



NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COURSE CODE: INR 341

COURSE TITLE: ASIA IN WORLD POLITICS

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NIGERIA**

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Course Title: Asia in World Politics

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

INR 341: Asia in World Politics (2 Credit Units C)

This course examines the nature of international politics in Asia especially since World War II. As a significant component of world politics, Asia Pacific confronts many major issues. This is a region in which the United States, China, and Japan relate directly to one another. Thus this volume also explores the role and place of important countries like Japan, Korea and China in Asian and global politics. In Southeast Asia the various states have faced numerous “nation building” challenges, none more so than Indonesia. Many groups oppose the authority of the existing states, and these tensions often spill over into the international arena.

This course will also examine the Alliances or otherwise that characterized the cold war era; non-alignment as practiced by some nations, notably India, during those tumultuous years. The course will also explore the influence, if any, of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) on the relationships and security of the nations involved.

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MODULE 1: ASIA AT A GLANCE

INTRODUCTION

This module will delve into the overall nature of Asian society with a view to providing a succinct picture. Thus, because we are dealing with a complex and massive continent, this module will provide a gradual breakdown of the development or evolution of the Asian society. This is very pertinent because of the high confusion that often attends the discussion of the continent of Asia. To this extent maps and tables have been employed to help us in the achievement of this task. This module is made up of five units, the framework upon which we would base our further discussions of Asia.

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UNIT 1 STATE AND SOCIETY IN ANCIENT ASIA

CONTENTS

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 History and Growth of Asia
- 1.4 Asia from 1500 AD
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The task of this unit is to educate the casual reader on the Asian society. The discussion which would be undertaken here is important because it would reveal to us the philosophy that shape and continues to shape Asian society; for instance the ancient feudal ethos that calls for un-reserved service to the state in Japan. At the end of this unit you should be able to discuss Asian society and location. It should be borne in mind that whenever we mention Asia in this discussion we do not include the Middle East and Turkey.

1.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:-

- Discuss the origin and society of early Asia and the boundaries of Asia.
- Point out the challenges of the early society and also the benefits of the arrival of the Western man

1.3 History and Growth of Asia

Asian is the greatest of the five continents in terms of population size and has a third of the earth's land surface. 90% of Asians live in South and East Asia, the area from Bangladesh up to and including Japan. This area produces nine-tenths of the world's rice and has an annual rainfall of 50cm. It has a dry North and West and a moist South and East. There is along the Southern and Eastern frontiers, the steppe-like highlands of Afghanistan, the snow clad Himalayas, the barren table land of Tibet, the desert of Gobi and hills and coniferous forests of eastern Siberia north of Manchuria. The North and West is characterized by centuries old fertile oases like the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Russian area southeast of the sea of Aral.

At the frontiers, Asia is in the East bounded by the Pacific Ocean that may go by other nomenclature near the coast such as the Bering Sea, the sea of Okhotsk, the Sea of Japan, the Yellow Sea or the South China Sea. These waters belong to the Pacific and Japan and the Philippines lie within it. Between the Pacific and Indian oceans, on the boundary lies Indonesia. Asia is demarcated from other continents by the Indian Ocean and East of India this ocean is regarded as the Gulf of Bengal, West of India the sea of Arabia, Persia Gulf and the Red sea. The Northern frontier runs from the Bering straits to Novaya Zemlya. The Western boundary presents more difficulty. The line can be traced from Novaya Zemlya, Southward along the Urals to the sources of the Pechora; then Southeast to the frontier of the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan in the neighbourhood of Petropaulousk (long. 70) westerly along the Kazakhstan frontier to the Caspian sea at the mouth of the Volga. The line turns Westward South of the Caucasus to the Black sea along the Northern coast of Turkey and the East coast of the Mediterranean to the Suez Canal and the Red sea, between Aden and Jibuti, drains into the Red sea.

Asia in 1200 AD, just before the Mongol Empire

It is speculated, according to popular academic history, that what we today refer to as the Asian peoples emerged from South and East Asia in the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates of the Indus and Ganges, of the Hoang-ho and the Yang-tse; and from there disseminated into the surrounding landscape. The new arrivals brought with them techniques of soil cultivation and irrigation. The migrants had also been ravaged by a nomad tribe from the North who sought suzerainty over lands they over ran. However as obtains in history the conquest did not lead to the obliteration of existing social behaviour but instead the attainment of higher levels. It was from this process that a new caste was sighted which lived off the farmers and could devote itself to the task of defence and culture, that is as warriors and priests.

Asia presents a conundrum of religions and in ancient times an intense spiritual life flourished; there are evidences of this in sacred writings. Little wonder that Asia is the producer of the world's great religions. In India there is Hinduism which proclaims a higher morality by the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul and its rebirth in a higher form, if a life of moral goodness has been led; the Chinese in reaction to and against the stagnation of Brahmanism evolved Buddhism which can today account for some 200 million followers; Japan in addition to Buddhism practices Shintoism which combines religious practices with a doctrine of moral obligation with emphasis on social conduct and loyalty to emperor and the state. A Chinese philosopher expounded the ethic now known as Confucianism with about 300,000 followers; it postulates the primacy of human values. Zarathustra, from Persia, appeared at about the same time, teaching that history is a war between good and evil in which good will eventually triumph. Its adherents- the Parsees in India were driven from Persia in the aftermath of the Muslim conquest. The emergence of all these religions is a pointer to the fact that rather than

being in stagnation the Asian society was a society in continuous ferment. The idea that Asia was immobile was brokered largely by European scholars as they did everywhere else by using their continent as a barometer of change.

For many centuries, agrarian wise, however, Asia has remained the same. The cultivation of rice, corn or maize produced the annual harvest broken only by drought. According to a scholar 'Asia indeed is like the sea. When the waves are whipped up to great size by the tempest, it is only the surface of the sea that is disturbed; the lower depths remain unaffected' (Romein, 1962: 23). And so in Asian society turmoil afflicted the top echelon while the peasants plundered on as ever before. However it should be noted that the movement above was brought on by the lack of movement below. This is because due to the rigidity of the mode production it was difficult for the leadership to raise their standard of life and so instead resorted to plundering the peasants in the quest for power. If the plundering rose beyond the absorbing capacity of the peasants they revolted and the leader of the revolution succeeded to power and the status quo prevailed until the next circle of revolt. This static agricultural scenario different from the dynamism of Europe is attributed to the fundamental cause of social division- prevalent even today between the rich and the poor in Asia. While Europe had the middle class and growing trade, Asia had no middle class and ignored trade in preference for agriculture. Observe the monstrous difference between the magnificence of courts and palaces and the huts of peasants. Thus the much fabled 'oriental splendour' is not a fairy tale world but the sheer unlimited plundering of the peasant hood by the upper classes; be it the sultan of Turkey, Shah or the Great Mogul; the Persian Satrap, the viceroy or war-lord of China and the Shogun of Japan; remember the sheer suffocating opulence of the Taj- Mahal. The rulers dwelt in palaces as large as little towns built at little or no cost because the peasant was only allocated what kept him alive. In instances where more was demanded the peasant was made to work for nothing. This resulted in the amassing of treasure of gold and silver and even whatever was expended on palace favourites came back via this exploitation to the coffers of the ruler or his successors.

A causal glance at Chinese literature will reveal the extent of absolutism that was prevalent in the Asia of old and persist even up to the present age. In truth the great wealth was not wholly spent on frivolities only to be re-accumulated. It was also spent on education and as noted above on higher culture and the achievements of Asia in the field of philosophy, science and astronomy are solid and plain. In this wise, the first observatory was standing in perking 300 years before Europe gave a thought to having its own. Even in art and literature the achievements of the Persian court, poets, the Chinese mandarins and the Buddhist monks are present marvels. Despite all these achievements,

the peasant whose toil made it all possible was carefully excluded. Thus the Asian poverty is as proverbial as oriental luxury. The tragedy and misery of the peasant was total in the ancient age; in China his daughters became slaves of his landlord; in Japan they became geishas; in Singapore he may be forced to sell himself as a rickshaw. In Asia, in ancient times, poverty was the cover of everyman. If perchance he acquired a house or livestock it was certain that all would be lost shortly. For lurking just around the corner was a bad harvest, a loan shark or an armed troop that lay bare all they surveyed. Little wonder that soldiering is highly repudiated in China even today.

‘Thus lived the Asian masses, generation after generation, century after century, living in A.D 1500 just as they had lived in 1500 BC; un-coveting, un-desiring and so renouncing the effort to gain an existence worthy of a human being’ (Romein, 1962: 25)

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. What factor accounts mainly for the distress of the peasant?

1.4 Asia from 1500 AD

From about this time Europe helped by the exigencies of capitalism burst out of her borders in a violent explosion of energy to all corners of the world-known and unknown. First to trade and then to rule. Thus we see a rapid succession of Portuguese, Spaniards, Englishmen, Frenchmen and Dutchmen steaming eastwards. A few centuries gone, Europe had been unable to do this but the attainment of the first stage of capitalism granted her the initiative which she took and was now able to counter the Arabs and the Mongols who had once assailed her frontier. The advent of 1800 brought with it the climax of capitalism and consequently the influx of goods into Asia, the opium war with China and the opening of the Suez Canal allowed the west to make landfall in Asia in record time. Imperialism followed closely in the well laid tracks of trade as European capital doggedly sought the areas of greatest return and in this wise South and East Asia were targeted. Because of the emphasis on profit making the question of the ability of Asia to absorb all that Europe had spent about 300 years to achieve in a short while was never critically examined. Thus the advent of the westerner dislocated Easterner societal order leading to violent out breaks. Fortuitously, the urge for profit led to the overthrow of the worst excesses of ancient Asia although often in place of the liquidated evil, new and unintended and unexpected ones arose in their place. Thus capitalism brought education for the peasants must read to make a social system workable- this meant high schools and university and agricultural training and water supply and hospitals.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

2. What factor provoked Europe to leave its borders and in the quest of what benefit?

1.5 SUMMARY

Our discourse in this unit has focused on the evolution of the ancient Asian society- one of the earliest civilizations in the world. We saw how great religions originated from that continent and spread to other parts of the world. The lopsided nature of the Asian society was also highlighted; as the peasants were made to work and die in the pursuit of the pleasure of the upper class. By 1500 as Europe was discovering herself, her boundless energy soon brought her into contact with this vast continent in which she sought an outlet for the energies of her enterprise. The mating of the two cultures soon brought turmoil to the Asian society which was the less developed of the two.

1.6 REFERENCES/ FURTHER READINGS/WEB SOURCES

Romein, J. (1962) *The Asian Century: A History of Modern Nationalism in Asia*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

1.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAEs

ANSWERS TO SAEs 1

For many centuries, agrarian wise, however, Asia has remained the same. The cultivation of rice, corn or maize produced the annual harvest broken only by drought. According to a scholar 'Asia indeed is like the sea. When the waves are whipped up to great size by the tempest, it is only the surface of the sea that is disturbed; the lower depths remain unaffected' (Romein, 1962: 23). And so in Asian society turmoil afflicted the top echelon while the peasants plundered on as ever before. However it should be noted that the movement above was brought on by the lack of movement below. This is because due to the rigidity of the mode production it was difficult for the leadership to raise their standard of life and so instead resorted to plundering the peasants in the quest for power. Despite all these achievement, the peasant whose toil made it all possible was carefully excluded.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 2

From about this time Europe helped by the exigencies of capitalism bust out of her borders in a violent explosion of energy to all corners of the world-known and unknown. First to trade and then to rule. A few centuries gone, Europe had been unable to do this but the attainment of the first stage of capitalism granted her the initiative which she took and was now able to counter the Arabs and the Mongols who had once assailed her frontier. . Fortuitously, the urge for profit led to the overthrow of the worst excesses of ancient Asia although often in place of the liquidated evil, new and unintended and unexpected ones arose in their place. Thus capitalism brought education for the peasants must read to make a social system workable- this meant high schools and university and agricultural training and water supply and hospitals.

UNIT 2: A SIMPLIFIED GUIDE TO ASIA

CONTENTS

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Understanding Asia
 - 2.3.1 Central Asia
 - 2.3.2 East Asia
 - 2.3.3 North Asia
 - 2.3.4 Southeast Asia
 - 2.3.5 South Asia
- 2.4 Maps and Table
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/Further Readings/WEB Sources
- 2.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Asia is a massive continent made up of several countries, because of its proximity to and geographical contiguity to Europe and the Middle East there arises the tendency for confusion. In fact it is for this reason that for a while scholars could not be sure as to how to classify Russia and other frontier states. For a while the Arab world and Israel had been grouped under Asia, however today they have been sliced out as the Middle East. Currently in order to circumvent this problem certain parts of the frontier between Asia and Europe are classified as Eurasia. In order to provide the reader with an idea of the countries actually situated in Asia, this unit will provide details of their flags and their locations by regions.

2.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:-

- State the countries that make up Asia
- State the regions of Asia and their location on the continent

2.3 Understanding Asia

Since the 18th century Asia has been divided into several sub-regions independently defined from Asia as a whole. There have been no historical consensus and there is not now any universal consensus on the use of these terms, just as there is none for the word "Asia".

2.3.1 Central Asia

Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan, Afghanistan, Mongolia and the Western regions of China in addition.

2.3.2 East Asia

China, Hong Kong, Macao, North Korea, South Korea, Japan, Mongolia

2.3.3 North Asia

The Asian part of the Russian Federation (Siberia)

2.3.4 Southeast Asia

Mainland Southeast Asia includes the countries Myanmar (Burma), Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Malaysia. Maritime Southeast Asia includes Malaysia, Brunei, the Philippines, Singapore, Indonesia, and Timor-Leste.

2.3.5 South Asia

Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Maldives, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, and Iran
























SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. List the regions of Asia and the countries that fall under them?

Asian Regions









- The Blue Zone is the Asian part of Russia, included in Eastern Europe by the UN
- The Purple Zone is Central Asia
- The Green Zone is Western Asia
- The Red Zone is Southern Asia
- The Yellow Zone is Eastern Asia
- The Orange Zone is Southeastern Asia.

Geographical Listing of Countries by Regions







territory, with flag	Area (km ²)	Population	Pop. density (/km ²)	Capital
Central Asia				
 Kazakhstan	2,724,927	16,536,000	6.1	Astana
 Kyrgyzstan	199,951	5,587,443	27.9	Bishkek
 Tajikistan	143,100	7,627,200	53.3	Dushanbe
 Turkmenistan	488,100	4,997,503	10.2	Ashgabat
 Uzbekistan	447,400	28,128,600	62.9	Tashkent
Eastern Asia				
China	9,640,821	1,322,044,605	134.0	Beijing
 <i>Kong</i>	1,104	7,122,508	6,451.5	—
 Japan	377,947	127,920,000	338.5	Tokyo
 North Korea	120,540	23,479,095	184.4	Pyongyang
 South Korea	98,480	49,232,844	490.7	Seoul
 <i>Macau</i>	25	460,823	18,473.3	—
 Mongolia	1,565,000	2,996,082	1.7	Ulaan Baatar
 Taiwan	35,980	22,920,946	626.7	Taipei
Northern Asia				
 Russian	17,075,400	142,200,000	26.8	Moscow
South eastern Asia				
 Brunei	5,770	381,371	66.1	Bandar Seri Begawan
 Myanmar	676,578	47,758,224	70.3	Naypyidaw
 Cambodia	181,035	13,388,910	74	Phnom Penh
 Indonesia	1,919,440	230,512,000	120.1	Jakarta
 Laos	236,800	6,677,534	28.2	Vientiane
 Malaysia	329,847	27,780,000	84.2	Kuala Lumpur
 Philippines	300,000	92,681,453	308.9	Manila
 Singapore	704	4,608,167	6,545.7	Singapore
 Thailand	514,000	65,493,298	127.4	Bangkok
 Timor-Leste	15,007	1,108,777	73.8	Dili

 Vietnam	331,690	86,116,559	259.6	Hanoi
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Southern Asia

 Afghanistan	647,500	32,738,775	42.9	Kabul
 Bangladesh	147,570	153,546,901	1040.5	Dhaka
 Bhutan	38,394	682,321	17.8	Thimphu
 India	3,287,263	1,147,995,226	349.2	New Delhi
 Maldives	300	379,174	1,263.3	Malé
 Nepal	147,181	29,519,114	200.5	Kathmandu
 Pakistan	803,940	167,762,049	208.7	Islamabad
 Sri Lanka	65,610	21,128,773	322.0	Sri-Jayawardenapura-Kotte

Western Asia

 Armenia	29,800	3,299,000	280.7	Yerevan
 Azerbaijan	86,660	8,845,127	102.736	Baku
 Bahrain	665	718,306	987.1	Manama
 Cyprus	9,250	792,604	83.9	Nicosia
 Georgia	69,700	4,636,400	65.1	Tbilisi
 Yemen	527,970	23,013,376	35.4	Sana'a
Asia	43,810,582	4,162,966,086	89.07	

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

- List three countries each from each of the regions of Asians together with a description of its flag.

2.5 SUMMARY

Discussion in this unit has been on the elucidation of the geographical outlook of the Asia continent. In this regard we have noted the various regions that make up the continent and the countries they constitute. In order to simplify the identities of the constituent units of Asia, even further, a detailed map and flags of the countries have been provided.

2.6 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS/WEB SOURCES

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Geography_of_Asia

http://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:History_of_Asia

2.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAEs

ANSWERS TO SAEs 1

▪ Central Asia

Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan, Afghanistan, Mongolia and the Western regions of China in addition

▪ East Asia

China, Hong Kong, Macao, North Korea, South Korea, Japan, Mongolia

▪ North Asia

The Asian part of the Russian Federation (Siberia)

▪ Southeast Asia

Mainland Southeast Asia includes the countries Myanmar (Burma), Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Malaysia. Maritime Southeast Asia includes Malaysia, Brunei, the Philippines, Singapore, Indonesia, and Timor-Leste.

▪ South Asia

Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Maldives, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, and Iran

ANSWERS TO SAEs 2

- The Purple Zone is Central Asia

Kazakhstan

Kyrgyzstan

Tajikistan

- The Green Zone is Western Asia

Armenia

Azerbaijan

Bahrain

- The Yellow Zone is Eastern Asia

Kong
Japan
North Korea

UNIT 3: ASIA IN WORLD WAR 2

CONTENTS

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 A Cursory Examination of World War 2
 - 3.3.1 Pearl Harbour
 - 3.3.2 The U.S Entrance
 - 3.3.3 The March on Japan
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 References/Further Readings/WEB Sources
- 3.6 Possible Answers to SAEs

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Isolated and self-contained for years, the Asian society suddenly found its self-penetrated and opened forcefully by western foreign interests intent on plunder. For many years the natives simmered on the yoke imposed on them by these interests and their local interests. But by the late 1930s led by the Japanese, the Asians were ready to shed the toga of bondage. In this unit we shall briefly examine the reasons behind the Japanese aggression and the consequences.

3.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:-

- state the basic reason for the War
- narrate the prosecution of the war in Asia and the defeat of the Japanese

3.3 A Cursory Examination of World War 2

The war in Europe began in September 1939, when Germany, under Chancellor Adolf Hitler, invaded Poland. Britain and France responded by declaring war on Germany but took little action over the following months. In 1940, Germany launched its next initiative by attacking Denmark and Norway, followed shortly thereafter by attacks on Belgium, the Netherlands, and France. All of these nations were conquered rapidly. Later in the summer of 1940, Germany launched a further attack on Britain, this time exclusively from the air. The Battle of Britain was Germany's first military failure, as the German air force, the Luftwaffe,

was never able to overcome Britain's Royal Air Force.

Later in 1941, Germany began its most ambitious action yet, by invading the Soviet Union. Although the Germans initially made swift progress and advanced deep into the Russian heartland, the invasion of the USSR would prove to be the downfall of Germany's war effort. The country was just too big, and although Russia's initial resistance was weak, the nation's strength and determination, combined with its brutal winters, would eventually be more than the German army could overcome. In 1943, after the battles of Stalingrad and Kursk, Germany was forced into a full-scale retreat. During the course of 1944, the Germans were slowly but steadily forced completely out of Soviet territory, after which the Russians pursued them across Eastern Europe and into Germany itself in 1945.

3.3.1 Pearl Harbor

In East Asia we may say the new world war began on the night of July 7, 1937, at the Marco Polo Bridge at Peking. It was the signal for the great Japanese offensive against China proper; apart from the two world wars it is the greatest war in history. When the fascist abscess burst in Europe in September 1939 and the Second World War broke out with the invasion of Poland by the Germans, Tokyo felt the hour had come to realise its dreams. On April 13, 1941, when the Germans had occupied three-quarters of Europe, Japan signed the Japanese-Russo treaty of Neutrality, which was a protection for their rear as they struck southwards. On June 22, 1941, the Germans invaded Russian on a front of over 1600 miles. On September 29th, the Japanese premier, Hideki Tojo, who was to be hanged as a war criminal in the winter of 1948, declared that an end must be put to the influence of the British and Americans in East Asia. On December 2nd, Roosevelt learned of the Japanese aims in Indochina.

The war in the Pacific began on December 7, 1941, when warplanes from Japan launched a surprise attack on the U.S. Navy base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. At the same time, Japanese planes and ships attacked Guam, Midway, Wake, the Philippines, Hong Kong and Malaya. By this time, Japan had already been at war with China for several years and had seized the Chinese territory of Manchuria. After the Pearl Harbor attack, Japan began a massive campaign of expansion throughout the Southeast Asia–Pacific region.

3.3.2 The U.S. Entrance and Battle of Midway

Although the Pearl Harbor attack provoked a declaration of war by the United States on Japan the very next day, it would be several months before U.S. forces would get seriously involved militarily. In late spring of 1942, the United States and Japan engaged in a series of naval battles, climaxing in the Battle of Midway on June 3–6, 1942, in which Japan suffered a catastrophic defeat. For the next year, the United States engaged Japan in a protracted struggle for the Solomon Islands, which lay near vital Allied shipping routes. Between August 1942 and February 1943, Allied forces carried out an invasion on the island of Guadalcanal—the beginning of a long series of Allied offensives that would eventually force the Japanese out of the Solomons and then pursue them from various other Pacific island chains that the Japanese had earlier seized. In the meantime, British and Indian forces were combating Japanese troops in Burma.

3.3.3 The March on Japan

Fighting continued throughout the Pacific in 1944 and early 1945, including major battles at Leyte, Iwo Jima, and Okinawa. By the late spring of 1945, most of Japan's conquests had been liberated, and Allied forces were closing in on the Japanese home islands. As they neared Japan proper, the Allies began heavy bombing campaigns against major Japanese cities, including Tokyo. This process continued through the summer of 1945 until finally, in early August, the United States dropped two atomic bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Stunned by the unexpected devastation, Japan surrendered a few days later.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. Why did the Japanese sign the Treaty with the Soviet Union?

3.4 SUMMARY

Perhaps, the Germans had truly sought world domination and hegemony but this is quite different from the underlying ambitions of the Japanese which was to throw overboard the western interests that had plundered the Asian region for decades, and thus become the new overlords. The Japanese had managed to take over China but were stymied by the superior armies of the U.S. after a brilliant beginning to the campaign the Japanese war machine bogged down; by the sheer weight of the task it had set for itself, by Chinese

resistance fighters and the loss of valuable resource yielding territories.

3.5 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS/WEB SOURCES

Romein, J. (1962) *The Asian Century: A History of Modern Nationalism in Asia*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

World War II (1939–1945) <http://www.sparknotes.com/history/european/ww2/>

3.6 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAEs **ANSWERS TO SAEs 1**

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- At the same time, Japanese planes and ships attacked Guam, Midway, Wake, the Philippines, Hong Kong and Malaya.
- By this time, Japan had already been at war with China for several 19 years and had seized the Chinese territory of Manchuria.
- After the Pearl Harbor attack, Japan began a massive campaign of expansion throughout the Southeast Asia–Pacific region.
- In 1945 early August, the United States dropped two atomic bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Stunned by the unexpected devastation, Japan surrendered a few days later.

UNIT 4: NATURE OF POLITICS IN ASIA SINCE WORLD WAR 2

CONTENTS

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Asian Government and Administration in the immediate Aftermath of World War
- 4.4 Asian Politics and Society since World War 2
 - 4.4.1 The Asian Renaissance
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous unit examined the geographical location and place of Asia in the globe. It provided a simplified detail of countries of Asia. In this unit we shall examine the politics and developments in Asia in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. We shall, to

cement our understanding of these events, cursorily investigate the internal politics and dynamics of selected countries.

4.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:-

- discuss Asian society in the years following the end of the Second World War.
- state the factors that shaped the Asian politics of that era.
- account for the factors that led to the non-take off of democratic governance and the rise of authoritarianism.

4.3 Asian Government and Administration in the Immediate Aftermath of World War 2

Governments in Asia in the post-war period had assumed varying forms; constitutional monarchy, absolute monarchy, republic, military regime and communism; all being shaded to lesser or greater degree by democracy, communist dictatorship and non-communist authoritarianism. Japan, India, the Philippines, Malaya all fell under the democratic label with variations from the pure model; China, North Korea and North Vietnam fell under the communist structure with its one party system. Other Asian states had varying degrees of authoritarianism. Some like Thailand, South Korea, Burma and Pakistan had military dictatorship or civilian dictatorship as in South Vietnam; Indonesia was under a diarchy and absolute monarchy held the reins in Afghanistan, Nepal and Cambodia. Just like in Africa, Asia within a decade of political independence, had seen the tearing apart of the elaborate framework of constitutional democracy or the shearing of its substantive innards. The main sources of the instability were complex and varied but the main factor was widespread and debilitating poverty which allied to the prevalent, pervasive tradition of antipathy to governmental authority reared by centuries of fear and resentment. The peasant hood had long associated government with the tax collector and the oppressor, friend and protector of moneylender and landlord. It did not really matter if they were foreign or native after all they made the same demand and imposed the same burden. When independence came it only brought about a change in the tax collector and no appreciable change in the peasant's level of living. Thus as these new governments tottered they found to their chagrin the lack of grassroots support for their policies.

The political elite also contributed its quota to the instability as it carried on the legacy of political negativism and obstructionism associated with the colonial period, into self-rule. In the new Asian states obstruction of the new governments became the norm for those who felt side lined by electoral defeats. Intolerance festered; for those in government the opposition was treason for those outside government, government was immoral. Before long, the obstructionist attitude coupled to the long history of the use of violence to achieve

political ends started to bring about the earnest demise of these early governments.

There was also the fact too that Asia had had a long history of autocratic political institutions, in short, it is apt to state that Asia's early political system had been dyed in absolutism of the fiercest kind (see "History and Growth of Asia" in unit 1). Thus government was stern, distant and harsh, and even after democratic ethos arrived, government by decree and ukase, by political power and threat of punishment was the recognized pattern. Various Asian leaders chafed against the tenets of western democracy- Sukarno of Indonesia, Ayub Khan of Pakistan, Bandaranaike of Ceylon and Narayan of India. Their grouse was its foreignness or as Sukarno put it, democracy is 'notin harmony with the soul of the Indonesian nation'. They criticized the party conflict and foresaw eventual disintegration arising from the parliamentary process. However in orderto assure some international respect they felt the need to retain some slender shards of democracy; thus we saw Sukarno's 'Guided Democracy', Ayub Khan's 'BasicDemocracy', Bandaranike's 'Substance of Democracy' and Narayan's 'Party-less Democracy'. Hear Ayub Khan's rationale behind his 'Basic Democracy':

Pakistan must have democracy. The question then is: what type of democracy? The answer need not be sought in the theories and practices of other people alone. On the contrary, it must be found from within the book of Pakistan itself. To my mind, there are four prerequisites for the success of any democratic system in a country like Pakistan: (1) it should be simple to understand, easy to work and cheap to sustain. (2) It should put to the voter only such questions as he can answer in the light of his own personal knowledge and understanding, without external prompting. (3) It should ensure the effective participation of all citizens in the affairs of the country up to the level of their mental horizon and intellectual calibre. (4) It should be able to produce reasonably strong and stable governments (Jan, 1969: 54)

The lack of an adequate frame within the civil service to adequately canter to the policies of the government intended for the proper workings of a welfare state also significantly disrupted the ability of the government to extend its services properly. In this regard, the growing demands made by a populace desperate to be lifted from the angry clutches of poverty could not be met. This was one of the reasons why, when communism came along the people were not averse to its teachings.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. What factors accounted for the rise of authoritarianism and the faltering of democracy in Asia in the immediate post-war era?

4.3 Asia Politics and Society since World War 2

Prior to World War 2, Asia had been ruled by several colonial powers- Great Britain,

France, the Netherlands, Japan, the U.S and the Soviet Union. Although the U.S.S.R had no official possessions in Asia, its control of Outer Mongolia and parts of Chinese Sankiang province could be likened to some sort of colonialisation. Before 1941, a power equilibrium established by the colonial powers subsisted in Asia but for their own ends. During colonial rule, the countries of Asia had been divided into bloc each ruled by a colonial power. There was harmony among countries belonging to the same bloc and inter-bloc relations were organized in such a way as to minimize friction. Under this structure order reigned in Asia and the future of Asia was decided and regulated by outsiders while the peoples of Asia looked on askance. The problems began with the collapse of the colonial system shortly after the 2nd World War as the various peoples of the vast continent seeing their erstwhile colonial rulers fatigued from the Great War sought wildly for their political freedom.

In the late 1940s, the French struggled to control its colonies in Indochina - Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Despite financial assistance from the United States, nationalist uprisings against French colonial rule began to take their toll. On May 7, 1954, the French-held garrison at Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam fell after a four month siege led by Vietnamese nationalist Ho Chi Minh. Like the other colonial powers, France had attempted to reestablish its position in Indochina after 1945, but found that it was difficult. The French withdrew. Thus with this achievement of independence Asia became a combination of newly independent countries with no experience in conducting foreign affairs. The attempt by the old colonial masters to re-create the past harmony and solidarity using the Commonwealth or the Union did not avail them. However it was not long before the continent felt the full rancour of international politics through the cold war.

The presence of the United States and the dogged enterprise of the Soviet Union in Asia affected and afflicted every country in Asia without exception. The Cold War may have been 'cold' in Europe but in Asia it was quite 'hot' - in fact Asia was its epicentre. It all began with the policy of containment penned by George F. Kennan a Foreign Service officer. "The main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union," Kennan wrote, "must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies." To that end, he called for countering "Soviet pressure against the free institutions of the Western world" through the "adroit and vigilant application of counter-force at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points, corresponding to the shifts and maneuvers of Soviet policy." Such a policy, Kennan predicted, would "promote tendencies which must eventually find their outlet in either the break-up or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power". That main point was in Asia and the Cold War shaped the politics of the Asian continent for more than a generation.

The arrival of the Asian mammoth – China

– as a communist state further roiled a simmering cauldron and in place of the former international structure what we saw was the emergence of tripartite power structure bearing the U.S, the U.S.S.R and china struggling for prime position in the Asian cockpit. Some countries like India simply chose to stay out of the fierce competition for power by adopting the non-alignment stance. Nonetheless, given the colonial experiences of the Asian peoples the Russian revolution had exerted great influence on Asia and communism soon began to exercise a powerful appeal to Asian minds everywhere. It was the attempt to install communism in Asia which led to more than 450 wars between 1945 and 1970. Fighting has occurred on a grand scale in China, Korea and Indochina, now Vietnam. China was and still remains divided between nationalist and communist china and so is Korea which is partitioned along the 38th parallel and whose future corporate existence is in doubt. For a while as a consequence of this struggle Vietnam was Balkanized along the 17th parallel but after a turbulent war in the 60s and 70s is now reconciled. Meanwhile amidst the turmoil the Chinese policy of ‘aggression’ grew in its audacity.

The communist victory in China in 1949 was a formidable boost to the communist agitation worldwide. Encouraged and heartened by the Chinese communists, communists and their fellow travellers had been active in almost every country in Asia particularly in Japan, Korea, Indonesia, Indochina, Burma and India. As European power had waned in Asia, the economic and political weight of the U.S had grown tremendously with China, USSR and India not far behind. However, if there is one thing communism did for Asia, it was the abrupt termination of centuries of peasant exploitation and decades of foreign manipulation, plundering, theft of resources and profiteering. The arrival of communism in Asia seemed to have enlivened nationalist instinct in the Asians, given their refrain on western imperialism. For Asian leading figures there was the need for economic and social justice, an improvement of mass living conditions, national independence and anti-imperialism and freedom from any kind of outside domination. This viewpoint reflected the extreme sensitiveness to any attempt to control events in Asia without the full participation of Asians themselves. Thus the slogan ‘Asia for the Asians’ was fully adopted by the communists with considerable success; and Eisenhower’s reference to ‘Asians against Asians’ in the U.S presidential campaign of 1952 was taken out of context, distorted by the communists and given sinister connotations which led to broad resentment in Asia.

By the late 50s and 60s even though countries like Japan were showing signs of strong recovery and possessed the most advanced industrial base in Asia, the Cold War still overshadowed these achievements as it continued to foretell with considerable efficacy the political trend of Asian politics both within and without. Again the leading men had diverse views on how to bring peace to Asia; the view from China called for the forceful cooption of

the whole continent into the communist orbit; the view from the capitalist bloc called for the armed seizure and re-unification of Korea and China and with the intent to provoke a decisive clash with Soviet Union the bastion of communism yet a third group shunned neutralism or nonalignment in favour of entering regional security pacts with western powers, succumbing to the western philosophy of attaining peace through collective strength. This initiative led to emergence of CENTO, SENTO, and the Manila Pact amongst others (see alliances during the Cold War). These organizations consisted of pro-western countries like Turkey, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines. Japan, bereft of choice, had been co-opted into the American orbit following its defeat in World War 2. A famous conference was also held at Bandung to state the position of Asia in the ensuing global debacle.

Asia as we have pointed out was the epicentre of the Cold War and as such she borne the full impact of, bloody vicious wars motivated by the containment policy of the Americans; in China, Vietnam and Korea. Then there was the border wars-escalated also by the Cold War. The 1965 war between India and Pakistan was the second conflict between the two countries over the status of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The clash did not resolve this dispute, but it did engage the United States and the Soviet Union in ways that would have important implications for subsequent superpower involvement in the region. A 1962 border conflict between India and China ended with a decisive Chinese victory, which motivated the United States and the United Kingdom to provide military supplies to the Indian army. After the clash with China, India also turned to the Soviet Union for assistance, which placed some strains on U.S.-Indian relations. However, the United States also provided India with considerable development assistance throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

2. In what ways and manner did the Cold War affect politics in the post-war period in Asia, discuss?

4.4.1 The Asian Renaissance

About 60 years ago even the most incurable optimist would have gone some distance to be able to predict the present configuration of global, political and economic power of Asia, in view of the untidy situation in the wake of the Second World War. However, less than 10 years after that war, precisely in 1952 Japan had begun to stir. This is how a contemporary observer notes this phenomenon:

The most remarkable thing in Japan since 1952 has been the growth of industry. Japan has long since overtaken Britain. Its shipyards are the most efficient in the world. Its cameras and radios, which used to be poor imitations of western ones are now of the highest quality. Japanese motorcycle manufactures have driven some British ones out of business and the Japanese since 1965 have launched a serious challenge to western car and lorry manufacture. Since 1964 Japan has started to take a more active place in the world. This powerful country is no longer willing to be simply the silent ally of the Americans (Hugh-Jones, 1967: 122).

The Japanese renaissance only stirred the Asian hornet nest because by the late 80s the rest of Asia seem to be discovering itself or had already done so. Thus the newsmedia reverberated with names such as the Asian tigers, the Singapore miracle and by the close of the last century certain scholars were even impertinent enough to begin to write on the Chinese future and the world in the post US era.

The world had begun to witness these astounding transformations in the 1990s. This period had marked an important change in world history. For two centuries before then, the countries of the west comprising western Europe, the U.S, Canada, Australia and New Zealand dominated global economy dividing the globe into the developed north and the under-developed south. Only Japan was the odd man out as its significant economic progress managed to insert it among the rich comity of nations. By the turn of the 80s this economic trend was reversed and the world thus found itself on the precipice of an economic miracle. In the 1990s the developing countries' economies grew twice as fast (3.5%) as the economies of the developed world (1.7%). Most of this strong spurt was observed in Asia leading to speculation of the imminent 'rise of Asia'. Although we should point out here that when we talk of Asia in relation to recent economic growth it is pertinent to point out that Asia is usually broken into China, India and the Rest of Developing Asia (RODA) which consists of Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam and the Philippines. From 1990 – 2005 while the world grew at an average of 2%, China grew at 8.7% per annum; India at 4% and RODA at 2.7%.

What we are observing in Asia today is formidable compared to any epoch of world history. At a growth rate of per capita living standards, living standards have tripled several times within a human life time. This rise is much more than has been seen since the U.S gained independence in 1776.

This is not a flash benefitting only a few in a corner of the globe rather a third or even more than have been lifted out of poverty both in China and India and associated countries; this is ‘an economic event with such a dramatic increase in living standards of a third of humanity is likely to exceed the impact of either the renaissance or the industrial revolution’ (). Today, unthinkable a few years back, the net flow of capital is from emerging Asia to the industrialized world so-called. China which has accumulated \$2trillion in reserves has also become the biggest lender conversely the U.S has become the biggest borrower. Developing Asia has also accumulated \$2 trillion of its own in reserve.

Today no other event is as important as the miraculous growth of Asia centered on mainly China and India. This is apt in the face of astonishing and astounding Chinese gains in politics, global trade, military advancement and diplomacy. This transformation is in direct fulfillment of Jawaharlal Nehru’s prophesy on China ‘a new China is rising, rooted in her culture but shedding the lethargy and weakness of ages, strong and united’ (Wilcox 1964: 47). Across the globe, America and the west have more than once been stymied by Chinese ambitions’ be it in Africa e.g. Zimbabwe or Asia – North Korea. It has been able to do this owing to the colossal extent of economy.

Just across the Chinese border, what has once been regarded as the ‘ brightest jewel in the crown of the British Raj’ - lies India although not yet as illustrious as its mighty neighbour and even worsted by her on several occasions- India nonetheless packs a clout all of its own. It is an emerging power with the second highest population in the world. Indian is also a veritable supplier of high level man-power to the rest of the world. Its impact on Nigeria is significant as an increasing number of Nigerians patronize the country in what is now popularly referred to as ‘medical tourism’.

4.5 SUMMARY

This unit has examined the nature of politics that characterised Asian countries at the end of the Second World War. We also saw the promulgation of the containment policy and the effects of its enforcement in Asia; the three devastating wars fought by the Americans in Asia to roll back communism. The unit also highlighted the recovery of Asia and its high growth rate since the 80s and 90s.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

3. Explain the impact of Asian resurgence on global politics?

4.6 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS/WEB SOURCES

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4.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

ANSWERS TO SAEs 1

The political elite also contributed its quota to the instability as it carried on the legacy of political negativism and obstructionism associated with the colonial period, into self-rule. The lack of an adequate frame within the civil service to adequately cater to the policies of the government intended for the proper workings of a welfare state also significantly disrupted the ability of the government to extend its services properly. In this regard, the growing demands made by a populace desperate to be lifted from the angry clutches of poverty could not be met. This was one of the reasons why, when communism came along the people were not averse to its teachings.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 2

During colonial rule, the countries of Asia had been divided into bloc each ruled by a colonial power. There was harmony among countries belonging to the same bloc and inter-bloc relations were organized in such a way as to minimize friction. The presence of the United States and the dogged enterprise of the Soviet Union in Asia affected and afflicted every country in Asia without exception. The Cold War may have been 'cold' in Europe but in Asia it was quite 'hot'- in fact Asia was its epicentre. That main point was in Asia and the Cold War shaped the politics of the Asian continent for more than a generation.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 3

- About 10 years after World War II, precisely in 1952 Japan had begun to stir, The Japanese renaissance only stirred the Asian hornet nest because by the late 80s the rest of Asia seem to be discovering itself or had already done so. Thus the news media reverberated with names such as the Asian tigers, the Singapore miracle and by the close of the last century certain scholars were even impertinent enough to begin to write on the Chinese future and the world in the post US era. The world had begun to witness these astounding transformations in the 1990s.
- This period had marked an important change in world history. For two centuries before then, the countries of the west comprising western Europe, the U.S, Canada, Australia and New Zealand dominated global economy dividing the globe into the developed north and the under- developed south. Only Japan was the odd man out as its significant economic progress managed to insert it among the rich comity of nations.
- By the turn of the 80s this economic trend was reversed and the world thus found itself on the precipice of an economic miracle. In the 1990s the developing countries' economies grew twice as fast (3.5%) as the economies of the developed world (1.7%). Most of this strong spurt was observed in Asia leading to speculation of the imminent 'rise of Asia'.

MODULE 2: KEY PLAYERS IN ASIA

INTRODUCTION

Module 1 dealt with the organisation of Asian society. This is important because as we shall soon see it had far reaching implications on the relation of Asian countries with themselves but especially with the wider world. A good example of this is the societal expectation of the unquestioning obedience of the peasant or the lower classes.

This module, which is sub-divided into three units will examine the place, importance and effect of three of arguably, the biggest economies in the whole of Asia: China, Japan and South Korea. We shall begin our examination from their early history, since, as we have noted, their history played a key role in shaping world history especially with regard to Japan and China. The early contacts of these two important countries with the west were not particularly happy ones and thus came to have later repercussions.

