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DUNMAN HIGH SCHOOL
Preliminary Examinations
Year 6

H2 HISTORY

9752/02

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

21 September 2021
3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your Centre number, index number and name on all the work you hand in.
Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.
Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Section A

Answer Question 1.

Section B

Answer **two** questions.

This document consists of **6** printed pages.

[Turn over]

Section A

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

TENSIONS OVER THE FORMATION OF MALAYSIA

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

When answering **Question 1** candidates are advised to pay particular attention to the interpretation and evaluation of the sources both individually and as a group.

Source A

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.

Moreover, in the context of their close association, the three countries agreed to exert their best endeavours to bring the claim to a just and expeditious solution by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration, or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and the Bandung Declaration.

Excerpt from the Manila Accord, 31 July 1963.

Source B

Before anything had been determined, (the Malayan government) already said that Malaysia would be established, as if saying that the results of the United Nations (UN) Survey did not matter. Likewise, the UN team was given a very short amount of time to complete its work for, indeed, they were told beforehand that by 14 September they should have completed their work. In Manila, it was agreed that Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines, would be allowed to send observers. This, too developed into all kinds of trouble. When we said we wanted to send a large team of observers, it was not allowed. The British said no.

I am not pleased by the manner in which the people's desires were assessed. In Manila, I said the survey should be conducted in a truly democratic manner, in accordance to the UN Charter. But this was not the case, my brothers.

Adapted from a speech delivered by President Sukarno in Jogjakarta, 25 September 1963.

Source C

The formation of Malaysia is a major act of decolonisation achieved in full conformity with the principles of self-determination – it is the result of the freely expressed desire of the peoples of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore to realise their independence by joining the Federation of Malaysia.

The proposal for Malaysia by my Prime Minister in May 1961 was received with warm enthusiasm by political leaders in all the territories concerned. There have been a long process of bringing Malaysia into being exhaustive and extensive consultation with the peoples concerned at every level, at every stage and at every turn.

For the representative of Indonesia to say that Malaysia is an artificial concept imposed by a foreign power is a deliberate insult to the integrity of the whole Malaysian people.

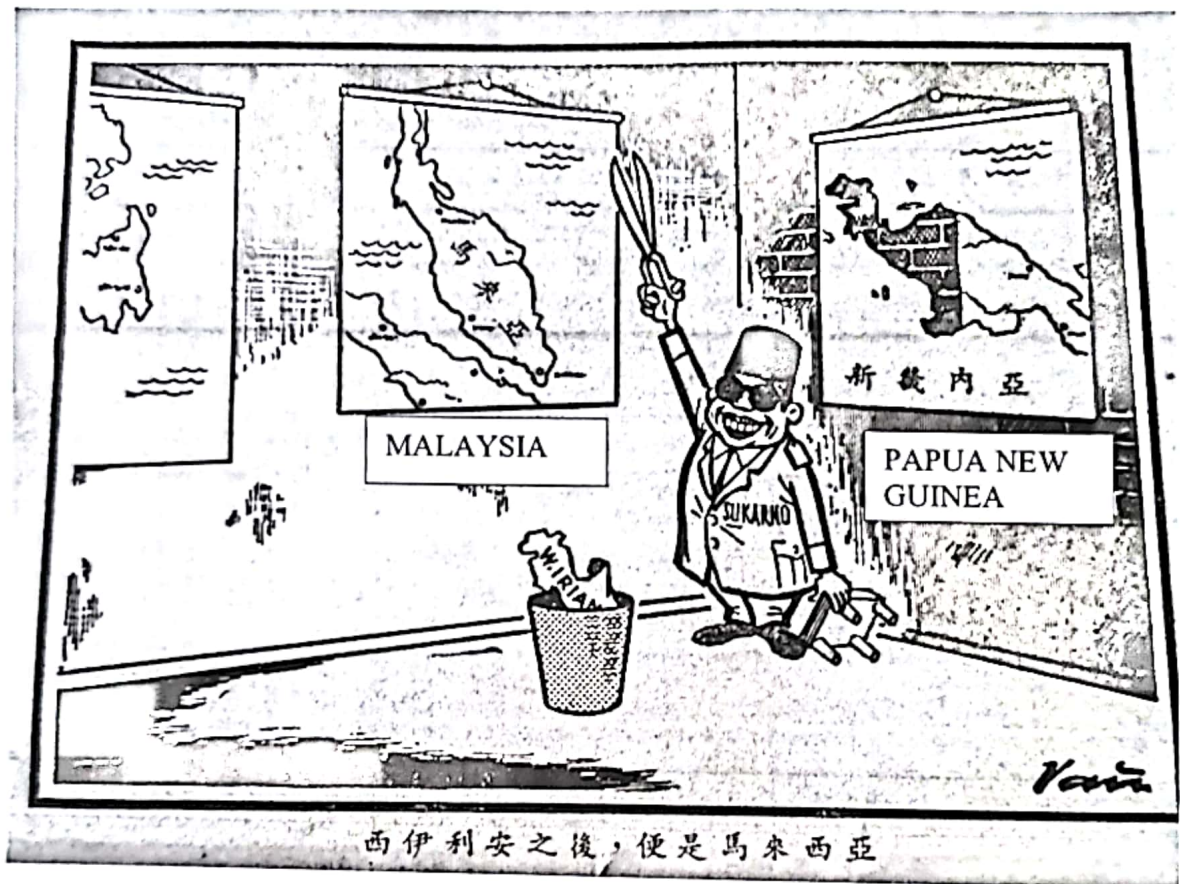
Adapted from a speech delivered to the United Nations General Assembly by the Malayan Ambassador to the UN, Dato Ong Yoke Lin, 4 October 1963.

