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Master's Thesis of International Studies

**The Nixon Doctrine and Its Impact on
the U.S. Relations with Asian Allies
(South Korea, Thailand and the Philippines)**

닉슨 독트린이 미국과 동아시아 국가 간의 관계에
미친 영향에 대한 연구

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Graduate School International Studies, Seoul National University

International Area Studies

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국제학석사학위논문

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**The Nixon Doctrine and Its Impact on
the U.S. Relations with Asian Allies
(South Korea, Thailand and the Philippines)**

A thesis presented

by

DO DIEU KHUE

to

Graduate Program in International Area Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of International Studies

Graduate School of International Studies

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November 2012

THESIS ACCEPTANCE CERTIFICATE

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ABTRACT

The Nixon Doctrine and Its Impacts on the U.S. Relations with Asian Allies (South Korea, Thailand & the Philippines)

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This paper aims to investigate the relationships between the United States and three of its Asia-Pacific allies – South Korea, Thailand and the Philippines – following a big shift in the U.S. policy towards the region, namely the Nixon Doctrine, during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The Nixon Doctrine was born as a re-assessment of U.S. military commitments in Asia. It sought to achieve two incompatible tasks: the decrease of American military forces and the continuation of its treaty commitments with Asian nations. It was designed as a flexible response strategy to provide the U.S. with greater freedom of action in its commitment policy with allies. What the Nixon Doctrine implied for Asian allies was that there was going to be an U.S. under-involvement and military retreat from Asia. By the Doctrine, the U.S. proposes a call for self-reliance to Asian states. It also implied the signal of decline of Cold War confrontation and the opening of détente with the Communist states.

In their own particular ways and at their own varied paces, U.S. allies in Asia tentatively ventured forth with a series of diplomatic countermoves in responding to the Nixon Doctrine. Here, this paper tries to show an interesting point, which is not yet discovered by previous studies, that there are commonalities among South Korea, Thailand and the Philippines in responding to the Nixon Doctrine. Firstly, all three countries sought to develop a self-reliant path in military and economic process. This development came up to U.S. expectations. Unfortunately, the road to self-reliance was synonymous with authoritarianism. Moreover, the pursuit of self-reliant security necessitated even greater alliance support from the U.S. This led to an ironic response from three U.S. allies: efforts in maintaining U.S. umbrella, both militarily and economically. Furthermore, all three engineered some form of détente with the Communists, mainly with Peking, otherwise Moscow, Pyongyang and Hanoi. All these responses from allies represented accidental results of the Nixon Doctrine, rather than logical products of it.

There are slightly differences among allies' responses in the level of efforts and types of authoritarianism, due to different impacts of Nixon Doctrine on their country and their different degree of Vietnam War involvement. As a result, South Korea and Thailand advocated military-dominated authoritarianism and clung to the U.S. as their military umbrella, while the Philippines produced socioeconomic authoritarianism and made the U.S. its economic umbrella. Also, whereas Thailand and the Philippines case yielded active détente with the Communists, South Korea's efforts were relatively weak.

The drive of such unwanted outcomes of Nixon Doctrine is U.S. government's subjective attitude and neglect of situation in allied countries. There are two critical legacies of the Doctrine. First is the U.S. impulsion of dictatorship in Asia, which is mainly due to *Realpolitik* aspects of the Nixon Doctrine. Second is weakened confidence among allies, which devalued alliances and raised doubts on U.S. credibility and reliability. The Doctrine failed to achieve its basis of America's military retreat from Asia, at the same time strong alliances with Asian

countries.

Key words: Nixon Doctrine, U.S. alliance in Asia, Park Chung Hee, Thanom Kittikachorn, Ferdinand Marcos, authoritarianism in Asia.

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Abstract (English)

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

For twenty years after the end of the Second World War, the United States was the only truly global power with the capacity to deploy its armed forces anywhere in the world. The predominance of American military and economic power meant that America's commitments to its allies were credible because U.S. capabilities largely matched those commitments. America's predominance, however, began to be eroded in the 1960s. Beginning in 1969, successive U.S. administrations have had to adjust the scope of their global commitments. America's allies in turn have to make critical reappraisals of the utility and credibility of those commitments.

The Nixon Doctrine was born as a re-assessment of U.S. military commitments in Asia and Cold War's containment basis. Its very first priority was the U.S. withdrawal from the Vietnam quagmire with "honorable peace." By the Nixon Doctrine partnership with allies, it was hoped that the U.S. could reduce its security contribution in Asia in order to promote its global strategic interest in dealing with major Communist powers. In Asia, the U.S. would keep a balanced posture between the availability of U.S. military commitment and reliance on allies' contribution. It was designed as a flexible response strategy to provide the U.S. with greater freedom of action in its commitment policy with allies.

The announcement of the Nixon Doctrine raised some questions as to the ability and desire of the United States to protect the interests of foreign countries against Communist aggression. There was the question of what the U.S.' role in Asia would be after it had withdrawn its military forces from Vietnam and other

countries in the area. Many Asian leaders and prominent political analysts of these countries began to consider what the U.S. might do following its frustrating experience in Vietnam and its earlier difficulties in Korea. They wondered if the United States would continue to play a prominent role in Asian affairs, or whether it would follow the policy of France and Britain and withdraw from the Pacific and Asian region, assuming only a minor role in the defense of those areas.

1. Purpose of the Study

This paper aims to investigate the relationships between the United States and three of its Asia-Pacific allies – South Korea, Thailand and the Philippines – following a big shift in the U.S. policy towards the region, namely the Nixon Doctrine, during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Targeted as applicants of the Nixon Doctrine, these three allies are also target countries of this study, due to their relatively deep involvement in the Vietnam War. Since 1964, with the U.S. call upon allies for “more flags in Vietnam,” South Korean, Thai and Filipino combat troops began to be dispatched to South Vietnam to assist the Americans and Saigon government. Participating in the War was synonymous with three countries’ implications in U.S. military operations in Southeast Asian region. Consequently, unlike other U.S. allies, such as Taiwan or Indonesia, those who did not deeply involved in the War by sending troops to the country, these three allies faced problems upon U.S. new policy of military retreat from Asia and withdrawal from Vietnam.

This paper firstly provides a thorough overview of the Nixon Doctrine, starting from its intellectual background and international context. Tracing back Richard M. Nixon and Henry A. Kissinger’s works on U.S. foreign policy prior to Nixon’s presidency and recapping the international conjuncture of late 1960s, it elucidates objective as well as subjective conditions for the yield of the Nixon Doctrine. Hence, the study goes into the details of the Doctrine, including its meanings and

implications for allies in Asia and implementation in practice.

The other large amount of the paper covers responses of three allies to the Nixon Doctrine, case by case. Using primary sources, especially recently publicized documents of *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)*, as well as a wide range of secondary sources not only from the U.S. but also allies' side, it proposes to present correct calculations and policy responses of allies at the moment. Subsequently, it brings about careful comparisons between cases, both commonalities and differences in their reactions. In this way the similar and different impacts of the Doctrine on three Asian allies will be clarified.

The third main part provides overall evaluations on both allies' responses and the Nixon Doctrine. Here the paper wishes to put forth initial explanations for allies' reactions to the Doctrine, the reasons why they reacted so. It also expresses personal evaluations of the Doctrine's results, legacies and success.

Ultimately the study wishes to draw a few points on U.S. presidential doctrines, in theory and practice, as well as the U.S. alliance management. There are also brief comments on the U.S. support for authoritarianism regimes and the importance of U.S.-China relations in Asia-Pacific international relations. The last is its contribution to an approach to understand Asian politics, that is external causes of internal transitions.

2. Literature Review

2.1. External Context for Internal Transformation

a) World-System Theory

Many scholars have attempted to analyze the structural effects of the world system in their studies of international sources of domestic political economy. The world-system theory pays attention to the structural contexts of the world economy as the main factors in conditioning Third World development. This

approach stresses the constraints that the super-national context places on national development, arguing either that it prevents development altogether or that it distorts development to serve foreign rather than domestic needs. Immanuel Wallerstein argues that, we can reasonably explain “the strength of various state machineries at specific moments of the history of the modern world system... in terms of the structural role a country plays in the world economy at that moment in time.” (Wallerstein, 1979: 21) It is due to the structure of the system: The system consists of a single division of labor within one world market but contains many states and cultures. Labor is divided among functionally defined and geographically distinct parts arranged in a hierarchy of occupational tasks (Wallerstein, 1974b: 349-350), which divides the world into core countries, semi-periphery countries and periphery countries. Core states concentrate on higher-skill, capital-intensive production; they are militarily strong; they appropriate much of the surplus of the whole world-economy (Wallerstein, 1974a: 401). Peripheral areas focus on low-skill, labor-intensive production and extraction of raw materials; they have weak states. Strong states in core areas – i.e., those that are militarily strong relative to others and also not dependent on any one group within the state (Wallerstein, 1974b: 355) – serve the interests of economically powerful classes, absorb economic losses, and help to maintain the dependence of peripheral areas. Shared ideology solidifies the commitment of ruling groups to the system; they must believe the system’s “myths” and feel that “their own well-being is wrapped up in the survival of the system as such” (Wallerstein, 1974a: 404). Lower strata need not feel any particular loyalty; however, they tend to become incorporated into the nationally unified cultures created by ruling groups, starting in core states (Wallerstein, 1974b: 349). In brief, the influence of the core on peripheries is one-way and irreversible.

Most of these theoretical frameworks, mainly developed with Latin American in mind, are of limited use in explaining East and Southeast Asian cases. The main reason for this is the different importance of various factors shaping political

economy of the two regions. While international strategic phenomena loom very large for countries in East Asia or the Middle East, they are less salient in Latin American countries than internal and international economic factors (Wookhee Shin, 1993: 18). Although it does address international factors, another weakness of this approach is that it tends to neglect geopolitical and security factors or the dynamic interaction between the interstate system and the capitalist world economy. Yet, military and strategic factors are also significant external sources of domestic political economy. Moreover, even in the cases of Latin America, scholars find out variations in periphery countries' responses to impacts from the core. It is because, although the hierarchical relationship between the core and the periphery remains, "the periphery of the world-economy has certainly "developed" and changed greatly since the incorporation of Latin America, Asia, and Africa into the capitalist world-economy." (Christopher Chase-Dunn in William R. Thompson eds., 1983: 74) The changing core-periphery relationship under "the age of transition" (Terence K. Hopkins & Immanuel Wallerstein, et al., 1996) has challenged world systems analysis.

b) Patron-Client State Model

With the same purpose of finding the external context for internal transformation, especially in order to better accommodate the external geopolitical context, which is very important in Asian politics, scholars have developed the patron-client state model. The concept of "patron-client relationship" represents a particular form of asymmetrical relations between states. In the patron-client state relationship, the client state receives security assistance at the cost of its political-military autonomy. The vulnerable client makes asymmetrical concessions to the patron and accepts a subordinate role within the framework. The extent and duration of the relationship depend on the nature and degree of the threat, the strategic importance of the client state, and the credibility of the patron state. In other words, the stability of the relationship hinges on the continued need from both the patron and the client for whatever benefits each other provides in a

changing environment (Wookhee Shin, 1993: 20).

While core-periphery relations in the world economy are established mainly by economic interest, patron-client state relations are shaped fundamentally by military and strategic interest. The former explains the process and mechanism of the integration of peripheral economies into a world market, and the latter explains those of the incorporation of vulnerable states into a regional or global security network. Also, unlike the vertical ties of core-periphery relations, patron-client state relations are characterized by complex crisscrossing lines. In the vertical interaction of economic dependency, what is exchanged between the two countries is quite different. The core country provides the means of production, while the periphery country provides raw materials and markets. In patron-client state relations, a single collective good accrues to both parties from their bilateral security arrangement. Whereas the core-periphery relationship is basically coercive and exploitative, the patron-client relationship is reciprocal, even though asymmetrical. Compared to core-periphery relations, the structure of patron-client state relations gives weaker states more bargaining opportunities. Shoemaker and Spanier argue that patron-client state relations are “fundamentally bargaining relationships in which each state tries to extract from the other valuable concessions at a minimal cost.” (Shoemaker & Spanier, 1984: 24) Under certain circumstances, weaker states may be able to manipulate the great powers if the latter’s vital interests are not at stake.

Patron-client state relations are more unstable than core-periphery relations due to the simultaneously cooperative and conflictual quality of the relationship. The demand for patron-client relationship among state actors changes according to the nature and structure of the international system. Instead of rigid interaction between two states, patron-client state relations are fluid, fluctuating partnerships, subject to constant change, that only become sharply defined in a crisis (Shoemaker & Spanier, 1984: 16). The demand from both sides of the relationship is greater in an environment of high tension and conflict. The primary interactions

between patron state and client state are security and military relations. Through two levers of military influence: (1) military assistance and arms sales, which causes security dependence and (2) contacts between military officers, which allow the patron state to influence indigenous military elites, the client becomes partly “militarized,” and the military comes to play an important and complex role in its development process. Moreover, in this kind of relationship, the patron supports the client’s economy for ideological and military reasons, partly to show the superiority of its system to that of its competitor. Bilateral economic support from a patron is not just economic aid but also a demonstration of strategic alliance. In short, security considerations are the primary motive for political and economic interaction (James C. Scott, 1972).

This paper is especially attracted by Wookhee Shin’s study in which he employed the patron-client state model to explain U.S.-ROK political economy in the Cold War. To Shin, this model is best suited for Northeast Asian political economy, in which the role of geopolitical context is vital and should be considered as an independent variable. Causality among the variables is figured as:

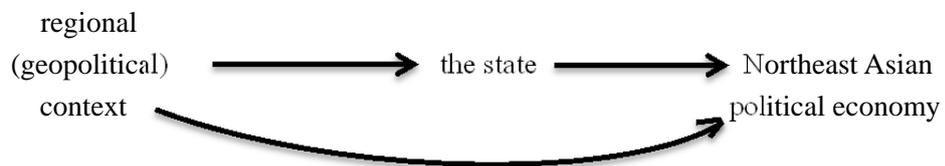


Figure 1: Causality among Variables (1) (Shin, 1993: 11)

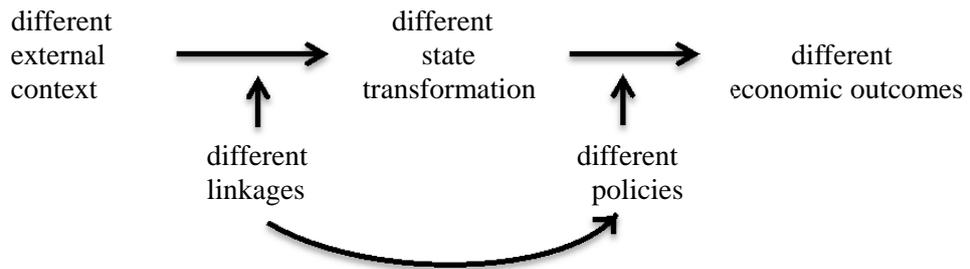


Figure 2: Causality among Variables (2) (Shin, 1993: 13)

He then tries to explain transformation of the state apparatus in South Korea and its political and economic outcomes in terms of a relatively autonomous geopolitical context. He covers a long period of Korean history, from pre-First Republic to the First (1948-1960) and Second Republic (1960-1961), then the Military Government (1961-1963) to the Third Republic (1963-1972), and analyses changes in South Korea between Republics. The transformation and institutionalization of the state in terms of its autonomy, capacity and legitimacy was built up to matrices. The results of his research are shown as follows:

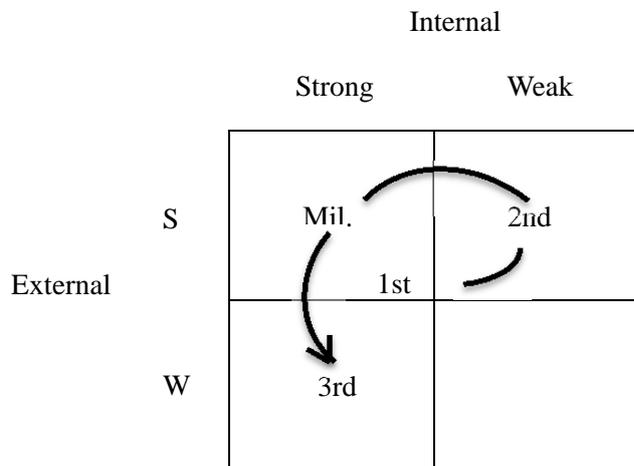


Figure 3: Changes of State Autonomy (Shin, 1993: 122)

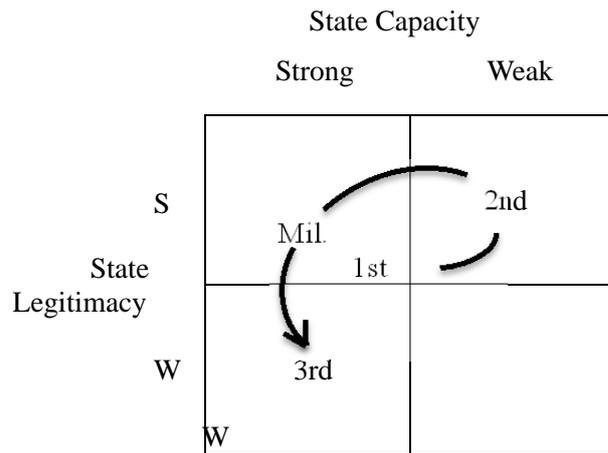


Figure 4: Changes of State Capacity and State Legitimacy (Shin, 1993: 135)

Geopolitical factors in the Cold War period provided the conditions necessary for institutionalizing a coercive state in South Korea. Through the external linkages of patron-client state relations, the South Korean state expanded its internal autonomy and capacity, while relatively losing external autonomy and legitimacy. As a result, the structure of external security was effectively internalized, and the South Korean state could execute its socioeconomic policies more autonomously. The external context also had an important impact on economic changes in South Korea. While economic development was partly militarized, the patron-client state relationship also provided the preconditions for rapid economic growth through an outward-looking strategy (Shin, 1993: 174).

