1953

Southeast Asia looks westward.

Petersen, Marguerite R

Boston University

http://hdl.handle.net/2144/17217

Boston University
BOSTON UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Service Paper

SOUTHEAST ASIA LOOKS WESTWARD

Submitted by

Marguerite R. Petersen
(B.E., Danbury State Teachers College, 1938)

In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Education
1953
First Reader: Stanley P. Wronski
Assistant Professor of Education

Second Reader: Z. George Barnett
Assistant Professor of Education
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidences of Need</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scope</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. THE PHILIPPINES</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Spanish Era</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period of Spanish Rule</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The American Years</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Self-Governing Nation</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographic and Economic Aspects</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Patterns</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>III. INDONESIA</strong></td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia's History</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesian Nationalism</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Land and its Potential</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The People and their Ways</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesian Democracy</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IV. INDOCHINA</strong></td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Course of Nationalism</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Economic Picture</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Aspects</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Beginnings of Self-Government</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. BURMA</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early History</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Burma-India Union</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Burma Road</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Road to Independence</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Land and its Resources</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Way of Life</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. MALAYA</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Malayan Heritage</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of British Control</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial Rule and Policies</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wealth of Malaya</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaya's Separate Ways</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Approaches to Government</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. THAILAND</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand's History</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Agricultural Economy</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patterns of Living</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Aspects</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. Preface

The centuries-old smouldering fires of discontent have broken out with a vivid flame in Southeast Asia. The tinder struck by a global war has fed on the rot and decay of years. The paths of declining empires and the splendor and pomp of native rulers have been partially consumed in the conflagration.

The fateful unrest of these peoples can no longer be ignored. The surface manifestations of passive resistance and occasional open rebellion which marked a previous era have ripened into a full-grown social and political revolution. Hunger, degradation and despair have been the lot of these millions. Now, they seek to be masters of their own destinies. They seek a fuller, richer life with human dignity and new-found freedom.

The stakes are high for America and the rest of the world. Western ignorance of the East is no longer excusable. With each succeeding year the pendulum swings faster and describes a wider arc. Time is running out. The newly-won independence in the Southeast Asian area is only the beginning of the struggle. Disrupted social orders, disorganized economies and the lack of experienced leadership and unity make them vulnerable to external aggression and internal subversion. The West must find a common ground with the East. Asia has become a major factor in American life both for the present and the future.
The right of each nation to govern itself has long been a guiding principle for United States foreign policy. In accordance with this belief, the government has specifically stated: "The policy of the United States is to help the growth of free, independent, and responsible governments in Asia that can take their place in the family of nations as equal partners in the enterprise of building world peace."

With this in view then, and with a knowledge of the complexity of the problem, the settlement on one instrument of approach is not the answer. Southeast Asian freedom does not mean Southeast Asian democracy. The West must have patience with and understanding for their growing pains and deep humility in recognition of their sacrifices in this effort. They can not be handed a made-in-America brand of democracy along with a shipment of plows and tractors. Consistent, helpful diplomacy and guidance are what is needed. This is possible only through a knowledge and understanding of the past and potential contributions of Southeast Asia to the world.

America must gain that knowledge and understanding as she must perform be the leader in the movement to forge anew, in the right order, the old shackles which have been broken. To turn aside the challenge would leave the world

"...here, as on a darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
Where ignorant armies clash by night."\(^2\)

\(^1\) U. S. Office of Public Affairs, Our Foreign Policy, Department of State Publication, 1952, Number 4466, General Policy Series Number 56, Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, Washington, D. C., p. 41.

\(^2\) Matthew Arnold, Dover Beach.
2. Purpose

The purpose of this project is to make some small attempt to bridge the gap between the general ignorance of the Southeast Asian world and the understanding which is needed. An intelligent, informed public opinion is necessary to implement the changes in American thinking and attitudes toward this problem. Education on the secondary level can be one of the first steps. This project in the form of a supplementary text may supply the need for material to enlarge upon what already exists in textbooks.

3. Evidences of Need

An immediate postwar survey of the treatment of the whole Asiatic area in both elementary and secondary school social studies textbooks pointed up the paucity of such coverage. It concerned itself with geography, world history, American history, civics and modern problems and surveyed a total of 108 texts. Among the conclusions reached were that the texts contained very little on Asia in comparison with the treatment of other parts of the world and most of what there was, was devoted to China and Japan. Southeast Asia was badly neglected. Accounts were found to be incoherent, inaccurate and biased. The accounts were seldom presented in any light other than as a phase of the imperialism of Western nations.

Since that time there has been an effort to remedy the situation by introducing area studies in colleges and universities thereby making available to both prospective and in-service teachers a means of acquiring a

---

needed background. Some textbooks have been revised and an increasing number of materials in pamphlet form treating a diverse number of subjects on Asia have appeared. Yet the fact that resources for teaching about Asia in general and Southeast Asia in particular are still very limited is pointed up by Leonard S. Kenworthy in Asia in the Social Studies Curriculum. His survey led to the conclusion that although resources are limited:

"Such study is a national necessity and an international imperative if we are to avert world catastrophe now and in the years ahead and to help to build a world community based on peace and justice for Asians and Americans and for all the peoples of the earth."1

4. Scope

The scope of this project is to be limited to the Southeast Asian area defined as Burma, Thailand, Indochina, Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines. It is designed to be used at the secondary level to supplement a text in use which does not cover this field in an adequate manner.

5. Organization

The material is to be organized on the basis of an integrated chapter dealing with each area and containing the following approaches: (1) historical; (2) economic; (3) geographic; (4) social; (5) governmental; (6) biographical.

Included in this organization will be maps of the areas, suggested readings and activities and a bibliography for both students and teachers.

CHAPTER II

THE PHILIPPINES

"The Philippines is one place in Asia where Americans can walk with pride and dignity." That statement was made looking back from the mid-century mark over the record of an experiment in colonialism. It was an experiment, too, in projecting the American way of life with all its faults and ideals upon peoples who were separated from America not alone by miles of ocean, but also by what seemed to be an unbridgeable cultural and racial gap. The record shows that Kipling's "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet", is nothing but a false echo of a time gone by.

The test tube which contained the ingredients for the American experiment held a motley collection of elements. Economic imperialism, individual cases of greed and injustice, mistakes in judgment—all these mingled with the idealism of the freedom, equality and dignity of an individual as expressions of American democratic ideals. The brew boiled over a number of times, but the experiment continued.

In spite of the errors, the gap was bridged. Not perfectly, perhaps, but yet in such a way that the shaky parts of the foundation can be repaired gradually but surely. The bridge is buttressed by the progress in health, literacy, political freedom and perhaps most important of all, the Filipino's knowledge of self-respect as an individual and as a nation.

July 4, 1946, Independence Day for the Philippines, left its mark on the other peoples of Asia. Here East and West had met and regardless of race, had developed close cultural and political relationships in human understandings.

Southeast Asia began to look Westward, to America in particular. Here was hope that perhaps the Atlantic Charter could be translated into Pacific language. Time will reveal the fulfillment or partial fulfillment or denial of that hope. The world has learned a number of lessons that must not be forgotten. There are certain words that must never become meaningless if the world is to remain free.

"There are certain words,
Our own and others, we're used to—words we've used,
Heard, had to recite, forgotten, . . .
Liberty, equality, fraternity.
To none will we sell, refuse or deny, right or justice.
We hold these truths to be self-evident.

I am merely saying—what if these words pass?
What if they pass and are gone and are no more,
Eviscerated, blotted out of the world? . . .

They were bought with belief and passion at great cost.
They were bought with the bitter and anonymous blood
Of farmers, teachers, shoemakers, and fools
Who broke the old rule, and the pride of kings . . .

It took a long time to buy these words.
It took a long time to buy them, and much pain."

Beginnings of Filipino civilization.— There is an old Malayan legend which is a part of Filipino folklore and it tells the Oriental story of the creation. The versions of it vary a little in the telling, but they all come around to the same point. The God of the Universe set his mind upon the creation of man. Very carefully and with sure fingers he molded a small figure and set it in the oven to bake. This business of human pottery was new to God and there were no rules by which to go. He allowed the first image to remain in the oven too long and it came out burned and black. God blew on this cinder bit and put it aside to cool and this became the Negro. He set about making a second figure and this he removed too soon. It was too pale and pasty-white. This, too, was set aside to cool and it became the white man. A third image was fashioned and set to bake. It remained neither too short nor too long and when it came out of the oven, it was neither white nor black, but a beautiful, warm shade of brown. God smiled because the baking was just right.

The results of the first baking in the legend can still be found today in the remote sections of the islands. These are the Negritos, earliest inhabitants of the Philippines. But the warm, brown-shaded man of the legend is to be found in the descendants of the early Malays who migrated to the islands.

These early Malays remained in a very primitive state of culture in a society that existed mainly by hunting and fishing and a very crude agriculture. Gradually they pushed the Negrito back into the mountains. Later migrations brought more of the Malay race as well as others who had
a more highly developed culture. They came with greater drive and aggressiveness and remained to build the beginnings of Filipino civilization.

The coming of explorers and traders.—The later settlements had a religion, simple forms of government, a written language and music. Some of the sailors and traders brought with them the Hindu culture from India, but the strongest influence on this society came from the Mohammedans. They brought not only their religion but also the knowledge which came with being the greatest explorers and traders of their time.

It has been estimated that there were probably less than a half-million people in the Philippines at the time the Spaniard arrived on the scene in 1521. Many of the islands were completely unoccupied, yet there were some advanced communities. Chinese traders had also reached the archipelago and had shared their knowledge of firearms, tools and the use of iron. Early Spanish records tell of the astonishing amount of literacy and of the collection of songs and poems in the native literature. The native peoples had even fashioned a number of musical instruments among which were the bamboo violin and a wooden xylophone. Like many other peoples of a similar civilization, they worshipped the spirits of their ancestors and deified the elements in nature.

Society in most of the villages was based on three groups. The top level of the society was composed of freemen who could own land. A middle group were the liberated slaves who could own their homes and the lowest class were slaves. If a slave married a freeman, his first, third and fifth children were free and his second, fourth and sixth were slaves. Most of the slaves were debt-slaves who had sold themselves and
their enslavement became hereditary. The slaves served the dato, or village ruler, who held his position as chieftain through heredity.

The pale, underdone image of the legend arrived on the islands in the person of Magellan and his crews. Antonio Pigafetta, the historian of the expedition, has left a record of the misery and starvation which accompanied their Pacific voyage. Without a doubt, it was a scrawny, scurvy-afflicted crew which moved into the harbor at Cebu. Here they found a fair-sized town and Magellan made an agreement of friendship with the dato and proceeded to celebrate mass. Before long a great number of the villagers were baptized. Magellan then allied himself with the dato in a war against a neighboring people. It was in this fray that the world voyager was killed. The survivors of the expedition eventually reached Spain and there followed the era of conquistadores waging war and subduing peoples in the name of the flag and the cross.

Period of Spanish Rule

The city of Manila was founded by Legaspi, a Spanish Cavalier, in 1571. Other nations in the Orient took greater advantage of this trading center than did the Spanish. Fabulous and exotic cargoes found their way in and out of the harbor in a well-developed system of coast-wise trading in Southeast Asia. With the beginnings of the decline of Spain as a world power, restrictions were put on Manila as a port of entry for foreign goods and the heavily-laden ships began to by-pass Manila.

Colonial policies.— For many years the Philippines were ruled through the office of the Viceroy of Mexico. Spanish rule was typical of the conquerors of the day. There were unsuccessful revolts against authority, there
was unrest and there was violence on both sides. Also, like other nations in the same era, the king of Spain granted great tracts of land and the inhabitants of that land to his court favorites. The resources of the lands and the people were exploited and the people became little better than slaves under such a rule.

The Spanish friars came with the explorers and as time went on there were Augustinians, Jesuits, Franciscans, Benedictines and Dominicans established throughout the islands. They, too, were granted huge tracts of land for their monasteries and schools and other activities. Eventually they came to own immense areas of the best land, much of it in and around Manila. In later years, as friction between Spain and the Filipinos mounted, the friar, who represented the center of village life with his influence in both church and local government, became the symbol of oppression.

When Spain warred against England in 1762, the British captured Manila and retained control of it for two years. When war ended, the city went back into Spanish hands. Spanish rule continued with very little in the way of reform. When the Suez Canal was opened in 1869, it meant a Manila to Spain voyage could be made in about a month's time, whereas it had previously taken anywhere from four to eight months around the Cape of Good Hope. This did not mean an upward swing of prosperity for the Philippines. It merely meant that more and more Spaniards would arrive in the islands to make a living by exploitation.

An attempt was made to introduce some reforms about the middle of the nineteenth century. Presses arrived from Spain. At first, the newspapers were religious in character and carefully censored, yet between 1840 and
1872 fifty newspapers were founded. A system of education was set up which was primarily religious instruction and generally reached only the well-to-do Filipinos. Still other plans were made for better government but many of them never came into being and discontent continued to grow.

Finally, in 1872, Filipino soldiers in the arsenal at Cavite rebelled against the Spanish authority and killed a number of Spaniards. The Spanish retaliated by seizing all suspect Filipinos including three Filipino priests. Forty-one of the leaders of the uprising were shot and the priests met their death on the garrote, a Spanish manner of strangulation by means of an iron collar. This lighted the smouldering resentment into a flame and touched off a real movement for freedom among the Filipinos.

The struggle for freedom.-- A fair number of the islanders had acquired means enough to give their sons an education and out of this class arose one who was to be the symbol of the struggle for freedom. Jose Rizal was an ardent patriot and a man of many talents, outstanding as a writer and a physician. Rizal attended a Jesuit school and then the University of Santo Tomas. He continued his education abroad, going from one university to another. While in Europe, he began a novel which depicted the evils of the Spanish rule. A comparison has been made between the influence of Rizal's novel on the Filipino revolt, to the effect of Uncle Tom's Cabin on the abolitionist movement. The novel is titled Noli Me Tangere which translated literally means a malignant ulcer on the face or nose. The English title is The Social Cancer.

Noli Me Tangere was the type of writing which under the circumstances of Spanish rule had to be smuggled into the islands. It was dedicated to the three Filipino priests who had been put to death by the Spanish. The
book was labelled anti-Catholic and seditious by the authorities. Punishment awaited anyone caught with a copy. The book can not be classed as a great piece of literature, but its greatness lay in the fact that Rizal was able to put into words the feelings of his countrymen.

Rizal, of course, became suspect. He was deported from the country and his travels eventually led to London where he wrote El Filibusterismo. The literal title likens the Spaniard to an adventurer invading unlawfully another's territory and harks back to the days of English buccaneers. The English title became Reign of Greed. Oddly enough, in both Noli Me Tangere and El Filibusterismo, Rizal took the attitude, not of an ardent revolutionist, but rather of one who felt that reforms could be made within the framework of Spanish government.

Jose Rizal returned to the islands in 1892. He continued his work by organizing the Liga Filipina which was a group working toward reforms. The Spanish finally became fearful enough of his influence and Rizal was first imprisoned and then exiled to Dapitan in Mindanao. The charge made by the Spanish was that he had attacked the Catholic religion and also the national unity.

Insurrection broke out in Cuba and Rizal was permitted to volunteer as a doctor in the Spanish army. He never reached Cuba. Spanish authorities changed their minds and he was brought back to Manila for trial at a time when the city was rife with unrest. The court found him guilty of the previous charges and sentenced him to a death by firing squad. The story goes that he asked permission to face his executioners with unbandaged eyes. This was refused, yet somehow he managed to turn and fall face upward at
the moment of death. The anniversary of the patriot's death on December 30, 1896 is today a national holiday and many a village square has a statue of the great revolutionary hero.

At the time the Liga Filipina was organized, there were those who felt that it was too mild and cautious a group. Andres Bonifacio, who has been called the Sam Adams of the Philippines, was in favor of stronger action. It was under his leadership that the Katipunan (Supreme Worshipful Association of the Sons of the People) was organized in the hope that it would appeal to the masses as well as to the intellectuals. Authorities disagree on the merits of the Katipunan. Some label it notorious and radical and others claim that it fought for agrarian reform and promoted the concept of freedom founded on human dignity. Bonafacio was soon replaced by Emilio Aguinaldo as leader.

Aguinaldo set up a Central Revolutionary Committee after the Cavite affair. The committee was to raise an army and be prepared to defend the new government as it was established. The revolutionary movement spread and five provinces were in a state of siege. The Spanish offered to negotiate. They managed to persuade Aguinaldo to sign the pact of Biak-na-Bato. Actually it was not a peace but rather an armed truce. The terms included a promise of equal representation with the Spaniards in government and the institution of reforms on their part. In turn, Aguinaldo was to live abroad with indemnity and to take his staff with him. The indemnity was to be paid in three installments. The last installment was to come when the Te Deum had been chanted in the Manila cathedral as a token of thanksgiving. The Te Deum was duly sung, but only the first
installment was ever made. The government failed to keep its promises of reform and terrorism reigned again in Manila. This, then, was the situation when the U.S.S. Maine was blown up in Havana harbor.

**United States intervention.**— Commodore George Dewey had orders to prevent the Spanish fleet from leaving the port of Manila. Accordingly, he left Hong Kong to accomplish this mission. Aguinaldo, who had been in Hong Kong, came back to Manila in an American transport provided by Dewey. Stories differ on just what Dewey and the Americans promised Aguinaldo. Aguinaldo insisted that they offered independence. There was misunderstanding on both sides, no doubt. In view of the avowed purpose of the war and the promise that Cuba was to be free, it is not difficult to see why Aguinaldo thought that the Americans would not seek to control the Philippines.

The battle of Manila Bay occurred on May 1, 1898. The Spanish fleet was destroyed but the city itself could not be taken until sufficient land forces arrived to do the job. In the meantime, Aguinaldo and his forces were wiping out Spanish forts throughout the islands. They had declared themselves independent and had set up a provisional government. When the Americans entered the city of Manila after its surrender, they did not permit the Filipino forces to be part of the occupation. Immediate resentment arose toward the American forces. The resentment grew with the realization that the new conquerors had no intention of releasing the islands into the hands of the Filipino people.

On the night of February 4, 1899 American and Filipino troops fired on each other in Manila and the Philippine Insurrection had begun. The
insurrection continued on a large scale for about two years and then lapsed into guerrilla warfare with occasional skirmishes until 1904. An interesting sidelight on the guerrilla warfare is that orders in code were sent through the forest tapped out on bamboo. This same kind of system was used by outposts resisting the Japanese in World War II.

Aguinaldo was captured by General Funston's forces and the real revolt was ended. General Arthur MacArthur conferred with the rebel and an agreement was made whereby the guerrillas were to give their allegiance to the United States. Aguinaldo retired to a government-pensioned obscurity which was only broken when he emerged on the scene in World War II to become an ardent collaborator with the Japanese.

In almost four centuries of Spanish rule, the record was not without some good. This is often overlooked in the accounting of the tyranny and oppression. From the Spaniard came the Filipino's concept of morality and his respect toward women. In many Oriental countries a woman was little better than a beast of burden. The Spaniard had exposed the islanders to Western forms of government. It is true that they may not have always functioned perfectly but at least there was familiarity with Occidental ideas. And not least of all, there was some amount of education limited though it was. The few who learned to read, learned to seek for greater knowledge and the rebellion against the tyranny of Spain was led by the educated.

The American Years

Issue of imperialism.—Reactions in the United States to the taking of the Philippines varied greatly. At the beginning of the war few Americans
could have found the islands on a map without great difficulty. With the Dewey victory at Manila Bay, interest in this far corner of the world was sharpened. Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan had strengthened the cause of imperialism by analyzing the rise and decline of maritime powers and relating political to naval history in his writings on sea power. He predicted that when the opportunities for gain abroad were understood that the "course of American enterprise would cleave a channel by which to reach them". He advocated that Americans begin to look outward from their own shores.

Josiah Strong, a pioneer in the social gospel movement, told Americans that the United States was being schooled for the final competition of the races. Nothing could save the inferior races except a ready and willing assimilation on their part. Manifest destiny westward was part of the mission of the United States to the world according to Josiah Strong. There were those who favored a Pacific empire for the United States, believing that the Americans were God's "chosen people" who were to lead in the "regeneration of the world".

American businessmen began to look with favor on the idea of the Philippines as a gateway to the markets of the Orient. Newspaper polls were taken and their tally showed a considerable amount of public opinion to be in agreement with the taking of the islands.

High on the list of those who opposed this imperialistic venture were a number of newspapers including the Washington Post and the New York Evening Post. The Society of Friends and the Unitarians were against it. An Anti-Imperialist League was formed in Boston. They argued that
United States expansion was wrong from every viewpoint, but particularly from the moral viewpoint. The League felt it violated a basic principle of American thinking, that of the right of a nation to govern itself. Among the individuals who opposed it were Jane Addams, William Jennings Bryan, Grover Cleveland, E. L. Godkin, editor of The Nation, labor leader Samuel Gompers and industrialist Andrew Carnegie.

President McKinley explained the executive attitude toward the acquisition of the Philippines to a committee of the General Missionary Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church:

"Before you go I would like to say a word about the Philippine business... The truth is I didn't want the Philippines, and when they came to us, as a gift from the gods, I did not know what to do with them. When the war broke out, Dewey was in Hong Kong and I ordered him to go to Manila and to capture and destroy the Spanish fleet, and he had to. Because... if the Dons were victorious they would likely cross the Pacific to ravage our Oregon and California coasts...

When next I realized that the Philippines had dropped into our laps I confess that I did not know what to do with them. I sought counsel from all sides—Democrats as well as Republicans—but got little help. I thought first we would take only Manila; then Luzon; then other islands, perhaps, also. I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight, and I am not ashamed to tell you gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way—I don't know how it was, but it came: (1) That we could not give them back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable; (2) that we could not turn them over to France or Germany—our commercial rivals in the Orient—that would be bad business and discreditable; (3) that we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government and would soon have anarchy and misrule over there worse than Spain's was; and (4) there was nothing left for us to do but take them all and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and Christianize them, and by God's grace to do the best we could for them, as our fellow men for whom Christ also died.

And then I went to bed, and went to sleep, and slept soundly, and the next morning I sent for the chief engineer of the War Department (our map maker), and I told him to put the Philippines on the map of the United States and there they are and there they will stay while I am President."

---

1 Christian Advocate, January 22, 1903; quoted in Charles Sumner Olcott, Life of McKinley, II, 109-11.
The Philippines were an issue of the 1900 presidential campaign. The Democrats "condemned and denounced" the Philippine policy of the administration. The Republicans held the opposite view. They made no "hypocritical pretense" of placing the welfare of the Filipinos first. They were interested in the welfare of the American people which would come about by trade expansion.

