



# From Empire to Cold War to Globalization

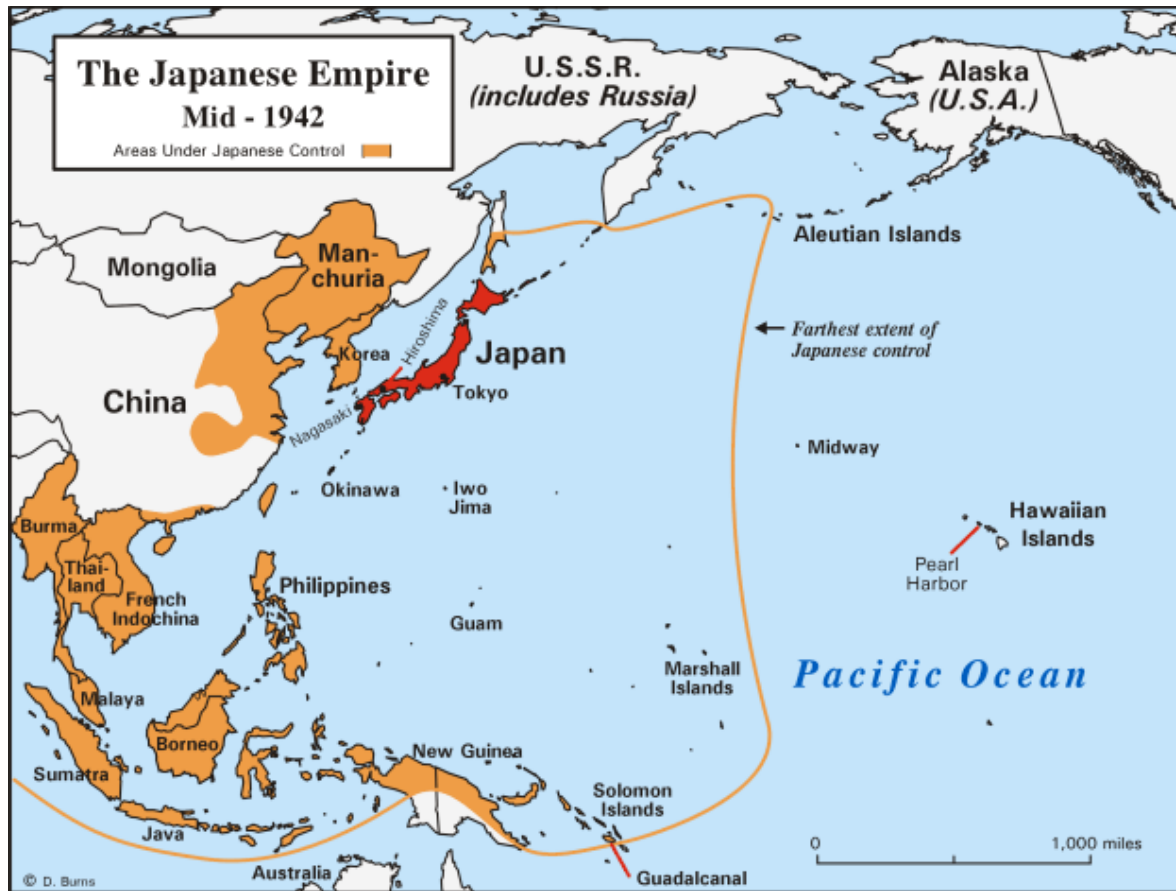
Social Change in Asia  
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April 1, 2020

# + Three Periods--Three Maps



- Period of Imperial World Order c. 1850-1950
  - Most of the world ruled by large empires
    - British Empire, French Empire, Russian Empire, Qing Empire, Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungarian Empire, Portuguese Empire
    - Late Empires—German Empire, Japanese Empire
    - Outside of Empires—Most of New World, Italy, Spain, Thailand
- Period of the Cold War c. 1950-1990
  - Communist Block confronts Capitalist Block with Nonaligned Movement trying to stay inbetween
- Period of Globalization c. 1990 to present
  - Independent nation-states interact in global economy without forming exclusive blocks

