



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

**HISTORY**

9697/22

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

October/November 2011

3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write your Centre number, candidate number and name on all the work you hand in.

Write in dark blue or black pen.

You may use a soft pencil for any rough working.

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

**Section A**

Answer **Question 1**.

**Section B**

Answer any **three** questions.

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.

**THE SINGAPORE GENERAL ELECTION OF 30 MAY 1959**

- 1 Read the Sources and then answer the question.

When answering **Question 1**, candidates are advised to pay particular attention to the interpretation and evaluation of the Sources both individually and as a group.

**Source A**

The Labour Front had fallen apart. Lim Yew Hock organised a new Singapore People's Alliance Party to fight the coming elections, but this was merely a new name for the old Labour Front leadership with a few Liberal Socialist allies. The disclosures, rumours and allegations, which came to light at the hearing of the commission of enquiries held in the weeks immediately prior to the May 1959 election, lent an unsavoury air which discredited the existing Labour Front regime. By contrast People's Action Party (PAP) candidates offered a constructive programme of economic and social reform. Claiming to be 'a party founded on principle not opportunism', the PAP leaders promised 'honest and efficient government'.

*From 'History of Singapore' written by a British academic, 1977.*

**Source B**

Lim Yew Hock said, 'The PAP is going to win the election. This is our last chance. I propose to put Lee Kuan Yew and a couple of others in prison.' I said, 'What!' He said, 'Now look, I am not asking you to support me, all I am asking you is to shut up and say nothing.' I said 'Yew Hock, who are you fighting for? We are fighting for democracy. We are fighting for the people to express their will. If they want PAP, that is the people's choice, though I think they are wrong. But you want to put them in prison. If you do that I will shout from the housetops.'

*From an interview in 1981 with David Marshall, about a conversation with Lim Yew Hock on the eve of the 1959 election.*

**Source C**

Our society is still built on the assumption that women are the social, political and economic inferior of men. This myth has been used as the excuse for the exploitation of female labour. Many women do the same work as men but they do not get the same pay. The PAP supports the principle of equal pay for equal work. But we also face facts. We realise it can be achieved only gradually.

The PAP has done more than just talk. We are fielding five women candidates in the election. I appeal to women to vote for the PAP. It is the only party with the idealism, honesty and clarity to carry out its election programme.

*From a radio broadcast by Kwa Geok Choo, wife of Lee Kuan Yew, 19 May 1959.*

**Source D**

We have taken office because we believe that the PAP is the party most capable of discharging the duties and responsibilities of the government. We are the best organised and the most coherent political leadership in Singapore.

During the elections our opponents tried to frighten you against PAP government. They spread vicious rumours that polling day would be accompanied by unrest, violence and civil commotion. None of these things happened. The people of Singapore went to the polls in a peaceful, orderly manner and voted in the government they wanted; a PAP government.

*From Lee Kuan Yew's first radio broadcast as Prime Minister, 5 June 1959.*

**Source E**

I have been a newspaperman all my working life and I have spent those 24 years on two Malayan newspapers, 'The Malaya Tribune' and 'The Straits Times'. I was born in Singapore and educated here and what knowledge of newspaper work I have, I acquired in Singapore. It is with this background that I say that not since the Japanese conquered this island in February 1942 has the press of Singapore faced such a grave threat as it does today. On Wednesday, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, Secretary-General of the People's Action Party, said at a lunchtime rally, 'Any newspaper that tries to sour up or strain relations between the Federation and Singapore after May 30 will go in for subversion. Any editor, leader writer, sub-editor or reporter that goes along this line will be taken in under the Preservation of Public Security Ordinance. We shall put him in and keep him in.' I have no doubt that Mr Lee means what he says.

Lee Kuan Yew should recall those days. He was here, as were other members of PAP central executive. So was I and numerous other newspapermen who refused to work for the Japanese. A strange choice for a man who once opposed this same Preservation of Public Security Ordinance in these words: 'What the Chief Minister is seeking to do in the name of democracy is to curtail a fundamental liberty and the most fundamental of them all – freedom from arrest and punishment without having violated a specific provision of the law and being convicted for it.'

Mr Lee cannot have his cake and eat it. He must choose between democracy and totalitarianism. However that may be, Mr Lee should know newspapermen better. Threats will not prevent a good newspaperman from publishing a story which he considers should be published, or from commenting on an issue which is vital to the common good. 'The Straits Times' will continue to publish the news and honest opinion, whatever the consequences, even if the Preservation of Public Security Ordinance is invoked against individual newspapermen. Mr Lee should think again.

*From the editor of 'The Straits Times', 20 May 1959.*

Now answer the following question.

*How far do Sources A–E support the view that the PAP won the 1959 General Election because of its honesty and the quality of its election programme?*

**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 establishment of colonial rule before 1914 was a result of strategic and political factors rather than economic considerations.' How far do you agree?
- 3 To what extent did colonial rule have a positive impact on the economic development of Southeast Asia before 1941?
- 4 Assess the impact of urbanisation on the social development of Southeast Asia before 1941.
- 5 'Nationalist movements were dependent for their success more on the personality of their leaders than on ideology.' How far do you agree with this view?
- 6 To what extent were the colonial powers reluctant to decolonise?  
[You must **not** use examples drawn from Singapore to support your answer.]
- 7 How far was the military responsible for creating political and economic stability in newly-independent states?  
[You may include Thailand in your response.]
- 8 How successful were moves towards regional co-operation between newly-independent states up to c.1980?

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*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

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Question 1 Source E © The Straits Times; 20 May 1959.

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