The First Philippine Commission created by McKinley and headed by Jacob Gould Schurman, president of Cornell University, arrived in Manila in March 1899. The report of this commission to the United States in 1900 stressed the fact that the Philippines were not ready for independence. William Howard Taft became the first civil governor of the islands. It is generally agreed that Taft governed with wisdom and understanding. In a fairly short period of time, civil service based on merit was established, road building began, a health and an agriculture department were set up and a system of education was started. An arrangement was made to dispose of some of the Spanish-owned lands including the friars' lands in a more equitable sharing. From the beginning until after the independence act was made law, the government of the Philippines was under the War Department of the United States.

Formation of political parties.—Although there was opposition to the American occupation on the part of many Filipinos, groups got together and formed political parties. The first such party under American rule was the Federalista Party. They were a minority group who felt that immediate peace should be their goal and not independence. The Federalistas were willing to accept statehood as an end. But the thought uppermost in the minds of the
majority was independence. All other objectives were relegated to the background. This majority joined together in the Nacionalista Party with a one-objective platform, that of independence as soon as possible. Leadership in the Nacionalista centered around Manuel Quezon who had served in Aguinaldo's forces and was governor of Tayabas Province, and Sergio Osmeña, governor of the island of Cebu. Osmeña remained in the islands to work for independence and Quezon, as resident commissioner in Washington, was tireless in his efforts to turn public opinion into the independence channel.

The Filipino legislative process.-- Elections for the First Philippine Assembly were held in 1907. Sergio Osmeña as the leader of the Nacionalista Party became Speaker of the Assembly. This creation of the Assembly was one of the first steps in the gradual process of self-government. The Assembly set-up provided for an Upper House which was the Civil Commission appointed by the president of the United States. This meant that full legislative power was not in the hands of the Filipinos. In 1916, under the executive leadership of Woodrow Wilson, the United States Congress passed the Jones Act. One provision of this legislation was the creation of a Senate elected by the people and thus the abolition of the Philippine Commission. Legislative power now lay fully in the hands of the Filipinos. The first elections for the Philippine Senate gave an overwhelming majority vote to the Nacionalista Party. Quezon became president of the Senate. The Nacionalista Party split into two factions, the Collectivist under Quezon and the Unipersonal under Osmeña. Among the members of the new Senate were a representation of minorities, three Moros, one Igorot and one Ifugas.

The issue of independence.-- Throughout the years of the American rule
changes of government in Washington meant changes in the Philippine policy. While ultimate independence was recognized by both the Democratic and Republican Parties, yet there were eras when the progress toward it was speeded up and eras when it was delayed. The years brought a succession of governors-general, some effective, some who rubbed the Filipinos the wrong way. In general, the success or failure of a governor-general's administration depended on who was telling the story. When Francis Burton Harrison put through a series of reforms which gave the Filipinos greater participation in their government, he was criticized by the army and navy set and the businessmen in the islands. From the Filipino point of view, Governor-General Leonard Wood belonged to the variety who rubbed them the wrong way. By and large, those who served in this capacity who were able to gain the confidence and understanding of the Filipinos were the ones who best served both the American and Filipino interests.

In the meantime, the independence issue was kept very much alive by the Nacionalista Party. They left no stone unturned in their attempts to get a definite promise out of the United States Congress. At the same time, certain conditions in the United States began to work in their favor. American opinion began to veer toward self-government for the Filipinos. Some Americans were prompted by the protection of their own particular interests, such as the farm groups who represented sugar and tobacco growers, the cottonseed oil interests and West Coast labor groups who believed that cheap Filipino labor entering the United States would be a menace to them. Others who favored independence had a warm-hearted understanding for the Filipinos' burning desire and assumed that they were as ready for it as they would ever be.
As time went on and the economic picture became shaky, these groups joined into an influential lobby which first worked for restrictions on Philippine imports and then for independence. A minority group who opposed the realization of the Filipinos' dream was composed of those who felt that the islands were not yet ready, those who had investments in the islands and those who simply felt the United States should continue to rule them.

Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act.— The pressure brought to bear from all sides produced the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, passed and then repassed over Herbert Hoover's veto. It would have set up a five year period during which free trade would have been tapered off by increases in tariff. At the end of five years the islands were to vote for or against independence. It remained only for the Philippine legislature to accept the act. Sergio Osmena and Manual Roxas felt that it should be accepted as the best they could get. Quezon argued that better terms could be obtained. In the dispute which arose over acceptance of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, the leadership of the Nacionalista Party was also at stake. Quezon and Osmena had long since stopped seeing eye to eye on the course of the independence issue. When the Philippine legislature rejected the offer of independence Quezon became the top political figure in the Philippines.

Tydings-McDuffie Act and election of 1934.— In 1934 the Tydings-McDuffie Act was passed which provided for the establishment of a Philippine Commonwealth and complete independence in 1946. This Quezon approved. The elections of 1934 gave an overwhelming victory to Quezon as president of the Commonwealth. Sergio Osmena became vice president. At the same time, for those who wanted to hear, there was a discontented murmuring of the
common man. The Sakdalista, a party composed mainly of poor, uneducated people of the Tagalog provinces of Luzon, showed strength enough to vote in three members to the House of Representatives. In the words of one writer, the Sakdals were just plain "agin the government". They wanted immediate independence and accused the other parties of aligning themselves to American imperialistic desires. From this time until the outbreak of World War II, the record shows an era of general progress and a fair amount of contentment.

War comes to the Philippines.—American military forces on the islands from a defense point of view were not capable of doing much more than suppressing a riot and keeping law and order. Quezon set to work on a defense arrangement whereby General Douglas MacArthur was to build a Filipino army under a plan calling for compulsory military service. When the threat of Japan in the Pacific loomed larger and darker on the horizon, the reservists were incorporated into the American army under MacArthur.

As in many another Far Eastern country, there had been Japanese commercial penetration in the Philippines. Before the war, there were large numbers of Japanese in Davao on Mindanao, where they held a monopoly on hemp production. In other areas they had control over some of the mineral production. They became a part of the strategy which led to December 8, 1941, Manila time, when the Japanese bombed Manila and other points in the islands. The Filipinos were to be sorely tried and tested until peace came in 1945.

The stories of the heroism of the Filipino at Bataan and Corregidor are legion. The Filipinos' resistance to the Japanese invasion was outstanding conduct in comparison to the rest of the colonial peoples of Southeast Asia.
In country after country, the Japanese had fanned into a flame the fires of race prejudice and resentment against white rule. In Burma, Indonesia, Thailand and Malaya there was very little resistance on the part of the native peoples to the conquest of their countries. In Indochina, even the French offered only a token resistance. The Filipino fought heart and soul for America and for the Philippines. He chose deliberately between two ways of life and at the moment of choosing, he chose the harder way.

In the early period of the war came the famous Death March, horrible atrocities and retaliation by the Japanese for the Filipino resistance. This phase passed when the Japanese had been fairly successful in subduing the islands and the period of the puppet government began. It became guerrilla warfare then for some and a less open type of resistance for others. Guerrilla bands can not operate successfully without the support of the people and from the tao (common man), the laborer, the little people all over the islands, came the support that was necessary.

In the meantime, the collaborators, and there were those in every country, worked in the puppet government set up under Jose P. Laurel. When the war was over, collaboration was for a time a big issue in the Philippines. Manuel Roxas, who became the first president of the Republic, was one of the chief targets of this accusation. Opinions varied as to just what constituted collaboration. Many who had welcomed the chance to work with the enemy claimed that they had done so only to protect the interests of the Filipinos. Others said that they had been given orders by Quezon to remain behind in order to facilitate the return of the exiled government. No one seemed to know just where the line ought to be drawn as to what was and what was not collaboration.
General Douglas MacArthur gave clearance to Roxas stating that Roxas had acted as his "contact man" during the occupation by the Japanese. In the minds of many, the record and MacArthur's statement remained open to question.

The islands under puppet government.— In October of 1943 the so-called independence of the islands was proclaimed by the Japanese. A constitution and a republic, both in puppet form, were established. Quezon and Osmena had left the islands and had set up the exiled government in Washington. It became apparent that the war in Europe took precedence over the war in the Pacific. It was a time of waiting and hoping mixed with despair for the Filipinos. Conditions in the Philippines grew steadily worse. A black market raged causing living costs to soar to unheard of heights. A serious shortage of food developed, caused not alone by actual war damage, but also from the siphoning-off process whereby the Japanese were able to aid their war effort in other parts of the Pacific. With the stepping-up of the war effort by the allied forces in the Pacific theatre came the American air raids on Manila and the later landings on Leyte. Chaos broke out everywhere as the Japanese realized they were losing and the last days of their occupation of Manila was one long nightmare for the Filipinos.

Quezon in Washington had tried to make plans for the eventual rehabilitation of the islands. But no one dreamed that the liberation of the islands would be so costly and so destructive a job. Quezon himself was fighting a losing battle with ill-health and on August 1, 1944, he died. Osmena then took the oath of office as president of the Commonwealth.
Problems of rehabilitation. -- Osmena had worked ceaselessly for the Philippine cause since the days of his youth. He was not the colorful figure that Quezon had been. He had not the "Caudillo" traits. His was a more sober, solid personality. The situation into which he stepped at the time of the liberation of the Philippines demanded more than he was able to give. Perhaps it was too much to expect of one human being regardless of his abilities. He went home to a government rotten with collaborators. He had to get some kind of legislative body together and it seemed as though nearly all who qualified to sit in the House and the Senate were tagged with the collaborator's label. A disrupted economy faced him, there was devastation and untold misery and the morale of the people was shot through with a weariness and fatigue that made them resentful toward anyone in office.

Manila became overcrowded with people coming in from the provinces seeking food and employment. The army set up a relief program but it hardly touched the outer fringe of need. UNRRA supplies were unnecessarily delayed. The people were unable to begin immediate food production for their own needs for there had been widespread destruction of the carabaos, the work animal of the islands.

Throughout the war, the United States constantly reassured the Filipinos in messages relayed through radios of the resistance, that they would stand behind the reconstruction and rehabilitation when the war was over. The process was slow and incomplete. Osmena went to Washington to make a personal plea. He sought aid both in terms of money and in terms of trade agreements. A War Damage Act was passed by Congress providing for $400,000,000
compensation for claims and also the transferral of $100,000,000 in surplus property to the Philippine government. In addition to those two sums, $120,000,000 was appropriated for the repair of public property and the re-establishment of public services and a program of technical training for Filipinos. Large as these amounts may seem, they did not cover the total losses. Congress also considered Osmena's request for trade agreements. The Philippine Trade Act of 1946 provided that free trade continue until 1954 and after that, duty is to be increased five percent each year until 1974 when the full tariff will apply.

The year 1946 brought to an end the American political rule in the Philippines. But other ties were to bind the two nations together. The Americans had left some things unfinished. The ravages of war had left the Philippines in a weakened state. The Filipinos' need of the United States in the form of aid and guidance worked hand in hand with the American need for outposts of democracy in the Pacific.

A Self-governing Nation

In January 1946, with independence only a few months away, a Nacionalista Party split occurred. Osmena ran for re-election on one wing of the party. Manuel Roxas with Elpidio Quirino as the vice-presidential nominee supported the other wing. The issue of collaboration and Roxas' part in it was a live one. As in many another country where the psychological and physical scars of war were still much in evidence, the people turned from the group in power and the Roxas-Quirino ticket won.

July 4, 1946 and Dewey Boulevard had a festive look with the flags and trimmings of Independence Day, but the occasion was not the joyous one that
had been anticipated. There were those who felt that now the islands were less ready for independence than they had been before the war. There was a beginning of some anti-American feeling. By late 1946, the feeling had ripened somewhat over the issue of amending the constitution in line with the provisions of the Trade Act. This amendment provided special rights to Americans.

**Hukbalahap revolt.**—Troubles beset the new government almost immediately. One source of trouble was the unrest of the farmers in the Tagalog section of Central Luzon. Like the taos in other parts of the country, they were debt-ridden and poverty-stricken. During the war these people had resisted the Japanese through the Hukbalahap (People's Army Against the Japanese) organization. When the war was over and it seemed as though no reforms were to be put through for them, they continued sporadic raiding and fighting. The movement is not as strong as it was immediately after the war, but it is still a source of trouble. Their leader, Luis Taruc, was an acknowledged Communist, but as in other areas in Southeast Asia, the peasant who followed him rarely knew anything of Marxist doctrine.

Elpidio Quirino became president upon the death of Roxas in April 1948. Quirino made an attempt to negotiate with the Huks through Luis Taruc. Although amnesty was promised if the Huks turned in their arms, very few were willing to give up and the movement continued. By 1950 the stability of the Philippine government was threatened by their activity. For the next two years Quirino ordered a rigid policy of suppression and as a consequence, their forces have been cut and the groups scattered.
into small bands. Other factors which have decreased the strength of the Huk movement have been the somewhat improved economic conditions through government assistance and the policy of granting amnesty and farm lands to the Huks who abandon the group. Castro Alejandro, a faithful follower of the Communist Party line, has replaced Luis Taruc as leader of the Hukbalahap.

Present opinion in the islands is to the effect that the Huks cannot be completely eliminated until greater reforms are made to alleviate the poverty and unrest of the tao in Central Luzon where the organization still maintains a strong core of unrelenting followers.

**Philippine interest in Southeast Asian unity**— In 1950 a conference of Southeast Asian nations was held at Baguio with the Philippines one of the most interested participants. The nations who sent delegates were Australia, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Thailand and Indonesia. President Quirino would like to see a Southeast Asian Union come into being which would provide mutual aid and common action should the freedom of those nations be threatened. No tangible union grew out of the Baguio conference but it was a beginning that could lead to greater cooperation and an understanding of the common problems of these nations.

A rather unique meeting took place in Manila in September 1952. Philippine war veterans were the initiating force behind the meeting which gathered together at Manila, representatives of veterans from all over the southeast of Asia. The delegations did not represent, nor were they sponsored by any of the governments of the various nations. Veterans from Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, The Federated Malay States, Hong Kong
and the Philippines organized for the purpose of free exchange of ideas and opinions with the ultimate goal of preserving peace. One resolution passed by the group was their pledge to take an active part in shaping the policies of their respective governments. This may be the beginning of a grass-roots movement for better government and for regional cooperation from which the West might well take a lesson. Observers were present from the United States, Indonesia, Australia and Nationalist China.

Geographic and Economic Aspects

The Philippine archipelago includes 7,083 islands. Some are so small that they would be only tiny pin pricks on a map. More than half of them are unnamed and many of them have no inhabitants. Luzon in the north and Mindanao in the south are the two largest islands. The island of Palawan which is the third largest island is smaller than Connecticut. Separating Luzon and Mindanao is the Visayan group in which are to be found Leyte, Panay, Samar, Cebu and a number of other islands. A fact which makes for unity is that the largest and the most populated islands lie close together.

Distribution of population.-- The nation has a continually expanding population. The birth rate is high and knowledge of sanitation and modern health practices has helped to decrease the death rate. Elsewhere in Southeast Asia, an expanding population is a cause for alarm, particularly in areas where the soil has been overworked for generations and where there is never enough to eat. In the Philippines the prospect is not so frightening. It is true that there are areas where the density of population is as high as 500 people per square mile. In other areas the density is less than 50 per square mile and in still other sections there are vast areas of unin-
habited land. The problem is one of a redistribution of population. The coastal areas are the more heavily populated regions. Surveys have shown that much more of the land is suitable for production than is being used. The answer to the problem sounds simple enough, but it becomes more complex when it means uprooting whole segments of a population and moving them to another place. People either lack the means to move themselves and this would mean a government expense, or else they just resist being moved from their ancestral acreage.

**Products of the land.**—The Philippines lie in the region of the north tropics which means a hot climate with plenty of rain and a long growing season. Even in the mountain areas where it is cooler than in the lowlands, there is wide latitude for the growth of crops. The islands are subject to typhoons on occasion, which are a fairly common occurrence in that part of the Pacific.

This is a country of farmers. Fertile valleys and coastal plains and lowlands produce the major crops of rice, sugar, copra, abaca (hemp) and tobacco. Rice is the staple crop and an important item in the Filipino's diet. The production of rice never seems to meet the domestic demand for it even though there is plenty of available land and a cheap labor supply. Production is controlled by the landowners and the middle-men whose aim is to keep the market from being glutted and thereby keep the prices up. Camotes (sweet potatoes), cassava which is used for tapioca, corn, citrus fruits, bananas, tomatoes and cabbages are among the other crops raised in large quantities. The Manila hemp which comes from the abaca plant is one of the large export products of the islands. It is
particularly valuable in the making of marine rope, for its fibers do not swell as much in salt water as do other such fibers.

A crop possibility which has not been fully explored is the cultivation of ramie which is a textile fiber. Experiments with this fiber have shown that it is exceptionally durable, that it takes dyes well and does not shrink. The Filipinos could find a ready market in the Orient for a cheaply produced and cheaply priced textile.

**Tenant farming.**—Tenant farming is considered to be one of the great economic as well as cultural evils of Filipino society. Two forms of tenant farming exist in the islands. One is the cacique system, a hold-over from the Spanish era. The caciques are owners of huge tracts of land which are worked by the tao, or peasant. The system is feudalistic in nature and practically binds the tao to the soil for there is never a chance for him to acquire enough to own his own plot of ground. The political influence of the cacique is tremendous and he is able to prevent effectively any amount of land reform.

The most common type of tenancy is the kasama, where land is leased on shares. The landowner receives the lion's share of the produce and profits for he very often furnishes not alone the land, but also the work animals and seeds. The tenant borrows money from the landowner to tide him over until the crop is harvested and out of his meagre share, he must pay his debts and live until the next crop. The share received for his labor is not sufficient to do this and the tao goes deeper and deeper in debt in a vicious circle of borrowing and paying back at high interest rates.
A new rental law came into being after World War II which provides that in the share system, not more than 30 percent is to go to the landlord. This has not solved the problem. The tenant farmer still cannot make ends meet for the interest rates remain very high as the farmer is considered a poor risk. The seasonal cultivation of such crops as rice means a lay-off period for the workers when they must find other jobs or go into debt. The Philippine government has taken some steps toward easing the burden of the tenant, but agrarian unrest is still a major problem.

**Development of resources.** The islands have a variety of natural resources and the potentialities of some have not yet been fully explored. In recent years there has been an increase in gold production. Many of the mines being worked are on the site of old workings which go back to the pre-Spanish era. On the island of Luzon is to be found one of the largest deposits of low-grade chrome ore in the world. Iron mining is done on Luzon and Samar. Deposits of silver, copper, lead and manganese in sizeable quantities are worked. One of the most valuable resources of the Philippines is her forests of tropical hardwoods. Here on the islands is one of the world’s greatest stands of commercial timber with mahogany an outstanding product.

The fact of the disrupted economy caused by the war, plus the realization that free trade will not last forever has set the islanders looking into the prospects for industrial development. There is only a limited amount of coal and if manufacturing is to be done to any extent, hydroelectric power must be the generating force. The islands possess the potentiality for this and surveys have shown that light industries could
be a profitable enterprise.

**Manila.**—The geography and the economy of the islands are such that there are not many really large cities or urban areas. The most important city to the Filipinos and the center of Philippine life has been Manila. Extensive damage was inflicted on the city during the war, particularly at the time of the battles for the liberation of the islands. Today, the Filipinos are working on a new capital, Quezon City. The battered hulks of half-submerged ships can still be seen in the harbor of Manila. The scars of battle are everywhere in the city, for reconstruction has been slow. Still, the port is one of the busy centers of the East. The rock island of Corregidor stands at the entrance to the harbor and in the distance can be seen the Mariveles Mountain. Manila itself is flat and low. The untidy Pasig River runs through the heart of the city.

**Baguio.**—The city of Baguio is like a summer capital to the Filipinos. It lies in the mountains about 160 miles from Manila. The American influence is very much in evidence here in the commercial center and in the types of buildings. It also has a small town flavor in that once a week, those who live outside come into town in the manner of a typical American Saturday night.

**Trade and industry.**—Most economists agree that the free trade established in 1909 and continued throughout the years has given the Philippines the burden of economic dependence on the United States. Politically they are independent, but economically they are still tied to American apron strings. Previous to World War II there was the so-called four-crop economy, that of rice, sugar, hemp and copra. The United States was
an excellent market for these crops and under the free-trade policy there was no need to compete in other world markets. The islands in turn were a big market for United States manufactures. So the free flow of goods across the Pacific made for a rapidly expanding income for the islands. For years, practically no attempt was made by the Filipinos to diversify their agriculture, or to set up industries to any extent. Since their markets were almost totally American markets, they suffered with Americans in the "boom and bust" cycles which occurred in American business.

The criticism of the Philippine Trade Act of 1946 has been to the effect that it merely keeps the islands in the same economic rut of a four-crop economy. It is a very human trait to put off the evil moment as long as possible. Since the full rate of duty on Philippine goods is delayed until 1974, most landowners and capitalists have returned to the old ways in order to be sure of profits. The large landowners and those with capital to invest are few in number in comparison to the rest of the population. Therefore, their return to the old economy means that the setting up of new enterprises is slow. Foreign capital is slow to invest in a new country with an uncertain future. Americans were granted special privileges by a constitutional amendment which permits them to exploit the natural resources of the Philippines and this is considered by some to be a stumbling block to the rehabilitation of the Filipino economy.

Such widespread destruction followed in the wake of war that even now, because of the lack of equipment and the lack of available capital, trade is below its prewar levels. The government has found it necessary to intervene, particularly in the area of industrial development. A National
Development Company has been set up under government control which reaches out into the shoe, textile and food-canning industries. Restrictions have been put on private enterprise. Import controls have been set, mainly on things which might be considered luxuries such as watches, beverages, leather goods and cosmetics.

A hard road lies ahead of the Filipinos in the field of economic development. It will be a long time before there is complete recovery from the war. But they are farther along the road than other Southeast Asian nations for in many other ways they are mature enough to work out their problems.

Cultural Patterns

Christian and non-Christian groupings.— Filipino society can be divided into three broad ethnic groups, the Malay, the Indonesian and the Negrito. Centuries of intermarriage have tended to cause the disappearance of any marked racial differences. Many Filipinos are mestizos with strains of Spanish and Chinese. When the census bureau makes a count, the population is divided into two groups, the Christian and the non-Christian. The non-Christian group includes the Moros, the Negritos and the Igorots. There has been a slow but steady assimilation of the Negritos and Igorots into the Christian ranks as the result of missionary work. But the Moros, who are Mohammedans, resist the Christianization process. The Moros and the pagan groups account for about eight percent of the population. The Christian Filipino accounts for the other ninety-two percent. Like all non-conformists in any society, the Moros and the pagans of the Philippines have at times gained widespread publicity due to their differences. Yet the fact remains that they are only a small segment of the total population and the picture
as a whole represents a more homogeneous group than could be found in the population of the United States.