# + Japanese Empire in 1942



# + China c. 1935



# + French Indochina





# ASIA

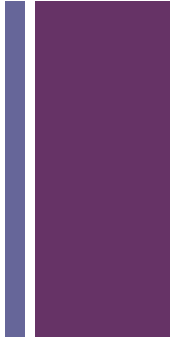


# + Historical Contingency



- Contingency
  - Being dependent on chance
  - Being incidental to something else
- Current configuration of international relations in East Asia is historically contingent
  - Not inevitable, or unchangeable
  - Dependent upon events that happened in the past (that themselves were contingent)

# + Japanese Empire in 1937



- Japan Proper (Honshu, Shikoku, Kyushu)
- Outer Japan (Hokkaido, Ryukyus)
- Leased territories (Dairen and South Manchuria Railway)
- Colonies (Taiwan, Karafuto, and Korea)
- League of Nation Mandate (Saipan)
- Puppet state (Manchukuo)



# + Republic of China 1937

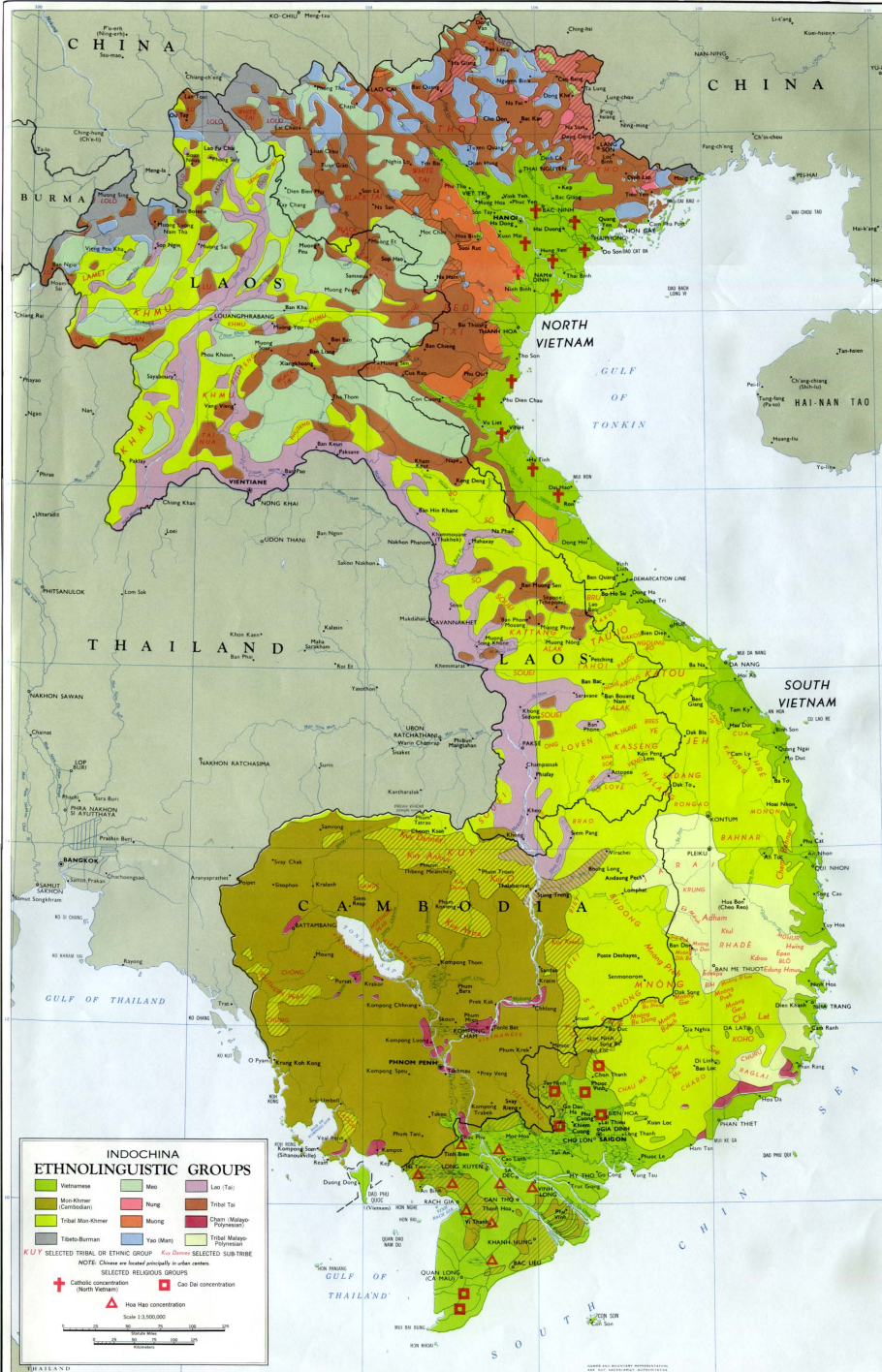


- China within the Great Wall
  - Didn't include the northeast (Manchukuo), Western Tibet (British), Taiwan (Japanese)
- Capital Nanjing (united since 1927—warlords 1911-1927)
- Communist capital in Yanan
- Imperialist enclaves
  - Treaty ports
    - Tianjin—British, French, Italian, and Japanese concessions 10,000 plus foreigners (2/3 Japanese)
    - Qingdao—no concessions but 15,000 Japanese
    - Shanghai—International Settlement, French Concession, informal Japanese area with more than 50,000 foreigners (half Japanese)
    - Hankou—Japanese concession, French concession, International Settlement (few thousand foreigners)
  - British Crown Colony of Hong Kong plus leased New Territories
  - Portuguese Colony of Macau
  - Guangzhouwan French leased port
- Western Tibet—autonomous since 1912
- Mongolia—autonomous 1912, independent since 1924
- Xinjiang-Uighur region—under strong Soviet influence since 1928

