

Study on Territorial Politics and Political Identity Transmission Interaction: An Case of Kuomintang in Northern Thailand (1949-1975)

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Abstract

This paper attempts to explain the dynamic process of the relationship between geopolitics and transnational political identity communication during the Cold War, and takes the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand as a classic case for analysis. During the Cold War, different political forces played games with each other, which jointly promoted the formation of different identities of the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand. All political forces, whether out of strategic considerations or security considerations, have caused the "alienation" of northern Thailand. The connotation of Cold War "alienation" is the formation of a "multi hierarchical system" in northern Thailand. This further led to the "diversification" of the political identity of the Kuomintang troops living here. The linkage between region and identity has led to different interactions among units at all levels in the international system.

Keywords: Cold war structure, Southeast Asia geopolitics, Northern Thailand Kuomintang army, Political identity, Identity interaction

Introduction

In modern international relations, regional order and individuals often interact. Generally speaking, regions contain not only geopolitics but also geographical environments created by various factors. Individuals will evolve effective survival strategies to adapt to complex geographical environments. Although the survival strategies are very diverse, they still cannot be separated from the change of the dimension of global - national - geographical - individual. In the process of nation state construction, a country's sovereignty is accompanied by a monopoly on the territorial order. However, when we examine the practice of nation states, we always find the gap between theory and practice. In the non western world, the boundaries of many countries have great "flexibility", which is not shown in the theory of western nation-state. Therefore, in the process of constructing non western countries, we must re-examine a series of concepts such as "sovereignty", "territory" and "state". Based on this, this paper will start from northern Thailand to explain the special situation of "multiple governance" of "sovereignty" and "territory" of non western countries after World War II. Due to the interaction between the cold war structure and the state construction, the phenomenon of "multiple governance" in northern Thailand emerged during the cold war. At the same time, the "multiple governance" was intertwined with the local Kuomintang military identity, which made northern Thailand form an actual "multiple hierarchy system". Therefore, we should first briefly explain the particularity of Northern Thailand.

As far as Thailand is concerned, "power vacuum" has often occurred in northern Thailand since modern times. Since 1558, when Lanna King of northern Thailand was subordinate to the Dongyu Dynasty of Myanmar, this place has been playing the role of Myanmar vassal state. In the 18th century, in order to resist the rule of Myanmar, Lanna chose to ally with the central Thai people, and the Lanna Kingdom chose to become a vassal state of Thailand. However, the situation in Southeast Asia changed in the middle of the 19th century. The signing of the Pauling Treaty and the Chiang Mai Treaty with Thailand enabled Britain to set foot in northern Thailand. Therefore, Thailand gradually cancelled the vassal state type of the Lanna Kingdom in northern Thailand and began to include the Lanna Kingdom in its territory (Saishaw, 2002).

Since 1897, the Bangkok Dynasty has stipulated that Chiang Mai rulers need to be granted titles. At the same time, the Bangkok Dynasty also required people to pay more taxes to consolidate the local rule, and turned many private land into public land. However, most of these measures cannot be implemented due to the overlapping mountains. After being included in the territory, the particularity of northern Thailand has not disappeared. At the beginning of the 20th century, Thailand's management of this area still focused on the task of regaining authority and educating local people, but there were still many local incidents against the

central rule. For example, from 1908 to 1936, the local influential eminent monk Xiweicai rebelled against the authority of the government by resisting the Sinhala Law promulgated by the central government (Gong, 2019). It can be said that Northern Thailand, a special geographical region, has a relatively independent position for a long time.

After the end of World War II, the war between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party broke out in an all-round way. After five years of civil war, the Communist Party of China finally won and established New China. After the liberation of Yunnan by the People's Republic of China in the 1950s, many groups of Kuomintang troops kept fighting with the People's Republic of China from Yunnan, China, and retreating to the Sino Myanmar border of Myanmar. In the late 1960s, these talents gradually migrated to northern Thailand and settled down. During their migration, they continued to intermarry with ethnic minorities in Southeast Asia, but still maintained their own Chinese identity. After negotiations between Taiwan and Thailand in the 1970s, their identity came to a conclusion. It can be said that identity (political and cultural), as a tool for them to play games with the region, is protected by the Cold War structure, which allows them to stay locally to carry out political contacts with the Taiwan authorities and curb the expansion of communism in Southeast Asia; On the other hand, they were excluded from the mainstream by the pressure of the construction of the Thai nation-state, resulting in a special field and identity in northern Thailand. Although Thailand was open to naturalization during the Cold War, the Thai government mainly recognized its identity as a "Chinese refugee", while the Taiwan authorities gave the Northern Thai Nationalist Army the status of "overseas Chinese". At present, there is less research involved, but it is the focus of this paper.

