

YISHUN JUNIOR COLLEGE
JC2 Preliminary Examination 2018

H2 History

9752/02

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

11/09/18

Tuesday, 1400h-1700hr

Additional materials: 2 pieces of cover page
 Writing Paper



TIME 3 hours

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your name and CTG in the spaces provided on the cover page.
 Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.
 Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid.

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.

INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES

You are reminded of the need for clear presentation in your answers.

This paper consists of 5 printed pages and 1 blank page.

Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

THE FORMATION OF ASEAN

1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

Source A

The new moderation in Indonesian foreign relations is based on careful calculation of Indonesia's national interests. Indonesians see themselves as the dominant power of the Malay world—and possibly all of Southeast Asia. They seem to have learned, however, that the aggressive policies of Sukarno did more to damage than promote the leadership that Indonesia seeks. Thus, the Suharto government has chosen to follow the path of regional cooperation instead of conflict. As the prime mover in the formation of ASEAN, Indonesia is actively attempting to improve its economic and cultural relations with its fellow members.

Although Indonesia is apprehensive about China, it foresees no major external threat in the next few years. It believes that the main threat to Southeast Asia lies in internal Communist subversion, designed to capitalize on their economic and social weaknesses. As a result, Indonesia believes that the major effort of the ASEAN nations should be devoted to improving the conditions of their people. There is little belief in the feasibility of putting military teeth into ASEAN under present circumstances.

US intelligence report on Indonesia, December 1968.

Source B

ASEAN was formed in August 1967 amid great uncertainty in the region, in a low-key ceremony. I did not set great store by the lofty aims of the group. The unspoken objective was to gain strength through solidarity ahead of a power vacuum that would come with the impending British, and later, a possible US, withdrawal. Indonesia wanted to reassure Malaysia and Singapore that it wanted to associate itself with its non-communist neighbours, who were both members of the Non-Aligned Movement. Singapore sought the understanding and support of its neighbours in enhancing stability and security in the region. We had a common enemy in the communist threat in guerrilla insurgencies, backed by North Vietnam, China and the Soviet Union. We needed stability and growth to counter and deny the communists the social and economic conditions for revolutions.

The role of President Suharto of Indonesia was crucial for the success of ASEAN. Under Suharto Indonesia did not insist on its point of view but took into consideration the policies and interests of the other members. This made it possible for the others to accept Indonesia as first among equals.

From the autobiography of Lee Kuan Yew, former Singapore PM, published in 2000.

Source C

We should all do our utmost consciously to pursue a policy of peaceful cooperation with our neighbours not only in a multi-lateral organisation such as ASEAN but also bilaterally which would include bilateral co-operation with countries that are not at the present time members of ASEAN. In this way we would bring about an atmosphere of goodwill and mutual trust and harmony among the countries of the region and we would create an enmeshing network of bilateral arrangements between and among the different countries of Southeast Asia which is itself a form of regional co-operation. For far too long our countries and our peoples have looked outside the region for assistance and have felt more drawn to those countries outside the region with which for historical and other reasons they have been associated. The formation of ASA in 1961 and of ASEAN in 1967 have reversed this tendency. We the countries and peoples of Southeast Asia must practise self-help, we must live together in peace and harmony, we must co-operate together and rely on each other for sustenance and strength before we can expect to receive assistance from our other friends.

Extract from a speech by Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman at the ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting, 16 December 1969.

Source D

The last point I would like to stress is that there may be, as has happened to other associations of this kind, misunderstanding as to what ASEAN is all about. So, I would like to stress that those who are outside the grouping should not regard this as a grouping against anything, against anybody. We have approached ASEAN as standing for something, not against anything. If there are people who misunderstood the proposed regional grouping, or manifest hostility against it, let us explain that it can only be because as in Europe and in many parts of the world, outside powers have vested interests in the balkanisation of this region. We ourselves have learned the lessons and have decided that small nations are not going to be balkanised so that they can be manipulated, set against one another, kept perpetually weak, divided and ineffective by outside forces. And those countries who are interested in the stability of Southeast Asia, the prosperity in Southeast Asia, and better economic and social conditions will welcome small countries getting together to pool their collective resources and their collective wisdom to contribute to the peace of the world.

The Founding of ASEAN, statement made by Minister for Foreign Affairs, S. Rajaratnam in Bangkok on August 8, 1967.

*balkanisation: a term used to describe the process of fragmentation or division of a region into smaller parts that are often hostile or non-cooperative with each other.

Source E

The real force that drove the ASEAN countries together was a common fear that the five founding members had of the communist threat to them. Each had to cope with domestic communist insurgencies, which were then supported, directly or indirectly, by the then two major communist powers, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The founders of ASEAN were also aware that the two previous experiments in regional cooperation in Southeast Asia had failed. No bold experiments were attempted in early years. Instead, very quietly and without much fanfare, the ASEAN countries planted the seeds for future success by developing habits of cooperation.

A Singaporean diplomat writing in an American journal on foreign policy, 1994.

Source F



A political cartoon by a Singaporean, 2014.

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided by Sources A and B on Indonesia's motivations for promoting regional cooperation. [10]
- (b) 'ASEAN was primarily a product of the Cold War.' How far do Sources A to F support this assertion? [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 view that the key to maintaining political stability in independent Southeast Asia lies mainly with authoritarian rule. [30]

OR

- 3** How far do you agree that government policies toward minorities of independent Southeast Asian states were more a hindrance than a help to the achievement of national unity? [30]

AND EITHER

- 4** How important was ideology in determining the different extents of economic success in the independent Southeast Asian states? [30]

OR

- 5** How fair is it to blame the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis on factors outside of Southeast Asia? [30]

BLANK PAGE