# + Indochinese Union (1887)



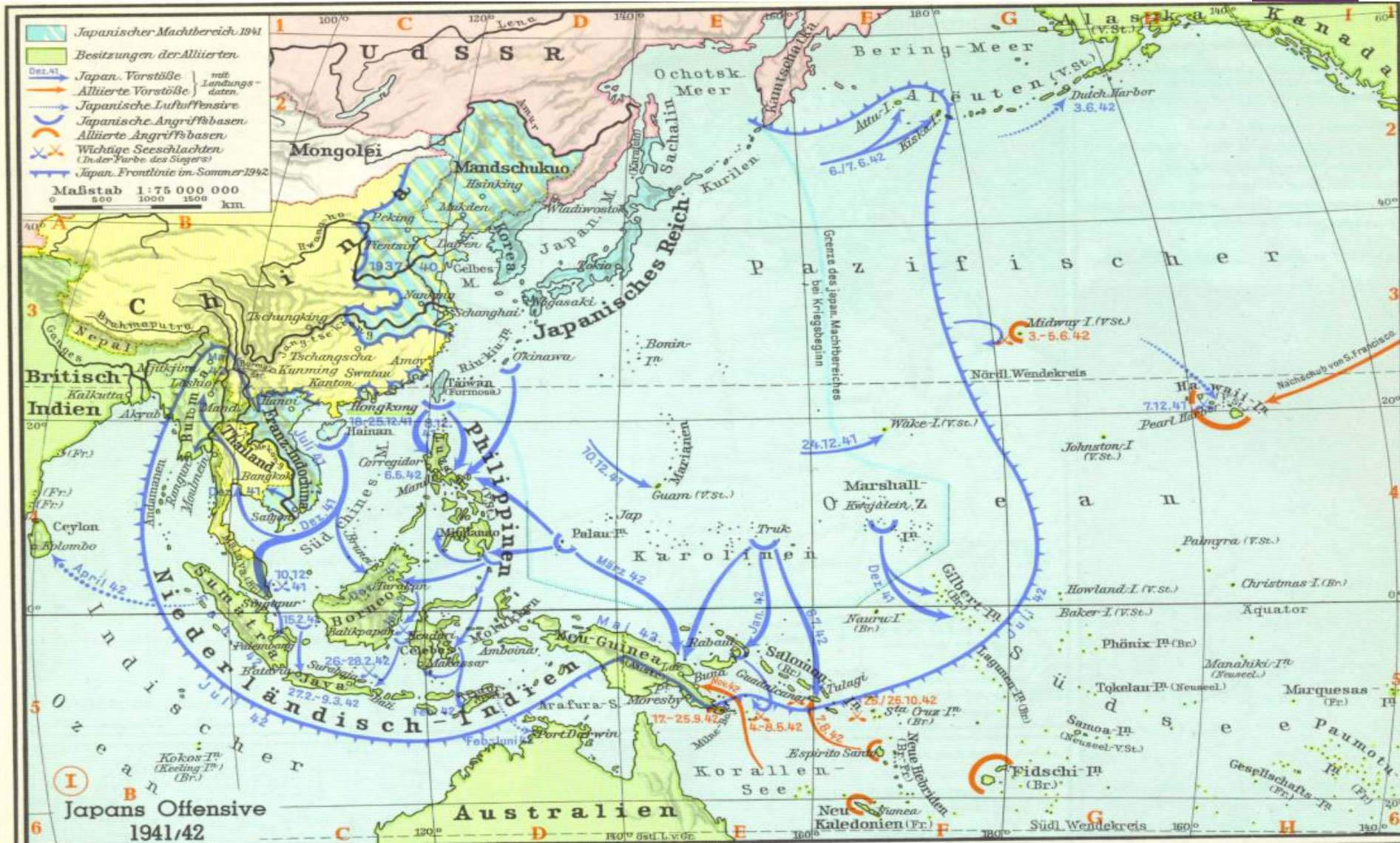
- Governor General in Hanoi
  - Largely French staff
- Direct rule in Cochin China (Saigon)
  - From 1862 with directly appointed French governor and French staff
  - 25,000 French planters, and 350,000 Cantonese
- Indirect rule with French *résidents supérieurs*
  - Tongking (Hanoi) 15,000 French especially in Haiphong
  - Annam (Hue) seat of Nguyen dynasty, few French
  - Cambodia (Phnom Penh) backward with few French
  - Laos (Vientienne) backward with few French