The Christian group is almost totally Roman Catholic. Protestant missionaries entered the islands with the American occupation but the Roman Catholic church did not lose ground. One important schism appeared as a revolt against the Roman Catholic church. The Aglipayanos set up the Independent Philippine Church. They were originally the followers of Father Gregorio Aglipay. The focus of their religion is a patriotism which calls for adoration of Filipino national heroes and not the saints. Although the Aglipayanos are a minority, they do wield a political influence which is powerful enough to have to be reckoned with.

The Mohammedan Filipinos were first called Moros by the Spanish who recalled their previous difficulties with the Mohammedan Moors of North Africa. The Moros have adapted Mohammedanism to their own liking. Underneath the outward signs of their religion lie pagan, animistic beliefs. Racially, the Moro and the Filipino are of the same stock, but the circumstances of the Moro's clinging to his ways have made the Moro society less civilized. Christianity brought with it more than religion. It brought education along all lines and Moro resistance to the foreigner's way has kept him in a backward state.

Language mediums.— The geography of the country, existing economic conditions in certain areas and other lesser factors permit groups to live throughout the islands in comparative isolation from other groups. The situation long ago produced numerous dialects and language differences. The pagan groups contribute much to the diversity of language mediums.
Two of the dialects have fairly common usage. They are the Tagalog and Visayan. The well-educated groups generally have a speaking acquaintance with Tagalog, English, French and Spanish. For many, English is a language understood but not commonly spoken. From the outset of the American occupation of the islands, English was the language of instruction in the schools, but the children lapsed into their own dialects at home and in the community. Thus, the majority of the people can not communicate politically or culturally outside of their own provinces. Since their independence, many Filipinos have felt that Tagalog should be widely used as the language of instruction in the elementary schools and that English be used in secondary schools. Others feel that English should continue to be used throughout the entire educational system, for English is the international language of the Far East.

A Westernized education—The mass education program introduced in the Philippines by the Americans was a bold and pioneering venture. The school teachers and educators who left the United States to take up the challenge of a new frontier, pioneered in the true American tradition. They went westward into the unknown; westward until the West met the East. The magnitude of the task before them would have daunted a lesser spirit than that of the pioneer. Shortly after the United States occupation of the islands, the school teachers began to arrive. The United States Army transport "Thomas" brought 600 in August 1901. Today, the anniversary of the docking at Manila of the "Thomas" is celebrated by Filipinos. It is a mark of the importance that they have attached to education.

The experiment involved more than just teaching the three R's. English was the language of instruction for the Filipino child, but not the language
of his home. It had to be education in a much broader sense than in an
American school. The education had to lead eventually to self-government.
It had to emphasize the importance of healthy living habits and sanitation.
The American attitude that hard work never hurt anyone, helped the Filipino
to gain respect for the value and dignity of labor. The educational process
had to develop civic responsibility and a national pride. The enthusiasm
with which the school teachers gave and with which the Filipinos accepted
made the experiment a success.

The Filipinos paid their way from the beginning. Perhaps that was
the first step toward success. The human being all over the world seems
to value and appreciate more, that for which he has to struggle, than that
which is given to him as a gift. Out of Filipino taxes came the money to
erect the school buildings and to pay the teachers' salaries. Filipino
children learned of Lexington and Concord and Gettysburg. Pictures of
Lincoln and Washington were on the walls of the schoolhouse. True wisdom
was shown when added to these lessons and pictures were the stories of
Filipino heroes and above all the picture of Jose Rizal on the wall next
to Washington and Lincoln. A national pride and consciousness developed
which helped to unify and strengthen a peoples looking forward to a day
when they must stand alone as a full-fledged nation.

Frederic Marquardt's school-teacher parents arrived in the Philippines
on the "Sheridan" two months before the arrival of the "Thomas". Marquardt's
book Before Bataan and After pays tribute to the work of the school teachers
and explains why the experiment was a success:

"English as spoken by a Philippine public-school product, especially
in the later years when more than ninety-nine percent of the teachers
were Filipinos, may not have sounded much like English as spoken either in the United States or the British Isles. But a Filipino from Iloilo could carry on a conversation in English with a Filipino from Vigan when they couldn't talk to each other in their own dialects. The use of English as a medium of instruction was probably the greatest single factor of unification during the American regime, and the fact that the child of a laborer could learn the language of the courts and of the government in public schools carried the Filipinos another long step forward on the road toward the self-respect which had been denied them for years."

The English language provided for the Filipino an open door into the literature of the West. The searchings and protings into the rights of man, the idealism of equality and the hard reality of inequality, the concepts of free speech, free press, fair trials, all were in black and white in the language of the West for the Filipino to read and think on. Elsewhere in Southeast Asia, the masses of colonial peoples remained generally unenlightened until the Filipino began to interpret the West to the East and the meaning of these new, disturbing ideas.

The curriculum of the Filipino schools was for many years very similar to that of schools in the United States. Until fairly recent times, all the textbooks were printed in the United States. As independence came closer for the Filipinos, an even greater national consciousness developed. In line with this, a revision of textbooks was made in order to meet more closely the needs of the people. The University of the Philippines is quite like a state university in the United States. There are other well-known institutions such as the University of Santo Tomas which was founded by the Spanish. Today, many Filipinos come to the United States to do graduate study in American universities.

One criticism made of this educational program has been that there was too much emphasis, especially in higher education, on a classical background. If the Philippines are to develop industrially, there is a great need for technicians and scientific training. Steps have been taken in that direction both by the Filipinos themselves and with the help of the United States.

Filipino literature.—There is not much in the way of a truly Filipino literature. A number of factors have caused this. Under the Spanish, the education of the Filipino was very limited. Nor was there any encouragement on the part of the Spanish friars for the Filipino student to begin building a literature based on his native land and the feelings of the people. Preserved from earliest times were some of the legends and the lyrics of the pre-Spanish era. They were inscribed on bark and bamboo. But it has remained for others than the Filipinos to dig these out of the past and put them in readable forms for the present. Actually, there is very little reading of what folklore there is on the part of the Filipino. His interests are whetted to a different kind of writing.

It was the Spaniard and not the Filipino who recorded the accounts of the Spanish rule. In later times, it remained for people such as Joseph Conrad to write the Tales of Unrest and his classic, the Typhoon. The raw material for a literature existed in the islands, but it was mainly outsiders who molded it into shape. There were exceptions, of course. Jose Rizal's talents as a writer were fair, but it was not the literary value that made his books great. It was the message that they brought to the people. In more recent times, the name of Jose Garcia Villa emerged as a writer of note in the Philippines.
As in the United States in the days of the struggle for independence, the tempo of the times produced the writings of a Thomas Paine, a Thomas Jefferson and a Benjamin Franklin, so in the Philippine history is to be found in a similar time, writings of a political nature which rank among the best. The desire for independence burned steadily in the Filipino's heart from 1900 on. In the newspapers and magazines he found freedom to express himself as no other colonial peoples of the time. The so-called golden age of literature in America which produced a Hawthorne, an Emerson, a Whitman and a Melville came years after the Declaration of Independence. The Philippines may yet produce a golden age of their own.

The fine arts—In the field of the fine arts which include painting, architecture, music and drama, the picture is one of a mixture of the various cultural influences which left their mark on the Philippines. The older cities have a Spanish flavor still, but American styles and tastes are revealed in the newer buildings. Manila has been the center of the arts and like most big cities the world over, supports a symphony orchestra, theatres, and art museums. In most other countries of Southeast Asia there are well-developed crafts, the skills of which have been perfected through the ages so that their weaving and pottery-making and similar arts are distinctive. There is some native skill in this field in the Philippines but it can not be compared favorably to the other countries.

Town and village life.—Philippine society has been subject to a number of influences and the marks of these remain in the customs and habits of the people. Each new wave of immigrants or conquerors proceeded to build on top of the previous cultural pattern. Today in both barrio and city,
there is an intermixture of Hindu, Arabic, Spanish and American influence. But there is an underlying unity which has absorbed most of the different elements. Throughout the islands the barrios follow a fairly standard pattern. It is like traveling through New England and finding one town similar to another with its village green, its schoolhouse and church in the center and clustered around the center, the homes of the villagers. The differences are minor when a comparison of the two villages is made. The Spanish church holds the central spot in the square which the Congregational or Baptist holds in New England. The schoolhouse is nearby. The statue in the village square is undoubtedly of Jose Rizal instead of Washington or Lincoln. Banana and papaya trees instead of New England elms line the roadway. Nipa houses in place of white clapboards gather around the center, each with its own front-door yard. As the road leads out of the barrio, the houses are farther and farther apart. The village store is there as much a part of the landscape as is its counterpart in New England. Cock fighting is a national sport and each barrio boasts a cock pit surrounded by tiers of wooden benches. In the New England scene, the bleachers set up around the baseball diamond hold a similar spot in the American heart.

In remote sections of the islands where outside influences have penetrated but little, the barrio is not much different from what it was in the pre-Spanish era. America, in spite of her great progress, has a similar comparison in the mountain settlements of some of the southern states. In such places in the United States, life is still quite like the simple civilization of colonial times and a form of Elizabethan English is
still spoken.

In much of Southeast Asia there is a notable absence of a middle class in the various societies. Although a middle class does exist in the Philippines, it does not possess sufficient numbers of people to help create a balance in her society. There is a wide gap between the wealthy and well-educated and the masses. The slowly emerging middle class may help to bridge this deep economic and cultural chasm. The middle class will generally emerge out of the lower class and may be the instrument of agrarian reforms which will tend to raise the level of the tao and laborer.

**Oriental values.**—The Filipino is an Oriental and in times past much has been made of the myth that an Oriental's mind works in a mysterious way which an Occidental can not fathom. It is a myth which should be exploded.

Differences do exist between the East and West, but there are many more likenesses than differences. The failure to recognize this has led to misunderstandings between the East and West. Certain things are valued more highly by Orientals than by most Westerners. An Oriental's values are laid on things other than material comforts. True, he is intrigued by the gadgets of Western civilization and in most cases is quick to recognize the advantages of modern machinery and tools. But more important to him are the things which money can not buy. The family unit is the center of his world and his happiness. He has more regard for the peace of his soul than for the comforts of his body or his surroundings. Westerners become impatient with the fact that an Oriental is not to be
hurried. A saying out of Tagalog folklore explains the Easterner's reluctance to hurry: "Life is short, and well I know it is only a minute long. Therefore, I want this minute to stay with me as long as it can, for who knows what may happen to me tomorrow?"

In the Philippines, to a greater extent than elsewhere in Southeast Asia, an understanding of the differences and likenesses has been met and dealt with successfully. The Filipino can and has interpreted the American as a Westerner to the rest of the Orient. He can do this because in spite of individual Americans who may have felt that theirs was a superior race and civilization, the whole experiment was threaded through with the idealism of equality.

One facet of the Filipino character is a heritage of the Spanish regime. The same characteristic is to be found in the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America and in Spain today. It is the tendency to follow a caudillo, or leader, who is their great jefe (chief). Roxas and Quezon were such leaders. This has greater significance in the political arena than in any other aspect of their life, for the voting pivots on personalities rather than on issues. Although this same trait is not so pronounced in many Western nations, yet the tendency can be found among any group of people where there is little independent thinking done.

Government

As in most nations where there has been a struggle for freedom and independence, certain documents have served as stepping-stones to the final goal. In Philippine history, four such documents hold the lime-light. Two were the work of the Filipinos themselves and two were acts of the United
States Congress.

**Constitution of 1899**—The first of these was the constitution of the Philippine Republic which was proclaimed on January 20, 1899. It was approved by the Malolos Congress which was convened by the followers of Aguinaldo. This document was drawn up at the time the Americans were attempting to complete their occupation of the islands. The fact that at that early date the Filipinos had already begun to look westward for ideas on government is shown in the detail of the constitution which follows closely that of the United States. The preamble set up similar goals: "... in order to establish justice, provide for common defense, promote general welfare, and insure the benefits of freedom. ..." The organization of the government provided for legislative, executive and judicial branches of government. There was to be separation of church and state and equality of religious worship. A section titled The Filipinos and Their National and Individual Rights was cut from a similar piece of cloth as the American Bill of Rights. Freedom from search, the writ of habeas corpus, freedom of speech and press were included. It went a step farther than the American Bill of Rights and stated that: "Popular education shall be obligatory and gratuitous in the schools of the nation."

The quelling of the Philippine Insurrection by the American forces put an end to the provisional government set up by Aguinaldo and meant the scrapping of the first constitution, but within the minds of the Filipino people there was remembrance of the promise of that constitution.

**Jones Act.**—The Jones Act passed by the United States Congress in 1916 and amended to October 1, 1931 was a long stride forward to the goal of self-
government. The introduction to this piece of legislation explains its purpose:

"Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipiency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement; and whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and... by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy the privileges of complete independence."

General legislative power for the Filipinos came into being by the Jones Act, but acts of the Filipino legislature were subject to the final approval of the president of the United States.

Provisions of Tydings-McDuffie Act.— The Tydings-McDuffie Act of the United States Congress represents another milestone in the Philippine story. Provisions were made for a constitutional convention to be held at which a constitutional document was to be drawn up for the government of a Philippine Commonwealth. The constitution was to be drafted under certain mandatory provisions. The Filipinos had to provide a republican form of government. They had to ensure the institution of a Bill of Rights and until final independence came, all citizens were required to give their allegiance to the United States. A resident High Commissioner to the Philippines was to be appointed by the president of the United States.

Constitution of 1935.— The present constitution of the Philippines was approved in 1935. Threading through the entire document and its subsequent amendments are to be found the same principles on which the United States Constitution is based. The preamble to the Filipino Constitution even borrows some of the wording: "The Filipino people, imploring the aid of Divine Provii-
dance, in order to establish a government that shall embody their ideals, conserve and develop the patrimony of the nation, promote the general welfare, and secure to themselves and their posterity the blessings of independence under a regime of justice, liberty, and democracy. . . ."

In black and white in the Filipino document are some things which Americans take for granted but which are not written into the basic law of the land. In the section labelled Declaration of Principles is to be found: "The Philippines renounces war as an instrument of national policy, and adopts the generally accepted principles of international law as a part of the law of the Nation." Provisions are made for the conservation and utilization of natural resources. The Filipinos were even more explicit concerning individual rights than were the Americans. Granted to the Filipino, in addition to the freedoms contained in the American Bill of Rights, are the liberty of abode and movement, privacy of communication and correspondence, and the right to form associations or societies.

The relation of labor to the government is specifically stated in the constitution: "The State shall afford protection to labor, especially to working women and minors, and shall regulate the relations between landowner and tenant, and between labor and capital in industry and in agriculture. The State may provide for compulsory arbitration."

Local government.— Local forms of government in the islands resemble somewhat the forms of government in towns and townships of the United States. What is labelled a municipal government in the Philippines corresponds more closely to the government of a fair-sized town in America. The rural areas made up of barrios are governed in a manner which resembles areas in the
United States which are also rural and where the population is more scattered. In some of the states of the United States it is a township system and in other states the county government is the dominating influence. American Middle-Western towns and the barrios of the Philippines would bear a like comparison.

The task of transplanting a Western, Occidental form of government and code of principles in a tropical, Eastern climate of thought and action was a difficult task at best. The fact that it was a success should underwrite similar experiments in the Far East.

**Foreign affairs.**—Although the Philippines still look to the United States for guidance and counsel in some matters, they are standing on their own as a nation. In the field of foreign affairs they have concluded agreements of friendship with the United States, China, France and Spain. The United States-Philippine agreement is military in aspect as well, for it calls for a ninety-nine years lease for bases on the islands. In October 1952 a joint United States-Philippine conference was held to discuss measures which might strengthen both the internal and external security of the Philippines. The Philippine representatives asked for more United States arms aid and talked again of the possibilities of a regional defense pact in the South-east Asia area.

The Filipinos have been ably represented in the United Nations by Carlos P. Romulo who during his term as delegate gained the respect of all nations for his statesmanship and whole-hearted support of the ideals on which the United Nations is founded. Romulo is at present the Philippine ambassador to the United States.
The Filipinos still face a long and difficult way ahead, but their freedom to learn by making their own mistakes rather than having the mistakes of others forced upon them is essential to their becoming a mature and stable nation. The international aspect of the Korean War heightens the strategic position of the islands both from a military and an ideological standpoint. In the hands of the Filipinos lies the destiny of their own nation and perhaps by their success or failure in self-government, the destiny of other nations in Southeast Asia.
Suggestions for Further Study

1. A copy of the Philippine Constitution can be found in the appendix to Romulo's Mother America. Make a careful study of this and compare it with the United States Constitution.

2. A comparison of the formation and growth of political parties in the United States and the Philippines would show that in both countries, similar factors delayed a real maturity of the parties. Consult Hayden, The Philippines for information on Filipino parties. Show what these factors were in both countries and how they determined the platforms and issues around which elections and legislation centered.

3. Study the provisions of the Atlantic Charter and tell to what extent you think the principles involved applied to the Philippines.

4. Reread the section from Benet's "Nightmare at Noon" on page 6 and explain what it means in terms of America and in terms of Southeast Asia.

5. Compare the levels of society in early American colonies to the society of the early settlements in the Philippines. Bernstein's The Philippine Story will give a fuller treatment of the Philippine society.

6. In the story of the American Revolution are to be found organizations similar to the Liga Filipina and the Katipunan. Find specific examples of these and compare and contrast.

7. Find information on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and after study, decide how it could apply to a regional defense in the Pacific.

8. Much has been written on the system of share cropping which exists in some of the southern states of the United States. In what ways if any, do the cacique and kasama systems in the Philippines compare? Are there similar conditions in both countries which have brought about this system? Do you have any suggestions for remedies?

9. What advantages do you think lie with the Filipino laborer in having the relation of labor to the government specifically stated in their constitution?

10. Explain the meaning of the statement that the islands lie in a strategic position both from a military and an ideological standpoint.

11. Be sure you can give an accurate and clear explanation of the following terms: exploitation, imperialism, agrarian reform, cacique system, kasama system, Manifest Destiny Westward, barrio, tao, caudillo, collaboration, jefe.

12. Be able to identify the following people with their contributions to Philippine history: Jose Rizal, Sergio Osmeña, Manuel Quezon, Manuel Roxas, Andrés Bonifacio, Emilio Aguinaldo, Luis Taruc, Elpidio Quirino, Carlos P. Romulo.
13. Check through American history and find the general attitude through the years, of the Republican and Democratic parties to the issue of Philippine independence. Does it follow any certain pattern?

14. Is there any story in American history which parallels any of the agrarian discontent in the Philippines? Is there a comparison to be made?

Suggestions for Reading

1. The story of the struggle to curb and control disease in the islands is told from the angle of first-hand experience by Dr. Victor Heiser in American Doctor's Odyssey. Read chapters 4-15 and 24 for this account.

2. For a complete picture of the mass education program in the Philippines, read the chapters on this topic in Hayden's The Philippines.

3. The Hakluyt Society of London has edited the narratives of many explorers. Translations and reprints can be found in many large libraries. If possible, find the translation from the French by Lord Stanley, of The First Voyage Round the World by Magellan, printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1874.

4. The record of early times in the Philippines is to be found in The Founding of the Philippines by Antonio De Morga, early historian of the islands. It was translated from the Spanish by Stanley and printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1868.

5. Read the Tales of Unrest by Joseph Conrad who was one of the greatest writers of sea stories.

6. A short story worth reading is to be found in Footnote to Youth by Jose Garcia Villa (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1933). The story is titled "The Son of Rizal".

7. A fuller account of the Philippine resistance to the Japanese invasion can be found in Ira Wolfert's American Guerrilla in the Philippines (Simon and Schuster, New York, 1945).

8. Tomas Confesor was one of the Filipino heroes in World War II. David Bernstein relates the episode of his heroism in The Philippine Story.

9. Carlos P. Romulo won journalistic distinction for his writings about the Philippines during the last war. I Saw the Fall of the Philippines (Doubleday, Doran and Company, Garden City, New York, 1943) is an example of that writing which is worth reading.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


Expose of Filipino collaborators, particularly concerned with debatable issue of Manuel Roxas' part in puppet government. Written from day by day record of Japanese occupation and liberation.


Well-written account of Filipino people from earliest times to immediate postwar period. An attempt to see both sides of the Spanish and American story.


Story in form of letters written by members of Lopez family who suffered at hands of Americans in war in Philippines. Lopez family supported in their appeal to America by members of Anti-Imperialist League of Boston.


Collection of sonnets written from anti-imperialist point of view. Show the strong feeling with which some opposed the taking of the Philippines.


Main emphasis on time since annexation of islands. Heavily documented, main source of information from government publications. Thorough and scholarly.


Explains in clear, interesting manner what is at stake in Southeast Asia. Judgments derived from author's experiences as war correspondent in Pacific theatre and postwar travels in same area. Makes suggestions for solving problems.


Monumental piece of work. Thorough coverage of all aspects of development of country and people. Hayden one of recognized authorities on Philippines.

Account of author's work in Philippines and elsewhere in the Pacific. For the Philippines, the story of health and welfare program set up by Americans. Written from human interest angle rather than statistical.


Many interesting sidelights on islands and people. Excellent account of amazing engineering feat of Ifugaos in Banaue in building of stone-walled terraces for rice cultivation.


Easy reading, interesting style. Limitations on full story set by date of publication.


Selections from recent writings by various authorities on Southeast Asia. Treats of various aspects, economic, cultural, religious.


Dedicated to American school teachers who helped to make Filipino resistance at Bataan possible. Personal account of one who lived a number of years in the islands.


Touches highlights of each nation's development. Examines the problems of the area.


Section treating of Pedro Abed Santos who advised United Front in Philippines during Japanese occupation. Also account of Luis Taruc, leader of Hukbalahaps.


Story of Quezon's own life and his part in development of Philippines.

The Filipino side of the story. Warm and generous account of America's part in Philippine history.


Good for full treatment of war of 1898 and of Taft administration in Philippines. Author was opposed to taking of territory.


Contains excellent selections and excerpts from both native literature and from writings of outsiders who wrote about the area.


Gives an understanding picture of Philippines from standpoint of the present situation in area.
CHAPTER III

INDONESIA

Surely the frontage of the world is up
When on the old cosmography and stars,
Mercator, we inscribe our whir of wings
To roads instinctive as the climbing god's.

Presume our purpose high as flight, like yours,
Or charity in every gain implied,
Or joy of settlement for reason's sake;
See us confute logistics like a map,

Our space be balanced in the scales of light,
No longer his whose hideous horse he spurs
Into the dream of the common man, and prove
World-wide the knowledgeable heart of peace.