Objective

1. To examine why can the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand continue to be stationed in northern Thailand
2. Explain "How does the particularity of northern Thailand shape its (ethnic) identity"
3. Explain "How does the particularity of (ethnic) identity feed back to the particularity of northern Thailand"

Literature review

The research object of this paper is "Northern Thailand Kuomintang Army". Its ethnic group predecessor is the Kuomintang army that retreated from Yunnan Province of China to Southeast Asia. Due to the outbreak of the Cold War, after the Kuomintang army migrated to Southeast Asia because its region is close to the mountain races, the army has gradually been influenced by the mountain races in terms of culture and living habits and began to have the habit of keeping the away from political forces. In addition, after entering Southeast Asia, this group of Kuomintang troops maintained identity contact with Taiwan (ROC), Thailand, and the United States. On the one hand, they also kept a distance from the three parties, so that they

could obtain legitimacy of settlement in northern Thailand to a certain extent. They spread their political identity through contact with the three forces, to achieve the effect of "pressure".

Entering the Cold War period, northern Thailand was always a part of geopolitics and served the task of the Cold War grand strategy. However, examining the current study of Cold War geopolitics, scholars still focus on the field of geopolitics. The field can be divided into two groups: peaceful geopolitics focused on the global coalition. For example, the representative of American idealism (Emund Walsh) believes that international organizations can serve as a link between the united tropical nations and the temperate nations, the eastern and western oceans, to achieve the state of the global federation. The other group, Kissinger and Yves Lakoste (etc.), emerges from the main perspective of realism and combines geopolitics with US foreign policy to contribute to US foreign strategy. In the 1970s, the American political scientist Cohen S.B. Put forward the strategic model, and divided the world into Marine trade zone and Eurasian continent zone, combining the strategic objectives of the United States. However, how does geopolitics affect the behavior of the state and the non-state units? Even prompting habitual behavior changes in national and non-national units? There is still a lack of research to analyze the relevant causal mechanisms. (Huang, 2018)

In the study of the political identity of the Kuomintang in northern Thailand, because this paper does not discuss the integration of the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand and only focuses on the local society of the political identity during the Cold War, the previous research only focused on the social integration of the Kuomintang Army in northern Thailand and its descendants do not belong to the scope of this paper. Scholar Gao Weijun tried to analyze the change of ideological identity of the Chinese people in northern Thailand by using the identity theory. Through field observation and data analysis, Gao Weijun pointed out that, with the changes in history, the positioning of Taiwan (ROC)'s political identity has been changed from "central government" to "foreign government". However, the Taiwan (ROC) "Republic of China" identity of the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand has changed from "I" to "the other", but Taiwan (ROC), China still provides hardware facilities to deepen the identity of the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand to Taiwan (ROC). Secondly, from the perspective of the political framework, Wenqin Zhang (张雯勤) analyzed through long-term in-depth interviews how the Chinese people in northern Thailand were affected by various political situations in the process of migration, so they developed complex settlement and migration modes. Wenqin Zhang believes that the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand is not forced to migrate, but has its motivation. Under the leadership of the soldiers, they walk in complex international relations and seek their best interests, before choosing to hide their identity to enhance their social and economic status after settling down. (Gao, W, 2012) In addition, in terms of identity, Zhang Wenqin believes that the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand has a special group and a historical history, so when they declare that their identity is

wandering between the Han people and Yunnan people. In the internal declaration, the Yunnan people to distinguish different from the general Han people. (Chang, 2008)

Xie Shizhong(谢世忠) discussed the military behavior of the 93rd Division of the 26th Army of the Kuomintang army in different political entities, including mainland China, Taiwan (ROC) , Myanmar, Thailand, etc., explaining how the national identity of these Chinese was from constructed to abandoned. In addition, Xie Shizhong used Charles Case's (Charles F. Keyes) nation-state theory, demonstrating the purpose of the state to construct a political community through the culture manipulated by the regime. (ShizhongX,2004)On the other hand, Po-Yi Hung and chunyi Xu (洪伯邑、许纯镒) took the politics and economy as the center and applied the sociological theory and fieldwork to discuss the integration of the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand. Hong Boyi and Xu Junyi believed that through the cultivation of tea, the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand could be politically stable, and appeared decentralized and liberalized in the economy. The interweaving of these two forces makes the Chinese people in northern Thailand and tea and others have different identity meanings in different fields. (Po-Yi,H, 2022)

Yihui Qin (覃怡辉) , a scholar, analyzed the identity of the former Chinese people in northern Thailand as the center and discussed the war between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in the Golden Triangle region from the perspective of military history. Qin Yihui used the rich historical materials of Taiwan (ROC) officials and some materials of American foreign aid to explain the complex international relations and power changes of the Golden Triangle. (Qin, 2009) Tingxian He (何庭仙) discussed the statelessness and social relations of the Chinese people in northern Thailand in detail using field investigation and interview. (He, 2014) Tingxian He believes that the current Thai government's statelessness problem for the Chinese in North Thailand is mainly the lack of unity of naturalization policy and implementation, which makes the nationality issue become a pipeline of exploitation. In addition, the issue of nationality also causes discrimination and restrictions in Thai society, but it does not hinder the trend of double identification of the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand. Bian xinyu (边沁宇), from the perspective of the space and time of the Cold War and the background of the Golden Triangle society, analyzes the internal motivation of the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand to establish, manage and maintain a strong identity. Bian believed that through the "anti-communist" support of the Kuomintang army, the local army and the people could survive under their wings, integrating the nature of the army and the villagers, which are mutually beneficial and complement each other. (Bian, 2014)

