

**COURSE: GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN EAST AND SOUTH-EAST
ASIA (EPS-06)
TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Course Code: EPS –06
Assignment Code: Asst /TMA /2016-2017
Total Marks: 100

Answer all questions. Try to answer in your own words.

A) DCQ: Answer the following in about 500 words each. 2x20

1. Write an essay on the response by the East Asian region to the West in the early 19th century.

OR

On the contemporary profile of Indians in South-East Asia.

2. Write a note on the coming of Marxism to China.

OR

On its relations with its South Asian neighbours.

B) MCQ: Answer the following in about 250 words each. 4x12

3. Write a note on the rise of capitalism in the late 19th and early 20th century Japan.

OR

On the constitution of modern Japan.

4. Describe the determinants of the foreign policy of the two Korea.

OR

Briefly discuss economic development of South Korea in recent times.

5. What are the salient features of Singapore's government and politics? Elaborate.

OR

Examine the interface of the communist movement and foreign policy in the Phillipenes.

6. Write a note on movement for democracy in Burma (Myanmar).

OR

Examine the role of military leadership in Thailand's politics.

C) SCQ: Write short notes on the following in about 100 words each. 2x6

7. Tonkin Incident of 1966

OR

Development strategy of Laos

8. Malaysia an the problem of ethnicity

OR

Authoritarian and military rule in East and South East Asia

ASSIGNMENT SOLUTIONS GUIDE (2016-2017)

E.P.S.-6

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Answer all questions. Try to answer in your own words.

(A) DCQ: Answer the following in about 500 words each.

Q. 1. On the contemporary profile of Indians in South-East Aisa.

Ans. During the post-World War II period the colonial system come to an end and the sovereign, independent states emerged in South and South-East Asia. It caused great challenges and problems to the Indian immigrants who had settled down during the pre-colonial and the colonial period in the region. The Japanese occupation of the region added to the agony of the Indian immigrants as it led to a great exodus of a large number of Indians from Burma. The Indian immigrants were identified as the arms of British imperialism for exploiting and dominating the region—economically, politically and culturally.

One of the grave problems which the Indians had to face was about the question of citizenship of the countries where they were brought by their colonial masters. Most of the Indians particularly in Burma were denied citizenship under the new dispensation and were forcibly evicted. Under the new constitution and economic and political framework, the Indians were reduced to the position of second class citizen—socially, economically and politically. They looked for help and guidance to their mother country India. But this country too had to confront formidable social, economic and political problems as a result of partition. The Indian leaders, suggested them that they should identify themselves with the local people and carve out their own destiny.

(1) Burma

In the post-independent period, the Indian community in Burma had to face many hardships. Some of the reasons were as under:

- (i) The government of Burma imposed strict control over immigration, foreign trades and foreign exchange remittances.
- (ii) The government brought under its control all major sectors of the economy, including transport and communications, civil supplies, industrial mining and agricultural production.
- (iii) The Burmanisation of the public services eliminated the Indian employees in these services.
- (iv) Land came under state ownership.
- (v) The Chettiyars, who were pioneers in money lending business, were eliminated from agriculture and credit financing.
- (vi) The Indian shops, commercial Indian institutions, Indian teachers and doctors received notice of dismissal from the services and
- (vii) Indians were ordered to leave Burma.

Consequently, there was migration of Indians from Burma to India throughout the 1950s. Today, there are about 400,000 people of Indian origin in Burma.

Deteriorating Condition: Indians' condition has deteriorated as under:

- (i) There has been a tremendous decline in the economic, social and political conditions of Indians in Burma today.
- (ii) The Indians who have not left for India and settled down in Burma after its independence in 1948 are those people who found no place in India and who could still earn a living in Burma through petty trades and professions. For example, Burma Muslims, Arakanese of Indian origin, Manipuris, Gurkhas etc.
- (iii) These groups of people have been relegated to the secondary position in social, economic and political fields.
- (iv) They have also been the victims of civil wars and racial riots.