"Surely the frontage of the world is up" and Mercator's flattened,
distorted orb would not pass for the world today. The "whir of wings"
has made it one world; an orbit that can be circled with the speed of
sound. The "knowledgeable heart of peace" beats against its prison walls
tapping out the message of freedom. The world can no longer be "his whose
hideous horse he spurs into the dream of the common man". For that dream
began to take on reality with the awakening spirits of the subject peoples
all over the world. Scientific progress and the recent world conflict
proved that ideas like germs, know no boundaries. Particularly in South-
east Asia did the common man reach out to grasp and to seek blindly at
times, the freedom of which he had dreamed for generations. Educated

1 Karl Shapiro, "New Guinea", V-Letter and Other Poems, Reynal and Hitch-
leaders translated into the language of the peasant, the possible meaning for him of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. The younger generation in particular caught up the torch and held it high to light the way to freedom.

The "old cosmography" lost its perspective in the case of Indonesia. World-wide and total war brought to the surface with a sharp eruption the tension and unrest of generations. For hundreds of years the fabled wealth of the spice trade was the islands claim to fame. These are not the romantic, South-Sea type with coral beaches and sapphire lagoons. In the past, they attracted few tourists and out of the wealth of their history and culture most of the rest of the world knew only a few picturesque facts. Mercator's projection with the West in the center made them seem far-off and vague on the edge of the world.

This picture faded and the center shifted when at the end of World War II, Indonesia emerged as a nation of almost 80 million people ruggedly determined to hold on to the independence which they had proclaimed at the end of the Japanese occupation. The years in between the opening of the spice trade in Malacca and the proclamation of independence tell the story of that long road to freedom which culminated in the setting up of a Republic on August 17, 1945.
Indonesia's History

**Primitive civilization.**— The discovery of the fossil remains of the Java ape-man, or Pithecanthropus Erectus, led anthropologists to set the dawn of civilization in the Indies as far back as a half a million years ago or more. Many thousands of years elapsed before actual records unfolded the story of the earliest inhabitants. Chinese and Hindu accounts of visits to the islands give a picture of the degree of native civilization. Before the waves of immigration hit their shores, the dark-skinned Indonesians (island Indians) had achieved a cooperative society based on a system of irrigated rice fields. They had progressed to the point where they knew how to work with metals such as copper, iron and gold. The geographic nature of their island homes led to the development of a fair knowledge of navigation.

**Outside influences.**— Since the islands lay in such a manner as to command the passage of the straits through which trade in that part of the world must go, it was inevitable that other races would settle and mix with the original inhabitants. Arab merchants and sailors, Indian and Chinese traders and missionaries found their way to the coastal settlements and remained to build on the existing culture.

In the beginning, the Hindu culture of India was the greatest outside influence, especially in Java and Sumatra. The Indian traders and monks brought their religious faith, architecture and art as well as their language with them and built settlements that grew into petty kingdoms. Later, this influence declined and the archipelago was exposed to conquest and colonization by the followers of Islam.
Although the Chinese came in great numbers, they were closer to their home ports and did not have the need to make permanent settlements which other immigrants had. Since they were merely there in the interests of trade, the Chinese influence did not penetrate the life of the communities as much as did that of other nations.

As the demand for cloves, nutmegs, pepper and other spices increased, the port areas and markets were busy centers with merchants from near and far vying for favorable trade exchanges. A commercial rivalry arose among the various settlements, particularly those in Java and Sumatra. On the island of Sumatra the Hindu kingdom of Shrivijaya reached a peak of power great enough to control much of Malaysia. At the zenith of its power its capital near the site of the city of Palembang was a colorful, rich commercial center.

A rival kingdom, that of the Madjapahit empire on Java brought about the downfall of the Shrivijaya. The Madjapahit rule eventually extended to most of what is the present area of Indonesia. Shipping and trading flourished within the realm. Rice served as the monetary unit for exchange and it bought pepper, coconut oil, cloves, mace, nutmeg, sandalwood, ivory and diamonds.

With increased activity along the sea route, expeditions from far-off countries brought new influences. The rise of Islam in the Arab countries to the north spread in ever-widening circles until the Indies were swept up in this religious tide. From that time on, the power of Madjapahit waned. Mohammedan control of Malacca was accomplished about 1450 and from there its influence spread. The Moslems worked their way into Java and
obtained a strong foothold by playing off the rivalries of the petty rulers.

Coming of the Europeans.—There were many tight little kingdoms among the settlements but no unity among them. Some of the kingdoms were ruled by chiefs of a tribe and their power came from the consent of those they ruled and from tribal law. Others were ruled by alien merchants who had set up a trading post and produced strength enough to exact tribute from the natives. In return, the natives were given protection by the raja against any other outside power or any rival tribe. It was comparatively easy for a new comer with sufficient might to drive a wedge between these kingdoms and then play one off against the other. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, English and Dutch all became competitors in this game as the fame of the spice trade traveled far and wide.

The Portuguese entered the lists early. They sent out explorers, traders and missionaries to the Eastern world and for a time held a monopoly on the spice trade in spite of the competition of other European traders. For a number of years most of the activity centered around first the Moluccas and then the Celebes for these were the spice producing areas.

As early as 1596 Dutch ships rode at anchor in the roadsteads of Java. The superior ability of the Dutch sailors and ships enabled them to nose out the Portuguese in the transportation of spices to Europe. This was not done however, without a number of open clashes between the Dutch and Portuguese.

Dutch East India Company.—The success of the early expeditions led the States-General of the Netherlands to grant a charter to the East Indies
Company in 1602. The company was given a monopoly on the trade in the East. A fortress was set up at Amboina by the company and thus a bridgehead was established for the extension of commercial activity. For a time, one of the most serious competitors of the Dutch were the English who had set up their own trading company. "From the beginning of the century the English, though far inferior in strength, had been following the Dutch round the archipelago, pursuing them like gadflies."

The Dutch did not actually want territory in the beginning, but in order to hold a trade monopoly they had to settle and secure control over an area. They set up a post in Java and partially nullified the effects of English competition by signing a treaty whereby English and Dutch were to share in the trade. Bit by bit, the islands were brought under the wings of the East India Company and Dutch control was complete.

In the early years of the company's management, there was very little interference with native rule as long as the people produced what the corporation wanted. As the desire for greater profits grew, native rule and the social order were disrupted in order to acquire products for export. Forced labor and forced cultivation became the order of the day. At one point in the history of the company, police sergeants were assigned the task of checking to see that the crops due the company were forthcoming. Additional duties of checking on officials were given to these men and they became known as coffee-sergeants. Eventually they became a distinct part of Dutch administration in the islands. The system of compulsory labor and production led to taxation by tribute which was the major source of income for the East India Company.

In order to keep prices high in the European market it was often necessary to cut production so that no surplus would develop. This worked a hardship on the native peoples particularly when it was a cut in the cultivation of rice which was a vital element in the economy of the native society. Customs areas were set up and the franchise for the collection of taxes and tolls were given to the Chinese middlemen.

As the end of the 18th century approached the East India Company received a number of blows which brought about its downfall. It had made huge profits but the corruption within its own ranks had made many a low-salaried bookkeeper and servant of the organization a wealthy man. It was common practice, openly indulged in, to fleece the company for all it was worth. Another contributing factor to its decline was the involvement of the Netherlands government within the orbit of the American Revolution. It placed her in a position to have to defend the Indies from British attacks. British blockades meant the company could not market its goods. Surpluses accumulated and not profits and the directors of the company appealed to the Dutch government for aid. The Dutch East India Company as such went out of existence by 1800 when it handed over the administrative reins to the government.

Period of British control.—Much of the territory previously under the control of the Dutch company, by 1811 had fallen into the hands of the British. A new regime began for the islands under the English East India Company. One of the outstanding figures of the short-lived British occupation was Governor-General Thomas Raffles. Like every new broom, Raffles attempted to make a clean sweep with reforms pointed at the welfare of the Indonesian. His enthusiasm knew no bounds and consequently
his visions encompassed more than was practical or possible to carry out at the time. The new governor-general attempted to reorganize the government of Java. He encouraged trade and opposed the system of slavery. After a revolt in the Netherlands and the organization of a new government, the British decided to return to Holland the Indies possessions which they had been occupying. In 1816 the Dutch were back in the archipelago.

**Culture System.**—One of the most notorious experiments tried by the Dutch in the islands was the Culture System. Under this system, crop production was not regulated by the natural law of supply and demand, but by artificial regulations set up by officials. Indigo, sugar and coffee were the major crops under the Culture System. New crops introduced to the islands such as tobacco, tea and the products of the cinchona tree were also raised for export. Rice, of course, was the main production for home consumption and the native was to pay rent on the land or set out one-fifth of his rice fields in the cultivation of a crop named by the government. No accounting was taken of the fact that the raising of new crops took training, experience and intelligence. Oftentimes, even the Directors of Culture lacked these qualities. Perhaps the greatest defect of the procedure was the creation of an artificial stimulus for production which did not keep a proper balance of the amount of rice land under cultivation for food for the people and the acres devoted to cultivation for export.

Events in Europe put pressure on the Dutch government which led to the abandonment of the Culture System. From the days of the French Revolution, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" had caught the imagination and the hearts and minds of many Europeans. The growth of Liberalism hit flood tide in
the middle of the 19th century. Economic "liberalism" was opposed to
the Culture System as an evil practice which amounted to the enslavement
of the Indonesians.

The crusading cause of the Liberals was given a boost by the pub-
lication of a novel written by Eduard Douwes Dekker under the pen name
of Multatuli. **Max Havelaar**, as his book was called, caught public atten-
tion and aroused interest in the plight of the natives of Indonesia. **Max
Havelaar** pictured the greed and oppression of officials who became fabu-
ously wealthy by exploiting the peoples of the Indies. For a time, the
impact of the wave of liberalism was felt in Java. More government posts
were available to natives and some reforms were made in the educational
system.

In the late 1800's two steps were taken which showed a new trend of
thought on the part of the States-General in Holland. One was a law which
ended all government participation in sugar culture and put it back into
the hands of private enterprise. The other was known as the Agrarian Law
which concerned the ownership of property in the islands. It prohibited
the selling of landed property to non-Indonesians. Any land not claimed
by individuals was to be part of the government domain. Thus the small
landowner-class was safe from the possibility of losing its birth-right
to groups such as the Chinese or Europeans who might want to extend their
control.

**Indirect rule.**—The Dutch had gradually developed a system of in-
direct rule whereby local customs and institutions were preserved wherever
possible. It meant leaving the direct government of a village, or town,
or state in the hands of native rulers. While this procedure had some
good features, yet very little social, economic, or political progress occurred where the old order remained unchanged. Indirect rule was an argument for colonial imperialism in an era when the so-called Liberalism demanded a consideration for subject peoples.

The diversity of peoples, standards of living and culture within the islands and the policy of indirect rule retarded the growth of political institutions. Some of the lower positions in the government were held by Indonesians. But the percentage of their representation was minute in comparison to the number of other positions held by Eurasians and Europeans. One reason of course, was that there were so few who could qualify due to the appalling lack of educational facilities for the natives.

Municipal and district councils were established but the members were mainly recruited from Dutch ranks. In 1918 the Volksraad (People's Council) broadened somewhat the basis of representation by creating a group of representatives from all the islands who had advisory power.

The islands were hard-hit by the world depression of the 1930's. Their economy was geared to the demand of world markets for their raw materials. At the peak of the depression these markets no longer existed. This situation changed at the outbreak of World War II when the demand for raw materials was great, but the time was so short-lived before the Indies themselves were cut off by Japanese conquest and occupation, that the boom in the markets did them little good financially.

When the Netherlands fell victim to the Nazi invasion and occupation, and the government was forced to go into exile, the Indies were virtually on their own. A new era began for the Indonesians; a new era and a new way of life.
Indonesian Nationalism

Colonial rule and nationalism—The growth of Indonesian nationalism was extremely slow. The Dutch ruled the islands for 350 years, yet the first faint stirrings of nationalistic fever were not apparent until about 1900. In part, this was due to the very high rate of illiteracy. The ordinary rice cultivator could not fathom the meaning of the word nationalism, let alone be involved in a movement toward political freedom. In addition, the islands were composed of such diverse elements of language, ethnic groupings and types of civilization that it seemed almost impossible to find any cohesive force to draw them together in order to make a stand for freedom. The Dutch policy of indirect rule also tended to slow up the process, for while it preserved original cultures and institutions, it also meant that new ideas and ways did not penetrate to the backwaters of society. Even for the very small educated group around which the nationalist movement centered, it was difficult to envision anything but a very slow rate of progress, for the Indonesians were not being prepared by the Dutch for self-rule.

The Westernization and modernization of Japan and the results of the Russo-Japanese War caused many an Indonesian to think on the possibilities for the development of his own nation. But the voices of the leaders were stilled whenever they were raised loudly enough to cause apprehension on the part of the Dutch. Colonial officials had the power to decide just what constituted danger to law and order. Consequently, it was within their province to sentence to prison or exile, without benefit of trial, any person or group who expressed criticism of the government, either in speech or in the press.
One of the first signs of discontent arose in the Chinese communities. For years the Chinese had remained a separate part of the Indonesian scene. But some of their numbers had studied abroad and absorbed Western ideas. They began to feel the impact of these new ideas. Since there was seldom a place for them in the native or Dutch schools, they began to set up their own systems of education and gradually revolted against the old order.

**Nationalist organization.** In 1908 the Budi Utomo (High Endeavor) society was formed to promote an educational movement on the island of Java. In the beginning this was a non-political group for it aimed only at educational freedom and expansion. A movement which had a broader base than that of the Budi Utomo and also a wider appeal was the Sarekat Islam which was founded in 1912. Great numbers of the islanders were and are followers of the Islamic faith and this common bond of brotherhood made the Sarekat Islam society attractive to more of the masses. The interests of Islam were to be served by this group but also the economic well-being of the Indonesian was a primary aim. The natives were to be protected from the economic imperialism of the Chinese middlemen and the European investors.

What started out as a Javanese Socialist Party became the official Communist Party of Indonesia in 1920. At the outset, the Communist Party counted among its members large numbers of the coolie, or laboring classes. Labor agitation leading to strikes and violence was the mode of expression for the Communist Party in the 1920's.

A variance of aims and methods led the Sarekat Islam and the Communist Party to open disagreement on the course which nationalism should take. A revolt in West Java was an outgrowth of this clash and the Dutch enforced
stringent measures to suppress the Communist-led outbreak. Leaders were rounded up, arrested and either deported or exiled to some remote part of the archipelago.

The surge of nationalist movements in Europe in the 1920's influenced a number of Indonesians who were students in Holland at the time. It was the time of the Irish uprisings and the period of the attainment of nationalist goals in Poland and Finland. Indonesian intellectuals were spurred on by the promise of such a movement and returned to the Indies to work for social and political reform.

An attempt was made to unite the diverse elements of nationalist sentiments in Indonesia into one strong party. In 1927 the Partai Nasional Indonesia was organized combining many of the groups. Soekarno, a young Javanese intellectual, assumed the leadership of the new party. The Dutch considered the movement a threat to law and order and Soekarno along with other active leaders was arrested and exiled.

Basic to practically every organized segment of nationalist agitation was the desire for education for the native Indonesian. It was felt that through education, the social, economic and political problems could be attacked with the proper approaches. Some groups went so far as to set up "wild schools" which had no connection with the government but were maintained by the nationalist groups. These so-called wild schools tended to reject a European, Westernized education and put in its stead a core of subjects and ideas which would promote an appreciation of Indonesian culture and lead to a national consciousness.

Events of 1930's influence nationalism. In the early 1930's the nationalists received a set-back due to the severity of the depression.
Pamphleteering, maintaining schools, providing for organized activity required a certain amount of money. Funds were just not available when world trade hit rock bottom and the products of the Indies could not find markets. Individuals became more concerned with their own pressing economic welfare and their energies were diverted to the business of just simply existing. The Dutch suffered, too, from the cut-back in trade which was the most vital element in the economy of the Netherlands. They were in no mood to be lenient toward anything which might be construed as criticism of the colonial regime. The consequences were vigorous police suppression of anything which smacked of a nationalist flavor.

The implication for the free world of the Spanish Civil War, the fascist activities of Italy and Germany and the growing force of Japan in the Pacific tended to soft-pedal some of the revolutionary sentiment in the Indies. Sober reflection on the part of nationalist leaders made them realize that unity among themselves and cooperation with the Dutch would help to present a solid front to any aggressive threats in the Pacific.

In 1936 Indonesian representatives in the People's Council set in motion a request that the Netherlands government consider a conference to discuss possible self-government for the Indies within the framework of Dutch ownership. The request was shelved. Some of the Netherlands believed that there must be eventual self-government but they were very reluctant to set in motion the machinery which would realize that goal.

The beginning of the Second World War found Indonesian nationalism still in a disunified stage with the strongest elements on the island of Java. The fall of the Netherlands brought an expression of loyalty to the Dutch cause on the part of most of the Indonesian nationalist leaders.
The islands in World War II. — In 1940 the Indies were approached by the Japanese on the subject of their willingness to participate in the Co-Prosperity Sphere for Asia. The answer was in the negative on the part of Indonesia. The Japanese at the moment put no pressure on the islanders for turning down the offer. Japan had a need to build up reserves of raw materials and so instead of pressure, an agreement was made with the Indies for a fixed quota of oil to be exported from the islands. The fact that the Japanese did not push any more forceful arrangement than a trade agreement, lulled some of the fears of the Indonesians and delayed the arming of the islands.

A number of very realistic causes contributed to the lack of defense for the islands. Indonesians had not been permitted to be armed and trained for their own defense for the Dutch had feared that it might work to their disadvantage in view of some of the nationalistic desires. When war in Europe created an expanded market for raw materials, the Indies had products to sell, but could not in turn buy the finished products for defense. The United States was virtually the only nation with war goods to sell and her output in 1940 was not yet geared to the demands of all who needed materiel. Delays occurred in the shipment of orders. Since the Indonesians had agreed to support the Dutch cause, what little might they could muster in the form of ships and planes was pressed into service with the allied forces in the Pacific when the actual war came. Before the Japanese effected a landing in Indonesia, the losses in Dutch planes and ships based in the islands had been such that very little could be done to ward off the Japanese invasion of 1942.
There were those in the islands who watched the meagre defenses of the Dutch crumble with the first landings of the Japanese. They watched the internment of virtually the entire white population of the islands. And they watched with rejoicing, for as yet they knew little of the ways of the new conquerors. But the invincible white man had lost face and he had lost it to an Asiatic race. This looked like the dawn of a new day to them. There were others for whom the war had absolutely no meaning except as it infringed on their personal comfort and rights. The river man of Borneo, the rice farmer of Java, the Balinese weaver, could not comprehend the conflict of ideas and ways of life which the struggle represented. Some amount of resistance was organized and went underground to work out its own method of perverting the desires of the conquerors. This resistance was led by the educated who knew what the struggle meant.

The Japanese released several of the nationalist leaders who had been imprisoned or exiled by the Dutch. These men became the founders and leaders of the new Republic. They worked in different ways to take advantage of the absence of Dutch rule and authority during the Japanese occupation. Soekarno and Mohammed Hatta chose to deal with the Japanese in a manner which the Dutch labelled collaboration when the war was over. These two justified their actions on the grounds that underneath this apparent cooperation with the enemy, they were gathering forces for the eventual real freedom of the Indonesian people. Soetan Sjahir and Amir Sjarifoeddin staunchly refused to collaborate and were the main leaders of what resistance there was.

Movement toward freedom.— Soekarno, Hatta, Sjahir and Sjarifoeddin were the guiding lights of the Indonesian independence movement. They
differed in temperament and abilities, but each contributed his own peculiar talent to the revolution. Soekarno has been labelled the orator of the revolution. His charm and smooth tongue helped to attract the masses to the movement. Hatta kept his feet firmly planted on the ground and brought to the cause a realistic and practical approach. Sjarifuddin was labelled an idealist. He gave of his best to the cause but in 1948 he turned to the Communists. When the Communist uprising of that year was suppressed he was executed. Those who knew him believed that his idealism did not match with the reality of the new Republic and so he thought the Communist Party offered the only hope of salvation.

The story of Soeten Sjarir serves as a record of the long struggle for human dignity and the price that had to be paid for freedom of expression. Like many another of the Indonesian intellectuals, he had been exposed to Western ideas during a period of study at the University of Leyden in Holland. He married a Dutch girl and then returned to the Indies to use his education to work for the social and economic emancipation of his people. Sjarir had come to admire and respect Western culture and particularly Western educational ideas. His first step was to join the Society for National Education which advocated a mass education program. Within a short time the group and its writings were considered dangerous by the Dutch and Sjarir among others was arrested in February 1934. He was first imprisoned in Java and then sent to Boven Digoel in New Guinea which was an internment camp originally intended for violent revolutionists and hardened criminals. For months the Dutch government gave no legal indication of why he was being held or what his ultimate sentence would be. Finally in December 1934, the authorities labelled
his crime, "For spreading hate and endangering public tranquillity and order . . . ." In 1936 Sjahrir and Hatta who had been imprisoned at Boven Digoel were transferred to Banda Neira in the Moluccas from which they were released just before the Japanese occupation.

During the long years of his exile, Sjahrir read whatever he could lay his hands on that pursued the subject of the rights of man and the meaning of freedom. He had time for thought and reflection. It would have seemed logical for him to have hated and reviled the Dutch, yet he did not. Rather he came to understand the need for compromise, cooperation and moderation. In the early days of the new Republic he exhibited manifest patience and tact in the negotiations with the Dutch.

The story of the years at Boven Digoel and Banda Neira are told by Sjahrir in Out of Exile, a collection of letters to his wife which relate the day to day existence and thoughts. It is the opinion of a number of authorities that the unimaginativeness and stolidity of the Dutch were the causes of their undoing in the islands. Especially is this considered so for the years immediately following World War II. Sjahrir points up this characteristic in a passage from one of the letters:

"Holland itself—so full of hedges, canals, and boundaries—gives a perfectly accurate picture of the Dutch mind. The Dutch ethic finds its origin in Calvinism, colored with typical Dutch characteristics: The feeling of tranquillity, order, balance, and a more or less static intellectual life. In Dutch life there are more boundaries than free ground; its principle and its goal is to live without ever overstepping these boundaries, which themselves are determined by religion, tradition, and propriety. Dutch life stands for solidity and spiritual conservatism."1

2 Ibid., p. 98.
How much he hoped for a solution by Western example is evidenced by his comment in December 1936: "For me, the West signifies a forceful, dynamic, and active life ..., and I am convinced that only by a utilization of this dynamism of the West can the East be released from its slavery and subjugation."  

The Indonesian Republic.—When the Japanese surrender came, Sjahrir and his followers who had maintained a nationalist element while working as an underground resistance group, joined forces with Soekarno and Hatta who had worked openly with the Japanese. The combination of forces brought about the proclamation of August 17, 1945 which established the Indonesian Republic.

