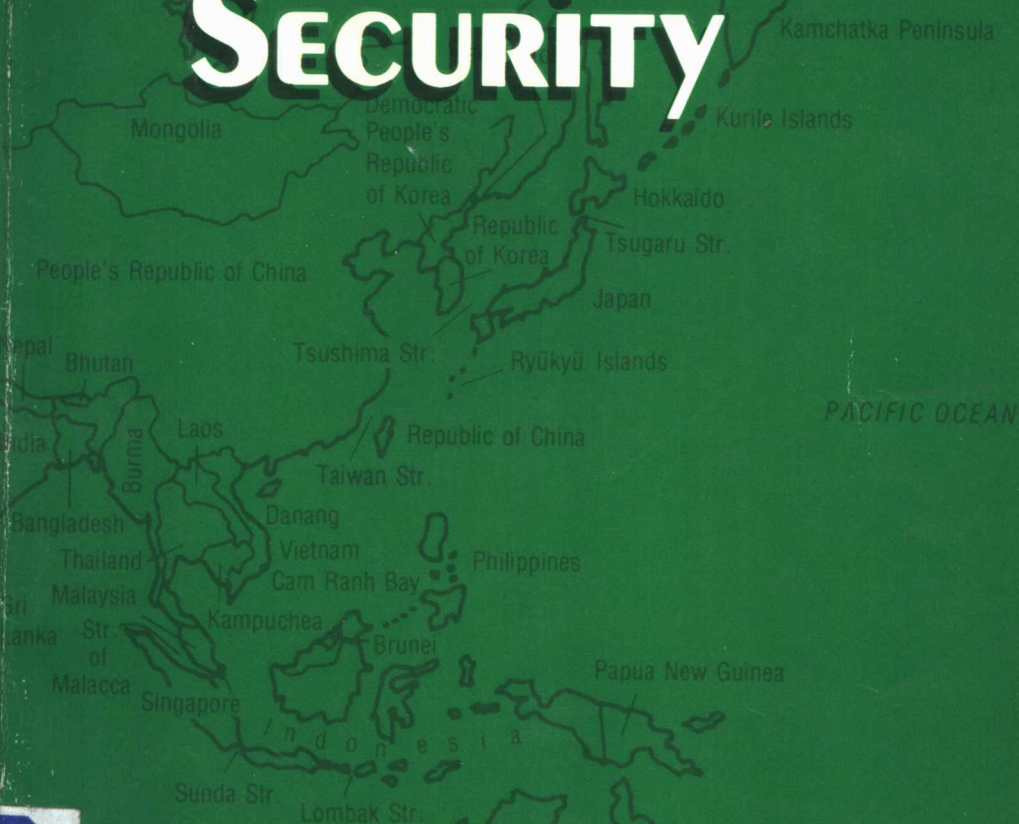


New Foundations for Asian and Pacific Security



Edited by
JOYCE E. LARSON



NEW FOUNDATIONS FOR ASIAN AND PACIFIC SECURITY

Based on the Addresses, Papers, Reports, and Discussion
Sessions of an International Conference Held at Pattaya,
Thailand, December 12-16, 1979

Edited by
Loyce E. Larson

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

For most of the nations of the Asian/Pacific region, the post-World War II decades have been a period of significant economic growth and progress toward the development of viable and stable political institutions. As diplomatic interactions have become ever more complex, and as trade relations among the various countries have expanded, both the economic vitality and the geo-political importance of the region have gained increasing recognition.

Continued regional progress is dependent, in part, on the establishment and maintenance of conditions of domestic and regional security which allow attention to be focused on the requirements of orderly political and economic development. The latter half of the 1970s, however, brought changes in the international climate and in the regional balance of power which, when viewed together, carry disturbing implications for the prospects for peace and stability in the Asian/Pacific area. These changes include:

1. The perceived reduction of the American commitment to Asian security; the actual reduction of U.S. military strength deployed in the area; and the uncertainties characteristic of U.S. security relations with such major allies as Japan, the Republic of Korea, and the Philippines arising from American neglect or policy "shocks."
2. The rapid and extensive expansion of Soviet military power in East Asia and the Indian Ocean area, and the consolidation of Soviet military and political influence in Indochina.
3. The victory of communist forces in Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea; the emergence of Vietnam as the strongest military power in Southeast Asia; and the current Vietnamese domination of the entire Indochinese peninsula.
4. The intensification in East Asia of the Sino-Soviet conflict, and the outbreak of actual hostilities between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Soviet-backed Vietnam.

