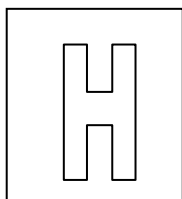


Candidate Name: _____

Class	Adm No



2020 Preliminary Exams

Pre-university 3

H2 HISTORY

9752/02

The Making of Independent Southeast Asia
(Independence-2000)

18 September 2020

3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name and class 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 or graphs.
Do not use paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Leave two lines in between your answers for each question or begin each question on a new page.

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer **TWO** questions.

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.

Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

1. Read the sources, and then answer the question which follows.

The Formation of ASEAN

Source A

"I throw caution to big countries, including Japan, not to try to influence ASEAN to suit their own interests. Indonesia, as the big nation among the member countries of ASEAN, would hit back if this were tried. We would not let member countries which are members of SEATO draw Indonesia into SEATO. The main purpose of ASEAN is to strengthen economically and culturally the countries in Southeast Asia through joint efforts. Most Southeast Asian countries have some experiences under the domination of Japan and will be careful in facing it. Indonesia, too, had the same experience. But the Indonesia of today is not the Indonesia of yesterday. We will hit back if any big nation tries to treat us to suit their interests. If Southeast Asian countries do not strengthen themselves, they would be crushed sooner or later by the big countries."

Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Adam Malik, speaking at a press conference 30 August 1967.

Source B

I have no doubt that much serious thought and planning is being given to this question of their own safety. Malaysia has declared and so have the other countries that they are neutral, and that they are anxious to remain so.

Some leaders have already started to make their way to China to pay homage to the great Mao and the communist regime and to profess their friendship for that great man and the great nation of Communist China. "We are your friends", they say, "because we are peaceful nations. We want to be left alone, and we want to live at peace with your help."

Embassies have opened in some of these countries, but the rumblings of guns are still being heard in remote areas of Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines, caused by Communist insurgents. So when the leaders from these small peaceful nations met the "great man" and pleaded for peaceful co-existence, did the great Mao promise, or offer his series, to stop these uses of violence? No.

So the position as I see it, is "status quo". No assurance of peace, or even of peaceful coexistence is given. The policy of establishing hegemony still persists in Communist China's plan to dominate Southeast Asia.

An article by former Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman in The Star newspaper, 19 May 1975.

Source C

MINDFUL of the existence of mutual interests and common problems among countries of South-East Asia and convinced of the need to strengthen further the existing bonds of regional solidarity and cooperation;

DESIRING to establish a firm foundation for common action to promote regional cooperation in South-East Asia in the spirit of equality and partnership and thereby contribute towards peace, progress and prosperity in the region;

CONSCIOUS that in an increasingly interdependent world, the cherished ideals of peace, freedom, social justice and economic well-being are best attained by fostering good understanding, good neighbourliness and meaningful cooperation among the countries of the region already bound together by ties of history and culture;

CONSIDERING that the countries of South East Asia share a primary responsibility for strengthening the economic and social stability of the region and ensuring their peaceful and progressive national development, and that they are determined to ensure their stability and security from external interference in any form or manifestation in order to preserve their national identities in accordance with the ideals and aspirations of their peoples.

Excerpt from The ASEAN Declaration, 8 August 1967.

Source D

Although from the outset ASEAN was conceived as an organisation for economic, social and cultural cooperation, and although considerations in these fields were no doubt central, it was the fact that there was a convergence in the political outlook of the five prospective member-nations...which provided the main stimulus to join ASEAN. There was early recognition that meaningful progress could only be achieved by giving first priority to the task of overall and rapid economic development. It was also realised that, to this end, policies should be consciously geared towards safeguarding that priority objective, not only in purely economic terms but simultaneously also to secure the essential conditions of peace and stability, both domestically and internationally in the surrounding regions.