Scholars Xiangyi Li (黎相宜) , Jinpeng Zhang (张锦鹏), and other scholars analyzed the identity changes of the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand based on the national effect theory. They believed that they had an efficient initiative in the identity of the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand, and believed that most mountain ethnic groups in the mountainous areas of Southeast Asia have such characteristics. (Li, 2019; Zhang, 2014) Several scholars

have great reference significance for this paper, but this judgment lacks the investigation of the transnational influence of the Kuomintang army in the north of Thailand. The Kuomintang army in northern Thailand not only participated in the construction of the country to escape the political forces, especially during the Cold War, when the Kuomintang army in North Thailand was occupied in the mountains of Southeast Asia (Zombia), using the us-Thailand-Taiwan (ROC) strategic conception to survive here reasonably.

Therefore, this paper focuses on how the particularity of northern Thailand causes the particularity of identity recognition of ethnic groups including Kuomintang troops in northern Thailand. How did this particularity lead them to develop diplomatic means using identity as a tool of pressure?

Research Hypothesis

We attempts to supplement the network theory of transnational initiatives, and selected cases to fill this gap. At the same time, this paper also tries to reveal the interaction law between non-state actors and political forces during the Cold War. The political identity communication of the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand includes both the influence of geo culture and the factors of transnational communication. To sum up, the State effect theory and the transnational initiative network theory only explain some facts, so we need to make more detailed tracking in the causal mechanism.

1. Due to the location of the ethnic culture diversity and the importance of the multinational border, make us, Taiwan (ROC), and Thailand are trying to use the north Kuomintang army as maintaining their weapons, thus prompted the Thai north Kuomintang army to political identity as a tool.
2. The United States, Thailand and Taiwan (ROC) correspond to the international system, regional system, and cross-regional system, the political identity dissemination of the Kuomintang Army in northern Thailand is to interact with different identities at different levels.
3. In the international system, the United States gave it an "anti-communist vanguard" political identity, and they demanded the legitimacy of the survival of northern Thailand. In the regional system, Thailand gave it a "Chinese refugee" status, and they asked the Thai government to be stationed in northern Thailand. In the trans-regional system, Taiwan (ROC) authorities gave them the identity of "counterattack against the mainland". These political identities formed a political communication cycle centered on the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand.
4. Because the cold War structure restricts the international system to restrict regional and cross-regional systems, there is a process of mutual pressure between them.

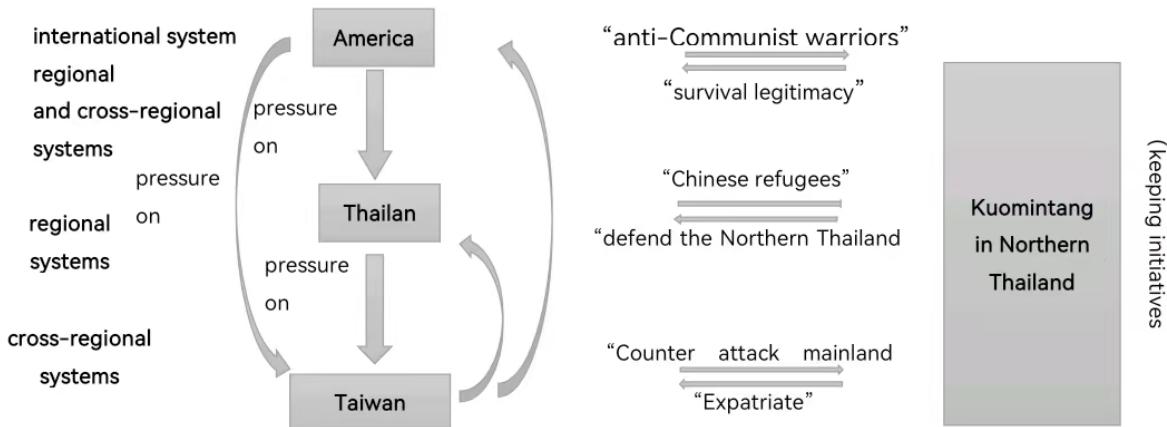


Figure 1 Conceptual diagram of analysis architecture (self drawn by the author)

Methodology

This paper uses the process tracking method to try to find the causal mechanism within the case of the identity change of the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand. The process tracks have four tests at the operational level, nominally, case selection, tracking mechanism, situation conditions, and evidence testing. The four tests point to the same purpose: on the one hand, explain the changes in specific cases on a case by case basis, and on the other hand, leave enough room for generalization and application of the refined causal hypothesis.

1. Tracking the political identity transmission path of the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand.
2. The interaction between the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand and various political forces when testing the political identity of communication.
3. Tracking the strategy of Kuomintang troops in northern Thailand to settle in northern Thailand by using the tools of different political identities.

