

# ASEAN' s Shared History and Silent History

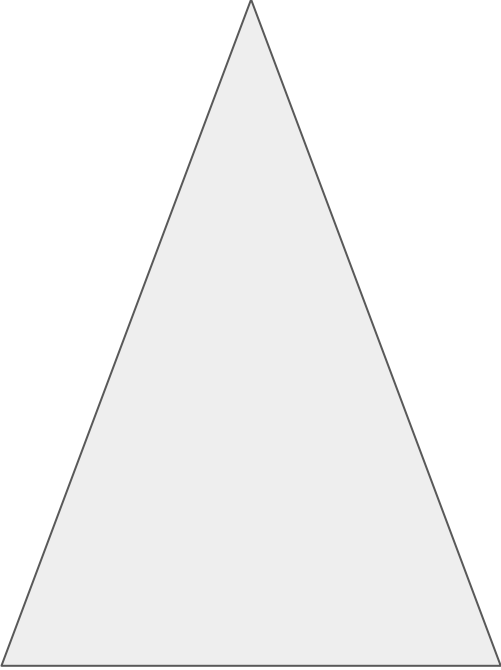
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International Studies (ASEAN-China) Program

# Questions

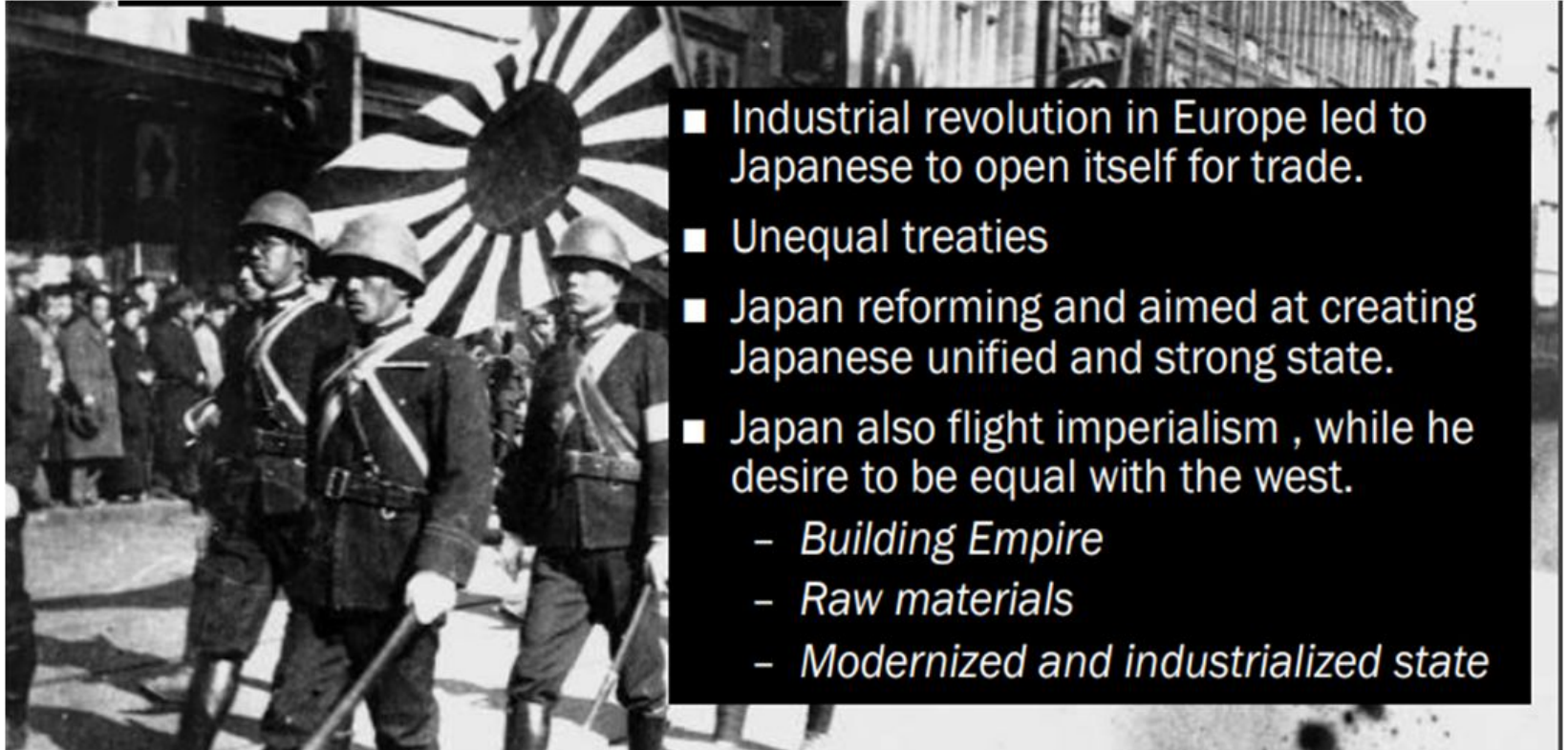
- ❑ What is ASEAN's shared history ?
- ❑ When was the modern government system been created in Southeast Asia ?

