



**ST ANDREW'S JUNIOR COLLEGE**  
**Preliminary Examinations**  
**General Certificate of Education Advanced Level**  
**Higher 2**

---

**HISTORY**

**9752/02**

Paper 2 The Making of Independent Southeast Asia (Independence– 2000) **13 September 2021**

**3 hours**

No Additional Materials are required.

---

**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

An answer booklet will be provided with this question paper. You should follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional paper ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

**Section A**

Answer **Question 1**.

**Section B**

Answer **two** questions.

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.

**The Beginnings of Confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia**

- 1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

**Source A**

Indonesian opposition to the plan to form Malaysia at first seemed reticent and overshadowed by the Philippines. On 10 August 1962, when the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Subandrio, spoke with his counterpart in Manila, Vice-President Palaez, Indonesian support from the North Borneo claim was neither confirmed nor denied. The New York Agreement over Netherlands New Guinea was signed five days later. Indonesia have remained silent or uncommitted on the state of anti-colonial affairs in neighbouring North Borneo so as not to lose the support which Indonesia derived from the Afro-Asian bloc.

Subandrio, on 15 December 1962, issued the first major Indonesian volley in what would become nearly three years of almost ceaseless verbal warfare between Kuala Lumpur and Jakarta. Responding to accusations by Tunku Abdul Rahman that Indonesia was behind the Brunei revolt, Subandrio declared: 'If the Tunku is determined to use any occasion to be hostile there is no alternative but to accept the challenge'. It was significant, however, that Subandrio did not refute the charge. Not only was Subandrio, in effect, concurring with the accusation of prior involvement, but he was also threatening to increase the tempo of hostility and so redress the Tunku's insult on Indonesian integrity.

*From an academic book on the Konfrontasi, published in 2014.*

**Source B**

Tunku Abdul Rahman made several disparaging statements, which served to escalate tensions. His speech in the Malaysian Parliament on 11 Dec 1962 referred to 'outside parties' assistance to the Brunei revolt. Although the Tunku made only vague and indirect references to Indonesian aid to the rebels (he did not mention Indonesia explicitly), the 'cat was out of the bag'. The Tunku's statement was exaggerated in the Indonesian press to the effect that he had accused Indonesia of complicity in the revolt. This drew sharp responses from Subandrio, who replied that 'the Malaysian Premier seemed to have a habit of making offensive remarks about Indonesia, some of them bordering on insults. Indonesia desired friendship and brotherhood with Malaya, but if these offensive statements continued Indonesia would have no other choice than to meet the challenge of Malaya.' Subandrio further went on to warn the Tunku that there must be an end once and for all to his humiliating statements about Indonesia.

*From a journal article, published in 1999.*

### Source C

Now the President has decided that henceforth we shall pursue a policy of confrontation against Malaya, this does not mean that we are going to war. I, too, consider it as normal that we have to adopt a policy of confrontation. What is to be regretted is that the confrontation policy has to be adopted against an Asian country, a neighbouring country. We have always been pursuing a confrontation policy against colonialism and imperialism in all manifestations. It is unfortunate that Malaya, too, has lent itself to become tools of colonialism and imperialism. That is why we are compelled to adopt a policy of confrontation.

*Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio addressing a military regiment, 20 January 1963.*

### Source D

The Manila Conference from 7 to 11 June 1963 marked the highest peak of cordiality and optimism, where the Ministers affirmed the primary responsibility of their countries to maintain the security and stability of the area "from subversion in any form or manifestation". Of crucial importance to Malaya was the agreement by Indonesia and the Philippines to welcome Malaysia provided the opinion of the peoples in Borneo was surveyed under UN auspices.

However, the cordiality of the Manila Conference disappeared with the signing of the London Agreement on 9 July, which set the date for Malaysia on 31 August. The British apparently regarded the agreement arising from Manila Conference as indicating Indonesia's acceptance of Malaysia, subject only to the UN ascertainment mission to the Borneo territories. This interpretation was different from Indonesia's, which argued that the Manila Agreement required a standstill for all arrangements for Malaysia until the UN-sponsored referendum in the Borneo territories could be carried out. Sukarno thus construed the signing of the London Agreement as a breach of the Manila Agreement, seeing it as a *fait accompli*\* on the establishment of Malaysia. In particular, he accused the Tunku of breaking his word, and declared Indonesian opposition to Malaysia 'at all costs'. Sukarno's outburst re-ignited the flames of Konfrontasi.

*From an academic paper published by the National University of Singapore, 1999.*

\* refers to something that has already happened or been decided before those affected hear about it, leaving them with no option but to accept it.

**Source E**

It was always understood that the referendum would be completed within a limited period of time, and my communication of 8 August noted that every effort would be made to complete the task as quickly as possible. I later informed the Governments concerned that I would endeavour to report my conclusions to them by 14 September. During the course of the inquiry, the date of 16 September 1963 was announced by the Government of the Federation of Malaya with the concurrence of the British Government, the Singapore Government and the Governments of Sabah and Sarawak, for the establishment of the Federation of Malaysia. This has led to misunderstanding and confusion and even resentment among other parties to the Manila Agreement, which could have been avoided if the date could have been fixed after my conclusions had been reached and made known.

*Final Conclusions of U Thant Regarding Malaysia, SG/1583, 13 September 1963.*  
The Secretary-General was reporting on the results of the UN survey in Sarawak and North Borneo.

**Source F**





A cartoon in an information booklet "Malaysia and the World" (Chinese version), published by the Ministry of Culture in Singapore, 1964.

\* Caption reads: "After West Irian, Malaysia would be next". The map that is facing Sukarno depicts "Malaya" and the map behind him is "New Guinea".

Now answer the following questions:

- Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources D and E on the impact of the Manila Agreement. [10]
- How far do Sources A – F support the view that Malaysia was to blame for escalating tensions with Indonesia? [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 Assess the significance of mass political participation in contributing to political stability in post-independence Southeast Asian countries. [30]

## OR

- 3 'A complete success.' Does this statement accurately reflect the extent to which Southeast Asian governments were able to achieve national unity? [30]

## AND EITHER

- 4 'Southeast Asian governments were ultimately self-serving in their economic policies.' How far do you agree with this statement with reference to the period from independence to 2000? [30]

## OR

- 5 Assess the view that economic consequences were more serious than social and political consequences in the aftermath of the Asian Financial Crisis. [30]