Results

1) 1950-1965

In order to stop communism and win the Cold War, the United States began to control the northern Thailand region close to the socialist countries in the international system, and pressed the Thai government to use this region as an "anti communist bridgehead", thus including Thailand and Taipei, and in the regional and trans regional system level, it beat the Kuomintang forces in northern Thailand to become "anti communist vanguard", Thailand and Taipei have formed sub issues of "garrison in northern Thailand" and "counter attack on the mainland" respectively. For example, the CIA asked Thailand to recognize the power of Vietnam, and supported the Kuomintang troops to invade China's Yunnan Province in the

1950s (Zawach & Yang, 2019). At the same time, the United States will try to bind the whole East Asia with Southeast Asia at the beginning of the Cold War, forming the external pressure shaping Southeast Asia. In April 1954, Eisenhower put forward the "domino" theory, and the United States strengthened its involvement in Indochina affairs.

Secondly, in terms of regional system, with the outbreak of the Cold War, Northern Thailand has become the interface of the dual opposition of the international community and a leading country under the confrontation between the capitalist camp and the socialist camp. In order to promote the process of Thailand's modernization, Thailand began to pay attention to the border mountainous ethnic groups. The cultural diversity and mobility inertia of mountain ethnic groups indicate that the imagined and homogeneous Thai national community has not yet been completed. Therefore, the concept of national nationality must enter the daily life of mountain nationalities, so that they can no longer maintain the non national characteristics of the past. The Thai government takes the concept of natural conservation and economic development as a tool for national modernization and national modernization, and gradually brings mountains under the management of the national system.

After the end of World War II, as Southeast Asian countries tried hard to break away from the control of the colonial home country, national consciousness and communism spread rapidly in Southeast Asia, which further contributed to the co functioning of the original northern Thai culture and the international system - regional system - trans regional system, shaping the special "geopolitics" of northern Thailand. After the New People's Liberation Army defeated the Kuomintang in January 1950, the last two Kuomintang troops on the mainland of China began to flee. Li Guohui, the head of the 79th Regiment of the 8th Army, led the crowd to the border between Yunnan and Myanmar, and joined the 278th Regiment of the 93rd Division of the 26th Army led by Tan Zhong. This group of soldiers and civilians established the "Yunnan Anti Communist and National Salvation Army" in Monza in 1951, with Li Mi as the commander in chief and recruited more than 20000 people locally (Zawach & Yang, 2019).

In 1952, the Myanmar People's Peace Front, the Patriotic Party, the Burmese People's Party and others held a "Committee for Expelling Kuomintang Troops against Invasion" in Yangon, demanding that the Kuomintang withdraw its troops. Faced with the pressure from Myanmar and the international community, the Taiwan authorities had to launch the first Taiwan withdrawal plan (Lin, 2017a). In August 1952, the "Yunnan Anti Communist and National Salvation Army" sent about 700 personnel to the south of Myanmar, which caused the dissatisfaction of the Myanmar government. The Myanmar side believed that the Kuomintang army, which was then the representative of China, violated Myanmar's sovereignty. With the help of the former Soviet Union and New China, he formally filed a complaint with the United Nations in 1953, exposed various acts of Kuomintang troops violating Myanmar's sovereignty and provided the United Nations with a large amount of evidence. Finally, the United Nations ruled that the Kuomintang troops were "aggressors" and demanded Li Mi's troops to withdraw immediately.

In May 1953, representatives from the Taiwan authorities, Thailand, Myanmar and the United States set up a "supervision committee" to demand the withdrawal of the Kuomintang troops in Myanmar. At that time, Liu Yuanlin, the commander in chief, asked the Taiwan authorities for instructions and made two suggestions: first, he submitted to the United Nations the number of evacuees to be evacuated; second, he did not withdraw any personnel from Taiwan, but instead belonged to the intelligence agency, and continued to "counter attack the mainland" in the form of civil society to avoid international concern. This was adopted by Chiang Kai shek, From November 1953 to March 1954, the Kuomintang troops stationed in Myanmar withdrew to Taiwan in three batches (Luo & Luo, 2020).In July 1954, Chiang Kai shek secretly summoned Liu Yuanlin, Instruct to reorganize the remaining Myanmar troops into "Yunnan People's Anti Communist Volunteers" (Deng, 2009; Fineman, 1997; Jiang, 2020).

After returning to Myanmar, Liu Yuanlin reorganized the volunteer army into three armies. Soon there was an "823 Artillery Battle" on both sides of the Taiwan Straits. On the one hand, the KMT troops delayed Myanmar to attack the Yunnan border of new China, on the other hand, they fought with the Communist Party of Myanmar and expanded into five armies again in 1959, which again aroused international attention and also led to the incident of "the second withdrawal of the KMT troops". In 1960, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the Myanmar Government jointly sent about 60000 troops to encircle and suppress the Kuomintang troops in Myanmar. After three months of fierce fighting, both sides suffered heavy casualties. The "Yunnan People's Anti Communist Volunteer Army" withdrew to Laos, leaving a small number of troops to remain in the mountains of Myanmar. Myanmar once again complained to the international community that the Kuomintang troops had invaded the territory of other countries. In order to avoid diplomatic disputes, the Taiwan authorities decided to withdraw the Lao troops to Taiwan, China, in December 1961.