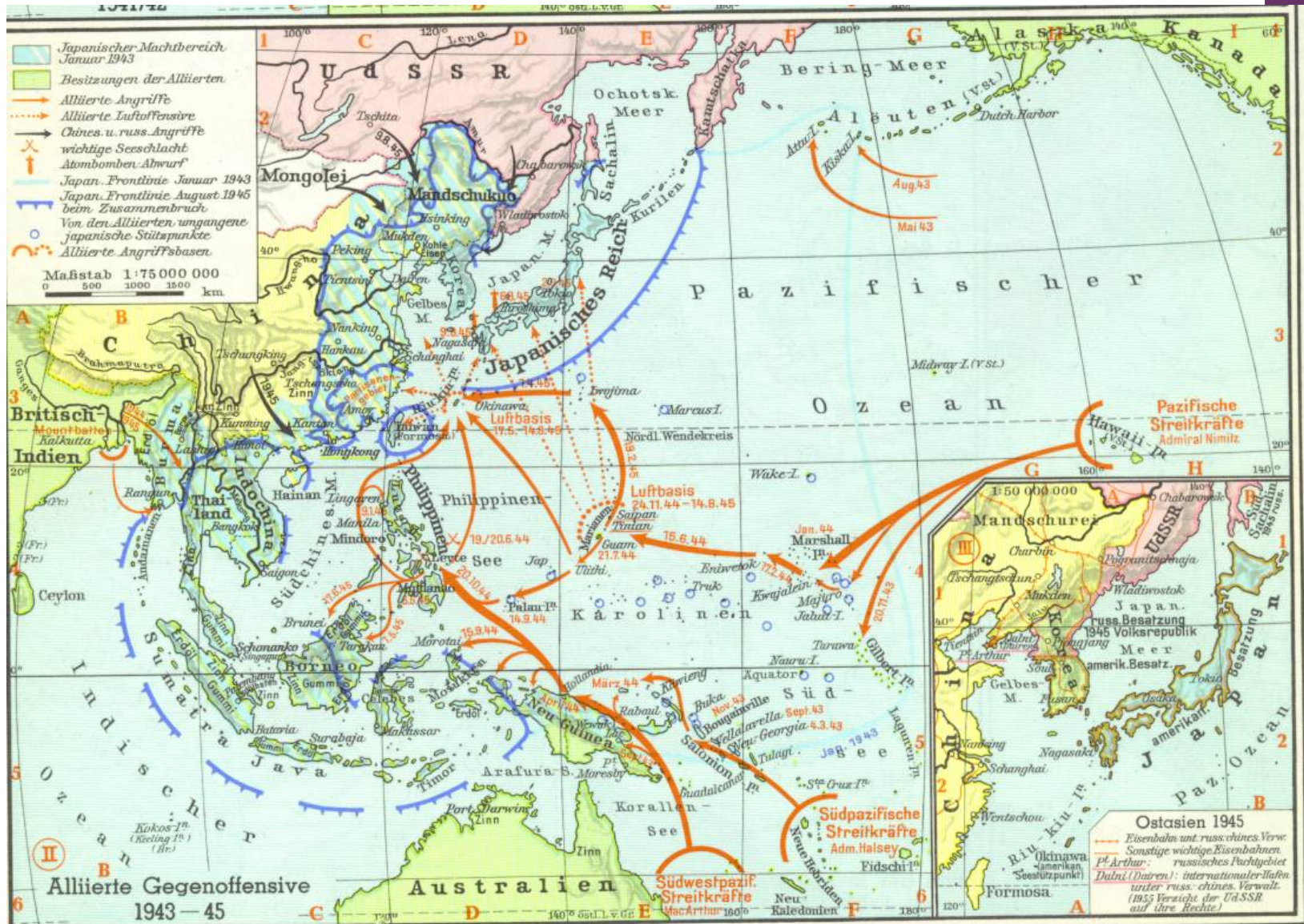
# Japanese Expansion from 1937







# Retreat from 1943





# + WWII Wartime Conferences



- **Atlantic Charter 8/14/41**

- Roosevelt and Churchill

- **Cairo Conference 11/22-26/43**

- Roosevelt, Churchill, Chiang Kai-shek
- Japan to be stripped of all territories acquired after 1914
- Korea to be independent “in due course” 멀지 않아
- Yalta Conference 2/4-11/45
- Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin
- Soviet Union to enter war against Japan 90 days after VE day
- Soviet Union to regain territory lost in Russo-Japanese War
- Trusteeship for Korea

- **Potsdam Conference 7/17-8/2/45**

- Chinese (ROC) take Japanese surrender north of 16<sup>th</sup> parallel, British south of 16<sup>th</sup> parallel

# + End of Pacific War



- 3/9-10/1945 firebombing of Tokyo
- 8/6/1945 bombing of Hiroshima
- 8/8/ 1945 Russia attacks Japan in Korea and Manchuria and begins to set up People's Committees in Korea's northeast
- 9/9/1945 bombing of Nagasaki
- 9/13/1945 US proposes 38<sup>th</sup> parallel to separate US & Soviet occupation zones in Korea
- 8/14/1945 "August Revolution" begins in Vietnam with Viet Minh taking control of many cities

# + End of Pacific War (2)



- 8/15/1945 Japan formally surrenders
- 8/16/45— Viet Minh occupy Hanoi and Chinese nationalist troops allow them to control government, but in Saigon Japanese troops maintained order waiting for allied forces to return
- 9/2/1945 Democratic Republic of Vietnam declared in Hanoi
- 9/8/1945 American troops arrive in Seoul to set up US military government while the Soviet Union in the North reorganized and recognized People's Committees
- 9/13/1945 British arrive in Saigon with French detachment to reestablish French control