However, although covers the Third Republic (1963-1972), Shin virtually overlooks the impact of Nixon Doctrine on South Korea. He focuses on the political economy of U.S. Cold War strategy as a whole but fail to dig more in this great U.S. policy change, a typical example of external context for internal transition. Because the author considers the Cold War as a world system and utilizes macro-scale analyses, particular patron's policies and client state's transitions are not adequately covered, which somewhat reduces his research's

persuasion. Readers may find a thorough preceding analysis but may still be puzzled of the reason for the emergence of authoritarianism in South Korea at a particular point of the Yushin reform in 1972. This paper wishes to complement both patron-client and core-periphery relationship models, not only by expanding the case study to Southeast Asian nations, but also employing historical approach and raising new points.

2.2. The Nixon Doctrine and Beyond

Although the U.S. foreign policy during Nixon-Kissinger term was thoroughly researched and analyzed, its part on Asia – a relatively important and essential part – so far has not attracted many scholars. Accounting for this probably is the shift of focus of U.S. administration from Asian sphere to Europe and the Middle East after the announcement of the Nixon Doctrine.

The Nixon Doctrine was born to deal with U.S. alliance system in Asia, thus, its impacts and implementations in Asian allied countries should have been paid due attention to. Nevertheless, most of studies of Nixon-Kissinger foreign policy in Asia only focus on the American détente with Sino and the Soviet Union. It should be noted that, according to this paper's observation, some of these studies seemingly separate détente as an U.S. single strategic policy. However, the connection between détente and the Nixon Doctrine is inseparable, as a scholar considered détente as “the second-phase of the Nixon Doctrine” (Joo-Hong Nam, 1986). The very first phase and origin of it – the U.S. un-involvement in Asia and withdrawal from Indochina, as well as their huge impacts on U.S. allies in the region, did not received as much concentrations as the U.S. broader strategies of détente or global interests.

Among the studies of the U.S. new foreign policy in Asia, one of the greatest concerns of researchers is the U.S. real intention when promoting the Nixon Doctrine here. There is a substantial group argues that the Nixon Doctrines

implies no policy changes of any consequence. Among them is Earl C. Ravenal, who since his very first papers on the Doctrine until the late 1980s, viewed the prolongation of the war in Vietnam as the key to an understanding of the Nixon administration's intent. He believed that Nixon intended "to support the same kind of potential involvement abroad but with small conventional forces" (Earl C. Ravenal, 1971). He therefore was persuaded that the Doctrine was merely "another formula for permanent confrontation with China" (Earl C. Ravenal, 1989). With the same view, because of U.S. security commitments to allies still remained unchanged, some critics were quick to point out that the Nixon Doctrine represented "little more than the new face of American empire" (John Dower, "Asia and the Nixon Doctrine: The Face of Empire," in Brodine and Selden (eds.) *Open Secret* (1972): 134-135). The more neutral and accurate stand belongs to Robert S. Litwak (1984) and Robert J. McMahon (1999), who emphasized the inevitable ambiguities and obfuscations of the Doctrine, given the varying purposes the policy statements must serve.

As regards to researches on the impact of Nixon Doctrine on allied countries, South Korea stands out with quite a great number of studies. This is mainly due to the considerable impact the Doctrine put on the country and the fact that South Korea became America's last remaining foothold of containment on the Asian continent, even after the Cold War's end. Studies of South Korean case spread out to various fields, including foreign relations (Jung-Ha Lee, 1980 and Joo-Hong Nam, 1986), security (Paik Seung Gi) and many other economic-related papers. In terms of foreign affairs, works done by Victor Cha (1999, 2000) are very noteworthy. Though picking the Nixon Doctrine and détente just as case study periods throughout his works, Victor Cha affirms one crucial point of the U.S. role in international relationships of Northeast Asian region. For example, based on private interviews with former advisor to South Korea's President Park and other figures, his conclusion that "it was concerns about U.S. retrenchment that weighed most heavily on Park's mind" (Cha, 1999: 114) assures subsequent studies of the

kind. Importantly, there existed studies of the linkage between U.S. policy toward the country and the rise of authoritarianism in Korea (Tae Yang Kwak, 2003) or Korea's self-reliance in national defense (Sang-yoon Ma, 2007). There is not yet a direct study of the impact of Nixon Doctrine on the case of Thailand. For the Philippines, there is only one study by Moo Hyung Cho (2009) in which analyzes the rise to dictatorship in the Philippines due to the Nixon Doctrine's impact. This is also so far the only comparative research on allies' responses to the Doctrine, which provides comparisons between South Korea and the Philippines of "authoritarian regression" phenomenon in each country. Also, via few works on Philippine relations with the U.S. under President Marcos term, including that of Raymond Bonner (1987) and Sterling Seagrave (1988), readers find the connections of the U.S. policy and Filipino domestic developments, say, the interventions of U.S. government into internal situation of the Southeast Asian country.

Although facing the fact that studies of the impacts of Nixon Doctrines on Asian allies are inadequate, this paper finds a great numbers of researches on the relationships between the U.S. and allies during the Cold War, which it considers very useful and necessary to have an overview of the U.S. alliance system in Asia. In South Korean case, there are works by Claude A. Buss (1982), Frank Baldwin (eds, 1973), Sung-joo Han (eds., 1982), Tae-Hwan Kwak (eds., 1982) and Chae-Jin Lee (2006). Important works in the Thailand case includes Surachart Bamrungsuk (1988) and K.S. Nathan (1985). Thanks to Thai former Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman's plentiful writings, developments in Thai-American alliance during his term are clearly revealed. On Filipino-U.S. alliance, there are several researches by H. W. Brands (1992), Carl H. Lande (1987), A. James Gregor (1984) and Edgardo E. Dagdag (1999).

A very important source is researches on historical developments of each ally in a long period of time. For example, works on Thai history include John L.S. Girling (1981) and Rajaretnam & Lim editions (1973). The Philippine political

history is captured via David Wurfel (1988), Schirmer & Shalvon (eds., 1987) and Amando Doronila (1992). In each case, there are even works on authoritarian rule and military control happened during late 1960s and early 1970s – target period of this paper. They are by Lee Byeong-cheon (eds., 2003) in South Korea case; Donald F. Cooper (1995) in Thailand case and John Bresnan (1986), David A. Rosenberg (eds., 1979), Mark M. Turner (1990), Carolina G. Hernandez (1985) in the Philippines case. Nevertheless, the same as other researches on socio-politico-economic transitions in Asian countries, most of these studies focus on internal factors of changes. Take studies on South Korea as an example. Scholars mostly counted on President Park's calculations of domestic situations to explain his policies and actions. Park's decisions of delay in withdrawing from South Vietnam and his Yushin reform are expound by economic gains from the Vietnam War, Communist threat from the North, threat of political rivalry or threat of domestic opposition. Asian leaders' thoughts on international environment, especially great powers policies, say, external factors, are usually underestimated or fall into oblivion. This shortage in the academia is the motive for this study to provide a more comprehensive view on the issue.

Due to language limitation, this paper is unable to cover non-English materials and sources. This is a critical short-coming, since studies and materials in Korean, Thai and Filipino language are very important for this kind of thesis topic.

CHAPTER 2

THE NIXON DOCTRINE IN ASIA

1. Background of the Nixon Doctrine

1.1. Intellectual Background

The formulation of the Nixon Doctrine was first and foremost attributed to President Richard Nixon. In the article written by the President himself and published in *Foreign Affairs* in October 1967 named “Asia after Vietnam,” he envisaged a new policy, growing out of the Vietnam experience:

One of the legacies of Vietnam almost certainly will be a deep reluctance on the part of the United States to become involved once again in similar intervention on a similar basis... The central problem of the future in U.S.-Asian relations must be American support for Asian initiatives.¹

Although principally concerned with Asian policy, the article partly reflected several highly significant features of President Nixon’s worldview. He began by defending the American intervention in Vietnam on grounds that the U.S. presence has “provided tangible and highly visible proof that Communism is not necessarily the wave of Asia future.”² Peking has been diverted from other potential targets such as India, Thailand, and Malaysia, and unstable governments elsewhere in the region have been given an opportunity for political, military and economic development. The U.S. is in Asia to stay, he argued, due both to the

¹ Richard M. Nixon, “Asia After Vietnam,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (Oct.1967), p.113 & 124.

² *Ibid.*, p. 111.

inevitable westward thrust of American interests since World War II and the dynamics of world development. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the pattern of the U.S. future involvement will replicate that of the past. Around China's rim are occurring changes which will make such a role unnecessary: along with a "rising complex of national, sub-regional and regional identifications and pride," President Nixon thought he perceived both a "recognition that Asia can become a counterbalance to the West, and an increasing disposition to seek Asian solutions to Asian problems through cooperative action."³ He recognized that "if another friendly country should be faced with an externally supported communist insurrection... there is serious question whether the American public or the American Congress would now support a unilateral American intervention, even at the request of the host government."⁴ The idea of seeking "Asian solutions to Asian problems" is the core of the Nixon Doctrine, as being clarified throughout this paper.

He went on as "...other nation must recognize that the role of the United States as world policeman is likely to be limited in the future. To ensure that a U.S. response will be forthcoming if needed, machinery must be created that is capable of meeting two conditions: (a) a collective effort by the nations of the region to contain the threat by themselves; and, if that effort fails, (b) a collective request to the United States for assistance."⁵ This statement of the American role in local crises was certainly a retreat from the global responsibilities suggested by the policies of the Kennedy administration, while the suggestion that "America helps those that help themselves" was almost the substance of the Nixon Doctrine (produced, it should be noted, a year before Dr. Kissinger became Nixon's adviser). It is true that this policy was envisaged in the context of an endeavor to contain Chinese expansion: "The primary restraint on China's Asian ambitions

³ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

should be exercised by the Asian nations in the path of those ambitions, backed by the ultimate power of the United States”.⁶

In two concluding sections he observed that Western-style parliamentary democracies “may not be best for other nations which have far different traditions and are still in an earlier stage of development,”⁷ and called upon India and especially Japan to play a larger role in their own defense and in the security of non-communist Asia generally. Finally, the article contains the germ of the Peking initiative which was to constitute one of the major diplomatic breakthroughs of his administration:

Taking the long view, we simply cannot afford to leave China forever outside the family of nations, there to nurture its fantasies, cherish its hates and threaten its neighbors. There is no place on this small planet for a billion of its potentially most able people to live in angry isolation.⁸

In retrospect, it is clear how much of the Nixon Doctrine was foreshadowed in the *Foreign Affairs* article: America should not retreat into isolationism and must remain an Asian power; nonetheless, American citizens will not tolerate another Vietnam; different means for ensuring world stability must therefore be found, and there is good reason to believe that new power centers will emerge to assume this burden, including several which were organized on a regional basis; China should be drawn into active participation in world politics; and the American people must accept the fact that their system of political values may not prove viable for the new societies emerging in the Third World, at least in the short run.

Aside from Mr. President himself, the President’s Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, Dr. Henry Kissinger, was a paramount attributor to the Nixon Doctrine. Kissinger’s numerous writings on foreign policy prior to 1969

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

reflected his *Realpolitik* style in dealing with foreign affairs of the U.S.⁹ Among some features in Kissinger's works such as criticism on "American empiricism", a plea for a more alert and flexible political approach by the U.S. government, limited expectations from a dialogue with the Soviet Union, et cetera, there was a critical point that strongly affected the Nixon Doctrine. That is a criticism of the moralistic approach often adopted by American statesmen: "It is part of American folklore that, while other nations have interests, we have responsibilities; while other nations are concerned with equilibrium, we are concerned with the legal requirements of peace" and that "What we seek for our own people in a Great Society at home, we seek for all mankind."¹⁰ This was the beliefs on which American view of foreign policy prevailed after World War II was based. However, Kissinger has criticized of U.S. over-commitment to other states' internal situation. He from his earliest works began to doubt American long-lived belief that extending the U.S. influence to the rest of the world was regarded as their duty and obligation. Since the time he served as foreign policy adviser to New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Kissinger argued that:

The United States is no longer in a position to operate programs globally; it has to encourage them. It can no longer impose its preferred solution it must seek to evoke it. In the forties and fifties, we offered remedies; in the late sixties and seventies our role will have to be contribute to a structure that will foster the initiative of others. We are a superpower physically, but our designs can be meaningful only if they generate willing cooperation. We can continue to contribute to defense and positive programs, but we must seek to encourage and not stifle a sense of local responsibility. Our contribution should not be the sole or principal effort, but it should make the difference between success and failure.¹¹

⁹ For more analyses of Kissinger's earlier works, see A. Hartley, "American Foreign Policy in the Nixon Era," *Adelphi Papers*, No. 110, Vol. 15 (1975).

¹⁰ Henry Kissinger, *American Foreign Policy: Three Essays* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969), pp.91-92.

¹¹ Henry A. Kissinger, "Central Issues in American Foreign Policy," in Kermit Gordon eds., *Agenda for the Nation* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1968), p. 612.

Assuming office as Nixon's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, Kissinger oriented the new U.S. foreign policy away from over-involvement:

In short, there is a widespread feeling that the nation is "over-committed" and that the familiar rationale of American involvement – containment, falling dominoes, the Munich analogy – no longer fits the facts as it seemed to fit them in a simpler period of East-West confrontation.¹²

To sum up, as the formal introducer of the policy of *Realpolitik* to the Richard Nixon's White House, Kissinger attributed to a new stage of U.S. containment policy during the Cold War: détente and under-involvement in Asian sphere. Since *Realpolitik* is ordered toward the most practical means of securing national interest, it can often entail compromising on ideological principles. We may see how much the U.S. supported authoritarian regimes in Asia in order to theoretically secure the great national interest of regional stability in the later parts of this paper.

The world view of the new President of the United States was associated with glances and approaches of a realist as Henry Kissinger. Thus, it is fair to say that the explanations for as well as measures of the Nixon Doctrine could be traced back to initial works by these two statesmen, which is prior to President Nixon's inauguration.

1.2. International Conjuncture of the Late 1960s

With the inauguration of President Nixon, the U.S. had been committed heavily to the defense of Asians for a period of some eight-teen years. This commitment had resulted in the creation of four bilateral security treaties and two

¹² "Memorandum from the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger) to President Nixon, Washington, October 20, 1969," in *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS) 1969-1976, Vol. I Foundations of Foreign Policy, 1969-1972*, No.41, available at <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v01/comp1>

collective security pacts.¹³ There was also a heavy deployment of American troops to Asia.¹⁴ This American commitment carried it into the Korean War, hostilities in the Formosa Straits, and, most importantly, a long drawn-out and controversial war in Indochina. It had involved billions of dollars in terms of military expenditures and war casualties of more than a half million Americans. By January 1969, the Vietnam War had absorbed some 530,000 U.S. military personnel and was costing on average USD 2,500 million a month.¹⁵ The expenditure was causing domestic inflation and weakening the dollar year by year, and finally led to its devaluation in 1971. Yet there was neither peace nor settlement. Richard Nixon was president when a resolution of the Vietnam War was essentially mandatory due to growing public opinion in favor of withdrawal.