Allied leaders had decided that since the British had forces in the Pacific and the Dutch did not, it would be their task to reoccupy the Indies and accept the surrender of the Japanese. The end came so swiftly that the British were unprepared to move in immediately. It was not until September 29, 1945 that they were able to effect a reoccupation.

The leaders of the newly proclaimed Republic made the most of the time. They set up a provisional government and constitution and took over Batavia which they renamed Djakarta. They had expected the Americans to be the re-occupying force and when the British landed, shades of the American Revolution arose to haunt them again. The streets and shops displayed posters with quotations from the Declaration of Independence as well as the Gettysburg Address. More serious than that was the fact that in those short weeks the Republic had become a reality and the British dealt with them as such.

In the very beginning there was cooperation on the part of the nationalists with the British. The Republic wanted the British to guarantee that there would be no more Dutch troops permitted to land in the islands until the Dutch had granted recognition to the new government. The Dutch, unable to arrive in any show of force, were compelled to trust in the British handling of the situation. In no time at all, the British were caught between two fires. The distrust and suspicion which were to characterize the later negotiations were aroused in the Republican stronghold. The Dutch reviled the British for treating with the infant Republic. They labelled the leaders of the Republic as collaborationists. The leaders in turn suspected the British of aiming to help the Netherlands back to its old imperialistic status.

In the interim period between the surrender of the Japanese and the arrival of the British, many Indonesians had access to the arms and ammunition of the Japanese. Too many of the individuals who acquired the weapons were not aligned to the nationalist organization. When the tinder was struck by the assassination of the British Brigadier-General Mallaby, a wave of violence and brutality was let loose. The Republican government was not able to restore law and order and the British issued an ultimatum for the Indonesians to give up their arms or the British would take the offensive. The terms of the ultimatum were not met by the Indonesians and the offensive began. Again the British were reviled for using Japanese troops to quell the violence.

Negotiations between Dutch and Indonesians.—In the meantime, Dutch troops had arrived in the islands and the British effected a withdrawal.
on November 30, 1946. By this time a truce agreement had been drawn up between Indonesians, Dutch and British. The terms of the truce set up a demarcation line around certain bridgeheads which were to be Dutch territory for the time being. It was but a short time before both sides had overstepped the boundaries and violated the truce.

Months of negotiations followed amidst a strained and tense atmosphere, with distrust on both sides. On March 25, 1947 the Linggadjati Agreement was signed. The Netherlands government was to recognize the government of the Republic of Indonesia as having de facto authority over Sumatra, Java and Madura. The Dutch and the Indonesian Republic were to get together to set up a federal unit for the United States of Indonesia. There were other detailed parts to the agreement concerning the type of government to be worked out. To implement the agreement required cooperation and since neither side trusted the other and both sides read into it different meanings, relationships grew worse instead of better. The situation deteriorated to the point where the Dutch instituted police action. Violence broke out anew with wanton destruction of stockpiles of raw materials, factories and estates.

The Republican leaders appealed to the United Nations and a Security Council Good Offices Commission was appointed to investigate the situation. After further negotiation the Renville Agreement setting up new lines of demarcation was signed by Dutch and Indonesians aboard the U.S.S. Renville on January 17, 1948. Eleven days after the truce was signed the Dutch attacked the capital. World-wide criticism was heaped on the Dutch for their action and nations rallied to the side of the Indonesians. The
Security Council again issued a cease-fire and the Good Offices Commission was replaced by a United Nations Commission for Indonesia. In the face of adverse opinion aroused by their renewed attack, the Dutch agreed to a round-table conference to be held in The Hague. After much deliberation and discussion the organization of the United States of Indonesia was agreed on. Effective December 27, 1949 was the sovereignty of the country in a rather loosely organized union with the Netherlands. However, independence day to the Indonesians is the anniversary of the proclamation of August 17, 1945.

The Land and its Potential

Topography and climate.— A map of the Indies shows a vast array of islands of all shapes and sizes. From east to west the span is approximately 3,000 miles long, comparing closely to the distance across the United States. The various land surfaces run the gamut of swamps and jungles, fertile low-lands, mountains, dense forest areas and dry, burned-out areas. There is very little seasonal change in the climate. Some areas experience both a dry and a rainy season and in some parts of the nation hardly a day goes by without some rain. On some islands the heaviest rain falls in July and in others in December. Indonesia lies in the monsoon area of the Pacific.

When there is a dry season it is the East Monsoon which prevails. The West Monsoon is the wet season. The rains vary in intensity and amount due to a great extent to the fact that where there are mountains, the rising and cooling of the air effects the precipitation.

Density of population.— About 80 million people inhabit the archipelago and the density of population varies as widely as the land surface. Java is an example of an overcrowded, fertile area which is almost wholly
under cultivation. Depending on the district, the population density on Java ranges from about 900 to as high as 2,200 per square mile. New Guinea which is almost nine-tenths jungle land has as few as six people per square mile. The uneven distribution of population presents a great problem through the tremendous pressure it places on certain producing areas in the country. The present government is sponsoring a movement for emigration from Java to near-by Sumatra. The farmers whose families have tilled the same few acres on Java for hundreds of years resist such an uprooting.

**Resources.**—A wide variety of crops and a wide distribution of natural resources follows the diversity of the land. The island of Sumatra which is about three times the size of New York state produces rubber, tobacco, palm-oil, tea, coffee, pepper and copra. Some of these items are products of estate agriculture and some are raised on the small holdings of the native landowners. Sumatra’s mineral resources include coal, tin, bauxite, oil, gold and silver.

Java and Madura which hold nearly two-thirds of the population of the islands lie next door to Sumatra. A high percentage of the land of Java is under rice culture for rice holds the same important place in the diet of the Indonesian as it does in practically all other Asian countries. Sugar, tea, coffee, and quinine from the cinchona tree rank high among Java's exports. Here, too, are found the valuable teak forests which are located in the dry areas around Rembang. Djakarta the capital of the nation and the port city of Surabaja are located on Java. Both of these are trade and shipping centers.

The Molucca group of spice fame includes Halmahera, Ceram, Morotai, Buru and Ambon (Amboina) as well as other smaller islands. Spices are
still obtained from these islands, particularly the nutmeg and mace. In contrast to other parts of the country, sago is the staple item in the diet here and not rice.

In the Lesser Sundas group the ability to produce depends on which side of the mountains an area is in relation to the East Monsoon. Bali, with its vivid green fertility, is in direct contrast with the island of Timor where the unrelenting tropical sun burns and scorches the earth. The sawahs, or wet rice fields, of Bali reflect the effect of the monsoon.

Soil erosion is an ever-present problem anywhere in the world where land has been cleared of forests and worked for centuries without proper care. In some parts of the Celebes the wind, extremes of temperature and meandering streams with no fixed beds have eroded the fertile top soil to such an extent that it presents a serious problem in meeting food needs for the islands. There are dense jungle areas in the central part of Celebes which produce ebony and rattan.

The island of Borneo, one section of which is ruled by the British, has ironwood to offer to world markets. Some diamond mining is also done there. The thick and rapid growth of jungle vegetation on Borneo has tended to slow up attempts to keep areas open for cultivation and for mining. In both Borneo and New Guinea the rivers of the land are of prime importance. They are the major routes of travel and trade and distance from one village to another is often measured by the number of days upstream between the two.

Economic needs.— Indonesia has a rapidly expanding population with a standard of living which is low in comparison with Western standards.
Much could be done to remove the obstacles which block the road to a better life. The young Republic has not had sufficient time or funds to carry out all the necessary details but a number of things have been started. Western capital and technicians are needed and these have been sought. An expanded educational program should mean that the individual farmer and landowner will be able to understand the need for a scientific approach to his labor. The government has recognized the need for a wider basis to the country's economy than just that of a supplier of raw materials for a world market. This makes the nation too dependent on the ups and downs of other nations' prosperity. With this in mind, they have sought to increase not alone agricultural productivity but also the development of industries. Encouragement and credit have been extended to cooperatives in both agriculture and industry. The success of the whole program depends to a great extent on the quality of people available to do the job. The appalling rate of illiteracy must be decreased in order to produce an efficient and skilled leadership as well as a dependable, intelligent labor supply.

The People and their Ways

Ethnic background.—The island peoples represent a fusion of five different elements in a racial mixture which has produced the present Indonesian. In common with any part of the world where waves of immigrants and hordes of conquerors overran and subjugated a land, Indonesia has been a melting pot for the Melanesian, Papuan, Australoid, Veddooid and African Negritoid stocks. The so-called Malay race is thought to have migrated from the South China region in the very early ages of man. Mongols from farther north in Asia added their strain to the mixture. Hindu India con-
tributed its share as well as the Arab from the north who brought the Moslem faith to the islands. In different areas one strain or another predominates and the result is that pygmy-like types live not far from people of average height and the skin tone varies from the real dark to a light brown.

Languages.—The resulting cultural chaos meant a wide variety of languages. When the islands developed into trading centers, some kind of language had to come into common usage and so the pasar, or market, Malay developed. It was the language of commerce which borrowed from the native tongues and from the language of the foreign trader and sailor. The Malay language of today is a record of the various influences which were assimilated by the people. The Sanskrit which the Hindu brought has left its mark on the language and the roots of many words can be traced to the Arabic, Portuguese, English and Dutch.

A cooperative society.—In spite of the great diversity of peoples and cultures and stages of progress there are some common ties which bind great groups of the people together. One of these is the fact that they are mainly an agricultural nation with rice culture the occupation most common to all. In any area where rice fields are irrigated, cooperation is one of the great needs of the society. One source of water may be needed to irrigate many fields and the sharing of this must be done on a fair and cooperative basis or there would be famine in the land.

Another common bond is the "adat" code of laws on which society is based. Long experience with the land and the fickleness of nature have made them evolve a set of principles which regulates the group relationships so that
there is mutual assistance in time of emergencies and mutual responsibility for crimes and offenses against the law. In a land where life is dependent on a cooperative culture based on the tillage of the soil, certain crimes take on a larger and more serious main than in other societies and thus the "adat" fixes mutual responsibility.

Religion.--- One of the strongest ties is that of a common religion for about 90 percent of the people. This large group adheres to the Islamic faith. Bali is still a Hindu religious and cultural center and there are Buddhists on the islands as well as small Christian communities. But the followers of Mohammedanism are an overwhelming majority.

The Mohammedans are worshippers of Allah and the teachings they follow are believed to be the will of Allah as revealed to the prophet Mohammed. The preachings of the Arabian prophet began the establishment of a religion which spread through Arabia and swept across the Mediterranean and through Asia.

The Islamic calendar dates from the year of the Hegira, or flight, from Mecca to Medina by Mohammed in the year 622. The revelations of Allah to his prophet are written in the Koran which is the sacred book of the faith. The Koran was actually compiled after Mohammed's death. Stories of both Jewish and Arabian origin and tradition are to be found in the sacred book. The account of Mary and Joseph of Nazareth is recorded in the Koran as well as others which are familiar to the Christian and Hebrew world. The difference lies in the interpretation of the accounts.

A Moslem's faith is built on a belief in one god, Allah, and in the brotherhood and equality of all true believers. (The equality does not
extend to women except in countries which have let down the bars on some of the orthodox rules.) The Koranic code condemns in the strongest of terms three vices. These are scandalmongering, slander and accumulating wealth not for the use and service of the needy, but for selfish, miserly motives. Therefore almsgiving plays an important role in the practice of Islam. It has even extended to the point where prorated taxes have been levied and then spent directly for relief of the needy.

What is known as the Five Pillars of Islam are the duties which all true believers are expected to perform. They are Faith, Prayer, Almsgiving, Fasting and Pilgrimage. Daily prayers are said in the early morning, at noon, in the middle of the afternoon, at sunset and before retiring. If there is no Mosque in which to worship, a Moslem faces toward Mecca, the holy city, as he prays.

A Mosque is a characteristic feature of the landscape easily picked out from the rest of the scene by the minaret atop it. From this minaret, just before each hour for prayer, a muezzin summons the believers. At this call the Moslem performs the ritual washing before he enters the temple. If no water is to be had he may use clean sand.

The aim of every Moslem is to make the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in his lifetime. The departure of the pilgrims for Mecca in the holy month is a great event in any Moslem country. In the days when the overland route was menaced by desert brigands, the pilgrims would all meet at some central point some distance from the holy city, wait until their numbers were so great that it would take a formidable force to attack them and then proceed from there to the shrines. This is a custom still followed today.
Once the Moslems have reached Mecca, the devotions begin and when all religious obligations have been met, three days of feasting follow.

In some areas, the Islamic creed is the theology of the people but underneath it still remains a core of animistic beliefs which the Moslem conquerors never completely erased. It is important, however, in understanding the Moslem population of Indonesia, to know the basic beliefs of their religion for many of the laws and much of the social foundation of their society are based on the teachings of the Koran.

**Education under the Dutch.**—Independence brought to Indonesia many and varied problems but perhaps the most difficult task was to launch a program to help decrease the widespread illiteracy. The 1940 level was figured at 90 percent of the total population. A democratic government for, of and particularly by the people presupposes a certain level of education on the part of the populace or else it is just a hollow phrase. Under the colonial regime the system of education was totally inadequate. The colonial point of view had been that establishment of an adequate school system all over the islands was too expensive a proposition. The attitude of letting sleeping dogs lie which was a result of the policy of indirect rule also explains the little that was done to educate the Indonesian. Some village schools had been set up under the Dutch but in general these had to be supported by a village budget which could seldom stretch far enough to make the effort a successful one. In the more populous areas of Java and Sumatra there were institutions of higher learning but their contacts with the native Indonesians were few.

**Education under the Republic.**—The Republic has a dual-purpose program
it is attempting to carry out. One phase of this is to bring to as large a number as possible, in the shortest possible time, the basic elements of the three R's. Beyond this is a long-range goal which will produce a complete system of elementary, secondary and higher education. As yet, compulsory education in only for four years for the reason that there just are not buildings enough or a sufficient number of qualified teachers to handle the numbers who should be in school. Nor is the economic status of the peasant at the point where the family livelihood can be stretched far enough to dispense with the services of the children in the rice fields and the family craft work, in order to allow them to remain in school beyond the compulsory level. Another stumbling block to immediate success is the switch to the new Indonesian language as the form of instruction. Dutch, English and the various native tongues must be supplanted by this new speech and the process is slow.

The new system of education is to start with a six-year primary school. From there a student may go to a vocational or technical school for a two-year course which would complete his government sponsored education. If a student wishes he may go to a secondary school which provides college preparatory work. At the end of two years there is a weeding-out process and if he receives a satisfactory classification he can continue with his preparatory work and then go to a higher level. Among the institutions of higher learning there is a University of Indonesia founded in the immediate postwar days, Gadjah Mada University at Djokjakarta in Java which is the first to have an all-Indonesian faculty and the Islam University which is a center of Moslem culture. The whole foundation of the new approach to education in Indonesia is based on what is known as Pantsjasila, or
the five principles of the Republic of Indonesia. These are the principles involved in Belief in God, Nationalism, Humanitarianism, Democracy, and Social Justice.

The arts.— In the field of the arts and crafts, the dance, drama and music, the Indonesian has been strongly influenced by the early exports to the land of the Hindu culture. Much of their expression in these fields, even in the Moslem and Christian areas, still retains the core of the early tradition. Balinese life is a living continuation of these old traditions for Bali is the main stronghold of Hinduism today.

The ancient Indian epics of Hindu origin, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, weave in and out of the tapestry that is the whole field of Indonesian arts. The struggle between the forces of good and evil which the epics represent are the theme of the dances, the music and the popular puppet plays which are performed in the roadside theatres which are the national theatres of Indonesia.

The Indonesian excels in carrying on the age-old process and patterns of craft work. Perhaps the best known are the textiles, particularly the batik cloth of Java. The sarongs of the native women display the batik design made by applying wax to the part of the cloth which is not to be dyed. When the dyeing process is finished, the wax is boiled off, leaving the design. The ikat, or woven cloth, is a process of tying threads which are not to be colored in a design. Practically every district has its own method of weaving and its own peculiar type of handloom. Basket-weaving, ceramics, wickerwork, woodcarving and silverwork are among the other important native crafts. Again and again, the designs and motifs reflect
the religious tones of the early culture from which these crafts have descended.

The Indonesians have been a particularly adaptable people and although at times it has worked to their disadvantage to be so pliable, yet through the ages they have been able to absorb some elements of other cultures, assimilate others and allow others to be superimposed on what was their own. Through it all there has been preserved much of the old civilization and the result is a rich, colorful and varied pattern.

**Indonesian Democracy**

*Form of government.*— The Republic of the United States of Indonesia whose sovereignty was finally recognized by the Netherlands in 1949 was a federated structure of 16 states. Each of the states had its own chief executive, cabinet and legislative body. In addition to that, each sent representatives to the legislature at the capital. Duplications of processes, duplications of operating expenses for 16 different states and the lack of able and trained administrators to man the machinery of government in the federation created a decentralized unit that was considered ineffective.

By 1950 the separate states had merged with the original Republic of Indonesia into a centralized government which still allowed a high degree of autonomy to the provinces, but which did away with the previous organization which had proved to be clumsy. At the same time a provisional constitution similar to the American constitution was drafted. This new constitution was Indonesia's third in a span of five years. By its provisions the Republic is to be a constitutional democracy. It provides for an ex-
ecutive branch with broader powers than might be expected. The president has law-making powers along with the legislature. He can dissolve the legislature and call new elections. The legislative group which is called the House of Representatives is a unicameral body. A cabinet which is responsible to the legislative branch and not the executive is headed by the prime minister. It is this latter part of the government which is the dominant feature in policy-making.

The constitution guarantees individual as well as collective rights which are similar to those granted in the American Bill of Rights. Centuries of denials of certain rights has caused the Indonesians to write into their document specific safe-guards which many another country might take for granted. The right to work, the right to expect a reasonable standard of living and the right to just labor conditions are there along with the statement that, "Everyone with equal work has the right to equal payments and to equal working conditions." In a nation of so many different peoples it is not surprising to find written into the constitution the guarantee of "minority freedom from discrimination".

Limitations of Indonesian democracy.— The first representative body to meet under the new structure was not really representative for it had not been chosen by the people in anything amounting to a vote of the electorate. It could hardly be otherwise in a country where the electorate was so overwhelmingly illiterate. The complicated machinery of a democratic national election can not be superimposed on an ancient order and carried out by people untutored in the mechanics of democracy. When some preliminary elections were held in June of 1951, ballots had to be marked
with symbols and pictures. While this is a necessary first step, it will be a long while before a truly democratic government exists. For in addition to the illiteracy obstacle, the people in general do not have any concept of a central government. The village society has had democratic elements in its government for hundreds of years, but the villager's world has been the boundary of his own village and the idea of a modern, complicated national structure is beyond his ken. It will take years of trial and error experimenting as it has in all present democratic governments before the grass roots level comprehends the meaning.

More than a score of political parties, some representing majority, some minority groups, some radical, some conservative, are represented in the legislature and cabinet. The Moslem Party, the Nationalist Party and the Socialists are the three largest groups. But each of these is to a certain extent a combination of various splinter groups. The Communist Party is permitted in Indonesia, but there is also a Communist People's Party which professes to place Indonesian interests ahead of those of the Moscow party line.

Local government.— Government on the local level of the village or town is based on the fact that it is not just an economic unity, but also a social and religious unit. There are certain community rights and responsibilities whose origins are age-old. The pasture lands, the forests and meadows which lie in the village surroundings belong to that village and the use of them is for the welfare of the entire village society. The community acting as a whole has the "right of disposal" over these lands. This prevents exploitation to the point where the economic life of the
community would be in danger.

Individuals within the community are expected to render "communal service". Commonly owned and used buildings and lands are to be kept in proper condition and each man has a responsibility to aid his fellow man should the need arise. The criminal, the aged, the sick, the orphaned are all the responsibilities of the desa (village) and the strong family ties that exist help to create a community tie that does not permit anti-social problems to exist for long.

Problems of postwar era.—From the date of the formal transfer of sovereignty in 1949 to the present, the Republic has been beset by problems of a critical nature. The gangsterism which has been a common feature in many of the Southeast Asian nations as an outgrowth of the unstable conditions in the postwar era has harassed the Indonesian countryside as well. Organized terrorist groups have led revolts in West Java, Celebes and Ambon. Serious labor troubles developed which hampered economic progress and weakened the new government. The government's answer to this was a ban on strikes and lock-outs in essential industries. When the labor picture began to ease somewhat, the ban was lifted and in its place an emergency law setting up a dispute settlement commission was enacted.

All along the line from top to bottom, in industry, in government, in the field of health, in education, in every conceivable aspect of life in the new nation, there is need for trained and competent personnel. Until that shortage can be met, the country must of necessity operate on a basis far below that which might be its full capacity.

When final independence came to Indonesia, the Dutch refused to permit
West New Guinea (Irian) to become a part of the Republic. The question of sovereignty over it was to be decided at some later date. Subsequent discussions between Dutch and Indonesians on the subject broke down with no line of agreement. In September 1952 Queen Juliana outlined a cabinet plan for developing West Irian which the Indonesians took to mean as a closed door to the discussion. The Indonesian press noted this development with indignation and the already precarious Dutch-Indonesian relationships worsened.

One of the most recent sources of political tension has had its origin in a series of revolts within the Indonesian army organization. The general vulnerability of the islands from a defense point of view posed the need of developing some sort of disciplined and modern army. The loosely organized and at times undisciplined army which had rallied to fight the Dutch was more of the partisan, guerrilla type than anything else. A rift developed when the suggestion was made to cull from the ranks, those who were unfit for service. The leaders of the army represent a small core of professional soldiers who were trained by the Dutch in prewar days. These are the men who support the weeding-out process. The former guerrillas who remember the bitter fighting of the revolution and the heady wine of success, resent being ousted by the professionals. Small partisan groups here and there on the islands have staged one coup after another in protest. The whole army question has become such a political problem that the stability of the government is threatened. A cabinet crisis was averted but only because of the loyalty which is shown to President Soekarno and the leadership ability of Premier Wilopo. Such internal disunity is a source of rejoicing for the Communist Party of
Indonesia.

The Netherlands-Indonesian Union which was created at the time of the transfer of sovereignty to the Indonesians has not fared as well as it might. Its original purpose was that of a voluntary association with equality in order to promote cooperation between the governments in the fields of foreign affairs, defense and economy. The rankling issue of West Irian and its status, which has not been settled has led Indonesian leaders to feel that the Union should be dissolved and that any further relationship with the Netherlands should be on the basis of a treaty.

Foreign policy.— Indonesia's foreign policy has centered around her support of the United Nations and her determination to remain a completely sovereign nation. She prefers a "good neighbor" policy in Southeast Asia rather than an alliance to any one power bloc.