# + US Occupation of Japan 1945-54



- US solo show (British, Soviets frozen out with commission in Washington)
- 1945-1947 “demilitarization and democratization”
  - Purged 200,000 “militarists”
  - Broke up *zaibatsu*
  - Reformed education
  - Legalized communist party and labor unions
  - Post-war peace constitution with female suffrage
- 1947-1954 “reverse course” as Cold War began
  - Attempt to build Japan up as a bastion of prosperous capitalism against the Soviet Union (and later China)



# Korea US/Soviet Occupation



- Two zones separated at the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel
- US Zone
  - Military government 1945-1948 with gradual replacement of Japanese by Koreans
- Soviet Zone
  - Soviet Civil Administration controlled things in the background, but North Korean People's Committees reorganized by Soviets in the foreground
- Domestic issues
  - Creation of Korean political parties for both zones
  - Status of the people's committees
  - Status of the Provisional government in China
  - Trusteeship
  - Land Reform and status of Japanese properties



# + Separate Regimes in Korea



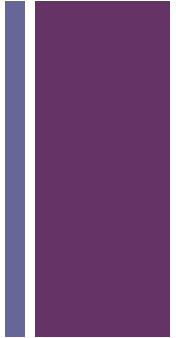
- After failure of December 1945 Moscow compromise on trusteeship
  - From 1946 Soviet Union went ahead with land reform, nationalization, and consolidation of political parties
  - US wanted to wait for a Korean government to consider reform, but had several rebellions in 1946 and 1947
- US took the “Korea issue” to the UN in 1947
  - Decision for elections north and south for a unified government
  - UN sponsored elections were held in the south in May 1948, but UN monitored elections were not held in north
- ROK set up August 15, 1948, and DPRK on September 9, 1945
- Korean War attempt by DPRK to unite Korea under its rule June 25, 1950-1953
  - UN declared aggression and authorized UN Command under which US intervened in war
  - ends up by December 1950 as a war between US and China

# + Complicated China



- Republic of China recognized by US and Soviet Union
- Manchuria (“Manchukuo”) initially occupied by the Soviet Union (which took “reparations”)
- US flew ROC forces from Zhongqing to eastern cities
- Communists in Yanan, many “liberated areas” had been established behind Japanese lines—especially in North China
- ROC forces in North Vietnam

# + Chinese Civil War



- Breaks out in Manchuria 1947 where PLA had captured many Japanese weapons
  - Many ethnic Koreans among the communists in the northeast
- Countryside surrounds the cities that had been controlled by the Japanese and then the ROC
- Gradual success in north until PLA moves south with large-scale forces
  - Shenyang and Changchun Luoyang Xian 1948
  - Tianjin/Beijing 11/1948 to 1/1949
  - Cross Yangtse River in April 1949
  - PRC established October 1, 1949
- ROC forces flee to Taiwan December 1949
- Hainan Island 1950
- Xinjiang conquest 1949, Tibet 1954

# + Complicated Vietnam



- March 1945—Japanese imprison French and set up puppet regime of Bao Dai Emperor with Japanese troops in control
- Viet Minh “Liberated Zones” along the Chinese border
- KMT allowed the Viet Minh into Hanoi, and DRVN declared in Hanoi from September 1945
- Reconstitution of French Empire in Saigon, September 1945
  - Fighting between Viet Minh, Hoa Hao, Cao Dai, “La Lutte” , French settlers, British (Gurkha) troops



# French Attempts to Save Empire



- March 6, 1946 provisional French recognition of DRVN in Tongking and Annam, with elections to determine status of Cochin China
  - Ho Chi Minh to France to complete negotiations
- June 1946 D'Argenlieu declares independent Republic of Cochin China (1946-1949)
- November 1946 fighting between French and Viet Minh begins in Haiphong and full-scale war by December





