Outline of the lecture

- Background to the Cold War in Southeast Asia
- Containment and the establishment of SEATO
- The Bandung Principles and Nonalignment
- The Second Indochina War (1961-1975)
- ASEAN established
- The Third Indochina War (1978-1991)
- Southeast Asia at the end of the Cold War
Background to the Cold War in Southeast Asia

- The changing geopolitical landscape in East Asia
  - Japan: defeated in the WWII and occupied by the US
  - China: Communist Party established the PRC
  - The Korean War (1950-1953)

- Ideological confrontation in Southeast Asia
  - Vietnam: divided between the North and the South
  - Burma: the first non-communist state to recognize the PRC
  - Indonesia under Sukarno (till 1966): actively opposed the US and recognized the USSR and the PRC
  - Attempted communist coups and insurgencies in Burma, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines
Containment and the SEATO

- The ‘domino theory’
  - Because of the strategic interrelatedness of Southeast Asian countries, the loss of any single country would ‘lead to a relatively swift submission to or an alignment with communism’

- The US’s role in the first Indochina War
  - Offering over one billion dollars of assistance to France
  - Supporting the Geneva settlement on partitioned Vietnam and neutralized Laos and Cambodia

- The establishment of the SEATO
  - Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
  - The Philippines, Thailand, US, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand and Pakistan
  - Limitations: applied only to communist aggression; lack of military commitment, often bilateral rather than multilateral

- The Cold War division emerged in Southeast Asia
The Bandung Principles and Nonalignment

The Bandung Principles
- Adopted at the Bandung Conference in 1955
- Themes: anti-imperialism and peaceful coexistence
- Key principles: respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-interference; refraining from the use of force; peaceful means of dispute settlement
- These principles later became the normative basis of Southeast Asian international relations

The Nonalignment Movement (NAM)
- Founded in the Belgrade conference in 1961, Burma and Indonesia were among the six founding members
- To avoid choosing side in the big-power politics of the Cold War
- Most Southeast Asian countries were the members of NAM
The Second Indochina War (1961-1975)

- The outbreak of the Second Indochina War
  - The National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NFLSV)
  - US send 15,000 US military to South Vietnam in 1961
  - In Vietnam, US assisted South Vietnamese troops clashed with the North
  - In Laos, the US-Thailand joint forces confronted with North Vietnam-allied Pathet Lao
  - In Cambodia, US-assisted government fought against the North Vietnamese and the indigenous communists Khmer Rouge
The Second Indochina War (1961-1975)

- The end of the Second Indochina War
  - Anti-war movement in the US
  - Normalization of the US-China relations in 1972
  - The Paris Agreement in 1973 allowed the US withdraw
  - Saigon fell in 1975 and Vietnam was unified

- The Nixon Doctrine
  - In cases of aggression other than nuclear, the US would provide military and economic assistance in accord with treaty commitment, but the threatened nation had *the primary responsibility* for its own defense
ASEAN founded

- The Bangkok Declaration
  - Five Southeast Asian countries established ASEAN in 1967
  - To promote regional cooperation contributing toward peace, progress and prosperity
- ZOPFAN
  - ‘Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality’ declared in 1971
- The Bali Summit
  - The first ASEAN Summit held in 1976 (i.e., after the Vietnam war)
  - The Declaration of ASEAN Concord: calling for political solidarity
  - Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC)
- The dismantlement of SEATO
  - US failed to make the Vietnam War a SEATO issue
  - Pakistan withdrew in 1973; France withdrew in 1974
  - SEATO formally dissolved in 1977
The Third Indochina War (1978-1991)

The outbreak of another Indochina War
- Background of the Third Indochina War
  - USSR military support to Vietnam; close China-Cambodia link
  - Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1978; soon a Vietnam-supported government People’s Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) established
  - China launched a large-scale attack on Vietnam in 1979

ASEAN played an important role
- 1981: The UN-backed ICK (International Conference on Kampuchea) Declaration
- 1982: Anti-Vietnamese resistances were brought together under CGDK (Coalition Government for Democratic Kampuchea)
- 1983: Malaysia and Vietnam proposed the ‘5+2 formula’
The Third Indochina War (1978-1991)

- 1984: Indonesia opened dialogue with Vietnam
- 1988, 1989: Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM I, JIM II)

The reconciliation between Soviet Union and China
- The Sino-Soviet Summit in 1989 agreed to a basis for national reconciliation in Cambodia, incorporating many proposals of the ICK Declaration
- Decoupling of the Sino-Soviet relationship

The end of the Third Indochina War
- Paris International Conference on Cambodia (PICC) in 1989
- The UN Security Council produced a framework agreement
- Second session of the PICC in 1991 formally ended the War
Southeast Asia at the end of the Cold War

- Termination of the US base in the Philippines in 1991

- The Singapore Declaration of 1992
  - ASEAN ‘to move towards a higher plane of political and economic cooperation to secure regional peace and prosperity’
  - The proposal for AFTA

- ASEAN Regional Forum established in 1994

- The Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone (SEANWFZ) declared in 1995 (1997)

- ASEAN enlargement
  - Vietnam signed the TAC in 1992 and joined ASEAN in 1995
  - The Laos and Cambodia joined in 1997; Myanmar joined in 1999