During the entire period, there was a continuing controversy in the U.S. concerning the wisdom of its Asian policy. That policy was based on the concept known as the “domino theory” of Communist expansionism. This theory had been considered as a virtual truism because of the evidence presented to the American people that the Soviet Union and Communist China were a monolithic Communist force that threatened to engulf the entire Asian continent and Western Europe. However, in the 1960s the Sino-Soviet split, especially the 1969 border clashes, dispelled the theory of the monolithic Communist bloc.

The criticism of the Asian policy had grown to the point where the election of 1968 constituted virtually a mandate that Nixon should bring the war to a

¹³ Four bilateral security treaties are: The U.S.-Philippines Mutual Defense Treaty in 1951; The U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty in 1951; The U.S.-Republic of South Korea Mutual Defense Treaty in 1953; and The U.S.-Republic of China Mutual Defense Treaty in 1954.

Two collective security pacts are: ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, and the U.S.) Pact in 1951 and SEATO (the U.S., the Philippines, Pakistan, Thailand, Australia, New Zealand, France and Great Britain) Treaty in 1954.

¹⁴ At the time, there were about 500,000 American troops in South Vietnam and 50,000 men in Thailand. There were also 30,000 U.S. military personnel in the Philippines, 62,000 in South Korea, 40,000 in Japan, 45,000 in Okinawa, 10,000 in Taiwan, 60,000 in the Seventh Fleet, and additional thousands on Guam. See U.S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Reports of Senator Mike Mansfield on *Perspective on Asia: The New U.S. Doctrine and Southeast Asia*, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., September 13, 1969, pp. 1-2. See also Appendix.

¹⁵ *Annual Report for Fiscal Year*, Department of Defense (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1972), p. 15.

conclusion. President Nixon had, in his campaign, promised to end the Vietnam War. He had also spoken of the approach of the era of negotiations, with a clear-cut implication that he looked upon the period as a time for rapprochement between the major powers and for the termination of the Cold War.

It was in this environment of campaign promises and massive disenchantment with the Vietnam War and with U.S. foreign policy in general that Nixon laid out a series of foreign policy proposals that came to be known as the “Nixon Doctrine.” As a prelude to the implementation of this doctrine, the U.S. began to de-escalate its involvement in Vietnam in 1969.

2. The Nixon Doctrine and U.S. Strategic Concepts

2.1. Meaning of the Nixon Doctrine

The full scope of Nixon’s view upon the needed American defense posture began to appear in 1969. In that year in Guam, the President enunciated for the first time what has come to be known as the Nixon Doctrine. The Guam declaration contains the following principles:

1. The U.S. will maintain its treaty commitments, but it is anticipated that Asian nations will be able to handle their own defense problems, perhaps with some outside material assistance but without outside manpower. Nuclear threats are another matter, and such threats will continue to be checked by counterpoised nuclear capacity.
2. As a Pacific power, the U.S. will not turn its back on nations of the Western Pacific and Asia; the countries of that region will not be denied a concerned and understanding ear in this nation.
3. The U.S. will avoid the creation of situations in which there is such great dependence on us that, inevitably, we become enmeshed in what are essentially Asian problems and conflicts.

4. To the extent that material assistance may be forthcoming from the U.S., more emphasis will be placed on economic help and less on military assistance.
5. The future role of the U.S. will continue to be significant in the affairs of Asia. It will be enacted, however, largely in the economic realm and on the basis of multilateral cooperation.
6. The U.S. will look with favor on multilateral political, economic, and security agreements among the Asian nations and, where appropriate, will assist in efforts which may undertaken thereunder.¹⁶

As an indication of U.S. foreign policy toward East Asia, the Guam declaration showed “a state of mind, a style of diplomacy, a way of our program abroad”¹⁷ applicable to Asian nations. The President of the U.S. reiterated in Bangkok on July 28, 1969:

Our determination to honor our commitments is fully consistent with our conviction that the nations of Asia can and must increasingly shoulder the responsibility for achieving peace and progress in the area. The challenge to our wisdom is to support the Asian countries efforts to defend and develop themselves, without attempting to take from them the responsibilities which should be theirs. For if domination by the aggressor can destroy the freedom of a nation, too much dependence on a protector can eventually erode its dignity.¹⁸

President Nixon enunciated his doctrine officially in his State of the World address on February 18, 1970. He cleared that the U.S., as a matter of firm determination, no longer would act as the world’s policeman. It would help friendly countries that could help themselves, but it would not do all the work. His statement reads:

Its central thesis is that the U.S. will participate in the defense and development of

¹⁶ US Senate, *op.cit.* in note 14, pp. 3-4.

¹⁷ Marshal Green, *The Nixon Doctrine: A progressive Report*, Department of State Publication 8572, East Asian and Pacific Series 198, February, 1971, p.1.

¹⁸ Richard Nixon, “Statement on the President's Visit to Thailand,” Bangkok, July 28, 1969.

Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*,

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=2153>

allies and friends, but that America cannot and will not conceive all the plans, design all the programs, execute all the decisions and undertake all the defense of free nations of the World. We will help where it makes a real difference and is considered in our interest.¹⁹

The President described the future he wanted as one embodying “durable peace”²⁰ – not simply absence of war but also international relationships that removed the causes of the war. The policy paper came at a time when many in Congress and around the U.S. were calling for big cutbacks in defense spending and a major reduction of American commitments throughout the world. The President, however, emphasized that “America cannot live in isolation if it expects to live in peace, and we have no intention of withdrawing from the world.”²¹

He also believed that Europe and Japan were back on their feet and prosperous. Thus, his hope was that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries and Japan would gradually build up their own defenses for their own interest. Nixon contended that under his doctrine partnership had special meaning for the U.S. policies in Asia as the U.S. strengthened its tie with Japan. He promised that U.S. cooperation would be enhanced with the Asian nations “as they cooperate with one another and develop regional institutions.”²²

President Nixon made it clear that he believed the time had arrived for a change from the postwar era of rigid containment of Communism. He remarked that the Cold War was ending. According to Nixon, an era of negotiation would be pursued with the Soviet Union and other Communist states, and arms-control agreements should be sought. If the U.S. was successful in its rapprochement with the Soviet Union and Communist China, it would be then be able to devote its

¹⁹ Richard Nixon, *U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970s: A New Strategy for Peace*, Report to Congress, February 18, 1970 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1970), p. 6.

²⁰ “Peace” according to the Nixon-Kissinger definition of it: “Peace must be far more than the absence of war. Peace must provide a durable structure of international relationships which inhibits or removes the causes of war.” from Nixon, *op. cit.* in note 19, p. 4.

²¹ Nixon, *op. cit.* in note 19, p. 6.

²² Nixon, *op. cit.* in note 19, p. 7.

resources to the solving of many problems existing among the smaller, less powerful nations in the world, i.e., countries in the Mideast and Southeast Asia.

Mr. Nixon remarked also that Americans, with their dissatisfaction with American security policy, were turning more to domestic concerns. Demands for action against crime, inflation, racial unrest, and a polluted environment would take more funds and attention.

2.2. Implications of the Nixon Doctrine for Asian Allies

First of all, the Doctrine implied the U.S. under-involvement and military retreat from Asia. After its declaration, a series of measures were taken such as the decrease of the U.S. politico-military influence in the peripheries and the redefinition of the contents and scope of American influence. The most visible way for lessening the level of military commitment was a reduction of the U.S. military forces stationed in Asian states. Policymakers proposed the necessity of military withdrawal in some Asian nations which already had solid military bases and intended to lower the American profile. According to Nixon's radio address held in February 1971, South Korea, Thailand and the Philippines were the targets of this military reduction:

Here the doctrine that took shape last year is taking hold today, helping to spur self-reliance and cooperation between states. In Japan, South Korea, Thailand and the Philippines, we have consolidated bases and reduced American forces.²³

However, the problem was that U.S. foreign policy sought to achieve two incompatible tasks: the decrease of American military forces and the continuation of commitment. This paradox attribute to what Robert Litwak called the "ambiguity" of Nixon Doctrine.²⁴ The obscurity of Nixon Doctrine was

²³ "Radio Address by President Nixon, Washington, February 25, 1971," in *FRUS 1969-1976, Vol. I*, No.85.

²⁴ Robert S. Litwak, *Détente and the Nixon Doctrine: American Foreign Policy and the Pursuit of*

susceptible to various interpretations among Asian countries and leaders, which left considerable potential possibility of misunderstanding. Military retreat and low involvement by the U.S. would generate fears to many Asian states, but simultaneously they would be relieved due to the guarantee of maintain commitments. Thus, there were ambivalent feelings toward U.S. foreign policy among Asia political leaders: to prepare for upcoming withdrawal of American legions and diminishing engagement or to believe that the U.S. would never betray other Asian friends. The interpretations of Nixon Doctrine and the fear of being abandoned among Asian allies have caused similar as well as different responses from allies, which will be stated later.

Second was the call for self-reliance to Asian states. For American policymakers, the decline of influence was directly linked to giving more autonomy and independence to Asian allies. They were convinced that most of Asian states suffice to deal with their domestic problems by themselves. Based on this judgment was the remarkable growth of Asian states after achieving their sovereignty. They did not fall into Communist subversion, launched economic development, and even started to form regional organizations themselves. For this reason, American policymakers paid close attention to the situations in Asia and thought that Asian influence would be much higher. Kissinger's memorandum apparently conveys it:

In reality, however, the area in which changes basically affecting American policy over the next ten years are most likely to take place in Asia, since international politics in Asia are in flux and since the interests of several powerful states converge in the area. If the U.S. is to have any deliberate influence on these changes, it will have to demonstrate its continuing engagement in Asia affairs – but in a selective and unobtrusive manner acceptable to an increasingly self-assertive group of Asian states, as well as to

Stability, (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1984), pp.123-124.

American limitationist opinion.²⁵

Realizing the constraints of American abilities, the U.S. intended to reduce its responsibilities and delegate parts of them to Asian states:

The United States cannot be in this position because to conduct foreign policy on this basis may be beyond our physical resources. It surely is beyond our psychological resources. No one can ask the U.S. Government to take the principal responsibility for every decision at every point in the world at every moment in time. It is not healthy for us and it is not healthy for other countries. It enables them to shift the burden of difficult decisions to the United States.²⁶

This constituted the core of Nixon Doctrine, which is “Asian states should defend their own security without much intervention by the U.S.” Instead of universal and overstretching security engagement, Nixon administration tried to localize security and require more autonomy in Asian states. However, this call for self-reliance was not confined to security issues. Economic self-reliance was another important part of U.S. foreign policy toward Asia. The U.S. had offered unconditional foreign aids to many Asian states for not only developing their own economies but also blocking the penetration of Communism. The environment for American foreign assistance changed as many states reached a certain level of development and had economic capabilities. Nixon’s emphasis on self-reliance was in accordance with this economic achievement and accompanying confidence in low income countries including Asian states:

First, the lower income countries have made impressive progress... They have been helped by us and by others, but their achievements have come largely through their own efforts... These achievements have brought a new confidence and self-reliance to people in communities through the world.²⁷

²⁵ “Memorandum from the President’s Assistant for National Security Affairs to President Nixon, Washington, October 20, 1969,” in *FRUS 1969-1976, Vol. I*, No. 41.

²⁶ “Background Press Briefing by the President’s Assistant for National Security Affairs, New Orleans, Louisiana, August 14, 1970,” in *FRUS 1969-1976, Vol. I*, No. 69.

²⁷ “Message from President Nixon to the Congress, Washington, September 15, 1970,” in *FRUS*

Therefore, the purpose of U.S. foreign policy in terms of self-reliance was “the increasing capacity and determination of individual nations to maintain their own independence and integrity.”²⁸ Faced with this requirement, Asia allies had to search for their way of self-reliance. However, this situation generated serious questions to Asian states: Did they have both capabilities and intention to carry out self-reliance? Did they perceive the new American foreign policy as a burden or a chance?

Third was the signal of decline of Cold War confrontation and the opening of détente. Internal disunion within Communist bloc including Sino-Soviet split made American policymakers doubt on monolithic Communism:

Then, we were confronted by a monolithic Communist world. Today, the nature of that world has changed – the power of individual Communist nations has grown, but international Communist unity has been shattered. Once a unified bloc, its solidarity has been broken by the powerful forces of nationalism. The Soviet Union and Communist China, once bound an alliance of friendship, had become bitter adversaries by the mid-1960’s... The Marxist dream of international Communist unity has disintegrated.²⁹

Also, Nixon’s firm belief on the peaceful structure of the world explained the most for U.S. détente policy with both People’s Republic of China and the Soviet Union. From the early period of his inauguration, Nixon repeatedly mentioned the necessity to avoid severe rivalry and to settle peace, since the U.S. was “entering an era of negotiation after a period of confrontation.”³⁰

No longer after Kissinger’s visit to China and the Sino-U.S. summit between Nixon and Mao Zedong was the Moscow visit by Nixon and American delegates

1969-1976, Vol. I, No. 70.

²⁸ “Memorandum from the Under Secretary of State (Richardson) to Kissinger, Washington, December 5, 1969,” in *FRUS 1969-1976, Vol. I, No. 46*.

²⁹ “Report by President Nixon to the Congress, Washington, February 18, 1970,” in *FRUS 1969-1976, Vol. I, No. 60*.

³⁰ *President Nixon’s inaugural Address*, available at <http://www.inaugural.senate.gov/swearing-in/event/richard-m-nixon-1969>

in May 1972. This sudden shift of U.S. policy towards Communist giants was quite sensitive problem for Asian allies, especially on China issue. Because of geographic proximity, many Asian political leaders had felt more threat or fears of Chinese Communists than the U.S. Faced with reorganization of relationship with China in the global dimension, the path that Asian states could take was split: to follow the U.S. logic of normalized relationship with China and Communist countries or to keep distance to them with the perception that Communist threat did not disappear in national dimension.

It should be noted that not all of above three implications of the Nixon Doctrine were well informed and consulted with Asian allies. As a result, anxiety and suspicion was raised among leaders in Asia, which actuated their responses to steps taken by the U.S. Also, the Doctrine itself carried many vague points, reflecting its flexible nature. Misunderstandings between the two sides led to allies' unwanted responses, which to the view of this study accidental results of the Nixon Doctrine.

2.3. The Nixon Doctrine in Practice

The number of U.S. servicemen in Vietnam peaked at 543,400 in April, 1969, three months before the unveiling of the Nixon Doctrine. The disengagement of American fighting men from Vietnam began in May of that year and declined to 184,000 by December, 1971. The cost of fighting the war in Vietnam also fell from USD 28.8 billion annually in fiscal year 1969 to an estimated USD 15.3 billion in fiscal year 1971.³¹

It could be argued that the U.S. was also disengaging from Vietnam in another way. In the 1967 presidential elections in South Vietnam, the Johnson administration had defended the voting as democratic. There were American

³¹ *Impact of the Vietnam War*, (Washington, D.C.: GOP, 1971), p.2.

critics of the 1967 balloting, but there was no evidence of the kind of official displeasure that developed in 1971 when President Nguyen Van Thieu ran a one-man race. Thieu is still South Vietnam's leader in 1971 and the Nixon administration must deal with him – but he is no longer the favored leader that he was four years earlier.

The American disengagement from Vietnam was accompanied by a reduction in U.S. military personnel in two nearby countries that played back-stopping roles in the war – Thailand and the Philippines. A United States – Thai agreement to reduce the number of American forces in Thailand followed on the heels of President Nixon's 1969 visit to the country. By mid-1971, approximately 16,000 U.S. servicemen (mostly airmen) had been withdrawn from Thailand, leaving about 30,000 American military personnel still in the country.

Most U.S. service personnel in the Philippines have been located at the huge Clark Air Force Base and the Subic Bay naval facility. Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos had earlier asked for the return of a third base, the Sangley Point naval air station, but President Johnson refused his request – claiming that the facility was essential to the conduct of the war in Vietnam. In 1971, however, with U.S. participation in the war declining, President Nixon responded affirmatively to renewed overtures for Sangley's return. The total of American servicemen in the Philippines also declined under the Nixon administration, dropping by about 6,500 men through mid-1971 to approximately 18,500.³²

These military pullbacks did not take place in a vacuum. During the same period, the U.S. reduced the number of its servicemen in Japan (by approximately 12,000 men or about one-third of the total when Richard Nixon became President) and in Korea (down 20,000 by mid-1971 from 60,000 or so troops in 1969).³³ The U.S. also relinquished responsibility for patrolling any portion of the 151-

³² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³³ See Appendix for more details of U.S. military pullbacks.

mile-long Northern border of South Korea and closed down several military facilities in Japan – more quickly and willingly than the Korean and Japanese expected. And the Nixon administration gave in to Japan’s demands for Okinawa base’s return by 1972 – again with less resistance than anticipated.

