

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 2004

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

**3 hours**

**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.

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

You **must** answer Question 1.

**SINGAPORE AND MALAYA, 1946–8**

- 1 Read the sources, and then answer the question.

**Source A**

In considering the need for a closer political integration in Malaya, His Majesty's Government consider that, at least for the time being, Singapore requires separate treatment. It is a centre of entrepot trade on a very large scale and has economic and social interests distinct from those of the mainland. It is recognized, however, that there were and will be close ties between Singapore and the mainland, and it is no part of the policy of His Majesty's Government to exclude or prejudice in any way the fusion of Singapore and the Malayan Union, in a wider union at a later date, should it be considered that such a course were desirable.

*British Government statement of policy on the future constitution, January 1946.*

**Source B**

The Governor of the Malayan Union said that economically it was not desirable that the Malayan Union should be dominated by commercial interests in Singapore. He considered that there was every reason why the Malayan Union should remain a single Government and that its needs and activities should be regarded independently and not in the light of Singapore's aspirations. He felt that there would be very strong opposition in the Malayan Union to the inclusion of Singapore and that unless public opinion in the Malayan Union as well as Singapore was favourable to the change, it could not be contemplated. He felt any immediate change is out of the question.

*A report of a speech by Sir Edward Gent, Governor of the Malayan Union, August 1946.*

**Source C**

The separation of Singapore was strongly denounced by many with whom I spoke and it was admitted by all that eventually it must be included in the Federation. I presumed at first that there must be a military reason for the separation, but this does not appear to have been suggested. The argument that it is the different character of Singapore's trade convinces no-one, and in any case the trade of Singapore is not fundamentally different from that of Penang. The real reason is presumably the predominantly Chinese character of the population of Singapore; but I am bound to record that in my talks with Malays no-one suggested that Singapore must be excluded. This is not conclusive evidence, as I did not raise the subject myself, not wishing to put ideas into the heads of Malays, but if there had been any real hostility to the inclusion of Singapore I would have heard of it. As it is inevitable that some day Singapore must be brought into the Federation, I suggest it should be done at once. Otherwise the exclusion of Singapore will be a source of controversy until it is brought in.

*Report by Ivor Bulmer-Thomas, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies, on his visit to Malaya, February 1947.*

**Source D**

In Singapore opinion is freely held that Singapore and the Peninsula cannot properly be administered separately. Propaganda in the Colony in favour of inclusion of Singapore is all but considerable and will, no doubt, increase. Singapore's leaders in all communities regard the present division as having been imposed on the Colony without its consent and they are becoming increasingly impatient at what they feel to be difficulties which contribute to the division. From this point of view, the sooner a Government statement is made, proposing means by which the matter can be examined on its merits, the better.

On the other hand, general opinion in the Malayan Union, on both political and economic grounds, does not favour any return to the pre-war predominant influence of Singapore in Malayan policy and business. In Gent's view, full safeguards against this would be needed as a condition of agreement to the inclusion of Singapore in the Federation.

*Telegram from Malcolm MacDonald, Governor-General, Southeast Asia (1946–8), to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, April 1947.*

**Source E**

The settlement of 1948 reflected a racial compromise. Whereas the Malays would have a majority of unofficial members in the Federal Legislature, the proposals for Singapore envisaged a majority of Chinese unofficials in the Legislative Council. While reaffirming the pre-war 'pro-Malay' policy in the Federation, the British, at the same time, implicitly recognized that Singapore should hitherto develop as a Chinese enclave. In retrospect, this formula succeeded only too well.

*The Singaporean historian Albert Lau's conclusion on relations between Singapore and the Federation of Malaya, 1991.*

Now answer the following question.

*'In the immediate post-war years, Singapore was excluded (or kept separate) from Malaya for economic reasons.' Using Sources A–E, examine how far the evidence supports this view.*

## SECTION B

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

- 2 How far did traditional forms of political authority survive the impact of European colonisation in Southeast Asia up to 1941?
- 3 To what extent had Southeast Asia become linked to the world economy by 1941?
- 4 Account for the rise of plural societies in Southeast Asia in the period c.1870–1918.
- 5 How far can the growth of nationalism in Southeast Asia in the period c.1918–1941 be seen as a reaction to colonial rule?
- 6 Why did the Second World War deal a ‘mortal blow’ to European imperialism in Southeast Asia? [You must **not** use examples drawn from Singapore to support your answer.]
- 7 Why did the military assume a leading political role in some independent Southeast Asian states after 1945, but not others?
- 8 How successful were Southeast Asian states in achieving economic self-sufficiency in the period 1945–80?

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*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

Source E. Albert Lau *The Malayan Union Controversy 1942 - 1948*. Published by OUP. 1991.

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