(2) Malaysia

The Indian immigrants constitute the third largest ethnic group (11 per cent) in Malaysia today. The Malaysian Indians are not a homogenous group and are divided on the basis of caste, language, religion and place of origin. The majority of them are Tamils, who number around 80 per cent of the total Indian immigrants. Then there are Malayalis (4.7%), Telugus (3.4%), and North Indians. While 81.2 per cent of Indian immigrants are Hindus, 8.4% are Christians and 6.7% of them are Muslims. Evidently, the Malay society is, in true sense of the term, a plural society as it comprises of varied ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural groups. The communal tensions erupting now and then in the form of communal riots are the result of this heterogeneous character of Malaysian society.

The statistics published by the Malaysian government during the recent years clearly indicate that the Indian ethnic community is the most economically disadvantaged group in Malaysia today.

- (i) Most of them (nearly 47%) are engaged in agriculture, mainly in plantation,
- (ii) 24.8 per cent are engaged in services,
- (iii) 10.6 per cent are engaged in trade and commerce,
- (iv) As large as 32.3 per cent are engaged in the areas of public utilities,
- (v) Only 6% of the Indians are found in administrative, professional and managerial categories.

Their share in National income and wealth is comparatively quite insignificant. In Malaysian national politics also Indian community's participation has not been commensurate with its numerical strength.

(3) Singapore

In Singapore also there is a multi-racial society. The Chinese population is pre-dominant followed by the Malayas and the Indians. Among the Indians about 65 percent are Tamils. The remaining are Malayalis, Punjabis, Sikhs, Bengalis, Gujaratis, Sindhis, Telugus and Pathans.

- (i) The immigrants from North India are mainly merchants engaged in textiles and spices.
- (ii) Tamil workers are engaged primarily in port and municipal services.
- (iii) Some of them are also clerks in government offices, small shopkeepers and the professional elite.
- (iv) Many Indians have also distinguished themselves in Civil Services, labour unions, journalism, law and medical professionals.

As a minority, they do enjoy all privileges equally with other races. However, they have lagged behind in comparison to their Chinese counterparts in the field of business, commerce, trade and politics.

(4) The Philippines

The Philippines today has about 4,000 people of Indian origin. They comprise mainly of Sindhis and Punjabis. Most of them are of middle and lower middle class origin in India. Nearly, eighty five per cent of the Indians live in Manila and in the surrounding towns. Unlike the economically well established Chinese, the Indians are a marginal community. The Punjabis specialise in the retail trade of dry fruits, textile, garments, household appliances and jewellery. Some of them have also started money lending business.

Besides the permanent Indian immigrants, some non-immigrant Indians work in various International Organisations in the Philippines. For example,

- (i) Asian Development Bank (ADB),
- (ii) The World Health Organisation (WHO),
- (iii) The International Labour Organisation (ILO),
- (iv) The UNESCO,
- (v) The International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), etc.

(5) Indonesia

The Indians in Indonesia number about 35,000. Thus they constitute a very small minority in the country's total population as under:

- (a) The people of Indian origin are Muslims from Tamil Nadu, Malabar and South Kanara district, Bohras from Bombay and Gujarat, and Muslims of Arab extraction from Hyderabad.
- (b) There are Hindus and Muslims, Hindus from Gujarat and Muslims from Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bengal and Gwalior (M.P.) and Kashmir.
- (c) There are also Sikhs from Punjab and Sindhi Hindus who migrated to Indonesia during the First World War and majority of them after partition of India in 1947.
- (d) The majority of the Indian immigrants are mainly in Sumatra and Jakarta.

Economic Activities: The economic activities of the Indians are as under:

- (i) Most of the people settled in Sumatra are engaged in petty jobs and are daily wage earners.
- (ii) The Indian settlers in Jakarta are engaged in trading sector and businesses like textiles, sports goods, distribution of films, musical instruments etc.
- (iii) Some of the Indians have also established medium scale joint venture industries, mainly in collaboration with the Indian industrial houses.
- (iv) There are also a few short term residents in the form of experts working in the U.N. and allied organisations.

