

---

**HISTORY**

**9697/22**

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

**October/November 2014**

**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 an HB pencil for any diagrams or graphs.

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

**DO NOT WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.**

**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.

**SINGAPORE: SEPARATION FROM MALAYSIA**

- 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 Singapore premier, Lee Kuan Yew, went on the air and said: 'This afternoon, when the procession of Muslims celebrating Prophet Mohammed's birthday was passing Lorong Soopoo, near the Kallang gas works, a member of the Federal Reserve Unit asked a group who were straggling away from the procession to rejoin the main stream. He was set upon by them. Thereafter, a series of disturbances has spread rapidly. After consultations between Tun Abdul Razak and myself, it has been decided that there would be a curfew.' The Acting Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, made an appeal for calm after the clashes in which four people were killed and about 178 injured. He reminded Malaysians that they had lived together in peace for hundreds of years. Malaysians of different races and religion had never disturbed their good relations with one another. The leader of the Malayan Chinese Association, Tan Siew Sin, made similar appeals.

*Newspaper report, 22 July 1964.*

**Source B**

The Minister of Finance, Tan Siew Sin, said today that co-operation with the Singapore Government was out of the question as long as Lee Kuan Yew remained Prime Minister. In the House of Representatives, Mr Tan made a scathing attack against Mr Lee, whom he described as the 'greatest disruptive force in the entire history of Malaysia and Malaya'. He warned that Mr Lee's idea of partitioning Malaysia would only lead to bloodshed, as had happened in India and Cyprus. 'Any man who can make these proposals, coolly and carefully,' he said, 'has boundless capacity for mischief. Only a warped mind, frustrated in its quest for power, can support this idea.'

*Report in the 'Straits Times' of a speech in Parliament, June 1965.*

**Source C**

We tried everything possible to avoid the separation of Singapore. Reports in the foreign press gave an entirely wrong picture of this country. One suggested that the closing of the Bank of China was a move against the Chinese. It was suggested that our quarrel with the PAP was because we are afraid of the far more advanced and enlightened socialist Government of Singapore. I informed them that there are socialist parties in the mainland and other parties who are opposed to our party, and that the PAP contested our election without success and that the only party that we ban is the Communist Party. I was hoping to make Singapore the New York of Malaysia. Unfortunately, political rivalry of the various politicians in Singapore made this impossible. In the matter of finance, too, it has been extremely difficult to obtain Singapore's support. There has been a sharp rise in defence and security expenditure, and the Central Government felt compelled to ask for Singapore's support. It is only right that it should bear a legitimate share of the country's burden, but Singapore refused to make this contribution. But with the money we have to pour out to defend ourselves against Indonesian aggression, it was expected that Singapore would co-operate. Unfortunately, they refused. My dream is shattered and so we come now to the parting of the ways.

*Tunku Abdul Rahman, speaking in Parliament, 9 August 1965.*

**Source D**

'What has happened has happened. But be firm and calm. We are going to have a multi-racial nation in Singapore.' Mr Lee immediately announced that the Bank of China would be allowed to continue operations on a purely commercial basis. At the same time, he announced that turnover tax – long criticised by Singapore for its injurious effects on trade, economy and the cost of living – would be scrapped immediately. Mr Lee also said: 'We want to be friends with Indonesia. I believed then that I could still convince the Tunku that there were a number of other ways to reduce communal tension, such as a looser Federation. But after what he told me, I realised that there was no other way. We would all be in for big communal trouble if Singapore insisted on going on with Malaysia as it is. For me it is a moment of anguish. We are connected by geography, economics and ties of kinship.' Mr Lee broke down. Tears rolled down his cheeks.

*The 'Straits Times' report of Lee Kuan Yew's statement, 9 August 1965.*

**Source E**

Singaporeans came to regard economic and political measures taken by the Malaysian government as detrimental to their interests and as Alliance attempts to dislodge the PAP from power. The expression of communal sentiments grew more blatant, and ethnic riots broke out in Singapore. The threat of communal violence was apparently the crucial factor in the Malaysian government's decision to separate Singapore from the Federation of Malaysia. In the parliament, Tunku Abdul Rahman explained that the communal issue concerned him most. While the Alliance government had preserved the unity of the Malaysian Federation in the face of diplomatic and military pressures from Indonesia and the Philippines, it succumbed to the threat of violence among its own people.

*From a book published by two American historians in 1982.*

Now answer the following question.

*How far do Sources A–E support the view that economic factors made the separation of Singapore from Malaysia inevitable by 1965?*

**Section B**

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

- 2 Assess the reasons why Siam was successful in resisting foreign colonisation while other parts of Southeast Asia were not.
- 3 Assess the results of bureaucratic centralisation in colonial rule in Southeast Asia.
- 4 To what extent did the coming of capitalism benefit Southeast Asia under colonial rule?
- 5 How important were political ideas to the growth of support for nationalism in Southeast Asia before 1941?
- 6 Assess the impact of World War II on the growth of nationalism in Southeast Asia. (You must **not** use examples drawn from Singapore to support your answer.)
- 7 Assess the significance of import substitution policies in promoting economic development in Southeast Asia after 1945.
- 8 How important have economic factors been in explaining rivalry and conflict between post-colonial Southeast Asian nations?

---

*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

Source A © Straits Times; 22 July 1964.  
Source B © Straits Times; 2 June 1965.  
Source D © Straits Times; August 1965.  
Source E © B & L Andaya; *A History of Malaysia*; Palgrave; 1982.

Permission to reproduce items where third-party owned material protected by copyright is included has been sought and cleared where possible. Every reasonable effort has been made by the publisher (UCLES) to trace copyright holders, but if any items requiring clearance have unwittingly been included, the publisher will be pleased to make amends at the earliest possible opportunity.

Cambridge International Examinations is part of the Cambridge Assessment Group. Cambridge Assessment is the brand name of University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES), which is itself a department of the University of Cambridge.