5. The emergence of strained political and economic relations between and among the region's developed and developing nations arising from various pressures to restructure trade policies and tariff regulations.

The Asian/Pacific area has become a crucial arena of great power rivalry, for it is in this region that the interests and ambitions of the U.S., the Soviet Union, Japan, and the PRC intersect and often clash. At least partially in response to these realities, new or strengthened alignments or relationships—most of them tentative and not yet fully formed—are developing in the region, including the Sino-American and Sino-Japanese rapprochements, growing unity among the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) states, and improved relations between ASEAN and the PRC. Whether these developments will serve to modify significantly the currently heightened uncertainties, tensions, and strains in the region remains to be seen.

Careful consideration of these varied and complex concerns has led a number of observers to conclude that today's international environment requires greater emphasis on security-related matters in Asia and the Pacific Basin. Acting upon this conviction, the National Strategy Information Center and five cooperating organizations co-sponsored a conference on "New Foundations for Asian and Pacific Security" at Pattaya, Thailand in December 1979. This book contains the addresses, conference papers (some in slightly altered form), and committee reports which constituted the formal substantive aspects of the conference.

The organization of any conference requires often difficult decisions with respect to the range of issues to be approached, the formulation of specific topics, and the choice of participants—i.e., the determination of parameters which are neither too broad nor too narrow and which serve to define a framework for effective discussion of the matters at hand. In the view of the organizers and participants of the Pattaya conference, an adequate approach to security concerns must include attention to the political, economic and military dimensions, and the reader will find this recognition of the complex and multi-dimensioned nature of what comprises security reflected both in the book's organizational format and in its substantive analyses.

Conference participants included public- and private-sector leaders and scholars from eleven nations—Japan, the Republic of Korea, the Republic of China, the Philippines, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States—located in the area broadly referred to as “Asia and the Pacific Basin” or, alternatively, the “Asian/Pacific region.” It is obvious that not all nations geographically situated in this region were represented at the conference. For the purposes of the Pataya meetings, it was determined that the countries invited should share certain common foundations and outlooks, as reflected in their non-communist political and economic systems, general friendliness toward one another, and demonstrated commitment to cooperative regional endeavors. There exist a variety of approaches to the establishment of this particular parameter, and future conferences may well involve a different configuration of participating states.

It is the hope of the National Strategy Information Center that the essays contained in this volume will serve to focus attention on crucial issues of security and stability in an area of the world which has moved increasingly toward the center of international politics and economic relations. We wish to take this opportunity to offer our appreciation to the conference co-sponsors, the conference participants, the staff of the Thai Oil Refinery Company in Bangkok for their administrative assistance, Dr. Thanat Khoman for his special help, and the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore for its cooperation in publishing an Asian edition of this book.

Joyce E. Larson
Managing Editor
National Strategy Information Center, Inc.

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FOREWORD

Perspectives on War and Peace: The United States and Asia at the Beginning of the 1980s

I.

At the beginning of the 1970s, key persons associated with the National Strategy Information Center became convinced that, in important respects, the flow of international developments was moving in directions contrary to the interests of the United States and other free nations which aspire to independence and self-fulfillment.

To begin a program of cooperative action in response to these troubling realities, NSIC—in liaison with concerned leadership and like-minded non-governmental groups in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East—convened a series of four international conferences:

—“Economic and Political Development in Relation to Sea Power

- Along the Routes from the Indian Ocean" (London, May 25-28, 1972)
- "The Emerging Era of the Pacific: Economic Development, Stability, and Rivalry" (Honolulu, Hawaii, February 4-7, 1975)
 - "New Dimensions for the Defense of the Atlantic Alliance" (Winchester, England, November 18-21, 1976)
 - "NATO and the Global Threat: What Must Be Done" (Brighton, England, June 1-4, 1978)

At the Brighton Conference, it was recommended that more attention be turned in the near future to the region of Asia and the Pacific Basin. Recent trends and events in this area have clearly indicated that the challenges to the security, stability, and economic well-being of non-communist states around the globe have by no means receded, and may in fact have escalated—thus making imperative an intensified search for the policies and pathways which can lead to a better and more secure future as we enter the decade of the 1980s. In an attempt to contribute significantly to this search, the National Strategy Information Center and several co-sponsoring groups convened a fifth international conference focusing on "New Foundations for Asian and Pacific Security" at Pattaya, Thailand in December 1979.