Indonesia is striving valiantly to remain a neutral in the maelstrom of conflicting ideals, opinions and open clashes which characterize the world of today. Under a Mutual Security Agency agreement which was signed by former Foreign Minister Dr. Subardjo, Indonesia would have received $8,000,000 in assistance. All the major political parties repudiated the agreement and the cabinet was forced to resign. Part of the $8,000,000 grant was to have been in the form of military equipment. In general, under the Mutual Security Agency, military assistance to a nation presupposes some sort of mutual defense arrangement or at least a guarantee of some kind of contribution to world security. It was apparent that the opponents of this form of assistance felt that it was a type of economic imperialism which would endanger their independence by forcing them to take sides in some later issue.
concerning defense or aggression.

Other forms of aid which fall in the category of economic or technical assistance can be extended without any consideration of military concessions. The present government is seeking some such arrangement now to take the place of the rejected agreement. In the meantime, the Point Four program is making a few forward strides in Indonesia. Some outright gifts of equipment have been made, provisions have been made to train promising individuals as much needed specialists. American technicians have done their best to be ambassadors of good-will by encouraging, aiding and abetting programs for development of better farming methods, light industries and home crafts.

A low standard of living and the fact that in some areas there is never quite enough to eat sets up a condition where there is little resistance to disease. Tuberculosis, malaria and a number of tropical diseases take an astounding yearly toll. Approaches to the problem can be made through improved standards of living which would involve diet changes, knowledge of modern health practices and the equipment and trained personnel in the field of medicine to carry out such a program. One appalling statistic points with clarity to this great need. It is estimated that more than a third of the total population has malaria each year. The Indonesian government recognizes this need and has made some small beginnings. Point Four and other types of aid could speed the direction of this work but an apparent reluctance to accept American aid for fear there might be an invisible string attached has slowed up the process.

An Indonesia which is politically, socially and economically stable is
of great importance to the free world. The wealth of the islands which lies in the potentialities for producing raw materials would make her a coveted prize. The problem of population pressure and the resultant food needs are ever present. Any solution or any attempt at solution requires both a sure hand at the helm and the cooperation of the people. Present social and political upheavals impede progress along this line. Elsewhere in Asia, the followers of the Moscow party line have made the most of just such a situation to foment even greater unrest. They have promised rice in return for political support. The Communist Party in Indonesia is by no means idle.

The growing pains of Indonesia must be viewed in the light of the nation's youth and immaturity. From this angle, Indonesia must be given the tolerant understanding which is the right of the young anywhere in the world who suffer the agonies of the conflict between idealism and reality. Again, as to the young is extended the experience and professional skill of the adult, so Indonesia needs help to remove the cankers of generations of colonial exploitation. The tendency in all human nature and especially in the young and immature, to want to make one's own way should be recognized in the Indonesian scene. America, more than many another nation, should be able to understand through the parallel of its own uncertain first steps. The tragic side of the picture is that world conditions force a maturity beyond its years upon the Indonesian government. Gradual, normal stages of progress must be hurdled in a moment, almost. In the uncertain days that lie ahead, American aid and kindliness could be the beacon light to guide them through.
Suggestions for Further Study

1. Find information on the part the Netherlands played in the American Revolution for a more complete understanding of the situation in the East Indies at the time.

2. Trace the nationalist movements in Europe in the 1920's and make a comparison with the course of nationalism in Indonesia. Bring out sources of leadership, origins and causes and the realization of goals.

3. The results of the Russo-Japanese War had a great influence on many Asiatic countries. Make a list of these results and tell how this influence was felt.

4. Are there any features of American village life which could be compared to the community "right of disposal" and the communal service expected in the Indonesian desa?

5. Plan and organize a panel discussion on the merits of the Indonesian educational system and an evaluation of the American system.

6. The United States under the Articles of Confederation was a loosely organized, decentralized unit. Compare the changes made by the United States constitution for this country and those effected for Indonesia by their new constitution.

7. The United Nations specialized agencies such as the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization provide information on their work. Find out what is being done in Indonesia by these agencies.

8. The shadow puppet plays called "wayang purwa" are being used in the literacy campaign in Indonesia. The art of the shadow plays is centuries old. Try to find the traditional purposes and uses of the "wayang" and also how it is being used today.

9. The Indonesian government has great respect for the leadership of India in the Pacific. The New Delhi Asian Conference at the time of the Indonesian-Dutch negotiations for sovereignty championed the Indonesian cause. Check the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature for material which will tell the course of India's thoughts and actions which might affect Indonesian opinion.

10. Be able to explain the following: Eurasian, desa, adat, coolie, animistic beliefs, batik, ikat, indirect rule.
Suggested Readings

1. James Michener of "South Pacific" fame has written The Voice of Asia (Random House, New York, 1951) which contains on-the-spot observations in Indonesia. There is both the Dutch and the Indonesian point of view.

2. "Cannibals to Call" in House in the Rain Forest gives a far different picture from the usual "missionary boiling in the pot" version of a cannibal.

3. Soetan Sjahrir's Out of Exile is a highly interesting autobiography which provides much food for thought.

4. Choose some part of the Koran to read and attempt to find its counterpart in the Christian Bible.

5. The story of the growth of Liberalism in Europe and its impact on colonialism is to be found in Furnivall's Netherlands India.

6. Chapter V in Pacific Horizons is the account of the Dutch voyagers who explored the Pacific before Captain Cook.

7. Ring's Religions of the Far East gives a fuller treatment of Islam as well as Buddhism and Hinduism.

8. Although Sir Thomas Raffles is best remembered in Singapore, the part he played in Indonesian history can be found in his biography by Lady Raffles.

9. A condensed version of the country, the people and the history of Indonesia is to be found in Republic of Indonesia published by the Information Division, Embassy of Indonesia, Washington, 1951. This and other worthwhile material is supplied on request from this office.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


A voluminous study of the Koran. Explanations of the text in the commentary are clear and understandable. Some comparisons are made to Christian doctrine.


Written from a general viewpoint of entire Orient. Points up great cultural debt to Asia along lines of music, art, agriculture, religion, poetry.


Locale of the rain forest is western New Guinea. Well-written account of life in New Guinea from angle of the native as well as the colonial administration.


Title signifies Fatherland. Translated literally means our land and water. A beautiful arrangement of pictures and running commentary with major aspects of islands summarized.


Subtitled, Collecting Seeds from the Philippines and Netherlands India in the Junk "Cheng Ho". An account of attempts to collect specimens of tropical plants and the experiments with transplanting them to Western soils and climates. Valuable for description of countrysides and people.


One of the standard works. Thorough and scholarly. Treats of early years, East India Company, European background, welfare and economy.


Includes a short section on Indonesia. Personal account of observations and conversations on the spot. Points up the need for understanding.

Short, easily read. Written primarily to give an acquaintance with most important features of arts, language, religion, government, social customs, home conditions.


Thoughtful picture of islands from one who lived among the Indonesians. The human side of the picture with much information not to be found in strictly historical study.


Greater emphasis on India, China and Japan, but sections dealing with Southeast Asia excellent and to the point.


Fascinating story of early voyages and early map making and charting.


Excellent for more advanced reader. Constant comparison of Eastern religions with Christianity. Written with style, humor and interest.


The searchings of a man's mind during imprisonment and exile. Displays sense of humor, the depth of reason with which he never lost touch, and the trueness of his prophecies concerning the Netherlands Indies.


Nusantara means Empire of the Islands, a Malay term for that area. One of the standard works which covers the story of the Indies from the beginning of history to outbreak of recent war. Very complete account.


A shortened, more compact form of Nusantara, written for average reader.

Covers period from 1945 to 1948 with brief background to problem. Attempt to sift out of recriminations in period of change, to find truth on both sides. Biographical treatment of leaders of Republic.
CHAPTER IV

INDOCHINA

"The coast you henceforth are facing—you Libertad! from your Western golden shores,
The countries there with their populations, the millions en-masse are curiously here,
The swarming market-places, the temples with idols ranged along the sides or at the end, bonze, brahmin, and llama,
Mandarin, farmer, merchant, mechanic, and fisherman,
The singing-girl and the dancing-girl, the ecstatic person,
the secluded emperors,
Confucius himself, the great poets and heroes, the warriors
the castes, all, . . . .

. . . ., the sleep of ages having done its work, races reborn, refresh'd,
Lives, works resumed—the object I know not—but the old, the Asiatic renew'd as it must be,
Commencing from this day surrounded by the world. . . .

The sign is reversing, the orb is enclosed,
The ring is circled, the journey is done,
The box-lid is but perceptibly open'd, nevertheless the perfume pours copiously out of the whole box. . . ."

The lines from Whitman written almost a hundred years ago might have been written yesterday or today or last year, so much do they hold for now.
The intervening years when all the world thought, "The eastern nations sink, their glory ends, and empires rise where the sun descends," brought so little change that on the surface, the picture is curiously the same today. Outward from America's Western shore are still the swarming market-places, the mandarins and Buddhist monks, the temples and the dancing girls. But West-

ern gadgets have brought them closer and destroyed the aura of mysticism that surrounded them. The seclusion of the emperors has been disturbed. The sign is reversing and this is empire's end all over Southeast Asia. In Hanoi, in Saigon, the box-lid is more than perceptibly opened, the lid is totally off and Pandora's misery unleashed. Hope, on the part of the free world, is the only blessing left in the box.

America has a stake in Indochina. What seemed at first to be a many-issued struggle has resolved itself into one. That one concerns the security of the free nations everywhere as well as the "mandarin, farmer, merchant, mechanic and fisherman" of Vietnam. What could in the beginning have been construed as a struggle between the forces of nationalism and those of colonialism has changed to a conflict between the ways of the free world and the aggressive advances of the Communist-dominated slave world.

The fate of the free world hangs in the balance in such places as Korea, Malaya, Burma and Indochina. The loss of Indochina might turn the balance in the wrong direction through supplying a pivot from which Communist aggression could fan out all over Southeast Asia.
Background

Early history.— Along the eastern coast of Indochina from north to south lies Vietnam which is a union of the old kingdoms of Annam, Tonkin and Cochinchina. On the other side of the Annamite Mountain range, to the north lies Laos and to the south Cambodia. These five distinct regions were welded together into a political unit by French control but the history, economy and culture of each drew no great common bond for the peoples.

The areas which were more accessible to outsiders such as Annam and Tonkin were the victims of conquest a number of times in their history and they in turn warred on their neighbors and spread their control farther south and inland. For hundreds of years, the destruction and devastation left in the wake of tribal wars and conquest by neighboring peoples, gave the civilization a nomadic character. Whole villages and whole civilizations were uprooted and in some cases there is no explanation of their disappearance.

Annamite civilization today, in spite of the years of French rule, is completely permeated with the Chinese culture which they accepted with the first Chinese conquest. The mountain fastnesses of Laos protected many of the native tribes from the dangers of foreign invasion and from their predatory neighbors across the mountain range. Yet the story of the Laotian people describes the advances from time to time of Indians, Mongols and Thais on their territory. The history of Cambodia, the home of the Khmer people, courses around the infiltrations from India which laid the foundations for a Hindu culture with both Brahmanism and Buddhism as its base.
The Cochinchina area seems to have been buffeted about and fought over in its early history, but it did not to any great extent acquire any deeply rooted patterns of tradition from any of the conquests.

By the time the point had been reached where boundaries were defined and peoples were united through consent or subjugation in these kingdoms, the internal history of each represented a struggle for power and the setting up and overthrowing of one dynasty after another. Palace revolutions and bitter enmity among tribes lent an unstable aspect to the governments. But the nomadic characteristics began to decline and villages and communes developed, particularly in the fertile areas along the river banks.

In the 15th century, Portuguese ships began to appear along the coast of Annam. Traders braved the unknown and penetrated the hinterland as far as Cambodia. No attempt was made for control on the part of the Portuguese, but the missionaries who accompanied them remained in a number of places. As in many another area, the Portuguese opened the way for the Dutch, English, Danish and French, whose ships plied the Far Eastern waters in pursuit of trade.

Trading in Tonkin and Annam up to and through much of the 17th century presented drawbacks which were not so prominent in other Pacific areas. It no doubt explains the many years that elapsed before any nation could secure control over Indochina. The almost continuous state of warfare among the peoples, the low standard of living which meant a purchasing power that was almost nil, and the lack of cooperation on the part of the nations interested in trade created a situation whereby other ports were considered a more profitable stake.
French occupation of Indochina.— A French East India Company had
been operating in this part of the Pacific for years before any definite
steps were taken to control the direction of commerce and government in
Indochina. French missionaries, though, had long been a part of the
Annamite scene. Most of them had migrated there from some other point
in the Asiatic world and not from France directly.

The mandarins who were generally chosen by the village people and
in whom was vested law and authority and tradition to uphold, resisted
the attempts of the missionaries to advance their beliefs among the people.
The mandarinate was a carry-over of the Chinese influence. They were the
scholars and the mentors who preserved the religions, languages, literature,
customs and laws which were Chinese in origin. It was inevitable that there
would be clashes with the French missionaries. Drastic and brutal means were
taken by the Annamese to remove the missions and their inhabitants.

A French show of might in the form of warships appearing in the har-
bors was intended to frighten the natives into ending their persecution of
the French religious orders. This procedure had no lasting effect and in
1859 Spain and France collaborated in an attack on Annam. Spain stepped
out of the picture in a short time and France went on alone to attack
Saigon and other strategic points. By 1863 French victories were sufficient
to wring a treaty from Annam which recognized French control over Cochin-
china, an area over which Annam had previously extended her power.

It was not long before the French moved to expand their control and
as a consequence, a protectorate over Annam and Tonkin was established.
The kingdom of Cambodia which had long suffered the aggressions of the
Annamese and the periodic advances of Siam requested the French to take them under their wing as a protectorate. At the expense of both China and Siam, the frontiers of Indochina were pushed further inland. As a matter of course, the French occupied Laos and it, too, became a protectorate.

Colonial administration.— The quality and kind of administration Indochina received varied with the type of colonial officials sent out to govern and vacillated with the opinions and trends developed in France. It also depended on which of the separate districts was being governed. In some places there was very little native government on which to build and in those places the direct hand of the colonial office was felt. In Annam the mandarinate had held sway for hundreds of years and its resistance to French pressure made the problem of administration a touchy one. The attitude of the French to the mandarinate varied with the individual governor-general. There were those who wanted to destroy completely the power of the mandarins. Others used the influence of the scholars to accomplish their own ends and still others attempted to reform the system.

A language difficulty arose at the very beginning of French occupation. As with the language of any simple civilization, objects had a name and there were words to express actions which could be understood. But when it came to abstract ideas and things which could not be touched, heard or seen, the native language and the native mentality could not bridge the gap. Added to this was the fact that a knowledge of the native language was not a requirement for a colonial official and so from the lowliest office
clerk to the highest ranking dignitary in the administration, an interpreter was necessary. The mandarins were the scholar class and it was to them the French were forced to turn for interpreters. The ill-will which they bore in general to the conquerors, and the French lack of knowledge of the language and customs, placed the French at their mercy in any encounter, particularly those involving the law and trade.

When the faults of this procedure became apparent, an attempt was made to set up an educational system which would give the French language to the people and train some of the natives as officials. It was a long time before this plan bore any real fruit due to the hostility of the mandarins who were the obvious people to attempt to educate first in Western ways.

Steps were taken to organize a medical service, to build roads and other transportation links and in general to introduce the knowledge and products of Western science. The criticism of these projects has been that they were intended only for the comfort of the colonials. It was not a humanitarian instinct which prompted the medical service, but the selfish fear of contamination on their part. The ruling set remained apart from the natives in their own quarters of the cities and in the residencies which were an architectural and social transplant from Paris. This aloofness on the part of the French was not racial discrimination as it was in many another colonial area. It was more a lack of feeling and understanding and respect for native ways.

The French permitted the establishment of a native press but it was so hemmed in by regulations and so thoroughly censored that it was never
an effective force for public opinion. Equality before the law applied only to the Frenchmen. The basis of education was broadened but it led almost nowhere for the native. French citizenship was not generally extended to the people of Indochina and it was only through the citizenship rights that a native could expect anything other than a very lowly office and subsistence wages.

The impact of the revolution in China in 1912 was felt in Indochina mainly through the effect of it on the large Chinese population of the country. Signs of unrest were showing here and there in the native population. Two years later when France became involved in World War I, Indochina was as badly neglected as a stepchild. The resources of France were so drained by the war that any colonial expenditures were out of the question. France did recruit troops though, from Indochina for service in Europe.

In the field of political liberty for the people, the French had organized a council with both French and native representatives. In actuality, the work of the council was in the economic field and there was no equality of representation on it until the 1930's. A series of massacres had precipitated that reform. Emperor Bao Dai, the present French-recognized ruler of Vietnam, instituted some progressive reforms in Annam in the 'Thirties, but on the whole the native of Indochina had little political liberty.

From the time of the organization of a Federal Government of Indochina in 1887, through to the opening of the Second World War, there were periodic uprisings of the peoples in protest against the denial of personal and political liberties and freedom. The sweeping revolutionary movement in Asia which World War II brought to the fore broke open in Indochina with a violence that has continued for more than six years.
The Course of Nationalism

In Indochina, as elsewhere in Asia, the growth of an organized nationalist movement was hampered by the inability of the ordinary peasant to grasp the meaning of such a movement. He could protest directly and violently when there was hunger, famine and flood in the land. He could be outwardly passive in the face of inequality of status. He could remain calm while the white man reviled him and kicked him. But the dreams of the sophisticated intellectuals of a modern, nation-state for the peoples with Western political and economic institutions were beyond the limits of the education and life training of the simple farmer and laborer.

Causes of unrest.—The regions of the country where economic prosperity had developed the area beyond the rural village stages were the centers of the flowering of the nationalist movement. Laos and Cambodia lay outside this realm and Cochinchina had long been considered a direct French colony, so it was in Annam and Tonkin particularly that a nationalist trend developed. Mountain barriers kept Laos and Cambodia from the current of this feeling. The overcrowded coastal and delta areas produced a population pressure serious enough to foment unrest in times of hunger. This same coastal area had more of a historical and cultural unity than did other parts of the country even though there were diverse elements of language, economy and government. It remained for a few to corral the sentiments of unrest and attempt a cohesive movement toward unity.

The wants of these people were simply understood. Food ranged first and foremost. There was resentment toward the exploitation of resources and manpower which filled the coffers of the French treasury but not the
stomachs of the peasant. Education was next in line. The desire to rise above the subservient level of rickshaw man, paddy planter and coal miner, and the need for professional and technical know-how could be fulfilled in education. Then with the satisfied hungers for food and education, the leaders hoped to approach the problems of political freedom.

French attitude.— In the decades of the 'Twenties and 'Thirties French policy attempted to achieve a closer association of the peoples of Indochina and the mother country. However, any liberalization of political offerings and any cultural encouragement fostered by the French in that era were not for the purpose of eventual self-government. They were to draw tighter the relationships which would bind Indochina to France. The fact that most of the French in Indochina remained apart from the main currents of the ordinary man's life, made them less sensitive to the intenseness of feeling with which resentment of foreign rule was expressed.

Indochina and World War II.— The fall of France in 1940 paved the way for Japanese occupation of Indochina. The Vichy government agreed to the presence of Japanese troops in northern Indochina in 1940 and in July of 1941 the occupation of the southern part of Indochina was effected by the Japanese. Supposedly, the Franco-Japanese Common Defense Pact which permitted this occupation was to protect French interests in the Pacific in the absence of their ability to do so on their own. Actually, Indochina was to serve as the base for future aggressive operations by the Japanese. Japanese assets were frozen in the United States, Britain and Holland and trade practically came to a standstill.

The Japanese worked the same system they had in the Philippines and
in Indonesia during the years of their occupation. Native participation in the government under a puppet status was offered to the people. The Japanese did not deter the independence movement and its force and strength grew. The Vietminh League for Independence gathered forces and prepared for the end of the war when they would take over the administration.

In March 1945 Japan proclaimed the independence of Indochina following the pattern of her policy in Indonesia and the Philippines. The new Japanese-sponsored government was headed by Emperor Bao Dai. The government of France reacted a few days later by bringing forth a plan for the organization of an Indochinese Federation within a French Union. The DeGaulist government could do no more than that at the moment for it had no military might at its disposal in the Pacific. The war in Europe was not yet over and France herself had a provisional form of government.

From the preamble to the new constitution came the lofty declaration of principles which were to be the guiding light of the new policy of empire for France:

"France forms with the people of its overseas territories a Union based upon equality of rights and duties without distinction of race or religion.

The French Union is composed of nations and peoples who wish to place in common or coordinate their resources and their efforts in order to develop their civilization, increase their well-being and ensure their security.

Faithful to her traditional mission, France proposes to guide the peoples for whom she has assumed responsibility toward freedom to govern themselves and democratically to manage their own affairs; putting aside any system of colonization based upon arbitrary power, she guarantees to all equal access to public office and the individual or collective exercises of the rights and liberties proclaimed or confirmed above.

But it came too late. Nationalist leaders who had formed resistance groups to harry the Japanese during the occupation, made the most of the
delay in reoccupation by the French and overthrew the Bao Dai government. Cochinchina, Tonkin and Annam combined to form Vietnam and on September 2, 1945 declared the independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Vietminh.— The initiating force which overthrew the Bao Dai government was a coalition of nationalist groups in the popular front organization of Vietminh (Vietnam League for Independence). The strongest segment of this group was a core of Annamites led by Ho Chi Minh who had operated in Tonkin as an underground resistance force. The headquarters of this group had sporadic contact throughout the war with American OSS agents.

In the files of the French secret police, the present revolutionary leader is listed as Nguyen Ai-Quoc, alias Ho Chi Minh. To know something of Ho's career is to understand to a certain extent why people rallied around him and permitted him to lead. An Oriental court sustained by hundreds of petty functionaries and lackeys amidst the trappings of a day gone by was often the setting of palace intrigues and revolutions. According to the information on Ho Chi Minh, his father who was an official in the court of Bao Dai's father, was involved in a revolutionary plot which did not succeed and was put to death by French officials. The family became personae non gratae as a result and Ho began his wanderings to various points in the world which eventually led to his participation in the founding of the Communist Party in France. He became an acknowledged Communist revolutionary leader who hoped to liberate his own country. The International Peasants' Conference in Moscow in 1923 called him and his serious training in Communist ways began. He operated in China for years and attempted to direct at a distance a revolutionary movement against the French in Indochina. World War II
found Ho back in Indochina directing the underground.

