

**CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS**  
**General Certificate of Education Advanced Subsidiary Level**  
**and Advanced Level**

**HISTORY**

**9697/2**

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

**OCTOBER/NOVEMBER SESSION 2002**

3 hours

Additional materials:  
Answer paper

**TIME** 3 hours

**INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES**

Write your name, Centre number and candidate number in the spaces provided on the answer paper/answer booklet.

Answer **four** questions.

You must answer **Question 1** (Section A), and any **three** questions from Section B.

In Section B you must support your answers with examples drawn from at least three countries of your choice.

Write your answers on the separate answer paper provided.

If you use more than one sheet of paper, fasten the sheets together.

**INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES**

All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

You are reminded of the need for good English and clear presentation in your answers.

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**This question paper consists of 4 printed pages.**

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

You **must** answer Question 1.

**THE FAILURE OF THE 1956 CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS**

1 Read the sources, and then answer the question.

**Source A**

After the 1955 election Marshall found himself suddenly thrust into power, or rather an appearance of power. He was new to politics, parliament and authority, and was temperamentally unsuited to be a minority government leader, requiring special qualities of diplomacy and restraint. From the beginning Lee Kuan Yew denounced the Rendel Constitution. 'We say this Constitution is colonialism in disguise.' Marshall agreed, but was put in the difficult position of having to operate a constitution he despised. At the same time the PAP goaded Marshall on to keep election promises, to repeal the emergency regulations and demand immediate self-government, so that from the first Marshall was driven into demanding more power for his government.

*From a British history of Singapore published in 1977.*

**Source B**

Chief Minister David Marshall was an easy target because the British seemed to oppose him more than Lee Kuan Yew did. He was a Singapore Iraqi Jew, English educated like Lee, but unable to hit it off with the British. He was known at the time as being too much of a liberal and a gentleman for the hurly-burly of politics, and this, together with his failure to be seen as 'one of the chaps' put him at a disadvantage. Contemptuous of Marshall from the start, the British harassed him by denying him even an office or staff.

*From a British account of Singaporean history written in 1973.*

**Source C**

The Assembly instructs the all-party delegation to seek forthwith for Singapore the status of an independent territory within the Commonwealth, and to offer an agreement between the United Kingdom and the Singapore government whereby the government of the United Kingdom would in respect of Singapore exercise control of external defence and give guidance in foreign relations other than trade and commerce.

*The resolution of the Legislative Assembly prior to the 1956 London talks.*

**Source D**

All political parties are caught up in the floodtide of Asian nationalism and anti-colonialism. No politician can command a following without 'Merdeka' (freedom) as his watchword. In Singapore this is all made doubly difficult to handle by the precarious balance of political parties and by the almost psychopathic personality of the Chief Minister. The Opposition is led by a brilliant westernised Chinese, Lee Kuan Yew, of extreme left-wing sympathies, though professed anti-Communist. Behind him is the more sinister figure of Lim Chin Siong, a shrewd and tough Chinese who speaks little English and is undoubtedly a Communist sympathiser. Both these men will be members of the delegation next month, and they and their followers are reputed to be leaving Marshall in power until after the April talks in the hope that he will obtain greater concessions than they could. They would then contrive to remove Marshall from power and inherit the concessions.

*A memorandum written before the 1956 constitutional talks for the British Cabinet by Lennox-Boyd, Colonial Secretary.*

**Source E**

The talks had reached a dead end. Lennox-Boyd decided that there was no point in taking the conference any further, and made it clear that this concluded the talks. Marshall was flabbergasted. His face darkened with emotion. Except for Marshall and Lim Chin Siong, all members of the delegation including myself had been prepared to accept what the British offered – a self-governing constitution with the Singapore government in charge of internal security, but with Britain retaining the power to override it through a Defence and Security Council on which Britain would have the majority vote. I advised Marshall not to refuse this, but 'to go back to the Assembly and debate the matter and then take it one step further'. But he rejected it outright – he was not one for cool, quiet calculations when in a tight corner into which he had backed himself.

*From Lee Kuan Yew's memoirs published in 1998.*

Now answer the following question.

*'With David Marshall as leader of the Singaporean delegation, the 1956 constitutional talks never had any real chance of success.'* Use Sources A-E to show how far the evidence confirms this statement.

**SECTION B**

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

- 2 During the period 1870–1914, how effectively did the imperial powers tighten their grip on Southeast Asia?
- 3 ‘On any reasonable assessment, colonial rule in Southeast Asia was beneficial for the local people.’ How far do you think this is true of the period 1870–1914?
- 4 How do you explain the widely-differing nationalist responses to colonialism in the inter-war years, 1919–41?
- 5 ‘Almost everywhere in Southeast Asia, although the Japanese invaders were welcomed with open arms, they subsequently failed to win the hearts and minds of the people.’ How far do you agree with this statement?
- 6 To what extent would you agree that the colonial powers were reluctant decolonisers?
- 7 How successful were the independent Southeast Asian states in reducing the social and economic inequalities inherited from colonialism?
- 8 Since the end of the Second World War in 1945, which has been the more important influence on Southeast Asia: the threat of communist subversion or superpower rivalry?