CHAPTER 3

RESPONSES FROM ASIAN ALLIES TOWARDS NIXON DOCTRINE

In their own particular ways and at their own varied paces, U.S. allies in Asia tentatively ventured forth with a series of diplomatic countermoves in responding to the Nixon Doctrine. Among Asian allies, South Korea, Thailand and the Philippines were the three who have sent combat troops to Vietnam. Interestingly, there are commonalities among these three nations' responses to Nixon Doctrine, due to a number of reasons. Also, differences are founded due to individual political leaders' perceptions on the Doctrine or say, the different impacts the Doctrine created for each case, as well as their diverse involvement in the Vietnam War.

1. Allies' Responses

1.1. South Korea Case

Washington's new Asian policy generated great concern among its Asian allies, including South Korea, whose security had been heavily dependent upon U.S. military presence and assistance. The American presence, in particular, was widely understood as the symbol of the U.S. security commitment to the country. The value South Koreans attached to it, therefore, was so great that the Park government sent its combat troops to Vietnam in 1965 primarily to prevent U.S. troops in Korea from relocating to the more urgent battlefield in Southeast Asia.

President Park Chung Hee and his advisors had long suspected that sooner or later the U.S. might withdraw at least some U.S. troops from Korea. The Nixon Doctrine reinforced this suspicion. The only remaining question for Koreans was when and how many U.S. troops would be pulled out. The Koreans could not be sure about this, but generally anticipated that the pull-out would take place after the Vietnam War ended. They believed that as long as two ROK combat divisions were deployed in Vietnam, the U.S. administration would not reduce the level of U.S. troops stationed in Korea. In other words, a pull-out or reduction of U.S. troops did not seem to be imminent. However, since November 1969, Nixon did instruct his national security advisor, Dr. Kissinger, that “it is time to cut the number of Americans [in Korea] in half and I want to see the plan which will implement this laid before me before the end of the year.”³⁴

As the prospect of the withdrawal of U.S. troops appeared nearer than expected, the South Korean sense of urgency regarding becoming self-reliant in national defense was strengthened:

As the new Asian policy of the U.S. government calls for self-support and self-defense of each nation, and as the current situation demands that Koreans should take up their own burden of national defense, the government will consolidate the foundations for self-defense and develop the war industry by promoting cooperation with the U.S.³⁵

In his public statements in January 1970, President Park repeatedly emphasized the importance of self-reliant defense, as well as of maintaining “absolute superiority to North Korea in armed strength.”³⁶ According to Park, self-reliance in the defense field meant, most of all, to develop “our own defense capabilities to

³⁴ “Memorandum From President Nixon to Kissinger, Washington, November 24, 1969,” in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XIX, Part 1, Korea 1969-1972*, No. 45, available at <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v19p1>

³⁵ Shin Bum Shik, *Major speeches by Korea's Park Chung Hee*, (Seoul: Hollym Corporation, 1970), “Let us realize national revitalization, Presenting the 1970 National Budget Bill to the National Assembly,” Nov. 1969, p. 374.

³⁶ “President’s New Year’s Message: Self-Sufficiency, Pursuit of Unification Goals of ‘70s,” *The Korea Herald*, January 1, 1970, p. 1.

defeat an attack by the North Korean armed forces alone.” As specific tasks to achieve such capabilities, Park suggested, “we should hurry the modernization of armed forces and intensify real-combat-like military training, establish the mobilization system of the two million-strong Homeland Reserve Force, and build defense industries.”³⁷

With its long-held suspicion of American commitment confirmed, the South Korean government set up a special committee in February 1970 which aimed at two goals: First, to prevent the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea. If this goal proved to be hard to achieve, however, Seoul would opt for the second goal of maximizing U.S. assistance for developing South Korea’s self-reliant defense posture.³⁸ In a top secret letter to President Nixon dated 20 April 1970, President Park argued that at minimum the current level of U.S. troops should be maintained at least until 1975, rejecting the U.S. request for consultation. Calling attention to the heightened military threat from North Korea, Park claimed that the reduction of U.S. troops by half would only raise the danger of war by making North Koreans misjudge that a “decisive moment” had come. According to Park, 1975 was the year in which the rapidly growing economy of South Korea would enable the country to be self-reliant in national defense.³⁹

From July 1970, ROK-U.S. high-level military consultations began talks on the modernization of the Korean forces, yet the Korean government continued to refuse consultation on the withdrawal of U.S. troops. It should be noted that in terms of wartime operational control of the ROK armed forces, Park instructed his government:

Never raise the issues of the withdrawal of Korean forces from Vietnam and of

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ For more examples of Korea’s efforts to halt U.S. withdrawal, including President Park’s “Koreagate” scandal, see *Investigation of Korea-American relations*, Report of the Subcommittee on International Organizations (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1978), p. 67-68.

³⁹ “Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassy in Korea, April 23, 1970” & “Letter From President Nixon to Korean President Park,” May 26, 1970, in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XIX, Part 1*, No. 57& 58

UN commander's operational control. Just in case the American side comments on these issues first, however, we respond so as not to harm our spirit of self-reliance and decency as a sovereign state.⁴⁰

Here President Park's intention of his policy of "alliance for self-reliance"⁴¹ in ROK security relations with the U.S. becomes clear. Despite his emphasis on self-reliance, Park Chung Hee did not intend to sacrifice the alliance with the United States. He only stressed self-reliant national defense, responding to changes in the U.S' East Asian policy and the resultant new security environment for the Korean peninsula. Moreover, Park demanded that the U.S. government provide massive support for the modernization of the Korean armed forces as a precondition for the reduction of U.S. troops stationed in Korea. As this demonstrates, Park knew that his policy towards self-reliance required American support and that such support could be available for South Korea only because of ROK-U.S. alliance relationship. Even though Park agreed to the withdrawal of U.S. troops in 1971, his conviction that self-reliance and alliance with the United States should go hand in hand did not alter: "We must assert that the harmonization of Korea-U.S. and Korea-Japan relations is the key to keeping the Korean peace."⁴²

By early 1971, the U.S. completed the unilateral withdrawal of the U.S. 7th Infantry Division (20,000 men) from South Korea, bringing U.S. forces levels in Korea to 42,000, while pressuring Park to maintain more than 45,000 ROK troops in South Vietnam. Even worse, by the end of 1972, U.S. troop strength in Vietnam had declined by a net total of 379,300 since 1968, leaving U.S. forces in Vietnam at 29 percent of pre-Nixon Doctrine levels. In contrast, ROK troop strength in Vietnam remained at 92 percent of pre-Nixon Doctrine levels.⁴³ Koreans had

⁴⁰ Sang-yoon Ma, "Alliance for Self-reliance: ROK-US Security Relations, 1968-71," *Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 39 (1), 2007, p. 201.

⁴¹ Terms used by Sang-yoon Ma, *ibid.*

⁴² Park Chung Hee, *To build a nation* (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis books, 1971), p.147.

⁴³ Tae Yang Kwak, "The Nixon Doctrine and the Yushin Reforms: American Foreign Policy, the Vietnam War, and the Rise of Authoritarianism in Korea, 1968-1973," *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, Vol. 12, No. 1-2 (Spring-Summer 2003), p. 48.

been left as residual forces in Vietnam fighting a nearly hopeless war, lacking the American logistical support on which they depended heavily in order to minimize casualties. The military cutbacks were paralleled by a decline in U.S. economic aid to Korea. After the promulgation of the Nixon Doctrine, economic assistance gradually shifted from mostly grants to loans. After U.S. pressure on Korean Government to limit textile imports to the U.S., President Park, who had become dependent on preferential economic measures in order to shore up his base of popular support, realized that he must find a remedy to reserve his economic achievements. Politically, Park faced a serious challenge by opposition leaders, led by Kim Dae Jung.

Before Nixon's historic trip to Beijing, in November 1971, Park repeatedly sent senior officials to Washington to implore Nixon for a meeting prior to Nixon's arrival in China. However, what Park received was a frank refusal from the U.S. government. Park's bitterness toward to U.S. deepened further in early December, when Nixon informed Park through a long letter that there was "no possibility for Park-Nixon meeting prior to President's visit to China."⁴⁴ Park had no choice but try to save face and prevent political critics from losing American support. The State Department was well aware of this: "We are aware of ROKG need for some public demonstration of our concern for protection of Korea's interests, as well as Park's problem of 'face.'"⁴⁵ Immediately after receiving Nixon's letter denying any possibility of a meeting, Park preemptively decreed a State of National Emergency on 6 December, using Northern threat as a pretext, in order to fend off the predicted fallout of political criticism. As the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research has pointed out:

Although the North Korean threat was cited in the emergency declaration and is an ever-present concern of the South Korean leadership, Park's move is related

⁴⁴ "Letter From President Nixon to Korean President Park, Washington, November 29, 1971," in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Volume XIX, Part 1*, No. 115, Footnote 4.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

much more directly to the internal situation, where he sees stability threatened by a combination of factors including... declining US support; and potential economic problems... Although Park himself has publicly welcomed the improvement in U.S.–PRC relations and has tried to adapt to it with a more flexible foreign policy, he is not confident he can maintain discipline without an appeal to the threat from the North.⁴⁶

Also, according to analysis of the Bureau, Park Chung Hee’s move toward greater authoritarianism was related to the impending end of the Vietnam War, “declining Vietnam procurement, thus adding to factors threatening the economic success that Park regards as his major accomplishment.”⁴⁷

The Park administration was not notified of the secret visit of Henry Kissinger, ahead of Nixon’s visit to China, before its public announcement. It was only afterward, in March 1972, that Secretary of State Rogers reported the event to the South Korean Ambassador to the United States.⁴⁸ It is not difficult to guess the extent to which Park Chung Hee felt estranged from the U.S. when he considered that Prime Minister Chou En Lai visited Pyongyang twice and Kim Il Sung visited Beijing once, as did First Deputy Prime Minister Kim Il and Deputy Prime Minister Park Sung Chul. It is known that Park felt unease because of the improved U.S.-China relationship and the U.S. appeared to do little to relieve the discomfort.⁴⁹ Park was also deeply concerned about the position and role of China. Thus, it can be stated that Park’s final turn toward authoritarianism was not foreordained but a gambit born of desperation. Nixon viewed American rapprochement with China as a strategy for bringing enemies to the table. It was

⁴⁶ “Republic of Korea: Park Increases His Power to Counter ‘Emergency Situation,’ Intelligence Note Prepared in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Washington, December 10, 1971,” in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XIX, Part I*, No. 118.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Don Oberdorfer, *The Two Korea: A Contemporary History* (Addison-Wesley, 1997), pp. 29-30.

⁴⁹ For more examples of U.S. inability to ease Park’s anxiety, see Lee Chong-suk, “The Yushin Regime and the National Division Structure: Antagonistic Interdependence and the Mirror Image Effect,” in Lee Byeong-cheon eds., *Developmental Dictatorship and the Park Chung-Hee Era: The Shaping of Modernity in the ROK* (Homa & Sekey Books, 2003).

affective: less than a year after his visit to Beijing, the Paris Peace Accords were signed between the U.S. and North Vietnam. Quite unexpectedly, America's détente with China brought two other enemies to the table: North and South Korea.

On 4 July 1972, Park and North Korean officials surprised the world by publicly announcing that basic agreements had been reached concerning reunification. Just as Park was apprehensive that the U.S. might abandon South Korea in the pursuit of geopolitical strategy, Kim Il Sung was anxious about China abandoning North Korea for American concessions. The rivals revealed that months of secret negotiations in Pyongyang had led to a breakthrough. President Park attempted to use the North-South Dialogue as leverage to forestall any further demobilization of American forces from Korea. Here appears the impediment that the inter-Korean negotiations imposed on America's strategic flexibility, since a withdrawal of American forces from Korea during the process would undermine Park's position in the negotiations. At this point, there were more South Korean than American troops left in Vietnam, and the State Department decided to wait for developments in Vietnam before approaching Park for a serious exchange on American military posture in Korea: "We want the freedom to take out part or even all of our troops [from Korea] ... we will have to define in our own minds at what points during North-South negotiations we are prepared to withdraw our troops... We also have to start being extremely candid on this subject with the ROKG when the Vietnam situation permits."⁵⁰ Whether the North-South Dialogue was an expression of moral protest against Washington's abrupt change of policy towards China, or a leverage to thwart American forces retreat from Korea, or both, it did show the U.S. how a weaker ally could challenge its patron.

Before the declaration of martial law on 17 October 1972, the full text of it was sent to State Department and immediately declassified by Nixon administration

⁵⁰ Tae Yang Kwak , *op. cit.* in note 42, p. 52.

due to criticisms on Nixon's foreign policy. As Secretary Rogers said to Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil:

We cannot accept the reasons given for the decision to declare martial law and in particular cannot understand the attack on U.S. policy in Asia contained in the proposed presidential proclamation. Secretary read from text of proclamation and commented it called into question the wisdom and morality of U.S. policy and suggested that U.S. actions would adversely affect ROK security... Such statements were not acceptable and ...could cause serious problem between the two countries.⁵¹

Park government then decided to remove offensive passages in the first version of proclamation to exchange for agreement of the U.S. "to make positive public statement respecting martial law declaration which was essentially internal ROK mater."⁵² Finally martial law was declared without Park's criticism on Nixon's foreign policy and in return, the Nixon administration made no criticism of Park's turn to increased authoritarianism.

In the case of South Korea, we clearly see the Nixon Doctrine's impact on President Park calculations and decisions. In the face of U.S. under-involvement in Asia, Park promoted South Korean self-reliant path of development, since it was "already over that small states solve their security problems by relying on a certain Great powers... [South Korea's] security should not be subject to the U.S."⁵³ In Park's viewpoint, security and self-reliance were inseparable. By making self-defense as a choice for self-reliance, Park was possible to fill the military vacuum, modernize Korea's defensive capabilities and show the U.S. Korea's efforts for self-reliance. By the end of 1971, Nixon was actively pursuing policies that endanger South Korea's security. The rapprochement between the

⁵¹ "Secretary's Conversation with Ambassador Kim on Martial Law, October 17,1972," in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XIX, Part 1*, No. 161.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ "Presidential Press Conference – Questions, Answers," *The Korea Herald*, January 12, 1972, p. 2. See also *The Korea Times*, the same day.

U.S. and Communist China, the American retreat from Vietnam and the U.S. failure to protect the Republic of China's seat in the United Nations are among the headaches which attributed for Park's initiative of North-South Dialogue and 1972 Declaration of Martial Law. Yet for all of his indignation toward Nixon and the U.S., Park still desired American political support and sensitive to American needs. Korean government made several concessions in order to preserve U.S-South Korea alliance, since it was crucial to the country's security and overall development.

1.2. Thailand Case

Thailand, of all the Southeast Asia states outside Indochina, was most alarmed by the prospect of a diminished U.S. role in the region. The Thais feared that the U.S. troops might withdraw entirely from the area, leaving Thailand's vulnerable borders more exposed than ever. In the case of Thailand, how Thai government interpreted the Doctrine was the key to understand the country's response to it. At the time of Nixon's White House, Thanat Khoman served as Foreign Minister and Thanom Kittikachorn as Prime Minister of Thailand. The differences between these two greatest figures in Thai government led to contradictories in the country's foreign policies towards the U.S. Their divergent perceptions and responses towards U.S. new Asian policy also led to the 1971 military coup, which dismissed Thanat Khoman and made Thanom Kittkachorn the new Foreign Minister of Thailand.

