

H2 History 9752/02

Paper 2 24 September 2019

The Making of Independent Southeast Asia (Independence-2000)

3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your class, index number and name on all the work you hand in. Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper. You may use a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working. Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid/tape.

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.

This document consists of 6 printed pages.

[Turn over

Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

CONFLICT OVER THE FORMATION OF MALAYSIA

1 Read the sources and answer the questions that follow.

Source A

The UMNO secretary-general, Syed Ja'afar Albar said today that the Indonesian Government's policy of 'confrontation' towards Malaya was an attempt to distract the Indonesians from their economic difficulties. He told a Press conference: "After the West Irian issue was settled, Subandrio (Indonesian Foreign Minister) and President Sukarno created another international issue by making wild accusations against Malaya and Tunku Abdul Rahman."

Syed Ja'afar said: "We are not hostile to Indonesia but to the Indonesian Communist Party. Maybe Indonesia is hostile to Malaya. We have twice invited President Sukarno to visit Malaya but the Indonesian Government did not even have the courtesy to reply our invitation," he said.

Syed Ja'afar said that Indonesia could not adopt a policy of confrontation towards Malaya as they had with the Dutch. "If this policy of confrontation is continued, it will boomerang because the people there who are suffering come from the same stock," he said. "The Indonesian Government cannot offer the Indonesians anything except fiery speeches."

From an article published in a Singapore newspaper, 25 January 1963.

Source B

Mr Lee said Singapore was giving full support to the establishment of Malaysia, the proposed federation sponsored by Malaya which was now openly criticised by Indonesia. Mr Lee indicated Singapore's sympathies were with Malaya in what appears to be a serious and growing problem with Indonesia. Mr Lee attributed what has become daily Indonesian criticism of Malaya and Malaysia as being instigated by Communists who want to keep the three North Borneo territories out of a stable federation. 'Unless the Communists begin the shouting now, it becomes more difficult [to challenge the formation of Malaysia].'

Mr Lee said some Indonesians talked of North Borneo as 'Kalimantan Utara', a name indicating affiliation with 'Greater Indonesia'. But he disagreed, saying "This is not Kalimantan Utara and the Afro-Asian nations support us on this. Who does it belong to? Surely not to the British. It belongs to us."

From an article published in a Singapore newspaper, 27 January 1963.

Source C

Question: Was the insurgency in northern Borneo instigated by Indonesia?

Answer: No, this is not true, and it is one of the lies the federation deceptively use to suppress the truth. The reason for doing this is to downplay the struggle of the people of northern Borneo, creating the myth of 'Indonesian invasion', therefore stoking nationalistic sentiment, and lending support to the federation. The truth of the matter is, the insurgents in northern Borneo are a liberation army opposed to British imperialist rule. The insurgents partaking in the military conflict in northern Borneo are all locals (the Malays, Chinese and Ibans), and when the Indonesians sent military support to them, it was to assist them to gain independence, to liberate the people, and to uphold justice. Both the Malayan and the Singaporean government should have participated in this route of righteousness; why regard the Bornean struggle against the British as part of the Indonesian invasion conspiracy?

From a Barisan Sosialis publication, 1964.

Source D

I, the great leader of the Indonesian Revolution, in the framework of the confrontation against Malaysia, which has constituted a threat and a challenge to the Indonesian revolution:

After having made several efforts to persuade the leaders of Malaysia to achieve a solution through consultations within the scope of the Asian fraternity;

After it has become clear that our efforts have been rejected and responded to with humiliation and an act of hostility, as for instance the call for a general mobilisation;

I give the command to the twenty-one million volunteers, who have already registered their names to increase the strength of resistance of the Indonesian revolution and support the revolutionary peoples of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah to dissolve the puppet state of Malaysia.

From President Sukarno's rally speech to the Indonesian public, May 1964.

Source E



Illustration by a New Zealand cartoonist, 17 April 1964.

The figures in the cartoon represent the ghost of Adolf Hitler (left), President Sukarno of Indonesia (middle) and New Zealand Prime Minister Keith Holyoake (right).

Source F

Following the unsuccessful Brunei rebellion, the People's Republic of China gave increasing moral and other support to Indonesia in its confrontation with Malaysia and Britain. Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Premier Chou En-lai, and Foreign Minister Ch'en Yi assiduously cultivated Sukarno and Subandrio, who increasingly reciprocated their attentions.

In January 1963, Subandrio visited Peking. On his return to Indonesia, he announced Indonesia's policy of "confrontation" against Malaysia, which he termed an accomplice of "neocolonialists and neo-imperialists pursuing a policy hostile towards Indonesia". On 13 February, Sukarno confirmed the new policy, and produced the "Crush Malaysia" slogan.

In April 1963, coinciding with the first Indonesian raid into Sarawak, Chairman Liu paid his first visit to Indonesia and declared that Indonesia and China were "comrades in arms." He and Sukarno jointly announced their support for the people of "North Kalimantan" in their struggle for independence against "neo-colonialist" Malaysia.

From an article by an American academic, October 1966.

Now answer the following questions:

(a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources C and D on the opposition to the formation of Malaysia.

[10]

(b) How far do Sources A-F support the view that the conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia was instigated by the communists?

[30]

Section B

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

EITHER

2 'Approaches to governance in independent Southeast Asian states were determined by political personalities.' Discuss.

[30]

OR

3 'The government's approach to creating national unity was inconsistent.' How far do you agree with this view of independent Southeast Asian states?

[30]

AND EITHER

4 'Governments wasted the opportunities presented to them.' How far do you agree with this view of the economic development of independent Southeast Asian states?

[30]

OR

To what extent was financial liberalisation responsible for the outbreak of the 1997 financial crisis in Southeast Asia?

[30]