# Colonialism

What are motives for European to invade SEA ?

- 
- ❏ Exploitation
  - ❏ Suppression
  - ❏ **Heightened nationalism (WWII, 1939 - 1945)**
  - ❏ Worldwide depression
  - ❏ Japanese imperialism
  - ❏ Independent movement

# Japanese imperialism Vs. Western imperialism



- Industrial revolution in Europe led to Japanese to open itself for trade.
- Unequal treaties
- Japan reforming and aimed at creating Japanese unified and strong state.
- Japan also flight imperialism , while he desire to be equal with the west.
  - *Building Empire*
  - *Raw materials*
  - *Modernized and industrialized state*

- Defeated Russia
- Brought Korea and Manchuria into Japan's empire
- Asia for Asian

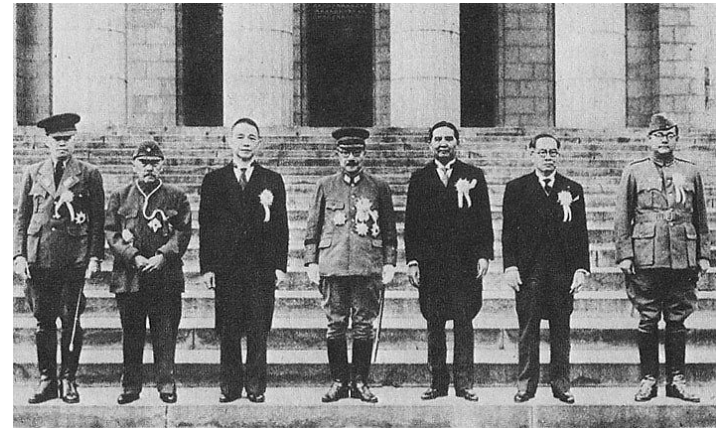
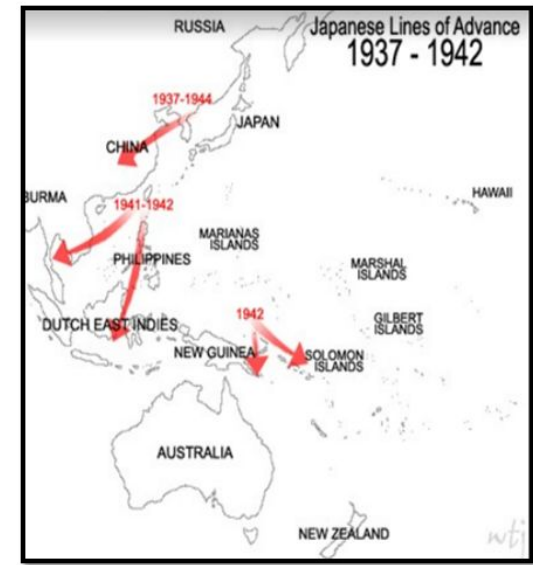