For Thailand, the promulgation of the Nixon Doctrine had the effect of raising serious doubts concerning the validity of existing treaty commitments with the U.S. Although the Thais did not feel that the U.S. was ready to abrogate existing security agreements, there was question as to whether these security commitments (the Manila Pact and the Rusk-Thanat Communique) and other political-security interests in the region would retain their value to the U.S. in light of changing U.S.

foreign policy priorities and national interests. In September of 1969, the U.S. Senate passed a resolution which, in effect, superseded the 1962 Rusk-Thanat Communique and insisted that no American ground forces would be employed in the event of war in Thailand.⁵⁴ As for the Manila Pact, the provisions of Article IV of it required applicable parties to "...meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes."⁵⁵ There was no requirement for a reflexive response of any kind on the part of any signatory. As the U.S. reformulated its Asian policies, the Thais became more aware that the "constitutional processes" clause of the treaty provided the U.S. a convenient escape device in case the discharge of the treaty obligation did not appear to sever U.S. national interests. Thai Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman was well aware of this:

The question which arises then is: Will the help (to the threatened nation) come? To ask the question does not imply an intention to reflect on the moral integrity of one's allies and partners; it is rather an expression of realism and prudence. History, particularly of recent times, is strewn with examples of lesser nations being sacrificed by their allies on the pretext of preserving peace of the world but actually because the national prestige and vital interest of those allies were not directly affected.⁵⁶

In Thanat Khoman's point of view, the Nixon Doctrine and policies followed it was what that triggered instability in Thailand during 1970s. Two years after being dismissed by Prime Minister Thanom, Thanat Khoman showed his stands on U.S. unreliability:

Though the Nixon Doctrine has been proclaimed to the World, the United States Government privately and bilaterally repeated its assurance that it would honor its

⁵⁴ "Talking Points for Your Use with Senator Fulbright at the Leadership Meeting, Memorandum From Kissinger to President Nixon, September 15, 1969," in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XX, South East Asia 1969-1972*, No. 24, available at <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v20>

⁵⁵ "Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty (Manila Pact), September 8, 1954," available at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/usmu003.asp

⁵⁶ Thanat Khoman, "Prospects of a new Pax Asiana", *Foreign Affairs Bulletin*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Oct/Nov 1969), p.149.

commitments with Thailand. In all appearances, this may look like a flagrant contradiction. Indeed if the United States intends to relinquish its security role, both in Vietnam and in Southeast Asia, how can it afford to keep up its commitments with this country? In fact, this balmy assurance together with a token military supply appear to produce their desired effects with our present leaders who may be led to believe that while the Nixon Doctrine represents the general rule, the case of Thailand probably constitutes a very special exception... While it is obvious that the continued and even increased American military presence represents a definite advantage for the United States as a leverage to be used against the North Vietnamese, what benefits will accrue to Thailand, the host country? The American side, of course, says that the presence of its forces contributes to enhance the security of the region. Even if this is true in the general sense, though that point remains to be proven, no one can say that such presence helps in any way to improve the insurgency situation in Thailand. On the contrary, it may cause a deterioration as the other side will see that presence as a direct threat and would call for more actions on its part.⁵⁷

Hence, Bangkok began casting about for alternatives to its overdependence on the U.S. First and foremost, Thailand announced plans to pull its forces out of Vietnam and talks were initiated to remove all U.S. forces from Thailand. On U.S. military reduction, Thanat Khoman “asserted that only in this way could Bangkok demonstrate that U.S. forces were in Thailand for the sole purpose of supporting the war in South Vietnam and that the Thais had no need nor desire for direct U.S. support in fighting their insurgency.”⁵⁸ This clear-cut stand reflected Foreign Minister’s intention of self-reliant path for the country. A scholar pointed out: “Such initiatives taken during the Thanat-Unger talks in August 1969 saw Thailand moving towards a position of self-reliance in national defense and

⁵⁷ Thanat Khoman, “Thailand in the Midst of Changes,” in M. Rajaretnam & Lim So Jean eds. *Trends in Thailand* (Singapore Univ. Press, 1973), p.110.

⁵⁸ “US-Thai Relations, Memorandum From Kissinger to President Nixon, August 25, 1969,” in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XX, Southeast Asia 1969-1972*, No. 20.

greater participation in regional organizations.”⁵⁹ Thanat Khoman was also aware of the fact that “some of the people in the government, including some military, did not understand the political and psychological reasons for his public statement re withdrawal Thai forces from Vietnam.”⁶⁰

Interestingly, the Nixon Doctrine had a positive effect in accelerating the commencement of more cordial relations between Thailand and the People’s Republic of China as well as other Communist states. At the end of 1969, Thanat Khoman recommended that Thailand move away from its binding ties with the U.S. and sought to improve its own relations with the PRC and North Vietnam, declared a desire to begin face-to-face talks with both countries. In early 1971, Thailand announced its support for Chinese admission to the United Nations, having voted against such a move in 1966, 1968 and 1969. It also sent a trade mission to the Soviet Union. At the same time, the Thais urged regional effort to help fill the vacuum being left by the departing Americans, especially in transforming the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) into a regional military alliance, as Thanat Khoman initiated: “Concept of Vietnamization should be broadened to ‘Southeast Asianization.’”⁶¹

The U.S. side began to realize Thai perceptions on the Nixon Doctrine quite tardily. Not until the end of 1970 that Nixon was informed of the actual situation in Thailand:

While the Thai welcome the Nixon doctrine, they are inclined to interpret it quite literally. Believing that they have already done much to aid us in providing bases in Thailand, sending troops openly to Vietnam, and deploying them in Laos, the Thai feel that if they provide the human resources for additional activities against North Vietnam, the material and economic costs of raising and supporting these

⁵⁹ Saneh Chamarik, “Questions of Stability and Security in Thailand,” in M. Rajaretnam & Lim So Jean eds. *Trends in Thailand* (Singapore Univ. Press, 1973), p. 87.

⁶⁰ “Thai Volunteer Forces in Vietnam, Telegram From the Embassy in Thailand to the Department of State, Bangkok, December 23, 1969,” in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XX*, No. 40.

⁶¹ “Secretary’s Meeting with Thai Leaders, Telegram From the Embassy in Thailand to the Department of State, Bangkok, January 11, 1971,” in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XX*, No. 104.

assets should be borne by the United States... They are convinced that a North Vietnamese victory in Indochina would leave them boxed on the north and east by borders under hostile Communist control, Chinese or Vietnamese. Under such circumstances, they feel that external support to the already troublesome but presently manageable insurgency threat within Thailand would rise sharply and the Thai government would find itself faced with serious internal problems... The whole political complexion of Thailand and her international posture would promptly change to a left-leaning neutralism.⁶²

This belated awareness unintentionally and, thus, regrettably distanced the Nixon administration from its ally in Southeast Asia. Facing this crisis, two almost clashing paths have risen in Thailand. Thanat Khoman soon manifested his view by proposing policies towards an independent Thailand upon U.S. umbrella. However, the Prime Minister himself had his own view on the situation and conducted his own plan.

Apparently contradictory to his Foreign Minister's standpoint, Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn still entrusted Thai national security to the U.S. The most obvious is his policy in delaying Thai troops withdrawal from South Vietnam. Unlike Thanat who repeatedly urged the U.S. government for Thai rapid troops retreat, Thanom, on request of the U.S. side, confirmed Ambassador Unger for "only a reduction, not a total withdrawal"⁶³ of Thai forces from South Vietnam and not until early 1972 that the withdrawal was executed. The Bangkok government also enthusiastically supported the U.S. invasion of Cambodia in the spring of 1970. Thanom Kittikachorn even offered to send Thai troops into Cambodia to replace US forces in April 1970 incursion.

Thailand in 1971 became increasingly occupied with adjusting foreign policy

⁶² "Report on Southeast Asia Survey Trip: 7-22 October 1970, Memorandum From Director of Central Intelligence Helms to President Nixon, Washington, October 23, 1970," in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XX*, No.94.

⁶³ "Telegram From the Embassy in Thailand to the Department of State, September 16, 1969," in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XX*, No 26.

to suit the changing context. The military leaders sensed that the U.S. was going to leave Thailand. Nevertheless, they continued to feel that close U.S.-Thai relations were the key to the security of Thailand. At the same time, the Sahaprachathai Party, the government party, was faced with a crisis as the members were demanding more financial support for their provinces. Finally, these problems led to a military coup in November 1971.

On 11 November 1971 Thanom Kittikachorn staged a coup against his own government and abolished the constitution. Thanat Khoman was dropped from the new Cabinet lineup and Thanom took over his portfolio. The army seized power because, Thanom said, “the current world situation and the increasing threat to the nation’s security require prompt action, which is not possible through due process of law under the present constitution.”⁶⁴ The coup reflected the turmoil in the political scene and also the determination of the military junta to pursue without hindrance a foreign policy that accord with U.S. policy. Although the U.S. announced its plan to reduce its forces in Thailand, Thai military junta still entrusted the country’s future to the U.S. Nixon government considered the coup as a positive sign to abolish Thanat Khoman, “whose moves to make contacts with Peking have drawn criticism,”⁶⁵ and give more space for the Prime Minister and his military assistant, Praphat Charusathian. Thus, the U.S. decided to remain silent on the 1971 coup, impulsing Thanom to the next stage of authoritarianism.

Following the coup, the feeling of uncertainty was growing in Thailand. In order to alleviate Thai anxiety, Kissinger stopped by Bangkok on the way of his historic trip to China. Immediately, the Thai government was overcome with frustration by Kissinger’s stop-over. It seems that the Thanom Kittikachorn government was trapped by an unequivocal commitment to the U.S. in the Vietnam War, which did not allow the Thai military to adjust themselves easily in

⁶⁴ Quoted from John L.S. Girling, *Thailand: Society and Politics* (Cornell University Press, 1981), p. 115.

⁶⁵ “Ambassador Unger’s Report on Coup in Thailand, Memorandum From Kissinger to President Nixon, November 17, 1971,” in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XX*, No. 143.

the new situation. This is what a scholar called the “inflexibility of the Thanom Government.”⁶⁶

The inflexibility of Thai one-man government under Thanom Kittikachorn was self-explaining. For example, although the U.S. showed its intention to reduce its role in the Vietnam War, Thanom Kittikachorn in 1972 stated that Thailand would continue to make military facilities available to the U.S. Instead of reducing the U.S. presence in Thailand, the Thanom government allowed the U.S. to move military facilities from South Vietnam into Thailand. In the spring of 1972, in response to the Easter offensive in South Vietnam, U.S. air power in Thailand increased dramatically. By May the same year, base Takhli was reopened and Nam Phong, the newest base in Thailand, was opened. The increase of U.S. airpower in Thailand was intended to meet Nixon’s Vietnam withdrawal schedule. The official number of U.S. military personnel in Thailand in May 1972 was 31,685. After redeployment, the number of U.S. military personnel jumped to more than 45,500 in the last months of 1972 and airpower in spring/summer of 1972 increased to its highest level ever.⁶⁷ On December 16, 1972 Bangkok granted permission to move U.S. Military Headquarters for Southeast Asia to Thailand. In all, the U.S. military presence in Thailand represented the second largest commitment, after Germany, of the U.S. forces at that time.

Another political storm shook the Thanom Kittikhachorn government when the U.S. and North Vietnam entered a peace agreement on January 27, 1973. The Paris Accords of January 1973 made the U.S. military presence in Thailand unjustified. However, the Thai military leaders opened the country freely to the U.S. without perceiving these new political realities. For example, Colonel Narong Kittikachorn said in April 1973: “If the Americans go, can we protect ourselves? ... People think about the economic and the social losses. But they

⁶⁶ Surachart Bamrungsuk, *United States Foreign Policy and Thai Military Rule 1947-1977* (Bangkok: Duangkamol, 1988), p. 162.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-164.

don't realize the military disadvantage if the Americans pull out."⁶⁸ Thus, the Thanom government allowed the U.S. to use the air force bases even though the U.S. war in Vietnam was officially halted by the Paris Accords. The Thai government still believed that the stationing of U.S. forces would obligate the U.S. to protect Thailand. As General Krit Sivara, Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the army stated that: "The American presence will act as a deterrent against any major communist offensive in Indochina... It also gives us a warm feeling of security."⁶⁹ The "warm feeling of security" was soon been cooled down in the October 1973 uprising, which led to the collapse of military rule in Thailand without U.S. intervention to sustain the regime.

Yet the military regime, ironically, continued to pursue former Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman's efforts to engage the Communist states. In September 1972, at the invitation of the Chinese government, a Thai table-tennis team went to China. In the midnight meeting "without any forewarning,"⁷⁰ Premier Chou En Lai indicated China's willingness to establish friendly relations with Thailand on trade or diplomatic levels. In October 1972, a Thai trade mission attended the Canton Trade Fair to received further assurance that China was willing to trade with Thailand.

The years 1972-1973 saw the U.S. intention to withdraw from Thailand. U.S. interest in Southeast Asia also began to decline. The American public demanded the return of its soldiers. This was also a transition period of U.S. foreign policy which was shifting its focus from Southeast Asia to Europe and the Middle East. The year 1973 saw the energy crisis and the emergence of Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) as a real power. The Mid-East War of October 1973 especially forced the U.S. to pay attention to supporting Israel.

⁶⁸ *The Voice of the Nation*, 30 April 1973, p. 2.

⁶⁹ Quoted from Surachart Bamrungsuk, *United States Foreign Policy and Thai Military Rule 1947-1977* (Bangkok: Duangkamol, 1988), p.167.

⁷⁰ "Thai Contact with the PRC, Memorandum of Conversation, Washington, October 2, 1972," in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XX*, No. 180 .

Besides those issues, the Nixon administration, at the same time, faced the developing Watergate crisis. It seemed that the Nixon administration was trapped by national and international events. Consequently, the U.S. did not make any effort to keep the Thanom Kittikachorn government in power after the 14 October 1973 uprising. Probably the U.S. realized that there would be no major change in Thai foreign policy, since the Thai elite still relied on the U.S. Moreover, internal political tensions made Washington feel that it would be better to let Thanom and Praphat leave the government.

In the Thailand case, the Nixon Doctrine brought about many changes as well as crises for Thai foreign policies and political environment. Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman saw the Doctrine a reflection of U.S. incredibility and looked to regionalism as a potential substitute for the waning American presence. He also sought reinsurance with China and Communist states. What Thailand should do was to drive its focus in future strategic directions away from the U.S. However, Thanat Khoman had failed in persuading his Prime Minister and the military of the potential Thai development and security without U.S. assistance and protection. His foreign policies even raised suspicions among military leaders. Meanwhile, strong alliance with the U.S. was what Thanom Kittikachorn believed crucial to ensure the future of Thailand. The 1971 military coup was his solution to the problem of trust in the U.S. commitments. General Thanom also realized that American political assistance and material support became an essential prop of an authoritarian regime. Thus, Thailand after the coup continued deeply involved in the Indochina War and opened its military bases available for the U.S. even after the Paris Accords conclusion. The only convergence between two figures was their pursuit of détente with the Communist side, mostly Peking and Hanoi. This is due to considerations of Thailand's long-range interests and domestic security, which incited both Thanat and Thanom to do so, as the Americans were gradually departing from Asia. The only difference between them was their perception on Thai long-time patron and hence, their choice of remedy

for the problem: self-reliance versus strong alliance with the U.S.

1.3. The Philippines Case

After accomplishing independence from colonial rule, the Philippines had created a “special relationship” with the U.S. American government conceived the strategic geopolitical importance of the Philippines in terms of security and deployed huge air and naval bases in the Philippines. So did the island nation to the U.S.:

Close cooperation with the U.S. was considered by successive Philippine governments essential for at least three reasons. Politically the Filipinos inherited a set of democratic institutions and practices of government that inessential respects were patterned after those of the United States. Economically the Philippines had provided the American market with sugar, coconut products and the retention of this export trade was considered necessary to economic recovery after World War II. Militarily the United States was the only Pacific power that could be relied upon to safeguard the republic from external threat.⁷¹

Since Mutual Defense Treaty in 1951, the U.S. had actively committed Filipino security affairs. However, critical viewpoints about heavy security dependence to the U.S. had emerged among nationalists in the Philippines. They argued that asymmetric security relationship with the U.S. never treated the Philippines as equal partner and thus never produced “mutual effect.” Using the subject of military bases as nationalist agitation, they demanded a new framework of relations with the U.S. Among them was President Ferdinand E. Marcos, repeatedly criticizing that the Philippines should terminate overdependence to the U.S. in terms of not only security, but also politics and economics. Faced with international changes toward thawing, Marcos precisely understood the nature of them – the decline of Cold War confrontation based on ideological tension. He

⁷¹ Nena Vreeland, Geoffrey B. Hurwitz, Peter Just, Philip W. Moeller, and R. S. Shinn, *Area Handbook for the Philippines*, (Washington, D.C.: USGP O, 1976), p. 235.

also accentuated the necessity of Filipinos of searching for new way of foreign policy. Marcos expounded that:

Our old foreign policy had made us over-dependent on one great power. It separated us not only from the other countries of the Third World but also from the socialist group of nations. Now, in the much-changed world of the 1970s, we have come to see that our place in the world depends on how we ourselves conduct our relations with other countries.