- Unit 1 Japan in Asian and World Politics
- Unit 2 China in Asian and World Politics
- Unit 3 South Korea in Asian and World Politics

UNIT 1: Japan in Asian and World Politics

CONTENTS

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Ancient Japanese Political History
 - 1.3.1 Japan Bursts Out into the World
 - 1.3.2 Conquests and Alliances (1870-1920)
 - 1.3.3 The Rise of Japanese militarism
- 1.4 Japan in World War 2
 - 1.4.1 Occupation and Reform
 - 1.4.2 Political Developments after World War 2
 - 1.4.3 Political Factors for Growth
 - 1.4.4 International Relations and Security Alignment in Asia in the immediate Aftermath of World War II
 - 1.4.5 Japan in Asian Affairs
 - 1.4.6 Japan in Global Affairs
 - 1.4.7 Oil Embargo and Growth in Japan in the 1970s and 80s
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This is the first among the five units that constitute the module. In this unit we shall take a detailed inspection of Japanese history only because it has had wide implications on the policies and behaviours of succeeding Japanese generations. Japan has also been influenced by its contact with the West. Especially the forceful opening of the country in 1853 and the racist immigration policies directed against it by the Americans, not to speak of the undue advantages received by the West in the opening rounds of their commercial exchange.

1.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:-

- Discuss Japanese history and its place in the international system.
- Enumerate the reasons for the rise of Japan in the post-war period and its impact on global affairs.

1.3 Ancient Japanese Political History

For over two centuries Japan had followed program of self-imposed isolation. No Japanese was allowed to leave the islands or even to build a ship large enough to navigate the high seas. No foreigner, except for a few Chinese and Dutch was allowed to come into the Japan. It remained like a hermit kingdom to the West. However, the Japanese knew a lot more about Europe than they did about Japan. The Japanese policy of isolation did not come about by chance rather it was by experience.

The first Europeans- three Portuguese in a Chinese junk-are believed to have touched Japan in 1542. For the next century or so there was considerable movement between Japan and the world as Japan showed a strong desire for trade. She obtained clocks and acquired skills on shipbuilding. Thousands of Japanese also converted to the Christian faith preached to them by the Jesuits. The Japanese too left their homeland and voyaged to distant lands such as the Dutch Indies and Europe; and amongst Asian peoples, who are all traditionally isolationist, the Japanese are proved more amiable to foreign ideas. However around 1600 for some reasons which we shall see shortly the government began to drive Christianity underground and to expel foreigners. First the Spaniards in 1624, followed by the Portuguese in 1639 and finally it booted out all Europeans in 1640, save for a handful of the Dutch who were permitted to loiter in Nagasaki under strict watch. From 1640 until Japan was forcefully opened to the West 200 years later these Dutch were the link to the outside world.

The reasons for the isolationist posture arose from political events deep in Japan and they were also to play a role in the jettisoning of these policies. The history of Japan has after a fashion mimicked that of Europe in that in Japan as in Europe an era of feudal warfare was succeeded by a period of government absolutism during which anarchy was kept at bay by a bureaucracy, an obsolescent warrior class was kept as privileged element in society and the appearance of a commercial class which grew in wealth and confidence.

By the time the first Europeans landed on Japan they observed that it was deep in turmoil arising from fierce completions among the numerous clans into which Japan was organized. With the passage of time, the Tokugawa clan gained ascendancy over the other clans and took over the position of the 'shogun'. The shogun was a military figure who ruled in the name of the emperor. The hereditary Tokugawa Shogunate set up in 1603 ruled until 1867. The early Tokugawa shoguns after wide consultations and investigations decided that the Europeans in Japan had engaged or were meddling in feudal or inter-clan politics. They also discovered much to their chagrin that these Europeans were hoping to dominate Japan by helping Japanese Christians and pro- Europeans arrive into power. Thus we see that the first three Tokugawa shoguns, to circumvent this problem, solidify their dynasty and pacify and stabilize the country, began to exterminate Christians and Christianity and to withdraw from global relationship.

Life in Japan under these perceptive leaders was peaceful and serene for the first time in centuries. These early Tokugawa shoguns were able to now separate the emperor from the daily affairs of governance. They positioned him instead as a divine being to be worshipped and shut him in at Kyoto on a minor allowance dictated by them. Meanwhile the shoguns set up their court at Yedo (Tokyo) and like Peter the Great of Russia who coerced his lords into building town houses in St. Petersburg the shoguns desired their lords to live part of the year in Yedo. Administration wise the shoguns relied on some form of military bureaucracy. This institution kept a watchful gaze on the great Lords (Daimyo) who still kept a large quantum of feudal authority over their subjects in areas far from Yedo. These mighty lords and their knights (Samarui) no longer at war as in the days of yore, assumed position as a landed aristocracy and developed new tastes. In order to support this standard of living they squeezed the already besieged peasants even harder and spent the income lavishly on goods from the merchants.

This class-the merchants- had expanded greatly on its patronage by government and the aristocrats and helped Japan greatly in passing on to a monetized economy in the 17th century. At this time great financial evil befell the samurai as many of them fell into debt to the merchants and became almost beggarly. The social law, as obtained in Europe in the Old Regime, made a distinction between the classes. Taxes and punishments were different for

the classes, i.e. the nobles, merchants and peasants. A grave offence for a peasant would be excused for a samurai and an indiscretion for a samurai would be pardoned for a peasant. The samurai who borne two swords as symbol of class could slay an impudent commoner without arousing any inquiry. This was largely theory anyway as the shoguns went to great extents to repress these kinds of violence. At this period there was growing prosperity among the commercial class and Yedo grew, such that by 1800 it was larger than most western cities with its population of 1 million bustling individuals. At the same time as they prospered the merchant class began to diminish the class divide by buying the rank of the samurai.

Even in isolation the economic, intellectual and social life of Japan was in ferment. Buddhism the main religion of the people lost its grip on the soul of the individual such that like Europe it underwent its own secularization of idea. Rather there was new premium on 'Bushido' as a way of personal conduct. A non-religious code it exalted the samurai qualities of honour and loyalty. Shinto 'way of the gods' also arose with the decline of Buddhism. An ancient indigenous religious of Japan, it postulated the view that emperor was the son of Heaven. There was much interest at this time into the peering into the past and caused the general conclusion that the shoguns were imposters and the emperor in Kyoto the true representative of Japan. In the mean time ideas continued to drip in through Nagasaki, especially from the west. The shogun Yoshimune permitted the importation of certain occidental books minus Christianity. By 1745 a Dutch-Japanese dictionary was completed. While Japan was still a blank slate to the west, educated Japanese could learn all they wanted about the west if they so wished.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. What factors accounted for the tendency towards isolationism in Japan in the Middle Ages?

1.3.1 Japan Bursts Out into the World

In 1853, Matthew Perry arrived in Japan on his unwanted visit. The fishermen of the ramshackle village of Uruga put out into what is now known as Tokyo Bay quite unaware that the familiar country to which they would return to shortly, would never be the same again. Destiny arrived that morning of July 8, 1853, in the form of a well-armed fleet of six steam powered ships of a size rarely seen in Japanese waters. The fishermen's reaction was, in the words of Francis Hawks, the official chronicler of the American expeditionary force, to flee frantically towards the safety of the shore 'like wildbirds at a sudden intruder'. Perry was under strict orders to demand from the highest Japanese authorities 'the protection of American seamen and property wrecked on these islands or driven into their ports; permission for

American vessels to obtain supplies or to refit; and permission to enter one or more of their ports for the purpose of disposing of their cargoes by sale or barter'. The strategy Perry was to follow was laid down as clearly as his objectives: 'If after having exhausted every argument, the commodore should fail to obtain from the government any relaxation of their system of exclusion, he will then change his tone'.

Due to the social ferment already noted in Japan the shogun Ieyasu signed in 1854 a commercial treaty with the U.S, soon followed by treaties with European powers. It was not long before the Japanese discovered that the Americans regarded them as being backward. To their chagrin they came to the realization that the treaties they had entered into in the 1850s were not between equals; they provided that Japan must maintain low tariffs on imports and not change it without consent of these powers; extraterritoriality in the treaties meant that the citizens of these foreign powers could not be liable under Japanese law. It was a mark of inferiority as the Japanese soon observed. By 1854, less than a year after Perry's landing, certain lords of the western islands, Choshu and Satsuma, led a national revival. Disparaging the shogun at Yedo they positioned the emperor as their rallying point. They now attempted to drive out the impertinent whites. In 1862 through an accidental violation of Japanese etiquette an Englishman was killed. When the shogun proved unable to apprehend the culprits who were followers of the lord of Satsuma the British sailed at once to the capital of Satsuma and laid it in ruins. The same was applicable to the lord of Choshu who commanded his followers, from the straits of Shimonoseki, to fire on passing vessels. The impotence of the shogun to chastise the culprits, forced the European powers to dispatch a naval force to bombard Choshu after which they imposed an indemnity of \$3 million. These incidents served to polarize relations and were remembered for many years in Japan.

It was decided and agreed by the lords of Choshu and Satsuma that the most effective way of dealing with the West was by learning its ways. First they dispersed with the shogun that had undermined his power by signing unfavorable treaties with the West and then failing to protect Japan from foreign insults. The last shogun abdicated in 1867 and the emperor as the Son of Heaven was restored in all his glory. These reformers intended to use his imperial clout in strengthening and rebuilding their nation in relation to their aspired position for it in the world. By the next year Mutsuhito assumed the emperorship and according to Japanese custom his reign was termed Meiji. It was the age of progress.

Japan transformed into a modern state; feudalism was prohibited and most of the lords surrendered their control of the samurai to the hands of the emperor. Thus,

‘We abolish the clans and convert them into prefectures’ went one imperial decree. The legal system was modernized and the rule of law became paramount such that class no longer had any bearing on the dispensation of justice. Aspiring to rid itself of extraterritoriality (the practice whereby westerners were not accountable under Japanese law for any crime that they committed on Japanese soil), the Japanese did away with medieval punishments and other barbaric punishments. They modeled a new army along Prussian lines with the samurai losing his historic right to bear two swords. He now served as an army officer rather than the knight of a great lord. The navy was built along British lines later. Financial issues and management became a prerogative of the central government. An education system was put in place which soon brought high literacy rate to the country. The Shinto cult was preferred to Buddhism as being more in line with the aspirations of the progressive land. This gave increased veneration of the royal family. A constitution was put to work in 1889 which upheld civil liberties. It provided for two chambers and enshrined the ‘eternal’ authority of the emperor. Though absolute, the emperor remained aloof from everyday state business while the ministers governed as they thought best for the state.

Industrially, Japan was breaking barriers. In 1858 the first steamship was floating on Japanese waters and the next year she borrowed her first foreign loan from a bond issue placed in England. In fact, thenceforth, Japan was on a developmental rollercoaster; 1869 brought the connection by telegraph between Yokohama and Tokyo; the first railroad between these cities was opened in 1872; spinning machinery appeared in 1870 and by the end of the 19th century foreign trade was bringing in \$200 million annually. Population, under these favourable circumstances, rose from 33 million in 1872 to 46 million in 1902. Thus like her island compatriot in Europe Japan had to depend on exports and imports to survive. According to writers of that age and even of the present, the modernization of Japan in so short a time was one of the most remarkable transformations of any people in any epoch. The major push behind this industrial growth was the fortification of the country against the antics of the west and an aspiration towards world power status. Thus it is pertinent to note that what the Japanese sorely converted from the west was science, technology and organization. They had no wish of allowing western influence to dilute their culture, moral ideas, family life, arts and amusements, religion. Where necessary as in religion they adapted it to native conditions. It was in guarding these structures of Japanese life that they took over the external apparatus of western civilization and which they hoped to adapt without losing their spiritual independence. By the end of the century the world had Great Britain, Germany, France, Austria-Hungary and Russia as world powers no one knew quite where Japan was going yet but all could agree that she was making remarkable strides.

By 1905 she showed just what she was capable of.

1.3.2 Conquests and Alliances (1870-1920)

Buoyed by the tremendous growth of industry and the modernization of the army, Japan the once hermit kingdom was confident enough to cast its gaze abroad. Japan was unlike Turkey. The latter was a country of multi-cultural complexion but Japan was a homogeneous state to be destroyed by modernization. It was a national island kingdom which began to seek like other contemporary powers, possibilities of overseas expansion. Thus in the 1870s Japan annexed the Kuriles, the Bonin Islands and the Ryukyu archipelago and in 1895 after the war with China she added the Pescadores and Formosa to her growing empire. Then the big one came in the early 1900s. Russia the only European power directly threatened by the ambitions of Japan invaded North Korea. The Japanese responded on February 8, 1904 by an attack on Russia's naval base at Port Arthur, an attack that never quite left the Asian world the same forever.

On May 1st 1904, the Japanese attacked the Russians on the Yalu River. Here on the Yalu River near the frontier between Manchuria and Korea 'the land of morning quiet' she shattered the Russian army. The first battle of the Russo-Japanese war was a decisive advantage for the non-white empire of Japan. The war dragged on and at the great battle at Liao-yang in Manchuria, from August 25th to September 4th the Russian mammoth was driven back to Mukden. A Russian fleet of 32 ships coming round from Asia to join in the fray was intercepted by the rampaging Japanese and sunk. The Russians sought negotiations, which the American president, Theodore Roosevelt offered to mediate. At its conclusion it was mutually agreed that Korea should go to Japan; that Southern Sakhalin near the Siberia coast should go to Japan and that the Chinese peninsula of Liautung with Port Arthur should go to Japan. Even though Japan would have wanted to add reparations to her war booty she was stymied by the western powers who were anxious not to see Japan at the leadership of Asia or too powerful for them. Nonetheless with that war Japan had served notice of her intentions. When on August 23rd 1914, Japan declared war on Germany she seized not only the German islands in the Pacific but also the German possessions in Shantung, particularly in the leased territory and the port of Kiauchow on the Yellow Sea which had become German in 1898; its garrison had fallen after a siege of a month.

On January 30, 1902, Japan had signed the treaty of alliance with Britain in

London; in it the special interests of Japan in Korea were recognized. For Japan the treaty meant her recognition as an independent and as a valuable ally. In Britain, the treaty with a non-white power was viewed with derision yet it was of the essence because of the steady advance of Russia towards China which could endanger British interests there. When the Second World War was over and the peace conference convened in mid- January 1919, Japan as an ally of Britain and a world power was duly invited. On the whole things went very well for her; she now legally acquired all German possessions in China, which she had seized at the onset of the war, and she attained a seat gladly in the League of Nations. These possessions to all intents and purposes became fortresses for a Japan which, as a result of the self-slaughter of the Europeans during the war had become the third sea power in the world and the first power in Asia.

1.3.3 The Rise of Japanese Militarism

During the 1920s the civilian, liberal, western-oriented element in Japan remained in control of the government. By 1925 universal male suffrage had been adopted. It would appear to the casual observer that Japan was firmly on the way to also being a democratic model amid the monarchical absolutism of Asia. But that was just part of the story. The 1899 constitution and parliamentary operations were but a façade that efficiently hid the political realities. Japan was the only modern country then in which it was prescribed constitutionally that the war and navy ministers must be active generals or admirals. The powers of the diet were also sharply curtailed and ministers governed in the name of the emperor. The most restless group in Japan drew energy from the nationalist revival which proclaimed Shintoism, emperor worship, and the way of the warrior as a new and modern way of life. These individuals were former clansmen- samurai -cut adrift by the abolition of feudalism. Regarding the west as decadent they floated around dreaming of the day when a resurgent Japan would dominate all East Asia. So it was that about 1926 this fascist group began to hold ministries in the Japanese government and to twist state policy into an increasingly aggressive and antagonistic attitude towards China.

The urge for expansion and ultimately aggression from Japan began in about 1926. A series of factors have been adduced for this phenomenon; the rise in domestic population; the combination of feudal social structure with modern technology; lack of significant colonies and an anti-western mentality, just expounded upon above. At the naval conference in Washington (Nov. 1921- Feb. 6 1922) the final seed of discord appeared to have been sowed in the Japanese's mind by a series of ill-fated resolutions made by the west. The dissolution of the Anglo-

Japanese alliance, the restoration of the port of Kiauchow, captured by Japan in 1914, to China, the recognition of the independence of China, the restriction of Japanese naval expansion and the new immigration American law which outrightly banned Japanese immigration.

The great depression of 1929 also provided an opening for Japan to further its ambitions. On September 31 Britain under the effects of the crisis devalued her currency only for the Japanese to devalue the yen a little bit more thus driving the British and others away from many markets. They now accused the Japanese of practicing wage slavery which, even though it was said out of envy and malice, was true as Japanese workers were paid pittance while the immense sums generated from exports were channelled toward the war industry. In 1930, through a series of incidents devised by the Japanese, Manchuria was invaded, annexed and called Manchukuo. The League of Nations could only protest and so on May 27 1933 Japan withdrew her membership. An attempt by the Japanese people to repudiate these acts through the polls in 1936, with the election of the liberal party- the Minseito- was suppressed. There was a putsch and several ministers were murdered by the reactionaries on the 20th. In 1936 Japan signed the anti-comintern pact with Germany and on July 7 1937 it began the great offensive against China; in March 1938 a cowed parliament placed all production under the control of the army and the navy. Slowly but steadily Japan drifted toward totalitarianism as the press and universities came under control; dissidents vanished forever in the gaol of the secret police.

By April 13 1941 with the Germans masters of Europe, Japan assured the safety of its rear by signing the Russo- Japanese treaty. Some months later on September 29 1941 Hideki Tojo, later to die for his role in the war by hanging, urged the immediate halt to the influence of the British and Americans in East Asia. As the US was still coming to terms with Japanese ambitions in Indochina and discussions on-going, the Japanese fleet set sail on the morning of December 7 and razed the American naval base at Pearl Harbour. They also attacked and seized Guam, Midway, Wake, the Philippines, Hong-Kong and Malaya.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

2. What factors led to the rise in Japanese militarism?

1.4 Japan in World War Two

Japan had been ready to make her move as far back as 1930, her army was preened and poised and her industries armaments and all were pounding at full capacity. The Western

powers meanwhile were involved in the struggle of survival with the great depression. Strange 'Incidents' began to occur; on June 27th 1931, a Japanese officer, Nakamura, termed a spy by the Chinese, was executed by Chinese soldiers. In August the Japanese published an official version of the 'incident' in Japan obviously with the intention to arouse public opinion against China. Following a pre-conceived plan, the Kwantung army went on night maneuvers near Mukden when an explosion occurred near the railway line. This was the second 'incident'. This was the signal for war. Before light, Mukden and other nearby towns had been invested and the fall of Harbin in February 1932 made Manchuria a Japanese colony. 70,000 Japanese troops now arrived in Shanghai and the new colony was re-christened Manchukuo and declared independent. In 1934 they installed Pu-i, who had been driven from the Chinese throne in 1912, as emperor while holding the reins of government from behind.

Of course during these infamous campaigns of the Japanese the western powers assailed by its own domestic challenges and the hope that the Japanese war machine would eventually steamroll over the communists in Russia stood by. Thus the only result of a paper protest by the League of Nations was that Japan withdrew from it on May 27th 1933. It would appear that even at this hour the Japanese people had an attempt to draw back but the story of the subversion of their will has just been told above.

A distinctive feature of the war was the Japanese deployment of the suicide tactics. This tactic however did not avail the Japanese. On the night of August 5-6 an atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima and on the 9th a second one fell on Nagasaki. On August 16th at about 4pm the emperor ordered a cease fire. By venturing into the war- and losing it, Japan lost all its possessions even those that had been recognized for centuries as Japanese property.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

3. What was the consequence of the Japanese defeat in the Second World War?

1.4.1 Occupation and Reform

In Japan, as in Germany, the Americans who occupied the country used the occupation to foist democratic institutions on the country. A new constitution promulgated in 1946 ended the divine right rule of the emperor and transformed him into a constitutional monarch. Under the guidance of the leader of the occupation forces, General Douglas Mac Arthur a political system oriented toward liberal democracy was followed. In this regard women were given the vote; local self-government was encouraged; labour unions were allowed to grow. The large industrial and banking combinations

such as the Zabaitu and Mitsubishi were dissolved although new economic concentrates took their place. A new sweeping program of land distribution was inaugurated in spite of the fact that many peasants lacked the resources to purchase the offering and large land holders resisted the process. In politics the emergence of the social Democrats was seen as an important step yet political control remained mainly in the hands of the conservative groups from the upper classes who had been in charge of government for a long time.

Japan, like Germany, profited from the tension between the Soviets and the western world. In the peace treaty signed in 1951, without the Soviet presence, no reparations were exacted nor were any drastic limitations on armaments imposed. Japanese sovereignty was re-established though the U.S by treaty retained some military rights in Japan and occupied the Ryukyu Islands, including Okinawa, until 1972. Japan established relations with the People's Republic of China. In 1968 Japan marked a centenary of the Meiji restoration which had launched the country into the main stream of world history. By 1975 emperor Hirohito became the first Japanese emperor to visit the U.S. despite its disastrous defeat in the Second World War Japan recovered admirably well such that by the 60s it was the third leading economy in the world.

1.4.2 Political Developments after World War II

Political parties had begun to revive almost immediately after the occupation began. Left-wing organizations, such as the Japan Socialist Party and the Japan Communist Party, quickly reestablished themselves, as did various conservative parties. The old Seiyokai and Rikken Minseito came back as, respectively, the Liberal Party (Nihon Jiyuto) and the Japan Progressive Party (Nihon Shimpoto). The first postwar elections were held in 1946 (women were given the franchise for the first time), and the Liberal Party's vice president, Yoshida Shigeru (1878-1967), became prime minister. For the 1947 elections, anti-Yoshida forces left the Liberal Party and joined forces with the Progressive Party to establish the new Democratic Party (Minshuto). This divisiveness in conservative ranks gave a plurality to the Japan Socialist Party, which was allowed to form a cabinet, which lasted less than a year. Thereafter, the socialist party steadily declined in its electoral successes. After a short period of Democratic Party administration, Yoshida returned in late 1948 and continued to serve as prime minister until 1954.

Even before Japan regained full sovereignty, the government had rehabilitated nearly 80,000 people who had been purged, many of whom returned to their former political and government positions. A debate over limitations on military spending and the sovereignty of the emperor ensued, contributing to the great reduction in the Liberal Party's majority in the first post-occupation elections (October 1952). After several reorganizations of the armed forces, in 1954 the Self-Defense Forces were established under a civilian director. Cold War realities and the hot war in nearby Korea also contributed significantly to the United States-influenced economic redevelopment, the suppression of communism, and the discouragement of organized labor in Japan during this period.

Continual fragmentation of parties and a succession of minority governments led conservative forces to merge the Liberal Party (Jiyuto) with the Japan Democratic Party (Nihon Minshuto), an offshoot of the earlier Democratic Party, to form the Liberal Democratic Party (Jiyu-Minshuto; LDP) in November 1955. This party continuously held power from 1955 through 1993, when it was replaced by a new minority government. LDP leadership was drawn from the elite who had seen Japan through the defeat and occupation; it attracted former bureaucrats, local politicians, businessmen, journalists, other professionals, farmers, and university graduates. In October 1955, socialist groups reunited under the Japan Socialist Party, which emerged as the second most powerful political force. It was followed closely in popularity by the Komeito (Clean Government Party), founded in 1964 as the political arm of the Soka Gakkai (Value Creation Society), a lay organization of the Buddhist sect Nichiren Shoshu. The Komeito emphasized traditional Japanese beliefs and attracted urban laborers, former rural residents, and many women. Like the Japan Socialist Party, it favored the gradual modification and dissolution of the Japan United States Mutual.

1.4.3 Political Factors for Growth

Although rapid economic growth was produced primarily by the efforts of the Japanese people, this is not to say that the economic policies and planning had no role in the process. The policies and strategies were set forth carefully by the policy-making authorities to protect and sustain the growth, and therefore the Japanese political system had a major role in its development as well. There are two major policies that led to Japan's rapid

growth. The first policy was the Yoshida Doctrine, in which shaped the post-war economy in Japan to recovery. Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru developed this policy during the early period of the Korean War, and he is often called on as the father of modern Japanese economy. The policy was aimed to set economic reconstruction and development as the nation's immediate goals while saving on military expenses by leaving defence to the U.S. army. This significant reduction on military spending has allowed Japan to put all its strength and money solely on reconstructing the economy and it was very influential to the rapid recovery after the defeat. Also, this policy advocates a pacifistic, non-military role for Japan and forms the core of its contemporary diplomatic identity.

In addition to the Yoshida Doctrine, Ikeda, who is seen to be the most important figure in Japan's rapid growth, implemented the Income Doubling Plan in 1960. As the name of the plan implies, it was aimed to double the income earned by the Japanese workers and set a high living standard from the period of 1961 to 1970 by greatly increasing the amount of investments made by the central government to both private and public firms. To successfully achieve the objective of the plan, it was also aimed to increase the amount of foreign trade with other countries. Although few problems arose from heavy industrialization, this plan has contributed greatly to the latter half of Japan's rapid growth with an average growth rate of 10.8 percent in the late 1960s and drove the economy to become the second largest in the world by the year 1968. In addition to policies and economic planning set forth by leaders of the country, another political factor that greatly influenced the growth was the role taken by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI). MITI, which was regarded as the most powerful government organization during the time of rapid expansion, was mostly responsible for the industrial growth in Japan. The Ministry's approach was one of providing encouragement and guidance to the initiatives of private business: creating a suitable un-level playing field which would give that critical advantage to industries identified by government as having potential for long-term success.

1.4.4 International Relations and Security Alignment in Asia in the immediate Aftermath of World War II

During the past one hundred years Japan has played many roles in Asia. When the Japanese people emerged from isolation in the middle of the

19th century they were already conscious of themselves as nation. In addition they were conscious of their cultural ties with Korea, China and link religious-wise with India. As the power of the Japanese people expanded they became drawn toward a vision of themselves as the liberator and leader of Asia. At certain times Japan sought to perform this mission chiefly as a teacher, Tokyo becoming the school for the modern-looking youth of Asia. It added the roles of trader and investor, later those of 'protector' conqueror, particularly in Korea and China, 'liberator' in southeast Asia and finally ruler of Asia, the Kuriles to Burma being brought within its vast 'co-prosperity sphere'. However they lost out in 1945 and were driven back to the narrow islands from which they had proceeded a century before.

Japan like post war Germany has bent over backwards to atone for the havoc wrought by its military adventurism. Negotiations have led to settlements with all the countries involved except for the people's republic of china. Taiwan absolved Japan from paying any reparations in the aftermath of their peace treaty. With regard to the bifurcation of Korea into North and South Korea and People's Republic of China and Taiwan, Japan has continued to pursue a dual policy consisting of formal diplomatic ties and trade with the non-communist countries (Taiwan, South Korea) and business dealings with the communist states. Trade and relations with these contending blocs have tested Japanese diplomatic ingenuity to the utmost. Japan has tried to cope with the increasing Chinese threat through negotiation rather than confrontation. This is because there is a deep Japanese desire to avoid international disputes in its own area as far as it is practicable.

Japan has at times assumed the role of an international broker between China and the west. South-east looms large in Japanese aid as the countries in this region have been the recipients of enormous Japanese financial and technical aid in order to insure her against Chinese retribution. Until fairly recently Japan had been the workshop of all Asia importing raw materials to keep her factories going and exporting capital and know how. It had set up small scale industries in southern Asia for preliminary processing of raw materials or even manufacturing of labour intensive units of Japanese electronics. In the same regard Japanese business had been active in Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines.

Japan's biggest postwar political crisis took place in 1960 over the revision of the Japan-United States Mutual Security Assistance Pact. As the

new Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security was concluded, which renewed the United States role as military protector of Japan, massive street protests and political upheaval occurred, and the cabinet resigned a month after the Diet's ratification of the treaty. Thereafter, political turmoil subsided. Japanese views of the United States, after years of mass protests over nuclear armaments and the mutual defense pact, improved by 1972, with the reversion of United States-occupied Okinawa to Japanese sovereignty and the winding down of the Second Indochina War (1954-75).

Japan had reestablished relations with the Republic of China after World War II, and cordial relations were maintained with the nationalist government when it was exiled to Taiwan, a policy that won Japan the enmity of the People's Republic of China, which was established in 1949. After the general warming of relations between China and Western countries, especially the United States, which shocked Japan with its sudden rapprochement with Beijing in 1971, Tokyo established relations with Beijing in 1972. Close cooperation in the economic sphere followed. Japan's relations with the Soviet Union continued to be problematic long after the war. The main object of dispute was the Soviet occupation of what Japan calls its Northern Territories, the two most southerly islands in the Kurils (Etorofu and Kunashiri) and Shikotan and the Habomai Islands (Northeast of Hokkaido), which were seized by the Soviet Union in the closing days of World War II.

Despite its wealth and central position in the world economy, Japan has had little or no influence in global politics for much of the postwar period. Under the prime minister-ship of Tanaka Kakuei (1972-74), Japan took a stronger but still low-key stance by steadily increasing its defense spending and easing trade frictions with the United States. Tanaka's administration was also characterized by high-level talks with United States, Soviet, and Chinese leaders, if with mixed results. His visits to Indonesia and Thailand prompted riots, a manifestation of long-standing anti-Japanese sentiments. Tanaka was forced to resign in 1974 because of his alleged connection to financial scandals and, in the face of charges of involvement in the Lockheed bribery scandal; he was arrested and jailed briefly in 1976.

By the late 1970s, the Komeito and the Democratic Socialist Party had come to accept the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, and the Democratic Socialist Party even came to support a small defense buildup. The Japan Socialist Party, too, was forced to abandon its once strict antimilitary

stance. The United States kept up pressure on Japan to increase its defense spending above 1 percent of its GNP, engendering much debate in the Diet, with most opposition coming not from minority parties or public opinion but from budget-conscious officials in the Ministry of Finance.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

4. Examine the factors that characterised Japan's post war foreign relations' policy?

1.4.5 Japan in Asian Affairs

The 1951 San Francisco treaty restored Japan's diplomatic independence, provided for its relations with the western powers, integrated it effectively into the American alliance but left Japan virtually isolated in Asia. Japan faced the problem of recovering those territories which the Japanese felt were traditionally theirs, from the US and the USSR. During the first two and one-half years of independence, when Shigeru Yoshida was prime-minister and Katsuo Okazaki served as his foreign minister, the government felt both too dependent on the US and too resistant to the political demands of Soviet Union and China. Thus did Yoshida formulate a new policy toward Asia, which was to boycott at least politically, the communist governments and to seek to establish relations with all non-communist regimes, including those in the divided countries of China, Korea, and later Vietnam.

In December 1953 the cabinet announced a basic policy toward Southeast Asia, which was to co-operate with the UN and third powers in programs of economic assistance; to give government assistance; and to settle reparations issues as quickly as possible. It sought and won full membership in the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in 1952. Hatoyama who took over in 1954 succeeded in opening a window to the communist camp by restoring relations with the Soviet Union. For two years his main energies had been directed toward adjusting relations with China and the Soviet Union. However Nobusuke Kishi who took over the premiership in 1957 returned Japan to the trenches against communism. In fact, relations between China and Japan reached an all-time low from 1958 to 1960. 'Japan must do everything it can to prevent Taiwan and Korea from being subjugated by the communists. For the sake of Japan's security we must not allow that to happen. The situation in the Taiwan straits is not a civil war. It is an international battle against communist aggression' so said Kishi of the situation in the Taiwan straits. In this wise it signed a security pact with the

US in which both partners took responsibility for peace in the Far East which included the non-communist state of the Philippines.

In May 1957 Kishi toured Burma, Pakistan, Ceylon, Thailand, and nationalist China and shortly afterwards, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Malaya, Singapore, Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines. Everywhere he stressed Japan's peaceful purposes and its intention to cooperate fully with the free world and its deep concern for Asia. For him the peace and prosperity of Japan was dependant on the peace and prosperity of Asia and it required closer regional cooperation. The foreign ministry's first blue book published in 1957 stressed that Japan's first duty was to live up to its responsibility as 'an Asian nation'. Economic cooperation-investment and technological assistance- was guided by the foreign ministry and the economic agencies of the government, chiefly the ministry of finance, the ministry of international trade and industry and the economic planning agency.

In 1957 revisions were in the laws to insure private investors in overseas markets against difficulties in the repatriation of either principal or interest. In the year the Japan Export-Import Bank Law was revised to enable it to broaden its activities. In November in an effort to mobilize the scholars and technical experts more effectively, Asian Economic Research Institute (Ajia Keizai Kenkyujo) was organized. The Asian society continued to perform certain research and operational duties in technical exchange programs, the international Students Associations (Kokusai gakuyukai) was organized to house and provide language and elementary education for Asian trainees. It also gave out interest free loans to Asian countries; 50 Million to India to help in its second five-year plan; a billion yen to Laos to construct a water system and 1.5 billion to Cambodia in 1959. In 1959 Japan contributed to the Mekong River development project by sending three survey missions at its own expense.

These economic ties were followed up with invitational diplomacy and cultural exchange, such that within a short while Tokyo had hosted Sukarno from Indonesia, Prasad of India, and the monarchs of Nepal, Garcia of Philippines and Tungku Abdul Rahman of Malaya. The formation of Japan related cultural organizations were encouraged, e.g. Japan-India societies in New Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay; the Japanese-Pakistan societies in Karachi and Dacca and Japanese-Indonesia society in Jakarta. In 1960 modest

donations of Japanese books was made to Thai and Philippine libraries. Eight performing artists and eleven athletes went on Asian tour in 1960. Foreign invitations were given to foreign students to study in Japan with half of it going to Southeast Asian states.

In September 1961 Japan became a member of the OECD's development Assistance Committee. As a result of these many activities, as well as the private efforts they stimulated, by the end of 1960, Japanese investments in Southeast Asia had risen to 40.8 million dollars or 16.5% of its total overseas investments. Furthermore under the various training initiatives, more than 2,600 Asians had been accepted for technical training in Japan and 300 Japanese experts had been sent to assist Asian countries. Four technical training centres had been established overseas and trade figures showed an astronomical increase. From 1950 to 1960 Japanese imports from the arc of Asia increased by 334% and exports to the same region rose by 366%. Japan had clearly rebounded.

By the 1980s and 1990s, this massive Japanese investment was having a positive ripple effect on Asian economies. It has been variously noted that Japan played a key role in transforming 'corrupt and ineffective' East Asian states into developmental states while clearing out class interests that corrupted post-colonial states elsewhere. It has also been pointed out East Asian states achieved success because Japanese expansion differed significantly from western imperialism. Japan had, unlike the west, integrated the Asian region into a form of regional division of labour; meanwhile oligopolistic U.S firms tried to maintain profits by secretly protecting technologies and products, by controlling markets and by cheapening labour costs. Japanese corporations on the other hand competed by constantly upgrading their products and ways of producing them i.e. by shortening product life-cycles in order to capture monopoly profits from introducing new products and production processes.

As Japan concentrated in higher technology and industrial activities, it shed its standardised industrial activities to the East Asian countries in its wake. Akamatsu Kaname called this the 'flying geese; model of regional development: the countries of Asia formed an inverse 'V' formation like wild geese, with Japan in the lead. As the leading countries advance, they brought along sets of 'new industrialisers' behind them. Later, as the East Asian

economies took on new activities, they in turn shed their older activities to Southeast Asia. The Japanese delegation system utilized different corporate structures from the west such as the multidivisional firm which has many subsidiaries, selling inputs to one another and assembling products for world markets.

Japan situated itself at the very centre of a regional ‘multilayered subcontracting system’ that expanded and penetrated ferociously into Asia since the 1960s. Where the typical Western firm sources the vast majority of its inputs internally through its subsidiaries, major Japanese concerns such as Honda or Mitsubishi source most of their raw materials externally from hundreds of small and medium-size firms. They in turn, sub-contract from thousands of smaller firms and so on down the line to tens of thousands of the smallest producers across Asia. When the large Japanese firms began to embark on joint ventures and sub-contracting agreements in Asia from the mid- 1970s onwards, they induced new local suppliers in East Asia. Japanese investments were also far more agglomerated geographically than Western direct investment. This pertains mostly to the four East Asian tigers who received more than half of Japanese investments in the 1980s. Furthermore, Japanese investments developed indigenous economics because they created networks of linked economic activities among domestic producers.

The mode of industrial upgrading and ‘shedding’ inspired technological learning in the larger Korean Chaebol like Samsung and in smaller companies in Taiwan and Hong Kong; this made East Asian corporations some of the most important customers for Japanese high tech products. Where U.S firms saw the vibrant electronics industry in Asia as a competitor, Japanese corporations and state bodies like the ministry of international trade and industry (MITI) saw them as potential customers. Thus Japanese foreign investment policy allowed considerably more scope than the western variety for real indigenous industrialisation by its semi-peripheral junior partners.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

5. In what ways did Japan’s economic expansion benefit Asia?

1.4.6 Japan in Global Affairs

Japan took its place on the world stage as a peaceful nation in October,

1964 when Tokyo hosted the Summer Olympic Games. Everyone did their part to make the \$2 billion sporting event a success, including a member of Imperial family who waited on tables in the athletes' village. Japan seemed to come of age as a technological power at the same time. The Tokyo Olympics were the first to be broadcast live around the world via satellite and 1964 was the year that Japan introduced the Shikansen bullet train, the world fastest train. Restrictions on overseas travel were also lifted that year, unleashing tides of Japanese tourists on the world.

Japan still had some ways to go, however, to reach American and European levelsof prosperity. In the 1960s, there were still Japanese farmers who used oxen to plow their fields and pedal-powered threshers to get their rice ready for market. Some families kept their children out of school because they couldn't afford the \$125 annual school fees and workers at Seiko earned only \$27 a month. Japan's embrace of capitalism and democracywas an inspiration for all the countries of Asia.

1.4.7 Oil Embargo and Growth in Japan in the 1970s and 80s

The high economic growth and political tranquillity of the mid to late 1960s were tempered by the quadrupling of oil prices by the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1973. Almost completely dependent on imports for petroleum, Japan experienced its first recession since World War II. Japan went into a severe recession in 1974 and 1975 after the Arab oil embargo. GDP shrunk 0.5 percent infiscal 1974 and 4 percent in fiscal 1975 with the worse drop of 13.1 percent occurring theJanuary-March 1974. In 1973 the Japanese economy was suffering an inflation spiral caused mainly by surging land prices triggered by a nationwide development boom In October of that year, war broke out in the Middle East and Arab oil-producing nation cut supplies to countries that supported Israel. Oil prices quadrupled, consumption declined and high raw material costs hit companies hard. Again in 1980 Japan suffered from high inflation and recession mainly due large hikes in the price of imported oil. The exchange rate reaches 360 yen to the dollar in the 1970s. Even so economic growth continued at a robust rate through the 1970s and 80s, with the growth in the 1980s about 5 percent a year, about half the growth rate that China experienced in the 2000s. With the help of the oil embargo Japan captured 21 percent of the world's automobile market by the mid-1970s.

By the 1980s, Japan had built up such huge trade surpluses and the yen had become so strong that Japanese businessmen were buying up properties all over the world and Japanese tourists were fanning out to every corner of the globe. Such Japanese brand as Toyota, Honda, Mitsubishi, Suzuki, Toshiba, Akai and so many others had become global brands. Many people thought Japan was poised to dominate the world economically and Japan bashing became a popular conversation topic in the United States and elsewhere. The present prime minister of Japan is Mr. Shinzo Abe.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

6. Account for the two major reasons behind the growth of Japanese industry?

1.5 SUMMARY

Our discussions in this unit have revolved around the emergence of Japan from her isolationism of the ages into a militaristic dominance of Asia. This radical approach culminated into her ill-fated entry into the Second World War and her ultimate inglorious defeat; added to having the dubious distinction of being the first country to have the atomic bomb detonated in it. However, Japan has come a long way since then. There is hardly any household in the world today which does not possess a gadget made in Japan. This shows the extent of Japan's growth economically.

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1.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAES ANSWERS TO SAES1

The Japanese policy of isolation did not come about by chance rather it was by experience. The reasons for the isolationist posture arose from political events deep in Japan and they were also to play a role in the jettisoning of these policies. The social law, as obtained in Europe in the Old Regime, made a distinction between the classes. Even in isolation the economic, intellectual and social life of Japan was in ferment. While Japan was still a blank slate to the west, educated Japanese could learn all they wanted about the west if they so wished.

ANSWERS TO SAEs2

Factors that rise of Japanese militarism are: Economic factor, independence of the military, expansionism, opposition to militarism, and Japan attacking Pearl Harbor etc.

ANSWERS TO SAEs3

After Japan surrendered in 1945, World War II, allied forces led by United States occupied the nation, bringing drastic changes. Japanese cities were destroyed, its stockpiles exhausted, and its industrial capacity gutted.

ANSWERS TO SAEs4

Despite its wealth and central position in the world economy, Japan has had little or no influence in global politics for much of the postwar period. The United States kept up pressure on Japan to increase its defense spending above 1 percent of its GNP, engendering much debate in the Diet, with most opposition coming not from minority parties or public opinion but from budget-conscious officials in the Ministry of Finance.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 5

In December 1953 the cabinet announced a basic policy toward Southeast Asia, which was to co-operate with the UN and third powers in programs of economic assistance; to give government assistance; and to settle reparations issues as quickly as possible. It has also been pointed out East Asian states achieved success because Japanese expansion differed significantly from western imperialism. As Japan concentrated in higher technology and industrial activities, it shed its standardized industrial activities to the East Asian countries in its wake.