The Russo – Japanese War (1904-5)

# Did SEA accept Japanese influence ?

## ❑ Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity sphere

- ❑ Declared the intention to create a self-sufficient "bloc of Asian nations" led by the Japanese
- ❑ Free of Western powers
- ❑ Japanese troops , Military training, Japanese technology



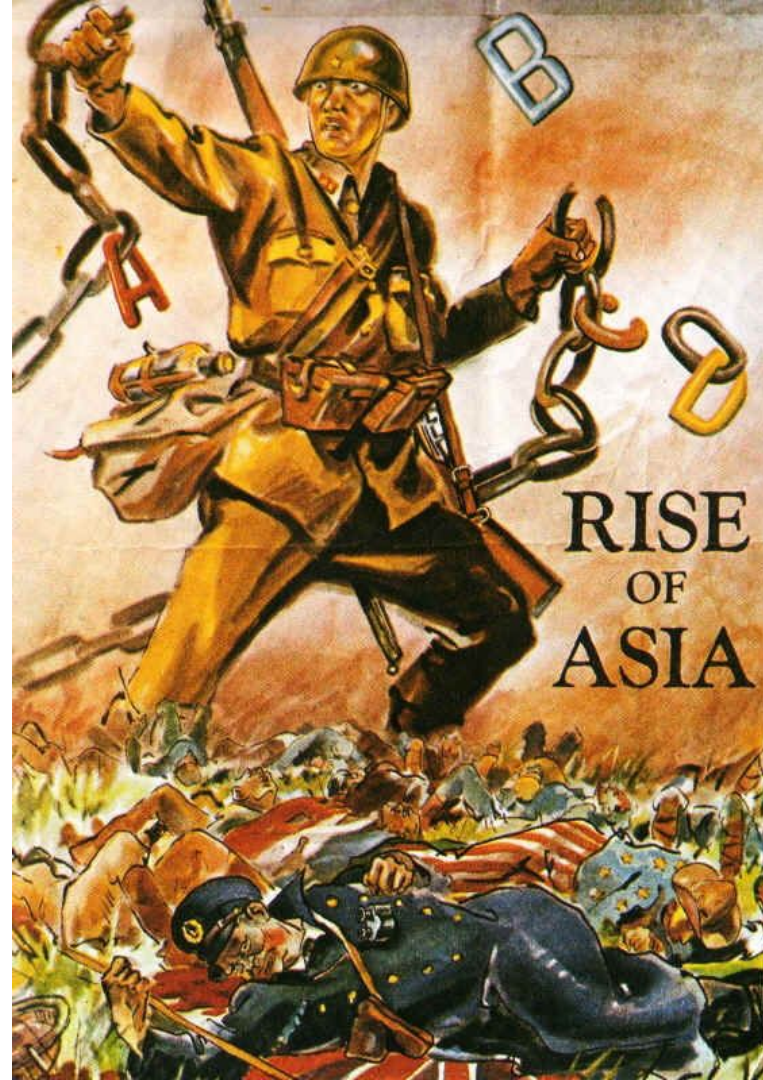
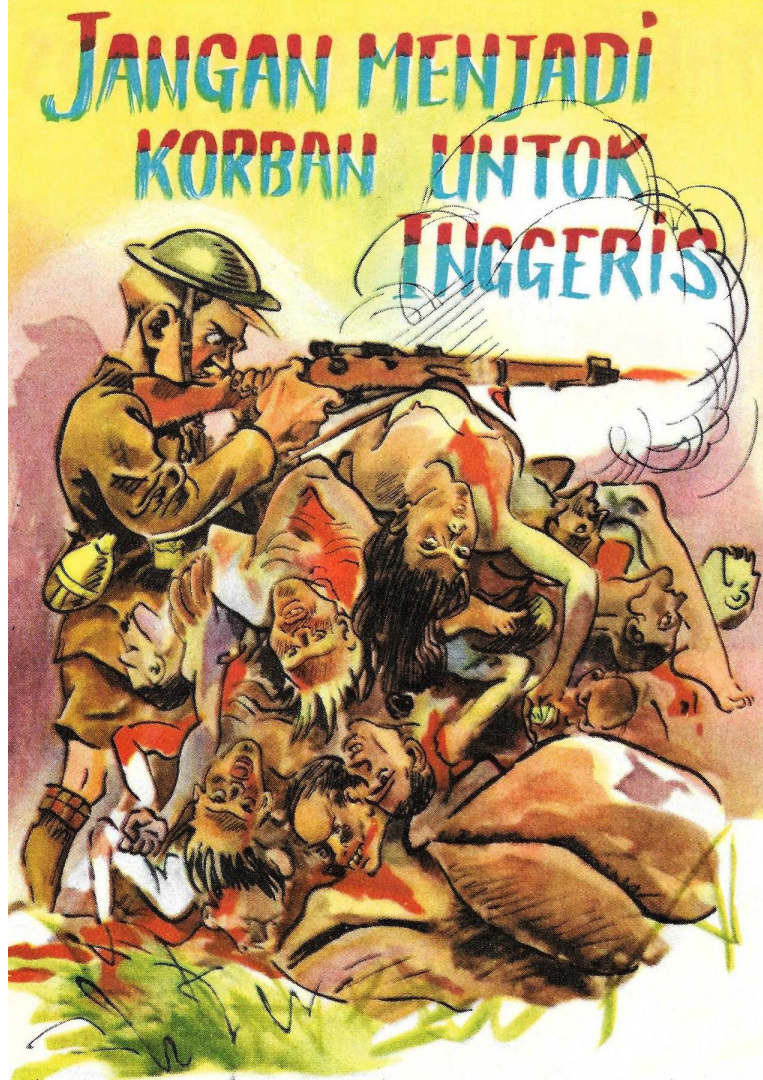
# SEA territories occupied by Imperial Japan

