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International Politics in Asia since 1945.
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Outline

- Cold War in Asia
- Northeast Asia
- Southeast Asia
- Asian character of bipolarity
- US-China relations
- Q&A

Cold War in Asia

- Europe: established states, division of power between the US and the USSR
- Asia : less clearly defined than in Europe, contested allegiances
 - : dominance of US naval power, struggle for independence
 - : Civil wars, scramble for power after the US dropped the two bombs
- Different treatment for Northeast and Southeast Asia
- Division of power between the US, Britain, USSR, Chiang Kai-Shek's China
- Northeast: shaped by Cold War struggle, domestic affairs of China, Japan
- Southeast: anti-colonialism, independence movements

Bandung Conference

- Prominent "non-aligned" bloc Asian-African conference in Bandung, Indonesia (April 1955)
- representatives from 29 governments of Asian and African nations gathered to discuss peace and the role of the Third World in the Cold War, economic development, and decolonization
- The core principles of the Bandung Conference were political self-determination, mutual respect for sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, and equality
- These issues were of central importance to all participants in the conference, most of which had recently emerged from colonial rule.
- The governments of Burma, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Sri Lanka co-sponsored
- At the close of the Bandung Conference attendees signed a communique that included a range of concrete objectives

Bandung Conference



Northeast Asia



Northeast Asia

- dictated by the understandings of the Yalta Conference
- The US maritime hegemony, Soviet land hegemony, spheres of interest
- The US: Pacific Ocean – Philippines, Ryukyu Islands, Japan
- USSR: Sakhalin, Kuril Islands, Manchurian railways and ports
- Soviet protégé Outer Mongolia independent from the Chinese
- China expected to emerge and join the US, UK, USSR in trusteeship in Korea
- only a hasty agreement, the USSR unilaterally stopped at 38th parallel
- before the US forces even arrived to the south
- plan for the US to withdraw from Korea by 1947-48

Chinese Civil War

- the Chinese Civil War (1927-1950) resumed
- Communist Revolution phase (1946-1950)
- Kuomintang (KMT) nationalists vs. Communist Party
- The US did not intervene, too costly, results uncertain
- People's Republic of China – end of 1949
- “loss of China”
- anti-communist hysteria in the US – McCarthyism
- Mao encouraged hostility towards the US, pledged allegiance to USSR
- 1950: military alliance with USSR
- Taiwan remained under KMT control

The US Protections

- Truman administration didn't guarantee protection for Taiwan > too costly, risky, not of strategic importance
- Korea was at first not seen as strategically important, it was considered under the UN protection
- later clear that a loss of Taiwan would have led to a strategic unraveling

Road to the Korean War

- China and USSR – an alliance of convenience, enduring mistrust
- Mao and Stalin gave Kim Il-Sung tacit permission to reunify Korea
- June 1950 UN Security Council meeting
- USSR didn't attend and could not veto, procedural disagreements plus protest over the exclusion of PRC from the UN
- UNSC Resolution 82 – demanding NK to stop the occupation of SK
- the crossing of the 38th parallel – start of a civil war but also a new chapter in American eyes
- first real communist aggression, new chapter in the Cold War strategy
- Truman hastened the establishment of a unified NATO command
- embargo on China, a fleet dispatched to defend Taiwan
- Mao thought it would lead to an invasion of PRC - turning point

Korean War (1950-1953)

- the Truman administration largely stopped distinguishing between primary and secondary interests
- The US interests defined absolutely – Cold War thinking
- the bloody war ended with a stalemate at the 38th parallel
- it was a humanitarian and economic disaster but the first modern limited, strictly calculated war (US, USSR, China)

