

YISHUN JUNIOR COLLEGE
JC2 Preliminary Examination 2017

H2 History

9752/02

PAPER 2 The Making of Independent Southeast Asia (Independence to 2000)

12/09/17

Tuesday, 1400h-1700hr

Additional materials: 2 pieces of cover page
 Writing Paper



TIME 3 hours

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name and CTG in the spaces provided on the cover page.
 Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.
 Do not use staples, paper clips, 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.
 The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.

INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES

You are reminded of the need for clear presentation in your answers.

This paper consists of 5 printed pages and 1 blank page.

Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

INTER-STATE TENSIONS AND REGIONAL COOPERATION

1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

Source A

Before 1967, the Association of Southeast Asia (ASA), which grouped only Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand, was set up. Soon after that, a territorial dispute relating to Sabah erupted between the Philippines and Indonesia, against Malaysia. The problem centered on the fact that the British Administration, upon withdrawal from North Borneo (Sabah), attributed jurisdiction of the territory to Malaysia. The 'konfrontasi' (as the Indonesians called it), threatened to escalate into an international conflict as Malaysia requested support from Great Britain, and British warships began cruising along the Sumatran coast. That unexpected turn of events caused the ASA to collapse. In 1966, a larger grouping, the Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC), was set up. Again, this was unsuccessful. I then suggested the idea of forming another organization for regional cooperation, which became the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

From the memoirs of the Thai Foreign Minister, Thanat Khoman, published in 1992.

Source B



An artist's impression of Sukarno's 'Ganyang Malaysia' (Crush Malaysia) campaign, 1963.

Compare and contrast the evidence provided by Sources C and D on the Philippines' responsibility in the Sabah dispute with Malaysia.

Source C

Yesterday, I made a painful decision to recall our embassy in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. If I had our way— my way—I would rather have maintained the utmost cordiality and friendship in our relationship with Malaysia. Even many days after the Malaysians terminated unilaterally and closed the door to further negotiations in Bangkok, I had made it plain for all to see that our claim to Sabah should not diminish our friendly relations with Malaysia. But this withdrawal of our diplomatic representation in Kuala Lumpur is a manifestation of the outrage that the entire Filipino nation feels at the insulting, virulent and harsh language used by the leaders of Malaysia. The refusals of the Malaysians to continue our negotiations in Bangkok, done in unfriendly terms, has set back our efforts toward regional cooperation and stability. They do not wish to negotiate any further. They just don't want to talk about the Philippine claim. And again, this violated all the previous commitments of the Malaysian government to the Manila Accord. The situation is that the Philippines not only has a valid and historic claim to North Borneo. The pursuit of the claim is itself vital to our national security.

But let it also be known that while we desire nothing but peace, the Filipino people will not stand meekly with bowed heads, and in silence as if in shame, while their rights and honour are trampled.

Remarks of President Marcos on Radio-Television Chat, delivered on July 21, 1968.

Source D

Prior to the ASEAN Summit in Manila in December 1987, Philippine and Malaysian diplomats secretly met in Kuala Lumpur to work out drafts of a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and an agreement on Joint Border Patrol and Border Crossing. These were to be in exchange for the dropping of the claim to Sabah; the proposed border agreement was intended to prevent Muslim secessionists from seeking sanctuary in Sabah and smuggling weapons to Mindanao. The joint border patrol sought to regulate the flow of people and goods across the Philippine-Malaysian border. However, Congress failed to pass the joint resolution dropping the claim due to opposition from its members.

Despite the non-passage of the bill dropping the Sabah claim, Mahathir did attend the ASEAN Summit and told Malaysian journalists that 'he was not disappointed'. He felt that Aquino was 'really sincere' in settling the dispute. Filipino Senator Blas Ople, who was then head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said the Aquino government 'could not muster the political support to effect a statutory change'.

From an academic text published in 2010.

Source E

In defending their claims to Sipadan and Ligitan, both Indonesia and Malaysia tended to look to their naval forces' superiority to consolidate their positions. Despite declarations that they would settle the dispute by peaceful means, leaders and officials of Malaysia and Indonesia frequently exchanged remarks of a militant nature. For example, in 1993, the former Malaysian Armed Forces General, Yaacob Mohd Zain, stated that military action was the only answer to unresolved territorial disputes.

The Indonesian navy responded that its forces would continue patrolling the islands because they 'belong to us and we will defend them.' Several subsequent stand-offs between the armed forces of both countries were reported to have taken place in the following years. Even though there was no exchange of fire in any of the stand-offs, the possibility of military clashes between Malaysia and Indonesia remained.

In September 1994, Malaysia proposed to Indonesia that the dispute should be referred to the ICJ. This did not receive an initial positive response from the Indonesian government, but recognizing that the two countries had common interests, Suharto eventually agreed. The agreement was formally sealed in May 1997 and the case was submitted to the ICJ in November 1998.

From a paper by a Malaysian academic, 2007.

Source F

ASEAN aimed for good relations and cooperation with its neighbours, preventing Southeast Asia from continuing to be an arena for big-power conflict. ASEAN was to succeed in these aims beyond all expectations. Immediately after the end of the wars in Indochina in 1975, ASEAN members reached out to the re-united Vietnam, and to Laos, overcoming the barriers of ideology and history. Vietnam's intervention in Cambodia in 1978, however, placed it and ASEAN on opposite sides of the political and diplomatic fence for another decade. That was resolved by the political settlement of the Cambodian question in the Paris Peace Accords of October 1991, which both ASEAN and the United Nations, in working together, helped to bring about. ASEAN has maintained its record of no conflict between members. This singular achievement may be attributed to ASEAN's quiet discussions and avoiding 'megaphone diplomacy'.

Report from a Meeting of ASEAN Foreign Ministers, 2011.

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided by Sources C and D on the Philippines' responsibility in the Sabah dispute with Malaysia. [10]
- (b) How far do Sources A – F support the view that inter-state tensions in Southeast Asia hindered regional cooperation and security between 1945 and 2000? [30]

Section B

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

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

EITHER

- 2** Why were some forms of government in independent Southeast Asia more effective in asserting political stability than others? [30]

OR

- 3** 'Even by 2000, the goal of national unity had not been achieved.' How far do you agree with this assessment of Southeast Asian states since independence? [30]

AND EITHER

- 4** How important was the role of the state in explaining the different extents of economic development in independent Southeast Asia? [30]

OR

- 5** Assess the view that the domestic economic weaknesses of the independent Southeast Asian states was most responsible for the outbreak of the Asian Financial Crisis. [30]

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