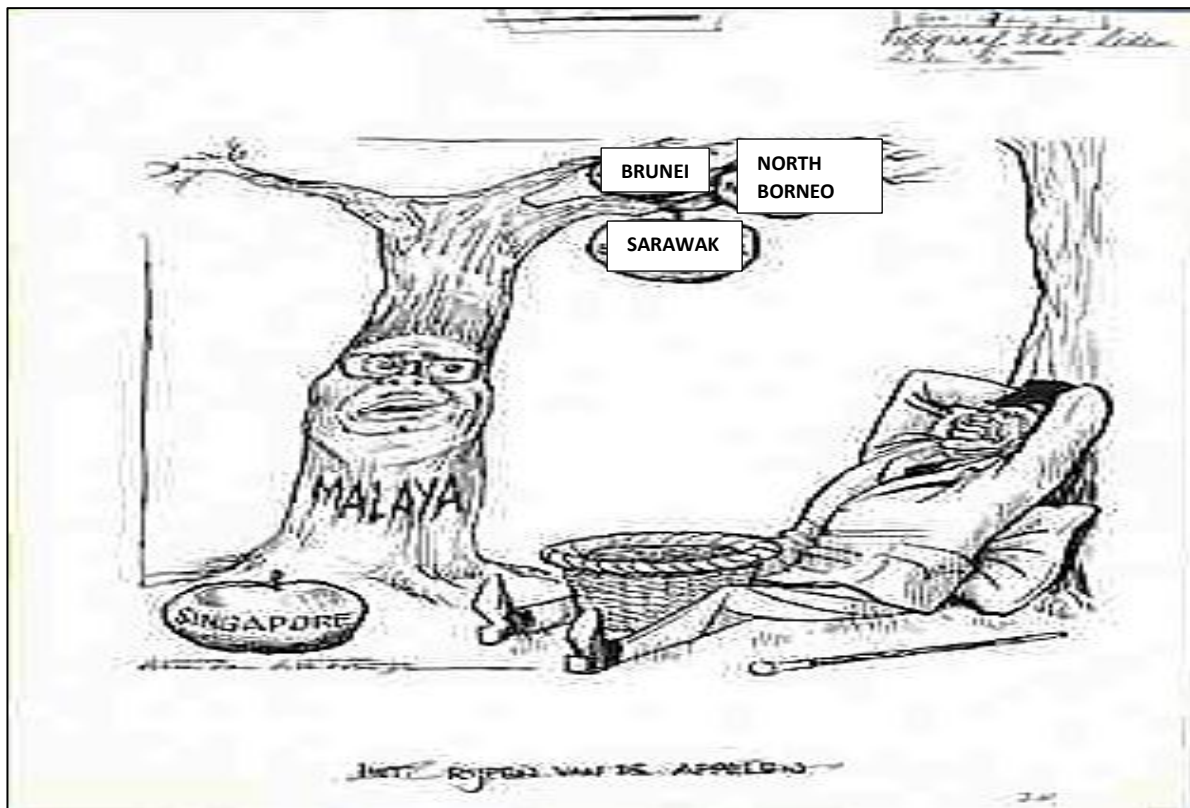
From Adam Malik, Indonesian Foreign Minister, 1974.

Source E

ASEAN has a fascinating history. Beginning as a late 1960s Cold War scheme to associate the often divided anti-communist states of Southeast Asia, ASEAN has slowly developed a wider economic function. ASEAN's founding moment was also in the context of British military withdrawal. Lee Kuan Yew's memoirs described how "the unspoken objective was to gain strength through solidarity ahead of the power vacuum that would come with an impending British and later a possible US withdrawal. Indonesia wanted to reassure Malaysia and Singapore that, with the end of the Sukarno era, its intentions were peaceful and that it had abandoned Sukarno's aggressive policies." Lee Kuan Yew's memoirs also contain a rendition of the role of golf courses and after dinner singing sessions in the working relations of ASEAN ministers and officials. The key site of diplomacy is the green or the night-club.

From a book by James D. Sidaway, an academic, 2002.

Source F



A cartoon published in a Dutch newspaper on 17 August 1965. The caption reads: "The apples are ripening"; the man resting against the tree is Sukarno.

Now answer the following questions:

- Compare and contrast the evidence in Sources A and B on ASEAN's position towards external powers.
[10 marks]
- How far do Sources A to F support the view that ASEAN was formed due to security reasons?
[30 marks]

Section B

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

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

EITHER

- 2 'The emergence of maximum governments in post-colonial Southeast Asia is best explained by the politicisation of the military institution.' How far do you agree with this judgment? [30 marks]

OR

- 3 Why were some independent South East Asian countries less successful in forging national unity than others? [30 marks]

AND EITHER

- 4 To what extent do you agree that self-sufficiency was the primary goal of governments in the economic development of independent Southeast Asian nations? [30 marks]

OR

- 5 Assess the view that Southeast Asian governments were primarily responsible for the disastrous impacts of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis. [30 marks]

Copyright Acknowledgements

Question 1 Source A	©Mr. Adam Malik, <i>speaking at a press conference 30 August 1967.</i>
Question 1 Source B	© <i>An article by former Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman in The Star newspaper, 19 May 1975</i>
Question 1 Source C	© https://asean.org/the-asean-declaration-bangkok-declaration-bangkok-8-august-1967/ , accessed 31 st August 31, 2020
Question 1 Source D	© The Primacy of the Political: South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC) in Comparative Perspective, Vol 24, No 4.
Question 1 Source E	© James D. Sidaway, <i>Imagined Regional communities: Integration and Sovereignty</i> , 2002.
Question 1 Source F	© A cartoon <i>published in a Dutch newspaper on 17 August 1965.</i>