

CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS

General Certificate of Education Advanced Subsidiary Level

HISTORY

8697/2

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

OCTOBER/NOVEMBER SESSION 2001

3 hours

Additional materials:
Answer paper

TIME 3 hours

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

Write your name, Centre number and candidate number in the spaces provided on the answer paper/answer booklet.

Answer **four** questions.

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

Write your answers on the separate answer paper provided.

If you use more than one sheet of paper, fasten the sheets together.

INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

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

This question paper consists of 4 printed pages.



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

You must answer Question 1.

SINGAPORE IN MALAYSIA

1 Read the sources, and then answer the question.

Source A

It can be argued that the political ambition of Singapore leaders, particularly Lee Kuan Yew, was mainly responsible for the separation of the island-state in 1965. Although Singapore was allocated 15 Dewan Ra'ayat seats in the Malaysian Parliament, no Singapore leader was appointed to the Federal Cabinet throughout the 23 months during which the island was a part of Malaysia. (In the same period there were several Bornean members of the Cabinet.) The fact that Singapore with a population of 1,750,000 people was allocated only 15 Dewan Ra'ayat seats as against, for instance, Sarawak's 24 seats for no more than 800,000 people, served to insulate the rest of Malaysia from Singapore political influence. From the beginning of Singapore's participation as a state in Malaysia, the PAP leaders resented these restrictions on their political roles.

The Malaysian historian James P Ongkili's account of the Separation.

Source B

A Malaysian Malaysia means that the nation and the state is not identified with the supremacy, well-being and the interests of one community or race. A Malaysian Malaysia means, in theory as well as in practice, educating and encouraging the various races in Malaysia to seek political affiliation not on the basis of race and religion but on the basis of common political ideologies. The growing tendency among some leaders to make open appeals to communalism to win and hold their following has gradually led them also to what has been equivalent to a repudiation of the concept of a Malaysian Malaysia.

From the Declaration by the convenors of the Malaysian Solidarity Convention, May 1965.

Source C

The Malays and the Chinese are, on the whole, content with their respective positions. People take for granted what each as a race are capable of, and able to do better than the other. In politics, administration and perhaps service in the armed forces, the Malays are unrivalled, because their needs and ambitions are clear-cut. They know what it is they can do well and what it is they cannot do quite so well, but given time and wise planning, I have no doubt that they can do many things. A serious effort must also be made to improve the lot of the Malays, or have-nots, in the field of commerce and industry. On the other hand, the Chinese and others do not aspire to giddy heights in politics, administration and the armed forces because in these fields the opportunity to make money is limited. They therefore go in for business. Any attempt to force one side to give up their place in favour of the other is bound to meet with trouble.

Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Malaysian Prime Minister, speaking at an UMNO meeting in 1964.

Source D

Charges have been made that the PAP has ambitions to capture power at the centre. Surely any political party, big or small, which is worth its salt and receives the support of the people, must have such an objective if it is to put into practice its political ideals.

Toh Chin Chye, Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore, speaking in April 1965.

Source E

Most observers in Kuala Lumpur fix the turning point towards deterioration at the federal elections in the spring of 1964. Mr Lee's PAP contested a handful of seats in Malaya, mainly with the intention of substituting themselves for the Tunku's allies in the Malayan Chinese Association. Mr Lee's party won only one seat. More important than this defeat, some in Kuala Lumpur used the occasion to wreck the chance of collaboration with the Tunku's government – either of having Mr Lee in as a federal minister, or having the PAP as a coalition party. 'Mr Lee is not to be trusted' went the chant in Kuala Lumpur. Further squabbles ensued, notably over Singapore's share of the federal budget, but the most important irritant came earlier this year with the founding of Mr Lee's Malaysian Solidarity Convention. The essence of this convention was to build a multi-racial front of opposition parties for a 'Malaysian Malaysia'. It was devoted, through the passionate advocacy of Mr Lee, to breaking down 'communal politics'. It seemed legitimate, on the face of things. However, the Tunku's alliance rests on Malay, Chinese and Indian parties. In it the United Malays National Organisation is predominant and it was they who felt themselves Mr Lee's target.

From an article in the British newspaper, 'The Times', November 1965.

Now answer the following question.

'Singapore's separation from Malaysia was caused by UMNO's policies.' 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 'The colonial political experience was remarkable not for its uniformity but for its diversity.' In relation to the period c.1870–c.1918, explain how far you agree with this statement.
- 3 How far was the economy of Southeast Asia transformed by the impact of colonialism in the period up to the Second World War?
- 4 How important was migration in the social and economic development of Southeast Asian countries before 1941?
- 5 In the inter-war period (1919–41), what particular problems did nationalists in Southeast Asia face in forging united nationalist movements?
- 6 'Japan's lightning victory was the trigger for nationalist advances in the occupied territories.' Discuss this assessment of the wartime experience of Southeast Asian societies.
- 7 How successful were independent Southeast Asian states in dealing with ethnic and religious minorities in the period to c.1980?
- 8 In the period to c.1980, how secure was democracy in independent Southeast Asian states?

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Question 1.
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