ANSWERS TO SAEs6

Japan made rapid strides to industrialize after the Meiji restoration of 1868, boosting its transportation and communication networks and revolutionizing its light industry by the turn of the century. The two major reasons behind the growth of Japanese industry is by the quadrupling of oil prices by the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1973. Also in 1980s, Japan had built up such huge trade surpluses and the yen had become so strong that Japanese businessmen were buying up properties all over the world and Japanese tourists were fanning out to every corner of the globe. Such Japanese brands as Toyota, Honda, Mitsubishi, Suzuki, Toshiba, Akai and so many others had become global brands.

UNIT 2: CHINA IN ASIA AND WORLD POLITICS

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2.1 INTRODUCTION

This unit will examine the rise and impact of China on Asian and World affairs. This is pertinent in view of the continuous rise in the profile of China since the 90s. Given this growth, there is hardly any country in the world that has not felt the impact of China, either politically or economically.

2.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:-

- Discuss the History of China and account for its interaction with the west.
- Account for the reasons for the fall of the Manchu empire.
- Give an account of the revolution and emergence of a communist state

2.3 EARLY POLITICAL SYSTEM OF CHINA

The Manchu dynasty in China controlled the whole area from the mouth of the Amur River to Burma and Indochina and from the ocean westward into Mongolia and Tibet. In the old Chinese view China was the world itself, the Middle kingdom between the upper and nether regions. The Europeans to these early Chinese were uncouth barbarians even though a few had eased themselves into China since the European middleages. However the Chinese refused, just like the Japanese, to have anything to with them. China even before the west could play a role in its affairs was already preparing for an upheaval. For 2000 years, in a cyclical form, various governments have come and gone.

China is the land of the oldest continuous culture and had been for centuries the most important state in East Asia. Typical of that feeling is the tale of the first steamship on the Yan-tse in 1870. It was reported that the first Chinese to see it were not impressed but rather remarked that they had experimented with something similar 2000 years before. In China there was no aggressive tradition, perhaps owing to the pervasive feeling of superiority. China's isolation just like Japan's was not totally complete as there was considerable trade between it and Russian. As early as 1557 the Portuguese had a settlement in Macao and in 1784 the first American ship appeared. Despite the considerable going and coming, the foreigner-the barbarian to the Chinese- could not have Chinese servants in his house and was expected to leave as soon as his trading business was done or in the alternative retire to the Portuguese free port at Macao.

The Chinese had settled in the Huang He, or Yellow River, valley of northern China by 3000 BC. By then they had pottery, wheels, farms, and silk, but they had not yet discovered writing or the uses of metals. The Shang Dynasty (1766-1122 BC) is the first documented era of ancient China. The highly developed hierarchy consisted of a king, nobles, commoners, and slaves. The capital city was Anyang, in north Henan Province. The Chou Dynasty (1122-221 BC) saw the full flowering of ancient civilization in China. During this period the empire was unified, a middle class arose, and iron was introduced. The sage Confucius (551-479 BC) developed the code of ethics that dominated Chinese thought and culture for the next 25 centuries (See Confucius). The long period of the Chou Dynasty is divided into two sub periods: Western (Early) 1122-771 BC and Eastern

(Later) Chou 771-221, named for the locations of the capitals. Western Chou territory covered most of the North China Plain. It was divided into about 200 princely domains. The Chou political system was similar to the feudal system of medieval Europe.

After nearly 900 years, the Chou Dynasty came to an end when the state of Ch'in, the strongest of the seven surviving states, unified China and established the first empire in 221 BC. The Ch'in Empire did not last long, but it left two enduring legacies: the name China and the idea and structure of the empire. This heritage outlasted the Ch'in Dynasty itself by more than 2,000 years. The first Ch'in emperor was called Ch'in Shih Huang Ti. The title of emperor was used for the first time in Chinese history to set the Ch'in ruler apart.

The four-century-long Han rule is divided into two periods: the Earlier (202 BC – AD 9) or Western Han and the Later or Eastern Han (AD 23- 220). In between these two was the short-lived Hsin Dynasty (AD 9-23). The prolonged period of disunity finally ended when a general from the northwest united China by establishing the new dynasty of Sui (581-618). A second great period of imperial unity was begun. The first Sui emperor, Wen Ti, introduced a series of economic reforms. Sui Wen Ti's premature death might have been caused by his ambitious son Yang Ti, whose grandiose projects and military campaigns ultimately led to the Sui's downfall. In 618, Yang Ti was assassinated in an army coup; one of the coup leaders, Li Shih-min, installed his father as emperor, founding the T'ang Dynasty. After about a decade, during which he was able to secure his father's abdication, he took the throne himself in 626 as the emperor T'ai Tsung.

The T'ang emperors set up a political system in which the emperor was supreme and government officials were selected on the bases of merit and education. Most of the T'ang accomplishments were attained during the first century of the dynasty's rule, through the early part of Emperor Hsuan Tsung's long reign from 712 to 756. However, late in his reign he neglected government affairs to indulge in his love of art and study. This led to the rise of viceroys, commanders responsible for military and civil affairs in the regions. Once again, however, China was divided between north and south, with five dynasties in the north and ten kingdoms in the south.

Over 300 years of Sung history is divided into the two periods of Northern and Southern Sung. Because of the barbarian occupation of northern China the second half of the Sung rule was confined to the area south of the Huai River. While the Sung ruling class and the imperial court indulged themselves in art and luxurious living in the urban centers, the latest nomad empire arose in the north. The formidable Mongol armies, conquerors of Eurasia as far West as eastern Europe and of Korea in the east, descended on the Southern Sung. The Sung period was noted for landscape painting, which in time came to be

considered the highest form of classical art.

The Mongols were the first of the Northern barbarians to rule all of China. After creating an empire that stretched across the Eurasian continent and occupying Northern China and Korea in the first half of the 13th century, the Mongols continued their assault on the Southern Sung. By 1276 the Southern Sung capital of Hangzhou had fallen, and in 1279 the last of the Sung loyalists perished. Before this, Kublai Khan, the fifth "great khan" and grandson of Genghis Khan, had moved the Mongol capital from Karakorum to Peking. In 1271 he declared himself emperor of China and named the dynasty Yuan, meaning "beginning," to signify that this was the beginning of a long era of Mongol rule. In Asia, Kublai Khan continued his grandfather's dream of world conquest. After the death of Kublai Khan in 1294, successive weak and incompetent khans made the already hated Mongol rule intolerable. Having restored Chinese rule to China, the first Ming emperor tried to model his rule after that of the Han, but the Ming fell far short of the Han's accomplishments. However, the Ming produced two unique contributions: the maritime expeditions of the early 15th century and the philosophy of Wang Yang-ming.

During the second half of the Ming Dynasty, European expansion began. Early in the 16th century Portuguese traders arrived and leased the island of Macao as their trading post. In 1582 Matteo Ricci, an Italian Jesuit missionary, arrived in Macao. Unlike earlier brief contacts with the West or the later Western incursions into China, the 16th-century Sino-Western relationship was culturally oriented and mutually respectful. In the last century of its existence, the Ming Dynasty faced numerous internal and external problems. In Manchuria the Manchus (Pinyin: Manzhou) had organized a Chinese-style state and strengthened their forces under a unique form of military organization called the banner system. However, it was not the Manchus who overthrew the Ming but a Chinese rebel, Li Tzu-cheng, who became a leader among the bandits who had become desperate because of a famine in the northwest in 1628. By 1642 Li had become master of north China and in 1644 he captured Peking. There he found that the last Ming emperor had hanged himself, ending the "Brilliant" dynasty. Li, however, was not destined to rule. The rule was to pass once again into the hands of a people from beyond the Great Wall, the Manchus. Thereafter, the Manchus enjoyed more than a century of peace and prosperity, a period that came to be called Pax Sinica (Peace in China). By the end of that period the dynasty had reached the height of its power. The long period of peace and prosperity had some adverse effects on Chinese society. There was a shortage of land, resulting from an increase in the population from 100 million to 300 million at the end of the 18th century. Decadence and corruption spread in the imperial court. China entered the 19th century rocked by revolt. More devastating were the incursions of Western powers, which shook the foundation of the empire.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. What factors accounted for the rise and decline of the Chinese empire through the ages?

2.4.1 CHINA FROM 1800AD

By the 19th century, the Manchu dynasty was almost spent as it was failing to preserve order or halt extortion. From the early period of the century, there were, in rapid succession, a series of revolts and uprisings; the revolt of white lotus society in 1800; the attempt to seize Peking in 1813 by the Heavenly reason society; in the 1850s a Muslim rebellion set up an independent state in the southwest. The greatest of all the upheavals was the Taiping rebellion of 1850 in which it is thought that about 20 million people died. The rebellion was due almost entirely to causes inside china as the rebels had attacked the Manchu who arrived from Manchuria 200 years before as being corrupt and inefficient. Their grouse included poverty, extortion, rack-renting and absentee landlords.

The Taipings outlaws first organised a state in the south for themselves with a disciplined army force. The fighting dragged on for so long that the both the Taiping leaders and the commanders sent out against them got out of control and the country degenerated into anarchy. It was in this epoch that China's war lords appeared-men controlling armies but with loyalty to no government. After fourteen years of fighting, the Manchu leaders with some European assistance managed to put down the insurrection. The British effort was led by the British General Gordon also known as 'Chinese Gordon'. It was into this simmering Chinese cauldron that Europeans at about 1840 began to penetrate. It became their policy to extort concessions from the Manchu but also defend them against internal opposition because they needed a government with whom they could sign treaties to legalize their claims to the territories they had carved out for their countries.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

2. Why do you think the British supported the Manchu to crush the rebellion?

2.4.2 CHINA OPENS TO WORLD BUSINESS

China opened its account with the West with the Opium war of 1841. At that time trade was tedious for the Europeans because the Chinese had no interest in buying their goods. To circumvent this obstacle the British East

Indian Company solved the problem of getting Chinese tea for Europe by shipping Indian-grown opium in return, since opium was the one available commodity for which there was a Chinese demand. The attempt of the Chinese government to regulate its import because of the obvious social impact on the Chinese society led the British government to declare war. The Treaty of Nanjing, which ended the first Opium War, opened five ports to the British--the first of the "treaty ports" where Western nations were granted various privileges. A second Opium War, also known as the Arrow War, fought from 1856 to 1860, pitted China against Great Britain and France. The Opium Wars disrupted the old life and economy of southern China. In 1857, Britain and France combined in a second war to force the Chinese government to accept its diplomats and also deal with its traders this led to the sack of Peking and the burning and looting of the emperor's summer palace. In 1857, a treaty was signed by China with other European powers and then with the US. The terms in these treaties were duplicated in further treaties. This complex web of treaties-known as the treaty system- imposed restrictions on china or allowed undue freedom to the foreigner.

In 1842, the Chinese allocated Hong Kong to Britain and threw open a dozen other cities together with Shanghai and Canton to Europeans as 'treaty ports'. In these cities Europeans were free to make any settlement they wished immune from Chinese law. The citizens of these western powers remained subject only to their own governments and before long British and American gunboats were seen on the Yang-tse River. The Chinese were compelled to pay war indemnities despite being the victim of aggression. Furthermore they were made to levy an import duty not exceeding 5% and thus became a sort of free market to the west. The collection of the customs was handled by a European staff who diverted a sizeable sum to pay the indemnities entitlement of Britain and France and the rest were allowed to the Manchu who they had no wish of overthrowing due to the reason already stated.

2.4.3 China comes under Foreign Hammer and is divided

While the interior of China was permeated with noxious foreign policies such as extra-territoriality and other privileges, its outer rim was being methodically carved up. The Russians sailed down the Amur River in 1860 and set up Vladivostok (Lord of the east); the Japanese, just newly emerged, were now akin to Europeans and adept in such matters, declared

Korea independent in 1870; the British annexed Burma in 1886; in 1883, over Chinese protests, the French took over the Annam area later to be known as French Indochina. Although these territories had never been integral parts of China yet it is with her they had political relations and paid tribute to the Chinese emperor. In 1894 Japan went to war with China and added Formosa and the Liaotung peninsula to her overseas possessions via the treaty of Shimonoseki. It was the great shock which shattered old China for ever. The struggle had been fought in the main in Korea and south Manchuria

In China at this time, many perceptive individuals were indignant at the Japanese defeat of whom they held in contempt. Faced with this scenario, the government initiated a frantic plan for development. Huge loans were obtained with the customs takings as collateral. This action by the Chinese government only inflamed more urgency for concessions by the foreign authorities. The Germans coerced a 99 year lease on Kiaochow Bay; the Russians took a lease on the Liaotung peninsula; the French took Kwangchow and the British Wei-hai-wei. The US arriving late to this western rapacity, and fearing that the action would be gone before she rallied herself proposed the 'open door policy'. The idea of the policy was that China be left territorially accessible to all comers and that foreign powers with special concessions should maintain the 5% Chinese tariff and allow traders of all nations to come in and trade. The open door policy was a program not so much of leaving China to the Chinese, as of assuring that all outsiders should find it literally 'open' for plunder.

Possibly China would have modernized without more bloodshed, had not the Dowager empress, the Regent Tsu-his, fearing that the weak emperor would permit the reforms to which he had agreed, to be carried out, leading to an erosion of her own position in the empire. Tsu-his arrested the emperor, declared him by decree to be illegitimate and feeble-minded, and all the reform measures annulled with only the Peking University remaining. As a result conditions worsen and the people of China sank into extreme misery. Again the reactionary court misused the prevalent xenophobia of the Chinese people for its own narrow interests. That is seen in the boxer rising of 1900, an attempt at violently combating foreign influences and was made with the connivance of the empress.

2.4.4 The boxer rebellion

Simmering tension between foreign interests in China and fanatical anti- Western Chinese patriots broke out into savage bloodshed in 1900. For

several years a fervently nationalistic movement calling itself the 'sprit fists' had been winning recruits in Shantung, Chihli and Shansi provinces, south of Peking by stirring up hatred against foreign businessmen and missionaries and calling for their deaths. Its name somewhat literally translated as the order of Literary Patriotic Harmonious Fists, the boxers were a fanatical secret society with obscure origins. They practiced a form of martial art or shadow boxing derived from the ancient Taoist religion. A missionary nicknamed the nationalists 'the Boxers' because of their ritual incantations to gain spiritual immunity against physical danger were accompanied by boxer-like movements. The boxers, who abhorred tea, meat and the company of women, preached pure hatred of foreigners-both the businessmen whose railways and mines were destroying the earth spirits of the ancient Chinese land and the cannibalistic missionaries who they viewed as eating the blood and body of their god and acting as spies for foreign governments. Peking, where the imperialists housed their traders and officials in a walled enclosure known as the legations compound, was for some time unaffected by the vandalism of the boxers.

The blowing up of the railway line from Peking to Tientsin signaled the beginning of the attack on Peking. On June 18th the despotic empress declared war on the foreigners and presented the legations compound with an ultimatum to leave the country. Before long the combined strength of the boxers and the imperial army attacked the compound. After three weeks of the siege the foreign expeditionary force arrived. The empress fled to Sian. For the people of Peking, the defeat of the boxers brought a terrible postscript. The triumphant westerners seeking revenge, engaged in an orgy of looting during which the Forbidden City was plundered of jewels and other treasures. Hundreds of Chinese women, terrified of western soldiers hurled themselves down the city's wells. How many thousands of victims the boxer rebellion claimed throughout China is unknown. In the legations compound 231 foreigners mostly missionaries, were killed. For this carnage China paid a huge indemnity of 67 million pounds and was forbidden to import arms and to accept the occupation of foreign troops. The boxer revolution was the last great rally by the traditionalist. The country was under so great a foreign debt that it was virtually in subjugation to the western powers. In futility, the Manchu leaders strove to westernize the country as a consequence of the rebellion. The revolutionary agitation for the expulsion of both the Manchu and the foreigners was already on all over the country, especially in the south, under the leadership of the revolutionary Sun Yat-sen.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

3. What is the treaty system? What factors led to the Boxer uprising?

2.4.5 THE REVOLUTION OF 1911

In the revolution of 1911 the weaker China was unable to achieve what the French bourgeoisie attained in the revolutions of 1798 and 1830. Whilst the bourgeoisie broke the power of absolute monarch rule the French peasants burned down the chateaus of their erstwhile masters, divided their lands and fought in the revolutionary armies. The Chinese peasants and workers played virtually no part in the revolution of 1911. After the inconsequential Manchu emperor, Pu-i, was driven from the throne everything largely went back to what it was. Actually the provincial governors continued to rule and the much detested and other 'unofficial bandits' and desperadoes. The government, transformed only in appearance, had virtually no powers beyond the walls of Peking. The government realistically speaking was the mouthpiece of the Japanese and western imperialists. Thus under pressure from internal chaos and external economic stranglehold China duly wasted away. At about 1919, three factors emerged to alter this situation, imperialism, the growth of native workers' and peasants' movements and the Russian revolution.

During the peace settlement at Versailles after the First World War, the so-called Western powers ignored the just claims of China and awarded to Japan the former concessions of Germany in the Shantung province of China. This was referred to by some Marxist writers at the time as the 'objective revolutionary functioning of imperialism'. The Chinese had been deeply expectant that the west would right the wrongs of the past only to have its hopes dashed. As regards the second factor, peasant uprisings are common to China unlike resistance movements which began in 1919. For example the bloody railway strike on the Peking Hankow line (1920). There was also growing radicalism among students and also among other intellectuals. In 1918 a society for the study of Marxism was formed at Peking University. In 1920 Chen Wang-tao translated the communist manifesto of Marx and Engels into Chinese, the first classic work of Marxism to appear in native language.

The communist party of China also appeared in 1920 that is the Kuan shan-tang was organized in Peking. At the same time branches were organized in cities abroad where the many Chinese lived. In this period of revolutionary ferment Confucianism was attacked from many sides as being

inadequate for needs of the nation. It was subsequently replaced by pragmatism and materialism.

In the industrial city of Wuhan, a soldiers' group with only a loose connection to Sun's alliance rose in rebellion in the early morning of Oct. 10, 1911 (since celebrated as Double Ten, the tenth day of the tenth month). The Manchu governor and his commander fled, and a Chinese commander, Li Yuan-hung, was pressured into taking over the leadership. By early December all of the central, southern, and north western provinces had declared independence. Sun Yat-sen, who was in the United States during the revolution, returned and was chosen as head of the provisional government of the Republic of China in Nanjing.

The Manchu court quickly summoned Yuan Shih-kai, the former commander of the reformed Northern Army. Personally ambitious and politically shrewd, Yuan carried out negotiations with both the Manchu court and the revolutionaries. Yuan was able to persuade the Manchu to abdicate peacefully in return for the safety of the imperial family. On Feb. 12, 1912, the regent of the 6-year-old emperor formally announced the abdication. The Manchu rule in China ended after 267 years and with it the 2,000-year-old imperial system.

2.4.6 The Republic of China (1912-1949)

Early in March 1912, Sun Yat-sen resigned from the presidency and, as promised, Yuan Shih-kai was elected his successor at Nanjing. Inaugurated in March 1912 in Beijing, the base of his power, Yuan established a republican system of government with a premier, a cabinet, a draft constitution, and a plan for parliamentary elections early in 1913. The Kuomintang (KMT, National People's party), the successor to Sun Yat-sen's organization, was formed in order to prepare for the election.

Despite his earlier pledges to support the republic, Yuan schemed to assassinate his opponents and weaken the constitution and the parliament. By the end of 1914 he had made himself president for life and even planned to establish an imperial dynasty with himself as the first emperor. His dream was thwarted by the serious crisis of the Twenty-one Demands for special privileges presented by the Japanese in January 1915 and by vociferous opposition from many sectors of Chinese society. He died in June 1916 a

broken man. After Yuan's death, a number of his protégés took positions of power in the Beijing government or ruled as warlords in outlying regions. In August 1917 the Beijing government joined the Allies and declared war on Germany. At the peace conference in Versailles, France, the Chinese demand to end foreign concessions in China was ignored.

2.4.7 The Nationalist Era (1928-1937).

The Nationalist period began with high hopes and much promise. More could have been accomplished had it not been for the problems of Comintern corruption and Japanese aggression. In his efforts to combat them both, Chiang neglected the land reform needed to improve the lives of the peasants. Driven from the cities, the Communists concentrated on organizing the peasants in the countryside. On Nov. 1, 1931, they proclaimed the establishment of the Chinese Soviet Republic in the south eastern province of Jiangxi, with Mao Zedong as chairman. Here the first units of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army were formed.

A military man by temperament and training, Chiang sought to eliminate the Communists by force. He defined his anti-Communist drive as "internal pacification before resistance to external attack," and he gave it more importance than opposition to the increasingly aggressive Japanese. Faced with the dilemma of being totally destroyed in Jiangxi or attempting an almost impossible escape, the Communists decided to risk the escape. On Oct. 15, 1934, they broke through the tight KMT siege. Over 100,000 men and women set out on the Long March of about 6,000 miles (9,600 kilometres) through China's most rugged terrain to find a new base in the northwest.

In China, World War II broke out on July 7, 1937, with a seemingly insignificant little battle between Chinese and Japanese troops near Peking, called the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. Within a few days, the Japanese had occupied Peking and the fighting spread rapidly. The World War II ended in 1945. Meanwhile civil war raged over who should take charge of the Japanese arms and equipment in China. At the end of August an agreement was reached in Chongqing between a CCP delegation and the KMT, but the truce was brief. The short and decisive civil war that followed was resolved in two main places: Manchuria and the Huai River area. Despite a massive airlift of KMT forces by the United States, Manchuria was lost in October 1948 after

300,000 KMT forces surrendered to the CCP. After the fall of Nanjing and Shanghai, KMT resistance evaporated. By the autumn, the Communists had taken all mainland territories except Tibet. Chiang Kai-shek and a number of his associates fled to the island of Taiwan, where they set up what they claimed was the rightful government of China.

2.4.8 The People's Republic of China

On Oct. 1, 1949, Mao Zedong proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China. The CCP hailed its takeover of China as a people's victory over and liberation from imperial domination (especially that of the United States) and the oppressive KMT regime. The Red Army was renamed the People's Liberation Army. During the early days of the People's Republic, the troops were restrained, foreign-educated Chinese returned to help the country, and most local administrators remained in office.

2.4.9 The Great Leap Forward

The Great Leap Forward was designed to overcome the backwardness of China's economy, industry, and technology. It was to be achieved through use of the vast manpower and indomitable spirit of the Chinese. After a year, the leaders admitted that the success of the program had been exaggerated. The effect of the Great Leap Forward on the people and the economy was devastating. Coupled with three straight years of poor harvests, it resulted in a severe food shortage and industrial decline. For the next several years, while lip service was paid to Mao's thought and to Great Leap-type activism, the real power was in more conservative hands.

2.4.10 The Cultural Revolution

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a radical movement that closed schools, slowed production, and virtually severed China's relations with the outside world. It was proletarian because it was a revolution of the workers against party officials. It was cultural because it meant to alter the values of society in the Communist sense. It was great, because it was on a mammoth scale. It lasted for two years in its intense form, lingered on for another year and a half, and was not officially declared over until 1977. The Cultural Revolution had its roots in a power struggle between Mao and his supporters, including his wife, Jiang Qing, and Lin Biao--who believed that the initial fervour of the revolution was being lost--and more conservative,

bureaucratic elements within the leadership.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

4. Examine the communist policies of the 'Cultural Revolution' and the 'Great Leap' forward in relation to China's development? What factors led to the revolution in 1911?

2.4.11 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC: THE COLD WAR YEARS

The People's Republic has undergone several shifts in foreign policy since 1949. Initially, it was closely tied to the Soviet Union and firmly identified as a member of the socialist camp. Within a few years, however, the Sino-Soviet relationship had begun to deteriorate, the victim, among other factors, of differing national interests, differing interpretations of Marxism, and Chinese resentment over heavy-handed Soviet attempts at control. By the mid-1960s China and the Soviet Union had become openly hostile toward each other.

China was largely isolated from the rest of the world during the height of the Cultural Revolution, but when the upheavals subsided it began to take a more practical foreign policy line. Trade was opened up with a number of Western countries, China started to play an active role in international organizations, and diplomatic relations were established with countries willing to recognize the People's Republic--rather than the Nationalist government on Taiwan--as the government of China. Most dramatically, contacts were begun with the United States, leading to full diplomatic recognition on Jan. 1, 1979.

While China's political system changed little by the 1990s, its economy had become the fastest-growing in the world. Relations with the United States became unstable on two fronts. The Chinese government refused to allow the human rights concerns to become an issue in trade talks. Trade itself became a major issue, as exports to the United States exceeded imports. In addition, North Korea's probable possession of nuclear weapons posed an unsettling problem for China and the United States in the mid- 1990s.

2.4.12 China and Asian Affairs: The Cold War Years

For a long time China was unrivalled in East Asia before the middle of the 19th century. This was because due to its geographical isolation and lack of

sufficient contact with the outside world it regarded itself as the center of the world. They had the feeling that their civilization was superior to any other culture in the world and regarded others as 'barbarians'. The influence of China was thus felt in Korea, Japan and Indochina. At other times countries in south and Southeast Asia felt the power of China. This situation reversed itself with the defeat of China during the opium war 1838-42. She was carved up literally by scavenging western nations. However, the arrival of communism in 1949 once again tipped the scale in favour of a Chinese renaissance both at home and abroad. Rapid economic and technological advancement once more made her a formidable power on the continent of Asia. A review of Chinese history shows that whenever China is gathered under a virile central government, it usually tends toward outside expansion. However Chinese imperialism has differed from European imperialism on two important respects; as soon as China established its natural borders it showed no inclination at governing weaker neighbour rather it wanted to maintain influence for security and prestige and China's control over her puppet nations was not inspired by economic gains as it possessed no significant economic base and furthermore may have been influenced by the Confucian precept of an empire ruled by moral dictates.

China's peculiar culture also propagated the belief that China was the possessor of all truth and morality and therefore should be the leader among nations. The Chinese usually gauged the advancement of other peoples by measuring them with their own civilization. She never had the concept of sovereign equality and thus did not regard other nations as equals with her. These traditions can be seen in the relation of China to the Asian countries past and present. Given the political atmosphere in which the Chinese political culture evolved, that is of expansion and contraction, they acquired a sense of superiority vis- a- vis other Asians on their periphery. When new barbarians appeared from the sea, they were viewed no better than barbarians found in the remotest reaches of the empire. If they did not bear a sword then they must bear tributes for the kingdom. It was only in 1901 after the humiliating defeat arising from the Boxer rebellion, was there set up a board for foreign affairs in Peking. This departure however did not totally affect the Chinese mindset regarding foreigners and their activities. The Chinese concepts regarding foreign relations generally and international law, treaties, and alliances in particular remained different in major respects from ideas governing in the occident.

The empire asides the maintenance of hegemonic relations toward the

remote frontiers controlled its formal borders. The ones observed on the map presently were established by the Manchu conquerors of China. The abdication edict of the emperor on February 12 1912 noted that the Chinese were to form a republic of china 'by the union as heretofore of the five peoples, namely, Manchu, Chinese, Mongols, Mohammads and Tibetans together with their territory in its integrity'. The Chinese past and present have accepted this bequest from the Manchu as fait accompli-nationalist maps often show irredentist claims and so have the communists even up to today.

Communist ideology is often touted as a new addition to China's social dynamics. But a close inquiry shows a deep resemblance between the role played by communism and Confucianism in China's international relations. The ardour that was often displayed by the typical Chinese revolutionary to turn the world into a communist haven can be juxtaposed by the missionary zeal exhibited by the Confucian- scholar- official to civilize the uncouth and backward barbarians of the frontiers and surrounding areas; though with less aggression than the communists. The culture-centric mentality of the Chinese can be witnessed in the proclamations of Mao that communism is the future and that only Chinese communism is the acceptable version. This is merely a reinstatement of the age old Chinese culture superiority complex only conveyed via a modern vehicle.

Thus we see that the emancipation of China from foreign influences and clutch, through communism only reenergized the disrupted ambition of the middle kingdom to stamp its dominance on Asia. The main aim of communist China, and it may still remain the aim, was to gather restore the ancient hegemony of imperial China as the leader of Asia, with the nations of Asia as its outposts. It had wanted to monopolize the ideological pedestal and remain as the source of inspiration to all Asia. It is then little wonder its ferocious fights with the USA and the USSR, the USSR more especially given the fact that she was her main contender in the ideological race for the soul of Asia. America she tried to undermine by supporting endless subversive activities in her sphere in Asia. This is not surprising in the least since it attempted to achieve her goals via political, economic, cultural, military and subversion. Consequently any country then that hinders its march toward its natural right is considered an enemy of China. In order to accomplish this one goal of hegemony in Asia, China has had to or rather have invaded and cut down neighboring states that may throw up any

challenge. For example a highly developed India is a roadblock to this ambition, thus her humiliation in the 1962 war.

India, identical to China in population, resources, land mass and influence, was the major objective of most of China's scheming in South and Southeast Asia. The Sino-Indo conflict along their common borders was but a complex of competing forces. She had once looked up Tibet as a buffer between her and outward looking China but the communist 'liberation' of Tibet in 1951 destroyed this illusion. China then proceeded to transform Tibet into an outpost for the penetration of Chinese influence into South Asia. Thus the border conflicts that exploded on that axis in 1962 were an extension of this well-knit Chinese program. Furthermore Nehru's participation in the Belgrade conference of neutrals and non-alignment portrayed him in ever suspicious Chinese eyes as developing with Marshal Tito a competing 'neutralist' bloc. The symptoms of this struggle were only manifested in the border clashes along the McMahon line and on the Aksai Chin plateau. China was also attempting to out-manuever the Indians by playing on the Pakistani-Indo conflict over Kashmir. Peking achieved success by reaching a deal with Pakistan over certain portion of Kashmir in dispute to the benefit of both countries and the detriment of India. The Chinese strategic position vis-à-vis South Asia has also been enhanced. India's humiliating defeat in the war with China shook the confidence of the states along the middle of the border-Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim; the last two Indian protected states. As for Nepal it had largely been neutralized by the antics of the Chinese just like Pakistan and Burma. Altogether, China in the 60s and 70s was no longer the passive sufferer she was 100 years before, under the period under review, her seat was still occupied by Taiwan in the UN and she was widely regarded as conducting an 'aggressive policy' in her foreign affairs.

2.4.13 China and Asia Today

South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, Hong Kong, and Singapore were dubbed "Asian Tigers" as they sustained rapid economic growth and industrialization from the 1960s through the 1990s. China's rise in the 21st century, the rise of the "Asian Dragon," has the potential to surpass greatly the growth of the "Asian Tigers." Since the beginning of economic reforms under Deng Xiaoping, China has averaged an annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate of 9.4 percent. Since 1978, foreign trade has grown from a fraction of a percent of the world economy, or \$20.6 billion,

to over 4 percent, or \$851 billion in 2005.²² China's GDP is the world's third largest at roughly 1/7th that of the United States, yet because of its population of 1.3 billion, on a per capita basis, China is ranked roughly 100th in the world and considered a low-income developing country.²³ Many economists believe that with the latent potential of a rapidly emerging middle class, China has the potential to continue its impressive growth for many years to come.

The demands of increased economic development are the driving forces behind China's improved relations with her neighbours. Successful economic development is perceived as key to China's third area of strategic concern, domestic stability. China's greatest strength and its greatest vulnerability is the economy, and therefore it is the centerpiece of Chinese policy and strategy. To sustain economic growth, China must rely increasingly upon external sources of energy and raw materials. Trade therefore has served as a tool of rapprochement between China and her old enemies not only in the Asian sub-region but also throughout the world. A good instance is the Chinese town of Manzhouli sitting atop the deserted border with Russia which was despoiled by the politics of the cold world. Due to the ideological differences which characterized their relationship in the late 60s, bloody clashes erupted along their common border in 1969 thus limiting the level of inter-border communication between Manzhouli and their Russian neighbours only some yards out. Given the level of tension only a few state organized trade found its way through the highly fortified border thus leaving the residents on the Chinese side heavily dependent on the local coal mine for jobs. Today, however, Manzhouli town is a strong testament to the level of trade that can be generated on trade between those two behemoths. As relations thawed between Moscow and China in the aftermath of the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991, the border opened, private businessmen jumped into importing and exporting and the fortunes of the two communities merged. Trade between Russian and China averaged 55 billion dollars in 2010, seven times more than in 2000. Timber and oil flow into resource hungry China, while China's roaring factories ship machinery, textiles and other manufacture goods back in return. About \$9.4 billion worth of goods passed through the tiny town of Manzhouli in 2010, more than twice the amount just five years earlier. With the surge in trade the town has magnetized capital from northern China and the population has surged since the end of the cold war. The Chinese government has founded the Manzhouli Economic Border Economic Cooperation zone to boost business with Russian and 'the old hostilities are basically gone'.

China, not the US has become India's largest trading partner, with the exchange between the two countries surging 28-fold over the past decade to almost

62 billion in 2010. In Asia a recent visit by Chinese premier, unthinkable a few years back given the level of belligerence of both sides, to New Delhi saw the signing of trade deals worth over \$16 billion. On the south western border, a long-standing territorial dispute with India over Chinese-controlled portions of Kashmir and north eastern India is showing signs of slow but pragmatic progress. During Prime Minister Vajpayee's visit to China in 2003, India, for the first time, recognized China's claims to Tibet and China reciprocated by recognizing India's claim to the Himalayan state of Sikkim.

China has invested in massive super highways to connect her with Vietnam; nearby Burma has reconstructed an old highway in order to link her with China thus cutting transportation costs by 30%. China is now the largest foreign investor in Brazil which for the first time in history is a challenge on traditional American pre-eminence in the Latin-American region. China also made a \$3.1 billion investment in Argentina, which in 2010 was the single largest acquisition in the country. The pattern of rampant Chinese investments across the globe began when China began to partake in the global market from the 1980s. Thus factories in Shenzhen and Shanghai became the centerpieces of 'borderless manufacturing' networks in which parts for TVs, mobile phones and other goods were produced across Asia and then shipped to China for final assembly in the process spurring further growth in the region. China desperate for raw materials has in the recent years made incisive incursions into the African region especially in the Sub-Saharan region.

Currently as the economies of the West slow down under the dual assault of high debt and joblessness, the Chinese economy has continued to power through the global economic downturn. They are also challenging the established economic order. China, supported by Russia, has called for the replacement of the US dollar as the No. 1 reserve currency for global financial trade. In this regard, China has been liberalizing its currency slowly, encouraging its major partners to use the Chinese currency, the Yuan, instead of the dollar in their trade. Observers note that the Yuan could be the currency of choice in at least half of China's trade with other emerging nations in three to five years.

2.4.14 Challenges in Asian Relations

Despite the impressive growth of Sino-Indo trade, it still amounts to a sixth between China and the US persistent political tensions could also flare up and impede economic relations in the future. China and India, for example still quarrel over unresolved border disputes, while India's support for the Dalai Lama irks

leaders in Beijing who consider him a dangerous separatist. India and Brazil have complained that China's control of their currency value hampers their exports by keeping competing Chinese goods artificially cheap. There has also been resentment against China spanning the entire countries in which she has investments because of the penchant of the Chinese investor to buy everything within sight and offer little in return.

As China rises in power and influence, the course of China's development will be determined by its decision either to join fully the community of nations as a responsible stakeholder or, alternatively, a decision to play by its own rules. China's diplomatic and economic activity is geared towards securing markets for exports, obtaining raw materials and energy resources, and enhancing its international stature. Simultaneously, China has exercised its diplomatic and economic instruments of national power to isolate Taiwan and reduce the regional influence of the United States. For example, in July 2005, President Hu signed a joint statement issued by the SCO calling for Washington to dismantle its air bases in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan that had been established to support the war in Afghanistan. Although the SCO was not adamant on the timetable for withdrawal, this pressure on the United States is just one example of a broader willingness by China to challenge U.S. influence in an area perceived as China's backyard. Another example is the East Asia Summit (EAS), a new 16-nation regional forum that purposely excluded participation of the United States. Russia was invited as an observer at the inaugural meeting in Kuala Lumpur last December, but no such invitation was extended to the United States. China has sought to use the new forum as a platform for its growing influence and as a counterpoint to the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, where Washington is a key participant. China's behaviour in the SCO and EAS serve as counterpoints to Beijing's claim that it is pursuing harmonious "peaceful development"

Other recent events also reveal the limitations of China's moderation, positive outreach, and benign influence. During an official visit to Australia, a senior Chinese diplomat warned Canberra to refrain from siding with the United States in any military contingency involving Taiwan despite Australia's ANZUS treaty commitments (see alliances during the cold war). China also pressured Singapore's incoming prime minister to scrub plans for an official state visit to Taiwan. Sino-Japanese relations, historically very tense, worsened when a Chinese nuclear-powered submarine intruded into Japan's territorial waters near a disputed gas field in November 2004. And a Chinese dispute with South Korea over the history of the Goguryeo Kingdom sparked strong nationalist responses in both countries.

Despite these tensions, Chinese leaders have not placed severe demands on neighbouring governments or pressured them to do things they would not otherwise be inclined to do. China is aware of the possibility that its growing stature could be construed as a threat to other countries in Asia, so a generally benign approach to gain influence is pursued through the use of investments, development packages, and diplomatic gestures. China's behaviour largely has been consistent with its policy and rhetoric.

2.4.15 China and World Politics

In 1950 Mao and Stalin signed a treaty of alliance which brought enormous soviet aid to china. In exchange USSR got Port Arthur for a naval base and joint control of the railways in Manchuria until the end of 1952. After 1949 the Chinese encouraged revolution in neighbouring countries but by 1951 they spoke of co-existence between capitalist and communist states. China's foreign policies appear to be shaped by her communist ideology and ardent nationalism- which helps them identify with nationalist struggle. In fact the 5 principles of co-existence that became popular in non-aligned countries originated from a treaty between China and India in 1954. China also played a major role in countering European imperialism. Chou En-Lai as China's Prime-Minister at Bandung in Indonesia, during a meeting of African and Asian leaders in 1955, urged Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism and supported anti-colonial movements with resources.

Any consideration of China's transformation since 1949 must recognize the dramatic improvement in China's global posture. Sixty years ago the new People's Republic was cut off from the world having diplomatic relations only with a relatively small number of nations. It was even excluded from the UN. It soon became embroiled in the Korean War and the Cold War, which brought further isolation. Despite some marginal trade with Western Europe following the 1954 Geneva conference on Indochina, China was cut off from international trade, finance and aid. As a result, its economy stagnated. Adding the 'Great Leap' and the 'Cultural Revolution' policies, the nation descended literally into anarchy.

Six decades later, China has fully embraced globalization at home and has burst onto the world's stage in a largely positive fashion. It now has both interests and a presence in parts of the world completely new to China-such as Latin America and the middle east- and enjoys rising international prestige. Beijing has generally managed its relations well with the major world powers: the US, Russian and the

EU. It has transformed its regional diplomacy in Asia, reasserted a role in Africa and become much more deeply engaged with international organizations and across a range of global-governance issues. China used to eschew multilateralism, distrusting it as some kind of (western} conspiracy. While Beijing remains a selective multilaterals' globally-engaging on some issues and not others- the broad trend has been positive and in the direction of deeper contributions to the world community.

China is also more proactive on global security issues ('hot spot' as Chinese analysts like to describe them). When natural disasters now strike, such as the south and Southeast Asia tsunami in 2004 and the Pakistan earthquake the following year, china is there to provide physical and financial assistance. China now has over 2,100 peacekeeping personnel deployed in about a dozen nations worldwide-more than any other member of the UN security council. This is one tangible expression of China's strong commitment to the UN. Today, indeed, the PRC maybe the greatest advocate ofthe UN among the major powers. An institution it was despised and distrusted!

In the field of arms controls, China used to be a serious proliferator of missiles and missile components and a significant seller of conventional arms. But, over time, China has signed or ratified the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, the comprehensive test ban treaty and the biological and conventional weapons convention, has joined the nuclear suppliers group and has essentially adhered to the missile technology control regime (although it is not a member). This is not the China that the world used to know: arevisionist' destabilizing power that sought to overturn the international order. Today, thePeople's Republic of China is deeply involved across the globe and is increasingly an upholder of, and contributor to, the existing international order. China has been a considerable beneficiary of the post-cold war order, which has allowed Beijing to establish a presence in regions and international institutions that was not previously possible.

China's strategic posture is also changing. Its military modernization program has made giant strides in recent years. In many categories China's military is the best in Asia and in some sectors is approaching NATO standards. The People's liberation army still has no global strike capacity, however, other its intercontinental ballistic missiles andcyber warfare capabilities. Still many countries worry about china's rise and globalexpansion, even though it has, to date, been outwardly peaceful and accommodating. Public opinion polls in Europe and the US regularly reflect a negative image of China, while concerns over economic competition and job losses

are growing in Europe, Africa and Latin America.