The second withdrawal was carried out from March to April 1961, with a total of 4400 troops evacuated to Taiwan. However, tens of thousands of troops stationed in Myanmar have not withdrawn. Therefore, this group of troops became the focus of the international community for three times in 1961. This also forced the Taiwan authorities to carry out the third withdrawal plan. The First, Second and Fourth Armies all withdrew to Taiwan, China. Some of the Third and Fifth Armies were reluctant to go to Taiwan because their hometown was on the Yunnan Myanmar border, while some were unable to go to Taiwan because of mission needs (hereinafter referred to as the Third and Fifth Armies). Li Wenhuan and Duan Xiwen, leaders of the 3rd and 5th Armies in northern Thailand, respectively chose Tangwo in Chiang Mai Province and Maestro in Chiang Rai Province as their headquarters.

To sum up, the original geopolitics in the mountains of Southeast Asia has a highly mobile and loose structure. With the outbreak of the Cold War, the geopolitics and the international system - regional system - trans regional system have played a role, thus transforming the geopolitics in northern Thailand. The mobility of Northern Thailand has

integrated the political nature of international system - regional system - trans regional system, forming the geopolitical "pluralism" of Northern Thailand during the Cold War. In short, "multi center geopolitics" tries to make Northern Thailand have the attributes of "fixed" and "diversified" at the same time, which is consistent with the assumption of this article.

At the international system level, with the intensification of the Cold War, the United States began to fully enter Southeast Asia, in order to maintain its influence and reduce the burden of moving South Asia. The United States began to discuss with the Thai and Taiwan authorities in order to effectively use the particularity of northern Thailand to participate in the confrontation in Southeast Asia. From the 1960s to the 1970s, the United States secretly trained troops at the Thai border to support the Vietnam War. At the same time, after the signing of the Treaty on Friendly Economic Relations between the United States and Thailand, Economic assistance to Thailand reached the peak of US \$60 million (Dai, 2020; Shi, 2012). The United States also negotiated with the local Kuomintang army and agreed to give it a subsidy of 75000 US dollars per month after the meeting and submit the Report on the Work Results of Entering Yunnan to the Taiwan authorities of China on the same day (*Political Warfare: Historical Inheritance and Change*, 2022; Zhang, 2016). The Kuomintang army used the resources given by the US military to act as the international "anti communist" force of the US military in northern Thailand (Tan, 1984).

At the regional level, the Thai government, in order to coordinate with the U.S. strategy and for the security of its own border, also militarized northern Thailand in northern Thailand, calling the Kuomintang troops here "the security forces to suppress the rebellion in northern Thailand "(Deng, 2009), At the same time, they tried to restrict their activities in northern Thailand and imposed many restrictions on their identity. The Thai government distinguishes their identities into three categories; The first "Chinese army" (the former Kuomintang army) (Zhao, 2015).

Second, Chin Ho op pa yop entered Thailand from 1954 to 1961, mainly Chinese and their families who migrated to northern Thailand from 1954 to 1961; Third, Chin Ho Is sa ra entered northern Thailand from 1962 to 1989(He, 2014). The Thai government was very worried that those undeveloped poor and backward areas would become breeding grounds for communist forces, so in 1965 Thailand established the "Communist Suppression Operation Command". This move was also associated with the better treatment of the embassy of the Taiwan authorities at that time, and to some extent acquiesced in the existence of the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand (Zawach & Yang, 2019). At the cross regional level, the Taiwan authorities tried to reorganize the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand in order to implement the plan of "counter attacking the mainland". However, the leaders of the Northern Thai Kuomintang army were unwilling to hand over military power and accused the Taiwan authorities of not giving appropriate subsidies, while the Taiwan authorities accused the Northern Thai army of drug trafficking. Finally, in September 1969, the Taiwan authorities said that they would not consider the private debt of the Northern Thai Kuomintang army.

Despite this, the Taiwan authorities still try to influence the northern part of Thailand to further "alienate" the region.

In addition, the Taiwan authorities used the troops that had fled from the mainland to Southeast Asian countries to launch an actual "anti communist alliance" with the United States, while northern Thailand, as the forefront of the "counter offensive against the mainland", shouldered multiple political significance, so northern Thailand actually became the center of the "multiple hierarchy". With the increase of "alienation" in northern Thailand, the Kuomintang troops in northern Thailand began to use their special identity to wander among the United States, Thailand and Taiwan authorities in order to gain benefits in northern Thailand. In the face of orders from the United States and Taiwan authorities, they obtained the legitimacy of the United States and Taiwan as "anti communist". It can be seen that with the intensification of the Cold War in Southeast Asia and the "alienation" of various political forces in northern Thailand, the Kuomintang troops here have made use of this special regional state to wander in the United States, Thailand and Taiwan.