# First Indochina War



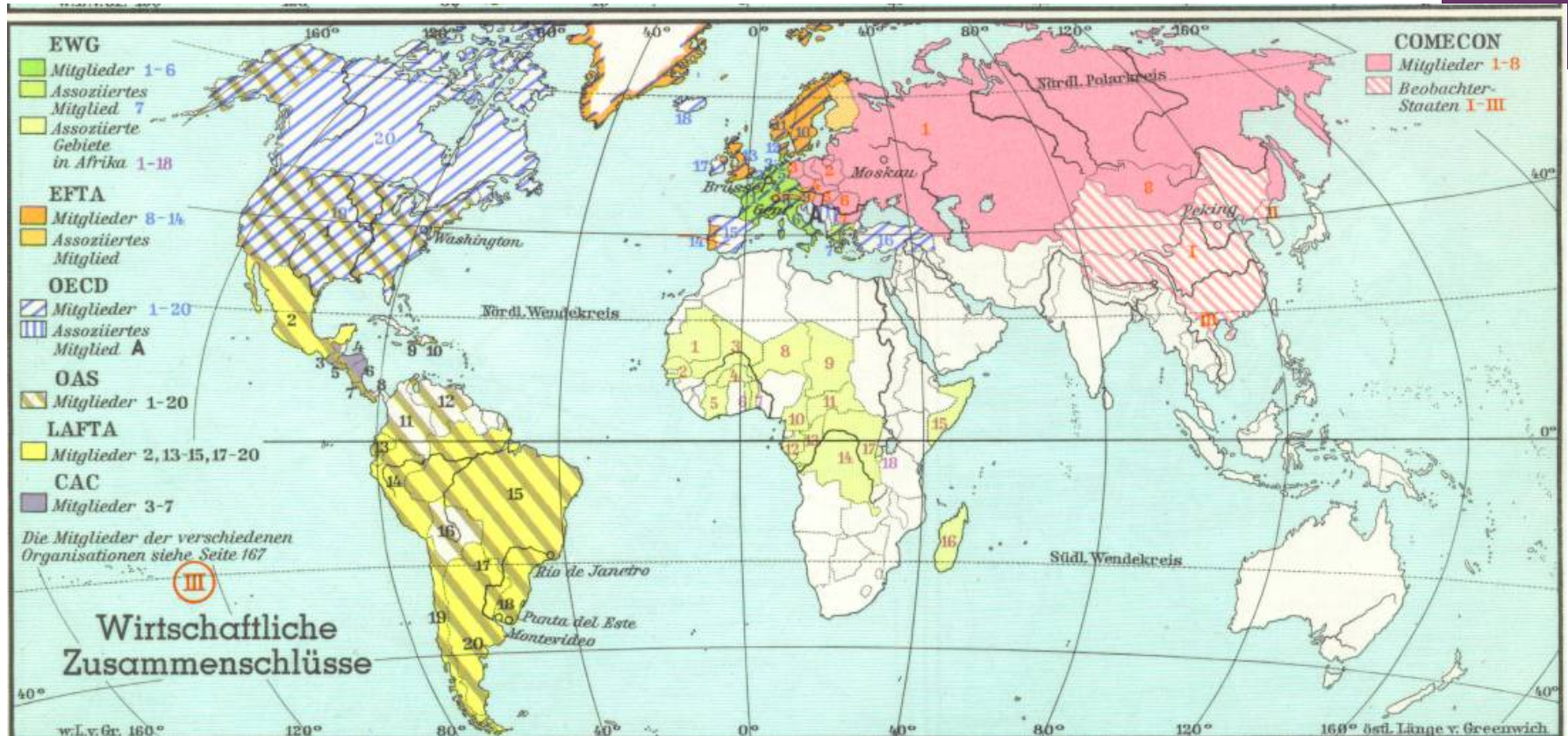
- Franco-Indochinese War 1946-1954
- French occupied cities, using Foreign Legion troops (many from Africa) with French officers
- 1949 Bao Dai state set up in Annam and Cochin China with Hue as its capital
- 1950—Viet Minh government recognized by Soviet Union and China, so US turned against DRVN
  - Why did US support French empire in Indochina when it had demanded the dismantling of Dutch empire?
  - Cold War rivalry with Soviet Union and China, worries about communism in France
- May 1954 French defeated in Dien Bien Phu
- Geneva Conference partitioned Vietnam “temporarily” at the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel until elections
- DRVN in Hanoi, RVN in Saigon under Ngo Dinh Diem refused elections in 1960