As ideologies decline and alliances loosen, nations are starting to gather in new coalitions, which go beyond social systems and political creeds. Like many other nations, big and small, we are having to rethink our foreign policy to meet this new situation.⁷²

As Nixon Doctrine was declared for reducing security commitments in Asia, Marcos almost immediately decided to rearrange the existing security ties with the U.S. He sought to accelerate self-defense program and to reassess U.S.-related security pacts. This action taken by Marcos was based on dual judgments: to move from dependent relationship with the U.S. to genuinely mutual and equal one and to follow the new realities in the East Asia triggered by Nixon administration. As remarked by some scholars: “It became increasingly clear that the Philippines’ search for a new foreign policy was inseparable from, and integrally linked to, its demands for a revised security relationship with the United States.”⁷³ These led to Marcos’ determination to reexamination of overall relationship with the U.S.:

We are seeking new relations with the United States, as with all other countries, on the basis of equality, justice and mutual respect. We are re-examining our various economic and security arrangements with the United States in keeping

⁷² Ferdinand E. Marcos, *Revolution from the Center: How the Philippines is Using Martial Law to Build a New Society*, (Hongkong: Raya Books, 1978), p. 80.

⁷³ Nena Vreeland, Geoffrey B. Hurwitz, Peter Just, Philip W. Moeller, and R. S. Shinn, *op. cit.* in note 71 p. 238.

with the developing situation in Asia and in the world.⁷⁴

That the Philippines should escape from unequal and dependent security and economic relationship with the U.S. was the very efforts for Marcos to achieve self-reliance. He also recognized the urgent need for a re-examination of military bases and placed national interests at the very first priority in his foreign policy after the U.S. policy change:

It is in the context of this changing pattern of world politics that the future relations between the Philippines and the United States, and therefore the future of the American bases in the Philippines, must be re-examined. This is not the occasion to indicate what the nature of those relations and what the future of these bases will be. Only one thing is certain: these relations will have to be modified in line with our respective conceptions of national interest.⁷⁵

Moreover, although Marcos had sent more than ten thousand Filipinos to South Vietnam, he as soon as November 1969 planned to withdraw these men home. Interestingly, President Marcos also planned to “transfer” U.S. allowances in support of the PHILCAG-V (Philippine Civic Action Group-Vietnam), Philippine operations in South Vietnam, for other purposes such as “security matters.” He mentioned “peacemaking efforts, travels of emissaries (to Paris and Hanoi), efforts in South Vietnam to make contact with the Viet Cong”⁷⁶ as examples of such matters. This move by Marcos clearly shows his efforts to extract as much as possible U.S. money and aid in his own plans and aims.

The same to South Korea’s Park Chung Hee and Thailand’s Thanom Kittikachorn, Ferdinand Marcos had implemented alternative to cope with the new situation. Martial law and an overall socioeconomic reform was Philippine President’s measure due to the nation’s domestic crisis for years. With the same

⁷⁴ Marcos (1978), *op. cit.* in note 72, p. 81.

⁷⁵ Marcos speech in March 1972, quoted in William E. Berry, Jr., *U.S. Bases in the Philippines: The Evolution of the Special Relationship* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989), p. 146.

⁷⁶ “Ambassador Byroade’s Conversation with President Marcos on PHILCAG Withdrawal, Memorandum From John H. Holdridge of the National Security Staff to Kissinger, Washington, November 14, 1969,” in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XX*, No. 198.

determination of a rearrangement of U.S.-Filipino alliance, Marcos even blamed much of these internal disorders on the U.S.: “Crises at home made us realize that our so-called special relations with the United States, which had governed our postcolonial period, had become a hindrance to the pursuit of our national interest.”⁷⁷ This perception by Marcos effected heavily his decisions in Philippine foreign relations with the U.S.

President Marcos’ proclamation of martial law on September 21, 1972 was an attempt to exterminate chaotic and ill-functioned domestic social orders and revitalized the by creating a “New Society.” Before declaring martial law, Marcos was severely faced with dual social disorders. One was social, economic and political problems in Filipino society. The other was domestic rebellion by Communist armed forces such as New People’s Army (NPA) and Muslim insurgents. Exposed to “the danger of violent overthrow, insurrection, and rebellion,”⁷⁸ Marcos confronted internal vulnerability of his regime. Martial law was an alternative for Marcos to break through these crises. According to his statement on the declaration of martial law, he ambitiously manifested to cope with these dual problems:

I assure you that I am using this power vested in me by the Constitution to save the Republic and reform our society. I wish to emphasize these two objectives. We will eliminate the threat of a violent overthrow of our Republic. But at the same time we must new reform the social, economic and political institutions in our country.⁷⁹

Marcos ambitiously planned to launch *Bagon Lipunan* (New Society) program for specific implementation of the martial law. In other words, the construction of New Society was the highest rationale for him to impose martial law. Four

⁷⁷ Marcos (1978), *op. cit.* in note 72, p. 81.

⁷⁸ “Statement of President Ferdinand E. Marcos on the Declaration of Martial Law,” quoted from David A. Rosenberg (eds.), *Marcos and Martial Law in the Philippines*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1979), p.219.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.224.

agendas for this socioeconomic reform were proposed, including government reorganization; land reform; long-run economic growth and new system of popular representation (*barangays*) which eventually created New Society. These agendas were fundamental for the Philippines to have self-reliant capacities to surmount its overdependence on the U.S.

The U.S. intervention in the Philippines during Marcos era cannot be overlooked in evaluating Marcos' move to a socioeconomic authoritarianism. Before martial law, the internal security of Filipinos was largely dependent on the U.S. It was because NPA and other violent rioters attacked the U.S. bases in the Philippines and even killed American soldiers. Under such insecure situation, the U.S. could not reduce the military and economic assistance for counter-insurgency because it became American problem as well as Filipino one. Such assistance did not decline after the declaration of martial law. As *FRUS* documents now clearly reveal, the U.S. has been informed beforehand the planning and declaration of martial law. As early as February 1970, due to Marcos' anxiety of a revolution throughout the country, Ambassador to the Philippines Henry A. Byroade has reported Kissinger and President Nixon "the need for social programs and land reform, and to head off drastic actions such as martial laws."⁸⁰ About a week before the declaration day, Byroade recommended the Department of State below points:

4. If Marcos wants to extent by constitutional means, and we intervene, (which I think we would not at this point) we might be in a position to buy considerable benefit to ourselves by simply letting him know that we would not oppose in any way his continuation in power by constitutional means. These matters, we could say, are internal to the Philippines on which we would naturally take no position or action.

5. At the same time we should have no hesitation at all to ask him to take specific

⁸⁰ "Memorandum from Kissinger to President Nixon, February 7, 1970," in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XX*, No. 207.

steps in the interest of our mutual business relationships.⁸¹

Kissinger, therefore, suggested President Nixon to make “no comment” on Marcos’ action, regarding it as a Philippine matter. Dr. Kissinger’s reckon is that such U.S. non-reaction “should result in [Marcos’] continued cooperation in our maintaining effective access to our bases in the Philippines and his assistance in resolving U.S. private investment problems.”⁸² Consequently, soon after the imposition of martial law, the President himself stated:

One of the first steps taken by government was the establishment of a “free flow” policy, in which foreign investments may be repatriated any time, profits remitted and “frozen” dollars allowed to be withdrawn.⁸³

Marcos then continuously advertised the Philippines in various U.S. newspapers to attract foreign investment into his country. For example, he advertised on the *Business Week* that “We’ll pass the laws you need – just tell us what you want” or cited “seven good reasons to look to the Philippines” on *The New York Times*.⁸⁴ In similar manner, the U.S. government increased spectacularly its economic and military assistance to the Philippine government. Military aid totaled USD 166.3 million in the four year period (1973-1976), 106 percent more than the total assistance of USD 80.8 million in the preceding four year period (1969-1972).⁸⁵ Such foreign capital and aid was crucial for the nation to reform its economy under the New Society.

⁸¹ “Telegram From the Embassy in the Philippines to the Department of State, September 15, 1972,” in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XX*, No. 256.

⁸² “Philippine President Imposes Martial Law, Memorandum From Kissinger to President Nixon, September 23, 1972,” in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XX*, No. 260. For more arguments on the U.S. role in the declaration of martial law, including citations from Marcos’ diaries, see Amando Doronila, *The State, Economic Transformation, and Political Change in the Philippines, 1946-1972* (Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 166-170.

⁸³ Ferdinand E. Marcos, *Notes on the New Society of the Philippines* (Manila: Marcos Foundation, 1973), p. 121.

⁸⁴ “*New York Times* Advertisement, Philippine Government,” quoted in Daniel B. Schirmer & Stephen Rosskhamm Shalvon, eds., *The Philippines Readers: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorship, and Resistance* (KEN Inc. Quezon: 1987), p. 227.

⁸⁵ Pedro V. Salgado, O.P., *The Philippine Economy: History and Analysis* (R.P. Garcia: Quezon, 1985), p. 59.

Similarly to Thailand, the Philippines also experienced profound political and diplomatic reverberations from America's about-face and made similar adjustments. President Marcos announced in January 1971 the intention to open trade and diplomacy relations with the Soviet Union and other Soviet bloc countries. His Foreign Minister, Carlos Romulo, told the Philippine Congress in February 1971 that "with the rollback of the American presence in Asia," the Philippines needed to achieve "a more balanced set of alignments" and no longer could Manila afford to place "all our eggs in one basket."⁸⁶ Diplomatic relations with the socialist states were realized until March 1972, when the Philippines established formal ties with Romania and Yugoslavia. Later in that year ties were established with other socialist countries of Eastern Europe. Relations with Cuba were restored in September 1975. Regarding to Soviet Union, original target of normalization of relations, on March 15, 1972, Manila sent First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos to the Soviet capital – on the same day that Senator Laurel visited Peking – to sound out the possibility of opening diplomatic relations.

In the Philippine search for a new direction in foreign policy, the most noteworthy development was the establishment in 1975 of diplomatic contact with the PRC. Filipinos soon established unofficial trade contacts with Peking during 1971. They also quickly realized the impracticality of their old China policy, especially after the PRC was finally seated in the United Nation in October 1971. The rapidly rising stature of the PRC, coupled with President Nixon's visit to Peking in February 1972 sped up a new, realistic China policy. In March 1972, less than two weeks after PRC Premier Chou En Lai and Nixon signed a joint communique in Shanghai, Philippine Senator Salvador Laurel flew to Peking to explore the possibility of the two countries' establishing diplomatic relations. The countries moved a step closer toward diplomatic rapprochement in September 1974 when First Lady Imelda Marcos paid a visit to Peking and met with both

⁸⁶ Maximo V. Soliven, "Manila Turns Leftward – Slowly," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. LXXII, No. 24 (June 12, 1971), p. 28.

Mao Tse Tung and Chou. As of late 1975, the Philippines had diplomatic relations with nearly all socialist states, except the Soviet Union, North Korea, Albania and North Vietnam.

In the case of the Philippines, the U.S. under-involvement under Nixon Doctrine gave the Philippines insurance for internal security. It is because the U.S. government maintained the level of support and aid to Filipino government to eliminate internal threat, and continually involved in domestic situation, both before and after the proclamation of martial law. The ultimate goal of Marcos' martial law was to eradicate social chaos and to restore domestic order. Thus, it is fair to say that the continuation of military and economic assistance program by the U.S. reinforced Marcos' authoritative drive. President Marcos saw in U.S. new foreign policy towards Asia a great opportunity to adjust Philippine unequal and over-dependent relationships with the U.S. and dictate various new policies, including New Society program and enthusiastic détente with Communist countries. The Doctrine also paved the way for Marcos to turn Filipino security umbrella – the U.S. – to merely an economic one. Thus, it is not an exaggeration when saying that Marcos and the Philippines enjoyed much from the Nixon Doctrine's impact on the country.

2. Comparisons of Allies' Responses

2.1. Commonalities

Analyses of each case elucidate the commonalities among U.S. allies in Asia in responding to the Nixon Doctrine. They are:

- a) Efforts in building national self-reliance, which finally led to authoritarianism

In the face of U.S. under-involvement and gradual decrease in American assistance, especially in terms of manpower and military help, all three countries

sought to develop a self-reliant path in military and economic process. The feeling of national identity and the determination of self-help among Asians was growing little by little during the period influenced by Nixon Doctrine or say, the latter half of the Cold War. Lessen U.S. dollars, in the perception of many Asian governments, was synonymous with lessen credibility of the U.S. government or increasing doubt on U.S. security commitments in Asia. The sense of being abandoned and betrayed placed Asians on tenterhooks of a “relevant question” of “how Southeast Asia will fare when those who have for so long cast their shadows over the region will have gone from the scene.”⁸⁷ It was high time for U.S. allies in Asia to take action, as Thai Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman put forward: “We in Asia cannot sit idly by and wait for doomsday to come.”⁸⁸

This development of self-reliance came up to U.S. expectations. Unfortunately, the road to self-reliance of three allies ignited authoritarianism, which this paper tries to demonstrate, one of accidental results of the Nixon Doctrine. There was an execution of martial law in South Korea in October 1972, a military coup in Thailand in November 1971 and another martial law in the Philippines in September 1972. All of the moves to authoritarianism prolonged and strengthened the leaders’ power greatly and were consulted beforehand with as well as supported after execution by the U.S. However, such moves were absolutely out of Nixon administration’s expectations. Although there was a call for self-reliance among allies by the U.S., it did not imply encouragement of dictatorship. In fact, in these three cases, allies presented the U.S. with a *fait accompli* which provided very little option for the U.S. but supporting authoritarian regimes and seeking side-benefits from it.

b) Efforts in preserving U.S. umbrella

Nixon Doctrine’s first and foremost principle is military retreat. However,

⁸⁷ Thanat Khoman’s statement, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. LXVII, No. 13 (March 26, 1970), p. 25.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

beyond initial anticipation, it took the U.S. much more time and efforts to withdraw from Asia. This was mainly due to allies' efforts in preserving their long-time umbrella, which themselves considered vital to their national security and economic development. President Park Chung Hee succeeded in using hard bargain to postpone U.S. troop withdrawal from Korean peninsula for two years. Thai Prime Minister even sent troops to Cambodia and staged a military coup to prolong its special relationship with the U.S.

For their parts, Asian allies showed their willingness to meet their patron's needs and preferences. Several measures were used, which the key was delay or avoidance in withdrawing troops from South Vietnam. Not until 1973 that allied troops were completely withdrawn and South Korea's combat troops even remained in Vietnam until March 1973, two months after the signing of the Paris Peace Accords. As shown in Table 1 below, at the end of 1971, the number of Korean and Thai soldiers was as high as 45,700 and 6,000, respectively. Another measure was to make available local military bases for the Americans to use. This kind of response made it harder for the U.S. to withdraw from Asia and somehow pushed the Nixon administration deeper in the Indochina War and military operations in the region. This is mainly because parallel with allies' enthusiasm was their efforts in bargaining and extracting U.S. economic and military aid, at the same time support for authoritarian regimes. For this reason this kind of allies' efforts may be considered unwanted by the U.S.

Table 1: Allied Troops Level, Vietnam, 1965-1972⁸⁹

Country	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
The U.S	184,300	385,300	485,600	536,100	475,200	334,600	156,800	24,200
South Vietnam	642,500	735,900	798,700	820,000	897,000	968,000	1,046,250	1,104,000
South Korea	20,620	45,566	47,829	50,003	48,869	48,573	45,700	36,790
Thailand	16	244	2,205	6,005	11,568	11,586	6,000	40
The Philippines	72	2,061	2,020	1,576	189	74	50	50
Australia	1,560	4,530	6,820	7,660	7,670	6,800	2,000	130
New Zealand	120	160	530	520	550	440	100	50

c) Efforts in engaging Communist states

All three allies also engineered some form of détente with the Communists. As described earlier, Seoul tried to come close to Pyongyang and Bangkok and Manila found ways to engage Peking and Hanoi. Kissinger and Nixon's visit to China remarkably affected governments in Asia so that they decided to take action, apparently following the U.S. logic of normalized relationship with China and Communist countries. This was another accidental result of the Nixon Doctrine, for the significant reason that those détente efforts from allies were taken largely out of fear stemming from secret American performance in Peking. It should be also noted that the Doctrine's initial intention was to trigger regional cooperation among Asian states. The U.S. did not await Thai initiatives of dialogues with Peking and Hanoi since 1969 or table tennis to China in 1972, without any prior report to the U.S. The same logic was applied for the 1971 North-South Korean Dialogue and Philippine President Marcos' visit to Moscow in 1972. All of these moves from allies to engage Communist states astonished the Nixon government,

⁸⁹ Synthesize from Department of Defense Manpower Data Center and Stanley Robert Larsen & James Lawton Collins, Jr., *Allied Participation in Vietnam* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1985), p.23, available at <http://www.history.army.mil/books/Vietnam/allied/index.htm#contents>

which reflected throughout *FRUS* documents. The U.S. concern and unease on this trend of allied countries was reasonable, since they were among the most anti-Communist leaders and governments in Asia (accounting for America's back for them).

