



NATIONAL JUNIOR COLLEGE

SENIOR HIGH 2 PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION

Higher 2

HISTORY

9174/02

Paper 2 Developments in Southeast Asia (Independence–2000)

16 Sept 2025

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet

3 hours

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 question paper consists of **5** printed pages and **3** blank pages.

SECTION A

You **must** answer Question 1.

THE ENLARGEMENT OF ASEAN

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

Source A

Despite misgivings in some countries over Myanmar's entry into ASEAN, its inclusion, simultaneous with Cambodia and Laos, will benefit the group. As Vietnam's steady economic reforms have shown, Myanmar's hunger for imports and capital to rebuild its run-down infrastructure holds vast potential for the region's manufacturers and investors.

But ASEAN is also about human decency. On its record of political persecution and denying the results of a free election in 1990, the military junta brings disrepute to ASEAN's fair name. But the US, in insisting that Myanmar be locked out for its human rights transgressions and narcotics trade, in fact stiffened ASEAN's resolve. ASEAN is not being noble in wanting to guide Myanmar through help and persuasion; it is convinced that only this approach can work. What matters now is a careful monitoring if it is easier to influence a Myanmar which is inside rather than outside the fold.

Extract of a commentary published in The Straits Times, 7 June 1997.

Source B

Singapore defended ASEAN's decision to admit international pariah* Burma into their club, saying it would make the group stronger.

"There [is] a common interest... to make ASEAN an important economic bloc and also one with political influence," Singaporean Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong told a news conference. "We know that the US and Europe are unhappy with Myanmar's admission, but we have always taken a position that the internal situation of a country is that country's concern."

Western countries led by the United States had put pressure on the group to deny membership to Burma because of its human rights record.

[Goh] said ASEAN believed it was better to engage Burma in constructive dialogue so it could reform by looking at its neighbours. "We know that many people are unhappy with human right abuses in countries within ASEAN. But we want to work together, and we do things our way."

Extract of a report from a British newspaper, 10 June 1997.

*Pariah: outcast

Source C

The world should conclude that membership of ASEAN would have a steady influence on domestic politics and help the progress of member countries. The world should welcome the accession of any country which qualifies. It is regrettable that there are those who would not see the obvious.

ASEAN has been urged to pass judgement, deny membership and apply pressure on a potential candidate to force that country to remain poor and unstable. ASEAN must resist and reject such attempts at coercion. They are not a part of the ASEAN Way. We will resolve our problem in our own way and in our own time. No one should assume that only they know the solutions to all problems.

Together with our new members, we can cooperate and help each other to prosper. That way, we will become internally stable and less vulnerable to the kind of outside pressures our detractors like to apply.

Extract of a speech by Malaysian Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohamed, at the opening of the 30th meeting of ASEAN Foreign Ministers, 24 July 1997.

Source D

The Foreign Ministers welcomed warmly the admission of Laos and Myanmar into ASEAN on the 30th anniversary of ASEAN's founding. The Foreign Ministers underlined their conviction that the admission of Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar would serve the long-term interest of regional peace, stability and prosperity. Recognising that national stability would enhance regional peace and prosperity, the Foreign Minister underlined the importance of accelerated economic growth, social progress and cultural development within their respective countries.

The Foreign Ministers stressed ASEAN's commitment to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. They noted that ASEAN had offered its good offices to Cambodia in light of the recent unfortunate developments and in view of Cambodia's interest in joining ASEAN. They expressed the hope that a peaceful solution would soon be found so that Cambodia would be able to join ASEAN and fulfil the vision of an ASEAN community of 10.

Extract of the Joint Communiqué of the 30th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, 25 July 1997.

Source E

Ohn Gyaw: We cannot stay isolated. We have stayed nearly 25 years in isolation. What was the result? We were left behind. It's for equal, mutual, beneficial objectives. One is that we will learn how to go about the successful establishment of economic system in the country as well as our domestic stability could contribute towards regional stability. These are the objectives. No more than that.

CNN: What is the situation of human rights in your country today?

Ohn Gyaw: Human rights is a word used by people from outside. And there are places like Human Rights Commission in Geneva and the United Nations. Where do they get the information of our violation of human rights? From the opposition, from the dissidents, from the insurgents. When you come to visit our country, you'll see that we treat our people much fairer than they treat them in the West.

Excerpt of CNN's interview with Myanmar Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ohn Gyaw, re-published in Myanmar's leading English newspaper "The New Light of Myanmar" on 30 July 1997.

Source F

The decision by ASEAN to admit Myanmar as a member seriously strained the association's relations with its dialogue partners in the West. Both European countries and the United States urged that Myanmar be excluded from ASEAN because of its record of suppressing democracy.

However, ASEAN persisted with Myanmar's admission. Formed in 1967 to limit outside engagement in the Southeast Asia region, ASEAN did not wish to be instructed on its membership policy by the West, and especially not on the grounds of internal political practice. Many ASEAN countries also feared that Myanmar might fall into China's orbit if it were excluded. Some groups in ASEAN also saw Myanmar's resource-rich economy as a useful complement to ASEAN's more developed economies. Although ASEAN might put pressure on Myanmar to improve its human-rights performance, the impact of Myanmar's membership seems most likely to be in the field of economic transparency and infrastructure development.

Extracted from an academic article published in 1998.

Now answer the following questions:

- a) Compare and contrast the evidence provided in Sources C and D about ASEAN's practice of the ASEAN Way. [10]
- b) How far do Sources A–F support the view that ASEAN was weakened by Myanmar's accession in 1997? [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 important was the role of the local political elites in shaping the establishment of different forms of government across Southeast Asia over time? [30]

OR

- 3** Assess the view that ideology, rather than education, was the more effective tool in building national unity in independent Southeast Asia. [30]

AND EITHER

- 4** "The outcomes of economic change in independent Southeast Asia were beneficial for all." To what extent do you agree with this statement? [30]

OR

- 5** How far were economic developments in independent SEA countries driven by domestic factors? [30]