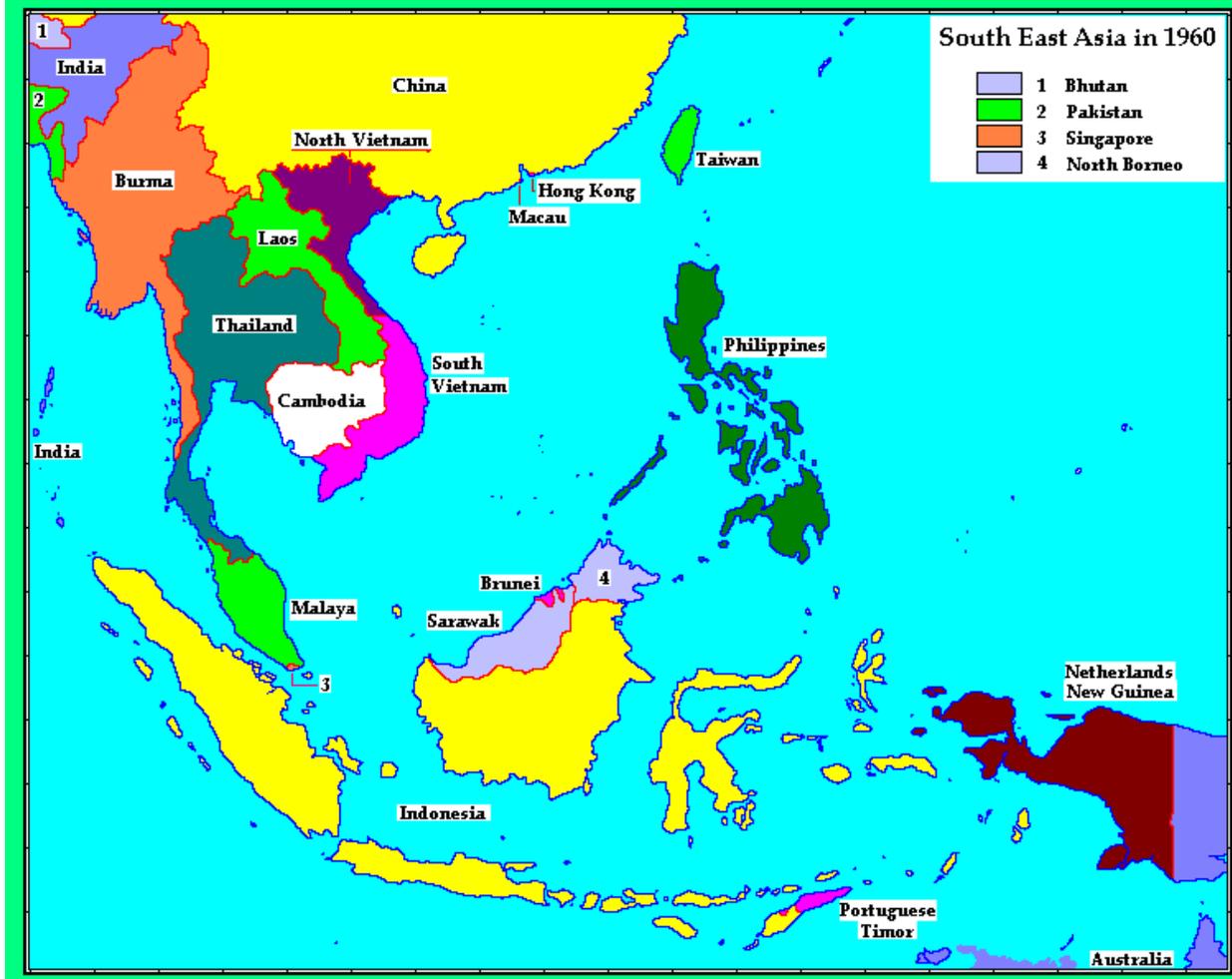