- ❑ The Philippines (May 8, 1942 - July 5, 1945)
- ❑ Dutch East Indies (January 18, 1942 - October 21, 1945)
- ❑ Singapore (March 29, 1942 - September 9, 1945)
- ❑ Burma (1942–1945)
- ❑ East Timor (February 19, 1942 - September 2, 1945)

- Promoted **anti-western campaign**
- Media propaganda to attract local people to **join Japanese armies**
- Japanese applied practical tactic which was intended **to gain support from nationalist movements**, often by giving permission to display nationalistic symbols and of independence.









# อังกฤษ ไม่เห็นหน้ากลัวเลย



เสียดสีบริกของพวกโกลนละ-ราชที่กลัวอังกฤษจนเกินไปแล้ว  
สมโอกาสแล้วที่ไทยจะเข้ามามีบทบาทขึ้นในเอเชีย  
และบริกจะหันมาต่อสู้กับจีน

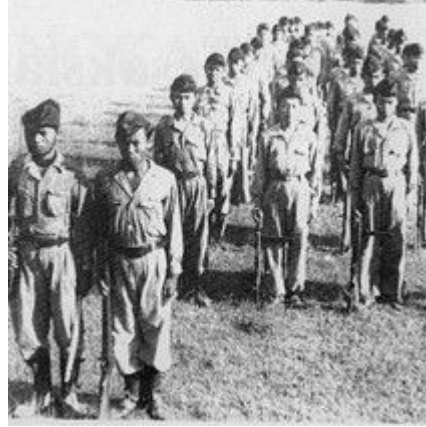
# Thailand

- ❑ Alliance with Japan, **declaration of war against Allies**
- ❑ **Free Thai Movement (Seri Thai)**
- ❑ Resistance/anti-Japanese acts in Thailand Pridi - (Phibun rival)
- ❑ Free Thai (students) sabotage Japanese trains, buildings.



US helped training Thais for underground activities. By the end of the war, more than 50,000 Thai had been trained and armed to resist the Japanese by Free Thai members.

