

CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS  
General Certificate of Education  
Advanced Subsidiary Level and Advanced Level

**HISTORY**

**9697/02**

Paper 2 Southeast Asia: From Colonies to Nations, 1870–1980

October/November 2003

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

If you have been given an Answer Booklet, follow the instructions on the front cover of the Booklet.

Write your Centre number, candidate number and name 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, graphs, or rough working.

Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Answer **four** questions.

You must answer **Question 1** (Section A), and any **three** questions from Section B.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

This document consists of **4** printed pages.



**SECTION A: The Political Development of Singapore, 1945–65**

You **must** answer Question 1.

**SINGAPORE'S MERGER WITH MALAYA**

1 Read the sources, and then answer the question.

**Source A**

The prerequisite of Malayan independence is the existence of a Malayan society, not Malay, not Malayan Chinese, not Malayan Indian, not Malayan Eurasian, but Malayan, one that embraces the various races already in the country. Even the most extreme Malay nationalist will concede that the Chinese, Indian and Eurasian population already in the country cannot be excluded. Only if a spirit of co-operation and political independence is created among our fellow Malaysians can pan-Malay political parties really exist, and Malayan leadership emerge.

*From a speech by Lee Kuan Yew to a meeting in London of the Malayan Forum, January 1950.*

**Source B**

In Singapore the Communist-front organisations and trade unions gathered strength, to such an extent that in 1961 the Tunku was alarmed that Singapore looked as though it might be taken over by the Communists. He therefore proposed that Singapore should become part of a multi-racial concept to be known as Malaysia.

*A British historian's opinion of why the Tunku accepted the idea of merger in 1961.*

**Source C**

Naturally we did not want Singapore. That would have given the Chinese a million majority over the Malays (i.e. in Malaysia). But Kuan Yew was keen. He knew what he would get when he joined Malaysia. The least he would get was independence for Singapore. The British did not want Singapore to be independent on its own. They didn't think that Singapore would be strong enough to control the Communists.

*Tunku Abdul Rahman in an interview in 1982.*

**Source D**

We welcomed Tunku Abdul Rahman's statement that a merger was the common wish of the peoples of the two territories and would come in the near future. The reunification of our country has always been the aim of all Malayan socialists. Now that Tunku wants to accept us, we have made our position very clear: we unequivocally support a full and complete merger.

*Lim Chin Siong, Secretary-General of the Barisan Sosialis, speaking at the first meeting of the new party, September 1961.*

**Source E**

We had all expected that after Malaysia there would have to be adjustments of attitudes and policies, not just in the new territories but in Malaya itself. So we all anticipated some teething problems. But what we did not anticipate was the campaign that was mounted, particularly by a small but influential group of secondary leaders of the Alliance, to assert their pattern of segregated communal parties throughout the new states. Their purpose was to ensure that whoever had the support of the majority of the Malays in Malaya automatically has supremacy, not only in the central government, but also in all the constituent states.

*Lee Kuan Yew, speaking in Malacca, March 1965.*

Now answer the following question.

*'The merger was wanted, both in Malaya and Singapore, for no more than short-term, tactical reasons.'*  
*Use Sources A–E to show how far the evidence supports this statement.*

**SECTION B**

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

- 2 'Everywhere in Southeast Asia, Europeans sought to modernise traditional societies.' How far do you agree with this assessment of their role during the period 1870–1914?
- 3 'The economic development of Southeast Asia owed more to immigrants than to the indigenous peoples.' How true was this of the period 1870–1914?
- 4 To what extent did colonial governments before the Second World War prepare their subjects for self-government?
- 5 Why, in general, did nationalist movements attract so little support in the period 1919–41?
- 6 Was Japan's 'New Order' in Southeast Asia an improvement on the colonial regimes it replaced?
- 7 To what extent did the experience of independence demonstrate that 'democratic government is not ideally suited to Southeast Asia'?
- 8 How successful were Southeast Asian regional organisations in the period up to 1980?