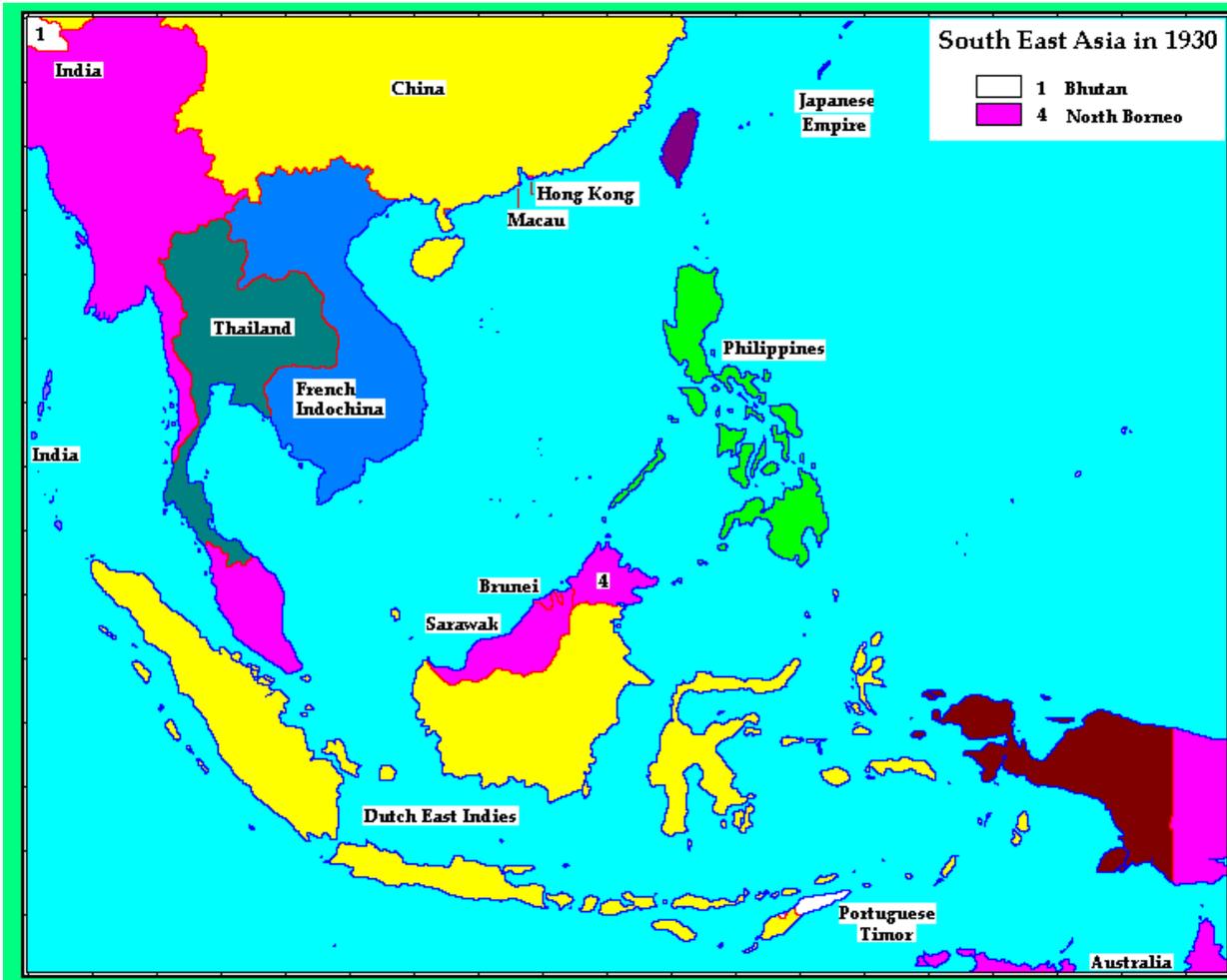
Japan