In the beginning, the coalition of forces which supported Ho and elected him president of Vietnam, represented many serious, intelligent people whose resentment against the French caused them to bolster what they thought was the promise of freedom. As the years of fighting have gone on, many disillusioned people have left the ranks of the Vietminh. An understanding of what the struggle implies has come to them. The peasants who follow him are enticed by the promised program of rice, education and freedom from exploitation that practically binds them to the soil and to the landlords. To them, Ho Chi Minh is a hero waging war against the oppressor. Communist doctrine is alien to them.

Reoccupation by Allied powers.— The Allied power conference at Potsdam decreed that the reoccupation of Indochina should be carried out by British and Chinese troops. The country was divided at the 16th parallel and the Chinese were to occupy the northern sector, the British the southern. The Vietminh was in the harness when these forces arrived. The Chinese granted the new Republic de facto recognition and then proceeded wantonly to strip the countryside and the people of what little resources were left to them after the Japanese had plucked the finest feathers. An already dangerous shortage of food spread into a famine. The Chinese moved out within a few months leaving even greater chaos than before.

The British moved slowly in their sector but did not give the recognition to the government which the Chinese had. When French leaders and soldiers moved to take over the control of Saigon, the British aided them. It was a surprise attack which succeeded in routing the Vietminh followers from the city. However, they gathered forces and in the surrounding country-
side the French met with resistance.

French recognition of new Republic.— Before long the French sought a reconciliation and on March 6, 1946 an agreement was reached with the Vietnam Republic. It was a temporary thing pending further negotiations which were to iron out details. France recognized the new Republic as a free state in the Indochinese Federation. The status of Cochinchina was to be decided at a later referendum. In the meantime, French and Vietnamese were to cooperate in certain functions of the government. In the early part of that year the French and the Cambodian Kingdom reached an agreement. Also the French had reentered Laos without much difficulty and signed an agreement with the ruler.

Status of Cochinchina.— The situation maintained a precarious balance until June 1, 1946 when the French authorities announced that Cochinchina was to be an autonomous republic. This was done without the plebiscite that had been agreed to. France had always considered Cochinchina as a colony rather than as a protectorate and thus she defended her action. She also said that the unstable conditions which guerrilla warfare brought to the colony made a referendum impossible at the time. The Republic felt that Cochinchina rightly belonged within its boundaries and considered the French action a violation of the March agreement. Violence was their answer to it. Incidents, uprisings and open hostility characterized the next few months until real war began in December 1946. Full-scale war continued and in September 1947 the French put out peace feelers in the form of proposals to the Ho Chi Minh government. They were rejected. That same year, both Cambodia and Laos became constitutional monarchies.
Establishment of Bao Dai government.— In 1948 the French sounded out Bao Dai on his willingness to head up a French-supported Vietnam government. The former Emperor of Annam agreed to the proposals and in December of 1949 the beginnings of transfer of sovereignty to the newly organized Bao Dai government were made. The inclusion of Cochinchina in the organization was agreed to by France.

In less than a month's time, Communist China, the Soviet Union and a number of her satellites gave recognition to the Vietminh government. The United States and Britain recognized the government of Bao Dai in February 1950. The United States backed up her recognition later in the year by a promise of aid to the French and the Bao Dai government under the Mutual Defense Assistance Program.

Civil war.— Throughout 1951 and 1952 the strife continued with intermittent periods of comparative quiet along the various fronts. The rainy seasons brought lulls in activity during which time both sides set out to build up their strength. Vietminh forces were reported to have received shipments of supplies from Communist China and the French-Vietnamese army obtained additional help from the United States.

The Indochinese states applied for membership in the United Nations and in September 1952 their admittance was blocked by the Soviet veto. At the same time, a ten-to-one vote of the Security Council turned down the Russian-sponsored application of the Communist Vietnam government.

The offensives for which both sides had been preparing were launched in October 1952 when the dry season began. The youthful king of Cambodia departed from the traditional seclusion of his palace in ancient Pnom Penh.
and personally led a drive through the jungle to rout Vietminh followers.

Late 1952 and early 1953 found most of the large-scale fighting in the delta areas of Tonkin. The French Union forces controlled the main cities and towns and the forces of the Vietminh held the surrounding countryside and some of the hill areas. The mountainous terrain in north Vietnam outside the delta regions makes it difficult to use modern war machinery. The hill areas lend themselves to the successful concealing of supply lines and munitions depots of the rebel armies.

Issues involved.— It was estimated that the cost of the war to France in 1952 represented more than a quarter of the military budget of the year. France has commitments in Europe as well, which makes the war in Indochina a financial burden. There are other issues which loom larger than the financial one, however. The war is not a popular one in France. There is little interest on the part of many Frenchmen in the colonial difficulties. Their greatest fear is that of the rearmament of Germany and so they carp at the expenditures which detract from their own European strength. The French Communist Party contributes to political uneasiness in France by vigorously opposing the war.

The council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization meeting in Paris in December 1952 issued a statement which clearly defined the war in Indochina as a matter of concern for the entire free world in the interests of security and freedom. It linked together the security and strategy of Asia and the West. The council went on record to the effect that France should continue to receive the support of her NATO partners in her commitments in the Far East. This action clarified in the minds of many the questions concerning aid to France and to Vietnam.
The Economic Picture

Filling the rice bowls of Indochina in normal times is an ever-present problem. The civil war which is wracking the country at present makes it that much more difficult. Scant portions in the rice bowl eeked out by fish caught along the river banks was the fare of the majority of peasants before the Japanese came. To aid their own war needs, the Japanese forced the farmers in certain areas to turn their rice fields to the production of castorbeans for the oil they would provide. It has been estimated that in the Tonkin area alone, more than 60 percent of the families have less than one acre of rice fields. Turning any part of that land into other than rice production practically destroyed the balance between subsistence and starvation. There were years when Indochina had an exportable surplus of rice but it did not mean that the farmer's own bowl was full. In many cases, absentee landlords took the lion's share of the harvest of the good years and the peasant was no better off.

Population pressures.— The climate and the periodic rampages of nature contribute to the unrelenting poverty of the land. The torrential rains of the wet season and the winds of the dry season tear away at the soil, removing the fertile top layers and leaving a residue that will not support continuous cultivation. The farmer has not had either means or knowledge to keep the land in proper condition. When it will no longer support his family he moves to another place, preferably in the delta areas. Thus, the teeming populations of Indochina, like most of Asia, are to be found in the river valleys. The pressure of population means that these more fertile areas are intensively and continuously cultivated and in time this
soil, too, will be worn out. Indochina has often been referred to as two baskets of rice balanced on a shoulder pole. The pole is the Annamite Range which connects the deltas of the Mekong and the Red Rivers which are the rice baskets. The Red River delta reaches an almost unbelievable average density of population of 1,400 per square mile.

Although these two river areas support tremendous populations, there is a difference in their natures which produces a difference in the economy of the two regions. The Red River is more turbulent and rampages more violently causing great damage and misery in flood time. There is more of an uncertainty to crop production in this region although two rice crops a year can be harvested if conditions are right. The Mekong overflows its banks but in a more gentle, Nile-like fashion leaving rich alluvial deposits. Harvests are more dependable along its course. The monsoon rains wreak havoc along the coastal areas where their coming coincides with the time of harvest. Long periods of drought follow the monsoons and the farmer must then battle to save his crop.

The need for scientific and technical knowledge to ward off the caprices of nature is obvious. The need for capital and equipment follows in line. None of these were or are at the present available to the ordinary cultivator. It is easy to see how the grinding poverty led to unrest, resentment and rebellion.

Labor problems.— Certain sections of the land can produce rubber, cotton and other such crops of a tropical nature. French investors who attempted plantation production of these crops found the problem of a dependable labor supply such a serious one that it was difficult to compete in world markets.
with similar products from other Pacific areas where labor did not pose such a question.

The native Cambodians, Laotians, Tonkinese and Annamese are averse to tilling other than their own ancestral plot of ground. The strong family and community ties bound up in the traditions of their village culture do no make for a mobility of labor. Only in times of dire circumstances such as famine or when the family needs money for the customary fetes and celebrations, can the native be induced to move some distance to a source of employment. The conditions under which he works offer no further inducement to stay and when he has earned enough for his present needs, he sets out for his village again regardless of the contract he signed. The Chinese in the country have always been a dependable source of labor but in general, they do not tend to remain for long just as ordinary laborers. Many of them become proprietors themselves or serve in their classic role, as elsewhere in Asia, as that of middlemen.

Indochina as a whole has a fair amount of mineral resources. Coal has been her biggest marketable mineral resource. Prewar Japan was one of the biggest buyers of Indochinese coal. Phosphates, zinc, iron and tin are other resources and precious stones can be found in Cambodia. French and other European development companies have had a similar labor problem as have the plantation owners. Most of the mines are in the hill country and lack of roads and transportation facilities were their first difficulties. Coolie labor was employed to build roads and railroads. They worked under slave-like conditions and the human toll was heavy. There was a psychological barrier, too, which the French have never really
been able to erase. Most of the labor was recruited from the plains and delta areas. These peoples have an aversion to the hills and the forests which amounts to the rites of a cult. The primitive animism which underlays their whole culture peoples the hills and forests with spirits and demons who are not to be disturbed. Thus, workers for the mines were and are difficult to recruit, for the plains people abhor the hills and the hill tribes can subsist without going to work in the mines.

Urban areas.— The total population of Indochina is close to 28,000,000. About 75 percent of the people live in the coastal plains areas. The centers of commerce and what industry there is, are to be found in this region. Here, too, are the cities which are typical of the big population centers all over most of Asia. As cities, most of them are comparatively new. Before the arrival of the French, many of the sites were only fishing villages or small trading stations or perhaps the center of a ruling court. Today, they do not display the way of life which is typical of the country. The Europeans, the Chinese, the Indians and various other groups have brought their own particular characteristics and the cosmopolitan air the cities exude is similar to that of large cities all over the world. Saigon, which is the capital of Cochinchina and one of the large cities, is known as the "Paris of the Orient". Hanoi, the capital of Tonkin, is one of the heavily populated centers in the Red River delta. Haiphong, a shipping center, is also in this region situated near to the famous Baie d'Along (Along Bay) which is one of the beauty spots of Asia. Vientiane which is the capital of Laos and Phnom Penh the capital of Cambodia are more provincial but they, too, are a combination of native, Chinese and European elements. This
coastal area which holds 75 percent of the people represents about 10 percent of the land. Mountains, jungle and tracts of virgin forest account for the rest.

**Industrial development.**—The industries in the country are of the light type and mainly concern themselves with the processing of the products of agriculture. For a time, the competition of the cheaply manufactured Japanese articles which flooded the Asiatic world was too great for the infant industries of Indochina. The French answer was a restrictive tariff. Yet the potential for industrial development in the country has never been completely explored. Present conditions make investments in such enterprises a risky business.

**Needs of the nation.**—The total of the land and its resources deem Indochina to be an agricultural nation. But there are some possible answers to the problems of population distribution and hunger. The scientific and technical ideas of Western civilization could help to alleviate the misery and distress. Proper care of the land, which would include projects to stem the damage of swollen rivers, to irrigate the dry areas and to fertilize the soil, would produce a more dependable and larger rice crop. Certain types of rice plants have a higher yield than others and these could be experimented with. If the farming areas could be made to yield enough to support the nation's need, the urban areas might bring a balance to the economy by developing the light industries for which the country has the potential. People can not exist in a density of population such as characterizes some sections of Indochina, on a square patch of rice land. Western civilization has proved that these must be the mechanized, industrial areas.
A tremendous program of education which will overcome the static cultural bars which encourage a form of medieval rural life to exist, must be one of the starting points. The system of land tenancy and indebtedness to the moneylenders must go. Technicians, capital and assistance must be had. Setting up such a program and procuring the necessary materials and equipment present tremendous obstacles at the present. The carrying-out of any such program will take time. The prospects for progress in the immediate future can only be uncertain until the battle in Indochina has become decisive.

Cultural Aspects

Chinese influence.— So many facets of Indochinese life are characteristic of the Chinese culture which was brought by conquest and absorbed by the native peoples, that the residues of other cultural influences play a minor part. The coastal plains where three-quarters of the population live reflect this dominant pattern of living.

One element of the pre-Chinese era survives. The peoples kept their own Annamite language but today it is the vernacular speech while Chinese is and has been the medium of the educated. The native Annamite speech is similar to other languages in that part of the world in that one does not have to worry so much about the rules of grammar, as the rules of intonation. A word may have several completely different meanings depending on the tone given to it in speech. The ordinary Westerner finds it difficult to master the shadings and varieties of tone.

The peoples of the three Annamite countries adopted the Chinese community system and the levels of social strata in it. They organized into
clans and communes which were self-sufficient economic, social and administrative units. The ancestor worship and the sacred tombs and graves of the departed bound the individuals to family and community ties which today still resist the advances of the modern age.

The mandarinate.— One of the most characteristic features of the pre-French days was the mandarinate. Gilbert and Sullivan operettas and a host of writers have pictured the typical mandarin as a petty official with flowing robes and long fingernails. Actually, in the old society, a competitive examination system drew from the ranks of the village people those in whom was to be vested the care and practice of the traditions of government, religion and learning. In no way did they resemble the Brahmin priest class of the Hindu way of life. Mandarins were not a part of a caste system, for anyone might aspire to and attempt to qualify for the rank.

The mandarins perpetuated the Chinese language and literature and the ancient rites and ceremonies connected with clan or commune until the French broke the authority of the scholar aristocracy by changes in the administration of the government and in the system of education. The system of competitive exams for the mandarinate was done away with in 1915, and in 1929 other reforms were made which put an end to the traditional influence of this group.

Education.— The French ran into the same problems in the field of education which the other colonial powers did in other countries. Their attempts to set up vernacular schools were not successful because the languages and dialects of the natives were not only difficult for a Westerner to learn but also they were old languages which had no words or expressions for the technical and scientific things of a modern day. There were too few teachers who
were trained to translate the vernacular into the French. There were no such things as textbooks in the vernacular and no way of getting them written. As in other parts of Asia where the masses were uneducated and performed the menial labor required to exist, the Indochinese peoples looked to education as a means of escaping from manual labor. For the relatively few to whom the schools offered opportunities, the professions were their choice, particularly the law. Some government positions were open to them, but this channel absorbed only a few and when the higher education was completed there was often no place where a native's talents might be used. Around this group of educated who could find no place for themselves centered the nationalist activity which grew out of their resentment of the whole colonial system.

Part of the task of the educational program still today must be to emphasize the dignity of labor whether it be with the mind or the hands. A nation that must begin at the bottom and build as Indochina must if it gains real freedom, has need of many skilled hands with the technical know-how behind them.

One of the most important contributions made to the education of the natives came from the mission centers. This was a private endeavor and not necessarily state sponsored or supported. The missionaries carried their civilizing zeal beyond the process of conversion to a Christian faith. They set up schools and hospitals, organized a system of social service, encouraged the cottage industries involving arts and crafts and even aided in the building of roads. But again, like the official efforts, their influence was limited in comparison to the total population. A very
high rate of illiteracy prevails in Indochina today.

Religious beliefs.-- Annamite civilization as well as that of Laos and Cambodia clings to age-old religions which were brought into the country in the early years of conquests and invasions. Many of the beliefs were brought from China and Tibet and some from India. In their present forms they are somewhat distorted from the original and in many areas there is no decisive line which separates one from another. Many times the principles of a faith are only a thin veneer over the pagan cults which give animation and spirits to trees and rocks and animals.

Taoism and Confucianism exist side by side without conflict in some parts of the country. Brahminism with the gods of Brahma the creator, Vishnu the preserver and Shiva the destroyer, is one of the cultural manifestations in Cambodia. Followers of this religion usually choose one of the three whose principles they emphasize and in Cambodia it is the cult of Shiva which survives. Buddhism in an altered form from that of its original in India is practiced mainly by the Khmers in Cambodia.

One of the newest additions to the roster of religious faiths is Caodaism, the Universal Religion, which was established in 1926. Elements of several different religions including Christianity are to be found in its tenets. A pope, a college of cardinals and bishops carry out the rites and functions of the organization. Adoration is given to a heterogeneous collection of saints which range through Joan of Arc and Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, to St. John the Baptist and the Jade Emperor. The Caodai are at present involved in organizing schools and social services and clearing jungle land for settlement.
Everywhere throughout the country, the temples and pagodas attest to the religious influence which permeates the whole life of the peoples. The architecture, the art, the pottery, silverwork and similar craft bear the stamps of this influence. Somehow the answer must be found to permit the infiltration of modern scientific progress in the field of health, medicine, agricultural methods and general education into the realm of the cult of the dead, the ancestor worship and the preoccupation with a mystical, contemplative life.

The Beginnings of Self-Government

Indochina and the French Union.— Through the organization of the French Union and its stated purposes, France is committed to the granting of independence to Vietnam. The process can not help but be a slow one. The civil strife between the Vietminh forces and those of the French-Vietnamese in itself, presents a stumbling block to the successful transfer of responsibility. In addition to that, the fact that the people were not being prepared for such a step before the French Union came into existence means a serious shortage of trained personnel to accept the responsibility.

The French Union operates primarily through an assembly whose members represent metropolitan France and the overseas territories. This group has the power to discuss and give opinions on bills or proposals which pertain to the overseas members of the Union. Bills or proposals may be submitted for action by the French National Assembly, the cabinet or the government of the Associated States such as those of Indochina.

At the time the official transfer of sovereignty was ratified in
February 1950, there was a formal transfer of many services and departments of government to the Associated States. Other powers were to be placed in their hands at a later date so that technically the states are autonomous now as far as internal affairs are concerned. The conduct of international relationships is still a joint responsibility with France attempting to guide the policy.

**Political developments.**—In keeping with the desires of the people and the promises of France, the first nationwide elections ever held in Vietnam took place in January 1953. These elections were only a beginning, but a very important one for the nation. The actual ballots chose local councilors, but these councilors in turn will choose regional representatives and these will in turn choose the men who are to sit in a national assembly. The followers of the Communist-dominated Vietminh threatened a series of disorders to halt the voting but did not carry out the threats and the elections were held in comparative quiet and order. The outcome was significant for the future of the Vietnamese Republic. The voting was limited due to the fact that all people do not as yet possess the franchise and also conditions of war prevented its being extended to Vietminh-controlled areas. Yet observers believe that the results indicate a declining strength in the followers of Vietminh and an increasing support for the Bao Dai government on the part of the people. It was a step in the right direction, for even though it was limited to choosing of local councilors, it brought home to hundreds of thousands who voted, the first real signs and symbols of a democratic process.

It will be a long time before national elections turning on basic
issues and policies can be held. As yet Vietnam has no constitution. Political parties as such do not exist. What serves for political parties are cliques centered around leaders. The present leader of the government, Bao Dai, represents the choice of the French and not necessarily the people, and at some later time the people may wish to answer the question of his future status themselves.

The task of achieving a lasting unity which can carry through to freedom with the help of the French and the rest of the free world has only begun. Deep cultural and economic chasms separate the peoples of the land. Civilization ranges through all the possible stages from that of the modern, Westernized elements found in Saigon and Hanoi, down through the rural communes to the hill tribes who live in a stage characterized by a continual shifting of settlements in an existence eked out by hunting and primitive agriculture. The task of welding all into one with a readiness and willingness to accept the sacrifices which must be made in the interests of human dignity and freedom is a large undertaking. But once true freedom has been tried and tested and not found wanting, the potency of its meaning should carry the Vietnamese through the hard, lean and uncertain years which are sure to follow.
INDOCHINA
Suggestions for Further Study

1. From time to time, Chinese communities outside China proper have been profoundly influenced by conditions of government within their native country. Find information on the Chinese Revolution of 1910-1912 and the story of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen. Relate it to the Indochina story.

2. Trace that same influence today in the downfall of the Chinese Nationalist government and the rise of Communism and relate it to events in Indochina in the same period.

3. An account of World War II will explain the type of administration as characterized by the officials of the Vichy government of France. What factors existed in that set-up which promoted the Japanese strength in Indochina?

4. Make a study of the conditions in France which produced a DeGaullist government and the new French constitution of 1946. What factors in those conditions contributed to the formation of the French Union?

5. Bonze, Brahmin, Lama, are words connected with the various religions found in Indochina. Be able to explain their meaning.

6. Consult the World Almanac to find density of population statistics concerning Java, cities in the Mekong delta and the Red River delta of Indochina, and those of the Irrawaddy valley in Burma. Make a comparison of these in numbers and in comparative abilities of the separate regions to support the populations.

7. Find all the information you can on the types of rice culture and methods of production.

8. Most of Southeast Asia lies in the part of the Pacific influenced by monsoons. Gather the necessary information and make a chart descriptive of this climatic feature.

9. Locate the following on a map and tell in which of the Associated States each is: Hue, Haiphong, Saigon, Hanoi, Phnom Penh, Vientiane. Locate also the Annamite Range and the Red and Mekong Rivers.

Suggested Readings

1. One of the unexplained mysteries of Indochina is that of the civilization which produced Angkor Wat, a city hidden for centuries in the jungle. French explorers and archeologists have uncovered and restored the ruins. A fascinating account of this still unsolved mystery is to be found in Four Faces of Siva by Robert J. Casey (The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1929).
2. Another very interesting tale of this ancient Cambodian relic is *A Pilgrimage to Angkor, Ancient Khmer Capital* by Harry Briggs (The Holmes Book Company, Oakland, California, 1943).

3. Alan Houghton Broderick's *Little Vehicle: Cambodia and Laos* tells the story of these two kingdoms whose importance is usually eclipsed by the more important coastal regions of Indochina. It is one of the few recent publications on that part of Indochina.

4. The Institute of Pacific Relations (1 East 54th Street, New York 22, N. Y.) has published some excerpts translated from French writings. One of these is the recent *Viet Nam and France* by Philippe Devillers.

5. An anthropological approach to Indochina is to be found in a pamphlet by Olov R. T. Janse, *The Peoples of French Indochina*.


7. *Labor Problems in Southeast Asia* by Virginia Thompson (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1947) makes clear the basic needs and conditions of that area.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


Presents the issues at stake in all of the area, and enlarges on situation in Indochina.


Speech by Malcolm MacDonald, British Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia, reporting to British Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Conference at Colombo, Ceylon, January 10, 1950.


Text of law ratifying agreements of relationships between France and Associated States.


(Previous annotation in Chapter II).


An analysis of immediate postwar situation and attempts to set up the new policy of empire by the French.


(Previous annotation in Chapter III).


Interesting account of an on-the-spot coverage of the situation in Indochina at present.

A brief account of each country with emphasis on recent developments.

News From France, Development of the Political Situation in Indochina. The French Embassy Press and Information Division, Fourth Year, No. 12, September 15, 1949.

Background to situation, texts of conventions and agreements of March 1946 and of Declaration of Along Bay, June 1948 and Franco-Vietnamese Agreements of March 1949.


