



HISTORY

9752/02

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

16 September 2020

3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name, civics group and question number on the work you hand in.
Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the pages in the Answer Booklet.
Write your answer to each question in the booklet.
Do not use paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer **two** questions.

Start each answer **on a fresh page** in the Answer Booklet.
You are reminded of the need for good English and clear presentation in your answers.

At the end of the examination, all work must be handed in.
If you have used any additional booklets, please insert them inside the 12-page Answer Booklet.
The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.

Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

ASEAN and Regional Security

1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

Source A

I was informed early this morning that Suharto's personal liaison, Brigadier General Ali Murtopo, departed for Manila this morning to maintain personal liaison with President Marcos on behalf of President Suharto. Murtopo carries letter from Suharto to Marcos repeating hope Marcos will do utmost to protect ASEAN, and avoid any action likely to provoke conflict. Letter mentions offer from Suharto to provide facilities anywhere in Indonesia or an ASEAN platform if summit meeting with Tunku takes place.

In response to my query on what Suharto expected to emerge from a meeting between Tunku and Marcos, I was informed that Suharto thought the most that could be accomplished would be mutual agreement to protect ASEAN, perhaps reiteration of fact that both renounce violent action, and that further mediatory efforts to achieve alleviation of tensions, through ASEAN or otherwise, was welcomed.

An excerpt from a telegram to the U.S. Department of State by U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia, September 1968.

Source B

Today there is at least a developing conviction that not only are its over 200 million people members of a regional community but also that they could better meet the uncertainties and challenges of the future through collective effort. This sense of belonging to a regional community may only be at its incipient stage but it was sufficiently strong, I think, to have enabled ASEAN countries to have met with unexpected equanimity the deluge that some predicted for our countries at the end of the Vietnam War.

True, ASEAN was shaken but two years after [the Vietnam War] not an inch of soil or any significant measure of confidence has been lost. In the future we would certainly need more than an incipient sense of regional community to see us through the stresses and strains of life and that is the responsibility of the present generation of ASEAN leaders towards the next generation.

Extracted from a speech by S Rajaratnam, at the opening session of the tenth ASEAN ministerial meeting, 6 July 1977.

Source C

Rival countries have wrangled over parts of South China Sea for centuries. Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia and Brunei all have competing claims in the area.

In 1975, South Vietnamese troops actually "invaded" the Southwest Cay (an islet on the north-western edge of the Spratly Islands) which was previously under Filipino control, after inviting the Filipino forces guarding the islet to a party for their Filipino commanding officer on a nearby islet.

According to the World Bank, the South China Sea holds proven oil reserves of at least seven billion barrels and an estimated 900 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, which offer tremendous economic opportunity for smaller nations like Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam, and energy security for China's large growing economy.

From an article published on the Council of Foreign Relations website, a US-based independent think tank, 1988.

Source D



Front page of a Filipino newspaper "The Philippine Daily Inquirer", 2018.

Source E

The ASEAN governments continue to resist a strong centralised bureaucratic structure for the Association, preferring a more personalised and ad hoc system of consensus building. ASEAN leaders are reluctant to relinquish the prerogatives of sovereignty, but they increasingly value ASEAN unity as a linchpin of their foreign policies. Reflecting this viewpoint, a network of contacts and informal exchanges continues to spread among the bureaucracies and increasingly among the private sectors of the ASEAN countries, which will in time strengthen the sense of regional identity.

Defence cooperation in ASEAN is largely bilateral and includes military exercises, training exercises, border security cooperation, and intelligence exchanges ... while these trends may continue, the individual ASEAN states will for the foreseeable future look principally to the United States for the region's defence. ASEAN leaders realise that their military power is no match for Hanoi and feel that a [regional] defence pact would only provoke Vietnam. ASEAN states would look mainly to the United States if they were to be victims of a serious aggressive act.

From a CIA report "ASEAN: prospects for the 1980s and implications for US policy", in 1983.

[Turn over]

Source F

Southeast Asia is a strategic part of the world and whether we like it or not, external powers are interested in our region. We don't want to just follow big powers' agendas like we did with SEATO. It is important for us to be in control and have a say in the affairs of our region. To achieve this goal, we became rather creative in the use of multi-dimensional diplomacy. Our individual bilateral relations with external powers served as the foundation. To supplement that, we created a regional architecture, with ASEAN as key player in regional groupings that engage external powers. To date, we are the only organization in the world where weaker countries host and set the agenda for more powerful countries to follow. All meetings are hosted and initiated by ASEAN, participants are selected by ASEAN, and ASEAN plays a central role in them.

From an article in The Jakarta Post by an Indonesian professor of ASEAN studies, 2014.

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources E and F on ASEAN's engagement of external powers. [10]
- (b) How far do Sources A-F support the view that ASEAN was capable of maintaining regional security on its own? [30]

Section B

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

EITHER

- 2 'Communism led to the rise of maximum governments.' Is this a fair assessment of Southeast Asia since independence? [30]

OR

- 3 How significant was the use of language policies in independent Southeast Asia's attempts to achieve national unity? [30]

AND EITHER

- 4 'Economic development in independent Southeast Asia was shaped by developments in the global economy.' Assess the validity of this statement. [30]

OR

- 5 How far would you agree that the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997 was self-inflicted? [30]

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