(6) Thailand

The Indians in Thailand number about 30,000. But of them 27,000 are local nationals and 3,000 Indian nationals. Most of them are Punjabis and Gujaratis while some of them are from Uttar Pradesh. They are a well-knit group engaged in local trade, industry and commerce. Very few Indians are now in service. Some Indians are prosperous, property owners and international traders. Outside Bangkok, there are prosperous and socially prominent Punjabi shopkeepers in many provincial cities. Besides, there is a very prosperous Sindhi community in Bangkok which has lately taken to establishing industrial ventures. However, the success story in recent years has been that of joint ventures.

(7) The States of Indo-China

At present there are a very few Indian immigrants in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. With the outbreak of the Vietnam War, a great number of Indians left these states because of threat to their life and property. In the Socialist states of Indo-China, the Indians did not foresee any future for them.

Various Dimensions of the Indians: The study of social, cultural, economic and political dimensions of the Indians in contemporary South-East Asia reflects as under:

- (i) In most of the states of the region today, Indians have been relegated to the position of second class citizen in social, economic, commercial and political fields.
- (ii) The Indians have also been victims of acute racial, economic and political discriminations in the countries which they had and have been nurturing so hard with their sweat and blood for long years.
- (iii) On several occasions racial riots have erupted taking a heavy toll of life and property of the Indian immigrants.

Today, the need of the hour is to have more and better interaction between the people of the Indian origin in this region and Indian government and administration. That is the most proper and suitable way for the promotion of India's economic and commercial interests in the region in the changed domestic, regional and global political and economic scenario.

Q. 2. On its relations with its South Asian neighbours.

Ans. During the Cold War that was going on between United States and Soviet Union, South Asia became a significant region in global politics. The strategic significance of South Asia has grown more prominent in the strategic calculations of the United States, China and Russia, the successor states of Soviet Union. China shares borders with Bhutan, Nepal, India and Pakistan. Her geographical position makes China a pre-eminent power in the region.

India and Pakistan claim to be two prominent powers of South, Asia. Regional developments attract China's attention. In the same way, Chinese moves have their influence on this region. During the 1960s and 1970s China vied with India for increasing her influence in South Asia. The region was demarcated into Indo-centric and Sino-centric. India's military debacle during the outbreak of Sino-Indian hostilities in October, 1962, augmented Chinese influence in the region. Consequently, China improved her relations with Pakistan, Nepal and Sri Lanka during that period.

As a result of the Sino-India rapprochement from the beginning of 1980s, China has followed a policy of friendly relations with the countries of South Asia and is trying to resolve the border issues especially with India through peaceful means.

(1) Relations with India: China's relations with India are marked by various ups and downs. Both the countries share a long legacy of history with cultural and economic linkages yet a few issues especially the border dispute have marred the otherwise friendly relations between the two countries.

(i) India was the second among the non-communist countries to give recognition to the communist regime in the Beijing in 1949.

(ii) India made endeavours for getting China admitted to the United Nations.

(a) Brewing of Bitterness in the Relations: During 1950s, the heyday of the Cold War, China subscribed to Mao's theory of two camps and did not appreciate India's policy of non-alignment. India's condemnation of the American policy during the Korean crisis in 1950 and support for China brought New Delhi and Beijing closer to each other. However, the issue of Tibet stood in the way of good neighbourly relations. By the British legacy India had inherited certain special political interests and extra-territorial privileges in Tibet as under:

(i) Owning some rest houses,

(ii) Stationing of armed guards, and

(iii) Maintenance of its own postal communication at certain points.

In view of the above Chinese military action in Tibet in October, 1950 alarmed India.

(b) Short-lived phase (1954-58) of Sino-Indian friendship: However, both countries tried to narrow down their differences in April, 1954 on the basis of *Panchshila* or Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. Thereafter, began a short-lived phase (1954-58) of Sino-Indian friendship. During this phase, Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai visited India and Indian: Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru also visited China.