# Indonesia (Pembela Tanah Air, PETA)

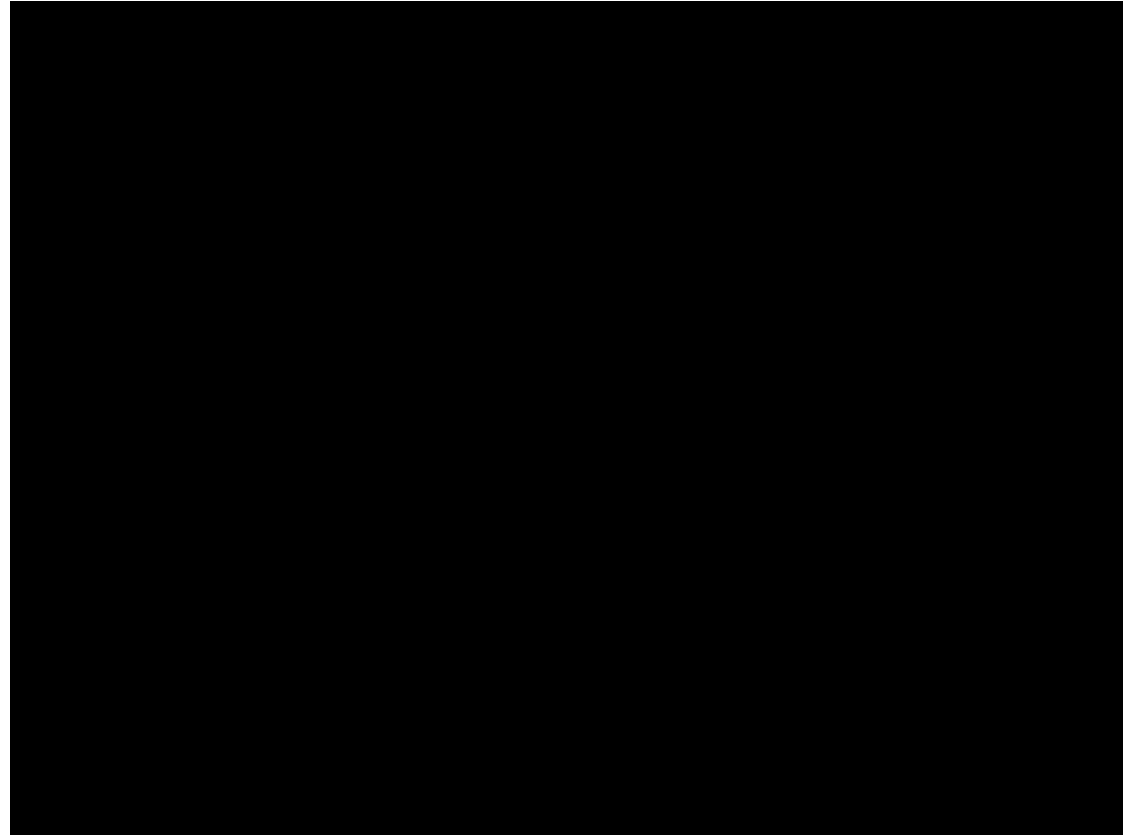


17 August 1945



# Indonesian National Revolution (1945 - 1949)

- ❑ The Dutch and allies reoccupation of Indonesia
- ❑ Prisoner of wars (Europeans)
- ❑ Military trained by Japanese
- ❑ Pro-Dutch, Pro-Indonesia and Neutral





# Malaysia

- ❑ Anti – Japanese
- ❑ Malayan Communist Party (MCP)
  - ❑ **Predominated by Chinese**
  - ❑ **Chinese - Japanese** relations were affected by Japanese occupation in China
- ❑ The Malayan People's' Anti – Japanese Army
  - ❑ Most of them were Chinese , however some Malay and Indians



