



CATHOLIC JUNIOR COLLEGE

JC2 Preliminary Examinations

Higher 2

HISTORY

9174/02

Paper 2 Developments in Southeast Asia (Independence - 2000)

16 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.

Section A

You **must** answer Question 1.

ASEAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION

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

Source A

Economic cooperation among members produced some results, though not particularly impressive. Negotiations were conducted on trade, tariffs, quotas and also economic and technical cooperation with the European Community, the United States, Japan, Australia, and other countries, obtaining here and there some limited satisfaction but nothing earth shaking. However, within the organisation, intra-regional trade and industrial joint projects made little headway, because of exacerbated nationalism shown by technocrats laying the groundwork for their political superiors. Moreover, certain members on several occasions have displayed a bazaar rather than co-operative spirit by insisting on taking more than giving, as evidenced in the case of industrial joint ventures and a few others. Also, there is no common market in the making.

From an article by former Thai Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman, September 1988.

Source B

Still intra-ASEAN trade did not grow much. Because the coverage of the PTA was negotiated product by product, the tendency of members, true to the protectionist spirit and import-substitution policies of that time, was to include mostly items that were not likely to be extensively traded. The national exclusion lists were long. In any case, with a margin of preference of 50%, a PTA tariff would remain high if the most favoured nation tariff was set at a lofty level. Tariff rates were not brought down, those ASEAN products that were covered were only given 25-50% discount on high tariffs. At their 1991 meeting, the economic ministers observed that, while intra-ASEAN trade in items covered by the PTA had grown from \$121million in 1987 to \$576 million in 1989, it accounted for an insignificant part of intra-ASEAN trade.

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

Source C

The cooperation undertaken under the ASEAN Industrial Complementation Scheme (AIC) and ASEAN Industrial Joint Ventures (AIJV) projects by the Indonesian private sector, which specialised in the production of automotive companies, was also of only peripheral importance to the national automotive industry. Indonesia already had a well-developed automotive import-substitution industry that was closely linked with large Japanese automotive companies, particularly with Toyota, and its products were absorbed by the protected domestic market. The establishment of the AIC and AIJV projects was, therefore, only a minor corollary to Indonesia's own existing automotive industry, which was mainly created to fulfil the obligation to participate in ASEAN industrial cooperation. ASEAN industrial cooperation has certainly not become a central element in Indonesia's national industrialisation programme.

From an academic book written by an Indonesian researcher, 1987.

Source D

In opening ceremony speeches at the Fourth ASEAN Summit, all six heads of government called for greater economic co-operation. They welcomed the Agreement on the Common Effective Preferential Tariffs (CEPT) as ways to increase the flow of investments to the region.

Indonesia's President Suharto called AFTA a milestone in ASEAN's economic co-operation, noting that the 'scheme will accelerate the flow of goods among ASEAN countries and enhance the economies of member-states.' Singapore's Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong devoted a major part of his speech to the need for more economic cooperation among ASEAN members, saying that AFTA was necessary to meet the 'unstoppable' global trend towards economic co-operation within regions. Thailand's Prime Minister Anand Panyarachun, who proposed the idea last year, said the summit had a historic opportunity to forge a larger and more cohesive Southeast Asia. President Corazon Aquino of the Philippines urged both governments and private sectors in ASEAN to turn the agreements into reality and decide the pace of their implementation.

*From a report on the Fourth ASEAN Summit published in a Singaporean newspaper,
28 January 1992.*

Source E

The continued improvement in the global economy and the trend towards economic reforms and trade liberalisation will enhance regional cooperation and strengthen ASEAN's international competitiveness. Similarly, the inclusion of Vietnam as ASEAN's seventh member country and the likelihood of further expansion in the near future will help ASEAN become a major regional economic power. ASEAN economic cooperation should prevail and prosper in the face of future challenges. ASEAN Ministers in charge of various economic sectors, including transport and finance, have planned to meet regularly to discuss and propose new cooperation activities and to examine obstacles to progress. The new schedule for bringing down tariffs among ASEAN countries to 0-5% by 2000 is already in place, having been effective since 1 January 1996.

From an ASEAN Economic Ministers' Meeting statement, April 1996.

Source F

Many of Asia's industries are way beyond the infant stage, but some still cling to protectionist tariffs like an overgrown child to a security blanket. Despite a recent agreement to accelerate ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA)'s implementation, threats of delays lurk. Most disturbing is the call by the chairman of the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce: "Indonesia needs to pull back from AFTA because the current domestic economic situation has yet to be conducive for such a move."

The grouping needs concrete action toward AFTA to lure back foreign investors, which could help kick recovery into high gear. With that in mind, ministers have moved up their deadlines for eliminating import duties by five years. It is acknowledged that Indonesia remains open to AFTA, but that it needs to resolve its internal economic problems first. Nevertheless, if Jakarta hints at foot-dragging, it will tempt other members to follow suit. Already, Malaysia has said it will not carry out tariff cuts on cars.

From an American newspaper, 1999.

Now answer the following questions:

- (a)** Compare and contrast the evidence in Sources A and B on ASEAN economic cooperation in the 1970s and 1980s. [10]
- (b)** How far do Sources A-F show that ASEAN economic cooperation from 1967 to 2000 demonstrated the prioritisation of national interests over regional interests? [30]

Section B

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

EITHER

- 2 To what extent can the rise of authoritarian governments in independent Southeast Asia be attributed to the military elite? [30]

OR

- 3 To what extent was the appeal of Communism an obstacle to the governments' ability to consolidate power after independence? [30]

AND EITHER

- 4 "The way the governments prioritised economic aims was central to the economic transformation of independent Southeast Asian countries." How far do you agree with this statement? [30]

OR

- 5 How far did the independent Southeast Asian countries reduce their reliance on agriculture for economic development? [30]

Acknowledgements for Sources:

Source A - Khoman, Thanat. "Reminiscences." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 10, no. 2 (September 1988): 211–217.

Source B - Severino, Rodolfo C. *Southeast Asia in Search of an ASEAN Community: Insights from the Former ASEAN Secretary-General*. Singapore: ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2006.

Source C - Solidum, Estrella D., and Seah, Chee Meow. *Decision-Making in an ASEAN Complementarity Scheme: The Automotive Industry*. Singapore: ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, 1987.

Source D - "ASEAN Leaders Hail AFTA as Milestone in Regional Cooperation," *The Straits Times* (Singapore), January 28, 1992.

Source E - ASEAN Economic Ministers. 1996. *1996 Joint Press Statement of the 28th ASEAN Economic Ministers' Meeting*. Jakarta, 12 September 1996. Centre for International Law (NUS).

Source F - *The Washington Post*. "ASEAN Struggles to Speed Free-Trade Effort." July 25, 1999.