(c) Two Asian giants drifting towards a war: By 1959, in the wake of border disputes and armed clashes, the two Asian giants drifted towards a war which ultimately broke out in October, 1962.

During this period, the United States and Soviet Union provided military and economic assistance to India.

(d) Sino-Indian relations Strained: China's open support to Pakistan during the Bangladesh crisis in 1971 strained Sino-Indian relations. China's open support to Naxalites in India and insurgency in the North-Eastern states of India during late 1960s and until early 1970s worsened the position.

Towards normal relationship by 1975-76, both countries seemed enthusiastic to restore normal relationship. In 1976 both China and India restored diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level. Soon restrictions on trade, banking and shipping were removed. In February, 1979, India's Foreign Minister visited China.

By 1981 both sides seemed interested in sorting out the border issue. The first round of talks of experts of the two countries took place in December, 1981 at India's behest.

(e) China in favour of the Status quo: At this juncture, China seemed to be in favour of the Status quo. China offered a package deal which implied as under:

(i) Chinese recognition of the MacMahon Line in the east as the border between India and China.

(ii) India recognising Aksai Chin as part of China.

(f) Sino-Indian talks on the border issue: During December, 1981 at the first round of Sino-Indian talks on the border issue, on one hand China favoured the acceptance of status quo, while on the other, India showed its strong reservations over such acceptance without any comparable concessions.

(g) Various agreements to co-operate: The various subsequent round of talks have been held between the both countries but there has been no agreement on the question of border. However, both countries have entered into various agreements to co-operate in the fields of trade, commerce, science and technology and culture.

(i) During Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China in 1988, both countries agreed to set-up a Joint Working Group to go into the border question.

(ii) During the Chinese Premier Li Peng's visit to India in December 1991, both countries reaffirmed their faith in expediting the meeting of the Joint Working Group and increased economic cooperation between the two countries.

(2) Relations with Pakistan: China came closer to Pakistan in the post Sino-Indian border dispute period when both countries signed the border agreement in 1963. This relationship was based on the old adage, an enemy's enemy is friend.

China gave military and economic aid to Pakistan especially in the latter's wars against India in 1965 and 1971. When the United States imposed an embargo on the supplies of American weapons to Pakistan, China came to its rescue.

Between 1965 and 1992, China provided massive military and economic assistance to Pakistan. China made contribution in modernising Pakistan's defence by supplying sophisticated weapons. In late 1980s, when the United States imposed ban on the further supplies of sophisticated conventional weapons to Pakistan, China filled in the gap. China has never envisaged any laxity in its special relationship with Pakistan.

(3) Relations with Bangladesh and Nepal: In the beginning, at the birth of Bangladesh (1971-74), there were no diplomatic relations between Dhaka and Beijing as China had refused to recognise the newly born Bangladesh. However, diplomatic relations were established between China and Bangladesh in 1975. China has made available economic assistance as well as some military aid to Bangladesh. There have been frequent exchange of visits at the highest levels between the two countries. However, while dealing with Beijing, Bangladesh has been cautious enough not to offend India and the Soviet Union.

During 1950s, Nepal's relations were predominantly with India. It maintained a low-key level relationship with China. In the early part of 1960s Nepal forged closer relations with China but India remained a pre-eminent factor in determining Nepal's relations with China.

China has been making efforts to bring Nepal under its sphere of influence by providing economic assistance and supporting Nepal's peace zone proposals. However, any disruption in Nepal-India relations is likely to bring Nepal closer to China.

(B) MCQ: Answer the following in about 250 words each.

Q. 3. Write a note on the rise of capitalism in the late 19th and early 20th century Japan.

Ans. It was from the second half of Meiji era, that Japan registered a capitalistic type of economic growth. Educational system was entrusted with the responsibility of creating a congenial atmosphere for the development of an indigenous capitalist system.

