



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

HISTORY

9697/21

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

October/November 2013

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 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.

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



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

You **must** answer Question 1.

PROGRESS TO SELF-GOVERNMENT

- 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

Question: Do you have any idea where was the actual location that the bus riot occurred?

Answer: The location that the riot took place is around Alexandra Road where now the HYUNDAI and VOLVO showroom is. That was the bus depot at that time.

Question: How was the situation there, what form of activities was going on at the riot?

Answer: The situation was not very good at that time; there were others who joined the bus riots. The students from the Chinese school came into action with the workers of the bus company. They helped to organise funds, brought food for the workers. These riots somehow have some linkage to two persons of that time. I could not remember who are they but I know the names, they are Fong Swee Suan and Lim Chin Siong. The workers somehow made a barrier to prevent the buses from coming out of the depot. During the period that I had to take the bus from Outram to Raffles Place the bus that came from the depot was not in very good shape. There were marks, broken fragments of windows in the interior. In the second week of May I did not take the buses to work, as I found that it is not safe and furthermore I was not carrying much. Therefore I walked to Raffles Place.

Question: Outram was thought to be in the danger zone, were there any activities there?

Answer: Yes it is considered a danger zone; the police set up road blocks to stop all forms of motor-vehicles in certain places and Outram Road was one of the roads that were being blocked. With these road blocks it also stopped people from getting into the riots and joining them. There wasn't much activity after the road was blocked, not many motor-vehicles moving around and not many people, as it was a danger zone.

Interview with an eyewitness to the Hock Lee bus riots, May 1955, for a higher education project. The student interviewed his aunt in 2004.

Source B

The British apparently intend to provide increasing autonomy to both the Federation and Singapore, hoping thereby to prevent the capture of the nationalist movement by the Communists, and to preserve the important UK and Commonwealth economic and strategic interests in Malaya.

In Singapore, where the new Labour Front government of Chief Minister Marshall is attempting to steer an orderly path towards independence, the Communist subversive threat has become serious. The Communists and associated extremist elements will almost certainly make further gains and harass any moderate government as they expand their mass base of Communist-influenced student, labour and political organisations. Although Marshall may resign or be forced out of office at any time, non-Communist elements probably will continue to control the Singapore government for the next year or two. Even if the political position of the moderate forces were strengthened, the British probably would not consider the situation sufficiently stable to grant

independence by 1960. Moreover, if present trends continue, extremist elements will increase significantly and will eventually attempt to take over the local government by political manoeuvres or violent action.

Memorandum from a US Intelligence Adviser to the US Secretary of State, 7 February 1956.

Source C

One thing sticks out a mile. The British government we went to negotiate with in April of this year was a British government which was in no mood for dynamic and imaginative colonial policy. The British had the slap in the face from Jordan when they kicked out Sir John Glubb, the British head of their armed force, the Arab Legion. They faced an outburst in Nicosia the day following a statement from a high-ranking British official that they could hold on to Cyprus whether or not the people were friendly. After all this, and the failure of British policies in Ceylon with the election of a left-wing government, they wanted to make sure that they allowed only the trappings of internal self-government in Singapore with the reality of power to be with Britain.

Lee Kuan Yew, speech in the Singapore Assembly, 7 June 1956.

Source D

A constitution offered by Her Majesty's Government was refused by the Singapore delegation, although it would have given the people of Singapore full internal self-government. The Singapore delegates put forward proposals for full independence. They would only acquiesce in the retention of limited powers of Her Majesty's Government if the United Kingdom representatives were not a majority. In the light of Singapore's great strategic importance in the defence of the free world, and bearing in mind the growing menace of Communist subversion in the island, Her Majesty's Government considered it unreasonable to accept this position, which would have involved responsibility without adequate power.

Communiqué issued by the Commonwealth Office after the London Constitutional Talks, 1956.

Source E

For Britain, Malaya and Singapore were 'Between Two Oceans'. They were the focus northwards towards Indochina and southwards towards Australia. They became the centre of British interests in the East, with Britain's military headquarters located at Singapore. They were at the core of intersecting British concerns; regional, strategic and economic. Britain was willing to commit forces to fight Southeast Asian Communism, but only in territories which had direct economic value and were important for military prestige. There were important economic reasons for defending Southeast Asia. Britain sought to pursue a shrinking but significant regional role with Singapore as its main base.

From a book published by a British historian, 2001.

Now answer the following question.

How far do Sources A–E support the view that full self-government for Singapore was delayed because of British concerns about the spread of Communism?

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 important were economic motives in the establishment of colonial rule in Southeast Asia from 1870 to 1914?
- 3 Assess the importance of urban growth in Southeast Asia before 1941.
- 4 'The impact of the Great Depression on Southeast Asia was surprisingly limited.' How far do you agree with this view?
- 5 How far was the rise of nationalism in Southeast Asia by 1941 'a reaction to the oppression of colonising powers'?
- 6 Assess the impact of the defeat of Japan in 1945 on nationalism in Southeast Asia. [You must **not** use examples drawn from Singapore to support your answer.]
- 7 How successfully did newly-independent Southeast Asian states deal with their ethnic minorities?
- 8 What best explains tensions between newly-independent states in Southeast Asia?

Copyright Acknowledgements:

- Question 1 Source A © Lawrence Loo Teck Ho; *A Student's Experience During the Hock Lee Bus Riots*, May 1955; October 2004; www.hsse.nieledu.sg/staff/.../oralhistorythe_hock_lee_bus_riots.doc.
- Question 1 Source B © www.history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1955-57v22/d450; 7 February 1956.
- Question 1 Source C © Lee Kuan Yew; *Speech in the Singapore Assembly*, 7 June 1956; National Archives of Singapore; www.stars.nhb.gov.sg.
- Question 1 Source D © *Communiqué issued by the Commonwealth Office after the London Constitutional Talks*, 1956; www.yourarchives.nationalarchives.gov.uk/index.
- Question 1 Source E © Karl Hack; *Defence and Decolonization in Southeast Asia; Britain, Malaya and Singapore*; Curzon Press; 2001.

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