UNIVERSITY OF 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 2005
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.

UNIVERSITY *of* CAMBRIDGE
International Examinations   **[Turn over**

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

You **must** answer Question 1.

THE 1962 SINGAPORE REFERENDUM ON THE CREATION OF MALAYSIA

1 Read the sources, and then answer the question.

Source A

The different elements in Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and the Borneo territories who opposed the merger began to make common cause. Some Barisan Sosialis members attended a meeting of the Indonesian Communist Party in December 1961 at which a resolution was taken against the Malaysia proposal, and in January 1962, a conference was held in Kuala Lumpur, at which the (Malayan) Socialist Front, Barisan Sosialis, Sarawak United People's Party and Brunei Parti Rakyat combined to oppose the project. Subsequently the Barisan Sosialis, supported by David Marshall's Workers' Party and Ong Eng Guan's United People's Party, sent a mission of nineteen Assemblymen to appeal to the United Nations committee on colonialism against the form of the proposed merger, but in July 1962, Lee Kuan Yew went to New York and successfully defended the issue. He then proceeded to London to join the British and Malayans in working out final details.

The campaign leading up to the referendum, held in September 1962, was as heated as an election since the government's survival depended on the issue. Seventy-one per cent of the electorate voted in favour of the government's proposals, but twenty-five per cent showed their disapproval by returning blank or spoiled votes.

From a British history of Singapore written in 1977.

Source B

And so the question of winning or losing a referendum does not arise. Sir, if there was the slightest risk of merger being frustrated and the country plunged into disaster by the activities of the Communists manipulating a referendum, let me say that it would be a criminal folly on the part of the Government to hold a referendum and allow the future of Malaya and Malaysia to be endangered.

Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew in a debate on the 'Singapore National Referendum Bill' in the Legislative Assembly, 16 March 1962.

Source C

This statement of the Prime Minister basically means two things. One: all those who are against the White Paper on the National Referendum Bill proposals are, by official definition, Communists. Two: if there is any risk that those against the White Paper proposals could win a referendum, no referendum will be held.

David Marshall, responding to the earlier statement by the Prime Minister (Source B), during a debate on the 'Singapore National Referendum Bill' in the Legislative Assembly, 17 April 1962.

Source D

The Government had announced when the provisions of the Referendum Bill were published that blank papers would be considered to be an endorsement of the most popular alternative. This was a move intended to prevent possible attempts by left-wing elements in Singapore to undermine the referendum. Since the abortive appeal to the United Nations the opposition has steadily lost ground, and with support for the government given last week by the powerful Chinese Chamber of Commerce, its failure had been expected. Blank papers numbered 144 000 and the Government, considers that Singapore is thus ninety-four per cent behind the proposals. Mr Lee Kuan Yew, the Prime Minister, announced, when the decisive nature of the vote was known: 'The verdict of the people is a terrifying thing for the politically dishonest. This is the seal of public and popular approval for the merger and Malaysia. Faced with the clear verdict of the people, the Communists and pro-Communists would be wise to accept the will of the people as expressed by free democratic vote. The people of Malaya and the Borneo territories now know that an overwhelming majority of the people of Singapore are good citizens who, given a fair deal, want to become part of a united Malaysian nation.'

From an article entitled 'Merger Victory for Singapore Government' in The Times newspaper, London, 3 September 1962, written by its correspondent in Singapore.

Source E

Lee Kuan Yew wept when the result of the referendum was announced late on 1 September. He had been under intense pressure for weeks. Malaysia was his political ambition. He admitted that in a sense the referendum had been a calculated risk. The Communists had put up a fierce fight, but they had in the end been rejected by the people and Lee's tears were of relief and joy. Three days later, over Radio Singapore, Lee claimed that the battle for merger, for all practical purposes, was over. All that remained to be done was to finalise the Constitution of Malaysia and sign a formal treaty. Over seventy-one per cent of the poll wanted merger on the lines of the PAP proposal: twenty-five per cent cast blank votes.

From an officially authorised biography of Lee Kuan Yew, written with his co-operation and published in 1968.

Now answer the following question.

'The result of the 1962 Singapore referendum on the creation of Malaysia was a foregone conclusion.' How far do Sources A-E support 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 'The development of colonialism in Southeast Asia was largely motivated by economic considerations.' How far do you think this is true of the period from 1870 to 1914?

3 Assess the consequences of colonial rule on traditional societies in Southeast Asia from 1870 to 1914.

4 'Initiatives to promote indigenous participation in colonial regimes were largely counter-productive.' Discuss this statement with particular reference to the period from 1914 to 1941.

5 To what extent did the Second World War change the character of anti-imperial movements in Southeast Asia? (You must **not** use examples drawn from Singapore to support your answer.)

6 'The development of nationalism in Southeast Asia before independence was characterised by common opposition to colonial rule rather than a collective sense of nationhood.' How far do you agree with this statement?

7 Examine the factors which allowed the rise of military regimes in Southeast Asian states after independence.

8 To what extent were the economies of the newly-independent states of Southeast Asia still dominated by foreign economic interests?