Approximately sixty government officials, parliamentary leaders, university scholars, members of the business community, and labor representatives from eleven Asian/Pacific Basin nations were in attendance.¹ The co-sponsoring groups included the Center for Strategic and International Studies (Indonesia), the Faculty of Political Science of Chulalongkorn University (Thailand), the Institute for Pacific Affairs (Japan), the John F. Kennedy Foundation of Thailand, and the Pacific Institute (Australia).

II.

The seriousness of the occasion and of the participants was intensified by the several crises which weighed heavily upon international and regional politics at the time the conference was convened. These included:

¹The full list of conference participants will be found in the Appendix, pp. 253 to 255. It will be readily apparent that conferees were invited from Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia, Australasia, and the United States.

- 1) The Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea and the subsequent war in that country between the ousted Khmer Rouge regime and the Vietnamese-dominated Heng Samrin government. This conflict has seriously endangered the peace and security of Thailand, and has heightened the ominous rivalry between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Soviet Union, which are respectively supportive of the warring communist regimes in Kampuchea.
- 2) The ever-present dangers in the Korean peninsula, which at the time of the Pattaya conference were exacerbated by the dislocations in South Korea subsequent to the assassination of President Park.
- 3) The increasing Soviet involvement in Afghanistan, leading ultimately to the Soviet invasion of that country in late December, less than a fortnight after the conference. The anxieties engendered at the conference by such Soviet actions were intensified when viewed from the perspective of the Soviet military buildup in the Indian Ocean and along the USSR's Pacific Coast.

Many other issues at a critical if not crisis level demanded and were accorded attention at the conference. Among them were the problem of assuring a continued supply of oil and other scarce mineral and agricultural resources; the need to better protect the vital sea lanes of communication; the challenges of trade and further national and regional economic development; and the difficulties arising from world-wide inflationary pressures. Last but certainly not least, much attention was paid to the enormous scale of human suffering caused by the forced exodus of the ethnic Chinese "boat people" from Vietnam and by the devastation and famine arising from the war between the rival communist regimes in Kampuchea. Firm statistics were impossible to obtain with respect to the many thousands of Kampuchean refugees in Thai and Malaysian holding camps. If, as is often estimated, the population of Cambodia totalled between six and seven million people at the start of the infamous Pol Pot regime, perhaps 10% of the survivors in the current war between the rival communist governments have now become refugees seeking to escape from both regimes.

III.

The crucial nature of the relationship of the United States to the above-mentioned concerns, ostensibly located comparatively

far from American borders, was apparent throughout the conference, and the need for a carefully formulated and clearly articulated U.S. policy with respect to the Asian/Pacific region was an undercurrent which flowed through much of the conference deliberations, often rising to the surface and itself becoming a topic commanding considerable attention. That such a policy is lacking hardly reflects a newly emergent inadequacy in American foreign policy. Twenty-five years ago Edwin O. Reischauer embraced this very problem in the title of his book, *Wanted: An Asian Policy*. Reischauer's request is even more appropriate today than when it first was stated, and it is not without reason that several American analysts of Asian affairs have recently echoed his plea.

Time and again many observers of the Asian scene have charged successive post-World War II American administrations, and most particularly the Department of State, with being Europe-centered and spasmodic, if not neglectful, in attending to the Asian interests of the United States. The refrains of this lament have been phrased in such variations as:

- 1) The development and implementation of America's Asian policy are frequently sacrificed for European policy. The U.S. policy for Asia is "dictated" by the London and/or Paris "desks" of the State Department.
- 2) Americans, being descendants mainly of European (or "Western") cultures, tend to downgrade Asian (or "Eastern") cultures. In so doing, they ignore the Asian origins and roots of the Judaeo-Christian and early Greek philosophical traditions, and otherwise neglect the richness, diversity, and vitality of Asia's cultural and historical heritage.
- 3) U.S. administrations tend to rush into and suddenly announce policy decisions or "doctrines" relating to Asian affairs without full examination of their merits and defects, without making proper provisions for dealing with the potential consequences, and frequently without undertaking reasonable consultation with other friendly regimes affected by such decisions.