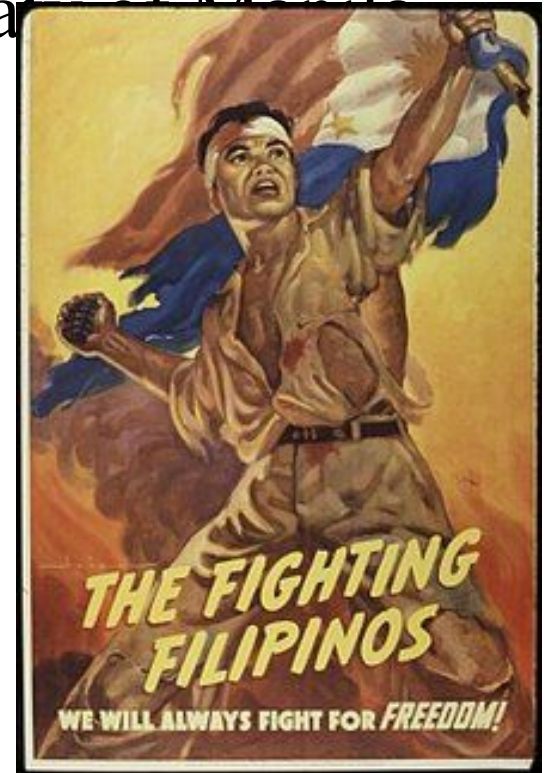
- ❑ **From 1946 to 1948**, the 11 states formed a single British crown colony known as **the Malayan Union**.
- ❑ Due to opposition from Malay nationalists, the Union was disbanded and replaced by the **Federation of Malaya in 1957**.
- ❑ The Federation was independence **on 31 August 1957**.
- ❑ **In 1963**, the federation was reconstituted as Malaysia with the

Yang di-Pertuan Agong, the monarch and head of state of Malaysia

|                                                                                     |                         |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
|  | Sultanate of Johor      |
|  | Sultanate of Kedah      |
|  | Sultanate of Kelantan   |
|  | Negeri Sembilan         |
|  | Sultanate of Pahang     |
|  | Sultanate of Perak      |
|  | Perlis                  |
|  | Sultanate of Selangor   |
|  | Sultanate of Terengganu |

After the end of WWII, the US granted independence to Philippines on 4 July 1946 via Treaty of Manila

- ❑ Most of the Philippine elite, with a few notable exceptions, served under the Japanese
- ❑ Underground organizations for anti-Japanese
- ❑ Hukbalahap



# Myanmar

- ❑ Thirty Comrades
- ❑ BIA: The Burmese Independence Army
- ❑ The Communist Party of Burma (CPB)
- ❑ Leading the Burmese State to liberation from British rule in Burma with the help of the Japanese in 1941
- ❑ Its revolutionary leader include **Aung San**
- ❑ **The Panglong Agreement**
  - ❑ Full autonomy in internal administration for the Frontier Areas
  - ❑ The Union of Burma (1948)



- ❑ The Vietnamese people had mixed feelings about this dual imperialism. Some welcomed the arrival of the Japanese: they believed an Asian colonial power was preferable to Westerners
- ❑ **Viet Minh** : Marxism, socialism and revolution
- ❑ **2 September 1945**: Ho Chi Minh's declaration of the independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV)
- ❑ USA: not to recognize the DRV + independence led by the Communist Party (**Cold War**)
- ❑ 1st Indochina War (1946 - 1954)
- ❑ 1975 Communist victory in Laos, Cambodia

“All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among them are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.”





- ❑ 1<sup>st</sup> Indochina War (1946-1954)
- ❑ 2<sup>nd</sup> Indochina War , Vietnamese war (1955 - 1975)
- ❑ 3<sup>rd</sup> Indochina War , Vietnamese invaded Cambodia (Khmer Rouge) (1978-1989)
- ❑ Regime O
- ❑ Tropical fascist regime
- ❑ Khmer's ultranationalism
- ❑ Forced labourers
- ❑ Communalism



States, France,  
Great Britain,  
New Zealand,  
Australia, the  
Philippines,  
Thailand and  
Pakistan formed  
the Southeast  
Asia Treaty  
Organization, or