Source D

Indonesian Deputy Foreign Minister Dr. Sudjarwo reiterated that Indonesia did not recognize the Malaysian Federation, which he described as a creation of the "British colonialists." He did not deny that Indonesian volunteers and guerrillas had been fighting in Malaya for some time, but this was to help their brothers in the fight for freedom, and the problem of Malaysia had to be considered in the context of a deeper and broader conflict– that between the new emerging countries and the remnants of colonialism. The problem was therefore a political, not a legal one, and the so-called "international law of the world of colonial powers" could not be used to stop the struggle for freedom.

Adapted from minutes at a United Nations Security Council meeting, September 1964.

Source E



Political cartoon published in a booklet by the Singapore Ministry of Culture, 1964.

*The caption reads, "After West Irian, Malaysia is next."

Source F

It is not true that Indonesia was not informed of our intentions to form the Federation of Malaysia. On the contrary, though we were under no obligation to do so, we nevertheless informed the Indonesian leaders of our intention to form Malaysia. Dr. Subriando in fact attested to this in a letter he wrote to the New York Times and in a statement, he made to the General Assembly of the United Nations, both in 1961.

Why has Indonesia changed its position from wishing "success" for the formation of Malaysia in 1961 to threats to "crush" and "devour" Malaysia today?

The PKI has always worked on the basis that revolutionary fires can be stoked out of starvation and desperation. They have encouraged their non-Communist leaders to neglect their economy in favour of romantic and futile policies. Indonesian leaders also have to sustain the illusion that they were still locked in a mortal battle against colonialism.

Public speech delivered by S Rajaratnam, Singapore Minister for Culture, delivered in February 1964.

Now answer the following questions.

- a. Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources A and B on Indonesia's position towards the formation of Malaysia. [10]
- b. How far do Sources A to F support the view that Indonesia was primarily responsible for the outbreak of tensions between Indonesia and Malaysia? [30]

[Turn over]

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. To what extent was the evolution of political structures in independent Southeast Asian states driven by mass political participation? [30]

OR

3. "A commitment to multiculturalism was the most viable strategy to achieve national unity in independent Southeast Asian states." How far do you agree with this statement? [30]

AND EITHER

4. "Early governments struggled to step out of the shadows of pre-independence legacies." Discuss this in relation to the economic development of independent Southeast Asian states. [30]

OR

5. Assess the significance of non-state actors in shaping the health of the financial systems in independent Southeast Asian states from the 1980s onwards. [30]

END OF PAPER