Although such criticisms are often characterized by a certain amount of exaggeration, they nevertheless carry both substance and significance.

There is a great deal which must be known and understood

about Asia before reasonably satisfactory U.S. perspectives can emerge regarding issues of war and peace in that area of the globe. Asia is the largest of the continents, containing roughly one-third of the earth's land surface and probably 65% of the world's population. The continent abuts on the Arctic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans and a number of their adjacent seas. Asia's diversity of physical characteristics is accompanied by a seemingly endless variety and complexity in the distribution of ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups.

To some extent the distortions, errors of political judgement, and conflicts which have arisen in U.S. policy on Asia since World War II can be traced to the insufficiency of American knowledge with respect to our friends, allies, and adversaries. There exist few, if any, short-cuts to learning, and while Americans have acquired well-earned reputations for many notable attributes, they are not as yet known for the thorough study and patient acquisition of experience which is required for the formulation and execution of effective foreign policy. If the U.S. is to develop supportable perspectives and policies with respect to Asia, it must begin with an enlarged data base to serve as a foundation for responsible deliberation and debate. In international as well as domestic affairs, analysts and policy-makers alike are never faced with a *tabula rasa*—i.e., a clean or empty slate from which to start. With this in mind, it is useful now to review in summary form the essential aspects of U.S. Asian policy as it has evolved since the end of World War II.

IV.

The so-called Cold War may be seen to have its origins in the failure to sustain the "grand alliance" of 1941-1945 into the post-war years. In response to the actions of the Soviet Union in Europe, the U.S. developed over a five-year period (1945-1950) a policy which can be summed up in the concept of the "containment" of communist expansionism. The twin operational means designed to carry out the policy of containment in Europe were the implementation of the Marshall Plan (1947) for the reconstruction and economic redevelopment of the war-devastated European states

and the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (1949) for Europe's defense.

In contrast to its stance regarding Europe, the U.S. during the same five-year period pursued a course of disengagement and partial withdrawal from Asia.² However, the eruption of several communist insurgencies (supported by the Soviet bloc) against the newly independent Asian regimes, the fall of the Nationalist regime on the Chinese mainland and its removal to Taiwan in October 1949, and—most importantly—the invasion of South Korea in June 1950 decisively altered the content and direction of U.S. foreign policy in Asia.

For the next twenty years, encompassing the administrations of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson, U.S. policy in Asia—in principle, if not in quantity and quality of supporting means—paralleled U.S. policy in Europe. The concept and implementation of containment was extended to Asia at the beginning of the 1950s by means of a series of bilateral and multilateral mutual security treaties, which—according to U.S. constitutional law—imposed legally binding commitments on succeeding U.S. governments (until such time, if ever, as the treaties were properly terminated). Containment continued to imply the protection or extension at home and abroad of vital national values vis-a-vis potential and existing adversaries. The national and international objectives of the policy were the ensurance of security, the furthering of stability, and improvement in the conditions of living.

The seven U.S. "containment" treaties applicable to Asia included: the Mutual Defense Treaty with the Philippines (August 30, 1951); the Security Treaty with Australia and New Zealand [ANZUS] (September 1, 1951); the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security with Japan (September 8, 1951); the Mutual Defense Treaty with the Republic of Korea (October 1, 1953); the Pacific Charter and Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty [SEATO] with Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines,

²Perhaps the best exposition of this essentially negative policy of disengagement or non-involvement in Asian affairs can be found in Secretary of State Dean Acheson's masterful but evasive "Defensive Perimeter" speech given at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. on January 12, 1950. In many ways, this speech by the distinguished but Europe-oriented Secretary defined a policy which was already passing. See the *Department of State Bulletin*, January 23, 1950, pp. 111-18.