As capitalism advanced, growth of dissent was seen in the form of pacifism, socialism and trade unionism. Meiji leaders held this to be a dangerous trend to the political order and economic system. It was a powerful challenge to nationalism. As a safeguard spiritual discourse and training of workers and managers were undertaken which would increase the productive capacity of Japan. The aim was to benefit the country both in material and spiritual terms from dedicated workers in all fields of commerce and industry.

The Meiji leaders used the Confucianist values to foster a set of economic virtues like austerity, avoidance of self-indulgence, the pleasure of labour and of patriotic endeavour, the need for mutual aid among rural communities and a sense of individual responsibility. These values were reiterated to step up industrial growth as well as to cut addiction to leisure and luxury.

(1) Industrialisation: The initial program of industrialization was planned and implemented by the State.

Industrial production was the basis of national strength and economic independence. The Government of Japan promoted capitalism by creating such conditions and institutions as were necessary in modern capitalism i.e. a large domestic market to attract private investment, banks, competition, recognition of profit motive and institutionalisation of private property. The state followed the twin policy to foster capitalism as under: offering various concessions, facilities, and protection. It also exercised certain degree of control on capitalist class in the name of administrative guidance. For example, Mitsubishi set up a shipping line to compete with foreign shipping lines.

(2) Private Enterprise: Private enterprise was considered to be an essential economic activity to compete with other advanced countries. For protection and defence of the capitalist class the state government provided it financial assistance as well as a fostered favourable public opinion. Government convinced the masses that profit was not exploitation but a right reward for capitalist class for its activity in the service of the nation. The capitalistic process of production was used to increase Japan's international competitiveness. The Meiji State took steps to keep capitalism and nationalism in harmony. Business enterprises were held in check and prevented from asserting itself and posing a challenge to political authority.

(3) Other Side of Capitalism: With the advancement of capitalism patriotism was used as a cover for securing greater protection from the State against external competition and internal problems. The business leaders held that exploitation e.g. long working hours, low wages, was not bad as long as it benefited the nation as a whole. Indeed no distinction was officially made between the exploiters and the exploited and between capital and labour in Japan.

However, ultra nationalists, leftists and others criticised businessmen for being selfish, profit-seeking and exploitative. The working class had to bear the burden of economic growth in the name of nationalism. The workers were told that the only way to show their patriotism was to work harder and long hours.

The low wages were considered necessary to accumulate capital and march ahead in industrialisation. Cheap labour was in fact Japan's weapon in its struggle against others.

(4) Capital Formation: Mobilizing capital and human resources was one of the Meiji achievements. Population tended to consume less and save more. Between 1895 and 1914 when Japan achieved real growth, it was able to save between 12 and 17% of its national income and use it for investment.

To encourage voluntary savings, savings bank was opened in every post office. Alongwith it commercial banks turned very active in rural areas. Private deposits in national banks rose from over Yen 51 million in 1891 to Yen 1307 million in 1907. Postal savings shot up from 19.20 million in 1890 to 51.5 million in 1905.

(5) New Business Opportunities: The declaration of freedom of commerce opened opportunities in port cities, opened doors for a new brand of marginal corner-cutting money-makers who bought up export goods and made quick kills with currency speculation and armament trading. Many merchants were engaged in cotton spinning, railway investments and banking. Besides, a few pioneered into new areas like sugar refining, machine production and of course foreign trade.

New business opportunities were as under:

(i) In Yokohama they bought and sold arms to both sides of Restoration struggle, bought western goods and made lucky start as importers; or even would make good on new opportunities which nobody else realised.

(ii) In Nagasaki, they encountered western technology notably in ship-building. Among these early starters were a few Zaibatsu founders like-Yasuda, Okura and Asanq; successful export merchants like Otani and Morimura.

Q. 4. Describe the determinants of the foreign policy of the two Korea.

Ans. Determinants: As Japan withdrew from Korea, the peninsula was occupied by the US and the USSR. The occupation by the foreign powers culminated into the division of the peninsula into two zones as under:

(i) The territories located South of 38th. parallel formed South Korea—a zone controlled by the USA, and

(ii) The areas situated North of 38th. parallel formed North Korea—another zone controlled by the USSR.