During the period from 1950 to 1965, the political identity of the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand was mainly transmitted through pressure on the Taiwan authorities. Taiwan used its political identity to feedback to the United States, and the United States put pressure on Thailand. The particularities of northern Thailand and the attention paid by the United States to the Taiwan authorities shaped the special phenomenon of the spread of political identity during this period.

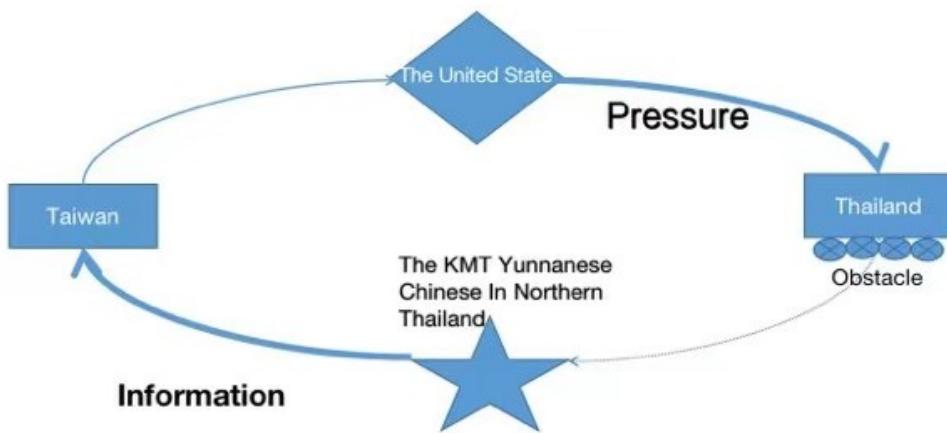


Figure 2 The path of political identity transmission from 1950 to 1965

2) After 1965

First, the United States began to fully intervene in the Vietnam War from the middle and late 1960s to the early 1970s. The United States continued to support the Kuomintang army in order to make its intervention in Southeast Asia more freely, but its recognition of refugee status remained unchanged. However, at this time, the conflict between the Third Army and the Fifth Army and Kunsha, the leader of the Shan Self Defense Force in Myanmar, resulted

in a hostile relationship between the United States and Myanmar. Therefore, the United States pressed the Taiwan authorities to withdraw the Third Army and the Fifth Army from Taiwan or completely control them. However, this is contrary to the goal of the Taiwan authorities to "counter attack the mainland". Taiwan claims that it does not want to disarm, so it continues to claim that these troops are "armed refugees" and cannot be managed. The US government does not want to be constrained by the Taiwan authorities in foreign policy, so it forces the Taiwan authorities and Thailand to jointly dispose of these troops, thus forcing the Thai government to start negotiations with the Third and Fifth Armies and the Taiwan authorities (Kaufman, 2001)

The attitude of the United States changed the identification of this group of people by the Taiwan authorities, so they turned to support the Kuomintang's other local secret service organizations and stopped providing resources to the Third and Fifth Armies. In 1965, Kunsha fought with Li and Duan for opium, causing heavy casualties and returning Kunsha to Myanmar. The Myanmar government then completely captured the power of Kunsha (Kessaraporn, 2014; Xu, 1984). This campaign has attracted international attention again. The Thai government has brought the troops of the Thai Myanmar Kuomintang under its jurisdiction and started to discuss relevant matters with the Taiwan authorities. In 1964, the Taiwan authorities issued a statement against the "anti Communist" forces on the Thai Myanmar Laos border: the irregular "anti Communist" forces of China on the Thai Myanmar Laos border were regarded as armed refugees rather than organized forces.

In 1966, Chiang Kai shek summoned Duan Xiwen to understand the situation in the border area and ordered Taiwan's "Ministry of National Defense" to form a review team to inspect northern Thailand for decision-making. In 1968, Thailand, on behalf of Deputy Prime Minister Tawai, negotiated with Duan Xiwen and Li Wenhuan. The two sides finally reached an agreement that the Third and Fifth Armies should be merged into "5735" troops, with Duan as the commander and Li as the deputy commander, and accept Thailand's "naturalization, coordination, and guidance in production", jointly responsible for Thailand's public security and receiving supplies (Bian, 2014; Wei & Wan, 2014). In addition, Thailand also sent representatives to hold four talks with the Taiwan authorities from 1968 to 1970 to jointly discuss the issue of the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand, and requested Li and Duan to participate. The Taiwan authorities always wanted to retain the "anti communist" forces in the Yunnan Myanmar Thailand border region, but they lost confidence in the leaders of Li and Duan, so they preferred to recruit new personnel and establish a new army. The Thai side insisted that the command of the Third and Fifth Armies should be under the jurisdiction of the Thai side (Qin, 2009). Because Thailand strongly requested the Taiwan authorities to reply to the question about the detention of the Kuomintang troops in Thailand, it finally gave way to this matter. The issue of Kuomintang troops in northern Thailand also prompted the Taiwan authorities to change their attitude.