- the war prompted Japan to become a full member of the liberal system
- not just an occupied territory; but it refused to re-arm
- peace treaty of San Francisco (1951)
- Japan gave its pre-war territorial gains, incl. Sakhalin and Kuril Islands
- the Ryukyu archipelago under the US control (until now large military bases)
- at the same time: a bilateral security treaty with the US

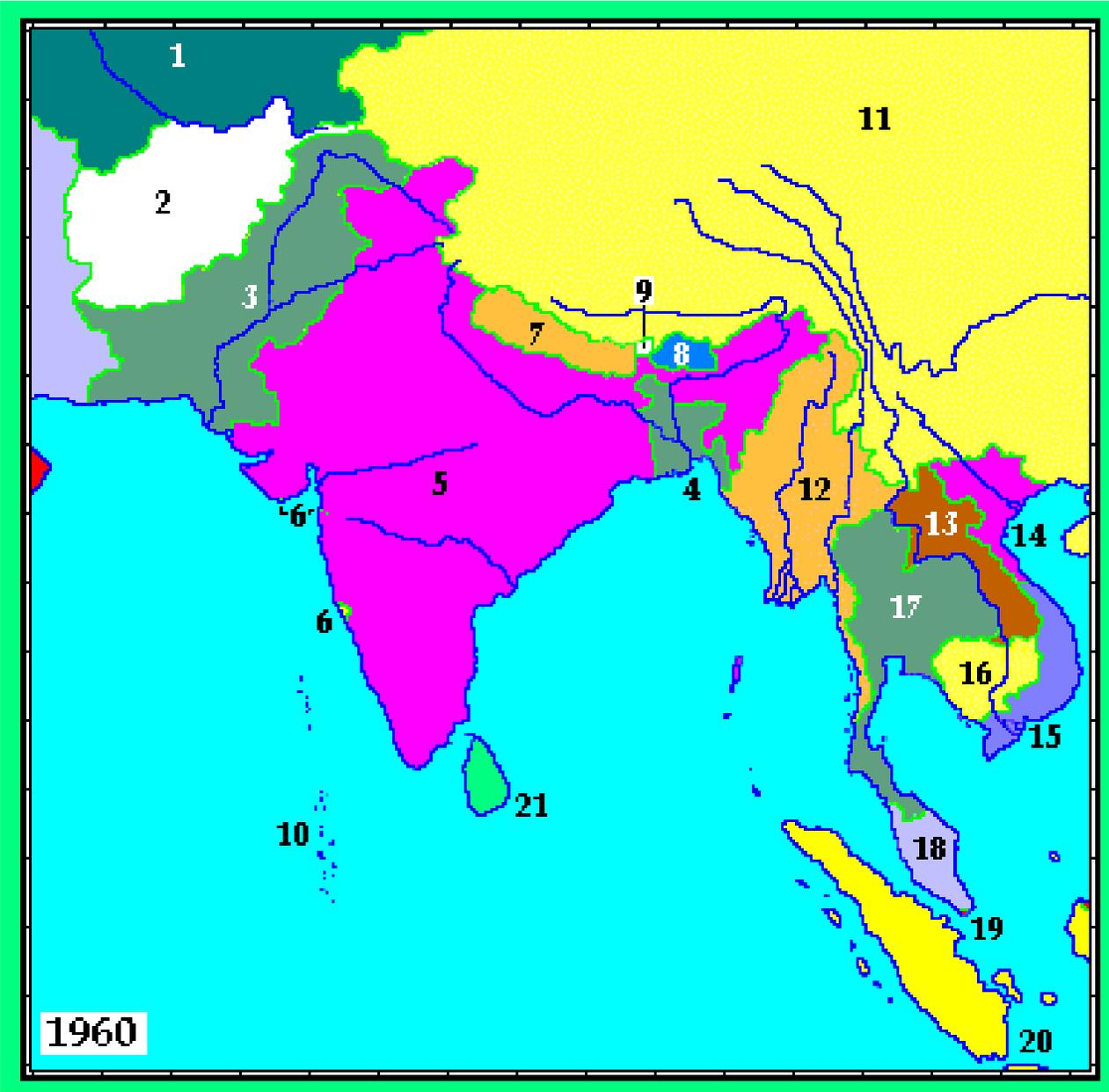
Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security