Ultimately war broke out in 1950. In the war South Korea was backed by the joint forces of the 16 nations, raised by the UNO and commanded by the USA. North Korea got support from the USSR and People's Republic of China. War ended after heavy loss and casualties of life and properties and the partition of Korea. South remained with the Western bloc and North developed itself into a Socialist state. The partition and the development of two different systems have conditioned the evolution of foreign policies of the two states as under:

(i) **South Korea:** South Korea has sought close cooperation with the Western bloc.

(ii) **North:** North has built up friendly ties with China and other erstwhile socialist countries.

(1) South Korea: (i) UN agencies and the USA helped overcome the immediate economic crisis in South Korea, North Korea got full backing from the socialist bloc.

(ii) South Korea from the very inception has remained a stronghold of the conservative and right wing political leaders. President Dr. Syngman Rhee was an US trained politician. The military which succeeded him was raised with the close cooperation of the US. The leaders, ever built up strong ties with the USA and the Western bloc. The right wing leadership opted for development strategy as prescribed by the UN agencies and the USA. As a result, the country had to follow a pro-western foreign policy.

(2) North Korea: (i) North Korea has always been dominated by the communists and nationalists. They formed good relationship with socialist bloc China and the countries grouped under the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

(ii) North Korean leadership opted for a type of development for which also it had to seek help and aid largely from the socialist countries.

(iii) When the socialist bloc dissolved the country became isolated.

(iv) It is now gradually coming out from the isolation.

Development of the Foreign Policies: The development of the foreign policies of the two countries—the DPRK and the ROK took place in three phases as under:

(i) **The First Phase:** The first phase was spread over the period from the Korean war to the beginning of the normalisation of the relation between the People's Republic of China and the USA.

(ii) The Second Phase: The second phase covers the period from the establishment of the normal relations between China and the USA to the end of Cold War (or dissolution of the USSR).

(iii) The Third Phase: The third phase is the current post-cold war period.

During the first phase South Korea (or ROK) maintained diplomatic, economic and other relations basically with the countries belonging to the Western bloc and Japan. Likewise, North Korea (or DPRK) remained confined to the socialist bloc. When diplomatic ties between China and the USA were established, a qualitative change came in the foreign policies of both—DPRK and the ROK as under:

(a) The DPRK started searching friends in the NAM countries and initiated the process to establish relations with the pro-western bloc countries and the USA.

(b) The ROK took initiative to establish ties with China, the USSR and other non-western bloc countries.

Now with the end of cold-war the erstwhile socialist bloc has disintegrated. America has emerged as the only super power in the world. As a result, super power rivalry in the peninsula ended. South Korea has become more friendly to China and Russia. However, the North Korea has so far failed to be friendly to the USA and Japan. The reason is, without the concurrence of China, one of the big powers in the World, none can take any major decision *vis-a-vis* the Korean peninsula. The evidence is before us. When the peninsula was drifting towards war over the NPT issue, China's opposition to any harsh measure against North Korea restrained the USA and its allies.

Q. 5. What are the salient features of Singapore's government and politics? Elaborate.

Ans. Government and Politics

(i) Singapore is a republic with a parliamentary system of government.

(ii) It has a written constitution.

(iii) It provides for a President as head of the state, elected by Parliament every four years. However, now the President will be elected popularly and will have veto power over the budget and public appointments.

(iv) The President appoints that member of parliament as the Prime Minister who commands the confidence of the majority in the parliament.

(v) Political power is vested in the Prime Minister and his Cabinet Ministers who are responsible collectively to Parliament. The Parliament is the supreme legislative authority.

(vi) Because of the efficiency of the bureaucracy in Singapore, it is also known as an "Administrative state".

(a) Singapore's Parliament: Singapore's parliament is unicameral and consists of 81 members who are elected by a secret ballot. Voting in elections has been compulsory since 1959. The People's Action Party (PAP) has been in power since 1959, having won all the general elections in succession.