China's approach to relations with certain states appears to be amoral or value-neutral with regard to ideological or human rights concerns. China is focused on achieving practical strategic objectives and maintains favourable relations with "rogue states" that have histories and reputations of behaviour objectionable to the world community - weapons proliferators, human rights abusers, aggressive military postures, and supporters of terrorism, for example - without exerting influence to change aberrant policy or behaviour. China's engagement with rogue states such as Myanmar, Iran, and Sudan undermines attempts by the West to isolate or effect change in those regimes. At the EAS in December 2005, China dissented from fellow Southeast Asian nations' intense censure of Myanmar and dismissed that country's abhorrent human rights situation by stating it was an internal matter for Rangoon's military rulers to decide. In Sudan, where the CNPC controls more than 40 percent of oil production and China is the country's largest trading partner, Beijing should have enough clout and influence to modify the behaviour of a government that has given safe harbor to al-Qa'ida and other militants, and has been implicated in abetting the ongoing genocide in the Darfur region. Beijing could improve its international image by encouraging policy shifts in Khartoum, but so far has shown no inclination to do so.

Substantial stains remain in Beijing's ties with three of China's most important neighbors: Australia, India and Japan. Even relations with Russia, which have achieved historic highs since the collapse of the Soviet Union, have run into obstacles. This is unsurprising. As Beijing expands its influence and begins to flex its new muscle on the world stage, it's to be expected that China will engender occasional discord with other nations.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

5. Compare and contrast Chinese policy in Asia during the Cold War and today?

2.4.16 Chinese Politics Today

China's political system has not changed much since 1949. It is a Leninist system, dominated by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and an oligarchy of its self-selected leaders, which tolerates no opposition. The party's powerful organization department oversees all major appointments in the country, and one must really be a party member to get ahead professionally. Party and government organs remain essentially as they were six decades ago, copied from the Soviet Union. But while much of the structure and essential nature of the system remains largely the same, the substance and process of politics has changed quite a lot. The leadership and the 76 million party members are better educated and their

recruitment and promotion is much more meritocratic. Competence is now rewarded. In the past, there existed only two exit paths from officialdom: purges and death. Now mandatory retirement is firmly implemented.

Instead of being a totalitarian party dominated by a single leader, the CCP today is an authoritarian party with a collective leadership. The leaders are now remarkably self-assured and sophisticated. Marxist-Leninist ideology plays little, if any, role in their decision making. The policy process is more consultative, although still lacking in transparency. Although repression has not been as intense as what occurred during the Tiananmen Square crackdown of June 1989, the regime is attentive to dissidence and prepared to use substantial coercive and persuasive power in response to social discontent. The regime's priority and preoccupation due to the legacy of the Cultural Revolution and other periods of social unrest is to maintain domestic stability by fostering economic prosperity to satisfy the demands and expectations of the Chinese people. Much emphasis is put on governance and officials at all levels undergo required training in public administration.

The governing elites of China have three overarching concerns: regime survival, territorial integrity, and domestic stability. Regime survival is the foremost concern of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), and party leadership is acutely aware that their success hinges upon the satisfaction of the Chinese people and the government's ability to protect Chinese national interests. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War exposed communism as a bankrupt ideology with a flawed economic system. As the last remaining major communist state, China's leaders have sought to avoid the fate of the Soviet Union and other Eastern European communist regimes by turning away from traditional Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology and adopting a "socialist market economy," a thinly-veiled euphemism for Chinese-style capitalism". The CCP has maintained authoritarian control amid a sea change of economic and social reforms and, as long as reforms stay on track and the economy continues to thrive and resurgent nationalism remains manageable, expectations are that regime survival will not be threatened.

On the whole, the communist party has proven itself to be remarkably adaptable and open to borrowing elements from different countries and political systems. As a result it is becoming a hybrid party with elements of East Asian neo-authoritarianism, Latin-American corporatism and European social democracy all grafted to Confucianist-Leninist roots. The uprising in Tiananmen and across China in 1989 was also instructive experiences for the CCP. Many lessons were drawn but the principal one was to remain flexible and adaptable, not dogmatic and rigid. Thus

the CCP's sustenance to date has certainly surprised many leading China watchers. But going forward, the major challenge to the party will likely be its ability to deliver adequate 'public goods' to the population: health care, education, environmental protection and other social services. Providing stability and ever increasing personal wealth will not be enough to guarantee the party indefinite legitimacy-it must continuously improve the quality of life of its citizens. This is China's new revolution: the revolution of rising expectations. The present president of China is President Xi Jinping the former Secretary-General of the so called Chinese communist party.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

6. Do you think China is still a communist country?

2.4.17 The future in a China dominated Globe?

In many ways China has made efforts to try to reassure an anxious world. It has repeatedly promised that it means only peace. It has spent freely on aid and investment, settled border disputes with its neighbors and rolled up its sleeves in UN peacekeeping forces and international organisations. When North Korea shelled a South Korean island last month China did at least try to create a framework to rein in its neighbor. But reasonable China sometimes gives way to aggressive China. In March, when the North sank a South Korean warship, killing 46 sailors, China failed to issue any condemnation. A few months later it fell out with Japan over some Chinese fishermen, arrested for ramming Japanese coastguard vessels around some disputed islands—and then it locked up some Japanese businessmen and withheld exports of rare earths vital for Japanese industry. And it has forcefully reasserted its claim to the Spratly and Paracel Islands and to sovereignty over virtually the entire South China Sea. So far, things have gone remarkably well between America and China. While China has devoted itself to economic growth, American security has focused on Islamic terrorism and war in Iraq and Afghanistan. But the two mistrust each other. China sees America as a waning power that will eventually seek to block its own rise. And America worries about how Chinese nationalism, fuelled by rediscovered economic and military might, will express itself.

The danger is that spats and rows will sour relations between China and America, just as the friendship between Germany and Britain crumbled in the decades before the First World War. It is already happening in defence. Feeling threatened by American naval power, China has been modernising its missiles, submarines, radar, cyber-warfare and anti-satellite weapons. Now America feels on

its mettle. Recent Pentagon assessments of China's military strength warn of the threat to Taiwan and American bases and to aircraft-carriers near the Chinese coast. The US Navy has begun to deploy more forces in the Pacific. Feeling threatened anew, China may respond. Even if neither America nor China intended harm—if they wanted only to ensure their own security—each could nevertheless see the other as a growing threat. It has been advocated that the solution is for America to turn its back on military rivalry. But a weaker America would likely lead to chronic insecurity in East Asia and thus threatens the peaceful conduct of trade and commerce on which America's prosperity depends. America therefore needs to be strong enough to guarantee the seas and protect Taiwan from Chinese attack

Some historians of China think they see the telltale signs of dynastic decline: government corruption, social discontent (especially in the countryside), autocratic rulers and a militarizing state. Some contemporary China experts also voice their doubts- proclaiming the regime fragile and the political system ossified-while economists question how long the dynamic growth can continue. While the system and country have weaknesses and challenges, the Sinological landscape is littered with its naysayers and critics. The Peoples' republic of China has endured for six decades and has overcome a wide variety of serious domestic crises, border wars and international isolation. Its strengths and adaptability have repeatedly been underestimated by outside observers. One thing is certain: China will remain a country of complexity and contradictions.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

7. Why is there great global skepticism about the growth of China?

2.5 SUMMARY

In this unit we have discussed the brief history of China starting from its glorious past, where it pioneered several inventions. The unit then explored the China under colonial influences, which brought on a time of troubles for the besieged nation. We also touched on the revolution and adoption of communism. It was the advent of communism which rallied the country once again and for the first time in a long while a central government was able to control the entire land holdings of the country. Finally we discussed its turbulence under communist control and eventual resurgence.

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2.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAEs

ANSWERS TO SAEs 1.

The Chinese had settled in the Huang He, or Yellow River, valley of northern China by 3000 BC. By then they had pottery, wheels, farms, and silk, but they had not yet discovered writing or the uses of metals. The Shang Dynasty (1766-1122 BC) is the first documented era of ancient China.

After nearly 900 years, the Chou Dynasty came to an end when the state of Ch'in, the strongest of the seven surviving states, unified China and established the first empire in 221 BC. The Ch'in Empire did not last long, but it left two enduring legacies: the name China and the idea and structure of the empire. The four-century-long Han rule is divided into two periods: the Earlier (202 BC – AD 9) or Western Han and the Later or Eastern Han (AD 23- 220). In between these two was the short-lived Hsin Dynasty (AD 9-23).

ANSWERS TO SAEs 2

After fourteen years of fighting, the Manchu leaders with some European assistance managed to put down the insurrection. The British effort was led by the British General Gordon also known as 'Chinese Gordon'. It was into this simmering Chinese cauldron that Europeans at about 1840 began to penetrate. It became their policy to extort concessions from the Manchu but also defend them against internal opposition because they needed a government with whom they could sign treaties to legalize their claims to the territories they had carved out for their countries.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 3

This complex web of treaties-known as the treaty system- imposed restrictions on China or allowed undue freedom to the foreigner. While the Boxers were a fanatical secret society with obscure origins. They practiced a form of martial art or shadow boxing derived from the ancient Taoist religion. A missionary nicknamed the nationalists 'the Boxers' because of their ritual incantations to gain spiritual immunity against physical danger were accompanied by boxer-like movements.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 4

The Great Leap Forward

The Great Leap Forward was designed to overcome the backwardness of China's economy, industry, and technology. It was to be achieved through use of the vast manpower and indomitable spirit of the Chinese.

The Cultural Revolution

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a radical movement that closed schools, slowed production, and virtually severed China's relations with the outside world. It was proletarian because it was a revolution of the workers against party officials. It was cultural because it meant to alter the values of society in the Communist sense. It was great, because it was on a mammoth scale. The Cultural Revolution led to the revolution in 1911.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 5

For a long time China was unrivalled in East Asia before the middle of the 19th century. This was because due to its geographical isolation and lack of sufficient contact with the outside world it regarded itself as the center of the world. They had the feeling that their civilization was superior to any other culture in the world and regarded others as 'barbarians'. The influence of China was thus felt in Korea, Japan and Indochina. At other times countries in south and Southeast Asia felt the power of China. The Chinese usually gauged the advancement of other peoples by measuring them with their own civilization. While Asia today South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, Hong Kong, and Singapore were dubbed "Asian Tigers" as they sustained rapid economic growth and industrialization from the 1960s through the 1990s. China's rise in the 21st century, the rise of the "Asian Dragon," has the potential to surpass greatly the growth of the "Asian Tigers." Since the beginning of economic reforms under Deng Xiaoping, China has averaged an annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate of 9.4 percent. Since 1978, foreign trade has grown

from a fraction of a percent of the world economy, or \$20.6 billion, to over 4 percent, or \$851 billion in 2005.²² China's GDP is the world's third largest at roughly 1/7th that of the United States, yet because of its population of 1.3 billion, on a per capita basis, China is ranked roughly 100th in the world and considered a low-income developing country.²³ Many economists believe that with the latent potential of a rapidly emerging middle class, China has the potential to continue its impressive growth for many years to come. The demands of increased economic development are the driving forces behind China's improved relations with her neighbours. Successful economic development is perceived as key to China's third area of strategic concern, domestic stability.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 6

Yes because The CCP has maintained authoritarian control amid a sea change of economic and social reforms and, as long as reforms stay on track and the economy continues to thrive and resurgent nationalism remains manageable, expectations are that regime survival will not be threatened. Providing stability and ever increasing personal wealth will not be enough to guarantee the party indefinite legitimacy-it must continuously improve the quality of life of its citizens. This is China's new revolution: the revolution of rising expectations. The present president of China is President Xi Jinping the former Secretary-General of the so called Chinese communist party.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 7

It has repeatedly promised that it means only peace. It has spent freely on aid and investment, settled border disputes with its neighbors and rolled up its sleeves in UN peacekeeping forces and international organisations. While China has devoted itself to economic growth, American security has focused on Islamic terrorism and war in Iraq and Afghanistan. But the two mistrust each other. China sees America as a waning power that will eventually seek to block its own rise. It is already happening in defence. Feeling threatened by American naval power, China has been modernising its missiles, submarines, radar, cyber-warfare and anti-satellite weapons.

UNIT 3 KOREA in Asian and World Politics

CONTENTS

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Early Korean Society
- 3.4 Korea in the 15th Century
 - 3.4.1 Korea is opened to International Business
 - 3.4.2 Division and Occupation
 - 3.4.3 Foreign Policy Determinants in International Relations: Cold War Years
 - 3.4.4 Korean Politics since 1945
 - 3.4.5 South Korea in Asia and Global Affairs
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This unit shall proceed further in our discussions of the great economies in Asia. In this unit we will examine South Korea. South Korea, until fairly recently, has been a much harassed country, both from within and without. In the ancient and middle ages, she was plundered at will by her neighbours; in the 20th century she was cut nearly in half by Cold War politics. She still retains that identity and is thus the subject of the mischief of her kith and kin to the north. However, she has also attained great economic feats by world and that is why she merits more than an honourable mention here.

3.2 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to

- Narrate basic Korean history.
- Explain the influences that have shaped Korean politics
- State the Cold War politics that led to the balkanisation of Korea into North and South Korea

3.3 Early Korean Society

Settled, literate societies on the Korean peninsula appear in Chinese records as

early as the fourth century BCE. Gradually, competing groups and kingdoms on the peninsula merged into a common national identity. People began living on the Korean Peninsula and the surrounding area some 700,000 years ago. The Bronze Age began around 1,500 to 2,000 BC in present-day Mongolia and on the peninsula. As this civilization began to form, numerous tribes appeared in the Liaoning region of Manchuria and in North Western Korea. These tribes were ruled by leaders, whom Dangun, the founder of the Korean people, later united to establish Gojoseon (2333 BC).

Among the various tribal leagues, Goguryeo (37 BC - AD 668), situated along the middle course of the Amnokgang (Yalu River), was the first to mature into a kingdom. The subsequent establishment of a political structure gave it the full trappings of an empire. Baekje (18 BC - AD 660), which grew out of a town-state located south of the Hangang River in the vicinity of present-day Seoul, was another confederated kingdom similar to Goguryeo. During the reign of King Geunchogo (r. 346-375), Baekje developed into a centralized state. Silla (57 B.C.-A.D. 935) was located in the Southeast corner of the Peninsula and was initially the weakest and most underdeveloped of the three kingdoms. However, because it was geographically removed from Chinese influence, it was more open to non-Chinese practices and ideas and was built on an advanced Buddhist order.

By the mid-6th century, the Silla Kingdom had brought under its control all of the neighbouring town-states within the Gaya Confederation. Forging an alliance with the Tang Dynasty of China, Silla was able to subjugate Baekje in 660 and Goguryeo in 668. The unification of the Korean Peninsula was further consolidated when Silla repelled expeditionary forces from Tang in 676. Silla reached its zenith in terms of power and prosperity during the mid-8th century. It attempted to establish an ideal Buddhist country. In 698, refugees from Goguryeo established the Kingdom of Balhae in south-central Manchuria. Balhae existed until 926, when it was overthrown by the Khitan. Many of the Balhae nobility, who were mostly Goguryeo descendants, moved south and joined the newly founded Goryeo Dynasty. The Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392) was founded by Wang Geon, a general who had served under Gungye, a rebel prince of the Silla Kingdom. Wang Geon named his dynasty Goryeo, from which the English name "Korea" is derived.

Traditional Korea borrowed much of its high culture from China, including the use of Chinese characters in the written language and the adoption of Neo-Confucianism as the philosophy of the ruling elite. Buddhism, originally from India, also came to Korea from China, and from Korea spread to Japan. For many centuries Korea was a member of

the Chinese “tribute system,” giving regular gifts to the Chinese court and acknowledging the titular superiority of the Chinese emperor over the Korean king. But while symbolically dependent on China for military protection and political legitimization, in practice Korea was quite independent in its internal behaviour.

Within Korea there are some regional differences expressed in dialect and customs, but on the whole regional differences are far outweighed by an overall cultural homogeneity. Unlike China, for example, regional dialects in Korea are mutually intelligible to all Korean speakers. The Korean language is quite distinct from Chinese and in fact structurally similar to Japanese, although there is still debate among linguists about how the Korean and Japanese languages may be related. Many customs, popular art forms, and religious practices in traditional Korea are also quite distinct from either Chinese or Japanese practices, even though the Korean forms sometimes resemble those of Korea’s neighbours in East Asia and have common roots.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. Outline the early history of Korea? In what ways did Korea borrow from China?

3.4 Korea in the 15th century

In 1392, General Yi Seong-gye overthrew Goryeo and established a new dynasty called Joseon. The early rulers of Joseon, in order to counter the dominant Buddhist influence during the Goryeo period, adopted Confucianism as the guiding ideology of the new dynasty. The Joseon rulers governed the dynasty with a well- balanced political system. A civil service examination system was the main channel for recruiting government officials. The Confucian-oriented society, however, highly valued academic learning while disdaining commerce and manufacturing. During the reign of King Sejong the Great (r. 1418-1450), Joseon's fourth monarch, Korea enjoyed an unprecedented flowering of culture and art. In 1592, Japan invaded the peninsula to pave the way for its incursion into China. At sea, Admiral Yi Sun-shin (1545-1598), one of the most respected figures in Korean history, led a series of brilliant naval manoeuvres against the Japanese and the Japanese were driven back by what appeared to be an armoured battleship.

By the early 17th century, a movement advocating Silhak (practical learning) gained considerable momentum among liberal-minded scholar-officials as a means of building a modern nation. They strongly recommended agricultural and industrial improvements along with sweeping reforms in land distribution. The conservative court, however, was not ready to accommodate such drastic changes. In the latter half of the Joseon era, government administration and the upper classes came to be marked by recurring factionalism. To rectify

the undesirable political situation, King Yeongjo (r. 1724-1776) eventually adopted a policy of impartiality in government appointments. He was thus able to strengthen the royal authority and achieve political stability. King Jeongjo (r. 1776-1800) maintained the policy of impartiality and set up a royal library (Gyujanggak) to preserve royal documents and records. He also initiated other political and cultural reforms. This period witnessed the blossoming of Silhak. A number of outstanding scholars wrote progressive works recommending agricultural and industrial reforms, but few of their ideas were adopted by the government.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

2. In what ways did General Yi Seong-gye improve upon the early Korean Empire?

3.4.1 Korea Opens to International Business

After devastating invasions by the Japanese at the end of the sixteenth century and by the Manchus of Northeast Asia in the early seventeenth, Korea enforced a policy of strictly limited contact with all other countries. The main foreign contacts officially sanctioned by the Choson Dynasty were diplomatic missions to China three or four times a year and a small outpost of Japanese merchants in the South eastern part of Korea near the present-day city of Pusan. Few Koreans left the peninsula during the late Choson Dynasty, and even fewer foreigners entered. For some 250 years Korea was at peace and internally stable (despite growing peasant unrest from about 1800), but from the perspective of the Europeans and Americans who encountered Korea in the nineteenth century, Korea was an abnormally isolated country even among Asia states that have a penchant for isolationism. A “hermit kingdom” as it came to be known to Westerners at the time who were able to penetrate to its interior.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Korea became the object of competing imperial interests as the Chinese empire declined and Western powers began to vie for ascendancy in East Asia. Britain, France, and the United States each attempted to “open up” Korea to trade and diplomatic relations in the 1860s, but the Koreankingdom steadfastly resisted. It took Japan, itself only recently opened to Western-style International Relations by the United States, to impose a diplomatic treaty on Korea for the first time in 1876. In 1895, after a successful attack on China, the Japanese were able to compel the Chinese to grant independence to Korea which was then a Chinese dependency. This it did to prepare the way for the final annexation of the Korean peninsula. In 1910 this was duly

accomplished. Korea was dealt with, as a province, in a barbaric manner. The savage squelching of the national uprising in agitation for independence was one of the most repressive acts of the Japanese against the colonial peoples and for the next 35 years Japan ruled Korea in a manner that was strict and often brutal. Toward the end of the colonial period, the Japanese authorities tried to wipe out Korea's language and cultural identity and make Koreans culturally Japanese, going so far in 1939 as to compel Koreans to change their names to Japanese ones. However, Japan also brought the beginnings of industrial development to Korea. Modern industries such as steel, cement, and chemical plants were set up in Korea during the 1920s and 1930s, especially in the northern part of the peninsula where coal and hydroelectric power resources were abundant. By the time Japanese colonial rule ended in August 1945, Korea was the second most industrialized country in Asia after Japan itself.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

3. What was Korea known as to the early Westerners? Which improvements did Japan bring to Korea as a colonial master?

3.4.2 Division and occupation

When in the summer of 1945 Korea was liberated from the Japanese by the Russian army (beginning of August) and the American army (beginning of September), the latter suggested that the straight line of the 38th parallel should be temporarily the boundary between the Russian and the American occupation zones. However, both parties declined to deal according to the spirit of the agreement. Thus the resolution passed in Moscow on December 1945 by the foreign ministers of the US, the USSR, Britain and China providing for a five-year occupation by the four countries in order to lead to an 'independent democratic Korea' remained a dead letter. Neither the Americans nor the Russians wanted the input of other nations and after the negotiations on Korea were abruptly ended, the country remained divided on two zones.

In the meantime, a provisional native government had been formed in August 1945 in the North of the country which naturally was left in character as in so many countries liberated after the war by the Soviet Union. Communists held office in it and from it emerged the government in Pyongyang. On September 12th that government declared Korea independent. The Soviet Union and east European countries recognized the Pyongyang government as the sole legitimate government in Korea; so did Peking in July 1949. But in December 1948 the UN, under the

auspices of the US, gave similar recognition to the government in Seoul in South Korea which had become independent in August 15th, 1948. In the north reforms were implemented and carried through in land re-distribution, factories and mines. In the South, though probably more independent than the North, democratic structures were abhorred. The leaders of the two Koreas also bore the ideological difference between the two Koreas; the northern leader Kim Il-sung had his education in the Soviet Union while the Southern leader Syngman Rhee studied at Princeton in the U.S.

In 1949 after assuring itself that its job in Korea was at an end, the occupation forces withdrew, the Russians in February and the Americans in June; early on the morning of June 25 1950, North Korea troops well-armed with Russian military gadgets crossed the 38th parallel into South Korea, by the middle of August the Red army was in control of the entire country save for a tiny area round the port of Pusan. The U.S. military returned. The famed General Mac-Arthur, leading a United Nations-authorized force pushed the North's army back above the 38th parallel and beyond. After the People's Republic of China entered the war in late 1950, the Department of State worked to isolate Peking and maintain the unity of the U.S.-led coalition. Only in 1953 did the two sides reach an uneasy truce, thus crystallizing the division between North and South that exists today. In 1953 the United States and South Korea signed a mutual security treaty designed to protect this new nation from its neighbor to the North.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

4. Why was Korea partitioned?

3.4.3 Foreign policy determinants and International Relations: Cold War Years

Firstly, the main determinants of South Korea's foreign policy have been its alliance to the U.S. the Mutual Defence Treaty of 1954 is the central document binding the U.S and the Republic of Korea. The act stipulates that an armed attack upon either country would cause each to 'act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes'. Since then the U.S has poured in billions of U.S dollars in security aid and thousands of troops to deter aggression from the North.

Secondly, relations with Japan, normalized in 1965 after years of bitterness has also been very important especially in the economic field. In the years since that treaty economic relations and interactions between Japan and South Korea have

attained unprecedented levels. South Korea especially has tapped from the budding knowledge of Japanese technology and expertise. A large portion of Korean exports were swallowed by the Japanese thus helping to fuel in turn the economic emergence of the Korean economy.

Thirdly, South Korea also made strenuous attempts particularly in its early years, to reach out diplomatically to the wider world in order to circumvent the negative effects of isolationism which has dogged even before its participation in the international system. This it did by trade with all regions of the world; military assistance such as the 50,000 troops that were dispatched to South Vietnam and the establishment of a foreign technical assistance agency to aid development efforts in the underdeveloped countries.

Lastly, relations with North Korea remain strict and minimal. Though there have been exchanges in recent years it is usually characterized by one forward movement and two or more backwards. The boundary between the North and the South remains the most militarized border in the world. Republic leaders in the South insist that before there could be any meaningful dialogue, the North must give up its efforts at 'liberation' by subversion and war and make a public pledge to unification.

On this issue of unification, Northern leaders since Kim Il-sung have intransigently maintained a hard line. For instance an attempt initiated by the Red Cross in 1971 to bring the two sides together floundered on the obstructionism of the North. In April 1971 the foreign minister of North Korea put forward a proposal that: the South Korean government must be toppled, all external commitments to the South ended and unification carried out under communist aegis. Kim Il-sung has pointed out that the South will be 'liberated' militarily. Thus since 1962, a large chunk of the budget has gone into the military making North Korea one of the most militarized countries in the world. It has also infiltrated South Korea from the 60s leading to the attempted assassination of President Park in January 1968 and a failed bid to plant the communist party in South Korea. In the last two or so decades the North has virtually closed in on itself leading to it being addressed as the 'hermit kingdom'.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

5. Examine Korean foreign policy in the aftermath of the Korean war?

3.4.4 Korean Politics Since 1945

Syngman Rhee ruled Korea with an iron fist until he was deposed in a military coup in 1961. The 1961 coup brought military men from relatively humble backgrounds and with limited formal education. This group represented the most indigenous, the most Asia leadership to hold power in the Republic. However, significant and highly successful changes in economic policies were effectuated

under these men which made South Korean economic development one of the fastest in the 1960s. From the moment of its inception, the Republic of Korea was marked by a political system in which the premium was placed upon a strong presidency. When Park Chung Hee seized power, foreign trade amounted to less than \$500 million by 1978 it was \$20 billion. Furthermore South Korean companies competed favourably with sophisticated factories churning out textiles, steel, electronics and other products. But along with this economic success Park was also committing gross human rights abuses in order to keep his power. Dismayed his brazenness, Koreans were up and demanding political freedom to equal the economic progress they had made. In 1979, Park was assassinated by the head of his secret police while they were dining together.

President Chun Doo Hwan was just as authoritarian as his predecessor. Martial laws were often imposed and opposition figures clamped into detention. In 1987 university students challenged this authoritarianism and together with the opposition made firm demands for political reforms. For nearly three weeks the streets filled with acrid smoke as students and the military fought each other; South Korea appeared on the precipice of a civil war. The government suddenly did a volte-face and accepted the demands of the opposition for reform. The president himself concluded that “The legacy of mistrust, antagonism, arbitrary rule and extreme confrontation that persisted over the past four decades must now be committed to the dust bin of history”. Since then South Korea has practised robust democratic ethos which has become a symbol for the world.

Despite the general cultural homogeneity of Korea, regional sentiment has become an important factor in South Korean politics and in other areas of contemporary life. The main regional division is between the Cholla area of the southwest and the Kyongsang area of the southeast. Although some would claim that these regional differences go back to the ancient Three Kingdoms period, in fact modern South Korean regionalism is mostly a phenomenon originating in the rapid industrialization that began in the 1960s. At that time, President Park Chung Hee focused on the economic development of his home region of Kyongsang, and drew much of South Korea’s leadership from there. This bias toward Kyongsang continued through the succeeding presidencies of Chun Doo Hwan, Roh Tae Woo, and Kim Young Sam, who were all from the region. Meanwhile, Cholla remained relatively backward and was seen as a place of dissenters, including long-time opposition figure Kim Dae Jung. As a consequence, voting patterns in South Korea have shown overwhelming favoritism toward candidates from the voters’ home region. After Kim Dae Jung became president in 1998, he attempted to bring more

regional balance to economic and political development in South Korea, but regional identification and prejudice remain strong. The present president of South Korea is President Park Geun-hye.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

6. Why do you think Syngman Rhee became a dictator?

3.4.5 South Korea in Asia and Global Affairs

Japan remains one of the closest countries to South Korea in Asia although for two decades after the Second World War, relations between the two countries were very bad. This was because of the hatred for the Japanese by certain groups in South Korea, but more especially by men such as Syngman Rhee. On June 22 1965 a treaty was signed in Tokyo which inaugurated a new era in South Korean-Japanese relations. Within a couple of years the impact of trade with Japan was felt in South Korea as Japan imported heavily from South Korea thus providing it with the much needed capital to boost expansion. Japanese investment in South Korea was also vital to the economic turnaround of the Korean economy. Meanwhile, the Japanese government, together with a significant element of informed Japanese opinion, has indicated that the Republic and its future are of more than economic interest. Premier Sato of Japan stated openly in the 60s that the security of South Korea bears a direct relation to the security of Japan. Hence, in this regard, bases in Japan proper will be available for American use should the Republic be threatened by external aggression.

South Korea, as we have already pointed out, has been greatly influenced by the United States and, in a more subtle way, by Japan. The U.S. has maintained close political, military, and economic ties with South Korea since the R.O.K. was founded in 1948. While South Korea has often been less democratic than Americans would like or the Korean leaders claimed it to be, since the fall of its military dictatorship in the late 1980s democracy appears to have become increasingly consolidated in the R.O.K. Meanwhile, South Korea made impressive economic gains in the 1970s and 1980s and can be considered now among the world's developed industrial countries. South Korea recovered rapidly from the Asian financial crisis of 1997 and is currently the third-largest economy in Eastern Asia, after Japan and China. Since the 1970s, South Korean diplomacy has been aimed at promoting the peaceful reunification of the peninsula. To this end, South Korea has bolstered ties with allies and played an active role in the international arena. Having laid a firm basis for its diplomacy, the Republic of Korea continued throughout the 1980s to forge cooperative partnerships with various nations in a wide array of fields.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s the Republic of Korea responded swiftly to the epochal changes in Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union, changes which effectively brought an end to the Cold War by actively pursuing the so-called “Northern Diplomacy”. This led to the establishment of diplomatic relations with former Communist Bloc countries. South Korea’s normalization of relations with these countries, including the Soviet Union and China, brought a truly global aspect to its diplomacy. However the crowning glory of the Northern Diplomacy occurred in September 1991 when South and North Korea simultaneously joined the UN. The signing by South and North Korea of the agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression and Exchanges and Cooperation (the South-North Basic Agreement) and the joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula in December 1991 was designed to pave way for peaceful coexistence and prosperity of the two Koreas. The spectacular 1988 Seoul Olympics hosted by South Korea exhibited her potentials to an astounded world, much as the Tokyo Olympics had done for Japan 24 years before.

Korea’s export-led growth has been largely dependent on trade with advanced countries such as the U.S, Japan and the E.U. this situation has often led to frictions over trade imbalances. However, Korea’s reliance on trade with advanced countries has steadily declined as trade with developing countries has increased. As its economy shifts from labour-intensive industries, South Korea is expected to expand its trade with developing countries thus making greater contribution to global trade and economy. With industrialized countries that remain crucial as partners not only in trade but also in the area of science and technology, Korea will endeavour to minimize friction through the reciprocal opening of its industrial, agricultural, and service sectors.

The end of the cold war ushered in a new trend in the form of regionalism. Countries which pursued export-led growth such as the Republic of Korea found themselves facing a new international economic environment. The republic of Korea has committed itself to global trade liberalization, and is an active participant in the Doha development Agenda negotiations launched in 2001. As of march 2012, South Korea had effectuated a total of eight FTAs with 45 countries, including the U.S, Chile, Singapore, EFTA, ASEAN, India, EU and Peru. The country has also signed FTAs with Turkey and Columbia and these are waiting for effectuation. The country is currently engaged in FTA-related negotiations with Australia, New Zealand, Canada, GCC and Mexico. The country aims to contribute to regional integration within East Asia through FTAs with China and Japan.

Since the Republic of Korea joined the UN in 1991, it has played an ever more active role in the efforts to address a whole range of global issues, acting both as a facilitator and an influential international actor. In 1996-1997, Korea was non-permanent member of the Security Council. It also held the Presidency of the 56th Session of the General Assembly in 2001. In 2006 Korea's efforts in world politics was crowned with the election of the Korean foreign and Trade minister, Ban Ki-moon as the 8th Secretary- General of the United-Nations. Since the G20 was launched in November 2008 in the midst of the unprecedented global financial and economic crises, Korea has played an active part in it and supported its role as the premier forum for international economic cooperation. President Lee suggested the lifting of trade and investment restrictions to prevent the rise of protectionism, which was agreed at the Washington Summit and reaffirmed at the London Summit in April 2009. Having weathered the Asian financial crises in the late 1990s, Korea helped provided the direction in which the G20 should move to prevent a recurrence of such crises in the future. As a result, Seoul was chosen as the host city for the G20 Summit in November 2010, which reflected the international community's recognition of Korea's efforts and global leadership.

From 1945 until the early 1990s, Korea received various forms of development assistance from the international community especially the United States. This assistance served as a valuable resource in terms of Korea's phenomenal economic development. In 2011 Korea provided a total of US\$1,324 million worth of ODA. Korea's ODA administration system includes bilateral and multilateral assistance. Bilateral assistance is divided into grants and concessional loan. Korea has also disbursed US\$100 over three years (2009-2011) for food aid and agricultural development cooperation in developing countries. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, South Korea is among the major industrialized nations of the world and is widely recognized as a success in economic development and political democratization. South Korea has evolved remarkably from the poor, backward country that emerged from the shadows of Japanese colonial rule in 1945. It is also a country with a strong sense of national identity and great pride in its culture, traditions, and accomplishments.

At the same time, Korea remains divided into North and South, with nearly two million men under arms on the peninsula and a high state of military tension. As it has for more than a century, Korea occupies a strategic place on the world map, and any conflict on the peninsula would have the potential to draw in neighbouring countries, if not farther. Korea may no longer be a "shrimp," but the waters it swims in are not yet entirely safe. On a chilly spring evening in 2010 march, a South Korean

naval ship, the Cheonan, was conducting routine exercises in the Yellow Sea just 16km from North Korean land when it was struck by a torpedo. The Cheonan sank near the Northern Limit Line, a disputed border, but in what indisputably are South Korean waters. The action, one of many provocations from North Korea, shocked South Koreans, roiled the country's politics and contributed to a deteriorating security climate not just on the Korean peninsula but throughout East Asia. Thousands of North Korean artillery batteries remain trained on Seoul, just 40 miles (64km) away. Thus the possibility of another Korean war is not just a mere talking point.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

7. Examine the role of the United States in the resurgence of South Korea?

3.5 SUMMARY

From being a fiefdom of her much more powerful neighbours in the ancient ages, South Korea had emerged into some sort of statehood. However, this was not before suffering brutal and cruel colonialism at the hands of Japan. The long division of the Korean Peninsula does seem to have an immediate solution in sight, however, in spite of it South Korea moves progressively on.

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3.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAEs

ANSWERS TO SAEs 1

- People began living on the Korean Peninsula and the surrounding area some 700,000 years ago. The Bronze Age began around 1,500 to 2,000 BC in present-day Mongolia and on the peninsula.
- As this civilization began to form, numerous tribes appeared in the Liaoning region of Manchuria and in North Western Korea. These tribes were ruled by leaders, whom Dangun, the founder of the Korean people, later united to establish Gojoseon (2333 BC).
- Among the various tribal leagues, Goguryeo (37 BC - AD 668), situated along the middle course of the Amnokgang (Yalu River), was the first to mature into a kingdom.
- The Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392) was founded by Wang Geon, a general who had served under Gungye, a rebel prince of the Silla Kingdom. Wang Geon named his dynasty Goryeo, from which the English name "Korea" is derived.

While Korea Traditional borrowed much of its high culture from China, including the use of Chinese characters in the written language and the adoption of Neo-Confucianism as the philosophy of the ruling elite. Also Korea borrowed the Chinese religious.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 2

- In 1392, General Yi Seong-gye overthrew Goryeo and established a new dynasty called Joseon. The early rulers of Joseon, in order to counter the dominant Buddhist influence during the Goryeo period, adopted Confucianism as the guiding ideology of the new dynasty. The Joseon rulers governed the dynasty with a well-balanced political system. A civil service examination system was the main channel for recruiting government officials.
- By the early 17th century, a movement advocating Silhak (practical learning) gained considerable momentum among liberal-minded scholar-officials as a means of building a modern nation. They strongly recommended agricultural and industrial improvements along with sweeping reforms in land distribution.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 3

Korea was an abnormally isolated country even among Asia states that have a penchant for isolationism. A "hermit kingdom" as it came to be known to Westerners at the time who were able to penetrate to its interior.

Improvements that Japan brought to Korea as a colonial master?

- In 1895, after a successful attack on China, the Japanese were able to compel the Chinese to grant independence to Korea which was then a Chinese dependency.
- Toward the end of the colonial period, the Japanese authorities tried to wipe out Korea's language and cultural identity.
- However, Japan also brought the beginnings of industrial development to Korea. Modern industries such as steel, cement, and chemical plants were set up in Korea during the 1920s and 1930s, especially in the northern part of the peninsula where coal and

hydroelectric power resources were abundant.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 4

When Japan surrendered to the allies in 1945, the Korea peninsula was split into two zones of occupation, the US controlled South Korea and the Soviet controlled North Korea. Amid the growing cold war tensions between Moscow and Washington, in 1948, two separate governments were established in Pyongyang and Seoul.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 5

- After the war, North Korea and South Korea remained divided. Families were broken up by the war and lived on opposite sides of the demilitarized zone, unable to visit or even communicate with each other.
- The impact of the Korean war on the civilian population was especially dramatic.
- The war was disastrous for all Korea, destroying most of its industry.
- North Korea fell into poverty and could not keep up with South Korea's economic pace.
- Even after the fight US soldiers remain stationed in South Korea, which was an irritation for the Chinese government and put pressure on relations between the two countries.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 6

Syngman Rhee ruled Korea with an iron fist until he was deposed in a military coup in 1961. The 1961 coup brought military men from relatively humble backgrounds and with limited formal education. This group represented the most indigenous, the most Asian leadership to hold power in the Republic. However, significant and highly successful changes in economic policies were effectuated under these men which made South Korean economic development one of the fastest in the 1960s.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 7

Since the Republic of Korea joined the UN in 1991, it has played an ever more active role in the efforts to address a whole range of global issues, acting both as a facilitator and an influential international actor. Korea received various forms of development assistance from the international community especially the United States. This assistance served as a valuable resource in terms of Korea's phenomenal economic development.

MODULE 3: COLD WAR: ASIAN AMID THE IDEOLOGICAL BLOCS

INTRODUCTION

The late 1940s laid the foundations for International Relations in Asia Pacific for the entire post war period. The United States occupied defeated Japan from 1945 to 1951. At first the United States was intent on democratizing and demilitarizing Japan. The aim was to ensure that Japan would never again become a threat. By 1947, however, the United States had shifted tack due to changes occurring at a global level. The onset of the Cold War meant that the containment of communism, and specifically of the Soviet Union, became its first priority, and the United States wished to ensure that Japan would be an ally in that struggle. Hence the radical objectives of the early occupation were superseded in favour of a more conservative policy. The United States concluded a lenient peace treaty with Japan in 1951; at the same time, a mutual security treaty linked Japan to the emerging US alliance system. The People's Republic of China (PRC) was proclaimed on 1 October 1949. Clearly this development had major implications for the international situation in Asia Pacific. The United States interpreted the emergence of the PRC as a fillip for the Soviet Union, and certainly a Sino-Soviet alliance was created in 1950.

- Unit 1 The United States and the Cold War in Asia
- Unit 2 The Soviet Union/Chinese Republic and the Cold War in Asia
- Unit 3 The Great Schism in World Communism
- Unit 4 Alliances in the Cold War
- Unit 5 Non-Alignment in the Cold War

UNIT 1: THE UNITED STATES AND THE COLD WAR IN ASIA

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- 1.2 Learning Objectives
- 1.3 The United States Begins to Look to the East
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1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we shall examine the activities of the United States in Asia during the cold war and even before. With the division of Europe already cast in stone curtsey of the 'iron curtain' American efforts to roll back communism had turned to Asia. This was because Asia was fast de-colonising and in the grip of social poverty and confusion- the ingredients from which revolutions are made. Thus the U.S spurred by its containment policy sought to intercept the incipient revolutionary movements. Its first involvement was in the Chinese civil war. In this regard, the Americans suffered a policy set back as the communists overcame the republicans and China became the World's second communist country.

1.2 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the politics that led to America's appearance in Asia in the first instance
- Account for the instruments used by the Americans to roll back communism
- Understand the 'Containment Policy'

1.3 United States of America begins to look to the East

On December 2 1923 president Monroe made it clear in his famous address to congress that the U.S would consider any future attack or attempt at colonization in the western hemisphere as unfriendly acts against her security. This address is now viewed as the Monroe doctrine. However from its initial ideal which was largely defensive, the doctrine became expansionist and allowed the US to intervene at will, in the name of security, in the western hemisphere. The US also began to penetrate the Pacific Northwest territories where the Europeans were most active and could supposedly endanger her security.

With time America consolidated itself in the North American and South American continents and thus was able to turn its attentions to the nearby opening world in the pacific and Asian regions. This it did, driven by the wave of colonialism and imperialism of that age. Now coming into the profitable world of imperialism, America which had formerly despised the European utilization of the concept of the balance of powers, soon began itself to speak of balancing power between European powers in Asia to prevent any from becoming too powerful. A number of factors had coalesced to push

the US from its isolationist cocoon; the lure of great markets, the manifest destiny, religious fervour, racial arrogance, concern for national security and expansionist. Thus by the 19th century America had begun the building up of possessions in the Pacific such as Samoa and Hawaii, Guam and the Wake Islands. By the late 19th century America was ready for Asia herself. The defeat of Spain, a colonial power, provided just such opportunity. In the treaty of December 10th 1898 ending the war, the US acquired the Philippines, and went further by insisting on paying \$20 million for all of the Philippines and the 750,000 Filipinos or thereabout on board the islands.