- the treaty was controversial
- The US allies though Japan got away far too easily
- Japanese detractors saw the treaty as continuing occupation
- Japan became the focal point in the US-Soviet confrontation
- later amended in 1960
- Japan and the US became equal partners
- left out provisions giving the US right to exert power
- over Japanese security and even domestic issues
- this treaty has survived till the present day

Southeast Asia



South Asia in 1960



- 1 USSR
- 2 Afghanistan
- 3 Pakistan (West)
- 4 Pakistan (East)
- 5 India
- 6 Portuguese India
- 7 Nepal
- 8 Bhutan
- 9 Sikkim
- 10 Maldives
- 11 China
- 12 Burma
- 13 Laos
- 14 North Vietnam
- 15 South Vietnam
- 16 Cambodia
- 17 Thailand
- 18 Malaya
- 19 Singapore (Br.)
- 20 Indonesia
- 21 Ceylon

Southeast Asia

- return of colonial powers to their colonies – but the world had changed
- previous Japanese occupation
- lack of resources to control these territories, nationalists fill the vacuum
- especially Dutch East Indies and French Indochina
- armed confrontations with the French, the Dutch - inspired by China

The Philippines

- The US dependency – formally independent in 1946, a US satellite
- The US helped rebuild the country – under conditions
- trade treaty, the US bases in the country, part of the US defense perimeter
- 1948 a communist insurgency, the US helped with its containment
- spokesperson for the US interests, quite different from its neighbors

Indonesia

- formally independent after Japanese surrender in 1945
- typical non-aligned state, ambivalent, anti-communist, anti-colonialist
- the Dutch kept their presence, “police actions” against rebels
- a lot of pressure to withdraw > eventually they did, actual independence in 1949
- president Sukarno’s “guided democracy”
- undeclared war with Malaysia contesting its independence (1963-1966)
- “*Konfrontasi*”
- semi-liberal, semi-authoritarian
- 1965 a failed coup, 1966 General Suharto takes power

Malaysia

- independence took much longer, more complicated ethnic structure
- half of the population – ethnic Chinese, Indian
- ethnic Malay elites were not persuaded by a state project
- minorities would have equal citizens' rights
- a communist insurgency, widely backed by Malaysian Chinese
- state of emergency from 1948, officially until 1960, but some remaining guerrillas until late 1980s
- at a large cost defeated, hundreds of thousands of Chinese resettled
- a pact between factions led to independence in 1957

Thailand

- **never colonized**
- its military government aligned itself with the US
- participated in the Korean War
- party to the 1954 Manila Pact with the US
- a formal US commitment to defend the country
- Bangkok – HQ of South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)

Vietnam

- the most important country in Indochina
- after 1945: struggle for independence from France
- communist Vietminh in the north – support by the new communist China
- The US support of the south
- the First Indochina War (1946-1954) – war of independence

Geneva conference, Geneva Agreements (1954)

- independence of Laos and Cambodia, Vietnam split in two states
- addressing Korea and Indochina
- it marks the definitive integration of East Asia into the Cold War system
- affirmed the two-state status quo after the Korean War
- ended the First Indochina War, end of French colonial presence
- but out of 4 states that were born, only one was communist
- post-Stalin USSR and stabilizing China wanted more restraint
- pressure on Vietnamese communists to give up grounds in the south
- (1979 Sino-Vietnamese war: memory of the “betrayal at Geneva”)
- The US didn't accept the Final Declaration – saw it as a communist victory
- under pressure from allies it did not block the settlement > declared that any violation of these agreements is a threat to peace

Southeast Asia – a summary

- very different states, different political developments
- different degrees of allegiance in the bipolar system
- Thailand and the two Vietnams – emphasized old statehood legacies
- Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia – “artificial” states
- remnants of the colonial order, difficult nation-building
- several similarities:
 1. ruled by westernized elites who had to deal with the chaos in political traditions and the new international system
 2. all states suffered from territorial disputes and all ultimately swayed by Cold War dynamics