(b) The Judicial System: The judicial power is vested in the High Court, the court of Appeal, the court of Criminal Appeal, and 23 subordinate courts. Judges are appointed by the President. Persons suspected of endangering country's security can be detained without trial under the Internal Security Act (ISA).

(c) The Social System: Singapore, though relatively small in size and population, is a multi-ethnic society. Ethnic breakdown is Chinese 77.7%, Malaya 14.1, Indians 7.17 and others 1.11.

Q. 6. Examine the role of military leadership in Thailand's politics.

Ans. Military Leadership

(a) A tradition of military leadership: Thailand has had a tradition of military leadership since the end of absolute monarchy. The military established its primacy in Thai politics immediately after 1932 coup d'état. It extended its influence on vital institutions of government and pleaded justification for its presence.

(b) Pridi Phanomyon: The civilian leader, Pridi Phanomyon, had some popular support. But he was projected as a communist. Pridi became the Prime Minister of the country, yet he failed to lay the foundations of civilian rule. When he came out with his idealistic proposals to introduce radical changes in the socio-economic structure, it was opposed by the political elite. He proposed to nationalise all agricultural lands for better distribution and production. However, he did not propose to pay compensation immediately. The acquisition of lands were to be through the issue of bonds and not by cash. Besides he evolved a public distribution system of rice and other essential commodities and elimination of the role of middlemen in business. As a result, he was portrayed as an enemy of the prevailing political system. His political career was really doomed when in 1946, King Anand Mahidol was assassinated in mysterious circumstances. Pridi was somehow implicated in the case. Pridi had to leave the country and stay in exile for years in France.

(c) Succession of military rulers: There has been a succession of military rulers in Thailand in the past 60 years.

- (i) General Phraya Pahol ruled Thailand from 1933 to 1938,
- (ii) Field Marshal Phibun Songgram from 1938 to 1944, and thereafter from 1947 to 1957,
- (iii) Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat from 1957 to 1963,
- (iv) Field Marshal Thanom Kikkikachorn from 1963 to 1973,
- (v) Admiral Sangad Choloryu from 1976 to 1977,
- (vi) General Kriengsak Chomanan from 1977 to 1980,
- (vii) General Prem Tilsulanand from 1980 to 1988 and
- (viii) General Chatchai Choonhavan from 1988 to 1991,
- (ix) The present Prime Minister, General Sunthorn Kongsompong came into power after a coup d'état in February, 1991.

(d) Role of Phibun Songgram: The role of Phibun Songgram establishes the fact that military leaders are indispensable for bringing stability and progress to Thailand. Phibun Songgram dominated Thai politics from 1932 to 1957. He laid solid foundations for the primacy of military in Thai political system. He was supporter of democracy for his country but when he became the Prime Minister, he supported only a semblance of it. As regards foreign policy, he was flexible. Till the end of the Second World War, he was a close ally of Japan, but after coming back to power in 1947, he supported the policy of alignment with the United States. The friendship with Japan was used to recover territories lost to France in 1907 and to Britain in 1909. For this his people were immensely pleased with him and he received their backing.

Phibun also campaigned for “Asia for the Asians” and declared war against Western colonial powers. He backed up independence movements in the region. He provided bases to Indian National Army of Subhas Chandra Bose among others. But after 1947 a change came in his priorities. He perceived a threat from China and the emerging communist movement in Vietnam. Therefore, he joined the crusade against communism and became an ally of the United States in this regard. In the country, he tried to introduce socio-economic reforms to reduce the hold of the overseas Chinese on the Thai economic system. He tried to evolve such ventures as textile, paper, sugar, tobacco and distillery industries under the state, which was being run by military men strengthened their economic power.

The successors of Phibun tried to strengthen their support base and could establish their presence in the socio-economic structure. Consequently, the military has emerged as the major agent of social change and political engineering in contemporary Thailand.