SEATO



# ASEAN

## Independent States

- ❑ Elements of a state
- ❑ ▫ People
- ❑ ▫ Government
- ❑ □ Peace and order
- ❑ ▫ Territory
- ❑ ▫ Sovereignty
- ❑ □ Internal sovereignty
- ❑ □ External sovereignty

- Indonesia , 17 August 1945 (Continued to struggles with Indonesian national revolution until 1949)
- Indochina
  - Vietnam , 2 September 1945
  - Cambodia, 9 November 1953
  - Laos, 24 December 1954
- Philippines, 4 July 1946
- Burma, 4 January 1948
- Federation of Malaya, 31 August 1957
  - Malaysia, 31 July 1963
  - Singapore, 7 August 1965
  - 1 January 1984
- Brunei, 23 February 1984

Struggles with proxy war and become communist in 1975



8 August 1967

# Shared History

- ❑ Pre-Southeast Asian History
- ❑ Colonial occupation
- ❑ External Influences
- ❑ Shared experiences
- ❑ Independent movement
- ❑ **Cold War (Nation - Building)**

- ❑ **Competition between Democracy and Communism**
- ❑ Anti-Communist policy
- ❑ **People were executed because of they pursue different ideology**
- ❑ **State Crimes (Khmer rouge)**
- ❑ **Weak rule of laws**
- ❑ Some were accused as a communist
- ❑ Silent History : October 6th 1976 , Indonesia's 1965 -1966 (Other incidents which considered as **state crimes** ) However, it has continued to be suppressed because : state's impunity, state's declare legitimacy to kill, religions, anti - communist policy.
- ❑ Violence against people
- ❑ Has been ignored the fact that these are crime against humanity.

# Case of Example

October 6th 1976 in Thailand





# Thailand Democracy struggle



- ❑ 24 June 1932 **"Siamese Revolution"**
- ❑ A crucial turning point in 20th-century Thai history.
- ❑ **Rise of the Western-educated "commoner"**
- ❑ The "revolution" was brought about by a comparatively small group of military and civilians, who formed Siam's **first political party**, the **Khana Ratsadon (Peoples' Party)**.
- ❑ An absolute monarchy to a **constitutional monarchy**.
- ❑ **System ruled by people**

# 6 Principles



1939



The University of Moral and Political Sciences 1934

- ❑ To maintain **the supreme power of the Thai people.**
- ❑ To maintain **national security.**
- ❑ To maintain the economic **welfare of the Thai** people in accordance with the National Economic Project.
- ❑ **To protect the equality** of the Thai people.
- ❑ To maintain the people's rights and **liberties**, insofar as they are not inconsistent with any of the above-mentioned principles.
- ❑ To provide **public education** for all citizens.

1932 coup memorial peg at  
Dusit Palace Royal Plaza.



1936



2017

## Symbolic Fight

“At this place, on the dawn of June 24, 1932 we the People's Party have birthed the Constitution for the nation's progress.”

“Long live Siam forever! Happy, fresh-faced citizens build up the power of the land!” .

# October 14 “1973 Thai popular uprising”



Field Marshal  
Sarit Thanarat  
1957 -1963



Field Marshal Thanom  
Kittikachorn (1963  
-1973)

- ❑ Major social, political, and economic changes
  - ❑ **Pattiwat and phatthana**
  - ❑ Reviving the monarchy
  - ❑ Martial law
    - ❑ Threats to nations security
- ❑ Student activism in Thailand grew during the **1950s** as many students became inspired by **leftist ideology**
- ❑ **The National Student Center of Thailand**
  - ❑ Social Changes , Equality , Democracy
- ❑ October 6th - October 15 1973
  - ❑ Demonstration , anti-government rally



- ❑ Morning of 14th October
- ❑ Vandalism and violence





# October 6th 1976



- Student demonstration inside Thammasat
- **Rejecting the return of Thanom Kittikachorn**
- **King, Nation, Religion**
- Paramilitary forces, Right wings
- Anti Communists
- 167 injured and 46 deaths
- 3,000 people were arrested