100





# Cold War Economic Groupings





# Significance of Cold War for East Asian Countries



- US-allied “frontline states” to “contain communism”
  - Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, (South Vietnam), Philippines
  - US gave military and economic aid, and preferential access to US markets (so-called “US greenhouse”)
- Communist “Block”
  - Soviet Union (because of Soviet Far East)
  - PRC—allied with Soviet Union until 1956 when split developed over de-Stalinization and peaceful coexistence (SU for, PRC against)
  - North Korea, and (North) Vietnam vacillated between closeness to the Soviet Union and to China while trying to be independent



# Weakening of Cold War System



- 1972 Shanghai Communiqué
  - Neither China nor the US should “seek hegemony in the Asia Pacific region”
  - US recognized “one China policy” (but strategic ambiguity on what that means)
- 1978 China begins process of economic reform (改革开放) to a socialist market economy
- 1979 US and China establish diplomatic relations
- 1988 Seoul Olympics that China, Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe participated in
- 1989-91 end of Cold War and collapse of Soviet Union
  - Eastern European Countries, then Russia and China recognized South Korea in addition to North Korea
  - North and South Korea both admitted to the United Nations in 1991





# Trade Patterns (World Bank) (import + export 2017)



## ■ Japan trade

- China \$297 bil (neg)
- United States \$208 bil (pos)
- South Korea \$81 bil (pos)
- Thailand \$52 bil (pos)
- Hong Kong \$37 bil (pos)
- Vietnam \$35 bil (neg)

## ■ South Korea trade

- China \$239 bil (pos)
- United States \$120 bil (pos)
- Japan \$82 bil (neg)
- Vietnam \$63 (pos)

## ■ Vietnam trade (2016)

- China \$72 bil (neg)
- United States \$47 bil (pos)
- South Korea \$44 bil (neg)
- Japan \$30 bil (neg)

## ■ China trade

- United States \$584 bil (pos)
- Hong Kong \$286 bil (pos)
- Japan \$303 bil (neg)
- South Korea \$280 (neg)
- Vietnam \$122 (pos)

## ■ Hong Kong trade

- China \$560 bil (pos)
- United States \$73 bil (pos)
- Japan \$52 bil (neg)
- Vietnam \$18 bil (pos)

## ■ Taiwan trade (2018 BFT)

- China \$139 bil (pos)
- US \$67 bil (pos)
- Japan \$62 bil (neg)
- Hong Kong \$43 bil (pos)
- South Korea \$32 (neg)
- Vietnam \$14 (pos) . . . 9<sup>th</sup>

# + Taiwan's Status



- Nationalist Party (Guomintang) ruled from 1949 to 1986 (Leninist)
- Democratized after 1996 and de facto independent
  - Guomintang favors close relations with China
  - Democratic Progressive Party sympathetic to Taiwanese nationalism
- De jure status ambiguous
  - Cannot belong to UN or UN agencies (because blocked by China)
  - Only 20 countries recognize Taiwan diplomatically (with the rest of the world, including the US recognizing the PRC)
  - Many countries have informal relations, and lively trade with Taiwan

# + Legacies of Empire



- Japanese Emperor
- China inherited Qing Empire (including Tibet, Sinjiang, and Inner Mongolia)
  - PRC' national narrative about “overcoming imperialism”
- North Korea national narrative about “overcoming imperialism”
- South Korean national narrative of restoring cultural integrity after colonialism
- Taiwan separate from China
- Hong Kong and Macau SARs

# + Legacies of Cold War



- Japanese Emperor (US occupation policy)
  - “reverse course” rehabilitated old elites after 1947 with LDP dominance
- Division of Korea
  - South Korea pro-American anti-communist state
  - North Korea anti-imperialist Stalinist state
- Division of China
  - Taiwan would have remained part of China had the Cold War not intervened
  - PRC/USA tendencies toward confrontation