Asian character of bipolarity (from 1954)

- bipolarity never as strong and clear-cut as in Europe
- Taiwan, Korea, in part Vietnam – theaters of the bipolar struggle
- the US – naval hegemony in the Pacific region
- the USSR – never too much power in the Pacific except for communist allies
- influence on non-aligned states: India, partly Indonesia and Afghanistan
- The US policy of containment (George Kennan)
- In Europe: communism = Soviet power; democracy = American power
- Asia: communist states weren't always closely aligned with the USSR
- The US allies weren't often exactly democratic
- Asian "Marshall plan" – make allies more competitive
- investment policies in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan

A path to Vietnam War

- complicated situation in Indochina, states were very fragile
- Eisenhower administration: fall of South Vietnam – domino effect
- the view remained through Kennedy and Johnson administrations
- late 1950s – communist insurgency in South Vietnam
- Ngô Đình Diệm’s South – weak regime compared to Hồ Chí Minh’s North
- Kennedy administration blamed Moscow, later Beijing
- China must be shown that “national liberation wars” will be stopped
- allies must be shown the US will stand by its obligations
- realists: failure to distinguish between primary and secondary interests
- afterwards, liberals: criticism of the war on ethical grounds

Vietnam War

- 1963 – military coup in South Vietnam (the US support), president killed
- North sees it as an opportunity to increase guerrilla activity
- under Johnson, the US troops replaced South Vietnamese of the battlefield
- attempt to force North to negotiate by gradual escalation – backfired
- essentially a war of attrition – not politically sustainable for a democracy



Vietnam War III

- bombing stiffened the resistance
- 1968 Tết Offensive
- goal to end the war honorably (with South Vietnam independence)
- it took five years to withdraw
- 1973 Paris Peace Accords
- 1975 Vietnam reunified by force - a complete humiliation for the US
- the original goal to change China's behavior was completely obsolete

Vietnam War – the US perspective

- Defense Secretary McNamara in 1962: “Every quantitative measurement we have shows we’re winning this war.”
- J. F. Kennedy (1961-63): “Our goal is a stable government there, carrying on a struggle to maintain its national independence. We believe strongly in that.... In my opinion for us to withdraw from that effort would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam but Southeast Asia. So we are going to stay there.”
- 1963 – President Kennedy assassinated
- President Johnson (1963-69) didn’t run for re-election
- President Nixon (1969-74) entered the office with the task of ending the war

Taiwan

- a vestige of the nationalist Kuomintang power
- two crises in the Taiwan Strait :
 1. 1954-1955
 2. 1958
- in addition to Taiwan proper (Formosa), Republic of China controlled
- a few dozen islands in the Taiwan straits
- used them for the naval blockade of China and military exercises
- symbolic value – to show people in the mainland that KMT would return



First Taiwan Strait Crisis (1954-55)

- 1954 China started bombing some of the islands to expel KMT troops, to break the blockade and set the ground for a future invasion
- the Eisenhower administration didn't want a confrontation with China
- urged KMT to evacuate some islands
- also worries that it would lead Taiwan to make a treaty with China
- 1954 security treaty with the US, situation expected to calm down
- it did not, China's bombing of the islands increased
- early 1955 one of the islands conquered by China
- The US diplomacy forced KMT to evacuate more islands, defend the rest
- The US PR campaign preparing the public for the use of nuclear weapons
- China deescalated and retreated

Second Taiwan Strait Crisis (1958)

- 1958 another crisis
- in 3 years, Taiwan put about $\frac{1}{3}$ of its army on the islands
- in reaction, China resumed bombing the islands, preparing for invasion
- The US sent a large armada in the area and made China pull back

