the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis a result of economic liberalisation?

**Question Analysis**

Key words: “Asian Financial Crisis”, “economic liberalisation”

- Students expected to assess the causes behind Asian Financial Crisis and also to scope the essay by considering what constitutes as economic liberalisation

- Economic liberalisation – defined as process of economic deregulation, loosening controls to encourage investment entry

**(A) Argument**

A1. Economic liberalisation, in terms of loose loan regulations, contributed to the Asian Financial Crisis.

- The easy withdrawal of these investments made it difficult for governments to control the outflow resulting in the economic crisis to break out.

- E.g. Thailand – Banks and companies allowed to borrow unlimited amount of S/T funds to finance their L/T projects, which had high interest rates. Inability of banks to repay foreign bank loans resulting in collapse of the economy

**(C) Counter-Argument**

A2. Poor investments in speculative and unproductive assets also contributed to the Asian Financial Crisis.

- Due to such investments, the economy remained unproductive and resulted in investor confidence fall, such that it promoted the withdrawal of investments that generated the AFC.

- E.g. Indonesia – 20% of bank loans were made to the property sector. As property markets became saturated, these companies began defaulting on their loans as well resulting in the reduction of investor confidence and the later collapse of the economy.

A3. Foreign speculators, such as George Soros, expecting the baht to fall sharply, began to sell Southeast Asian currencies, causing them to devalue further. The significance of their actions was multiplied because of their influence in setting the tone for overall investor confidence in economies.

- Such news had the circular effect of intensifying selling pressure on the currency, plunging the economy into

	<p>greater instability.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>E.g. Malaysia – The Malaysian government gave up after spending up to 10% of the country's foreign reserves to prevent the ringgit in 1997 from depreciating too quickly, and allowed the ringgit to float. This led to the free fall of the currency</li> </ul>
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6. How far do you agree that the resolution of interstate tensions in Southeast Asia was an abysmal failure?

**Question Analysis**

- Key words: "resolution of interstate tensions", "abysmal failure"
- Focusing on the consequences of interstate tensions, in particular whether tensions were resolved to what degree/extent.
- Students expected to scope the issue of abysmal failure and consider what constitutes as a failure in the tension resolution process.

**(A) Argument**

A1. Resolution of interstate tensions can be said to be a failure if states were insincere of their cooperation attempts to resolve the issue.

- Cooperation implemented meant to further on national interests with regard to the area of tensions instead of dealing with the conflict properly.

- E.g. Maphilindo – Attempted to set up a regional organisation to draw Malay people closer together and develop stronger relations. However, all three parties wanted to make use of Maphilindo to further their own aims (i.e. Tunku – attain recognition of Malaysia, Sukarno – develop ties to encourage Tunku to end formation of Malaysia); eventually, Maphilindo was dissolved when Malaysia established as it failed to deal with the relations between the states and Konfrontasi subsequently followed.

A2. Resolution of tensions largely a failure when nature of tensions were largely due to historical animosities.

- Historical animosities serve to aggravate pre-existing tensions making it difficult for

**(C) Counter-Argument**

C1. Interstate tensions have been successful resolved due to the involvement of external powers/organisation.

- Provided the international influence and political clout that could force the belligerent Southeast Asian states to accede to issues.

- E.g. Cambodian-Vietnam Invasion – ASEAN's diplomatic overtures able to attract the intervention of UN and the superpowers to force Vietnam's withdrawal from Cambodia. USSR growing rapprochement with China led to USSR to encourage Vietnam to withdraw; similarly UN stepping in helped to put international pressure on Vietnam to withdraw from Cambodia.

C2. Interstate tensions were also able to be resolved through the implementation of ASEAN Way.

- Regional organisation usage of putting issues aside can help to promote cooperation and better relations to help in the solving of the disputes and tensions later on.

- E.g. Malaysia-Philippines (Sabah Dispute) – Did not put the Sabah

<p>the issue on hand to be resolved as seen be more problematic.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• E.g. Singapore – Malaysia – Related to water issue whereby Malaysia unwilling to settle on the price of water; saw Singapore as being unfair in offering such low prices. Tied to short period of merger experiences, where Singapore was similarly perceived as being unfair when unwilling to take on a 40% contribution to the Federal Government. Water issue remain contentious issue that recurs over the course of Singapore-Malaysia relations</li></ul>	<p>issue on the discussion table during AMM; made it possible for Malaysia and Philippines to deal with their issue informally and build up trust. Eventually resulted in the agreement by Marcos to give up claims over Sabah.</p>
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