(c) SCQ: Write short notes on the following in about 100 words each.

Q. 7. Tonkin Incident of 1966

Ans. Tonkin Incident of 1966: The Tonkin incident of 1966, was as under: An American ship was attacked by North Vietnam close to its coast while on a spying mission. It gave an excuse to Americans to escalate the war. By 1968, the U.S. had committed more than half-a-million troops. The Americans who were pitted against the aroused Nationalism of Vietnam, inflicted devastation upon that country. The U.S. dropped more than seventy lakh tons of bombs on Indo-China. It was nearly three times the total tonnage of bombs dropped in World War II and the Korean war combined—besides one lakh tons of defoliants and other noxious substances. The direct U.S. war expenditure in Vietnam was more than US \$150 billion.

The Americans had lost more than 58,000 men, but had at the same time killed more than forty lakh Vietnamese. In 1973, Paris Talks were held as a face saving device for the Americans to withdraw from Vietnam. In the spring of 1975, the communists won in South Vietnam as well as in Cambodia and Laos. On 2 January 1976, South Vietnam formally unified with the North to become a single country once again.

Q. 8. Authoritarian and military rule in East and South East Asia.

Ans. Indonesia, Thailand, Burma, Cambodia and Laos in different degrees and at different times have been under strict authoritarian systems with a military ruler at the top.

(i) Indonesia: Indonesian army officers have always concerned themselves with political issues. After the imposition of martial law in 1957, their right to participate was formally recognised through appointments to the cabinet, Parliament and administration. During the Guided Democracy era, the army became one of the two major organised political forces, which with President Sukarno, dominated the politics of the period. Eventually, army's drive against the PKI (the Indonesian Communists) in 1965 and its success in easing President Sukarno out of office

rendered it as the dominate force in Indonesian politics. Military power institutionalised in Indonesia is almost unparalleled elsewhere in the developing world.

(ii) Thailand: Thailand entered the twentieth century with an enlightened monarchy bent on forcing a modern state. However, the monarchy had always been averse to it. In fact, 1912, onwards military coups have been almost endemic in Thailand's political system. With the Japanese surrender at the end of World War-II, a civilian coalition attempted to minimize the role of the military in politics but failed. Political bickerings and economic hardships led to eight cabinets and five different Prime Ministers in a span of two years. This instability led to a military coup and by 1948, the constitution was abandoned and an army general became the premier. Eventually, "semidemocratic" government was established, which has been facing innumerable coups ever since.

An elected Parliament was permitted to function even though the real centre of power was the executive branch, controlled by elite military and bureaucratic groups. By early 1990's King Bhumibol survived more than a score of Prime Ministers and thirty cabinets. Restoration of civilian rule in the 1992, elections is, an encouraging sign.

(iii) Burma: In Burma strongman Ne Win, seized political power in a military coup in 1962. He held the country together through a loyal army and secret police. The Military Government slaughtered many unarmed anti-government protesters in Rangoon during the 1988, demonstrations. Then ensued a year of confrontation between civilians and the army. Thousands were killed in it. In retaliation the military rulers depopulated and razed entire neighbourhoods of Rangoon known to have supported the democracy movement. In 1990, the authorities permitted a showcase popular election under the belief that the opposition has been rendered ineffective by the repression. But strangely a sufficient number of candidates within a broad opposition coalition were elected to lay the groundwork for a representative national assembly. This assembly was, however, not permitted to come into existence. By 1991, Aung San Sui Kyi (also Nobel Peace Prize Winner for 1991) and various prominent opposition leaders had been jailed. Today the country is effectively held by an indigenous army of occupation recruited from impoverished rural areas.

(iv) Cambodia: Cambodia is still in an unstable political situation. However, this country too has faced the most severe of genocides of this country. The Khmer Rouge, which emerged victorious in 1975, at the end of the Vietnam war, carried out mass murder and repression of the civilian opposition. It is hoped that consequently, to the peace talks and agreements Cambodia will have a more humane, although not fully democratic system.