In short, the U.S. under-involvement followed by Nixon Doctrine and détente with China opened the opportunity for governments in Asia to rearrange their asymmetric relationships with the U.S. and to diversify diplomatic relations with other states, regardless of ideologies. The U.S. was pushed to passive situations by allies' self-movements and reacted uncomfortably with doubts and concerns. Above points are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: Nixon Doctrine's Effects, in Theory and Practice

Logical products	Accidental results
Self-reliance	Authoritarianism
U.S. military retreat	Military and economic umbrella
Regional cooperation	Détente with the Communists

2.2. Differences

Although three cases responded to the Nixon Doctrine quite similarly, there are differences among them, even within the same kind of response.

In self-reliant efforts, the case of Thailand reveals more complicated situation. While self-reliance in South Korea and the Philippines was initiated, upheld and improved by the same leaders, Thai efforts was interrupted and discontinued by the 1971 military coup. The coup destroyed almost ex-Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman achievements for a more dependent Thai foreign policy and overall

development. Implementing the coup, Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn negated self-reliant track and “wanted to see Thailand more and more committed to military ventures in place of the U.S.”⁹⁰ Thailand since the coup became heavily dependent on and implicated in the U.S. policies for military activities in both Thailand and Indochina. The road to authoritarianism in Thailand, as a result, was somewhat different to other two cases. However, the same logic is found: Intentions of self-reliance triggered dictatorship in all three countries. Moreover, on the road to dictatorship, three countries produced slightly different types of authoritarianism. South Korea with the Yushin reform and Thailand with the martial law produced military authoritarianism, which place national security on the front and kept the country’s domestic situation under heavy control of the army. Meanwhile, in the Philippines case, following a non-military martial law was the New Society program, a national socioeconomic reform which was implemented during nearly ten years of martial law. Thus, the Philippines developed another type of dictatorship, which a scholar grouped it as “socioeconomic authoritarianism.”⁹¹

In efforts to preserve U.S. umbrella, the Philippines was the one who made the less endeavors in supporting American policies in Asia. The Marcos government not only sent the least combat troops to South Vietnam but also pull them back home the earliest. As revealed in Table 1, at the end of 1969, there was just some 189 Filipinos left in South Vietnam and they were withdrawn from the country as soon as 1972. This was because in December 1969, the Philippines withdrew from Vietnam its civic action group (PHILCAG-V) – a 1,500-man engineering construction battalion and just maintained a medical contingent.⁹² All in all,

⁹⁰ Thanat Khoman, “American Military Withdrawal from Thailand,” *Southeast Asia Affairs*, 3 (1976), p. 395.

⁹¹ Moo Hyung Cho, *US Foreign Policy and Authoritarian Regression in the East Asia: South Korea and the Philippines in the 1970s*, Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 67th Annual Conference, The Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL, Apr. 02, 2009.

⁹² *United States Foreign Policy, 1969-1970: A Report of the Secretary of State*, (Washington, D.C.:

Filipinos were primarily engaged in medical and other civilian pacification projects in Vietnam. While Thailand made its military bases widely open for the U.S., President Marcos even wished to revise U.S-Philippines military bases agreement to be more advantageous for his nation. What the Philippine government in fact produced was surprisingly little support for the U.S. policies in Asia and abundant plans to maximize the benefits from its alliance with the superpower, especially in economics field. Therefore, it is fair to say that because of Nixon Doctrine's impact and allies' responses to it, the U.S. still served as a military umbrella for both South Korea and Thailand, but an economic umbrella for the Philippines.

In détente efforts, South Korea was the one that stands out compare to the other two cases, due to its low level in engaging Communist states. To this study's viewpoint, the 1972 North-South Korean Dialogue was both an expression of moral protest against Washington's abrupt change of policy towards China and a leverage to forestall any further mobilization of American forces from Korea. It did not represent President Park's ambition for genuine détente. This conclusion comes from the fact that the negotiations for peace between two Koreas following the Dialogue were short-lived and of little avail. South Korea also did not show any interest in approaching Communist states aside from North Korea. Meantime, Thailand and the Philippines actively carried out détente with various socialist countries, especially Peking and Hanoi. Table 3 synthesizes points which are raised above.

GPO, March 26, 1971), p. 63.

Table 3: Comparisons of Allies' Responses

Responses		Korea	Thailand	Philippines
Self-reliance	Process	Constant	Inconstant/ interrupted	Constant
	Types of authoritarianism	Military authoritarianism	Military authoritarianism	Socioeconomic authoritarianism
U.S. umbrella	Level	Strong	Strong	Weak
	The U.S. role	Military umbrella	Military umbrella	Economic umbrella
Détente	State(s)	North Korea	All Communist states	All Communist states
	Level	Weak	Strong	Strong

CHAPTER 4

OVERALL ANALYSES

1. On Allies' Responses

There are relevant questions on allies' responses which needed to be deeply explored. Why did they produce the same reactions in different levels to the U.S. un-involvement in Asia? What factors affected allies to react so? And to what extent was the role of the U.S. in each development in Asia? Generally speaking, because of geographic proximity, many Asian political leaders had felt more threat or fears of the Communists than the U.S. Confronting new U.S. policy towards less American presence and doubtful credibility, Asian leaderships surely sought for security assurance against Communist threat. As of this reason, they share the same reactions but with different levels, depending on the effects the Nixon Doctrine created for their own situations.

One of the most critical queries was the U.S. role in the rise of authoritarian regimes in South Korea, Thailand and the Philippines in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In the previous part, this study provides evidences for how much the impact of the Nixon Doctrine on allies' strategic calculations and their road to authoritarianism. Here, one more point is needed to be further emphasized, that the U.S. foreign policy during Nixon's terms was strongly dominated by Kissinger's *Realpolitik* bases. The core of *Realpolitik* is flexible responses to developments around the world to guarantee American interests abroad. In the face of increasing militarized and authoritarian regimes in East Asia, the Nixon government silently observed without intervention to the trend. It was because to

U.S. policymakers, who were overwhelmed by *Realpolitik*, such trend was needed to protect national stability in each country and hence, regional stability was assured. At that moment, the U.S. hoped that regional stability could facilitate a non-Communized Indochina and consolidate the U.S. stature as an Asian power. As *FRUS* documents reveal, each decision to dictatorship by Asian leaders was weighed all the pros and cons and reported to President Nixon by Dr. Kissinger himself. Again, it was Kissinger's *Realpolitik* considerations that ended the military rule in Thailand in 1973 uprising, without U.S. intervention to save the Thanom government. No matter what it was authoritarianism or the fall of a pro-American regime, the U.S. might turn a blind eye due to practical calculations of certain context. Hence, it is fair to state that the rise of authoritarianism in East Asia in the late 1960s, early 1970s was stem from and attributed largely to the U.S. strategic plan for the region.

Targeted as applicants of the Nixon Doctrine from the beginning, three Asian allies responded to it in a similar logic but with different scopes. Accounting for this are two important exterior factors. One is the Nixon Doctrine's different impacts on each ally. The other is the different degrees of allies' Vietnam War involvement. Some interior factors, such as each case's geographic feature, the leader's role, et cetera, are also cited. However, the larger part, to this study's viewpoint, belongs to the exterior causes.

In South Korea and Thailand, the Nixon Doctrine brought about security vacuum and the related threat. U.S. under-involvement and military withdrawal seriously caused security vacuum, and President Park perceived it as a threat because he was confronted by menacing external forces, North Korea. Prime Minister Thanom also perceived it as a threat due to Thai vulnerable borders being exposed to the Communists. However, the Philippines had almost no external threat around neighboring countries. Although Nixon Doctrine required more military responsibility for Marcos and the Philippines, it did not elevate the level of threat in national security. It was the reason why the Philippines did not follow

security-dominated authoritarianism. The grave source of threat in the Philippines after the moment of Nixon Doctrine's declaration was not from outside, but from inside, including NPA and Muslims. Thus, whereas Park's strategy was similar to "closed" strategy, exclusively strengthening self-defense capability against North Korea and protecting national security, Marcos sought "open-door" policy with the expansion and diversification of diplomatic relations. Thailand, thanks to Foreign Minister Thanant's efforts, succeeded in developing both tasks, with a short halt of détente efforts following the 1971 coup by military leaders. Security vacuum and Communist threat also accounts for allies' different considerations of their alliances with the U.S. While South Korea and Thailand continued trying to seize the maintenance of U.S. military umbrella, the Philippines wished to transfer its special relationship with the Americans to a new phase where the U.S. became Filipino economic umbrella rather than military one.

In addition to the Doctrine's impacts, the different degree of Vietnam War involvement among allies made them react differently to the sudden change of U.S. Asian policy. From the start of the War, South Korea and Thailand have fervently shown their support for it, via both words and action, while the Philippines expressed a less enthusiastic attitude. As seen in Table 1, South Korea and Thailand contributed the most combat troops for the War in Vietnam, along with America and South Vietnam. In the Manila summit conference of the U.S. and its seven Vietnam allies held in October 1966, South Korea, joined by Thailand and South Vietnam, actively promoted a hardline policy, advocating a military victory, in opposition to the supporters of a softer and more flexible position, which included the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand.⁹³ At the moment of war escalation in 1967, Korean and Thai troops were dispatched more to Vietnam with a high determination from their governments for a victory, while

⁹³ For more details of the standpoints of each ally, see *New Era for Asian and the Pacific: Trip of President Park Chung Hee of Manila Summit Conference and Korean forces in Vietnam*, Ministry of Public Information, ROK, 1966.

the Philippines began its reduction of troops. In addition, as mentioned previously, Philippine President Marcos sent most to Vietnam not his combat troops but civil action-related ones, who were withdrawn home as soon as 1972. While South Korea and Thailand were deeply involved in the War, the Philippines directed its focus to other issues such as détente with the Communists or New Society program. In other words, Philippine Marcos succeeded in creating himself relatively more space in relations with the U.S. by producing relatively lower degree of Vietnam War involvement. Thus, it gave him more freedom of action whereas other two allies were heavily caught in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia's battlefields. Nevertheless, this freedom of action was not gathered only by Marcos himself or the country itself. Again, the U.S. policy played an important role, as a Staff Report pointed out the unbalance of the U.S. concern in allies' developments:

While the United States was vaguely critical of developments in Korea, it was altogether uncritical of what occurred in the Philippines. The distinction in American eyes appeared to be that while President Marcos' martial law measures were constitutional and deemed warranted those taken by President Park were unconstitutional and considered unnecessary.⁹⁴

Besides exterior causes, admittedly, interior factors played some role in three allies' reactions. Geographically, South Korea and Thailand were more exposed to Communist neighbors than the Philippines. Historically, South Korea held an exceptional hostility with the Communists since the Korean War experience. Also, in South Korea and Thailand cases, the leader was the meter of national security, whereas Philippine leader played the role as the reformer of socioeconomic disorder. Yet these domestic factors were auxiliary in allies' responses, because it was the U.S. change in policy that created above unexpected reactions. Synthesizing abovementioned points, developments in three Asian nations are

⁹⁴ "Martial Law, Staff Report for the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee," quoted in Daniel B. Schirmer & Stephen Rosskham Shalvon, eds., *The Philippines Readers: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorship, and Resistance* (KEN Inc. Quezon: 1987), p. 227.

presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Comparisons of Developments in Three Asian Allies

Factors		South Korea	Thailand	The Philippines
Outside	U.S. un-involvement	Threat (security vacuum)	Threat (security vacuum)	Opportunity (rearranged relations)
	U.S. role	Military umbrella	Military umbrella	Economic umbrella
	Vietnam War involvement	Deep	Deep	Low
	Détente with Communists	Weak	Strong	Strong
Inside	Source of threat	Communist neighbor	Communist neighbor	Domestic riots
	Authoritarian path	Military authoritarianism	Military authoritarianism	Socioeconomic authoritarianism

2. On the Nixon Doctrine

The relevant questions on the Nixon Doctrine are the drive of its accidental results, its legacies and ultimate success in Asia. In the process of withdrawing from Asia, the U.S. had failed in preserving its image and stature as an Asian power. Its role and involvement in Asia twenty years after the World War II's end was too considerable that to withdraw discreetly was truly uneasy. From the very beginning of Nixon Doctrine's promulgation, the three Asian allies, together with Japan, were listed as targets of U.S. new foreign policy. However, it seems like Nixon government did not aware of and paid due attention to situation in each country, as well as unique features of Asian leadership. For their own survival, using their troop presence in Indochina and military benefits they brought about for the U.S., they tried to take advantage of the alliances with the superpower, at the same time voiced their opinions and ventured their own plans. While the

Nixon Doctrine brought about an uneasy feeling among Asian allies, in the same logic, they challenged back the U.S. government by implementing policies without prior consultation. This led to accidental results of the Doctrine. There were moments the Nixon administration realized its mistakes in implementing new Asian policy, considering message from Manila of Ambassador Byroade to Assistant Secretary Green in January 1970 as an example:

The Nixon Doctrine is very sound policy but unfortunately its press treatment and, more importantly, actions in the Senate have local leaders concerned that in effect it is a policy of cutting and running beyond what the nations out here believe to be in their best interests.⁹⁵

Frankly speaking, the efforts from the U.S. side were inadequate to compensate for the formidable impacts the Nixon Doctrine made on Asian allies. Diplomatic exchanges and activities were devalued when drastic policy changes, such as Kissinger's China visit, were not informed and consulted in advance with allies. In short, it was the U.S. subjective attitude and neglect of situation in East Asia during the process of substantial policy shift that resulted in unanticipated outcomes which challenging the Doctrine's success.

Nixon Doctrine's legacies were great, which a critical one was its impulsion of dictatorship in Asia. Raymond Bonner, an expert in U.S.-Philippines relations, wrote: "During the first Nixon-Kissinger term, in addition to the Philippines, other dominoes fell – not to the totalitarian Communist left but to the authoritarian military right."⁹⁶ As analyzed earlier, this was attributed to *Realpolitik* aspects of Nixon-Kissinger Doctrine. However, whereas Asian authoritarianism, at least to American point of view, was vital for national and regional stability, the U.S. might unable to deny a grave legacy of Nixon Doctrine, which influences still

⁹⁵ "Backchannel Message From the Ambassador to the Philippines (Byroade) to the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs (Green), Manila, January 2, 1970," in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XX*, No. 204.

⁹⁶ Raymond Bonner, *Waltzing with a dictator: the Marcoses and the Making of American policy* (New York: Times Books, 1987), p. 115.

exist nowadays: weakened confidence among allies.

Mutual confidence between the allies was considerably weakened during the process of negotiating issues related to U.S. under-involvement. This is most precise in the case of South Korea. The South Korean government's tactics for bargaining with the U.S. administration were often accompanied by unintended side-effects. Admittedly, by driving a hard bargain with Washington, Seoul did achieve certain gains, such as Nixon administration's support for the modernization of Korean military forces agreed to in 1971. However, these seemingly significant gains often proved to be rather minor, as evidenced by the failure of Nixon administration to meet the promise of assistance for the Korean military modernization program. Increasingly the two countries found themselves in conflict over many issues and mistrustful of one another's intentions. Mutual trust and bilateral alliance, thus, was damaged greatly, which worsened the "scar" of faith in the U.S.-ROK relationship stemming from the Korean War and lasting until nowadays.

Yet, it would be unfair to attribute the weakening of mutual confidence only to Park Chung Hee and other South Korean and Asian leaders. As pointed out earlier, the Nixon administration wittingly or unwittingly made Asian leaders feel betrayed by changing its policy toward Asia unilaterally without prior consultation with Asian governments. Ironically, throughout various talks and statements with three Asian allies, the Nixon government emphasized that credibility was the most important characteristic that permeated U.S. diplomatic history. Regarding U.S. credibility, the bitterest lesson probably belongs to Thailand. After the fall of the military regime in 1973, the Thais no longer entrusted the country's future to Americans and a deadline for U.S. withdrawal from Thailand was instantly set up. In a relatively similar view, Earl C. Ravenal draws proper remarks on U.S. "large-scale foreign policy change:"

Though no alliances were formally disturbed, our Asian allies, as they counted our divisions and analyzed our posture statements and policy declarations, were

concerned that, behind the façade of ritualistic reiteration, we might have altered the nature of our capability and intent to fulfill our treaty commitments.