The Taiwan side expressed its willingness to continue to provide supplies to the Third and Fifth Armies, but Li and Duan had to return to Taiwan and accept the reorganization of the

army, and the command was given by the government (Shi, 2012). However, due to the conflict of interest between the Third and Fifth Armies and Taiwan's "intelligence agency", the first trilateral talks ended in failure (Lin, 2017a). In 1969, Taiwan again discussed the issue of Duan and Li's armies with the Thai government. In August of the same year, Taiwan and Thailand reached a consensus and agreed to establish a Sino Thai joint team to control the two divisions.

However, the differences between the two sides on military power and survival resources eventually led to the failure of the second trilateral talks. At this time, the Governor of Chiang Rai Province was killed by the Miao armed forces in Thailand. In order to mobilize the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand to deal with the armed forces of the Miao nationality, the Thai side once again put pressure on Taiwan to convene the third trilateral talks (Bai, 1988; Lin, 2017b). As for the ownership of the army, Thailand and Taiwan have clarified several issues. First of all, Li and Duan are unwilling to return to Taiwan. Secondly, Duan and Li asked the Taiwan authorities to repay the army salaries they owed. The Thai side expressed its willingness to discuss all solutions with the Taiwan authorities, and the Thai side put forward three proposals (Li, 1970):

(1) Whether or not the Third and Fifth Armies return to Taiwan, they must reorganize the Third and Fifth Armies and remove Taiwan's command

(2) The 3rd and 5th Armies were handed over to the Thai side for its own disposal, and the command authority was negotiated with the Taiwan government

(3) The Third Army will be handed over to the Thai side, and the Fifth Army will be handed over to the Taiwan government for handling, and the command will be negotiated (Kao, 2012)

In the end, although Thailand and the Taiwan authorities reached an agreement, the Taiwan authorities still secretly communicated with the Third and Fifth Armies. As for the Kuomintang army, Duan and Li, on the one hand, were unwilling to give up their determination to return to Yunnan, so they compromised with Thailand and were willing to stay in China as Thai refugees. On the other hand, they also kept some contact with the Taiwan Government of China privately. Secondly, the international pattern changed from the late 1970s to the early 1980s. Opposing Soviet hegemonism has become the most important goal of China's diplomacy, and the containment strategy against China is no longer the first one of the United States (Chung-chi, 2009; Gibson & Chen, 2011). The Vietnam War was hopeless and consumed too much. The United States had a heavy economic and military burden, which seriously affected its economic development and was under great anti war pressure at home. The economic rise of Western Europe and Japan has challenged the western alliance status of the United States (Sa, 2011). As a result, the role of Chinese in northern Thailand in the United States began to decline. In order to make friends with China and stop the Soviet Union, the United States no longer regards the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand as an available "anti Communist" force to some extent.

In addition, due to the special circumstances in northern Thailand, the jurisdiction of northern Thailand is in chaos. In 1973, the local army exchanged two Soviet hostages for military leader Kunsha to get out of prison. At the end of 1981, Kunsha killed international drug control officials and negotiators. Under the pressure of international drug control, Thailand launched an offensive against the northern part of Thailand, with the "Mountain Local Self Defense Force" adapted from the Third and Fifth Armies as the main force. The United States hopes to try to solve the problem of drugs in the Golden Triangle by exerting pressure on the Thai government. On the one hand, it does not hope that the previous support for the Kuomintang army will lead to the deterioration of US China relations. On the other hand, the United States believes that the Golden Triangle problem must be completely solved to bring relations with Southeast Asian countries and China closer. At this time, the United States no longer regarded the Northern Thai Kuomintang Army as an advance force of the Taiwan authorities, but as a Thai army. “

Under the pressure of the United States, in the 1970s, the Thai government mobilized the 3rd and 5th armies of the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand to eliminate the Miao armed forces in Chiang Rai region. Thanks to the support of the Third and Fifth Armies, Thailand approved the proposal of the Supreme United Front Office in 1978 and agreed to naturalize the officers of the Third and Fifth Armies who had made great contributions to the suppression of the Miao armed forces. In August, the Supreme United Front Department of Thailand set up the "Planning and Naturalization Committee" for the 3rd and 5th military officers and soldiers participating in the war, which is composed of one member from each of the 15 government units, and is chaired by the commander of Department 04. Six conditions for naturalization are set out:

- (1) Participated in the mopping up of "communist" (Miao armed forces) insurgents, the injured, disabled, disabled and their families in the battle
- (2) Family members who participated in mopping up the "Communist" (Miao armed forces) insurgents and died in the battle
- (3) Family members who died (in the war zone) from administrative affairs (Sa, 2011)

After Thailand implemented the policy of naturalization of the Northern Thai Kuomintang Army, although many officers and soldiers obtained Thai citizenship as a result, in 1983 it was estimated that 1300 families of officers and soldiers in Northern Thailand could not obtain Thai citizenship (about 6500 people). However, after the fifth group of personnel were approved for naturalization in 1983, the naturalization work was transferred to the Ministry of the Interior. Therefore, about 30% of the officers and soldiers of the Third and Fifth Armies still use "refugee cards" or "carry on cards". Although they were dissatisfied with the one-sided breach of the contract by the Thai government, they had to accept such a provision. Some veterans or family members with strong national ideas were willing to use "refugee cards" to live a life that only allowed them to move in the mountains, and they were also unwilling to use Thai identity cards (Chen, 2010; Kao, 2012).