Thailand, and the United Kingdom, and the Protocol for Cambodia, Laos, and the State of South Vietnam (September 8, 1954); the Mutual Defense Treaty with the Republic of China (December 2, 1954); and the Baghdad Pact and Middle East Treaty Organization [later CENTO] with Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, and the United Kingdom (1955).³ In addition to the treaties, a supportive set of statements of lesser constitutional status, known as agreements, resolutions, or doctrines, were developed. These included the Eisenhower Resolution on Formosa (1955); the Eisenhower Doctrine on the Middle East (1957); the Rusk (Kennedy)—Thanat Khoman Agreement on Thailand (1962); and the Johnson Resolution on the Gulf of Tonkin (1964).

The policy of containment, however, did not survive the testing ground of Indochina. In the wake of the 1968 North Vietnamese "Tet Offensive," the eventual U.S. defeat in Vietnam, and what has been called the American "Vietnam Syndrome," containment as a focus for U.S. foreign policy disappeared for more than a decade. In its place the Nixon, Ford, and [at least until the December 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan] Carter administrations adopted and adapted the basic elements of the "Nixon Doctrine" (more accurately termed the "Nixon-Kissinger Doctrine") first enunciated at Guam in July 1969.

The new policy thrust rested on a revised analysis of world power, which held that the duopoly of power formerly shared by the U.S. and the Soviet Union had given way to a multipolar or polycentric world in which there no longer existed—if there ever was one—a communist monolith. Advocates of the new policy argued that the U.S. should enter into negotiations with the Soviet Union so as to achieve a state of detente based on a linkage of strategic parity, arms control, economic and cultural exchanges, a general relaxation of tensions, and other factors which were expected to lead toward behavioral restraints. It was similarly

³Since 1949 the U.S. has also instituted some sort of economic aid agreement with most of the nations in Asia. For a fuller treatment of the various treaties and agreements mentioned in this essay, see Frank N. Trager, "American Foreign Policy in Southeast Asia," in R. K. Sakai, ed., *Studies in Asia* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), pp. 17-59; and Frank N. Trager with William L. Scully, "Asia and the Western Pacific: A Time of Trial," *Royal United Services Institute and Brassey's Defense Yearbook 1975/76* (London and Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1975), pp. 165-212.

stressed that negotiations with the PRC should be undertaken in pursuit of the goals of friendly relations and mutual recognition. With respect to Indochina, the new view held that the U.S. should seek to end the war in Vietnam through a process of "Vietnamization," i.e., turning the war in Vietnam back to the Vietnamese.

Apparent progress along these lines was made regarding détente with the Soviet Union (the SALT I treaty, the Vladivostok agreement, and the Helsinki agreement) and expansion of relations with the PRC (the Shanghai communique). In 1973 the U.S. took the final step toward disengagement from Indochina when the Nixon administration yielded to the North Vietnamese terms for peace.

Elsewhere I have written that:⁴

Generally the Nixon Doctrine was received by our Asian allies with doubt, developing into shocks and suspicion, especially after the February 1972 U.S.-PRC meeting and its accompanying Shanghai communique. To wind down the war in Vietnam was "good," but was it wise to withdraw American and other forces before an *effective* cease-fire and peace agreement was accepted by *all* parties to the conflict? To maintain our nuclear shield for our allies was "good," but was this compatible with the decline in U.S. power in the Pacific and Indian Oceans and the paralleled rise of Soviet power and Chinese power in the same arenas? To aid our friends and allies who may become—or already were—the victims of conventional aggressive and subversive action by the Asian communist states and their other-national proxies was "good," but were such promises of aid reliable in the face of ambiguous statements about decisions to be made according to *our* interests at the crucial time?

These and related questions arising from the Nixon-Kissinger Doctrine were being carefully examined in Asian capitals during the first half of the 1970s. Although the American leaders proclaimed repeatedly that the U.S. would "keep its commitments," a general uneasiness regarding U.S. credibility rippled through the capitals of friendly Asian states, many of them partners with the

⁴See Trager with Scully, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-05. I have been critical of the Nixon-Kissinger policies and "Doctrine" for a number of years. See my "Alternative Futures for Southeast Asia and U.S. Policy," *Orbis*, Vol. XV, No. 1, Spring 1971; and "The Nixon Doctrine and Asian Policy," *Southeast Asian Perspectives*, No. 6, June 1972.