It has been argued that the lure of China had been the main impetus behind the annexation of the Philippines. Previously, in 1784 when America had begun trading with China, trade had grown such that by 1848 China, Japan and Korea were paramount in American commerce. To secure her privileges in the Orient, America began to meddle in Chinese affairs. China was the first country on the Asian mainland in which the US tried to establish her influence. By 1899 America made her first significant move in China. She began to canvass for the 'open door policy' in China; an initiative of the Secretary of State, John Hay, the proposal suggested that the Chinese market be open to all comers. This was in order to protect long term political and economic trading interests.

In the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese war which President Roosevelt had helped to mediate in 1905, Japan was clearly the ascendant power in Asia. The message was clear. Japan was now the main threat to US interests in the Asia area. Japan had emerged from the 1st world war as a world power with significant naval strength. However, Japan was a power in frustration - frustration at having to give in to the demands of western powers often, humiliated by the racist immigration laws of the US which called into question the humanity of the Japanese. Furthermore she was mindful of her own manifest destiny in China and very conscious of her rising political and industrial strength. Thus the imperialistic designs of both the US and Japan brought them into a headlong clash, which was sparked off on December 7th 1941.

The World War 2 was both a crisis and a catharsis because of the scale on which the war was waged, only two countries were left to manage the peace. The years following the end of the Second World War represent a great watershed in world history, which two great ideological blocs desired to camp the world's forces about them. Within a few years of the end of the Second World War, the 'iron curtain' following the declaration of Winston Churchill, descended across Europe and indeed the world. In China, despite the best efforts of the Americans pursuant to their containment policy, the Nationalists fell to the communists and fled to the island of Formosa. American designs on China

were ruined. Instead of one communist outpost, there were now two and both were in Asia. This scenario set the stage for America making Asia the centre of its containment policy.

In order to circumvent the opposing camp of China and the USSR, America devised defensive pacts such as SEATO. The containment policy of the US was to see her Asian allies develop the military prowess to resist China in Asia. The American task therefore was to hasten the restoration of shattered countries in order to position them adequately as a bulwark against the spread of communism in Europe and Asia. America, in this wise was anxious to see the de-colonization of Asian and African 'holdings', however it was not a policy that intended to hand over control of the new states to the communists especially given the antics of the Sino-Russo bloc which had shown pre-disposition to global hegemony. It was in this regard that the US transferred huge quantities of resources, in an era of European withdrawal and Japanese defeat, to Asia to hearten the minds of anti-communist agents. This aid masqueraded as economic aid to India; or aid given to a European power gradually vacating its position or in most cases direct involvement such as in Korea and Philippines.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. What factors brought America fully into Asia?

1.4 America Rising up against Communism

One of the primary tools used by the US in the containment of communism is through aid giving and strengthening of the countries' most susceptible to its appeal. As the Americans knew too well communism thrived in arenas of social upheaval and economic despondency. Thus Countries such as Pakistan, South Vietnam, South Korea and the Philippines received a hefty helping of American aid. The injection of American economic and military aid led to the appearance of military governments in certain countries with American backing and friendly to American objectives.

American intervention against communism first occurred in the Chinese civil war. Upon the death of Sun Yat-Sen, the group he was leading splintered into two- the communist and the nationalist- the one led by Mao Tse-tung the other led by Chiang Kai-Shiek. The communists were better led and after the Second World War and the vanquishing of the Japanese, they immediately fell upon the nationalists who were weary from their struggle with the Japanese. Despite massive and desperate US aid, the reds swept everything in its path. The nationalists retired to Formosa Island as the 7th US fleet positioned in the Formosa straits to prevent the invasion of the island by the communists. In late 1949 and early 1950, American officials were prepared to let PRC forces cross the Strait

and defeat Chiang, but after the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, the United States sent its Seventh Fleet into the Taiwan Strait to prevent the Korean conflict from spreading south. The appearance of the Seventh Fleet angered the Chinese Communists, who transferred their troops poised for an invasion of Taiwan to the Korean front. This served to delay military conflict in the Strait until the United States withdrew its fleet after the Korean War.

Over the next few years, the U.S. Government took steps that allied it more firmly to the Republic of China (ROC) Government on Taiwan Island like the creation of the SEATO in 1954 which was designed to unify the region against the perceived Communist threat. The PRC viewed these developments as threats to its national security and regional leadership. In the interest of bolstering its strategic position in the Taiwan Strait, the PRC began to bombard Jinmen in September 1954, and soon expanded its targets to include Mazu and the Dachen Islands. To assert its continued support of that regime, the United States signed the Mutual Defence Treaty with the ROC.

The situation in the Strait deteriorated in late 1954 and early 1955, prompting the U.S. Government to act. In January 1955, the U.S. Congress passed the "Formosa Resolution," which gave President Eisenhower total authority to defend Taiwan and the off-shore islands. Before any of these options became necessary, at the Afro-Asian Conference in April 1955 in Bandung PRC Foreign Minister Zhou Enlai announced a desire to negotiate with the United States. Although there were good reasons for the PRC to stand down in 1955, it resumed its bombardment of Jinmen and Mazu in 1958. This time, the PRC took advantage of the fact that international attention was focused on U.S. intervention in Lebanon and barred ROC efforts to re-supply garrisons on the off-shore islands. The PRC also wanted to protest continued U.S. support of the ROC regime. This brought an abrupt end to the bombardment and eased the crisis. Eventually, the PRC and ROC came to an arrangement in which they shelled each other's garrisons on alternate days. This continued for twenty years. Meanwhile, American policy makers began to apply the 'containment' doctrine to China and the policy of 'two Chinas' which enabled Taiwan to be seated in the Security Council until 1971.

The first of the American direct intervention in its war of communist containment was fought in the hills, valleys and towns in Korea. The Korean civil war followed shortly after, as the North Koreans had been emboldened by a speech by a key US official deprecating Korea's strategic worth. Much to their dismay the US had counter-attacked under UN cover to repulse the communist surge. By 1953 the war had fallen into a stalemate and a truce was reached, guaranteed by China and the US and the country partitioned along the 38 parallel. The situation in Vietnam was similar; it was broken into communist north

and capitalist south after the unceremonious exit of the late colonial ruler, France. An attempt by the north to invest the south and unify the country brought the US into its longest and bloodiest war yet. But by the late 60s, America was clearly losing the war so it negotiated an honourable exit and withdrew with the communists hot at its heels. The consequence of both wars was devastating more especially for the natives 'in July 1953, when the war officially ended, there were 2.5 million refugees in the streets of Korean cities and another five million people living on relief. The total number of dead has never been accurately calculated...South Vietnam was also destroyed physically and spiritually by the war. Millions of South Vietnamese were displaced; their families were separated, forcing more than 100,000 to take refuge in the United-States' (19 Soon)

During the Cold War and even years before in Asia, American policy had been enhanced by using the balance of power principle, open door and dollar diplomacy, diplomatic and armed interventions; treaties, pacts, alliances; suppression and encouragement of revolutions and three major wars.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

2. Examine the reasons for the incursion of the United States into the continent of Asia?

1.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, we saw the United States enter the Asian region in pursuit of imperialistic designs which it had otherwise abhorred. But seeing the large markets in the Asian continent being carved up by its European rivals it jumped into the fray and began to seek for concessions for its traders. The advent of communism stymied American plans in China and she actively began to undermine the communist Chinese government by organising Asian countries against her via the containment policy.

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1.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAEs

ANSWERS TO SAEs 1

United States enter the Asian region in pursuit of imperialistic designs which it had otherwise abhorred. But seeing the large markets in the Asian continent being carved up by its European rivals it jumped into the fray and began to seek for concessions for its traders.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 2

American intervention against communism first occurred in the Chinese civil war. Upon the death of Sun Yat-Sen, the group he was leading splintered into two- the communist and the nationalist- the one led by Mao Tse-tung the other led by Chiang Kai-Shiek. The communists were better led and after the Second World War and the vanquishing of the Japanese, they immediately fell upon the nationalists who were weary from their struggle with the Japanese. Despite massive and desperate US aid, the reds swept everything in its path. The advent of communism stymied American plans in China and she actively began to undermine the communist Chinese government by organizing Asian countries against her via the containment policy.

UNIT 2: SOVIET UNION/CHINA AND THE COLD WAR IN ASIA

CONTENTS

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Objectives
- 2.3 Soviet Union's Early Intension in Asia
 - 2.3.1 Soviet Union and South Asia
 - 2.3.2 Soviet Union and East Asia
 - 2.3.3 Soviet Union and Southeast Asia
- 2.4 China and Cold War in Asia
- 2.5 Maoist Thought
- 2.6 Summary
- 2.7 References/Further Readings

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The Soviet Union was the second great power in the Asian region during the Cold War. Unlike its perennial foe the U.S, the Soviets arrived in Asia after the Americans had fully entrenched themselves within the region. Nonetheless, faced with the blanket American superiority in influence powered by its vast resources as noted above, they made hay with the materials they could find in the aftermath of the Second World War. In this unit we shall examine those means utilised by the Soviets in their struggle for ideological supremacy with the United States.

2.2 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss the USSR's activities in Asia during the Cold War
- State the motives behind the USSR's policies in Asia

2.3 Soviet Union's Early Intension in Asia

By contrast the activities of the Soviet-Union had not been as successful as the US nonetheless the USSR had some presence in Asia. Soviet policy in Asia had been determined by the view point that the USSR was part of Asia. Brezhnev's call in June 1969 for an Asian security arrangement was seen by most Asians as an anti-Chinese manoeuvre. USSR's role in South Asia apart from India was minimal. In East Asia, Japan and South Korea were out of bounds. Kim Il-Song of North Korea was formally a creature of the Soviets but the undermining of the Chinese saw the waning of Soviet influence in that

country by 1960. In the south east of Asia, the best the Soviets had was the communist north Vietnam.

In July 1903, Tsar Nicholas II's far-sighted minister, Count Sergei I. Witte, presented to the Tsar a report of Russian's interests in Asia:

Rapid ways of communication have drawn the yellow races into the whirlpool of international discourse... the colonization urge has directed the eager attention of Europe and America to the vast dormant countries of the far east... accordingly the problem of each country concerned is to obtain as large a share as possible of the outlived oriental states, especially of the Chinese colossus. Russian, both geographically and historically, has the undisputed right to the lion's share of the expected prey... the absorption by Russian of a considerable portion of the Chinese empire is only a question of time, unless China succeeds in protecting itself (Singh, 1971: 35).

By March and April of 1912 the *Novoye vremya* in a series of articles noted that Russian's 'time-honoured policy... was founded on the axiom that Russian must expand territorially at the expense of her neighbours' (ibid).

In the immediate period after the Soviet revolution, the ideological principle of brotherhood of workers was sacrificed to achieve the goals of national importance. This meant the control of vast land mass on the Asian continent by the USSR and the weakening of the positions of smaller neighbouring Asian powers. What had been difficult for Tsarist Russia had been attained by Soviet Russia through ideological and emotional appeal, discreet diplomacy and naked force. In 50 years or so Russia had grown herself across the continent such that she now touched Outer Mongolia and North Korea and was practically face to face with China. During the Soviet era, Russians saw their country as being part of Asia to the discomfiture of most Asians as there is very little to connect Russia to the two major Asian cultures- the Chinese and the Japanese. Historically, Asia for the Russians has always relieved memories of great Mongol hordes steaming in from the east and personified by the greatest Mongol of them all- Genghis Khan. She had thus viewed herself as the first line of defence for Europe from these uncultured barbarians from the East.

In the aftermath of the Second World War and the descent of the world into two great camps seeking hegemony everywhere, the greatest check on Soviet ambitions in Asia was U.S power- later reinforced by Chinese antagonism and jealousy. Entering the World War against Japan late, it had sought maximum compensations for its exertions. Unfortunately, the Soviets could do little as the bulk of its resources were committed in Europe. Abundant resources had allowed the U.S to have a head start on the U.S.S.R. however, it must be noted that in Asia the U.S- U.S.S.R rivalry was not as fierce as

the Sino-Soviet one when the impatient Chinese arrived the scene. This was because the Soviet Union knew and understood that the U.S, situated every far from Asia, could not realistically aspire to hegemony in Asia or organize Asia against the Soviet Union. These facts were quite untrue of China which was in Asia; had vital interests in Asia; aspired to ideological and political hegemony and sought to organize Asia against the Soviet Union. Thus, although the Soviet Union maintained the traditional communist hostility with the US, in Asia their main attentions were on China. The struggle with China, ideological and political, was ferocious and permitted no compromise. Stalin's Russian concerned itself with Asia primarily because of the communist coup in China and the rash of communist revolts in Southeast Asia at the end of the 1940s.

By the time Khrushchev arrived to take the reins as the first secretary of the communist party Europe had attained some stability; China had made itself clear that it was unwilling to a proxy for the penetration of Soviet influence into Asia and the shortages of the war had been overcome leaving a tidy sum for over-seas adventures. The attempt by the Americans to cast a defensive ring, similar to NATO in Europe, around the communist bloc in Asia elicited a Soviet reaction. Russians began to appear in areas where previously they had taken little or no interests. Soviet scholars were encouraged to spread themselves around Asia in order to contribute more meaningfully to the formulation of Soviet Asian policy. These efforts marked the first time that the Soviet Union would try to assert itself in Asia in the 20th century. However its achievements in Asia were largely ephemeral. American power and influence contained it in the western pacific chain. While elsewhere they were regarded as gift bearing strangers and of course the lack of military force stripped the Soviets of its traditional tool of persuasion. It could find no country in Asia to join the 'socialist commonwealth' and as Chinese diplomacy reached its apogee, Khrushchev lost interest further enterprise in Asia.

2.3.1 Soviet Union and South Asia

In the Post-Stalin era, the opportunities offered by India's non-alignment stance made it the first target of Soviet approach. This policy was shaped by the thinking, as espoused by Gromyko the Soviet foreign minister, in July 10 1969 of 'the importance of establishing friendship and cooperation with those living side by side'. Much to China's chagrin India, not China, was invited to join the Big Four powers during the Middle-East crises. In 1959 Sino-Indo relations had splintered over Tibet and border issues. When war finally came in 1962 the Soviets fell on the side of its new friend. Thereafter, the USSR moved swiftly to help rebuild the shattered Indian army. This was to cement ties further and to position India as a

counter-weight to an increasingly bellicose China. By 1960 Soviet aspirations of an Indian socialism which would lead the rest of Asia had weakened. Thus the outbreak of the Indo-Pakistani war saw a muted Soviet response in favour rather of a neutral role. In Ceylon now Sri Lanka, the Soviet Union supported the progressive Mrs. Bandaranaike, whose government included pro- Moscow communists, against the up-raising of a leftist-extremist Ceylonese group. By March 1971, tragic events in East Pakistan forced another Indo-Pakistani war. This time the Soviets taking advantage of a US pro-Pakistani policy made overtures to the Indians which was accepted. Throughout the year there was exchange of visits which duly culminated in a 20 year treaty of friendship with public opinion in India being pro-Soviet Union.

2.3.2 Soviet Union and East Asia

In East Asia soviet influence was very minimal except in North Korea. The reasons are quite obvious; post-war Japan was firmly in the American orbit; South Korea and Taiwan following their respective experiences were viciously anti-communist; the East Asian peoples are highly ethnocentric and the influence of China was more prevalent than Russian's in that region. Although as Sino-Soviet relations soured in the 60s, relations thawed between Russian and Taiwan.

2.3.3 Soviet Union and South-east Asia

Unable to penetrate South-east Asia, the Soviets had resorted instead to balance of power politics between the US and China. It was forced into this position due to the fact that in terms of influence it ran a distant 4th behind the US, China and Japan. Thus it resorted to supporting uprisings and insurrections in the region. The Soviet Union gave large quantities of arms to the North Vietnamese during the Vietnam War. They also gave aid to the communists in Laos and Cambodia and Indonesia which later turned to China for ideological leaning. The nations of Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines had little or no relations with the Soviet Union, this because the countries of south-east Asia had also been the focus of incipient developments towards Asian regional organizations masterminded by the U.S, such as ASEAN, ASPAC, SEATO and consists of countries traditionally loyal to the west. Faced with this situation, the best the Soviet Union could do was use trade ties as an approach.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. Analyse the policies of the Soviet Union in each of the regions of Asia

2.4 China and the Cold War in Asia

Peking's stance during the cold war was largely orchestrated by ideology and nationalism. China aimed to build a strong base of power at home and strengthen China security wise and in addition recover lost territories like Taiwan. It was these ambitions in Asia which brought China into a headlong collision, first with the US and then more importantly with the USSR with whom they were in competition for the leadership role of the communist world. The leaders of China during the cold war espoused the Maoist version of Marxism-Leninism of the orthodox type which sought the promotion of revolutionary fervours everywhere especially in the undeveloped world. They gave direct and significant support in theatres of communist military struggles like in Vietnam and Korea where 'Chinese volunteers' affected the direction of the war by their intervention. However, they avoided direct military intervention-an admission of the limits of their military capacity. During the cold war in Asia China discreetly avoided military adventurism thus limiting its risks and thought rather in long range terms about its most ambitious goals. As regards its short term goals communist china adopted flexible and pragmatic approach.

An observation of Chinese policy since 1949 would show 3 distinctive epochs; in the immediate period following the revolution in 1949 China was strident in calling for revolutions in the non-communist world; by the mid-50s, during the so-called Bandung era China could be seen propagating friendly relations with non-communist states. In fact the 5 principles of co-existence that became popular in non-aligned countries were directly derived from the treaty signed between China and India in 1954. China played a major role in countering European imperialism, Chou En-Lai as China's prime minister at Bandung in Indonesia, during a meeting of African and Asian leaders urged Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism; by the late 1950s it had renewed calls for worldwide revolutionary struggles.

China was in the forefront of urging 'peoples wars' and the mobilization of the 'rural areas of the world' (the undeveloped world) against the 'cities of the world' (North America and Western Europe). After 1949 communist China had found an ideal antagonist in 'American imperialism' which is portrayed in the Chinese communist party's (CCP) official mouthpiece as the 'common enemy of the peoples of the world'. Thus the main thrust of Chinese foreign policy during the cold war was the expulsion of American influence in Asia. A struggle it perceived not in terms of frontal conflict but a protracted warfare. China had carried along its revolutionary fervour with the tacit connivance of its friend the Soviet Union that is until the rupturing of their relationship (see the great schism in the communist world).

China gave considerable aid to the establishment of a Maoist type regime in North Korea, the defeat of American arms in Vietnam; in Laos and Cambodia China bred relentless insurrections. China was more or less a support base for internal subversion in Asia during the cold war era. The Chinese had been active in supporting and exporting revolution in Africa, Asia and Latin America. They did this not only in hostile countries but even in countries friendly to them like Indonesia. It was due to this posture that they were labelled as having an 'aggressive foreign policy'. In September 1961, India's Nehru participated in a conference of 'Neutrals' hosted by China's communist rivals, Marshal Tito in Belgrade. By 1962 China perhaps anticipating a link of forces against it, marched into India and comprehensively routed its forces; the subsisting peace agreement notwithstanding. All in all China during the cold war in Asia contended with the 'imperialist' US and the revisionist Soviet Union for the enthronement of its ambitions and ideology of Maoism in Asia.

2.4.1 Maoist thought

Mao's view of the post-war situation differed from Stalin's. Stalin as the US viewed the post-war world as largely bipolar. For Mao in spite of the posturing of the imperialists, war between the US and the USSR was not imminent. For him the US and USSR are separated by vast zone which includes many capitalist, colonial and semi colonial countries, Europe, Asia and Africa. It would take time for the US reactionaries to subjugate all these countries thereby making an attack on the Soviet Union largely out of the question. He believed that the anti-Soviet propaganda of the US was a kind of smokescreen. The main contradiction in the post-war world for him was between imperialism by the U.S and other countries which had passed under US control. As he put it, 'Under the cover of anti-Soviet slogans' the Americans were 'frantically turning...all the countries which are the targets of US external expansion into US dependencies' which was the 'real aim' of the US. Thus for Mao the contradiction in the world was between imperialism and the liberation movement not

between socialism and capitalism.

By 1959-60 this Maoist strategy assumed more clarity. According to Yu Chao-li writing in red Flag in April 1960, since 1945 the 'real and direct contradictions are not between the Soviet Union and the US, which can coexist peacefully' rather it was between 'reactionary cliques of an imperialist country and its own people' between the imperialist countries themselves. Earlier Yu-Chao-Li had noted that US aggression was mainly against countries which had just won their independence. It was thus the duty of communists everywhere to support national liberations in their 'righteous wars for national liberation and against imperialist aggression'. In 1965, Lin Piao expounded a similar strategy by calling for the exhaustion of America's financial and military might through a series of 'just' Peoples wars in countries within America's sphere of influence. For Lin Piao the struggle must be wholly against the US and not the lesser 'imperialist' powers like West Germany, Britain and Japan. While the people's daily noted in its editorial that all peace loving peoples must concentrate their attack on America and concluded that 'departing from this point is departing from the heart and essence of the matter'.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

2. In not more than 100 words summarise Maoist communist thought?

2.5 SUMMARY

The Soviets entering the Asian region later than the United States, found to their dismay that the entire continent had come under American influence. Faced with this fait accompli the Soviets could do little but resort to subversion in order to undermine American influence. In 1949, China turned communist courtesy of the revolution and the Soviet Union had a companion. The Chinese as new arrivals relied almost wholly on subversion and an aggressive policy in Asia.

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2.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAEs

ANSWERS TO SAEs 1

Soviet Union and South Asia

In the Post-Stalin era, the opportunities offered by India's non-alignment stance made it the first target of Soviet approach. This policy was shaped by the thinking, as espoused by Gromyko the Soviet foreign minister, in July 1969 of 'the importance of establishing friendship and cooperation with those living side by side'. Much to China's chagrin India, not China, was invited to join the Big Four powers during the Middle-East crises.

Soviet Union and East Asia

In East Asia Soviet influence was very minimal except in North Korea. Thereasons are quite obvious; post-war Japan was firmly in the American orbit; South Korea and Taiwan following their respective experiences were viciously anti-communist; the East Asian peoples are highly ethnocentric and the influence of China was more prevalent than Russian's in that region. Although as Sino-Soviet relations soured in the 60s, relations thawed between Russian and Taiwan.

Soviet Union and South-east Asia

It was forced into this position due to the fact that in terms of influence it ran a distant 4th behind the US, China and Japan. Thus it resorted to supporting uprisings and insurrections in the region. The Soviet Union gave large quantities of arms to the North Vietnamese during the Vietnam War. They also gave aid to the communists in Laos and Cambodia and Indonesia which later turned to China for ideological leaning. The nations of Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines had little or no relations with the Soviet Union, this because the countries of south-east Asia had also been the focus of incipient developments towards Asian regional organizations masterminded by the U.S, such as ASEAN, ASPAC, SEATO and consists of countries traditionally loyal to the west.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 2

Maoist thought

Mao's view of the post-war situation differed from Stalin's. Stalin as the US viewed the post-war world as largely bipolar. For Mao in spite of the posturing of the imperialists, war between the US and the USSR was not imminent. For him the US and USSR are separated by vast zone which includes many capitalist, colonial and semi colonial countries, Europe, Asia and Africa. He believed that the anti-Soviet propaganda of the US was a kind of smokescreen. The main contradiction in the post-war world for him was between imperialism by the U.S and other countries which had passed under US control. As he put it, 'Under the cover of anti-Soviet slogans' the Americans were 'frantically turning...all the countries which are the targets of US external expansion into US dependencies' which was the 'real aim' of the US. Thus for Mao the contradiction in the world was between imperialism and the liberation movement not between socialism and capitalism. According to Yu Chao-li writing in red Flag in April 1960, since 1945 the 'real and direct contradictions are not between the Soviet Union and the US, which can coexist peacefully' rather it was between 'reactionary cliques of an imperialist country and its own people' between the imperialist countries themselves. Earlier Yu-Chao-Li had noted that US aggression was mainly against countries which had just won their independence.

UNIT 3: THE GREAT SCHISM IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD IN ASIA

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 China toes a different ideological line
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.6 Possible Answers to SAEs

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The success of the Chinese revolution created two communist giants on the Asian continent. Thus it was only a matter of time before they began to antagonise each other over the issues of ideology. The rivalry was made bitterer because the Asian continent at the time was bustling with revolutionaries eager to imitate the exploits of the aforementioned two. In this regard there was a bitter struggle to co-opt these individuals into one or the other camp.

3.2 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Account for the disruption in relations between the Russians and the Chinese
- State the Politics behind the split

3.3 China toes a different ideological Line

Following the successful revolution of 1949, the Chinese immediately entered into a treaty of alliance with the Soviet Union which was then the sole communist power in the world. This was done principally to safe guard the revolution against the antics of the Americans, which was assiduously protecting elements of the nationalist government in the island of Formosa where they had repaired to in the aftermath of their defeat in mainland China. As the sole communist power before the arrival of China, the Soviet Union prided itself as having monopoly of communist ideology. Thus Joseph Stalin made abortive attempts to impose his will on the Chinese communist party (CCP). However while sublimely rejecting Soviet interpretation of communism, Mao-Tse-tung was quietly interpreting communism through Chinese eyes.

Rivalry between the two schools of revolutionary strategy began even before the Chinese revolutionaries had conquered Peking. The Chinese revolutionaries believed that they had the key to the revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies. For Mao the Chinese revolution would show the way to Marxian socialism to the colonies. His 'Chinese revolution and the Chinese communist party' penned by him in 1939 was a statement of equality and independence from the already existing Soviet communist party. Within this period the CCP withdrew from Cominform in the search of its own strategy within the frame work of Chinese history.

Mao's thesis laid down the basic tenets of the Maoist revolutionary strategy. For Mao, the revolution he was aspiring to could not in its entirety ape the Soviet revolution because China was radically different from pre-revolutionary Russian. In his view China was a 'colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. The landlord class, even though the feudal structure had been overthrown, continued to exploit the peasant; capitalism was still in its formative period and was tied to both foreign imperialism and domestic feudalism. For him the Chinese state was under the 'joint dictatorship of the landlord class and the big bourgeoisie with the imperialists in control of China's financial and economic life as well as its political and military power. From these relations arose a complex of contradictions between imperialism and the Chinese nation; between feudalism and the great masses of the people. It was on these interlocking contradictions that Mao based the ideological basis and strategy of the Chinese revolution.

The Chinese revolution was 'bourgeois-democratic' not proletarian (working class). It was a new democratic revolution, new because though it was part of the 'world proletariat-socialist revolution, it would be carried out under a 'bourgeois dictatorship' that would nationalize the holdings of the imperialists, their collaborators and reactionaries. The revolution would also preserve 'capitalism generally' together with the rich peasant economy with main objective of building a socialist society which they believed was inevitable given the advances made by socialist forces in China and the prevailing international situation. The process of the new-democratic revolution would ensure China's transition from backwardness to a socialist state. The strategy of Mao was for a two-stage revolution, democratic and socialist, under the leadership of the communist party. A careful observer would have noted the difference to Marxism-Leninism as many of its postulations could be found in the works of Lenin and Stalin.

The Russians differed with this view and in 1949, Soviet scholars at a meeting of the USSR academy of sciences, firmly rejected the universality of the Chinese model for colonial societies. Zhukov, a soviet specialist on Asian affairs, noted that 'it would be

risky to regard the Chinese revolution as some kind of 'stereotype' for people's revolutions in other countries of Asia'. By 1952 attempts were made at reconciliation but while these efforts were on, the Chinese embassy in Rangoon Burma began surreptitiously to instruct the Burmese communist party on Maoist ideology. The 19th congress of the CPSM could not formulate a cohesive Soviet position on national liberation movement before the death of Stalin in 1953.

The death of Stalin was the first significant step towards the souring of relations between the two communist giants. His portrayal as a tyrant and mass murderer at the 20th congress of the soviet communist party (CPSU) by his successor Nikita Khrushchev furthered the split. In February, 1956, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev made a keynote address to international communist leaders at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He used his speech to make unexpected and unprecedented condemnations of the policies and excesses of his predecessor, Joseph Stalin, setting off a chain of reaction that led to calls for reform in Eastern Europe and a new policy in the Soviet Union for dealing with the West. The Chinese termed the Soviets 'revisionists' that is the turning aside from the basic doctrine of Marxism- Leninism. The second phase of the split occurred between 1956 and 1960 with ideological polemics when the quarrel came to the public fore with the famous articles 'long live Leninism' in the Chinese communist party journal 'Hung Chi; the Soviet support for India in her border dispute with China played a key role in deciding issues. The quarrel escalated following soviet support for India during the border war itself in 1962-63. Thenceforth, there followed a war of words and efforts by Khrushchev, in 1964 to call a world conference of communist parties to denounce the Chinese failed. In January 1966 the USSR began directing radio campaign at the population of Sinkiang province which is a politically vulnerable part of China. It also spread the rumour that China was inhibiting the flow of much needed arms to North Vietnam communists.

By February China countered that the USSR was in an unholy alliance with the US to encircle it militarily. The 16th anniversary of the 1950 pact scheduled to run for 30 years was ignored by both sides. In March the German newspaper Die Welt published a secret letter made by the Soviet communist leadership to communist parties around the world stating its side of the case and accusing China of trying to provoke a Russo- American war. Peking was enraged. It deplored the Soviet leadership and termed the letter an 'anti-Chinese' circular. To show its annoyance it rejected an invitation to the 23rd congress in March. The advent of the 'cultural revolution'- an attempt by Mao to destroy local communist party organizations before they followed Soviet revisionism - escalated the split. For this reason the Red Guards or Chinese storm troopers were

mobilized. By August 1966 these unruly youths invested the Soviet embassy in China and threatened to 'skin and burn' every Soviet diplomat they could find. By September both sides were engaged in the retaliatory expulsion of each other's students. By the end of the year they had graduated to retaliatory walk-outs; the Chinese officials walked out of the 49th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution in Moscow and Russian delegates walked out of the Peking rally of the centenary of Chinese leader Sun Yat-Sen's birth.

By 1967, the Sino-Soviet confrontation had deepened. Pravda, the official newspaper of the communist party in Russia, reported that some Chinese students mouthed obscenities near the Lenin mausoleum. Peking countered that the days of the 'revisionist Soviet swine' was numbered. As relations deteriorated and Chinese crowds calling for the 'frying, hanging or burning of Soviet leaders, emergency evacuation of Soviet dependents were set afoot. Even this did not avail the Soviets as Chinese crowds with Soviet leaders hanging in effigy blocked their way. Meanwhile in Moscow, students and workers had penetrated into the Chinese embassy. Throughout these unsightly confrontations the Soviet premier Aleksei Kosygin declared that the Soviet Union would not break diplomatic relations. The appearance of internal opposition to Mao allowed Pravda to condemn his leadership and deceit of the Chinese people, not one to lie down China replied through the Jen Min jib Pao that Moscow was backing opposition parties in China. By mid-1967 action had shifted to the Soviet ship 'Suirsk' in the port of Dairen. Red Guards invaded and vandalized the vessel. The Soviet protest notwithstanding, the Chinese broke into the Soviet embassy again and handed it a greater havoc with policemen and soldiers standing by. At the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, Brezhnev denounced the US and China and denied that it had abandoned the goal of world revolution.

The major cause of the conflict between the two powers had been struggle over spheres of influence in Asia. The USSR with its vast Central Asian territories considered itself not only a European but also an Asian power. It is this latter aim that China had spent considerable energy contesting. This struggle was exemplified during the conflict in Vietnam; while Moscow despised American influence in Asia, it feared Chinese dominance of Asia through a united Vietnam under a communist leadership loyal to China. In the same wise, China abhorred the Soviets in North Vietnam and accused the Moscow of collusion with the United States. A balance report of the Sino-Soviet rift reveals that the Chinese got the better of the Soviets as Asian communist parties were reluctant to lean wholly on the Soviet Union due to its limited capacity to provide economic assistance. Finally, nationalism and the age old Asian resentment of imperial Europe also played a part in thwarting Soviet ambitions in Asia. Despite its

multi-cultural complexions and central Asia possessions the USSR was regarded as a white European state.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. What was the fundamental cause for the split between the Chinese Communist Party and the Soviet Union Communist party?

3.5 SUMMARY

From a fairy tale relationship between the two dominant communist parties in the aftermath of the Chinese communist revolution in 1949 the Chinese and Russian communist became bitter enemies and publicly assailed each other. The cordiality in relations led to a security treaty to guarantee the Chinese revolution against American antagonism. However, within a few years of these events, cracks began to appear as both sides struggled for ideological supremacy which led to a shooting war between the two countries in 1969.

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3.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAEs

ANSWERS TO SAEs 1

The rivalry was made bitterer because the Asian continent at the time was bustling with revolutionaries eager to imitate the exploits of the aforementioned two. In this regard there was a bitter struggle to co-opt these individuals into one or the other camp. From a fairy tale relationship between the two dominant communist parties in the aftermath of the Chinese communist revolution in 1949 the Chinese and Russian communist became bitter enemies and publicly assailed each other. The cordiality in relations led to a security treaty to guarantee the Chinese revolution against American antagonism. However, within a few years of these events, cracks began to appear as both sides struggled for ideological supremacy which led to a shooting war between the two countries in 1969.

UNIT 4: ALLIANCES IN THE COLD WAR

CONTENTS

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.4 American Military Alliances in Asia
 - 4.3.1 The SEATO Treaty
 - 4.3.2 The CENTO/Bagdad Treaty
- 4.4 British Military Alliances in Asia
 - 4.4.1 Communist Military Alliance in Asia
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The Cold War was a period of ideological confrontation between capitalism and communism. It was a period of intense struggle for global domination between the two opposing ideologies. Although the two super powers avoided direct armed confrontation throughout the period, there were proxy wars fought through their allies in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. During the cold war, there were two major ideological camps represented by the Capitalist West led by the United States of America and the Communist East, led by the defunct Soviet Union.

Throughout the cold war, the strategic configuration was bipolar as there were only two super powers and two dominant ideologies confronting each other. The period also witnessed the formulation of two military/ideological alliances in form of NATO and WARSAW Pact. The cold war period was marked by global tension, intense competitions, conflicts, armed race and proxy wars throughout the world. It was a period in which the threat of a nuclear war escalated to the highest level since the end of the Second World War.

The cold war in Asia had four key players; the USSR; china and her allies- North Korea and Vietnam; the US and its allies and the various third world countries. From 1945 to the 70s, Asia had seen about fifty local wars with the great powers playing a significant role in most of them. In order to contain the spread of communism the U.S. formulated alliances. These alliances were built along the NATO format and had as members countries with acute sense of communism.

4.2 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss the major military alliances in Asia during the Cold War and the countries which constituted them.
- State the extent to which they achieved their objectives

4.3 American Military Alliances

Three countries the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union met just before the end of the Second World War, in February 1945, at Yalta. The three countries made, in effect, a kind of deal that involved a division of the post-war world into two spheres of influence. In Europe, the line of division was specific and was drawn across the middle of Germany. At the end of the war, the Soviet Union's sphere covered approximately one-third of the world, running from the Oder-Neisse line in Germany to the northern half of Korea. The American sphere covered the other two-thirds of the world. This agreement, in the views of the participants, quickly became less amicable. Each side accused the other almost immediately of bad faith. In order to counter the other and maintain worldwide influence military alliances were set up. The major motivations for alliances could either be idealism: nations commit themselves to fight alongside each other because of shared values and ideas or realism and rests on an analysis of costs and benefits: alliances can save costs and multiply benefits through the division of responsibilities, the sharing of common assets, or simply the protection provided by having a stronger country as an ally.

In the 1950s, the United States created an impressive network of alliances against communism following the policy of containment against Soviet Union and later China such the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). There was an attempt to establish a parallel institution in the Middle East, but it failed and the US made do with a de facto alliance with Israel. In Asia though there were less formal institutions and a good deal of US economic assistance of various kinds to Japan, Taiwan and South Korea in particular. The most overt manifestations of American military might are the Japan– America Security Alliance (JASA) and the Korea–America Security Alliance (KASA). Even during the height of the Cold War, the region never quite presented the kind of coherence that would have facilitated the creation of a truly multilateral defence framework of the sort exemplified by NATO. In Southeast Asia, the lack of strategic coherence resulted in a patchwork of defence arrangements between local and extra-regional states. However, there was a sprinkling of military alliances such as the US-Japan Defence Organization and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.

4.3.1 SEATO Meeting in Manila

The purpose of the organization was to prevent communism from gaining ground in the region. Although called the "Southeast Asia Treaty Organization," only two Southeast Asian countries became members. During the Cold War another military alliance was known as SEATO. SEATO stands for the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. SEATO was established on September 8, 1954. SEATO is a lot smaller than NATO and it is consisted of only 8 countries. These countries are Australia, France, New Zealand, Great Britain, the Philippines, Pakistan, Thailand and the United States. SEATO was established in response to the anti-communist movement in Asia from spreading even more to other countries in the areas. There was only two countries that joined the alliance of SEATO and those two countries were the Philippines, which they did because the Philippine people were close with the United States, and Thailand because they were influenced and anti-communist themselves. The Philippines joined in part because of its close ties with the United States and in part out of concern over the nascent communist insurgency threatening its own government. Thailand, similarly, joined after learning of a newly established "Thai Autonomous Region" in Yunnan Province in South China, expressing concern about the potential for Chinese communist subversion on its own soil.

Most of the SEATO member states were countries located elsewhere but with an interest in the region or the organization. Australia and New Zealand were interested in Asian affairs because of their geographic position in the Pacific. Great Britain and France had long maintained colonies in the region and were interested in developments in the greater Indochina region. For Pakistan, the appeal of the pact was the potential for receiving support in its struggles against India, in spite of the fact that neither country was located in the area under the organization's jurisdiction. Finally, U.S. officials believed Southeast Asia to be a crucial frontier in the fight against communist expansion, so it viewed SEATO as essential to its global Cold War policy of containment. Headquartered in Bangkok, Thailand, SEATO had only a few formal functions. It maintained no military forces of its own, but the organization hosted joint military exercises for member states each year. As the communist threat appeared to change from one of outright attack to one of internal subversion, SEATO worked to strengthen the economic foundations and living standards of the Southeast Asian States.

The organization had a number of weaknesses as well. To address the problems attached to the guerrilla movements and local insurrections that plagued the region in the post-colonial years, the SEATO defense treaty called only for consultation, leaving each individual nation to react individually to internal threats. Unlike the North Atlantic Treaty Organization NATO, SEATO had no independent mechanism for obtaining intelligence or deploying military forces, so the potential for collective action was necessarily limited. Moreover, because it incorporated only three Asian members, SEATO faced charges of being a new form of Western colonialism. Linguistic and cultural difficulties between the member states also compounded its problems, making it difficult for SEATO to accomplish many of its goals.

By the early 1970s, members began to withdraw from the organization. Neither Pakistan nor France supported the U.S. intervention in Vietnam, and both nations were pulling away from the organization in the early 1970s. Pakistan formally left SEATO in 1973, because the organization had failed to provide it with assistance in its ongoing conflict against India. When the Vietnam War ended in 1975, the most prominent reason for SEATO's existence disappeared. As a result, SEATO formally disbanded in 1977.

4.3.2 The Baghdad Pact (1955) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO)

The Baghdad Pact was a defensive organization for promoting shared political, military and economic goals founded in 1955 by Turkey, Iraq, Great Britain, Pakistan and Iran. Similar to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, the main purpose of the Baghdad Pact was to prevent communist incursions and foster peace in the Middle East. It was renamed the Central Treaty Organization, or CENTO, in 1959 after Iraq pulled out of the Pact.

In the early 1950s, the United States Government expressed an interest in the formation of a Middle East Command to protect the region against communist encroachment. The nature of some of the ongoing tensions in the region, like Arab-Israeli conflict and Egyptian-led anti-colonialism, made it difficult to forge an alliance that would include both Israel and Western colonial powers. Instead, the U.S. shifted its focus to the "Northern Tier," referring to the line of countries that formed a border between the U.S.S.R. and the Middle East. The idea was to conclude an alliance that would link the southernmost member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Turkey, with the westernmost member of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), Pakistan. Turkey and Pakistan signed an agreement in 1954 to increase security and stability in the region. In February 1955, Iraq and

Turkey signed a "pact of mutual cooperation" in Baghdad to resist outside aggression, and they opened it to other countries in the region as well. In April, the United Kingdom announced its intention to adhere to the Pact, and it was followed by Pakistan and finally, Iran. The King of Jordan considered joining, but he could not overcome domestic opposition to the pact. The United States signed individual agreements with each of the nations in the Pact, but it did not formally join. Instead, the United States participated as an observer and took part in committee meetings. It was known as Middle East Treaty Organization (METO). In 1958 the METO/Baghdad Pact supported the U.S.'s deployment of 14,000 troops to Lebanon under the so-called Eisenhower Doctrine.

