



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

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**HISTORY**

**9697/02**

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

**October/November 2009**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

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**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

Write your Centre number, index 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 diagrams, graphs or 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.



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This document consists of **5** printed pages and **3** blank pages.



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

You **must** answer Question 1.

**THE SEPARATION OF SINGAPORE AND MALAYSIA, 1965**

- 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**

Some people may wonder why it is that we are not just keeping quiet and allowing people to say what they like, such as ‘Malays Unite!’ They shout this everywhere. People get worried. If among the Chinese you hear people say, ‘Hokkiens Unite’, all non-Hokkiens would say, ‘What is it all about? Is it to wallop the non-Hokkiens?’ So, when they say ‘Malays Unite!’, we say ‘What is it about?’ It is a fair question.

The agreement in the Constitution must lead to a Malaysian Malaysia, and if they want to stop it they must use unconstitutional methods. I say, if they want to do that, do it now. It is better for us and easier for us to make alternative arrangements. The alternative arrangements? Well it is really necessary that I say: Look, all those states that want a Malaysian Malaysia are sure to come together. And I can think of three straight away – Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore. I can think of a few others like Penang and Malacca.

*From a speech by Lee Kuan Yew, May 1965.*

**Source B**

Singapore has had no previous experience of working in a federal nation, and due to this fact of being the ‘New York’ of Malaysia it probably feels that its position is far more important than that of the rest of Malaysia. Some of Singapore’s leaders do not realise the great benefit Singapore already enjoys. They are quick to criticise the central government, principally because Singapore is run by an opposition party. This seems to arouse undue concern in the minds of some foreign observers, who shake their heads and talk pessimistically about the future of Malaysia. I myself have no doubt that, as Singapore continues to make further progress in Malaysia and adapts itself through experience and understanding of co-operation necessary in a federal structure, these pangs of local pride and wishes for dominance will slowly pass away.

*From a speech by the Malaysian Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, July 1965.*

**Source C**

What I am about to announce will no doubt cause a big surprise and shock. The announcement concerns the separation of Singapore from the rest of the Federation. The reasons for this have been many. Since the formation of Malaysia there have been many differences with Singapore. It appears that as soon as one issue has been resolved another cropped up. There are two main courses of action open to us. Number one is to take repressive action against Singapore, for the behaviour of some of its leaders. Number two is to sever all connections with Singapore, which has ceased to give even a measure of loyalty to the central government.

It is odious for us to take repressive measures against Singapore, for such action is repulsive to our concept of parliamentary democracy, even if it would solve the problems before us. The problem which is of most concern is the communal issue. The peace and happiness of the people of this country depend on the goodwill and understanding of various races for one another. Contempt, fear and hatred have been sown in Singapore, and even if we try to prevent their growth, I feel that after time they will be more violent.

*From a speech by the Malaysian Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, to the Malaysian Parliament, 9 August 1965.*

**Source D**

Lee Kuan Yew is bitterly disappointed by being cast out. Tunku's supporters in the central government seem happy, for the present at least, to have got rid of the source of their irritation and jealousy. For months the propaganda battle between angry Malays in Kuala Lumpur and Mr Lee's following in Singapore has exposed weaknesses in the Federation. When Mr Lee called for the Malaysian Solidarity Convention, including representatives from Sabah and Sarawak, early in the summer, the battle was on in earnest.

Even so the divorce was a surprise to everyone. There is no one capable of repairing the damage. The main opposition party in Singapore, the Barisan Sosialis, is strongly opposed to Malaysia, and has reminded us how far removed from political reality they are by declaring Singapore's withdrawal as a British plot. It would be impossible to put together a government in Singapore that could hold power while proving to be acceptable partners to the central government of the Federation.

*From The Times, a British newspaper, 10 August 1965.*

**Source E**

Was multi-racial Malaysia ever possible? The consensus among the thoughtful, after the event, is that it never was. Even in 1952 the Tunku was saying publicly, 'Malaya for the Malays, and it should not be governed by a mix of races.' In 1964, after the formation of Malaysia, he was still saying, 'It is understood by all that this country, by its very name, its traditions and character, is Malay.'

Lee Kuan Yew, on the other hand, was saying Malaysia was a multi-racial concept. Against this the Tunku continued to insist that the Malays must retain their political and administrative advantages, their control of the armed forces and the police, and use their power in a reasonable manner to improve the lot of their community.

*From a book about Lee Kuan Yew, published in 1974.*

Now answer the following question.

*How far do Sources A–E support the view that Singapore was primarily responsible for the separation from Malaysia?*

**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 view that the motivation for colonial rule was primarily economic in the period from 1870 to 1914.
- 3 To what extent did the trading networks of Southeast Asia change in the period from 1870 to 1941?
- 4 Assess the view that urbanisation was the main cause of migration within Southeast Asia in the period from 1870 to 1941.
- 5 To what extent was the rise of nationalist movements before World War Two a reaction to colonial oppression?
- 6 Do you agree that World War Two made decolonisation inevitable? (You must **not** use examples drawn from Singapore to support your answer.)
- 7 How successful have newly-independent states been in creating a national culture?
- 8 Assess the view that state participation in the economies of newly-independent states has always hindered rather than helped economic growth.





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*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

Source D                   © The Times; 10 August 1965.

Source E                   © Alex Josey; The Struggle for Singapore; Angus and Robertson; 1974.

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