Taiwan Strait Crisis



Taiwan and the USA

- Taiwan a source of concern for the US
- Chiang Kai Shek not a very peaceful and democratic leader
- KMT was a formed like a Leninist organization
- Chiang Kai Shek had been trained in Moscow
- strong statism, state-owned businesses
- end of 1950s: liberal economic reforms
- until 1965 huge American financial aid
- of all investments, solely from the US:
 - 34% in the entire economy, 74% in infrastructure, 59% in agriculture
 - majority of the money – grants or payable in devaluing Taiwanese dollar
- Taiwanese market opened for the US

China and the USA

- Nixon administration change the US policy
- communism itself no longer a key threat, only the USSR seen as a threat
- in theory more tolerance to independent communist states, movements
- to help limit Soviet power, expansion
- applied to some European states (Balkans) and especially China
- 1969 an undeclared war (border clashes) between USSR and China
- Sino-Soviet split
- The US wanted to make use of it and drive a wedge between them
- attempt at a triangular diplomacy, US-USSR-China (Henry Kissinger)

Ping-Pong Diplomacy

- 1971: Chinese table tennis team was allowed to compete in Japan
- first meeting between Chinese and American players was friendly
- Mao invited American players to visit China, White House agreed
- the players met Zhou Enlai and other senior representatives
- “new chapter in US-Chinese relations”, in days the era of mistrust ended
- Nixon changed several policies, incl. ending the 22-year trade embargo



The US-China negotiations

- secret negotiations through Pakistani and Polish intermediaries
- desire to meet, Kissinger and Nixon were invited to China
- on a trip to Pakistan, Kissinger feigned illness and didn't appear for a day > he in fact traveled to Beijing and negotiated with Zhou Enlai and others
- Kissinger promised that after the Vietnam war
- $\frac{2}{3}$ of the US troops would withdraw from Taiwan, more if relations are good
- Kissinger assured the US respects Taiwan being a part of China
- China in return promised not to hurry with reunification



- UNGA resolution 2758 (1971)
- Taiwan expelled from the UN
- PRC recognized as China in the UN
- PRC (China) replaced ROC (Taiwan)
- in the Security Council seat

2758 (XXVI). Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations

The General Assembly,

Recalling the principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Considering that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China is essential both for the protection of the Charter of the United Nations and for the cause that the United Nations must serve under the Charter,

Recognizing that the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China are the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations and that the People's Republic of China is one of the five permanent members of the Security Council,

Decides to restore all its rights to the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations, and to expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it.

*1976th plenary meeting,
25 October 1971.*

The US-China negotiations II

- 1972 Nixon came for an official visit to China
- a joint “Shanghai Communiqué”
- normalization of relations is in the interest of both parties
- both parties wish to decrease the risk of military conflict
- neither party wants to achieve hegemony in the Asia-Pacific and would prevent any other party in achieving it
- China wouldn’t act to worsen the situation in Korea and Indochina
- USA and China would not cooperate with the Soviet bloc > de-facto alliance against USSR
- end of the era of Chinese containment
- The U.S. Liaison Office established – an unofficial embassy



The US-China relations

- Nixon resigned, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai died
- normalization slowed down
- the Taiwan issue remained unresolved
- Beijing refused normalization of this issue while the US troops are present
- the Congress would now take over the dominant role from the president
- Jackson-Vanik amendment – allowed for trade relations with China

The US-China relations II

- Carter and his national security advisor Brzezinski started seeing
- the same benefits in dialog with China as Nixon and Kissinger had
- cooperation in the fight against USSR
- end of 1978, beginning of 1979:
- Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations
- full normalization, official embassies established

The US-Taiwan relations

- US troops retreated from Taiwan
- formal diplomatic relations with Taiwan ended
- Beijing agreed that the US would keep commercial, cultural
- other unofficial contacts with Taiwan, send material and military aid
- Taiwan Relations Act
- American Institute of Taiwan – de facto embassy
- the law doesn't explicitly say US will help Taiwan in case of Chinese aggression
- but states that any other than peaceful ways to influence Taiwan's fate is contrary to US vital interests in the region – strategic ambiguity

Q & A

