



HISTORY

9752/02

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

21 September 2021

3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name, civics group and question number on the work you hand in.
Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the pages in the Answer Booklet.
Write your answer to each question in the booklet.
Do not use paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer **two** questions.

Start each answer **on a fresh page** in the Answer Booklet.
You are reminded of the need for good English and clear presentation in your answers.

At the end of the examination, all work must be handed in.
If you have used any additional booklets, please insert them inside the 12-page Answer Booklet.
The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.

Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

Konfrontasi in Southeast Asia

1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

Source A

MALAYSIA AND NORTH BORNEO

The Ministers reaffirmed their countries' adherence to the principle of self-determination for the peoples of non-self-governing territories. In this context, Indonesia and the Philippines stated that they would welcome the formation of Malaysia provided the support of the people of the Borneo territories is ascertained by an independent and impartial authority, the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representative.

The Federation of Malaya expressed appreciation for this attitude of Indonesia and the Philippines and undertook to consult the British Government and the Governments of the Borneo territories with a view to inviting the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representative to take the necessary steps in order to ascertain the wishes of the people of those territories.

Excerpt from the Manila Accord, July 1963.

Source B

After Indonesia acquired the remaining Dutch territory of Netherlands New Guinea in 1963, Sukarno became power-mad and obsessed with his own self-importance. He thought that he could lay claim on the territory of Malaya because we happened to be people of a similar race, and naively imagined that we were too weak to stand up against him. But we had already anticipated this move years before since he had been voicing this ridiculous claim long before our independence. We know there were some Malayan leaders who had been swayed by him.

Adapted from Tunku Abdul Rahman's autobiography, 1986.

Source C

The United States reacted to Indonesia's actions against Malaysia by announcing that it had suspended all shipments of arms and ammunition to Indonesia. It also declared that since Indonesia's economic stability program was not feasible under the circumstances, the American economic aid contemplated in support of that programme would be suspended.

The United States' mounting concern with Malaysia necessitated these measures. This concern revolved around American fears about the vulnerability of Malaysia to the threat of Communism. As Baldwin pointed out to the State Department: "However prosperous and well governed, Malaysia would not be strong enough to resist alone steadily increasing Communist pressures from the north or unchecked, rampant Indonesian expansionism, with or without Communist support from the south."

Excerpts from a Malaysian academic's research published in a Southeast Asian journal in 1988.

Source D

While the UN was organising a referendum to ascertain if a majority of people in North Borneo and Sarawak accepted the formation of Malaysia, Tunku Abdul Rahman announced in July 1963 that the proposed Malaysian state would come into existence on 16 September 1963 irrespective of the latest UN report. This upset Indonesia and affirmed its belief that Malaysia was largely a continuation of British colonialism.

However, more is involved in Indonesia's opposition to Malaysia than the simple desire that all people should have the right to determine their own government. Indonesian leaders recognise that they cannot permit without opposition transfers of territory which Indonesia may wish to claim or otherwise influence. For Sukarno's own interest in the Malaysia territories, and a possible basis for later Indonesian claim to all of them, is suggested by recalling actions of the independence leaders in 1945.

Extract of an article in a Southeast Asian journal, 1964.

Source E



Caption reads: "Communist China's puppet"

Illustration found in a booklet entitled "Malaysia and the World", published by Singapore's Ministry of Culture in 1964.

Source F

Indonesia had used international propaganda to degrade Malaysia. Jakarta initially gained the trust of the Afro-Asian states, at that point an important group of mostly ex-colonial newly independent states which form a large group of members in the United Nations and Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Malaysia countered Indonesia's claims by conducting a whirlwind of diplomatic visits between 1964 and 1965, led by the Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia Tun Abdul Razak and Singapore's Chief Minister Lee Kwan Yew. The visits explained Malaysia's formation and eventually managed to turn the tables on Indonesia and obtain recognition for the new country from almost all of these Afro-Asian states.

The Konfrontasi lasted until 1966, when Indonesia under its new leader Suharto (who had replaced Sukarno at the end of 1965 in the midst of a failed coup), and suffering serious military setbacks and without much international support for its cause, decided to explore diplomatic options in ending the conflict. Both Indonesia and Malaysia held peace talks leading to the final conclusion of the undeclared war with the signing of a peace treaty.

"The War That Gave Birth to ASEAN," an online article, published in September 2016.

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence in sources B and C on the nature of Malaysia's vulnerabilities. [10]
- (b) How far do sources A – F support that Indonesia was responsible for Konfrontasi? [30]

Section B

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

EITHER

- 2 'Constitutional processes mattered little in independent Southeast Asia's search for political stability.' How far do you agree with this judgement? [30]

OR

- 3 To what extent do you agree that the pursuit of national unity in independent Southeast Asia cannot be successful without education? [30]

AND EITHER

- 4 To what extent did SEA governments dictate their countries' economic destinies? [30]

OR

- 5 'The Asian Financial Crisis unleashed chaos unto Southeast Asian Countries.' How far do you agree? [30]

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