Developments in the Middle East in the years that followed weakened the Pact. In 1956, Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser seized control of the Suez Canal, an important international waterway. Israel responded by invading the Sinai peninsula, and British and French forces intervened. The outcome of the incident was a profound loss of British prestige in the region, which in turn damaged its position of leadership in the Baghdad Pact. A series of events in 1958, including an Egyptian-Syrian union, an Iraqi revolution, and civil unrest in Lebanon threatened regional stability. In response to these developments, the United States invoked the 1957 Eisenhower Doctrine as justification for intervening in Lebanon. The members of the Baghdad Pact except for Iraq endorsed the U.S. intervention. In 1959, after the anti-monarchical revolution in Iraq of the preceding year led to that nation leaving the bloc, METO was renamed the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO): There could be no Baghdad Pact without Baghdad itself where its headquarters had been. Although the United States was still not a member of the organization, it did sign bilateral military aid treaties with Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, ensuring that it would continue to be active in supporting the CENTO members.

CENTO never actually provided its members with a means for guaranteeing collective defence. After the withdrawal of Iraq from the Baghdad Pact, CENTO moved its headquarters to Ankara, Turkey, and the United States continued to support the organization as an associate, but not as a member. CENTO never created a permanent military command structure or armed forces, but the United States provided assistance to its allies in the region. By the close of the Eisenhower Administration, it had become clear to CENTO members that that the organization was a better conduit for economic and technical cooperation than it was a military alliance. In 1979, the Iranian revolution led to the overthrow of the shah and Iran's withdrawal from CENTO. Pakistan also withdrew that year after determining the organization no longer had a role to play in bolstering its security. CENTO formally

disbanded in 1979.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. What factors accounted for the setting up of the SEATO and CENTO?

4.4 British Military Alliance in Asia

Elsewhere in non-Communist Southeast Asia, a British-centric alliance system emerged as a result of British decolonization rather than as a grand regional security vision. From 1957 to 1971, this system provided an external defence guarantee to Malaya (later Malaysia and Singapore) under the Anglo-Malayan (Malaysian) Defence Agreement (AMDA). Although they were not formal signatories, Australia and New Zealand were also associated with the Agreement. This alliance, whose members all belonged to the British Commonwealth, saw Malaysia and Singapore through Indonesia's policy of Confrontation, which posed the most severe threat to the external security of the two local states. It also enabled Malaya to distance itself from the Cold War-inspired SEATO (whose members also included Britain, Australia, and New Zealand). A certain deliberate ambiguity in the treaty provisions, however, allowed external Commonwealth forces based in Malaya to be redeployed to "elsewhere" in Southeast Asia—in effect, to the treaty area covered by SEATO.

Facing growing financial strains, Britain decided to accelerate the withdrawal of its troops from Southeast Asia after the end of Confrontation. By 1971, there was only a residual British military presence in the region. The AMDA was replaced by a loose consultative arrangement involving the five original signatories and associated powers of AMDA. Renamed the Five Power Defence Arrangement (FPDA), the agreement has become the only multilateral defence network in Southeast Asia involving regional and extra-regional states. Vietnam's December 1978 invasion of Cambodia (to overthrow the Khmer Rouge regime which was then allied to China) led to renewed polarization in continental Southeast.

In the case of SEATO and the Indochina treaties, the Cold War alignments in turn determined the nature of local states' external affiliations. In the case of AMDA and later, the FPDA, a more benign variant of colonialism resulted in external affiliations that have endured into the postcolonial phase. The FPDA accommodated an underlying Malaysian sentiment of neutralism, which found unofficial expression as early as 1968 when both the United States and Britain's future roles in the region looked increasingly uncertain. In the United States, the Vietnam War divided American public opinion, prompting calls for America to disengage from the conflict. In Britain, budgetary strains caused a review of the country's East-of-Suez defence posture, casting doubt on British commitment to the

region's security. These developments led Malaysia increasingly toward regional neutralization—a concept subsequently reworked into the 1971 ASEAN declaration of a Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality (ZOPFAN).

Except perhaps for the then-North Vietnam, most regional states have traditionally been far more concerned with internal threats to their security. During the Cold War period, one internal threat took the form of insurgency by Beijing-affiliated Communist movements. Such a threat challenged the legitimacy of political regimes and underscored the importance of domestic efforts to promote socioeconomic development. For states like Malaysia, external military ties were useful in stabilizing the external security environment and in obtaining foreign military aid, thereby freeing scarce financial resources for national development. Two other perspectives on security—one based on isolationism and the other on nonalignment—have also been part of Southeast Asia's history.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

2. Discuss in detail the military presence of Britain in Asia during the Cold War years?

4.4.1 Communist Military Alliance in Asia

The Soviet Union established its own military structures—the Warsaw pact in Europe and a treaty with the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1950, which was a kind of equivalent of the US-Japan defence pact. There was also the COMECON, which was supposed to be a kind of counter-part to the Western institutions. On the Communist side, the alliance formation centred on Vietnam—the sub-regional hegemon that was linked by two bilateral, twenty-five-year treaties of friendship and mutual assistance to Laos (1977) and Cambodia (1979). The “external overlay” took the form of a separate friendship treaty in 1978 (entered into just prior to the invasion of Cambodia as an insurance against China's reaction) between Vietnam and the then-Soviet Union. This alliance gave Moscow unprecedented military access to bases in Vietnam. The patchwork of alliances in Southeast Asia during the Cold War period reflected the desires of militarily disadvantaged local states for recourse to some extra-regional or regional hegemon, as a means of addressing external security needs.

China, on her part, is opposed to alliances and “bloc politics” for several reasons. First, China has seldom itself become a party to any military/security alliance. In the fifty years since the establishment of the

People's Republic in 1949, the country was part of a security alliance for no more than ten years: the Sino-Soviet alliance between 1950 and 1960. Although the alliance was formally abolished by the PRC in 1980, it actually died in early 1960, when the two countries fought an ideological war. The PRC– DPRK alliance still exists; it, however, is not purely a security or military alliance. The name of the alliance is the “Friendship and Mutual Assistance Alliance,” and it is a political-security alliance. Those alliances that China has engaged in are not typical security alliances because there is no joint military organization, joint military troops, or military force stationed in allied countries. Second, the national psychology of the Chinese people is opposed to alliance. The so-called “Central Kingdom mentality” is no longer the national psychology of the Chinese people, because they know they are no longer the centre of the world. Most Chinese, however, still consider their country a big nation in almost every respect: geography, history, culture, population, economy, military, nuclear power, and at the United Nations. The “big country” or “big power” mentality makes the Chinese uneasy in an alliance because China cannot or does not want to be “big brother,” nor does it want to be a “small brother.” China’s reluctance to be the second brother was one reason for the failure of the Sino-Soviet alliance; in turn, from this alliance China drew the lesson to never again enter into an alliance with anyone.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

3. Discuss Russian military alliance in Asia and the reasons for the reluctance of the Chinese to engage in alliances?

4.5 SUMMARY

The success of the Chinese communists in 1949 despite huge American material support to their republican opponents informed American policy makers of the need for a greater and aggressive policy in Asia. This thinking led to the establishment of the ANZUS, SEATO and CENTO. Together they joined the Americans to fight the major wars against the communists. The Soviets unable to fully penetrate Asia as did the Americans had to contend themselves with the treaty with the Chinese but even that soon came unstuck.

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4.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAEs

ANSWERS TO SAEs 1

The purpose of the organization was to prevent communism from gaining ground in the region. Although called the "Southeast Asia Treaty Organization," only two Southeast Asian countries became members. During the Cold War another military alliance was known as SEATO. SEATO stands for the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. SEATO was established on September 8, 1954. SEATO is a lot smaller than NATO and it is consisted of only 8 countries. These countries are Australia, France, New Zealand, Great Britain, the Philippines, Pakistan, Thailand and the United States. SEATO was established in response to the anti-communist movement in Asia from spreading even more to other countries in the areas. Baghdad Pact was to

prevent communist incursions and foster peace in the Middle East. It was renamed the Central Treaty Organization, or CENTO, in 1959 after Iraq pulled out of the Pact. In the early 1950s, the United States Government expressed an interest in the formation of a Middle East Command to protect the region against communist encroachment.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 2

British-centric alliance system emerged as a result of British decolonization rather than as a grand regional security vision. During the Cold War period, one internal threat took the form of insurgency by Beijing-affiliated Communist movements. Such a threat challenged the legitimacy of political regimes and underscored the importance of domestic efforts to promote socioeconomic development. For states like Malaysia, external military ties were useful in stabilizing the external security environment and in obtaining foreign military aid, thereby freeing scarce financial resources for national development. Two other perspectives on security—one based on isolationism and the other on nonalignment—have also been part of Southeast Asia’s history.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 3

The Soviet Union established its own military structures—the Warsaw Pact in Europe and a treaty with the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1950, which was a kind of equivalent of the US-Japan defense pact. China, on her part, is opposed to alliances and “bloc politics” for several reasons. First, China has seldom itself become a party to any military/security alliance. In the fifty years since the establishment of the People’s Republic in 1949, the country was part of a security alliance for no more than ten years: the Sino-Soviet alliance between 1950 and 1960. The “big country” or “big power” mentality makes the Chinese uneasy in an alliance because China cannot or does not want to be “big brother,” nor does it want to be a “small brother.” China’s reluctance to be the second brother was one reason for the failure of the Sino-Soviet alliance; in turn, from this alliance China drew the lesson to never again enter into an alliance with anyone.

UNIT 5: NON-ALIGNMENT IN THE COLD WAR

CONTENTS

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Learning Outcomes
- 5.3 The Bandung Conference
- 5.4 The Non-aligned Movement: Its Origin and Meaning in the Cold War
- 5.5 Summary
- 5.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 5.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units we have seen how the bitter antagonisms of the Cold War had led to the formation of military alliances in Asia; and how the Asian countries rather than focusing on the developmental needs of their countries were co-opted to fight the proxy wars of the west. That the Non-aligned Movement originated from Asia goes along way to show the ill-effects of the Cold War on the Asian nations. The Movement was

essentially established to help Asia and other developing countries avoid being used as pawns by the Cold War belligerents. In this regard, our intention in this unit will be to examine the role of the Movement in Cold War politics.

5.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the circumstances that brought about non-alignment during the Cold War
- Discuss the main motives behind non-alignment
- State the impact of the Non-aligned Movement on global politics

5.3 The Bandung

In 1947 Nehru had masterminded the first Asian conference. The major aim of the conference was to create a ring of strong, prosperous, unified nations with a common purpose and goal to throw off the yoke of colonial powers and to create vibrant and self-sufficient nations within a strategically and economically relevant Third World. In December 1954 the so-called Colombo powers, India, Burma, Pakistan, Indonesia and Ceylon, decided to meet in Bogor to settle issues regarding a large scale conference. After long debates they had decided to invite China to that conference which became the most significant milestone in the development of the non-aligned movement and most important conference of the Afro-Asian Block. Some countries which strictly belong to Afro-Asia were not invited to the conference in the first place on political grounds, e.g. South Africa, Israel, North and South Korea and Taiwan.

The Bandung Conference of April 18-25, 1955 was sponsored by the Asian nationalist leadership of Indonesia, India, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Burma (now Myanmar), and the Philippines. The gathering of leaders of 29 African and Asian nations considered how they could help one another in achieving social and economic well-being for their large and impoverished populations. Their agenda addressed race, religion, colonialism, national sovereignty, and the promotion of world peace. Despite the pragmatic premise for such a meeting, it would take on monumental importance for the shaping of future Cold War and identity politics, bearing important lessons for political struggle today.

The prominent personalities of that age in Africa and Asia were the arrowheads behind the conference Jawaharlal Nehru, prime minister of India, Kwame Nkrumah, prime minister of the Gold Coast (later Ghana), Gamal Abdel Nasser, president of Egypt, Chou En Lai, premier of China, Ho Chi Minh, prime minister of Vietnam, and Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of Harlem, USA. Lesser-known representatives of Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Lebanon, Syria, Japan, the Philippines and others would make interesting contributions. The strategy of militant Afro-Asian states was to strengthen their independence from Western imperialism while keeping the Soviet bloc at a comfortable

distance. This strategic bloc, which was supposed to be independent from the superpowers, was the beginning of what came to be known as the "non-aligned" movement and the "Third World. Thus the Bandung Conference and its final resolution laid the foundation for the nonaligned movement during the Cold War. Amid pressure from the growing Cold War Bipolarism, these countries were able to concertedly affirm that they would choose neither the East nor the West but pursue their own path and strategy under the guidance of the "Bandung Principles".

Nehru, a pivotal presence at the conference because of his credibility as spokesperson for neutrality for Asian and African nations in the Cold War, was deeply influenced in his political thinking by his participation in earlier international conferences. He had attended the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in Brussels, Belgium in Feb. 1927, undoubtedly a major pre-cursor to Bandung. As a representative of the Indian National Congress he met envoys of colonial peoples and their European and Latin American supporters—radical nationalists along with socialists and communists. In 1947 he hosted the first Asian Relations Conference, which an impressive gathering of scores of Asian nations attended and stressed in his inaugural speech Asia's "special responsibility" to Africa. Indian leader, Jawaharlal Nehru went to the Bandung Conference with five objectives: – Peace and Disarmament – Self-Determination – Economic Equality – Cultural Equality – Multilateralism through strong support of the UN. Being a key organizer of the Bandung Conference, Jawaharlal Nehru, was later to emerge as a non-alignment leader.

There were Cold War politics even at the conference itself; Carlos Romulo the head of the Philippines' delegation was even called during the days of the conference, because of the diplomatic closeness of his country to the U.S, as the "Voice of America". The major row was sparked off by the prime minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotewala who delivered a speech in which he argued that:

There is another form of colonialism, however, about which many of us represented here are perhaps less clear in our minds and to which some of us would perhaps not agree to apply the term colonialism at all. Think, for example, of those satellite States under Communist domination in Central and Eastern Europe, of Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Poland. Are not these colonies as much as any of the colonial territories in Africa or Asia? And if we are united in our opposition to colonialism, should it not be our duty openly to declare our opposition to Soviet colonialism as much as to Western imperialism? (Bur, 2010: 357)

Following this speech, some delegates protested they were not in Bandung to "listen to the propaganda of John Foster Dulles" (American Secretary of State), but Kotewala's strongest critic was the Chinese prime minister Zhou En Lai. He adhered to the Leninist doctrine on colonialism, according to which colonialism equalled "capitalist exploitation".

According to that doctrine socialist systems of government could therefore never be colonial. Zhou also might have felt threatened by the analogies between Russian colonialism and Chinese policies, in Inner Mongolia, Uyghurstan or East Turkistan and Tibet. For these reasons Zhou objected to the inclusion of the phrase “colonialism in all its forms”, as proposed by the majority. He finally accepted the face-saving word “manifestations” instead of “forms”, so the conference as a whole could declare that “colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which must be speedily brought to an end.” As far as Zhou's rejection of Kotewala's observation was mostly based on reasons of a political rather than a conceptual nature, it had little bearing on the conference's observations on the nature of colonialism as a system of “alien domination, subjugation and exploitation.”

However, the Chinese, with the benefit of hindsight, in line with state policy, had come with other intentions. The Chinese leader approached the conference participants with geniality and comradeship. His speech stressed Asian-African unity instead of attacking the West or pushing communist ideology on newly "free" nations. "Pan-Asianism" was legitimated and empowered by the weight of communist China. Chou En Lai's seemingly weak, but tactical stance at the conference only ensured a de facto bloc against the West. In the late 1950s it provided China with the wedge it needed for the Sino-Soviet split. China's relationship began to decline with India in 1959 over the question of Tibet, and was finally destroyed in the border clashes of 1962.

The Soviet Union formally requested of the organizers that they invite the Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union on the grounds that they too were independent states of Asia, but the organizers refused. In the United States Government it was viewed with trepidation, and the nonaligned movement that emerged from it, with caution. Observers in the United States expressed concern that the meeting was a sign of a leftward or radical shift in the ideological leanings of the newly independent nations of Africa and Asia. Moreover, the conference revealed two contradictions in U.S. foreign policy with regard to decolonization in the Third World. First, the United States Government found itself caught between its desire to support decolonization and self-determination in Southeast Asia and Africa and its reliance on the colonial powers of Western Europe as allies against the communist Eastern Bloc. Cooperation with Britain, France and the Netherlands was vital to U.S. policy in Europe, but supporting decolonization would be tantamount to opposing those allies. Second, the conference coincided with a fundamental shift in U.S. race relations. The 1954 *Brown v. the Board of Education* decision had declared school segregation unconstitutional, but the process of ending the Jim Crow laws in the American South was long and difficult. Many countries around the world, particularly newly independent nations, followed the U.S. civil rights movement with interest and questioned

the extent to which U.S. rhetoric of equality and self-determination matched the status of civil rights in the United States. U.S. leaders worried that the anti-colonialism of Bandung and the discussion of global racial politics taking place there could turn anti-American or anti-Western.

However the ideological leanings and subterfuges of the Cold War warriors did not then and even now negate the impact of the conference on the slowly emerging colonial peoples. By the later stages, the Bandung Conference had inspired not only the independence of new countries in Asia and Africa and the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement but also the fight against racialism. An African-American poet turned anti-racialism author, Richard Nathaniel Wright, said that the Bandung Conference had introduced something new, something beyond left and Right. He added there were extra-political, extra-social, and almost extra-human aspects to the conference. The Final Communiqué of the Bandung Conference condemned colonialism on various grounds. It called colonialism a “means of cultural repression” and defined colonialism as “the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation”.

At last, the United States need not have bothered much as the views of the Conference were kept largely moderate. Rather, the participants displayed a wide range of ideologies and loyalties. U.S. allies in Asia were able to represent their shared interests with the United States in the conference meetings, and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai, following the hidden intentions of China, took a moderate line in his speeches to the delegates. Nevertheless, Bandung gave a voice to emerging nations and demonstrated that they could be a force in future world politics, inside or outside the Cold War framework. In this wise, the Bandung Principles was one of the most important outcomes of the conference.

Since that conference, the principles have been navigating countries in the Asian-African continents through the turbulence of the Cold War period. Unlike inter-regional cooperation between Asia and Europe through ASEM or East Asia and Latin America through FEALAC, Asia-Africa inter-regionalism for many decades had been less structured. In 2005, Indonesia hosted the Asia-Africa Summit where more 80 heads of state and government attended. At this Summit, the Bandung Principles were enriched. New norms and values were embraced. Those new principles include among others democracy, promotion and protection of human rights and multilateralism. Geoeconomically speaking, Asia has become more and more strategic. With the rise of China and India, and other emerging economies, Asia is in a position to contribute to global growth. Democracy in Asia is also taking roots- becoming more substantive after a long process, whereas democratization in countries in North Africa and the Middle East has only just begun. This cooperation is made in the light of the philosophy and postulation of a major

organiser of the Bandung Conference and a founding member of the Non- Aligned Movement-President Sukarno. In his opening address at the Conference, his speech was centred on letting “a New Asia and a New Africa be born”

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. Who were the main movers behind the Bandung conference and what motivated their interests in pushing for the conference?

5.4 The Non-Aligned Movement: Origin and Meaning in the Cold War

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was founded during the emergence of the new states of Africa and Asia and other parts of the world. It was also the height of the cold War. During the early days of the Movement, its actions were a key factor in the decolonization process, which led later to the attainment of freedom and independence by many countries and peoples and to the founding of tens of new sovereign States. In 1960, in the light of the results achieved in Bandung in 1955, the creation of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries was given a decisive boost during which 17 new African Asian Countries were admitted.

A key role was played in this process by the then Heads of State and Government of; Egypt (Gamal Abdel Nasser), Ghana (Kwame Nkrumah), India (Shri Jawaharla Nehru), Indonesia (Ahmed Sukarno) and Yugoslavia (Josip Broz Tito) who later became the founding fathers of the Movement and its emblematic leaders. Almost no European countries were nonaligned, as the Iron Curtain and spheres of influence were centred in Europe. After rejecting Soviet influence and being expelled from Cominform for it, Tito’s Yugoslavia began receiving aid from the West. However, after Stalin’s death, Tito realized that he would have to choose between allying with the West and giving up his single-party dictatorship, or reconciling with Khrushchev. Neither choice appealed to Tito, so he became a founder of the nonaligned movement as an alternative. Furthermore, the term Third World country was created during the Cold War. During the Cold War, a Third World country referred to a country that was part of the Non- Alignment Movement. Many Asian countries were labelled Third World countries because of their political position in the Cold War.

The non-aligned movement has its origin in the anti-colonial environment of pre-1947 India. After independence, India’s relations with the United States diminished substantially. India rejected U.S. capitalism, and created a series of five year plans, with a very small private sector. As a result of the economic disputes between India and the U.S., India refused to join the U.S. alliance in the Cold War. Because India did not fully support the Soviet Union either, India became an organizer of the Bandung Conference.

Even the term “Non-Alignment” was coined by the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru during his speech in 1954 in Colombo, Ceylon. In that speech Nehru described the five pillars to be used as a guide for Sino-Indian relations, called Panchsheel, the “five restraints”, or five principles. The five principles, i.e. mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in domestic affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence have been adopted in many other international documents. That meant peace and disarmament, self-determination, particularly for colonial peoples, economic equality, cultural equality, and multilateralism exercised through a strong support for the United Nations. These principles served later also as the basis of the Non-Aligned Movement, emerged even as a slogan or mantra. This sense of shared identity is common to the non-aligned movement ever since. In Belgrade the founding fathers of the movement besides Tito were Nehru from India, Sukarno from Indonesia, Nasser from Egypt and Nkrumah from Ghana.

In July 1961, during the preparatory meeting in Cairo for the summit in Belgrade they formulated what they called a political yardstick for determining whether a country is non-aligned or not. (1. Is a country following an independent policy based on peaceful coexistence and nonalignment, or does it manifest sympathy for such a policy? 2. Does it support the struggle for national liberation? 3. Does it belong to any collective military pact that might draw it into a conflict between the great powers? 4. Is it party to any bilateral alliance with a great power? 5. Does it have, any foreign military bases on its territory?) Their action was called “the Initiative of Five”. Six years after Bandung, an initiative of the Yugoslav president Tito led to the first official Non-Aligned Movement Summit, which was held in Belgrade on 1-6 September 1961 with 28 countries participating (25 full members and 3 observers). Making an explicit link between Nazism and colonialism, the Bandung conference also declared its support for the rights of the peoples of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to self-determination, thereby encapsulating a gathering spirit of revolt against European domination.

The second summit was held in Cairo on 5-8 October 1964 with 57 countries present (47 full members and 10 observers), the third was organized in Lus (Zambia) on 8-10 September 1970 with 64 countries attending (54 full members and 10 observers), the fourth met in Algiers on 2-8 September 1973 with 87 countries taking part (75 full members, 9 observers, and 3 guests, plus representatives of 15 liberation movements were also present, these were given the status of observers, plus 4 international organizations). The fifth conference of non-aligned nations was taking place in Colombo on 16-19 August 1976 with 85 full members, 10 observers, 11 revolutionary movements and organizations, 3 guests. (Sweden, Austria, and Finland) At that summit Tito was the only survivor of the original

“Big Five” of the movement. The sixth conference meeting was held in Havana, September 3-9, 1979. Castro’s long shadow was hanging over that summit as for his revolution export-import ventures the ties to the Soviet Union was a kind of “natural alliance” and under the chairmanship of Fidel Castro the summit discussed the concept of an anti- imperialist alliance with the invader of Afghanistan. The Havana Declaration of 1979 was accenting the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries in their “struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony as well as against great power and bloc politics.” At the seventh summit held in New Delhi (instead of Baghdad) in March 1983, the movement described itself as the “history’s biggest peace movement”. It was held in Harare (1986) and again in Belgrade (1989) .The Jakarta Summit in 1992 was a turning point in Non-Aligned history since this was the first Summit after the end of the Cold War. It allowed the Movement to shift its focus in a direction that also enabled it to work across to groupings such as the G-7 and the EU. South Africa assumed the position as the Chair at a time when this transitional phase was still ongoing.

i. Structure

In its organization and structure is the Non-Aligned Movement quite unique. First, it considers itself to be non-hierarchical in nature in that there are no countries that contain veto power or have special privileges in certain areas. The movement has neither a secretary general nor a permanent secretariat as it is managed by the presidential troika committee, which includes the former, current and coming presidents of movement, and an office of coordination in New York which includes representatives of the member states already existing in the UN. The Non-Aligned Movement enjoys a great voting influence on issues such as human rights and UN management and financial affairs. The chair is rotated officially at each summit.

The administration of the organization falls to the responsibility of a rotating chair (currently until July 2009 Cuba, then Egypt for 3 years) and the rotation is consistent. Secondly, the organization does not have any sort of constitution as many similar organizations do. This was done out of recognition that with so many countries having so many varying viewpoints and priorities, any formal sort of administrative structure would increase divisiveness and eventually lead to the collapse of the organization. Membership in the organization has changed from the original just as requirements. As the organization has matured and international political circumstances have changed, so too have the requirements. There is an obvious attempt to integrate the requirements of the Non-Aligned Movement with the key beliefs of the United Nations.

ii. Philosophy

Since its inception the Movement therefore attempted to create an independent path in world politics that would not result in Member States becoming pawns in the struggles between the major powers. This resulted in a large part of its history being influenced by the global tension of the Cold War between the two super powers. The Movement therefore cast this issue as a priority item on its agenda and its work. The movement tried to serve as a kind of counterweight to the two rival Cold War blocs and as an international pressure group for the needs of the Third World. This “Thirdism” inspired a wide range of political initiatives. A cursory glance at the history of the Movement reveals three basic elements which influenced the approaches of the Movement to international issues. These are the right of independent judgment, the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, and the use of moderation in relations with all big powers. Shortly before the Indian independence Nehru wrote that his country would pursue “a policy of its own as a free state, not as a satellite of another nation”. Nehru clearly stated that non-alignment should be considered not within the classical 19th century European framework of non-involvement, but as a dynamic policy directed against imperialism and in support of national advancement. He also viewed the opposition to Western domination as inseparable from his desire for both national legitimacy and identity and social progress. In the course of a speech in the Indian Parliament in 1951, he stated: “By aligning ourselves with any one power, you surrender your opinion, give up the policy you would normally pursue because somebody else wants you to pursue another policy.”

Nehru defended the right of self-determination of nations, the independence and sovereignty of states and the right of every nation to develop freely and to choose, without foreign interference, its own socio-political system. Since the largest obstacle to independence for India, and Third World nations, more generally, was the continued presence of the British and of the other European colonial powers, a proactive and productive foreign policy, specifically anti-colonial in tone, was easily located within the discourse of nationalism used. From a communist revolutionary perspective Mao Zedong formulated a theory of three worlds in which the First World consisted of the then-superpowers (Soviet Union and United States), whose imperialistic policies, as he felt, posed the greatest threat to world peace. Mao placed the middle powers (Japan, Canada, and Europe) in the Second World. Africa, Latin America, and Asia (including China) formed the Third World.

Nehru defended the right of self-determination of nations, the independence

and sovereignty of states and the right of every nation to develop freely and to choose, without foreign interference, its own socio-political system. Since the largest obstacle to independence for India, and Third World nations, more generally, was the continued presence of the British and of the other European colonial powers, a proactive and productive foreign policy, specifically anti-colonial in tone, was easily located within the discourse of nationalism used throughout the pre-independence period in India. Nehru was the progenitor of the first Asian Relations Conference held in Delhi in 1947 at that time of which many of its participants were yet to be decolonized.

a. Accomplishments

Since its inception, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has waged a ceaseless battle to ensure that peoples being oppressed by foreign occupation and domination can exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. During the 1970s and 1980s, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries played a key role in the struggle for the establishment of a New International Economic Order which would allow all the peoples of the world to make use of their wealth and natural resources and provide a platform for a fundamental change in international economic relations and the economic emancipation of the countries of the south. In its nearly 50 years of existence, the Movement of Non-Aligned was able to congregate states and liberation movements in spite of ideological differences and more praise worthy is the fact that these organizations have strove to abide by the founding principle of the Non-Aligned Movement. During the 1960s and 1970s countries part of the Third World used their majority vote in the United Nations to shift discussions and attention away from the Cold War, and to their countries' needs. Although the threat of war was the dominant theme at the original summit meeting in 1961, the movement gained respect and influence as nations were given the right of "independent judgment" so that they could restructure the world economic order as well as prevent imperialism from permeating their independent societies. The nonalignment movement succeeded in being an alternative to the bloc system and a means of avoiding the influence of the blocs.

b. Challenges

Nobody would question the relevance of the Non-Aligned Movement during the Cold War but many are of the opinion that this relevance was lost with the end of the bipolar era. And they seem to be right, the organization holds summits only every three years and even that is not very high on the international agenda. The last, 14th summit conference of heads of states and governments of the non-aligned

countries was held in Havana, Cuba 11th to 16th of September, 2006. It was not always clear how many actual members the group had. For example in 1992 Slovenia in principle inherited the membership as a former Yugoslav republic but never exercised that. At the beginning of 2009 there are 53 African, 38 Asian, 26 Latin American and Caribbean and only one European (Belarus) all in all 118 members. In 2004 when 10 new states joined the European Union, two of them, Cyprus and Malta ceased to be a member of the group of non-aligned countries. Since that year they have the status of an observer in that movement. The last, 15th Ministerial Conference of the Non- Aligned Movement held in Tehran, 27-30 July 2008 endorsed the application of Montenegro as an observer country of the Movement.

In Harare (1986) and again in Belgrade (1989) in spite of ever-increasing participation there were clear signs of decline of the movement as the end of the cold war was nearing. From the 1960s through the 1980s the movement which already represented nearly two-thirds of the United Nation's members and comprised more than half of the world population, used its majority voting power within the United Nations to redirect the global political agenda away from East-West wrangles over the needs of the Third World. However, in practice, with the exception of anti-colonialism, about which there could be strong agreement, the aim of creating an independent force in world politics quickly succumbed to the pressure of Cold War alliances. By the 1970s the non-aligned movement had largely become an advocate of Third World demands for a New International Order. Something that attested to that was the launching at the Algiers Conference in 1973 of the concept of a "New International Economic Order". Because of great power rivalry during the Cold War Era many economic projects were set up in developing countries as part of the rivalry but suffered as a result of the quest for influence. During the years the focus of Non-Aligned Summits therefore shifted away from essentially political issues, to the advocacy of solutions to global economic and other problems.

Though all members agreed to the ten- point declaration and were against bloc politics, but they were by no means unified in their foreign policies or goals. Although the movement defined its intentions, the members were not strictly bound to the policies, and many of them used realpolitik to achieve their own goals. For instance, Iran had been under the economic control of Britain and Russia throughout the nineteenth century but despite the fact that the Non-Alignment Movement reduced ties with these superpowers, Iran continued to receive some economic aid from the United States because of American's deep interest in the Iranian oil

industry. Another shortcoming was that many member-nations were from the Third World, and had little sway in international affairs compared to the powerful blocs.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

2. Outline the early history of the Non-aligned Movement?

5.5 SUMMARY

Seeing that they were easy prey for Cold War politics, the member states of the third world decided to band together as the Non-aligned Movement; thus boosted mainly by Asian and African membership, the NAM, within a few years, commanded a significant voting bloc within the UN. This voting bloc was distinct from the American-led bloc and the Soviet-led bloc. The NAM tried to follow an independent foreign policy path in matters of conflict between the two great ideological divide in world politics. Furthermore as the Cold War wound down with the advent of detente, the NAM began to articulate third world developmental challenges and to call global attention to them. In this regard the NAM intensified its call for the institution of a new economic order that would benefit the poorer countries of the south.

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5.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAEs

ANSWERS TO SAEs 1

At this Summit, the Bandung Principles were enriched. New norms and values were embraced. Those new principles include among others democracy, promotion and protection of human rights and multilateralism. Geo- economically speaking, Asia has become more and more strategic. With the rise of china and India, and other emerging economies, Asia is in a position to contribute to global growth. Democracy in Asia is also taking roots- becoming more substantive after a long process, whereas democratization in countries in North Africa and the Middle East has only just begun. This cooperation is made in the light of the philosophy and postulation of a major organiser of the Bandung Conference and a founding member of the Non- Aligned Movement-President Sukarno. In his opening address at the Conference, his speech was centred on letting “a New Asia and a New Africa be born”

ANSWERS TO SAEs 2

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was founded during the emergence of the new states of Africa and Asia and other parts of the world. It was also the height of the cold War. During the early days of the Movement, its actions were a key factor in the decolonization process, which led later to the attainment of freedom and independence by many countries and peoples and to the founding of tens of new sovereign States. In 1960, in the light of the results achieved in Bandung in 1955, the creation of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries was given a decisive boost during which 17 new African Asian Countries were admitted. The non-aligned movement has its origin in the anti-colonial environment of pre-1947 India. After independence, India's relations with the United States diminished substantially. India rejected U.S. capitalism, and created a series of five year plans, with a very small private sector. As a result of the economic disputes between India and the U.S., India refused to join the U.S. alliance in the Cold War. Because India did not fully support the Soviet Union either, India became an organizer of the Bandung Conference. Even the term “Non-Alignment” was coined by the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru during his speech in 1954 in Colombo, Ceylon.

MODULE 4: ASEAN AS A WORLD FORCE

INTRODUCTION

Today, ASEAN is not only a well-functioning, indispensable reality in the region. It is a real force to be reckoned with far beyond the region. It is also a trusted partner of the United Nations in the field of development. This is the opinion of the former Secretary-General of the UN Kofi Anan about the potentials of the organisation. In this module we shall examine the founding of the ASEAN in 1967, its growth and relations with the wider world and the impact of ASEAN on global politics.

- Unit 1 History of ASEAN
- Unit 2 ASEAN in Asian Affairs
- Unit 3 External Relations of ASEAN

UNIT 1: HISTORY OF ASEAN

CONTENTS

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Early Beginning
 - 1.3.1 ASEAN Declaration, Bangkok, 8 August 1967
 - 1.3.2 Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality Declaration, Kuala Lumpur, 27 November 1971
 - 1.3.3 Declaration of ASEAN Concord, Bali, 24 February 1976
 - 1.3.4 Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, Bali, 24 February 1976
 - 1.3.5 ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea, Manila, 22 July 1992;
 - 1.3.6 Treaty on the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone, Bangkok, 15 December 1997; and
 - 1.3.7 ASEAN Vision 2020, Kuala Lumpur, 15 December 1997
- 1.4 Declaration of ASEAN Concord II, Bali, 7 October 2003
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we shall look at the history and reasons behind the founding of the organisation in 1967. This was still the Cold War period but the various leaders of the five early members had arrived at the conclusion that they needed a supra-national organisation

through which they could bargain with the rest of the world.

1.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss the history of ASEAN and the reason behind its founding
- Identify the major accords of the Association
- Narrate the main philosophy underlying the association

1.3 EARLY BEGINNING

On 8 August 1967, five leaders - the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand - sat down together in the main hall of the Department of Foreign Affairs building in Bangkok, Thailand and signed a document. By virtue of that document, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was born. The five Foreign Ministers who signed it - Adam Malik of Indonesia, Narciso R. Ramos of the Philippines, Tun Abdul Razak of Malaysia, S. Rajaratnam of Singapore, and Thanat Khoman of Thailand - would subsequently be hailed as the Founding Fathers of probably the most successful inter-governmental organization in the developing world today. And the document that they signed would be known as the ASEAN Declaration.

It was a short, simply-worded document containing just five articles. It declared the establishment of an Association for Regional Cooperation among the Countries of Southeast Asia to be known as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and spelled out the aims and purposes of that Association. These aims and purposes were about cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, technical, educational and other fields, and in the promotion of regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter. It stipulated that the Association would be open for participation by all States in the Southeast Asian region subscribing to its aims, principles and purposes. It proclaimed ASEAN as representing "the collective will of the nations of Southeast Asia to bind themselves together in friendship and cooperation and, through joint efforts and sacrifices, secure for their peoples and for posterity the blessings of peace, freedom and prosperity." It was while Thailand was brokering reconciliation among Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia over certain disputes that it dawned on the four countries that the moment for regional cooperation had come or the future of the region would remain uncertain.

The two-page Bangkok Declaration not only contains the rationale for the establishment of ASEAN and its specific objectives. It represents the organization's modus

operandi of building on small steps, voluntary, and informal arrangements towards more binding and institutionalized agreements. All the founding member states and the newer members have stood fast to the spirit of the Bangkok Declaration. Over the years, ASEAN has progressively entered into several formal and legally-binding instruments, such as the 1976 Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia and the 1995 Treaty on the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone. Against the backdrop of conflict in the then Indochina, the Founding Fathers had the foresight of building a community of and for all Southeast Asian states. Thus the Bangkok Declaration promulgated that "the Association is open for participation to all States in the Southeast Asian region subscribing to the aforementioned aims, principles and purposes." ASEAN's inclusive outlook has paved the way for community-building not only in Southeast Asia, but also in the broader Asia Pacific region where several other inter-governmental organizations now co-exist.

The original ASEAN logo presented five brown sheaves of rice stalks, one for each founding member. Beneath the sheaves is the legend "ASEAN" in blue. These are set on a field of yellow encircled by a blue border. Brown stands for strength and stability, yellow for prosperity and blue for the spirit of cordiality in which ASEAN affairs are conducted. When ASEAN celebrated its 30th Anniversary in 1997, the sheaves on the logo had increased to ten - representing all ten countries of Southeast Asia and reflecting the colours of the flags of all of them. In a very real sense, ASEAN and Southeast Asia would then be one and the same, just as the Founding Fathers had envisioned. Some of the major political accords of ASEAN are as follows:-

- 1.3.1 ASEAN Declaration, Bangkok, 8 August 1967
- 1.3.2 Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality Declaration, Kuala Lumpur, 27 November 1971
- 1.3.3 Declaration of ASEAN Concord, Bali, 24 February 1976
- 1.3.4 Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, Bali, 24 February 1976
- 1.3.5 ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea, Manila, 22 July 1992;
- 1.3.6 Treaty on the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone, Bangkok, 15 December 1997; and
- 1.3.7 ASEAN Vision 2020, Kuala Lumpur, 15 December 1997

1.4 Declaration of ASEAN Concord II, Bali, 7 October 2003

The ASEAN Security Community is envisaged to bring ASEAN's political and security cooperation to a higher plane to ensure that countries in the region live at peace with one another and with the world at large in a just, democratic and harmonious environment.

In 1992, the ASEAN Heads of State and Government declared that ASEAN should intensify its external dialogues in political and security matters as a means of building cooperative ties with states in the Asia-Pacific region. Two years later, the ASEAN Regional Forum or ARF was established. The ARF aims to promote confidence-building, preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution in the region. The present participants in the ARF include: Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Canada, China, European Union, India, Indonesia, Japan, Republic of Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Mongolia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, the Russian Federation, Singapore, Thailand, the United States, and Vietnam.

Through political dialogue and confidence building, no tension has escalated into armed confrontation among ASEAN members since its establishment more than three decades ago.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. Enumerate the major accords of ASEAN since its founding?

1.5 SUMMARY

The founding of the ASEAN in 1967 opened the way for the regional renaissance of the South eastern region of Asia since the debilitating politics of the Cold War era. Due to the fact that the Asia region is beset with petty rivalries, ASEAN's founding declaration was made to be as simple as possible in order to prevent the likelihood of ASEAN being used as a power tool by one or the other of the member states. Furthermore, we see the effectiveness of ASEAN in that it has worked assiduously in preventing armed conflict in the region.

1.6 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS/WEB SOURCES

Overview: Association of Southeast Asian Nations <http://www.aseansec.org/>

Charter of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (2012)

<http://www.asean.org/asean/asean-charter/asean-charter>

The Future of ASEAN (2012) <http://www.asean.org/asean>

1.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAEs

ANSWERS TO SAEs 1

The founding of the ASEAN in 1967 opened the way for the regional renaissance of the South eastern region of Asia since the debilitating politics of the Cold War era. Due to the fact that the Asia region is beset with petty rivalries, ASEAN's founding declaration was made to be as simple as possible in order to prevent the likelihood of ASEAN being used as a power tool by one or the other of the member states. Furthermore, we see the effectiveness of ASEAN in that it has worked assiduously in preventing armed conflict in the region.

UNIT 2: ASEAN IN ASIAN AFFAIRS

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- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 ASEAN: The Search for Peace, Development and Good Neighbourliness
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2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we shall see how the newly formed ASEAN attempted to run itself using a mechanism unfamiliar in Supra-national organisations-‘ASEAN way’. More importantly, this unit will explore the efforts of the organisation, through varying frameworks, to collect the Asian region in some sort of economic union using the E.U as a model. The impact of the organisation in building peaceful co-habitation among its often rivalling members will also be seen.

2.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss the regional integration policy ASEAN
- State the structure of ASEAN
- Identity the policies of ASEAN

2.3 ASEAN: The Search for Peace, Development and Good Neighbourliness

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was founded by Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand with the ASEAN Declaration (also called Bangkok Declaration) in 1967. The background to ASEAN's creation was Indonesia's relinquishment of its policy of 'konfrontasi' with Malaysia, an undeclared war in rejection of Malaysia's claim to independent statehood. This turning point in Indonesia's foreign policy was motivated by the change of leadership from President Sukarno to President Suharto, precipitated by the failed communist coup in Indonesia of September 1965 and the ensuing anti-communist purge. The adoption of the Bangkok Declaration signified Indonesia's acceptance of the existence of Malaysia as an independent state and the willingness of countries in the region to conduct friendly relations, resolve their disputes peacefully, and to refrain from interfering in each other's' internal conflicts. The text of the ASEAN Declaration establishes as one of the aims and purposes of the organisation:

“To promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries of the region and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter” (ASEAN Declaration, 1967).