# Silenced Memories

## Group Work

- ❑ 6 - 7 people / group
- ❑ Explain Thailand's political struggles within Southeast Asia's cold war tension
- ❑ Why do you think the incident considered as silent history ?
- ❑ What are legacies from the cold war which still impact on Thailand Democracy in present days?
- ❑ 2 -3 pages
- ❑ References
- ❑ Citation
- ❑ Submitted to [chontida.a@arts.tu.ac.th](mailto:chontida.a@arts.tu.ac.th) **by 3 September 16.00 pm.**



มหาวิทยาลัย บัณฑิตศึกษา

ส่วนราชการ ฝ่ายบริหารทำพระจันทร์ โทร. ๒๐๐๓

ที่ ศธ ๐๕๖๖.๐๑/๔๕๔

วันที่ ๒๒ สิงหาคม ๒๕๖๑

เรื่อง ขอเชิญร่วมกิจกรรมรับฟัง "การบรรยาย สถาบันพระมหากษัตริย์ กับ ประเทศไทย"

เรียน อธิการบดี รองอธิการบดี คณบดี ผู้อำนวยการสถาบัน/สำนัก/ศูนย์ ประธานสภาอาจารย์  
ประธานสภานักเรียนมหาวิทยาลัย/ผู้อำนวยการกอง/หัวหน้างาน

ด้วยหน่วยเฉพาะกิจทหารมหาดเล็ก รัชกาลพระองค์ ๙๐๔ และมหาวิทยาลัยอรรถศาสตร์  
ร่วมจัดกิจกรรม " การบรรยาย สถาบันพระมหากษัตริย์ กับ ประเทศไทย " โดยชุดวิทยากร  
หลักสูตรจิตอาสา ๙๐๔ ซึ่งมีวัตถุประสงค์

- ส่งเสริมความเป็นจิตอาสา ให้กับนักศึกษาและบุคลากรของมหาวิทยาลัย
- เพื่อสร้างจิตสำนึกในความจงรักภักดี และสำนึกในพระมหากรุณาธิคุณ  
ที่ทรงมีต่อประเทศไทย

ในการนี้มหาวิทยาลัยอรรถศาสตร์ ทำพระจันทร์ จึงขอเชิญนักศึกษา คณาจารย์ และ  
บุคลากรของมหาวิทยาลัย เข้าร่วมรับฟังการบรรยายดังกล่าว ในวันจันทร์ที่ ๒๗ สิงหาคม ๒๕๖๑ เวลา  
๑๓.๓๐ น. - ๑๕.๓๐ น. ณ หอประชุมใหญ่ มหาวิทยาลัยอรรถศาสตร์ ทำพระจันทร์

จึงเรียนมาเพื่อโปรดเข้าร่วมรับฟังการบรรยาย ตามวัน เวลา และสถานที่ดังกล่าวโดย  
พร้อมหรือกันด้วย จักขอบคุณยิ่ง

1 คน อธิการ

(รองศาสตราจารย์ เกตุณี วิบุรชโชติ)

อธิการบดี

๑) นาย คณบดี

นาย โสภณ พันธ์ นพรัตน์ วัฒนศิริ

คณบดีคณะนิติศาสตร์

๒) นาย

๒) นาย

นายชัชวาลย์ โปรดแต่งกายชุดลูกเสือ

๓) นาย

๒๒/๗/๖๑

๒๒/๗/๖๑

- ❑ BAS and IAC students
- ❑ Attend the lecture at the main auditorium **13.30 - 15.30 , today 27 August 2017**
- ❑ Attendance Check for TU101

“ความรุนแรงของเขาวินาที 6 ตุลาคม พ.ศ. 2519

and the incidents that ensued led to a massive loss of life

และเหตุการณ์ต่อเนื่องจากนั้น นำไปสู่ความสูญเสียใหญ่หลวง

and left behind deep scars among the survivors.

และทิ้งบาดแผลร้ายลึกให้กับผู้ที่ยังอยู่

If this tragedy were possible forgotten in a short period of time