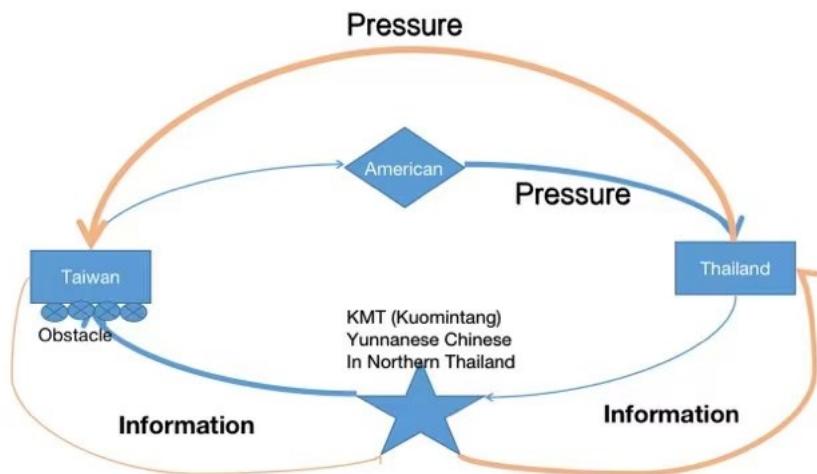


Figure 3 The path of political identity transmission after 1965

Discussions

The strengthening of the Cold War spawned "multiple hierarchies" in northern Thailand, a phenomenon that further led the Kuomintang Army to develop an identity strategy to adapt to the region. The original attributes of "fixation" and "pluralism" were strengthened by the Cold War structure and extended to the formation of the "multiple hierarchical systems", which jointly affected the changes in the international-regional and cross-regional situation. In conclusion, the interaction between the "multiple hierarchical systems" and the international-regional-regional system in northern Thailand is consistent with the assumptions of this paper.

The Kuomintang army in northern Thailand took advantage of the us-Thai-Taiwan (ROC) strategy in northern Thailand, thus transforming its identity strategy into a "foreign" policy. Because the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand took the "new multiple feudalisms" as the center and took the political identity as the tool, thus reaching the "legal occupation" of northern Thailand." Legal occupation" is not only recognized by the United States-Taiwan-Thailand but also a manifestation of the initiative. The "legal occupation" can also pressure one of the three forces, which becomes a game between non-state actors and state-regional and cross-regional forces during the Cold War. The process of developing from the identity strategy of the Kuomintang army in northern Thailand to the "foreign" policy roughly complies with the assumptions of this paper.

Conclusion and suggestions

By analyzing the political perspective of the Cold War and the special geographical structure of Southeast Asia, this paper finds that there is still "multi genus" border ambiguity in Southeast Asia during the Cold War, rather than disappear after the rise of sovereign countries. During the Cold War, Southeast Asia was still in the stage of adaptation to the norms of nation-state. Northern Thailand, as a "multi genus" region, did not lose its characteristics, but strengthened its "multi genus" nature with the reconstruction of the Cold War structure. With the arrival of the Kuomintang army, they combined their own survival strategy with the special geopolitics of northern Thailand. On the one hand, the Kuomintang army settled in northern Thailand by virtue of the particularity of northern Thailand and its pluralistic identity, on the other hand, it wandered between the United States, Thailand and Taiwan authorities as northern Thailand and its pluralistic identity. The Northern Thai Kuomintang Army used this geographical and identity advantage to play games with the US Thailand Taiwan authorities. As a tool of the Cold War, they not only show the loose combination of geopolitics and political identity under the Cold War structure, but also show that the groups used have the initiative to use the power of the Cold War in turn.

We argue that if the Thai government can maintain a moderate degree of flexibility in its policies towards northern Thailand, the ethnic diversity of northern Thailand can become an effective tool for regional governance in Thailand. Especially for the descendants of Chinese refugees, they can bring economic support to the Thai government from the Chinese world. At the same time, their interactions with Thailand, the United States and Taiwan can also be used as past identity strategies and successful cases of interaction between regional governance and global governance in Southeast Asia.

New knowledge and the effects on society and communities

This research is to create a new knowledge. The results of the study will be beneficial to the political identity of transmission and the governance of northern Thailand. There can be applied the knowledge to solve theThe model in this paper can be used as a reference object when governing ethnic minorities in northern Thailand. Many ethnic minorities in northern Thailand have kept close contact with the outside world, and their identity was always difficult to manage during the Cold War. Through our political identity communication model, we can improve the local authority of the Thai government through joint governance on the one hand, and enable them to give play to their advantages on the other hand. While maintaining their freedom, we can also increase publicity to northern Thailand.

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