Thus the Nixon Doctrine, in practice, devalued our alliances – but without gaining immunity from involvement – by shifting strategies, expounding new criteria for intervention, and making arbitrary adjustments in force levels.⁹⁷

The final question is likely on the Doctrine's success. With Kissinger's *Realpolitik* principles imbrued in it, the Nixon Doctrine was designed as a flexible response strategy to provide the U.S. with greater freedom of action in its commitment policy with allies. To this study's point of view, the Doctrine proposed a new rule for American conduct that would achieve military retrenchment without political disengagement from the U.S. alliance systems in Asia. In other words, it was to make possible the essential decreased involvement without harming U.S. friendships with Asian allies. In his Asian tour to announce his Doctrine, President Nixon expressed with the Filipinos:

It is also true that our relations have been strained, strained recently for a variety of reasons. We are still very good friends, but even among friends it is possible to have strained relations... I hope that we can initiate a new era in Philippine-American relations, not returning to the old special relationships – because the winds of change have swept away those factors – but building a new relationship, a new relationship which will be based on mutual trust, on mutual respect, on mutual confidence, on mutual cooperation.⁹⁸

As clearly presented, the U.S.-allies relations in all three cases represented little, not to say a lack of mutual trust, respect, confidence or cooperation. In reality, each side was under suspicions of the other in many events and the nature of the relations was likely compromise and exploitation, not mutual cooperation.

⁹⁷ Earl C. Ravenal, *Large-Scale Foreign Policy Change: The Nixon Doctrine as History and Portent* (California: University of California-Berkeley, 1989), pp. 32-33.

⁹⁸ Richard Nixon, "Remarks on Arrival at Manila, the Philippines, July 26, 1969," Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project* at <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=2143>

Based on allies' responses to it, this study argues that the Nixon Doctrine had failed in its basis of America's military retreat from Asia, at the same time strong alliances with Asian countries. The two incompatible tasks raised and solved by the U.S. new foreign policy (the decrease of American military forces and the continuation of commitment) were not fully achieved. The U.S. was unable to disassociate its military commitment to Asian allies from its political one. The Doctrine was too dramatic in its impact and too uncertain in its real intention for U.S. allies in Asia to accept it easily. They, therefore, produced unexpected responses which challenged the Doctrine's success. The U.S. strategic flexibility the Nixon-Kissinger team wished to achieve by means of the Nixon Doctrine in fact was greatly reduced, accompanied with the feeling of reduced U.S. reliability among Asian allies.

The U.S. reliability continued to decline at the end of the Nixon-Ford administration, when the legacies of the Nixon Doctrine became serious: the fall of South Vietnam and Communized Indochina; authoritarianism became as common as an "Asian value," whereas national riots prevailed and stability was the thirst for many parts of Asia. To Asian people, the dependability of the U.S. to respond to future regional security needs was also weakened. This was due to the increasing assertiveness of the U.S. Congress reflected in the War Powers Resolution of 1973, and the willingness of U.S. domestic opinion to permit an atrophy of U.S. regional interests. Thanat Khoman commented in 1976:

Perhaps someday the U.S. Congress will realize that its efforts to score a domestic and political victory over the Administration with respect to the Vietnamese War did not enhance America's international stature or credibility. If anything, the April capitulation of Phnom Penh and Saigon, by dealing with a heavy blow to the U.S. position in the whole of Asia, raised doubt how effectively it will play its future role as a responsible regional power.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Thanat Khoman, "The New Equation of World Power and Its Impact on Southeast Asia," *ORBIS*, Vol. 20 (Fall 1976), p. 614.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

There is a wise motto that International Relations is all about a country's responses to another country's policies. With that in mind, this study dissects a historical period between the end of 1960s and early 1970s of international relations in the Asian-Pacific region, focusing on the U.S. relationships with three East Asian allies. From mutual analyses between the U.S. and allies' side, what this study tries to demonstrate is the impact of a certain U.S. policy on certain allies, which created huge changes in domestic politics of allied countries. Moreover, it influenced greatly bilateral relations and U.S. alliance system in the region.

First of all, the Nixon Doctrine was envisaged in Nixon-Kissinger's very first works on American foreign relations. It targeted Asia for a remarkable policy change of U.S. un-involvement and military withdrawal from the region, though desired to maintain alliance system and preserve commitments here. For Asian allies, the Doctrine implied three policy changes: (1) a process of U.S. military retreat, followed by pullbacks of U.S. personnel from local areas; (2) a call for self-reliance upon allies, followed by U.S. military and economic support for their modernization and (3) a decline of Cold War confrontation, followed by Sino and Soviet-American détente.

Three target countries of the Doctrine – South Korea, Thailand and the Philippines – found themselves in the face of not only a foreign policy but also security crisis. They conducted a series of diplomatic countermoves to cope with

the U.S. new strategy. Surprisingly, allies produced the same responses to the Doctrine, including (1) efforts in building national self-reliance, which finally led to authoritarianism; (2) efforts in preserving U.S. umbrella and (3) efforts in engaging Communist states. This study argues that these responses were accidental results of the Nixon Doctrine, rather than logical products of it.

There are slight differences among allies' responses in the levels of efforts and types of authoritarianism, because of two exterior factors: (1) different impacts of Nixon Doctrine and (2) different degree of Vietnam War involvement. The Nixon Doctrine generated threat for South Korean and Thai security of their Communist neighbors, while created opportunity for the Philippines to balance its security relations with the U.S. The two former nations also deeply involved in the Indochina War while the later did little in Vietnam. Thus, South Korea and Thailand advocated military-dominated authoritarianism and clung to the U.S. as their military umbrella, while the Philippines produced socioeconomic authoritarianism and made the U.S. its economic umbrella. Also, whereas Thailand and the Philippines case yielded active *détente* with the Communists, South Korea's efforts were relatively weak.

Hence this study pointed out the drive of unwanted outcomes of Nixon Doctrine: U.S. government's subjective attitude and neglect of situation in allied countries. Two critical legacies are also cited. First is the U.S. impulsion of dictatorship in Asia, which is mainly due to *Realpolitik* aspects of the Nixon Doctrine. Second is weakened confidence among allies, which devalued alliances and raised doubts on U.S. credibility and reliability. Finally this research questions the Doctrine's success in its basis of America's military retreat from Asia, at the same time strong alliances with Asian countries.

The thesis brings about some implications. Most obviously, it shows the difficulties of U.S. presidential doctrines and national foreign policies to be carried out as their initiatives and expectations. Theoretically, the Nixon Doctrine and *détente* are rational strategies to accord with the new situations of 1970s: U.S.

internal difficulties, the end of Indochina War, the Communist split, the emergence of Japan and Europe as new power centers, et cetera. Nevertheless, its implementation in reality developed problems which mainly due to its drastic impacts and secrecy in ways of conduct. Although being cautiously built and carefully developed overtime, Nixon Doctrine's accidental results in Asia show the matter of U.S. policies in theory vis-à-vis practice, especially during the period after World War II.

Moreover, this study shows the problem of mistrust and misunderstanding in allied relationship. This is another lesson for the U.S. of alliance management. The present system of U.S. alliance was formulated at the beginning of the Cold War, in order to counter the threat of international and especially, Soviet Communism. Currently the U.S. has developed a huge alliance system in Asia-Pacific, namely the "San Francisco System," under the "hub-and-spoke" basis. According to some scholars, this *pax Americana* in Asia is outdated and being eroded.¹⁰⁰ The thesis raises the question of Nixon Doctrine as an example of U.S. unilateralism – arbitrarily adjusted and ventured forth policies without or against allied consultations – which contributed to the erosion of U.S. alliance system in Asia. This is a critical point to the U.S. policy towards her alliance system around the world, as seen in 2001 when allies showed displeasure by voting against the U.S. in the United Nations.

The study of Nixon Doctrine is another evidence of the importance of United States – People's Republic of China relationship in international relations of Asia-Pacific region. During Nixon-Kissinger term, Sino-U.S. détente disordered foreign policies of entire Asian nations. The same logic can be applied today with the rise of China as a regional counterbalance of the U.S.

Likewise, this thesis is another evidence of the U.S. support for authoritarian regimes, a very topical issue recently which attracted attentions of policy analysts

¹⁰⁰ See William T. Tow & Amitav Acharya, *Obstinate or obsolete? The US alliance structure in the Asia-Pacific, Working Paper* (Canberra: Australian National University, 2007).

and commentators throughout the world. Three examples from Asia may consolidate arguments on America as an advocator of dictatorship globally, due to its practical or realist approach of foreign policy.

Last but not least, it consolidates an approach to explain political and economic transitions in certain countries: external causes (Nixon Doctrine and international environment) of internal transitions (authoritarianism in three Asian countries). It is a long-lived mode and style in the academia that domestic developments should be and could only be well explained by internal factors. However, to this study's viewpoint, clinging to interior elements is not adequate, since international arena and domestic conditions are always interacted and intertwined. Without international relations outlook and comparative historical analyses of different cases, a research on developing path of a certain country may produce errors and subjective conclusions. Therefore, via international relations angle, the study suggests a more comprehensive insight for understanding Asian politics.

This paper also partly supplements previous studies of external context approach in various ways. It shows the greater role periphery areas can play in core-periphery relationships by presenting variations of a same impact from the core state. It is because the variations are not caused by policies of the core but internal conditions of the peripheries. The focus on and appreciation of allied countries or peripheries make this study lean to Patron-client relationship model. However, the case of the Philippines challenges this model due to its developing path of socioeconomic authoritarianism. Although presenting abundant characteristic of a patron-client relation, impact of U.S. policy on the Philippines did not result in militarized economic development or "growth through defense" in South Korea and Thailand cases. Thus, it is fair to state that the dynamics of Asian politics should be examined case-by-case with comprehensive outlook of both internal and external factors. With the same external influence, internal elements may yield different reactions among countries, which challenges any

existing theory or model.

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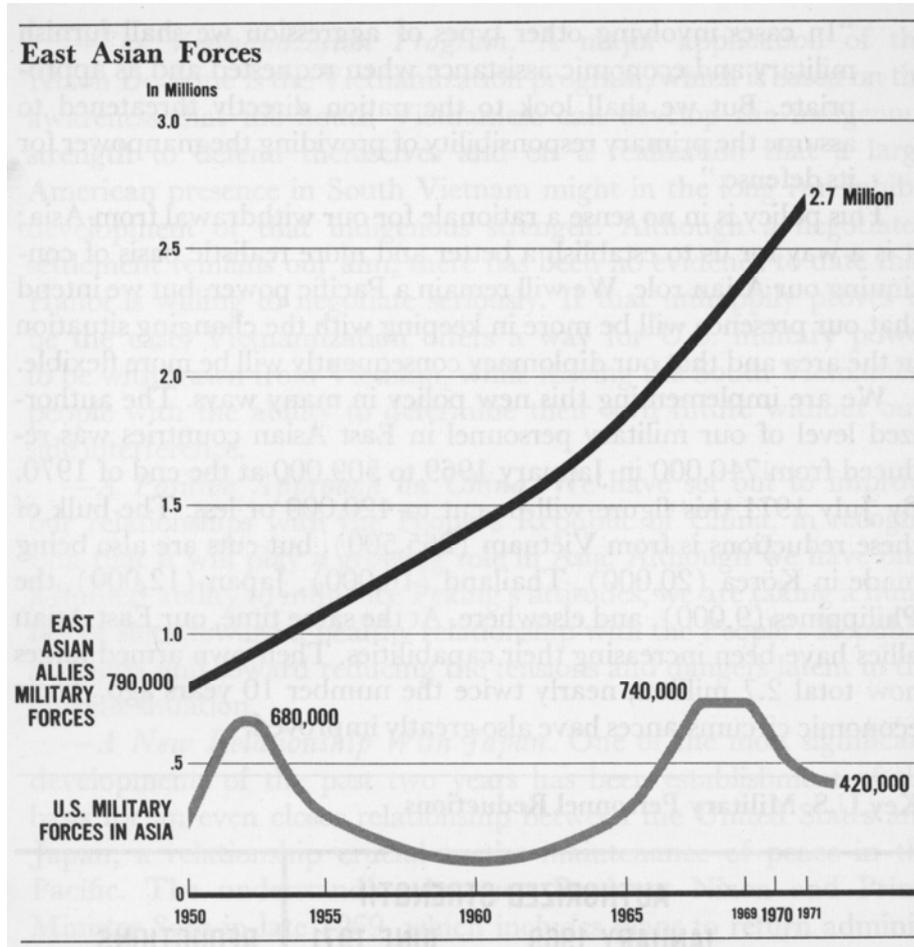
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APPENDIX

	AUTHORIZED STRENGTH		REDUCTIONS
	JANUARY 1969	JUNE 1971	
VIETNAM	549,500	284,000*	-265,500
KOREA	63,000	43,000	-20,000
THAILAND	47,800	32,000	-15,800
JAPAN	39,000	27,000	-12,000
PHILIPPINES	28,000	18,900	-9,100

* BY MAY 1, 1971

Source: *United States Foreign Policy, 1969-1970: A Report of the Secretary of State*, (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1971), p. 37



Source: *United States Foreign Policy, 1969-1970: A Report of the Secretary of State*, (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1971), p. 38

한글초록

이 연구는 1960년대 후반부터 1970년대 초반까지 소위 닉슨 독트린이라 불리는 미국의 외교정책의 변화와 그에 따른 아시아의 세 동맹국 (한국, 태국, 필리핀)과의 관계에 대한 연구이다. 아시아국가들에 대한 군사개입에 대한 재평가에서 시작된 닉슨 독트린은 아시아에서 미국 군사력의 감소와 동시에 조약에 대한 헌신이라는 두 가지 양립할 수 없는 과제를 성취하기 위한 노력의 일종이었다. 따라서 미국에게 동맹국들과의 조약에 더 큰 행동의 자유를 제공하기 위해 계획된 유연한 대응전략이었다. 닉슨 독트린이 의도하고 있었던 것은 미국의 아시아 국가들에 대한 낮은 관여와 미군의 철수였다. 미국은 독트린에 따라 아시아 국가들에게 스스로 자립하기를 제시했고 이 것은 냉전의 쇠퇴와 동시에 시작된 양 진영간의 대치 상황의 종말과 공산주의 국가들과의 대타협의 시작을 의미했다. 아시아에 있는 미국의 우방국들은 닉슨 독트린에 그들만의 특정한 방식과 다양한 속도로 응하기 시작하였다.

이 연구에서는 이전 연구들에서는 조사되지 않았던 아시아 우방국인 한국과 태국과 필리핀의 닉슨 독트린에 대한 대응방식의 공통점에 대해 조사해 보려 한다. 우선, 이 세 국가는 군사적·경제적 자립을 위해 노력했고 그 것은 미국의 기대에 부응했다. 그러나 자립으로의 노력은 권위주의 정부로 이어졌고, 자립적 안보에 대한 추구는 오히려 미국으로부터의 더 큰 지원을 필요로 하게 되었다. 이러한 노력은 결국 역설적으로 군사, 경제적으로 미국의 안보우산을 계속적으로 유지하려는 태도를 이끌어 내게 된다. 게다가 미국과의 동맹이 느슨해지면서 이들은 중국과 러시아 등을 비롯한 공산주의 국가들과의 긴장을 완화시키려는 노력을 기울이게 되었다. 이런 모든 우방국들의 반응들은 논리적으로 예상 가능했다기 보다 닉슨 독트린에 따른 우발적인 결과라고 보여진다. 이 세 국가들 간에도 닉슨 독트린이 미친 영향과 월남전 개입의 정도에 따라 권위주의 정부의 유형에 조금씩 차이가 있었다. 한국과 태국은 군사독재를 통한 권위주의 정부를 옹호하며 미국의 군사 안보 우산을 고수하였고 반면 필리핀은 사회경제적 권위주의를 옹호하여 미국의 경제 안보 우산을 고수하였

다. 또한 태국과 필리핀은 공산주의 국가들과 적극적 화해 자세를 취했으나 한국의 노력은 두 국가에 비해 약했다. 이러한 닉슨 독트린의 예측하지 못한 결과는 미국 정부의 주관적인 상황해석과 동아시아 상황에 대한 무지의 결과로 볼 수 있다.

마지막으로 닉슨 독트린이 남긴 두 가지 중요한 결과를 꼽자면 첫째, 주로 닉슨 독트린의 현실정치 측면에 따라 아시아 우방국들의 권위주의 정부의 생명이 촉진되었다. 둘째, 동맹의 의미를 평가절하함으로써 인해 우방국들 사이에 미국에 대한 신뢰를 약화시켰다. 결국 닉슨 독트린은 아시아에서 미군을 철수하는데도 실패하고 동시에 아시아의 우방국들과의 강한 연대형성에도 실패했다고 평가할 수 있다.

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