



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

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**HISTORY**

9697/21

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

October/November 2012

3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Paper

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**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.

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This document consists of **4** printed pages.



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

You **must** answer Question 1.

### THE MERGER AND FORMATION OF MALAYSIA, 1963

- 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

By 1960 our clash with the Communists was coming to a head, but on the question of merger with Malaya we were making absolutely no progress. The Tunku's attitude towards Singapore was most discouraging, and he repeatedly parried and deflected any proposal for union that was put to him. He was adamant in not wanting merger under any circumstances. In May 1960 he told Malayan students in London that the political thinking in Singapore, like the racial set-up, was very different from that in the Federation. The addition of 1.3 million Chinese on the island would confuse Malaysians and ruin the calm atmosphere there. 'Many Chinese-educated and new immigrants will always be loyal to China and they are less Malayan-minded', he said.

*Lee Kuan Yew, 'The Singapore Story', 1998.*

#### Source B

We encountered some opposition to the name 'Malaysia'. This stems from the same cause as the anxieties about Religion, Language and the nature of the Federation. They all reflect the fears held by the non-Malays and the non-Muslims that the effect of creating a new Malaysia will be to put them in an inferior position to that of the Malays and the Muslims. We cannot see, however, that any other name would be appropriate.

Even with guarantees of freedom of religion for the Borneo States, we have met with strong resistance from many non-Muslim communities to the idea that the Federal provision that Islam is the national religion should apply to them.

*From the report of the Cobbold Commission of Enquiry, North Borneo and Sarawak, 1962.*

#### Source C

There is an absolute necessity for racial harmony and peace and co-operation between the communities if we are going to make a happy society. Merger and Malaysia will make that more likely. After the first ten years, the party that claims to assume power with the will of the majority of the people is the one that must throw its appeal across communal and language lines. It is no longer possible after Merger and Malaysia to make your appeal to just one section and win power. If Singapore remains divorced from the rest of Malaysia it would be inevitable that political parties would make their appeals more and more towards the Chinese community alone. We believe in an independent, democratic, non-Communist socialist Malaysia. We do not believe we can bring this about solely through the vehicle of one single community.

*Lee Kuan Yew, speech to a student seminar on Merger and Malaysia at the University of Singapore, 27 August 1962.*

**Source D**

The Prime Minister said that the difficulties which had led to the postponement of the formation of Malaysia from 31 August to 16 September had not yet been resolved. Apart from the political dispute between the leaders of Malaya and Singapore, it seemed unlikely that the Government of Indonesia would abate their hostility to the formation of Malaysia. He had instructed the Commonwealth Secretary to remain in Malaya for the time being to continue efforts to find a negotiated solution. But the prospect of intensified guerrilla warfare by Indonesia in Borneo could not be ignored.

*British Cabinet minutes, 12 September 1963.*

**Source E**

We know that we have come together through our own free will and desire in the true spirit of brotherhood and love of freedom. We have made our decision after much care and thought, finally arriving at mutual consent by debate and discussion, inquiries and elections held over two and a half years. We can feel proud indeed of the way we have created Malaysia through friendly argument and compromise. The spirit of co-operation and concord is living proof of the desire we share for a common destiny. What better basis for Malaysia can there be, what finer hope for the future? The Federation of Malaya now passes into history. Let us always remember that the Malayan Nation was formed after many difficulties during a long period of national Emergency, yet its multi-racial society emerged, endured and survived as a successful and progressive nation, a true democracy and an example to the world of harmony and tolerance. As it was with Malaya, so it can be with Malaysia.

*Speech by Tunku Abdul Rahman, Independence Day, 1963.*

Now answer the following question.

*How far do Sources A–E support the view that the Malaysian Federation had little chance of success in 1963?*

**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 some parts of Southeast Asia were more successful than others in avoiding European colonisation.
- 3 To what extent did European colonisation benefit local people in Southeast Asia between 1870 and 1941?
- 4 'Merely a means to exploit the people of Southeast Asia.' How far do you agree with this judgement on the Japanese Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere?
- 5 Assess the impact of World War II on decolonisation in Southeast Asia. (You must **not** use examples drawn from Singapore to support your answer.)
- 6 To what extent were independence movements in Southeast Asia dependent on key personalities for their success?
- 7 How important was the role of the military in independent Southeast Asian states after 1945?
- 8 Evaluate the reasons for economic development in independent Southeast Asia between 1945 and 1980.

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