



RIVER VALLEY HIGH SCHOOL

RVHS JC2 Preliminary Examinations 2025

In preparation for the General Certificate of Education Advanced Level
HIGHER 2

HISTORY

9174/02

Paper 2 Developments in Southeast Asia (Independence-2000)

23 Sep 2025

3 hours

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write in dark blue or black ink.

Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid.

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer **two** questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.

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 **3** blank pages.

Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

ASEAN's engagement with external powers in the 1990s

- 1 Read the sources, and answer the questions that follow.

Source A

The opaqueness of the decision-making process in Beijing matched by the contradiction between words and deeds compounded the matter. Almost immediately after attending the Third Indonesian-sponsored Workshop in Jogjakarta, the Chinese occupied Da Lac Reef which was claimed by Vietnam.

Despite having expressed support for the ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea during the 26th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in July 1992, Beijing built structures on the Mischief Reef in 1994. Soon after the Mischief Reef episode in early 1995, Filipino and Chinese representatives met in August in an attempt to resolve their differences. A Joint Statement on the South China Sea and on Other Areas of Cooperation was subsequently signed on 10 August 1995, but was subsequently breached.

From an article by a Singaporean academic, 1999.

Source B

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the establishment of China-ASEAN dialogue relations. China applauds the progress achieved in the relationship over the past 20 years. China and ASEAN countries hold similar positions on international and regional affairs, and we have supported each other and conducted fruitful cooperation in this area. The growth of China-ASEAN relations has become an important factor for peace and stability in the region.

In dealing with our differences and disputes, China pursues sincere dialogues and advocates peaceful means for settlement. We are conscious that some of the existing disputes bear on the fundamental interests of the relevant countries and would, if not cautiously handled, seriously jeopardize our cooperation. Therefore, we have been exercising utmost restraint and caution in coping with our differences and disputes. China is sincere in working together with ASEAN countries in maintaining the peace and stability in the South China Sea.

From a speech by the Chinese Ambassador at the ASEAN-China Summit, 2011.

Source C

ASEAN does have a modest track-record in helping to resolve international conflict. There is no question that this year's meetings in Bangkok will have a special significance in ASEAN's history and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) will be the reason. However, questions are still being asked about the future effectiveness of ARF. One is whether a country as powerful militarily as China will bother to pay attention to what others say in the forum. This is seen in China's recent legislation allowing it to use force to defend its Spratlys' claim and rejection of multilateral talks to discuss the claims.

From a newspaper article published in The Bangkok Post, 31 July 1994.

Source D

Mechanisms such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and this post-ministerial conference complement our bilateral efforts to promote stability and prosperity. The ARF is already encouraging meaningful discussion of security issues, confidence-building measures, and other forms of cooperation. It is playing a valuable role in defusing tensions surrounding territorial claims in the South China Sea and the Spratly Islands.

US engagement in the ARF will deepen as we make further concrete progress on our work program – and on moving from confidence-building to preventive diplomacy. We will seek to ensure the ARF's ability to discuss important regional security issues in a meaningful way. We remain committed to examining ways to resolve our differences over the proposed Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone.

From a speech by the United States Secretary of State at the ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference in Jakarta, 1996.

Source E

The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) functions as an arena in which members are exposed to continuing mutual contact. They are supposed to steadily cooperate and demonstrate their good intentions. The increasing appeal, the broadening and the deepening of security cooperation, and the adjustment of conflicting perceptions among its members are obvious positive effects for regional security.

Concurrently, the ARF has no mechanisms of direct conflict management. Stage three of its planned evolution is supposed to deal with this matter, but to date there have been no steps taken towards this goal. Keeping in mind the enormous problems several members already have with the less intrusive second stage of the ARF quick progress to conflict management seems very unlikely. Indeed, direct major influence on any of the region's urgent conflicts is not evident.

From an article published in a Southeast Asian academic journal, 2005.

Source F

The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) has proved its usefulness as a forum for consultation and confidence building, the only Asia-Pacific-wide, and therefore indispensable, venue for regional security discussions. Media commentators often dismiss the ARF as a “talk shop”. However, I see nothing wrong with “talk shops”; indeed they are extremely useful in dealing with sensitive regional security issues. How else can one promote mutual understanding, create channels of communication, build confidence and, as the Chinese say, “expand common ground”, unless governments, as well as people, talk – not only in pairs, but also in a broader regional setting? In fact, the very first of the ARF’s purpose is to build mutual understanding and mutual trust.

From a book by the former ASEAN Secretary-General Rodolfo Severino, 2006.

Now answer the following questions:

- (a) Compare and contrast the evidence in Sources A and B about the use of peaceful means by China in addressing the South China Sea dispute. [10]
- (b) How far do Sources A–F support the view that ASEAN’s engagement with external powers has enhanced regional security 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** To what extent were colonial legacies the greatest obstacle to national unity in Southeast Asia? [30]

OR

- 3** To what extent did the successful consolidation of power in independent Southeast Asia depend on the personal characteristics of government leaders? [30]

AND EITHER

- 4** 'The growth of domestic private businesses has been beneficial for economic development in independent Southeast Asian states.' How far do you agree with this view? [30]

OR

- 5** Evaluate the effectiveness of the involvement of independent Southeast Asian governments in promoting economic change. [30]

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