Member states announced their readiness to promote collaboration on matters of common interest in a broad variety of fields, economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative, with the aim of accelerating economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region. The creation of ASEAN on the basis of the principles of strict respect for national sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs follows diverse if closely intertwined rationales. Firstly, it reflects the acceptance by all members of each other's' existence and right to statehood (particularly against the background of Indonesia's abandonment of military operations against Malaysia), to be replaced by the establishment of friendly relations and consolidated through the development of co-operative links through ASEAN. Secondly, fearful of a possible communist take-over, not least through the ideological penetration of the widespread ethnic Chinese minority communities in Southeast Asia, leaders established ASEAN as a de-facto anti-communist 'alliance' designed to protect their market economy systems. Finally and closely linked to the above, the principle of non-interference in internal affairs was meant to avoid scenarios similar to that witnessed in neighbouring Indochina: protracted internal insurgencies that would invite intervention by alien powers guided by the logic of the ideological confrontation that characterised the Cold War. The attachment to the principles of non-intervention and respect for sovereignty must be understood in the context of the national independence from foreign rule attained by most Southeast Asian countries in the period from 1946 (Philippines) to 1965 (Singapore), in which context the emphasis on state sovereignty was part and parcel of the new governments' efforts at nation-building.

The attachment to the principles of respect for sovereignty and non- interference in internal affairs determined the institutional structure and modus operandi of ASEAN and has remained almost intact to our days. While some of its original rationales such as the socialist threat have disappeared, the persistence of others such as separatist movements or the fear of influence by regional powers has provided a continued political rationale for its permanence. While the organisation has been criticised for its perceived inefficacy, it is considered to have been successful in preserving peace in Southeast Asia in the absence of any mutual defence agreement or participation in any collective security arrangement other than the United Nations. This is particularly remarkable in view of the diversity of security policies of its members. Indonesia was one of the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement during the cold war. By contrast, others concluded bilateral defence agreements with the US, such as Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. In addition, the so-called “Five Powers Defence Arrangement” of 1971 formalised collective defence links between Malaysia, Singapore, Australia, New Zealand and the UK. Bilateral security ties also exist between Brunei and the UK.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. What was the first immediate impact of ASEAN after its creation in 1967? In what areas did members seek collaboration among each other?

2.4 Institutional structure in ASEAN

The basis for the creation of the organisation was not a legally-binding treaty but a two-page political declaration. The institutional structure foreseen in the original document was extremely thin: it established an annual meeting of foreign ministers, a standing committee composed of ambassadors of the other member countries and committees on specific subjects. The rejection of formalisation and institutionalisation was such that no central secretariat was foreseen; instead, national secretariats to service the above formations would be established. Illustratively, due to the absence of a general secretariat, files had to be shipped from one ASEAN member to another every year, depending on who was holding the chairmanship, which rotates in alphabetical order. The decision-making procedure was strictly intergovernmental, based on consensus and consultation, known as the ‘ASEAN way’. No mechanisms for enforcement or sanctions in the event of non-compliance were foreseen. The ‘ASEAN way’ emphasizes informal diplomacy and restraint of public criticism on policies of other member states. When member states are unable to reach agreement, decisions are simply deferred. The consensual decision-making process, coupled with the lack of sanctions in case of non- compliance, have been made responsible for the perceived inefficacy of the organisation to implement agreed decisions, leading to criticism in academic

circles.

The process of formalisation and institutionalisation has been gradual, slow and remains limited. A first step towards formalisation was undertaken in 1976, when the Treaty of Amity and Co-operation (TAC) was signed. This legally-binding document enshrined ASEAN members' attachment for national sovereignty and established the principle of non-intervention. Also, a secretariat was founded in Jakarta to support ASEAN's activities. Subsequently, ASEAN expanded its membership, first admitting Brunei (1985), and following the end of the Cold War, Vietnam (1995), Myanmar and Laos (1997) and Cambodia (1999). Here, a parallel can be drawn between ASEAN and EU evolution after the end of the Cold War. In that, both organisations embraced the membership of neighbouring countries with comparatively less developed economies in favour of regional inclusiveness, but without relinquishing their integration projects. Thus, membership was used as a tool for socialisation of states which had previously been under Soviet influence into the practice of regional co-operation.

The breakthrough in terms of institutionalization came about with the signing of the ASEAN Charter in 2007, which entered into force in 2009. Some of the main innovations invite comparisons with the arrangements present in the EU. These include the establishment of an ASEAN Summit comprising head of state and government as the supreme decision making body, and strengthens the powers of the ASEAN Secretary General, including monitoring member states' compliance with ASEAN decisions (ASEAN Charter, 2008, p.25). It also foresees the creation of three distinct Communities governed by different Councils: the politico-security community, the socio-cultural community and the economic community. A Committee of Permanent Representatives at the rank of Ambassadors, analogous to COREPER, supports the Community Councils and liaises with the national secretariats and sectoral ministerial bodies.

A departure from the earlier practice can also be detected at the level of objectives, again echoing the EU's experience; namely the Charter envisages the creation of, "a single market and production base...in which there is free flow of goods, services and investment, facilitated movement of business persons, professionals, talent and labour, and freer flow of capital" (ASEAN Charter, 2008, p.4). It also embraces a number of security objectives "to preserve Southeast Asia as a Nuclear Weapons Free- Zone and also free of all other weapons of mass destruction", as well as "to respond effectively, in accordance to the principle of comprehensive security, to all forms of threats, transnational crimes and trans-boundary challenges" (ASEAN Charter, 2008, pp.3-4). However, the most notable departure from past practice is the inclusion of democracy and human rights objectives:

to strengthen democracy, enhance good governance and the rule of law, and to protect and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms, with due regard to the rights and responsibilities of the member states (ASEAN Charter, 2008, p.4).

This constitutes a breakthrough given that the same set of countries had challenged the universality of human rights with the notion of ‘Asian values’ only some fifteen years earlier. However, the reference to the “rights and responsibilities of the member states” suggests a tension between this notion and the cherished concept of national sovereignty. The reaffirmation of this principle permeates the document, which enshrines the principle of “abstention in any policy or activity...which threatens the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political and economic stability of ASEAN member states” (ASEAN Charter, 2008, p.7). Notwithstanding the notable innovations listed above, the Charter maintains key traditional features of the organisation; it lacks a dispute settlement mechanism – whenever agreement is not reached by one of the Councils, the question is elevated to the ASEAN Summit -, decision-making continues to be consensual (the ‘ASEAN way’), its decisions lack legal, let alone supranational character, and the only parliamentary role is embodied in the limited input of the ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly.

ASEAN’s selective adoption and adjustment of elements of European integration has been explained with the help of the notion of ‘normative emulation’. Because the EU is regarded as the epitome of successful regional integration, it was an attractive source of emulation for ASEAN. Rather than being driven by functional demands, the benefits which ASEAN attempted to reap from emulation was international recognition. ASEAN’s image on the international stage was tarnished as a result of the Asian financial crisis; against this background, the ASEAN Charter was developed to provide ASEAN with enhanced external recognition and legitimacy, a need which became more acute as China and India were fast becoming more attractive destinations for foreign investors.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

2. Explain in detail ‘the ASEAN way’

2.4.1 POLICIES: PROGRESS WITH THE ASEAN COMMUNITIES

The adoption of the Charter has been accompanied by a major expansion of the areas subject to ASEAN sectorial co-operation. The following section reviews progress made on selected prominent areas in each of the three communities: human rights in the socio-cultural community, defence and security co-operation in the politico-security community and

economic integration in the economic community.

2.4.2 The Socio-cultural Community - human rights

The ASEAN Charter foresees the creation of a human rights body; however, it only stipulates that it “shall operate in accordance with the terms of reference to be determined by the ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting” (ASEAN Charter, 2008, p.19). Thus, following a practice that is not uncommon in international agreements, the treaty envisages the creation of the entity without any specifics, effectively deferring its configuration to a later date. A noteworthy development within this field has been the establishment of co-operation between national human rights commissions of the four member states more interested in the improvement of human rights standards in the region, namely Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand and Malaysia. This collaboration has emanated from a sense of frustration with the limited progress made in the context of the Inter-governmental Commission. The four national commissions, which are recognised internationally as independent, issued a declaration of co-operation formalising their contacts and pledging to carry out joint programmes and activities. This initiative taken by a small group of member states coupled with a provision welcoming co-operation with like-minded entities, governmental or not, is reminiscent of the EU’s figure of enhanced co-operation, despite the fact that no provision to that effect has been contemplated in ASEAN.

2.4.3 The Politico-Security Community

In the politico-security sphere, the only defence body is the ASEAN Defence Ministers meeting, created in 2006. Rather than co-coordinating security policies or framing joint initiatives, the meeting serves as a forum to enhance transparency and build confidence. Some co-operation has taken place in the field of non-traditional security, such as humanitarian assistance and disaster relief efforts. The measures envisaged for future co-operation activities are formulated in rather general terms: “strengthening regional defence and security cooperation”; “enhancing existing practical cooperation and developing possible cooperation in defence and security”; “promoting enhanced ties with Dialogue Partners” and “shaping and sharing of norms” (ASEAN Secretariat 2013). In recognition of the key role played by external powers in the security of the region, an ASEAN Defence

Ministers Meeting Plus was put in place, with the aim of engaging ASEAN Dialogue Partners in cooperation on defence and security matters. Its priority areas reveal a more ambitious agenda, including maritime security, counter-terrorism, disaster management and peacekeeping operations, among others.

One of the most remarkable efforts in operational terms can be observed in antiterrorism co-operation and especially in maritime security thanks to the joint efforts of the littoral states. Threats to maritime security in Southeast Asia are primarily piracy, armed robberies against ships and maritime terrorism. In the Strait of Malacca, a 900-kilometer strait bordering Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore, carrying about 40% of the world's trade including ca. 80% of the energy supplies of supply, maritime security has been undermined by weak regional consensus and the confluence of territorial and resource claims over the Straits of Malacca as well as the South China Sea. Although the number of attacks in the Strait of Malacca has been declining since 2004, the need to address other maritime threats such as maritime terrorism and robbery at sea remains a priority concern for Southeast Asian countries. ASEAN responses to maritime threats have been confined to trust and confidence measures, with efforts being limited to a database system, the Information Sharing Centre (ISC), which collates and shares updated information on location of attacks, types of attacks and outcomes.

Yet, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand have put in place the Malacca Straits Patrol (MSP), a coordinated sea patrol, and a joint air patrol to conduct surveillance. Differences in approach persist: While Singapore stresses maritime terrorism, Malaysia emphasises countering piratical attacks and environmental protection, and Indonesia focuses on deterring illegal maritime activities such as the trafficking of human, drugs, and weapons. Nevertheless, this initiative has proved to be a success and could constitute the basis for build-up of future co-operation in the defence field. At the same time, similarly to the human rights field, it shows how smaller groups within ASEAN are able to organise cooperation to address common interest, in the face of dissatisfaction with meager progress at the regional level.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

3. Maritime crime is a major problem of Southeast Asia, what major initiatives have been put in place by ASEAN to counter it?

2.4.4 The Economic Community and Economic Integration: in place by

2015?

Although it was not ASEAN's initial focus, economic cooperation has been progressing gradually since the 1970s. The first substantial step toward integrating the ASEAN market came in 1992 when ASEAN agreed to establish the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), which provided for the reduction or elimination of tariffs under a Common Effective Preferential Tariff scheme and the removal of quantitative restrictions and other non-tariff measures. It also addressed other cross-border measures, such as trade facilitation and standards harmonisation. ASEAN leaders signed agreements to liberalise services trade in 1995. In the past decade ASEAN broadened cooperation on macroeconomic and financial issues, many of these together with its Northeast Asian neighbours, with which it has put in place the "ASEAN plus 3" arrangement: China, Japan, and South Korea. However, preferential trade arrangements are usually multilateralised, in a clear example of "open regionalism."

ASEAN has envisaged the establishment of an Economic Community by 2015 consisting of a single market and production base and characterised by high competitiveness, equitable economic development and full integration into the global economy. The master plan guiding its establishment, the ASEAN Economic Blueprint, was adopted in 2007. The project was led by Thailand and especially Singapore, which has insisted on the fact that China's economic dynamism, threatens to render Southeast Asia increasingly marginal. Singapore Prime Minister Lee attempted to persuade ASEAN partners of the virtues of further economic integration, with a view to compel them to step up their efforts in this direction:

Compared to more established groupings...ASEAN is still a long way from becoming a fully integrated community....We must make greater efforts to pool our resources and deepen regional integration (Lee 2007).

ASEAN's progress on economic integration has been stimulated by external events: an international trend toward regionalism and FTAs, especially those involving ASEAN's main trading partners, the Asian financial crisis of 1997 and the rise of emerging economies that compete with ASEAN countries, particularly China. Forecasts, however, predict that there is little likelihood that ASEAN open regionalism will evolve into a deep economic integration behind a common external trade regime; thus, there is

little hope that the commitment to forming an ASEAN Economic Community beginning 2015 will be realized (ADB 2010).

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

4. What factors are motivating ASEAN towards economic Integration?

2.4.5 CHALLENGES TO ASEAN INTEGRATION

Challenges that threaten the future integration of ASEAN can be located at different levels; some of them are traditional challenges, while others have manifested themselves more recently. The practice of consensual decision making, enshrined now as a principle of the organisation, as well as the lack of mechanism for enforcement and dispute settlement have traditionally been regarded as obstacles hampering not only the integration project, but the efficacy of ASEAN as an organisation. As we have seen, the strong drive towards institutionalisation represented by the ASEAN Charter has not modified this modus operandi. Added to that, progress in ASEAN has sometimes been hampered by the diversity among ASEAN members. Stark disparities in the level of development of member states, and its accordingly diverse interest, were the main reasons leading to the collapse of the region-to-region FTA attempted by the EU in 2009. The pervasive political instability within countries in the region has also been responsible for slowing down progress with integration. An example was observable with the project of economic integration, which was originally championed by Thailand and Singapore. However, with the period of political instability that erupted in Thailand in the mid- 1990s, the project lost one of its main supporters, leaving the task to exert leadership on this project to Singapore alone.

For some time, it was also believed that the predominantly autocratic nature of the regimes composing ASEAN would constitute a hurdle to integration, given that this regime type is purportedly more inimical to international co-operation than democracies. While varying degrees of autocratic rule exist among members, only Indonesia is considered to meet satisfactory levels of democracy by international standards. However, this presumption was proven wrong in the ratification process of the ASEAN Charter: While autocratic members such as Vietnam and Singapore were among the first to ratify the treaty, Indonesia only ratified after lengthy and heated parliamentary debates where the benefits of the Charter for Indonesian

interest were questioned. Thus, this situation evidences that a surge in nationalistic sentiments, which is given free rein in the emerging Indonesian democracy, can constitute a more significant hurdle to integration than the presence of autocratic regimes which dominate the parliament. Irrespective of the type of government in power, the framing of national identity and independence as incompatible with integration constitutes a potentially more considerable obstacle to the ASEAN project.

The changing character of Indonesian elites' attitude towards ASEAN represents a further challenge that has led some authors to fear a stagnation of Integration, if not a reversal. The growing international profile attained by Indonesia, reflected in its membership of the G20 and its prominence in the US geopolitical discourse, is at the core of this concern. Indonesian elites are becoming increasingly frustrated at ASEAN's reluctance to move towards more institutionalised forms of co-operation, while fellow member states worry about the attention devoted to Indonesia by external powers to the detriment of ASEAN as a whole. Concerns about the possible Indonesian disengagement are undermining member states' commitment to the cherished principle of ASEAN centrality. However, the single most fundamental threat to ASEAN unity is undoubtedly the polarising effect that China exerts on its members. China is ASEAN's main trading partner, accounting for 14.4% of ASEAN's imports and 11.9% of its exports (European Commission, 2012). For individual ASEAN members, China is not always the top trading partner but it is consistently among the top three (e.g. first for Vietnam, second for Thailand, Laos and Indonesia, third for Singapore). This creates a situation in which many member states are reluctant to antagonise China, with some of them prioritising relations with Beijing over ASEAN solidarity.

The centrifugal effect that Chinese influence can exert on ASEAN is most visible in the conflict over the South China Sea, which has reached high levels of tension over the past three years. This conflict concerns a number of small, mostly uninhabited islands located in the South China Sea whose ownership is disputed between China, Vietnam, Philippines and Malaysia, among others. The current tensions surface in clashes between Philippines and China or Vietnam and China over fishing vessels, with fishermen being detained by Chinese patrol ships, as well as in the militarisation of the islands through the establishment of small military bases. The reaction of other ASEAN members has been mixed; however, they have generally shown limited support for the Philippine and Vietnamese positions. ASEAN Chair

Cambodia was reportedly reluctant to mention China's militarisation of the South China Sea in the joint communiqué following the Foreign Ministers Meeting in November 2012 in Phnom Penh as demanded by the Philippines and Vietnam. The fact that the chair adopted a position closer to Beijing than some fellow ASEAN members exposes significant divisions within the block. For its part, Singapore prefers to remain neutral in the conflict, while Indonesia is concerned about the possibility that the dispute may attract the intervention of external powers, turning Southeast Asia into a theatre for great power competition again.

This situation has major implications for ASEAN, given that it does not rest on any binding mutual defence commitment. The divisive effect of China's growing economic dominance and political influence raises serious doubts as to whether ASEAN will continue to be able to protect its members from external interference. Indeed, concerns remain that ASEAN's prospective chairmanships will be held by relatively less capable states with close links to China such as Myanmar in 2014 and Laos in 2016, which may prove unable to tackle divisions and forge greater integration. It is also uncertain whether Secretary-General Ambassador Le Loung Minh from Vietnam will be able to match the visionary leadership provided by his predecessors, Thai Ambassador Surin Pitsuwan from Thailand and Ambassador Ong Keng Yong from Singapore, in spite of the enhanced powers bestowed upon this figure by the Charter.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

5. Critically analyse four major challenges obstructing the march of ASEAN toward integration?

2.4.6 ASEAN Regional Forum

In existence since 1994, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) comprises 27 members, namely all ASEAN members plus Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, China, the EU, India, Japan, Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, Mongolia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Russian Federation, Sri Lanka, Timor Leste and the United States. It remains the only organization in East Asia dealing with security issues, although the establishment of the East Asia Summit, with a more restrictive membership, has overshadowed its importance.

2.4.7 ASEAN Plus 3

ASEAN plus Three (APT), encompassing ASEAN members in addition to Japan, South Korea and China, has been in existence since 1997. It has developed cooperation primarily in non-traditional security areas, economic co-operation and development, such as food and energy security, financial cooperation, trade facilitation, disaster management, narrowing the development gap, rural development and poverty alleviation, human trafficking, labour, communicable diseases, environment and sustainable development, and transnational crime, including counter-terrorism. It is one of the most successful forums in the external relations of ASEAN; its landmark achievement is the Chiang Mai initiative, which led to the development of the Asian Currency Unit. Beijing, meanwhile, has also embarked on its own charm diplomacy; by matching its political rhetoric with material resources, China has increasingly built its reputation as a credible long-term stake holder within the region. In addition to the ASEAN-China Free Trade, the Chinese government also reportedly proposed a fund of \$10 billion for infrastructure projects, along with a \$15 billion loan for other developmental projects in the region over the next three to five years. Indeed, Beijing's ability to maintain its stellar economic performance despite the global economic downturn has also prompted analysts to suggest that China could emerge as an independent source of demand – the potential of the Chinese consumer to replace, at least partially, the consumption lost in the West has been much discussed.

2.4.8 East Asia Summit

Established in 2005 at the initiative of Malaysia, the East Asia Summit (EAS) was conceived as an ASEAN- led caucus group to deal with economic and security questions. It originated in the context of the ASEAN Plus Three summit, and it was meant to take place at summit level following ASEAN summit meetings. The potential for enlarging this forum is a controversial question. While the US and Russia joined the original members, which included ASEAN Plus Three with India, Australia and New Zealand, the EU's bid for membership has so far been rejected due to some members' desire to limit the membership of the club to a reduced number of key players in the Asian security landscape.

2.4.9 ASEM

Created in 1996 at the initiative of France and Singapore, ASEM

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constitutes the only organisation linking Asia and Europe. It consists of biannual summit meetings held alternatively in an Asian and European member. Although it does not have any permanent secretariat, the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) in Singapore fulfills some of functions typical of secretariat. After its most recent enlargements to include Russia, New Zealand and Australia in 2010 and Bangladesh, Norway and Switzerland in 2012, membership currently numbers 51 countries.

The importance of ASEAN was brought to bear during the last financial crises in Asia as the activities of the organisation helped to cushion the effects of the crises. Firstly, ASEAN was proven capable to respond effectively to the threat of expanding crisis. ASEAN response includes policies in domestic, regional and international levels. Domestically the member countries managed to provide appropriate stimulus and coordinated it regionally. And in the wider region, ASEAN managed to coordinate financial cooperation in East Asia. Secondly, regional structural reform is currently taking place in ASEAN. Despite the limited progress in reforming decision making mechanism and non-interference principles, ASEAN is undergoing a certain extent of progress in institutionalization to better suit its growing functions. In fact, ASEAN is quite confident in keeping the pace of implementing the blueprints and roadmaps toward integration. Thirdly, financial crisis had been affecting the downturn in ASEAN economies. However, it did not hinder the overall progress of regional integration. On the contrary, crisis had triggered acceleration in the pace of financial cooperation during the 1998 Asian crisis and 2008 global crisis. The reason for this is that the crisis raised awareness among East Asian major powers of the urgency of supporting ASEAN economies for the sake of shared common interest. Fourthly, ASEAN has played an important role in mitigating the crisis. It is important to note that ASEAN is only one contributing factor in the recovery process. The overall process is affected by East Asian and global policies. However, ASEAN played an important part in facilitating East Asian regional financial cooperation and policy coordination that enabled East Asia to lead the recovery. Fifthly, political economic studies on ASEAN perspective in its international relations find that ASEAN has an inclusive nature. It is not in an opposition to the existing international institutions and order. ASEAN represents an outward-looking regionalism, which although seeking reforms in the international economic architecture but it is only a modest reforms in order to provide a better supporting conditions for its economic development. Not an ambitious perspective to change the existing internationaleconomic

order.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

6. What impact, if any, has the ASEAN Plus Three had on the economic development of Asia?

2.5 SUMMARY

ASEAN's greatest achievement is the reconciliation of members to the right of each to exist thus the member states beginning with Indonesia has renounced violence against its neighbour (Malaysia). Once the Asia region had been home town of despots and life presidents with the concomitant abuse of human rights, today it is longer so. ASEAN has inserted in its charter the respect of democracy and human rights. In the area of regional integration ASEAN has done well to integrate strange bedfellows, so to speak, such as China, North Korea who is more likely to ignite conflict in the region.

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2.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAEs

ANSWERS TO SAEs 1

To promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries of the region and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter. Firstly, it reflects the acceptance by all members of each other's' existence and right to statehood (particularly against the background of Indonesia's abandonment of military operations against

Malaysia), to be replaced by the establishment of friendly relations and consolidated through the development of co-operative links through ASEAN. Secondly, fearful of a possible communist takeover, not least through the ideological penetration of the widespread ethnic Chinese minority communities in Southeast Asia, leaders established ASEAN as a de-facto anti-communist 'alliance' designed to protect their market economy systems. Finally and closely linked to the above, the principle of non-interference in internal affairs was meant to avoid scenarios similar to that witnessed in neighboring Indochina: protracted internal insurgencies that would invite intervention by alien powers guided by the logic of the ideological confrontation that characterized the Cold War.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 2

The decision-making procedure was strictly intergovernmental, based on consensus and consultation, known as the 'ASEAN way'. No mechanisms for enforcement or sanctions in the event of non-compliance were foreseen. The 'ASEAN way' emphasizes informal diplomacy and restraint of public criticism on policies of other member states. When member states are unable to reach agreement, decisions are simply deferred. The consensual decision-making process, coupled with the lack of sanctions in case of non-compliance have been made responsible for the perceived inefficacy of the organization to implement agreed decisions, leading to criticism in academic circles.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 3

One of the most remarkable efforts in operational terms can be observed in antiterrorism co-operation and especially in maritime security thanks to the joint efforts of the littoral states. Threats to maritime security in Southeast Asia are primarily piracy, armed robberies against ships and maritime terrorism. ASEAN responses to maritime threats have been confined to trust and confidence measures, with efforts being limited to a database system, the Information Sharing Centre (ISC), which collates and shares updated information on location of attacks, types of attacks and outcomes.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 4

ASEAN's progress on economic integration has been stimulated by external events: an international trend toward regionalism and FTAs, especially those involving ASEAN's main trading partners, the Asian financial crisis of 1997 and the rise of emerging economies that compete with ASEAN countries, particularly China. Forecasts, however, predict that there is little likelihood that ASEAN open regionalism will evolve into a deep economic integration behind a common external trade regime; thus, there is little hope that the commitment to forming an ASEAN Economic Community beginning 2015 will be realized (ADB 2010).

ANSWERS TO SAEs 5

Challenges that threaten the future integration of ASEAN can be located at different levels; some of them are traditional challenges, while others have manifested themselves more recently. The changing character of Indonesian elites' attitude towards ASEAN represents a further challenge that has led some authors to fear a stagnation of Integration, if not a reversal.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 6

It has developed cooperation primarily in non-traditional security areas, economic co-operation and development, such as food and energy security, financial cooperation, trade facilitation, disaster management, narrowing the development gap, rural development and poverty alleviation, human trafficking, labor, communicable diseases, environment and sustainable development, and transnational crime, including counter-terrorism. It is one of the most successful forums in the external relations of ASEAN; its landmark achievement is the Chiang Mai initiative, which led to the development of the Asian Currency Unit.

UNIT 3: EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF ASEAN

CONTENTS

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 External Relations Structure
- 3.4 Relations with the E.U
 - 3.4.1 Relations with the U.S
 - 3.4.2 Relations with Australia
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we discussed the various institutional frameworks in place in ASEAN as an organisation. In this unit we shall focus on an important part of ASEAN's activities, which are its relations with the external world. In order to be a worldplayer and also fully aware of its reliance on the export trade, ASEAN has opened robust relationships with the major players in international trade.

3.2 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss ASEAN's External Policy
- Mention the Key Dialogue Partners of ASEAN

3.3 External Relations Structure

The external relations conducted by ASEAN play a central role in the life of the organisation. Because ASEAN does not feature any supranational elements, its external relations do not constitute a "projection" or "extension" of internal policies as is the case with the EU. However, external relations matter in other respects: Firstly, ASEAN's alignment with the notion of open regionalism sometimes blurs the distinction between members and non-members. Secondly, and most importantly, the development of links between ASEAN and individual or collective dialogue partners has allowed Southeast Asian countries to considerably enhance their clout vis-a-vis regional powers. In certain fields, notably security, the weak institutional architecture of the Asian region – and notably Northeast Asia – has allowed ASEAN to establish itself as an improbably central player. The Charter enshrines the notion of ASEAN centrality as one of its principles, with member

states committing to observe: “the centrality of ASEAN in external political, economic, social and cultural relations, while remaining actively engaged, outward-looking, inclusive and non-discriminatory” (ASEAN Charter, 2008, p.7). Similarly article 42 on external relations note that: “ASEAN should be the primary driving force in regional arrangements that it initiates and maintain its centrality in regional co-operation and community building” (ASEAN Charter, 2008, p.31). ASEAN acquired legal personality with the Charter, mirroring the EU’s Treaty of Lisbon. In addition, certain provisions echo the Common Foreign and Security the world stage, “member states shall co-ordinate and endeavour to develop common positions and pursue joint actions” (ASEAN Charter, 2008, p.31).

One of the signs of the outward-looking character of ASEAN and of its willingness to embed itself in a wider global network is the opening of the TAC of 1976 to signature by third countries. Through this treaty, signatories subscribe to the principles of respect for sovereignty, peaceful resolution of disputes and non-interference that are at the basis of the organisation. Current signatories include Brazil. In order to allow for the accession of the EU, ASEAN members had to amend the protocol stipulating the membership provisions of the treaty, in a clear sign of appreciation towards the EU.

ASEAN entertains dialogues with ten Dialogue Partners: Australia, Canada, China, EU, India, Japan, New Zealand, South Korea, Russia and the US. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) also has dialogue status. Relations with three selected dialogue partners are outlined below.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. In what ways is ASEAN benefiting from its external relations?

3.4 Relations with the EU

The relationship established with the EU constitutes the first interregional (i.e. block to block) relationship entered into by ASEAN, dating back to the early 1970s. The relationship is governed by the ASEAN-EU Ministers Meeting, which holds sessions every two years. The basis for relations between both organisations is the Co-operation Agreement signed in 1980, which extended most-favoured nation treatment to all members. In terms of trade relations, following the Global Europe communication, some Asian countries, including ASEAN, were declared a priority for the conclusion of Partnership and Co-operation Agreements (PCAs) and Free Trade Agreements (FTAs).

The EU is ASEAN’s third most important trading partner after China and Japan but before the US. It is the second export partners, accounting for 11% of ASEAN’s exports

(European Commission, 2012). Three ASEAN members feature among the EU's top 25 trading partners: Singapore ranks 14th, Malaysia and Thailand 24th and 25th respectively, while three others are among the top 50: Indonesia ranks 29th, Vietnam 31st and Philippines 47th (European Commission, 2012). However, the economic importance of ASEAN to the EU remains secondary in the Asian context; indeed, it has been posited that the continued focus on China suits EU interest better than devoting increased attention to Southeast Asia.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

2. What is the basis of the relations between the EU and the ASEAN organisations?

3.4.1 Relations with the US

The ASEAN-US Dialogue relationship began in 1977. The development of ASEAN's relationship to the US largely mirrors the evolution of EU-ASEAN relations. During the cold war, they were focused on trade and development issues, acquiring a political dimension only from the early 1990s onwards. Nowadays, co-operation extends to a wide range of areas, including connectivity, human rights, disaster relief, and anti- terrorism or combating human trafficking. On account of its key security role in Asia, the US is represented together with China and Japan in every ASEAN-driven security forum, including ARF and the East Asia Summit, apart from entertaining bilateral defence ties with several ASEAN members and Asia-Pacific powers such as Australia and New Zealand. The configuration of US economic relations with the region appears a more complex exercise: The US- launched Transpacific Partnership agreement (TPP), currently being negotiated among eleven countries, includes four ASEAN states -Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore and Vietnam-, leaving out the other six.

Much has been made over the last decade concerning the rise of Asia – led by China and India – and the continent's increasingly important role. The announcement by U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton last year that the 21st century would be America's "Pacific Century" further strengthened the belief that the epicentre of 21st century global politics would be located within Asia. And, as has been well-documented, ongoing economic turmoil has also led to growing numbers of Western countries looking at Asia – particularly China – for financial assistance. In light of various leadership transitions taking place later this year among the major powers, one can expect conditions in Asia to factor significantly in the political discourse of their leaders.

What does Asia's increasing prominence mean for ASEAN – a ten-member political community whose regional presence has received growing attention from the global community of late? Already Washington has embarked on its “forward-deployed diplomacy” strategy in the region as evinced by Clinton's attendance at ASEAN Regional Forum and her landmark visit to Burma. The United States' recent conduct of separate high level meetings with both the Philippines and Singapore over defence and security issues suggests that ASEAN will be a strategic region as far as Washington's military strategies are involved. In a recent interview, Singaporean Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong, for his part, noted that the U.S. presence in the region since World War II has been a “tremendous benign influence” and that it was “a good example for the Chinese to seek to emulate.”

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

3. In what ways has ASEAN profited from its relationship with the United States?

3.4.2 Relations with Australia

Australia became an ASEAN Dialogue Partner in 1974. Australia has developed a deep relationship with ASEAN, covering cooperation in a range of areas including security, culture, trade, education and development. Together with New Zealand, Australia and ASEAN signed the ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand FTA (AANZFTA) in 2009, in force since 2010. In 2012, trade in goods and services with ASEAN totalled AUS\$90.1 billion (about €64 billion).

Australian support to ASEAN focuses on three areas: infrastructure connectivity initiatives in the Greater Mekong Sub-region, in cooperation with the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank; the Tripartite Action to Protect Migrants within and from the Greater Mekong Sub-region from Labour Exploitation initiative in cooperation with the International Labour Organisation. The ASEAN-Australia Development Cooperation Programme is designed to help ASEAN realise its goal of an economic community by 2015.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

4. In what areas does Australia support the ASEAN organisations?

3.5 SUMMARY

The central thrust of the ASEAN has been its external relations especially with the west. In this regard it has carefully modelled its integrationist policies toward that of the EU and has bent over backwards to see that internal policies in the member states are in conformity with acceptable western policies. This aping has been good for the ASEAN as its trade volume with the EU, relative to other parts of the world, has grown astronomically. The U.S. which has long been a foreign partner of the region has also come in with the recognition that this century will be the 'American-Pacific century'. This is all but an admission that ASEAN is growing in strategic importance in the United States policy making.

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3.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAEs

ANSWERS TO SAEs 1

The external relations conducted by ASEAN play a central role in the life of the organisation. Because ASEAN does not feature any supranational elements, its external relations do not constitute a "projection" or "extension" of internal policies as is the case with the EU. However, external relations matter in other respects: Firstly, ASEAN's alignment with the notion of open regionalism sometimes blurs the distinction between members and non-members. Secondly, and most importantly, the development of links between ASEAN and individual or collective

dialogue partners has allowed Southeast Asian countries to considerably enhance their clout vis-a-vis regional powers. In certain fields, notably security, the weak institutional architecture of the Asian region – and notably Northeast Asia – has allowed ASEAN to establish itself as an improbably central player.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 2

The basis for relations between both organisations is the Co-operation Agreement signed in 1980, which extended most-favoured nation treatment to all members. In terms of trade relations, following the Global Europe communication, some Asian countries, including ASEAN, were declared a priority for the conclusion of Partnership and Co-operation Agreements (PCAs) and Free Trade Agreements (FTAs).

ANSWERS TO SAEs 3

The development of ASEAN's relationship to the US largely mirrors the evolution of EU-ASEAN relations. During the cold war, they were focused on trade and development issues, acquiring a political dimension only from the early 1990s onwards. Much has been made over the last decade concerning the rise of Asia led by China and India – and the continent's increasingly important role.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 4

Australian support to ASEAN focuses on three areas: infrastructure connectivity initiatives in the Greater Mekong Sub-region, in cooperation with the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank; the Tripartite Action to Protect Migrants within and from the Greater Mekong Sub-region from Labour Exploitation initiative in cooperation with the International Labour Organisation. The ASEAN-Australia Development Cooperation Programme is designed to help ASEAN realise its goal of an economic community by 2015.

MODULE 5: CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN ASIAN AFFAIRS

INTRODUCTION

Asia today has become the bye-word for economic progress and development; there is hardly any corner of the globe that has not yet felt the impact of Asian enterprise. This robust growth has aptly given rise to the tag of the ‘Asian Century’. Nonetheless amid the tale of plenty lie silent issues that are dogging the heel of the Asian continent. Issues such as terrorism, arms race and disputes over territory are burning issues on the continent today. In this Module we shall take a look at these issues.

- Unit 1 Nationalism and Arms Race in Asia
- Unit 2 Territorial/Border Crises in Asia
- Unit 3 Terrorism in Asia

UNIT 1: NATIONALISM AND ARMS RACE IN ASIA

CONTENTS

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 The Race to Arms in Asia
- 1.4 Summary
- 1.5 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.6 Possible Answers to SAEs

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Asia has always been a continent factionalised by internal rivalries and jealousies. In Asia past infractions against another are still being recalled, especially between Japan and China. The Japanese are often quick to point out that their colonial activity in China was blemish free which the Chinese disagree with, thus leading to a buildup in tensions. There is also the Indo-Pakistan conflict which has led to a sort of nuclear arms race despite the penury and economic misery of millions of people on both sides. Furthermore the growth of China is given cold comfort to dozens of Asian countries. In this unit we shall examine the arms race in Asia and its implication for global security.

1.2 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Mention the major actors in the arms race in Asia
- Explain the reasons behind the race
- Identify the causes of Terrorism

1.3 The Race to Arms in Asia

Asian powers are outpacing the United States to become the biggest spenders on defence by 2021 and are fuelling an "explosion" in the global arms trade, a study showed. The global arms trade jumped by 30 percent to \$US73.5 billion (\$79.6 billion) between 2008-2012 in spite of the economic downturn, driven by surging exports from China and demand from countries like India, and is set to more than double by 2020. Budgets are shifting East and global arms trade is increasing competition. This is the biggest explosion in trade the world has ever seen. The United States has accounted for the lion's share of global defence spending over the past decade, but budget cuts in Washington, as it withdraws from countries such as Afghanistan, mean that it will account for just 30 percent by 2021 to fall behind Asia at 31 percent. Military spending in the Asia Pacific region - which includes China, India and Indonesia - will rise 35 percent to \$US501 billion in the next eight years, compared to a 28 percent fall in US spending to \$US472 billion over the same period.

The modernization of the PLA is a tangible manifestation of China's growing national power. The 2006 Quadrennial Defence Review cautions that, of the major and emerging great powers, China has the greatest potential to compete militarily with the United States and field disruptive military technologies that could, over time, offset traditional U.S. military advantages. Many of China's new weapon systems are applicable to a range of operations beyond the Taiwan Strait. The expanding capability of China's military power threatens not only Taiwan- and therefore the United States - but also challenges U.S. friends and allies throughout the Western Pacific, Southeast Asia, and South Asia. However, an unchecked or disproportionate, China's military modernization could lead to a major reordering of the balance of power throughout the Pacific.

China began modernizing its armed forces and procuring sophisticated weapons after observing the overwhelming success and technological prowess of the U.S.-led coalition during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. This was signaled by the PLA's purchase of 24 Su-27 advanced all-weather fighters from Russia in 1992, China's first venture into fielding a first-rate air force. In 1993, China began the acquisition of advanced surface-to-air missiles, towed-array anti-submarine sonar, multiple-target torpedo control systems, nuclear submarine propulsion systems, and technology to improve the range of its undersea-launched cruise missiles. The Su-27s and these other military systems procured from Russia enhanced China's power projection capability and heightened the threat to Taiwan. In 1999, China signed a contract with Russia for 40 Su-30 ground attack aircraft and a contract for approximately 40 more was signed in 2001. In the 1990s, the PLAN expressed interest in acquiring aircraft carriers, and more recently military leadership has stated China's intent to

build aircraft carriers, true instruments of power projection. In 1994, China began modernizing its submarine fleet with the purchase of four Russian Kilo-class attack submarines, followed by a subsequent agreement to purchase eight more in 2002. China also has purchased four Sovremenny-class destroyers equipped with the SS-N-22 advanced anti-ship cruise missile.

Since 1996, China has increased its defence spending by more than 10 percent in real terms in every year except 2003. Growth in China's power projection capability will lead the United States and other nations to question China's intentions and adjust their military postures accordingly. Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld warned that the rapid, non-transparent nature of [China's] build up contributes to uncertainty. A deputy Secretary in the Bush administration, Zoellick had called upon China to openly explain its defence spending, intentions, doctrine, and military exercises to ease concerns about its rapid military build-up. The PLA suffered decades of neglect while Beijing focused on China's economic and internal reforms. Even at current high estimates, the Chinese military budget is less than 20 percent of American defence spending; and is only slightly ahead of "demilitarized" Japan's defence budget.

The recent upsurge in the defence capability of China has reawakened the military consciousness of an otherwise militarily docile Japan. Recall that Japan renounced militarism after the ghastly defeat of the Second World War but has recently stepped up its defence spending to be in rhythm with the demand of the age in the region. For Japan, the big news is a 19,500-ton helicopter carrier called the *Izumo*, which the government unveiled on Aug. 6 2013. It's the third such warship in Japan's self-defence force and the biggest Japanese-made military vessel since the end of World War II. This is highly symbolic given the ongoing saga of the dispute between the two Asian powers over uninhabited rocks in the East China Sea.

In June 2013, China's official China Central Television reported the People's Liberation Army had started 10 days of live-fire military exercises in the waters near the islands, which Japan calls the Senkaku and the Chinese call the Diaoyu. In a highly symbolic move, one ship taking part in the exercises is the *Liaoning*, China's first aircraft

Carrier. Still, the Chinese are not happy about the *Izumo's* launch. The helicopter carrier is a "symbol of Japan's strong wish to return to its time as a military power," the *Global Times* in China wrote the next day. This is the traditional Chinese method of combating Japan –by making allusions to its brutal militaristic past. Presently Japan and China are embroiled in a dispute over territory that has escalated into threats. On October 2013, the Japanese prime minister, Shinzo Abe, noted that China was trying to change the prevailing order by force rather than by the rule of law and warned that if it persisted, it would not emerge peacefully because Japan would stand up to it. Before long the defence ministry in China retorted that if Japan went ahead in its plans to shoot down its drones it would see it as an act of war with the Japanese bearing the full brunt for the aggression. China has also accused Japan, nay Shinzo Abe, as usual, of trying to resuscitate its militaristic past.

