



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, SINGAPORE  
in collaboration with  
CAMBRIDGE ASSESSMENT INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION  
General Certificate of Education Advanced Level  
Higher 2

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## HISTORY

**9174/02**

Paper 2 Developments in Southeast Asia (Independence–2000)

**For examination from 2024**

SPECIMEN PAPER

**3 hours**

No Additional Materials are required.

### READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

An answer booklet will be provided with this question paper. You should follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

#### Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

#### Section B

Answer **two** questions.

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

This document consists of **5** printed pages and **1** blank page.



Singapore Examinations and Assessment Board



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**Section A**

You **must** answer Question 1.

**KONFRONTASI**

- 1 Read the sources and answer the questions that follow.

**Source A**

The Indonesian Confrontation was a reaction to the way the Borneo territories were brought into Malaysia. In November 1961 Indonesia's Foreign Minister Subandrio indicated that Jakarta did not oppose the plan. It was not until the revolt in Brunei in December 1962 that Indonesian opposition to Malaysia crystallised. The revolt changed the Indonesian perception towards Malaysia. Indonesia argued that the people of Borneo's acceptance of the Malaysia plan must be assured through a democratic election, which should be held before the formation of Malaysia.

It was difficult to verify that Malaysia was supported by the Borneo people. The US had warned the British that they had a serious problem in assuring the United Nations and the world that the populations had been adequately consulted. The Malaysian government however opposed holding a plebiscite, as it was likely to result in demands for similar exercises to be held in Brunei and Sarawak where opinion was much more divided than in North Borneo. The Tunku's idea of the formation of Malaysia was contrary to Sukarno's political vision. Sukarno claimed a moral right to leadership due to Indonesia's geographical size and power. From the Indonesian point of view the Malaysian scheme was an attempt to regain British power and control over North Borneo, an area of Indonesian interest.

*A historian from the National University of Malaysia writing in 2010.*

**Source B**

We too have our pride, dear Tunku and even though we are only colonies - it is natural that we want to obtain our own independence. To join Malaya while we are still colonies can only mean one thing – that we would merely cease to be British colonies and become Malayan colonies instead. We can still be won over by friendship, understanding and patience, but any show of coercion, of forcing the issue will only produce the very opposite thing to what you have in mind.

*Telegram written by a British diplomat to a British Cabinet minister, quoting Donald Stephens, the Kadazan leader from North Borneo, 8 July 1961.*

*\* This diplomat was a member of a committee in charge of Singapore's internal security.*

### Source C

During the 30 minute interview, the Tengku repeatedly expressed his concern and sorrow at recent Indonesian statements. These statements include Indonesian support for the Brunei rebellion, opposition to Malaysia and finally a declaration by the Indonesian Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio of 'confrontation' against Malaysia.

The Tengku said confrontation was a term commonly used by Communist countries. 'We don't know exactly what it means'. 'If it had not been for Communist instigations there would have been no trouble between us,' he said. 'Indonesians and Malaysians are from the same stock and the same culture. The strained relations benefit only the Communists'.

The Tengku brushed aside Indonesian charges that Malaya is a neo-colonialist power cloaking British imperialism. 'We can say the same thing about them,' he said. 'They are under Communist influence.' In response to reports of a plot to force Brunei, North Borneo and Sarawak into joining Malaysia, the Tengku said 'There has never been any attempt on the part of Malaya to force anybody to join the proposed Federation of Malaysia.' He emphasised that Malaysia must be created through the free consent of all concerned.

*From The Straits Times, 25 January 1963.*

### Source D



*An illustration from a government booklet published in Malaysia in 1964.*

### Source E

Sukarno's independence day speech on 17 August explicitly confirms his accelerated swing to the left during the past 18 months. It charts a course, both international and domestic, which is close to the immediate objectives of the Indonesian Communist Party.

Sukarno declared that all non-Asians must leave all of Asia, that South Korea and South Vietnam are 'not yet free,' and that Laos will be 'truly neutral, united and democratic' only if the imperialists withdraw their troops from the area. He criticised Malaysia intermittently throughout the speech, referring to it variously as a 'barking dog,' a 'watchdog,' and a 'puppet' of imperialism.

The Communist Party (PKI) moved immediately to identify itself with Sukarno's speech and to prepare to exploit it in furthering its own program wherever possible. A special statement by party chairman Aidit on 18 August welcomed the speech as 'fully in line' with the struggle of the Indonesian and Southeast Asian peoples 'at present.' Aidit has instructed PKI provincial officials and party members to study the speech so that it may be used to 'guide the Indonesian people in their activities.'

*From a memorandum by the American intelligence services, 20 August 1964.*

### Source F

From January 1962 President Sukarno of Indonesia openly opposed the Malaysia plan. He denounced Malaysia as a neo-colonialist plot to maintain a British presence in the region and claimed that it denied Borneans their legitimate right to self-determination. Under Sukarno's leadership Indonesia embarked on a policy of 'Confrontation', exerting diplomatic, economic, political and military pressure against London and Kuala Lumpur. From April 1963 guerrillas made raids into Borneo from the neighbouring Indonesian territory of Kalimantan. Malaysia was nonetheless set up in September 1963 but Sukarno carried on and even escalated his Confrontation campaign; from August 1964 Indonesian guerrillas made landings in peninsula Malaya. British and Commonwealth troops defended Malaysia against the Indonesian attacks, and although Singapore split from Malaysia in 1965, Confrontation proved a failure. Indonesia was forced to accept the new state.

*From an article by a British academic, published in 2010.*

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources A and B about Borneo joining Malaysia. [10]
- (b) How far do Sources A–F support the view that Indonesia was primarily to blame for the tensions with Malaysia during Konfrontasi? [30]

**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** 'Military force was the most effective method used by independent Southeast Asian governments when consolidating power.' How far do you agree with this statement? [30]

**OR**

- 3** How successfully did independent Southeast Asian states manage their minorities? [30]

**AND EITHER**

- 4** How far did government policies explain the different rates of economic development in independent Southeast Asian states? [30]

**OR**

- 5** 'The most important outcome of economic change in independent Southeast Asian states was economic nationalism.' How far do you agree with this statement? [30]

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**Copyright Acknowledgements:**

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