U.S. in collective security treaties and agreements. For example, long-time Thai Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman, one of the most dependable supporters of SEATO, began after Nixon's Guam speech to question the organization's reliability. At least partially in connection with doubts regarding the future U.S. role in Asia, and taking into account the weakening of the Commonwealth Defense Agreement as a consequence of the virtual military withdrawal of the United Kingdom, Malaysia (led by the late Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak) introduced a proposal in 1971 which would create in Southeast Asia a Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality (ZOPFAN). Japan, too, was "shocked" by the Nixon-Kissinger Doctrine and the Shanghai communique, a reaction which flowed less from the substance of these policies than from the manner in which the U.S. developed and then suddenly announced its proposals without consultation with its Asian friends and allies.

The advent of the Carter administration in 1976 added to the Asian feelings of political malaise and views of declining U.S. credibility. It was clear from the beginning of Carter's presidency that he and his major appointees would attempt, to the maximum extent possible, to distance themselves politically from the Nixon/Kissinger/Ford era. It was declared that there would be "no more Vietnams," "no more Watergates," no more "Mettner-ichean" power ploys, and no more covert and clandestine "dirty tricks."

Nevertheless, however much Nixon's name (and, to a lesser extent, Kissinger's) was anathema to the Carter administration, the U.S. under Carter sought to carry out—even more vigorously than had Nixon, Kissinger, and Ford—the quintessential elements of the Nixon Doctrine, which the new administration reaffirmed in a series of speeches (e.g., Secretary of State Vance's Asia Society speech in June 1977 and Secretary of Defense Brown's Los Angeles World Affairs Council speech in February 1978). The Carter administration rejected as outdated the "belief that Soviet expansionism must be contained"—a stance, in Carter's view, which had flowed from an "inordinate fear of communism." Detente and arms control with the Soviet Union were pursued, along with plans for a cutback in the U.S. defense budget, and Carter sought to negotiate Nixon's SALT I into SALT II. Instead of designing its

own provisions for dealing with the PRC, the Carter administration proceeded to fulfill the terms of Nixon's Shanghai communique regarding the normalization of relations with Peking, at the expense of continued diplomatic recognition of the Republic of China and the Mutual Defense Treaty with that nation. Even in view of Hanoi's continuing and multifaceted intransigence in Indochina, the Carter regime made overtures toward the normalization of relations with Vietnam in May 1977 and again in the Fall of 1978.

Evidence of the inadequacies of American foreign policy during the decade of the 1970s manifested itself in a number of ways. Toward the end of President Ford's term of office, some members of the government and some Congressional leaders began to worry about the growing size and expanding deployment of Soviet military power in the Warsaw Pact bloc and in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Nuclear parity, an essential foundation for deterrence, seemed to be slipping away to Soviet advantage. Furthermore, it fell to the Ford and Carter administrations to witness the fulfillment of the much-scorned but not irrelevant Eisenhower-named "domino theory."

It is true that countries and people are not dominoes, susceptible to toppling by the first shove, and the "domino theory" may well be an inappropriate name for a theory of international relations. The meaning of the domino theory is quite simple, however, and retains its significance in today's international realm. Weakness in the power structures of various states invites power plays from stronger, aggressive, and/or unfriendly neighbors or adversaries. International politics is afflicted with a sort of contagion or infectiousness similar to that which affects the health of individuals living closely in society. These aspects of the domino theory are reflected in the course of recent developments in Indochina. Hanoi in succession invaded and took over South Vietnam in 1975 (in violation of the terms of the 1973 Paris Peace Treaty)⁵; established dominance over Laos in 1976-1977; invaded Kampuchea in late 1978, replacing the communist Pol Pot regime with Vietnam's own communist puppet government led by Heng Samrin; and in recent

⁵ The unpublicized Nixon-Kissinger commitment to reintroduce American troops and to resupply the South Vietnamese in the event that Hanoi seriously violated the 1973 peace terms was not or could not be fulfilled.