India, meanwhile, has launched its first aircraft carrier, unveiled on Monday. That's a challenge to China, the *Global Times* editorialized. "China should speed up its construction of domestic aircraft carriers," it said. "The earlier China establishes its own aircraft carrier capabilities, the earlier it will gain the strategic initiative." Nearby India has tripled military spending over the past 10 years and in February announced more spending, with a 14 percent increase in defence outlays. The border dispute between India and China isn't as hot as the one between Japan and China, but it involves much more land: India says China is occupying 38,000 square kilometres of Indian territory in Jammu and Kashmir (the much-disputed region in the north of India that is also claimed by Pakistan). China says India is occupying 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in Arunachal Pradesh (a state in north eastern India near Bhutan and Tibet). Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in July approved the deployment of 50,000 more troops near the Chinese border, according to a report by the Press Trust of India. The new strike force would include C-130J Hercules aircraft made by Lockheed Martin. A few days later, a Defence Ministry official made public of a plan for an additional strike force near the Chinese border in the state of West Bengal.

Taiwan and the Korean Peninsula are frequently areas of high tension, but also areas where slow deliberate strategic manoeuvring occurs. Another area of broad strategic concern for the United States is China's involvement with weapons proliferation. China's proliferation practices are wide-ranging, and Beijing continues to provide equipment and technology, including dual-use equipment and technology related to Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and their delivery systems, to states such as Iran. Chinese assistance helped Pakistan develop nuclear weapons as a strategic counterweight against India. Today both countries are fiercely engaged in nuclear arms race that has left the masses on both sides the loser. Every little crisis between the two bitter rivals is magnified until not only the region but the entire world is at risk from the fallout of their confrontation. For instance,

in the aftermath of a terrorist attack on the Indian parliament on 13th December 2001, India immediately blamed Pakistan for the deed, when it had no concrete evidence; by December 19th Indian and Pakistani soldiers were already exchanging gunfire across their common border; on December 25th Indian prime minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee declared that India and Pakistan were moving closer to war. Pakistan responded that it was prepared for any eventuality, which in turn prompted Vajpayee to declare that India was prepared to go all out-including a nuclear conflict. There is also the danger of nuclear proliferation from both countries. A. Q. Khan, the head of Pakistan's nuclear program, engaged in widespread proliferation as he sold nuclear technology to Iran and allegedly provided Libya with plans to build a nuclear weapon of Chinese design.' A number of factors would appear to account for the arms race in the Asia region:

- 1) The existence of enduring historical rivalries between military contenders in the region.
- 2) The existence of significant territorial disputes which have led to armed hostilities or military confrontations in the region.
- 3) The involvement of two or more military great powers from inside or outside the region in regional disputes.
- 4) The acquisition of major military hardware as an explicit reaction to a perceived threat from another power.
- 5) Militarized domestic elites in at least some contending nations in the region, such that the military have a dominant influence in setting both political and budgetary priorities.
- 6) A pattern of military acquisitions in the region that focuses on increasing offensive capabilities rather than defensive ones.

There are lots of ways to build trust in Asia. One would be to help ensure that disputes and misunderstandings do not get out of hand. China should thus be more open about its military doctrine- about its nuclear posture, its aircraft-carriers and missile programme. Likewise, America and China need rules for disputes including North Korea, Taiwan, space and cyber-warfare. And Asia as a whole needs agreements to help prevent every collision at sea from becoming a trial of strength. America and China should try to work multilaterally. Instead of today's confusion of competing venues, Asia needs a single regional security forum, such as the East Asia Summit, where it can do business. Asian countries could also collaborate more in confidence-boosting non-traditional security, such as health, environmental protection, anti-piracy and counter-terrorism, where threats by their nature cross borders.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. What is the motive(s) behind the arms build-up in Asia?

1.4 SUMMARY

The recent growth of China economically and militarily is upsetting the balance of power in Asia. This is so given the history of China as an aggressive power. In this wise, nations of Asia in order to deter aggression has begun a potential arms race in the continent. This arms race is more pronounced in China's traditional rivals like Japan, India and Taiwan. However other lesser powers like Indonesia are also building up their military's strike capabilities.

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1.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAEs

ANSWERS TO SAEs 1

There is a lot of concern that the rapid build-up in Asia of Chinese and American military power make war more likely, and that such a war between nuclear-armed powers will be hugely destructive. Arms races are wasteful tragedies that unfold when adversaries fail to negotiate security at a cheaper level of expenditures.

- 1) The existence of enduring historical rivalries between military contenders in the region.
- 2) The existence of significant territorial disputes which have led to armed hostilities or military

confrontations in the region.

3) The involvement of two or more military great powers from inside or outside the region in regional disputes.

4) The acquisition of major military hardware as an explicit reaction to a perceived threat from another power.

5) Militarized domestic elites in at least some contending nations in the region, such that the military have a dominant influence in setting both political and budgetary priorities.

6) A pattern of military acquisitions in the region that focuses on increasing offensive capabilities rather than defensive ones.

UNIT 2: TERRITORIAL/BORDER CRISES IN ASIA

CONTENTS

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Territories in Dispute
- 2.4 Reasons why Territorial Disputes Persist in Asia
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 2.7 Possible Answers to SAEs

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous Unit discussed the arms race currently going on in Asia and the major countries involved. This unit would discuss a key factor responsible for this arms crisis. Right from the 1960s the major countries in Asia have clashed variously and viciously over border issues; India and Pakistan, India and China, China and the former Soviet Union. More than 50 years on these clashes have only grown in intensity rather than ebb with the rapid development witnessed by the region.

2.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Identify the countries presently engaged in territorial dispute in Asia
- Account for the factors that lead to territorial disputes
- Give reasons why territorial disputes have been intractable over the years in Asia

2.3 Territories in Dispute

Territorial disputes are disagreement over tracts of land or water that are claimed by two or more independent countries. In fact, of all interstate disputes, those over territory tend

to be nearly twice as likely as other issues to lead to armed conflict. Asia since the 60s and 70s have been racked by border crises as neighbouring countries have been unable to amicably decide how to demarcate their common frontier. The East and South China Seas are particular flashpoints that could lead to devastating confrontations for the region and beyond; between February and April 2011, Thai and Cambodian military forces exchanged rounds of artillery, mortars, and rifle fire in the proximity of two Hindu temples, which sit in a hilly jungle area that both sides say belong to them. The violence killed 17 people and displaced 36,000 villagers. More recently, on May 2013, a 65-year-old Taiwanese fisherman was killed by the Philippine coastguards for supposedly illegal fishing in an area southeast of Taiwan where the “exclusive economic zone” entitled under the Convention on the Law of the Sea overlaps with that of the Philippines. The Taiwanese public was outraged and it led to mutual heightened tensions and military mobilization.

Historically, the practice of arbitrarily drawing borders by former colonial powers, with no consideration of ethnic, religious, social, or linguistic identities, has created a legacy of troubles in many regions of the world, including Asia. However, in Asia the human angle has played a part in the ensuring border disputes as there was failure to appropriately delineate the border areas. At least, four categories of common mistakes can be identified. First, there is the use of inappropriate topographical terms, such as crest, range, and mouth. These are all vague terms and indicate locations that at times vary due to geological or hydrological changes. In Asia, the use of the ‘watershed’ line of the Dangrek range as demarcation between Thailand and Cambodia by the former French colonial authorities (a criterion subsequently abandoned) positioned first the Preah Vihear temple on Thailand’s side, and eventually on the Cambodian side. Combined with a history of shifting ownership of the temple between the two countries, this uncertainty is still at the base of the ongoing conflict. Second, there is the use of vague geographical features. The Sino-Russian boundary dispute at the Argun River area broke out due to such inaccuracy. In 1911, the border was formally fixed along the median line of the main river channel. After 1950, the old river channel ran dry and a new main stream appeared, “shifting” the territory to the Russian side. The contention soured the bilateral relations between China and USSR, even leading to a skirmish in 1969. An agreement was found only in 2005. A third category of uncertainty in drawing borders consists of intricate human and cultural features. Indonesia, for example, includes over 300 ethnic groups, with different languages and cultures. The country experienced many territorial disputes, both within its populace and with neighbouring countries. The Caucasus is another region of great ethnic and cultural diversity. At present, three regions – Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and South Ossetia – claim independence in the southern Caucasus region. Finally, there is the use of inconsistent or contradictory statements. Article 56 of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), for example, outlines parameters for the establishment of a country’s

Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), which extends 200 nautical miles from the country's coastline. This has created the possibility of overlapping claims in semi-enclosed seas. This ambiguity complicates defining the numerous claims in the East and South China Seas, which is today one of the main sources of tensions hampering peaceful relations in East and Southeast Asia.

Causes of Conflict in Territorial Disputes

There are certain factors that can turn dormant disputes into cross-border armed conflicts. It should be noted that border conflicts do not bear one cause and offer a wide range of causes. Sometimes, it is a combination of material and/or cultural interests. Such as needs for resources; geopolitical rivalries and power relations between neighbours and nationalist ideologies can add up to economic interests. However, territorial disputes have been typically explained in terms of power relations. National histories and nationalistic sentiments clearly play a role in the disputes over the Kuril Islands between Japan and Russia, over Kashmir between India and Pakistan, over the political status of Taiwan and Tibet, and over the South China Sea, in which China has domestically played the card of nationalism, with selective use of history in textbooks and in the media in order to emphasize what typically is referred to as "the need to re-establish national honour". The South China Sea is one of the largest fishing grounds in the world with rich biological diversity, and access to fisheries plays an important role in the dispute among the Chinese provinces bordering the South China Sea, Hainan and Guangdong, Vietnam, and the Philippines. At the same time, the growing demand for energy resources, particularly oil and gas, to support China's development and Beijing's desire to reduce its dependency on Middle Eastern oil, are the main reasons why China is unwilling to compromise over its territorial claims.

In Southeast Asia, there are several very serious maritime territorial disputes and a host of minor ones. China and Vietnam dispute possession of the Paracel (Hsisha/Hoang Sa) Islands, 165 nautical miles southeast of Hainan Island, and fought a brief but bloody battle over them in January of 1974. China and Vietnam are only two of the six claimants to the Spratly Islands (Nansha/Truong Sa) further south and fought another brief naval engagement there in March of 1988. The increasing probability that the South China Seabed contains major deposits of oil, natural gas, and valuable minerals, as earlier noted, has greatly increased the likelihood of armed conflict over those resources despite rhetoric about co-development. The fact that China is now a net importer of oil is another critical factor. At least two significant incidents have already occurred that may foreshadow greater violence to come. The first took place in July 1994, when, according to oil industry executives, two Chinese warships turned back at least one Vietnamese vessel attempting to resupply an oil rig in an area claimed by both countries. The Foreign Ministry in Beijing later confirmed that report in writing to Bloomberg Business News. Although no shots were

fired, the incident was a serious escalation. The second incident occurred on February 8, 1995, when the Philippines discovered that China had occupied the aptly-named Mischief Reef in the Spratlys, just 200 km from the mainland island of Palawan. Both countries claim sovereignty over this reef. Eight PRC ships, some of them armed, backed up the occupation. China claims the structures erected on what it calls the Meiji Reef were only to provide shelter for fishing. Western intelligence officials say they are a guard post, complete with a satellite dish. There are at least four lesser maritime disputes: Indonesia and Vietnam dispute the demarcation line of the continental shelf between them, as do Vietnam and Malaysia. Malaysia and Singapore dispute the island of Pulau Baut Putih (Pedra Branca) some 55 km east of Singapore, and Malaysia and Indonesia have had armed confrontations over the islands of Sipidan, Sebatik, and Ligatan in the Celebes Sea.

Just recently, on October 25 2013, South Korean forces carried out a drill aimed at repelling foreign landings on disputed islands at the heart of a row with Japan. The drill took place at an outcrop known in South Korean as 'Dokdo' and in Japan as 'Takeshima'. The ancient quarrel has affected diplomatic relations but both countries claim long-standing historical ties to the island grouping. The drill included destroyers and combat jets. The defence ministry in South Korea noted that it was important to show the area 'would be defended by South Korea in whatever circumstances'. The islets have become a lightning rod for unresolved historical issues between the two neighbours—a symbol, say many Koreans, of Japan's lack of remorse for its colonial past. The territories themselves consist of two main islands and about 30 smaller rocks. A South Korean coastguard detachment has been stationed there since 1954. Presently Japan is also enmeshed in a bitter struggle with China over a group of islands in the East China Sea. The archipelago consists of five islands and three reefs. Japan, China and Taiwan claim them but they are controlled by Japan and form part of Okinawa prefecture. The islands were also the focus of a major diplomatic row between Japan and China in 2010.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. Outline the human angle, with appropriate example, responsible for the provocation of territorial disputes in Asia?

2.4 Reasons why Territorial Disputes Persist in Asia

In Asia, the current territorial disputes might escalate to armed conflict mainly due to three factors: geopolitical shifts, competition over scarce natural resources (e.g., oil, gas, and in particular, water), and environmental degradation. As noted, a mix of political, economic, and cultural motives, combined with a more nationalist reading of sovereignty can trigger confrontations over contested territories. This is clearly seen in the disputes in the East and South China Seas. The former involves disputes among China, Japan, and

South Korea over the extent of their respective EEZ. The latter has seen an increasingly assertive and powerful China against overlapping claims of Southeast Asian countries. The tremendous importance of this region to the peace, stability, and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific cannot be overstated. It remains to be seen whether a negotiated solution will be possible and if the involvement of regional organizations, such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and other global powers, such as the US, will facilitate or complicate a diplomatic solutions.

A second factor that can trigger conflict over contested territories is the increasing competition over scarce natural resources. Continuing economic development and demographic expansion in Asia are fostering domestic demands for resources and control over them in disputed areas. Such competition can become a matter of survival. This is not only evident in the need for more energy, which is intensifying the disputes in the South China Sea, but also in the need for water for agricultural use, which today absorbs 70 per cent of water usage in the region. There is a direct relationship between countries sharing water and incidence of conflict and, in particular, that countries upstream of a river have a significant risk of conflict with countries downstream of the same watercourse. In other words, water can become a key issue that will determine whether Asia heads toward greater cooperation or greater competition.

Finally, environmental degradation due to fast industrialization and aggravated by climate change will exasperate the scarcity of resources. It is interesting to note that in one case, global warming was an improbable peacemaker. The almost forty year dispute between India and Bangladesh over a tiny island in the Bay of Bengal was abruptly solved when the rising sea level submerged the land. Some claim that rising sea levels in the future might cause the disappearance of nineteen small islands that are still subject to disputes over ownership. Although this may eliminate disputes for some neighbouring coastal states, in reality, climate change is more likely to be an aggravating factor. Pollution, for example, has been a matter of contention over the control of the Mekong River, whose waters cross China, Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and Vietnam. However, the existence of the Mekong River Commission since 1995, albeit imperfect since the upper riparian countries – China and Myanmar – are not partners in the initiative, has allowed joint management of water-related issues. ASEAN membership has also been a positive factor in reducing tensions over issues such as transnational water pollution. ASEAN is more active than ever before, as evidenced during the last inflammation of the Thai-Cambodian border dispute in 2011. More confidence-building initiatives, such as joint military exercises and humanitarian relief operations in response to natural disasters, are taking place.

In addition, the likelihood of peaceful dispute resolutions increase by three times when the disputing states have democratic political institutions. Arguably, democratization and growing civilian control of government in Indonesia has been a factor that helped the settlement of territorial conflicts with East Timor and Aceh, and might work in favour of a settlement with West Papua New Guinea. It seems clear that an important investment for the future of the region is a political effort to promote the creation or strengthening of institutions and arrangements for the management of territorial disputes, which can promote codes of conduct and joint management schemes.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

2. Account for the reasons for territorial disputes in Asia?

2.5 SUMMARY

The nature of territorial crises in the Asian region is deep rooted, bordering on nationalism and sometimes errors in demarcation of boundaries. The great gains attained by the Asian nations economically, in recent years, have also accelerated the intensity of the struggle. This is because the countries are now in fierce contention for the available scarce resources needed for industrial production. Agriculture too has been making high demands of the water resources of the area. Pollution and environmental degradation a by-product of industrialisation, has also contributed in no small measure in further depleting the scarce resources.

2.6 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS/WEB SOURCES

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2.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAEs

ANSWERS TO SAEs 1

The nature of territorial crises in the Asian region is deep rooted, bordering on nationalism and sometimes errors in demarcation of boundaries. Just recently, on October 25 2013, South Korean forces carried out a drill aimed at repelling foreign landings on disputed islands at the heart of a row with Japan. The drill took place at an outcrop known in South Korean as 'Dokdo' and in Japan as 'Takeshima'. The ancient quarrel has affected diplomatic relations but both countries claim long-standing historical ties to the island grouping. The drill included destroyers and combat jets. The defence ministry in South Korea noted that it was important to show the area 'would be defended by South Korea in whatever circumstances'. The islets have become a lightning rod for unresolved historical issues between the two neighbours—a symbol, say many Koreans, of Japan's lack of remorse for its colonial past. The territories themselves consist of two main islands and about 30 smaller rocks.

ANSWERS TO SAEs 2

In Asia, the current territorial disputes might escalate to armed conflict mainly due to three factors: geopolitical shifts, competition over scarce natural resources (e.g., oil, gas, and in particular, water), and environmental degradation. A second factor that can trigger conflict over contested territories is the increasing competition over scarce natural resources. Finally, environmental degradation due to fast industrialization and aggravated by climate change will exasperate the scarcity of resources. It is interesting to note that in one case, global warming was an improbable peacemaker. In addition, the likelihood of peaceful dispute resolutions increase by three times when the disputing states have democratic political institutions.

UNIT 3: ASIA AND TERRORISM

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3.1 INTRODUCTION

Over the past 20 years, there has been a noticeable shift in the world's centre of economic gravity towards Asia. Japan's emergence as an industrial and economic powerhouse in the 1970s was followed first by the rise of the "dragon economies" of South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong, then by the "tiger economies" of Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines. In the past decade, first China and more recently India have emerged not just as regional but global economic powers. Asia as a whole accounts for over 35% of global GDP – a figure that looks sure to rise. Asia's rise as a global powerhouse represents both an opportunity and a challenge for the international community. One such challenge is the threat posed by Islamist terrorism, a phenomenon present in varying degrees throughout the continent.

3.2 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Explain what terrorism is about
- Discuss the various terrorist cells operating in Asia especially in the South-Eastern Asia

3.3 Terrorism Finds a Home in Asia

Terrorism can be defined as a form of psychological warfare that is used to create extreme fear through the use of threat of force against non-combatant civilian military targets. Terrorism is as much about psychological maiming as it is about physical destruction. Terrorists seek to be noticed and the mass media are often there to oblige them. Attacking a country's embassy, an airliner, or a major commercial target provides the terrorists with the advertising they covet. Until fairly recently, terrorism has generally been associated with the Middle East, Western Europe and North America. Increasingly, however, it is Asia that is taking centre stage in the world of international terror.

Indeed, Southeast Asia has been no stranger to terrorism and politically- motivated violence over the course of its modern history. Much of this violence had its origins in the struggle for independence from Western colonial government and drew on Marxism-Leninism for its inspiration, a trend that continued into the latter half of the 20th century as a by-product of the Cold War. But a combination of the collapse of the Soviet Union, China's gradual move towards a market economy and a sustained period of economic growth and modernisation throughout Southeast Asia meant that by the 1990s communism had largely lost its appeal. Only in the Philippines did the communist New People's Army (NPA) continue to pose a significant security threat.

But as the threat posed by communist groups receded, Southeast Asia saw the emergence of a new security threat from extremist Islam. This phenomenon was fuelled by the efforts of Saudi Arabia to promote its austere fundamentalist Wahabbi version of Islam to counter the Shia ideology exported by Iran after the overthrow of the Shah, and by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. In particular the war in Afghanistan acted as a rallying point for young Muslims from around the world, many of whom - including some from Southeast Asia - made their way there to take part in jihad or holy war against the Soviet invaders. Afghanistan was a defining experience for many of these individuals who subsequently returned to their own countries radicalised by their experiences and imbued with a desire to impose a "pure" version of Islam through violent action. Many of these returnees became affiliated to Osama bin Laden's global Al-Qaeda organisation.

Southeast Asia's vibrant economic growth, good communication links and more relaxed visa regimes made it an attractive operating base for some of the individuals who subsequently became part of Al-Qaeda. Terrorism in Southeast Asia encompasses

everything from millenarian anti- Western groups to local insurgencies. In south Asia, the festering and unresolved Kashmir issue sows the seeds of regional and transnational terrorism. Many of Southeast Asia's latent ethnic conflicts were exposed as a result of the 1997 financial crises. In Indonesia, for instance, a sudden wave of economic insecurity unleashed a massive wave of ethnic discord-much of it directed against ethnic Chinese citizens- that later transmuted into a campaign against Christians and foreigners. Beyond traditional terrorist groups with internationalist aims or criminal intentions, nations in the region face localised insurgencies and specific areas, broadly speaking, remain out-of-bounds to investors. Driven by a variety of political motivations, from neo-communist to Islamist, but for the most part motivated by traditional separatist aims, these groups pose a risk to any outsider who enters their terrain. As Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi of Malaysia has pointed out, “terrorism [in the region] is essentially driven by domestic factors and has a domestic agenda”.

Many of these groups threaten the status quo of the region by seeking to create independent Islamic states in majority-Muslim areas, overthrow existing secular governments, and/or establish a new supra-national Islamic state encompassing Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, the Southern Philippines, and southern Thailand. In pursuit of these objectives, they have planned and carried out violent attacks against American and other Western targets as well as against Southeast Asian targets. Additionally, Al Qaeda used its Southeast Asia cells to help organize and finance its global activities—including the September 11 attacks, as several of the operatives involved in 9/11 passed through Kuala Lumpur en route for the USA — and to provide safe harbour to Al Qaeda operatives, such as the convicted organizer of the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Centre, Ramzi Yousef. Years of surveillance, arrests, and killings of JI members by various states are believed to have seriously weakened the organization, degrading its command, communication, and fundraising structures to the point where many analysts believe it operates almost exclusively in Indonesia, with a number of operatives also active in Mindanao, Philippines.

Despite mutual interests in combating terrorism, Southeast Asian governments have to balance these security concerns with domestic political considerations. Although proponents of violent, radical Islam remain a very small minority in Southeast Asia, many governments view increased American pressure and military presence in their region with concern because of the political sensitivity of the issue with both mainstream Islamic and secular nationalist groups. The rise in anti-American sentiment propelled by both the U.S.-led invasion of and presence in Iraq and many Southeast Asian Muslims' perceptions of America's stance on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as blatantly pro-Israel

makes it even more difficult for most governments to countenance an overt U.S. role in their internal security. Southeast Asia has been the home of indigenous Islamic militant groups for decades. Traditionally, the linkages among these groups were relatively weak and most operated only in their own country or islands, focusing on domestic issues such as promoting the adoption of Islamic law (sharia) and seeking independence from central government control.

The emergence of radical Islamic movements in Southeast Asia in the 1990s can be traced to the conjunction of several phenomena. Among these were reaction to globalization—which has been particularly associated with the United States in the minds of regional elites—frustration with repression by secularist governments, the desire to create a pan-Islamic Southeast Asia, reaction to the Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the arrival of terrorist veterans of years of fighting in Afghanistan. Southeast Asian terrorist and militant groups can be placed on a spectrum that spans the relatively narrow goals and objectives of the separatist Muslims in Southern Thailand or Southern Philippines to the global anti-Western agenda of Al Qaeda. In between can be placed groups such as JI, that have an internal debate over the relative emphasis on achieving an Islamist agenda within individual states as opposed to focusing their fight directly against Western targets. These groups, as well as others such as the Abu Sayyaf Group, will be explored in greater detail below.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. What is terrorism and what factors led to the appearance of fundamentalist groups in Asia?

3.4 Terrorist Movements in Asia

The Rise of Al Qaeda in Southeast Asia

Beginning in the early-to-mid 1990s the Al Qaeda terrorist network made significant inroads into the Southeast Asia region. Al Qaeda's Southeast Asian operatives—who have been primarily of Middle Eastern origin—appear to have performed three primary tasks. First, they set up local cells, predominantly headed by Arab members of Al Qaeda that served as regional offices supporting the network's global operations. Al Qaeda's Manila cell, which was founded in the early 1990s by a brother-in-law of Osama bin Laden, was particularly active in the early-mid-1990s. Second, over time, Al Qaeda Southeast Asian operatives helped create what may be Southeast Asia's first indigenous regional terrorist network, Jemaah Islamiyah, which has plotted attacks against Western targets. Jemaah Islamiyah is

believed to have carried out the October 12, 2002 bombing in Bali, Indonesia, that killed approximately 200 people, mostly Western tourists. Third, Al Qaeda's local cells worked to cooperate with indigenous radical Islamic groups by providing them with money and training.

The Jemaah Islamiyah Network

In the weeks after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, the full extent of the pan-Asian terrorist network with extensive links to Al Qaeda was uncovered. The network, known as Jemaah Islamiyah (Islamic Group), was discovered to have cells in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand as well as in Australia and Pakistan. Since the Bali bombing in 2002, which JI is suspected of carrying out, crackdowns by various governments in the region are believed to have severely weakened the organization. JI's goals have ranged from establishing an Islamic regime in Indonesia, to establishing an Islamic caliphate over Muslim regions of Southeast Asia and northern Australia, to waging jihad against the West.

History of Jemaah Islamiyah (Islamic Society)

On 5 August 2003, a suicide bomber detonated a car bomb outside the JW Marriot Hotel in Jakarta killing himself and 11 others, as well as injuring many more. Almost a year later, on 9 September 2004 another suicide bomber, this time in a van, blew himself up outside the Australian Embassy in Jakarta killing between nine and 11 people and injuring scores of others. In both attacks, the vast majority of the victims were Indonesian, with one Dutch businessman reported dead in the first blast. Both attacks (and the earlier Bali bombings) were subsequently claimed or attributed to Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), a local terrorist group some of whose members have been reported as having links to Al-Qaeda in the past. The bomb makers in both cases were revealed to be the same, and trace elements of chemicals from both bombings were connected to other attacks. While many of the support networks have been dismantled and key players arrested, a number of key suspects, including mastermind Noordin Mohammed Top, remain at large.

The origins of the Jemaah Islamiyah network stretch back to the 1960s, when its co-founders, clerics Abu Bakar Baasyir and Abdullah Sungkar, began demanding the establishment of sharia law in Indonesia. The two considered themselves the ideological heirs of the founder of the Darul Islam movement; the Muslim guerilla force that during the 1940s fought both imperial Dutch troops and the secularist Indonesian forces of Sukarno, Indonesia's founding President who ruled from 1950

to 1965. In the 1970s, the two men established Al Mukmin, a boarding school in Solo, on the main island of Java, that preached the puritanical Wahhabi interpretation of Islam founded and propagated in Saudi Arabia. Many suspected JI activists who have been arrested are Al Mukmin alums. In 1985, Baasyir and Sungkar fled to Malaysia, where they set up a base of operations and helped send Indonesians and Malaysians to Afghanistan, first to fight the Soviets and later to train in Al Qaeda camps. Sungkar and Baasyir formed JI in 1993 or 1994, and steadily began setting up a sophisticated organizational structure and actively planning and recruiting for terrorism in Southeast Asia. Sometime in the mid-1990s, Sungkar and Baasyir apparently began to actively coordinate with Al Qaeda.

The fall of Indonesia's Suharto regime in 1998 provided a major boost to JI. Almost overnight, formerly restricted Muslim groups from across the spectrum were able to operate. Baasyir and Sungkar returned to Solo, preaching and organizing in relative openness there. Simultaneously, Jakarta's ability to maintain order in Indonesia's outer islands decreased dramatically, and long-repressed tensions between Muslims and Christians began to erupt. In 1999 and 2000, the outbreak of sectarian violence in Ambon (in the Maluku) and Poso (on Sulawesi) provided JI with critical opportunities to recruit, train, and fund local mujahedeen fighters to participate in the sectarian conflict, in which hundreds died. After the violence ebbed, many of these jihadis became active members in Baasyir's network. In 2000, the network carried out bombings in Jakarta, Manila, and Thailand. There has been considerable debate over the relationship between Jemaah Islamiyah and Al Qaeda. Although many analysts at first assumed that JI is Al Qaeda's Southeast Asian affiliate, reports—including leaks from interrogations of captured JI and Al Qaeda operatives—have shown that the two groups are discrete organizations with differing, though often overlapping, agendas. That said, the two networks have developed a highly symbiotic relationship and reportedly have conducted attacks in Southeast Asia jointly.

3.4.1 Indonesia

The danger posed by Jemaah Islamiyah and Al Qaeda was underscored by the October 12, 2002 bombings in a nightclub district in Bali frequented by Western tourists. Synchronized bomb blasts and subsequent fires in a nightclub district popular with young tourists and backpackers killed approximately 200 and injured some 300, mainly Australians and Indonesians, but also including several Americans as well as Canadians, Europeans, and Japanese. The bombings, the most deadly terrorist attack since the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States, appeared to

mark a shift in JI's strategy; the FBI reported that in early 2002, senior JI leaders—meeting in Thailand—decided to attack “softer targets” in Asia such as tourist sites frequented by Westerners.⁶² The focus on soft targets was returned to in a second Bali bombing in October 2005. In that attack, at least 20 were killed and over 100 injured, including two Americans and other Westerners, when three suicide bombers attacked restaurants frequented by foreigners. Other bombings believed to have been carried out by JI since 2002 include the bombing of the Marriott Hotel in Jakarta in August 2003 that killed more than ten people and injured dozens; the bombing of the Australian Embassy in September 2004, killing 10 and wounding around 200; and the Bali II bombing of October 2005, in which three suicide bombers exploded bombs within minutes of one another in Bali, killing more than 20 people and wounding more than 100. All of the attacks are believed to have been planned by the now deceased Noordin Muhammad Top. Most of the victims have been Indonesians.

Following the 2002 Bali bombings, the Indonesian authorities hardened its stance and arrested and tried both the bombers themselves and their “spiritual leader,” Abu Bakar Bashir, who served a short prison sentence. The elite and Western-trained Indonesian police unit Detachment 88, which had undertaken the Bali investigation with the assistance of the Australian Federal Police, went on to achieve significant success in arresting the leadership of JI's terrorist wing. These networks increasingly depend on personal contacts and are focused on inter-communal strife in the Mulukus and in Poso. Reportedly many of these incidents have involved elements of JI as well as offshoots of Darul Islam and Kompak. This is because many of the militants see these areas as the most likely sites from which an enclave can be carved out where Islamists can live by their interpretation of Islamic principles. This they reportedly believe can then serve as a “building block of an Islamic state.”

3.4.2 The Philippines

Philippine President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo and President Bush agreed on the deployment of U.S. military personnel to the southern Philippines to train and assist the Philippine military against the terrorist Abu Sayyaf group, making the Philippines one of the most extensive examples of U.S. counterterrorism cooperation in Southeast Asia. Apart from the terrorist groups there have also been random suicide attacks in Manila. On 27 February 2004, a suicide bomber detonated himself on Super Ferry 14, a civilian carrier ship from Manila, sinking the ship and killing some 116 passengers. This incident has gone down in history as the most lethal

instance of sea-borne terrorism. But such episodes have been rare, with the main maritime threat in Southeast Asia coming from piracy.

Abu Sayyaf

Abu Sayyaf is a small, violent, faction-ridden Muslim group that operates in the western fringes of the big island of Mindanao and on the Sulu islands extending from Mindanao. Established in the early 1990's by a Pilipino, Abdurajik Janjalani, who had fought with Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan, the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) is a predominantly Philippine extremist group drawn from elements of a local separatist group the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). One of the ASG's most notorious tactics is kidnapping for ransom, with a preference for targeting Westerners.

It is worth highlighting that the overwhelming majority of Abu Sayyaf's kidnap victims are local, with figures drawn from the IISS Armed Conflict Database suggesting that less than 10% were Western. At least 147 Pilipino nationals have been kidnapped by the group since 2000, and many more have been killed in other actions in a campaign that has been going on since 1991. Abu Sayyaf kidnapped three American citizens in May 2001. One was beheaded in June 2001. The other two, a missionary couple, were held by Abu Sayyaf until June 2002 when Filipino army rangers encountered the Abu Sayyaf groups holding the couple. In the ensuing clash, the husband and a Filipina female hostage were killed, but the wife was rescued. Under pressure from U.S.-supported Philippine military operations since 2002, Abu Sayyaf's armed strength has declined from an estimated 1,000 to about 400. It continued to operate in the Sulu islands south of Basilan and on the western Mindanao mainland. It has re-established a small presence on Basilan since 2006. Abu Sayyaf has ties with military factions of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and JI. In the Sulu islands, especially Jolo, it has links with another Muslim group, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF).

The MILF (Moro Islamic Liberation Front)

The MILF, with an estimated armed strength of 10,000-12,000, broke away from another Muslim group, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) in the late 1970s. Its main political objective has been separation and independence for the Muslim region of the southern Philippines. Evidence, including the testimonies of captured Jemaah Islamiyah leaders, has pointed to strong links between some elements of the MILF and JI, including the continued training of JI terrorists in

MILF camps and the planning of terrorist operations. The MILF and the Philippines government reached a cease-fire agreement in 2003, which subsequently broke down and had to be renegotiated in September 2009 that would include the establishment of an International Contact Group, made of invited foreign governments, which would act as a “facilitator”.

The Philippine Communist Party (CPP)

The CPP, the political head of the New People’s Army (NPA), also has called for attacks on American targets. The Bush Administration placed the CPP and the NPA on the official U.S. list of terrorist organizations in August 2002. It also pressured the government of the Netherlands to revoke the visa privileges of Communist Party leader, Jose Maria Sison, and other CPP officials who have lived in the Netherlands for a number of years and reportedly direct CPP/NPA operations. In December 2005, the European Union placed the CPP/NPA on its list of terrorist organizations. Recent statements by the Philippine government and the CPP’s political front, the National Democratic Front, placed NPA armed strength at 5,000-6,000.

3.4.3 Thailand

Thailand has endured a persistent separatist insurgency in its majority-Muslim southern provinces, which include the provinces of Yala, Narathiwat, Pattani, and to a lesser extent Songkhla, while dealing with deep political instability in its capital. Groups active in the region are inspired by long-held perceptions that the country’s ethnic-Thai Buddhist majority mistreats the ethnic-Malay Muslim community. (There are approximately 1.3 million ethnic Malays in Yala, Narathiwat and Pattani, 80% of the population of the provinces, through a small fraction of Thailand’s overall population of 65 million.) There is no evidence of a broader anti-Western agenda among the groups active in the region. Most experts believe they are mostly focused on local autonomy. There is also little evidence that foreign jihad groups are significantly active in southern Thailand, although periodic reports suggest that militants elsewhere in Southeast Asia have used the plight of Thai Muslims as inspiration for their own causes, and have offered occasional material support to groups in southern Thailand.

Southern Insurgency

The southern region of Thailand has a history of separatist violence dating to

the early 20th Century, though the major movements were thought to have died out in the early 1990s. Thai Muslims have long expressed grievances for being marginalized and discriminated against, and the area has lagged behind the rest of Thailand in economic development. The recent death toll of over 3,400 includes suspected insurgents killed by security forces, as well as victims of the insurgents. This includes both Buddhist Thais, particularly monks and teachers, and local Muslims. According to the International Crisis Group, a significant majority of those killed have been Muslims.

The response of the Thai authorities towards the insurgent movement in the south has been characterised by an inconsistent approach involving competition between the police and the Royal Thai Army and the use of a combination of carrot and stick. Latterly the Thai authorities have begun to make progress both in collecting intelligence and winning the support of segments of the minority Muslim population.

3.4.4 Malaysia

Unlike many of its neighbours in Southeast Asia, Malaysia has no indigenous separatist groups or insurgents that are generally viewed as engaging in terrorist activities. The purported terrorist groups that do remain in Malaysia are generally external in nature, comparatively small and relatively inactive. Following the events of September 11, 2001, Malaysia was briefly considered a “hot spot” for global terrorism because some of the plotters of the attacks reportedly met in Kuala Lumpur. Beside Al Qaeda and the JI, other extremist groups that at one time were reportedly active in Malaysia include the Abu Sayyaf Group and the Kampulan Mujiheddin Malaysia (KMM). The Abu Sayyaf Group, abducted tourists at a Malaysian resort in 2000.

To curtail these terrorist elements the Malaysia authorities have made strenuous efforts to engage the support of their Islamic populations against extremism and have devoted significant resources to developing counter-radicalisation and de-radicalisation programmes. The former aimed at preventing new terrorists from emerging and the latter at winning back those who have succumbed to extremism.

3.4.5 Singapore

Shortly after the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States,

Singaporean authorities launched aggressive operations to counter terrorist activities. Under its Internal Security Act, Singapore has arrested dozens of suspected Islamic militants, many of whom are alleged to be members or sympathizers of JI. In 2002, Singaporean authorities reportedly uncovered a JI plot to bomb the U.S. Embassy and other Western targets in Singapore. Authorities claim that many of the suspects have links to the Philippines-based Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). Despite its strong counter-terrorism record, Singapore was embarrassed by the February 2008 high-profile prison escape of Mas Selamat bin Kastari, the alleged head of JI in Singapore and accused of plotting the embassy bombing; he was apprehended in April 2009 in Malaysia. Singapore policy towards terrorism is akin to the approach adopted by Malaysia; which is prevention of the emergence of new terrorists and the rehabilitation of those who are already in but are willing to turn anew.

Based on current happenings security wise, there can be no doubt that the overall situation in respect of Islamist terrorism in Southeast Asia is better than it was at the start of the millennium. The governments of the region have in the main recognised the potential severity of the threat and have begun to take steps at both national and regional level to combat it. Although initially JI had close links with Al-Qaeda, latterly there has been no evidence of any continuing communication or relationship between the two organisations and for the most part, the biggest threat in the region is from local terrorist groups with regional agendas. In Indonesia, the world's most populous Islamic state, there have been no significant terrorist incidents for over two years and moderate Islamic groups have begun to dominate the political discourse. Nonetheless, the governments of Southeast Asia remain acutely aware of the potentially destabilising effect of Islamist jihadist ideology and are maintaining a high level of vigilance against the possibility of a resurgence of terrorist activity.

SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

2. Write short notes on the Jemaah Islamiyah, Abu sayyaf and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF).

3.5 SUMMARY

The end of the Cold War with its debilitating politics; the growth of the Asian economies and the rise in the market profile of the Asian states all these taken together were supposed to bring the Asian continent into its era of splendour and prosperity but it has not. Terrorism has reared its head and has left in its wake, especially in Southeastern Asia, a trail of blood and deaths. From Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines, terror groups with mainly Islamist agenda, have continually harassed Asian governments

and Western interests. Nonetheless in recent times Asia under Western support and encouragement has fought back. Thus, a number of these blood thirsty merchants have either been killed or are now in hiding.

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3.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAES ANSWERS TO SAES 1

Terrorism can be defined as a form of psychological warfare that is used to create extreme fear through the use of threat of force against non-combatant civilian military targets. The end of the Cold War with its debilitating politics; the growth of the Asian economies and the rise in the market profile of the Asian states all these taken together were supposed to bring the Asian continent into its era of splendor and prosperity but it has not. Terrorism has reared its head and has left in its wake, especially in Southeastern Asia, a trail of blood and deaths.

ANSWERS TO SAES 2

Jemaah islamiyah

The origins of the Jemaah Islamiyah network stretch back to the 1960s, when its co-founders, clerics Abu

Bakar Baasyir and Abdullah Sungkar, began demanding the establishment of sharia law in Indonesia. The two considered themselves the ideological heirs of the founder of the Darul Islam movement; the Muslim guerilla force that during the 1940s fought both imperial Dutch troops and the secularist Indonesian forces of Sukarno, Indonesia's founding President who ruled from 1950 to 1965. In the 1970s, the two men established Al Mukmin, a boarding school in Solo, on the main island of Java, that preached the puritanical Wahhabi interpretation of Islam founded and propagated in Saudi Arabia. Many suspected JI activists who have been arrested are Al Mukmin alums. In 1985, Baasyir and Sungkar fled to Malaysia, where they set up a base of operations and helped send Indonesians and Malaysians to Afghanistan, first to fight the Soviets and later to train in Al Qaeda camps. Sungkar and Baasyir formed JI in 1993 or 1994, and steadily began setting up a sophisticated organizational structure and actively planning and recruiting for terrorism in Southeast Asia. Sometime in the mid-1990s, Sungkar and Baasyir apparently began to actively coordinate with Al Qaeda.

Abu Sayyaf

Abu Sayyaf is a small, violent, faction-ridden Muslim group that operates in the western fringes of the big island of Mindanao and on the Sulu islands extending from Mindanao. Established in the early 1990's by a Pilipino, Abdurajik Janjalani, who had fought with Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan, the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) is a predominantly Philippine extremist group drawn from elements of a local separatist group the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). One of the ASG's most notorious tactics is kidnapping for ransom, with a preference for targeting Westerners.

The MILF (Moro Islamic Liberation Front)

The MILF, with an estimated armed strength of 10,000-12,000, broke away from another Muslim group, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) in the late 1970s. Its main political objective has been separation and independence for the Muslim region of the southern Philippines. Evidence, including the testimonies of captured Jemaah Islamiyah leaders, has pointed to strong links between some elements of the MILF and JI, including the continued training of JI terrorists in MILF camps and the planning of terrorist operations.

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