



VICTORIA JUNIOR COLLEGE
JC2 PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION 2025
HIGHER 2

H2 History

9174/02

Paper 2 Developments in Southeast Asia (Independence to 2000)

17 September 2025
3 hours

No Additional Materials are required.

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

An answer booklet will be provided with this question paper. You should follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer **two** questions.

The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.

This document consists of **5** printed pages and **1** blank page.

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SECTION A

You **must** answer Question 1.

ASEAN'S ENGAGEMENT WITH EXTERNAL PARTNERS

- 1 Read the sources and answer the questions which follow.

Source A

The Asia-Pacific region has unresolved territorial and other differences. Any one of these could spark conflagration that could undermine the peace and prosperity of the region. Over time, the Asean Regional Forum (ARF) will have to gradually defuse these potential problems. It would be unwise for a young and fragile process like the ARF to tackle all these challenges simultaneously. A gradual evolutionary approach is required. In its initial phase, the ARF should therefore concentrate on enhancing the trust and confidence amongst participants and thereby foster a regional environment conducive to maintaining the peace and prosperity of the region.

An excerpt from a joint statement by participants of the first ARF meeting in 1994.

Source B

ASEAN will continue to contribute to the stability, security and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific countries. ASEAN created the ASEAN Regional Forum. It initiated the Asia-Europe Meeting. ASEAN members also play an active role in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation. These gatherings build confidence and strengthen ties between regions. They lead to more trade and investments and a better understanding of each other.

ASEAN's key strength is its openness. It is outward-looking. It is now reaching out to other regional groups. Its leaders will soon have a summit meeting with leaders from China, Japan and Korea. These meetings will lead to greater co-operation and understanding amongst East Asian countries. ASEAN is growing in strength. The ASEAN Free Trade Area will be followed by liberalisation in the investment and services sectors. They will integrate the ASEAN economies, turning them into one huge marketplace. This will benefit all the people in ASEAN.

*From the statement by Singapore Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong
on the 30th Anniversary of ASEAN, 1997.*

Source C

The South China Sea problem is a prime example of the ARF's relative irrelevance to real conflict management. In light of its stated mission, it would seem that the ARF would be an appropriate venue for the airing of the South China Sea conflicts. Instead, the ARF has largely remained on the sidelines, primarily because of China's refusal to give the ARF a voice in any matter related to Chinese sovereignty. Despite Philippine prodding, ASEAN has been unwilling to press China on the issue for fear of alienating it from the ARF. The ARF has been content in its annual Chairman's Statement to praise the commitment of the parties to peaceful settlements of dispute in accordance with the principles of international law and the United States Convention Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), even if that "commitment" might be questioned. The ARF has welcomed negotiations for the proposed "Code of Conduct in the South China Sea" but has had no voice in fashioning it.

An academic commenting on the conflict in the South China Sea, 1998.

Source D

ASEAN remains committed to ensuring that the ARF continues to play a leading role in promoting peace and stability in the Asia Pacific region. We are ready to cooperate closely with China in developing the concept and principles of Preventive Diplomacy and Confidence Building Measures as agreed at the ARF. ASEAN welcomes China's unwavering support for ASEAN to be the driving force in the ARF process.

While there has been significant progress in ASEAN-China Dialogue relations, there is always room for improvement. An enduring solution to the sovereignty disputes in the South China Sea still needs to be found. In the meantime, it is comforting to note that all the parties concerned remain committed to the peaceful settlement of disputes. Further, ASEAN countries wish to work closely with China in developing a regional code of conduct for the South China Sea.

From a speech by the Malaysian Foreign Minister during the ASEAN-China Dialogue held in Singapore, July 1999.

Source E

Japanese journalist Yoichi Funabashi summed up the Asia-Pacific Economic Forum's (APEC) evolution as such: "Since its inception, APEC has struggled constantly to find its identity. APEC's evolution has resembled Zen discourse: loose, flowing, and hard to define in a legalistic, dogmatic way."

APEC was founded in 1989 as part of the region's effort to raise its collective power vis-a-vis the European Community. APEC watchers and veteran participants, however, agree that the 11-year-old grouping is at its crossroads, as its lack of tangible results in economic terms has shattered its credibility.

Critics, especially from the West, have often cited the less-than-smooth trade liberalisation process supposed to take place under APEC auspices. Although APEC accounts for about 60 percent of world trade and has a bold free trade agenda, it has made little headway. After promising in 1994 to remove trade barriers by 2010 for advanced countries or by 2020 for poorer members, the group had completed, by the end of 1998, only a third of its tariff-cutting goals.

From an article published in the Taipei Times, 11 November 2000.

Source F

ASEAN-China Economic Interactions		ASEAN		
		1991	1995	2000
Merchandise Trade	Total value (US\$ billion)	343.8	675.6	795.0
	ASEAN's trade with China (% of total trade of ASEAN)	2.3	2.9	5.0
Investment Flows (US\$ billions)	Total FDI Outflows	1.1	7.0	7.5
	Total FDI Inflows	13.2	24.8	13.4

From the databases of the International Monetary Fund, the UN Conference on Trade and Development, and the Asian Development Bank, 2001.

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources C and D on the role of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in promoting regional peace and security. [10]
- (b) How far do Sources A-F support the view that ASEAN engaged productively with external partners in the 1990s? [30]

SECTION B

You must answer **two** questions from this section.

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

EITHER

- 2** How far do you agree that democracy was the preferred form of government in independent Southeast Asian countries? [30]

OR

- 3** 'The adoption of a dominant culture impeded the building of national unity in independent Southeast Asian countries.' How far do you agree? [30]

AND EITHER

- 4** 'Economic change in independent Southeast Asian states was determined by domestic economic conditions.' How far do you agree with this statement? [30]

OR

- 5** How far did Southeast Asian states achieve their post-independence economic objectives? [30]