Still the standard reference for Indochina even though parts are out of date. Extensive, scholarly treatment.


Concise account of background, land, people, economy, issues involved in conflict in Indochina.


Mainly an attempt to sift out important things which are at root of problems of Asia, and a presentation of some solutions for the problems.
CHAPTER V

BURMA

"Far-called, our navies melt away;
On dune and headland sinks the fire;
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre.

For heathen heart that puts her trust
In reeking tube and iron shard;
All valiant dust that builds on dust,
And guarding, calls not Thee to guard."

The grandeur and glory of the empire days when Britain held "dominion over palm and pine" are gone. Gone also are the pukka sahibs who put their "trust in reeking tube and iron shard" and boasted of how they fought "the Paythan an' the Zulu an' Burmese". The British Tommy of Kipling's ballads no longer sits "by the old Moulmein Pagoda, lookin' eastward to the sea" or walks the road from Rangoon to Mandalay. The "far-flung battle-line" proved vulnerable. The little brown brother of Burma and India relieved the white man of his burden and took it upon his own back.

The eagerness and willingness with which many anticipated the acceptance of that burden by their own nations, outstripped their preparedness and ability to do so. The years of empire had lent pomp and glory and power to Britain. Those same years had brought a veneer of Western civilization to the cities of the East, but hardly touched the lives of hundreds of thousands who lived in the villages and towns far remote from the centers of trade and economic enterprise. The gap between the desire and the

1 Rudyard Kipling, Recessional.
ability to handle independence in Burma has become apparent with the rising tide of insurgent groups seeking to destroy the government. The age-old lack of unity among the various peoples within the country threatens to undermine their independence. This coupled with the lack of training to cope with the problems of self-government has made the burden a heavier weight than was imagined.

Burma, the land of the great image, Buddha, can find no solace in the long-remembered meditation of the enlightened one that, "All things fall to the decay of old age, disease, and death, Alas for the world, How dark and ignorant."
Early History

Conquest and chaos.-- The early history of Burma is a stormy account of waves of would-be conquerors from other countries sweeping into this region and the resultant clashes with the looting hordes who roamed over the land. The countryside was prey to constant raiding by border tribes. Chaos reigned intermittently for centuries. The scattered, separate organizations in Burma presented no united front to the common and continuous danger of being overrun by tribes to the east and west and north.

The geographic position of Burma led her to serve as a bridge for periodic migrations from India, Tibet and China. Sometimes these people came because there was hunger or persecution in their own land. At other times it was nothing more than an aggressive assault on their neighbors. The rivalry of many kingdoms and principalities within the country paved the way for piratical incursions of one upon the other. The tribes of the northern Shan States in particular fanned out over southern Burma to such an extent that the land was anything but peaceful for hundreds of years.

Influence of China and India.-- Racially, the country of Burma has strong ties with China whence came many of the early migrations. Culturally, there are closer ties to India. Travelers, merchants and traders from India settled in Burma and brought their languages, religions and their form of writing. They organized states and ruled with all the pomp and color of an Indian kingdom. One such early center was a Buddhist civilization which grew up around Pagan in the Irrawaddy valley. Its cultural influence did not last for long for it suffered the fate of many another settlement by being sacked and looted by a southward drive of the Mongols.
European interests in Burma.— The Portuguese in the 15th and 16th centuries were the vanguard of the European nations who explored and settled in the area in the interests of trade. They were followed by the Dutch, the English and the French. European interests in Burma were not as great as they were in Indonesia, Malaya and other parts of the Pacific. The incessant warfare in Lower Burma and the lack of spices turned their ventures to more profitable areas. For a time during the 18th century, the country bowed to the might of the Manchu army of China and sent tribute to the emperor at Peking.

British expansion from India to Burma.— It was not until the 19th century that any real foothold was gained by a European power. The English East India Company had been operating in India for a number of years previous to the first annexation of territory in Burma. It was the expansion policy of this trading company which brought about the first Anglo-Burmese war which eventually led to full control of the country by the British. A series of incidents on the Burma-India border concerning payment of toll on a river boundary was the immediate cause of the clash. In 1826 the British forced a settlement whereby Burma agreed to trade concessions, to cede the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim and to permit a British Resident to be installed in Ava.

The lack of a central government control in Burma opened the way to continued frontier friction, interruptions of trade and general disregard for the previous treaty with Britain. The protests of the British were to no avail and in 1852 Britain warred on Burma again. This second defeat of Burma meant greater territorial concessions to the British which permitted
the annexation of sections of Lower Burma.

In the meantime, the settlement of the French in Indochina provided an opening wedge to their expansion in the Upper Burma region. The ancient rivalry of Britain and France was apparent in their activities in the Far East. When French plans to bring parts of Burma within their control became known, the British moved to limit the dreams of empire for the French. Sufficient cause was found by the British to open a third Anglo-Burmese war in 1885. The city of Mandalay was taken. Theebaw, the Burmese monarch, was exiled to India and the territory gained was incorporated into the British-India administration. This much was comparatively easy for the English to accomplish. Upper Burma was another story. The land and the people made the northern regions a more costly conquest. The tribes of the Shan States and the Chin Hills were not as easily subdued. When British control was complete and final over all of Burma, the government of the country was tied to that of India and as such it was ruled until 1935.

In comparison with other colonial areas in the Pacific, the British rule in Burma suffered relatively few upheavals or disturbances on the part of the natives. The usual signs and symbols of a Western-type civilization began to appear in the country in the form of roads, railroads, telegraph and postal services. Some schools were established and other elements of Western culture were superimposed on the life of Burma. The resources of the country which included a tremendous rice crop, teak forests, oil and other minerals were developed and economic prosperity came mainly to the British, the Indian and Chinese investors, traders and moneylenders. Outwardly, the affairs of the country seemed to be progressing in a fairly peaceful, prosperous manner.
The Burma-India Union

Burma's union with India was not a happy one in spite of the relative peace in which the British administration of the province was carried out. Burma tied to India made a political unit but the problems each country presented were not alike in their natures. The geography and economy of Burma and the hereditary social and governmental structures of tribes and villages differed from those of India. Until the time of separation in 1935, the issue of the place of Burma in the Indian administrative system was a rankling one. However, real nationalist sentiment did not congeal early enough to cause this issue to become revolutionary bait. Also, the British took gradual steps to release the control of India over Burma. From time to time, their actions set up the supposition that at some future date there might be self-government for the Burmans. A Government of Burma Act in 1921 clarified the issue somewhat by making some separate provisions which applied to Burma and which were similar to those granted in the Government of India Act in 1919.

Some educated Burmans advocated a complete separation from India but did not attempt violence to secure their goals. In November 1931, a Round Table Conference in London discussed the possibilities of a constitutional separation from India. The decision for complete separation was to be in the hands of the people. An anti-separationist group appeared on the political scene to attempt to block the movement for separation. Buddhist monks actively participated in the agitation for non-separation. They were accused of deliberately spreading misinformation which led to a confusion of issues. No clear cut picture of the desires of the people could be had so the British
government announced that the decision would then rest with them.

When separation materialized in 1935, promises of self-government within the British empire were made to Burma which were enlarged upon in 1939. In the meantime, several different types of government within the country came into being. Certain provisions of the new constitution could only be met by peoples within Burma who had had some amount of contact with Western political forms and ideas, and who presented as a group a certain amount of similarity of social structure and degrees of civilization. The more remote hill tribes who had clung to ancient tribal law and customs could not possibly understand or cope with a complicated, modern political organization. Thus, it was necessary to govern through various mediums in such areas as those inhabited by the Chins, the Shans and the Kachins.

This new system had not really had sufficient time to be thoroughly tested before Burma became front-page news with the notoriety gained by the international aspects of the Burma Road. This and the subsequent war years changed the picture of self-government in Burma with more rapidity than had been dreamed of by either the British or the Burmans.

The Burma Road

For centuries men were intrigued and fascinated by the aura of mystery which surrounded the high mountain regions enclosing northern India, Burma, Tibet and the Yunnan Province of China. They lay far off the beaten paths of the world. Their remoteness and inaccessibility lured men to penetrate the hostile fastnesses of nature and man to find the Shangri-la they dreamed of. Long before Europeans found their way to northern Burma, an "ambassadors' road" from Bhamo to Yunnanfu had been carved out of the rugged terrain as a
channel for diplomats and merchants bearing tribute and articles of trade.

When the British gained their first foothold in Burma at the end of the first Anglo-Burmese war, the possibilities of a trade route from Lower Burma to the China border were explored. Surveys were made which showed that the markets of China which would be open to the British and Burmans by such a route, were then providing only a trickle of trade across the frontiers. The project was set aside for a number of years until events in other parts of the world caused the British to reconsider their previous decision. In 1869 the United States completed its first transcontinental railroad linking the East and West. Across the Pacific lay the markets of China which were thought to be fabulous. The British considered this to be a possible threat to their own desires for trade with China. In the same year, the Suez canal opened, making passage and freight from Europe to the Far East a less costly item than that incurred by the long journey around Africa. The British were prompted to make surveys again, but again there was opposition to the idea because the trade statistics gathered did not seem sufficient to warrant the construction of such a transportation link.

One of the terms of the agreement which followed the third Anglo-Burmese war in 1885 was that Britain be permitted to set in motion the necessary steps to secure trade with China through Burma. In connection with this, one possible route was surveyed involving over a thousand miles of territory with much of it made by means of elephant travel. Still no tangible progress was made toward the desired overland route.

For years there was no connection between the railroads of the various countries in Southeast Asia. Each individual nation had built lines to
service its own trade and passenger needs, but it was impossible to go from one country to another by rail. The British eventually built a rail line from southern Burma as far as Lashio in Upper Burma but there it stopped. Travel by sea and inland waterway took the place of railroads. The famous Irrawaddy Flotilla Company operated a fleet of all kinds of river ships which plied northward into Burma and competed with other kinds of traffic. So Lashio remained the end of the line until the growing international tension began to erupt in the 'Thirties.

Embattled China in the late 1930's found it increasingly difficult to keep open her coastal areas in order to receive goods and supplies to carry on war. She needed a supply line that would be difficult for the Japanese to attack. China chose to build her road to the Burma border in the direction of Lashio. In late 1937 construction began. The immensity of this engineering feat is recognized when the difficulties of the terrain and the lack of materials with which to accomplish it are considered. Accounts of the construction show that surveying instruments and dynamite were the only concessions to modern road building practices. It was hand labor provided by corvee. Bamboo tubes were filled with powder and equipped with simple fuses for blasting purposes. The surface of the road was rolled with a crude, cumbersome affair made from a huge block of stone. One of the most difficult problems was presented by the need to span the Salween and Mekong Rivers. Simple chain bridges were replaced with suspension bridges. The workers labored under the added handicaps encountered by the torrential downpours of the rainy season. Days of work were completely obliterated by washouts and landslides during the wet monsoon. Yet the road was opened for traffic
in January 1939. Lend-lease materials began to roll down the road in ever-increasing quantities. Shipments from other nations destined for China were rerouted to Burma and taken across the frontier.

Before Britain had a chance to rally from the first impact of World War II, Japan put pressure on her to close the road on the Burma side to the traffic in war materials for China. Britain responded to the pressure in spite of criticism in July 1940 and the road was closed for three months. When the highway was reopened an even greater quantity of war materials was trucked through the Yunnan gateway. In 1941 the British worked on an extension from Lashio to the China border. Air bases were set up and landing fields cleared at Bhamo, at Myitkyina and at Lashio.

With the coming of full-scale war in the Pacific the strategic aspects of the China life-line were heightened. As one place after another fell into the hands of the Japanese, the enemy's supply line was shortened and the Burma Road became vulnerable. Air fields, bridges and sections of the road were destroyed by aerial attack but a constant rebuilding with make-shift means kept vital traffic moving for a long time.

The record of the Burma Road and the men who built it and kept it open in the cause of freedom is a moving story. Present conditions in both Burma and China make the fate of this once famous artery an uncertain one. The peasant and coolie who struggled with the huge boulders and the shifting earth have not yet finished the struggle for real freedom.

The Road to Independence

Beginnings of nationalism.— The reverberations of the Russo-Japanese War were felt in Burma as well as in other Eastern nations. There had been
some resistance to the spread of British control of Upper Burma. There were those in Lower Burma who resented the deposing of Theebaw and the installing of British Residents. A general feeling of unrest swept through the country in the late 1800's but did not express itself in the violence that similar conditions in other colonial areas produced. Although the feeling was not completely erased, it did become subdued. After the turn of the century, affairs quieted down enough to give Burma an atmosphere of peace which was in great contrast to the periodic uprisings in other nations in Southeast Asia.

Nationalist sentiment was very slow to gather force in Burma. In the early 1900's the Young Men's Buddhist Association made its appearance and as the years went by their activities began to take on a nationalist hue. A student movement in this same period working toward a broadening of educational horizons for the natives helped to spread some feeling of pride in country and race.

Political activity in the 1930's began to support a persistent demand on the part of a few leaders for freedom from Indian domination. The demand grew to the stage where some advocated complete freedom from Britain. The comparative peace and quiet of the past two decades was shattered in the 1930's. Some radical elements in the country professed a desire to pattern themselves after the Nazi system without a full knowledge of just what that meant. Actually, since the Nazi government in Germany could be construed as anti-British, these nationalist leaders expressed admiration for it and thereby also expressed their own anti-British feelings. The decade of the 'Thirties witnessed a number of serious uprisings, labor unrest and anti-Chinese riots.
Nationalist leaders capitalized on the uneasy state of affairs and promoted what they considered to be the cause of "Free Burma". U Saw, head of the Myochit Party and Dr. Baw Maw who organized the Burma Freedom Bloc maneuvered most of the nationalist activity within this period. Yet they did not agree with each other on the course nationalism should take.

Burma in World War II.—In June of 1940 the British began defense preparations to fortify the city of Rangoon against possible attack. Anti-British feeling, the disunity among the peoples of Burma themselves and a lack of understanding of the British cause in the war hampered the preparations for defense throughout the country. Dr. Baw Maw declared that it made little difference who won the war, but that a free Burma should exist after hostilities ceased. That same year he was arrested for sedition and sentenced to prison. In 1942 Rangoon was occupied by the Japanese and Baw Maw was available to head up the native government under the Japanese. U Saw in the meantime had fallen into disfavor through his anti-British attitude and spent most of the war years in prison in Uganda.

Reaction to Japanese occupation of the country followed the same lines that it did in other colonial areas. Little was done to resist the advances of the enemy, yet there was not complete cooperation with the conqueror, either. Some few remained loyal to the British but sufficient anti-British sentiment existed to nullify the effects of that loyalty.

Communism as a political force in Burma did not really come to the fore until the Japanese occupation. As in other Pacific areas, the Communists acted as resistance groups during the war and thereby gained a respect which they would not otherwise have had. Those who desired independence began to
see their nationalist desires as similar to the aims of the Communists. An Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League was formed representing a coalition of forces including the Communists. The activities of the organisation were dominated by the leadership of two prominent Communists, U Aung San and Thakin So. Independence for Burma was their goal.

The ray of hope injected by the signing of the Atlantic Charter was dashed by the Churchill announcement that it did not mean countries which owed their allegiance to Britain. The Burmans were further aroused when in 1945, the British made plans to set up the same type of government again which had existed in Burma before the war. They were loud in their denunciations of the plans and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the British from the country.

U Aung San and Thakin So came to the parting of the ways at the end of the war. Thakin So wanted to translate the Communist theory of violent revolution into action and proceeded to direct an armed group against the British. U Aung San hoped to attain independence through treating with the British.

**Independence.**— Negotiations with Britain began in London in January 1947. An agreement was reached which would permit the Burmans to choose between independence within the framework of the British Commonwealth or without it. Elections followed in a few months and U Aung San was chosen to head the government. Still there was no real unity of feeling among the various political factions. On July 19, 1947 U Aung San and six ministers of the new government were assassinated. Thakin Nu was chosen by the British to be the prime minister to replace U Aung San.
Beginnings were made to work out a constitution for Burma in late 1947. On January 4, 1948, Independence Day came to Burma. The country had chosen to become a nation outside the British Commonwealth system. Almost immediately Communist activity began. And almost immediately the immaturity and weaknesses of the new government became apparent. The Communist line was to promise land reform and employment to those who were jobless. When the government attempted to suppress Communist activities, large groups of people who had supported the government broke away and formed an opposition which led to open rebellion and mutiny within the army.

Karen Revolt.—From that time to the present, the country has been in a constant state of upheaval. One of the most serious disturbances has arisen from the revolt of the Karens. The Karens had behind them a long history of aggression and violence when the British first came to Burma. When Upper Burma was annexed the Karens proved to be a difficult people to handle. The British attempted to organize a military police unit among their members, thinking that they might keep their own tribes in order. The plan was not too successful. The armed Karens waged war on the Burmese who were their age-old enemies. Baptist missionaries attempted to convert the inhabitants of the Karen Hills and the surrounding delta regions. The Christianity which they accepted did not necessarily mean that they loved their neighbor any more. When units of the army mutinied shortly after independence, the government relied on the armed might of the Karens to support them. It was but a short time before they moved to open revolt themselves.
Several causes have been given for the origin of the revolt and its continuation. Originally, legislation for land reform which would have affected the land holdings of the Karens was supposedly the key to the beginning of the rebellion. When the constitution of the Union of Burma was drawn up, provisions were made for the Karens to organize as a separate, autonomous state within the Union. The revolt has continued to the present on the grounds that the Burmese government is not willing to cede the very large area which the Karens claim should be within the boundary of their state. The actual number of Karens still in revolt has decreased since the original outbreak, but sufficiently large numbers maintain a continued resistance serious enough to menace the stability of the government.

Chinese Nationalists who fled from China to Burma have been collaborating with the Karens. Both of these groups have become involved with Chinese Communists in border incidents along the Burma-Yunnan Province frontier. Communist groups within the country find supporters in the Shan States region, the southwestern section of the country and in other scattered sectors. The present government has very little armed might at its disposal and the combined forces of all the insurgents means a necessary deployment of government troops that makes the small army ineffective.

Burma's needs.--Burma has other needs besides those of a military nature. As in other nations where independence came to a peoples who had been ruled, but who had done practically no ruling themselves, there is a dearth of trained personnel to fill the very necessary posts of government. The conditions of colonial rule permitted a very large lower class
and a very small upper class to exist without providing the balance of a middle class. This wide gap in the social structure needs to be filled with technicians, engineers, business and government administrators, educators and a host of other positions which normally fall to the so-called "white-collar" worker.

Independence removed many of the props provided by foreign investors who developed the resources of the country. Individuals within the nation were not prepared to take over on the basis of private enterprise. The Burmans did not want to continue to be dependent on foreign capital to such an extent that it might endanger their self-government. It remained then for the State to step in to bridge that gap. The constitution of 1948 proclaimed the State as final owner of the land. The Land Nationalization Act made provisions to take over the large holdings of absentee landlords. The rice trade became a government-controlled monopoly. The constitution declared that all the resources of the land and waters were to be exploited only by and for the government and its peoples.

Although sizeable minorities exist in the country such as Karens, Shans, Kachins, Chins, Karennis, Indians and Chinese, the constitution favors the Burmese who represent the largest group. Burmanization of language, land reform, economic enterprise and religion through official recognition in the constitution has tended to continue the feeling of separateness on the part of the minorities. The constitution provides for the organization of separate states within the Union of Burma, but the dissimilarity of both cultural and economic backgrounds makes it a difficult task to work for unity of feeling as a nation.
Point Four assistance.— Some bright spots appear on the Burman horizon to lend hope to the future. American aid in the form of Point Four technical assistance as well as grants of equipment and capital has helped to bolster the government of the country in their efforts toward progress. Reconstruction to repair war damaged areas such as Rangoon and Akyab harbors has gone forward. Agricultural technicians have been working to control insect pests and livestock diseases. Flood-control projects have been launched. Steps have been taken to set up hospitals and medical schools. Education has been encouraged through placing at their disposal equipment and professional assistance. The Communists within Burma denounce this as the exploitation of capitalism but the program of the Technical Co-operation Administration has not suffered any serious set-backs through this source of irritation.

The Land and its Resources

From a geographic standpoint, Burma is one of the more fortunate nations through being endowed by nature with the potentialities for well-being and prosperity within her boundaries. By reason of the circumstances of her historical and political development, the land and its productiveness have not always been used to the best of advantage. Yet before the last war, the standard of living in Burma was very high in comparison with other Oriental nations. Burma was one of the few countries in that part of the world which was able to feed herself and also supply a large exportable surplus of rice. Densely populated areas exist in the country, particularly in the river valleys. But for many years the uncleared jungle land was a frontier which was continuously being opened to cultivation, so the population pressures
of thickly settled areas did not present an unsolvable problem. Since the war, a growth in population has cut down the amount of land available for cultivation, but still hunger is not the great threatening shadow hanging over Burma that it is in other Southeast Asian nations.

Geographic divisions and their economy.— The country is generally marked off into two distinct regions, Lower Burma and Upper Burma. The nation as a whole has three well-defined physical divisions; the Western hills, the central region where the rivers converge to make broad valleys and plains, and the Shan Plateau in the east.

The total area of Burma is 262,000 square miles and more than half that area is forest land. A variety of woods are found in the forests but teak is the most valuable product for export. The war years brought great destruction to the forest areas. The present government has made advances toward a conservation program with an attempt to raise the timber exports to the prewar level.

The rivers of all Asia are the life-lines of the peoples. They are the arteries of trade and transportation. The plains and deltas with their rich alluvial soil yield the rice which is the life's blood of their existence. Much of the life of Asia courses around the great river systems which lead out to the seas. In Lower Burma the Irrawaddy with the Chindwin, one of its largest tributaries, is of great importance to the economy of the country. Famine is almost an unheard of thing in that part of the nation. The fertile soil and the abundant rainfall insure constant production for the land. The cultivation of rice in Lower Burma outstrips any other crop but sufficient quantities of rubber are produced
to make it an export item. The deltas of the Sittang and Salween Rivers add to the rice acreage of Lower Burma, but these rivers are not safe for navigation for any great distance as is the Irrawaddy.

Upper Burma presents quite a different economic picture. A greater diversification of crops is to be found in this region. Tea, coffee, sugar and other crops suitable to the land and climate supplement the ever-present rice fields. Rainfall in sections of Upper Burma is not as dependable as that in Lower Burma so the farmer must have more than one crop in case the rains come at the wrong time.

Differences in the two regions show up also in the ownership of the land. Upper Burma is a region of small, independent landowners. By Asiatic standards, they manage to have a fair living through the diversification of crops and the income of cottage industries. Indebtedness to the moneylender is not as apparent here as in Lower Burma. The speculation of Chettyar (Indian) moneylenders which brought foreclosed property into their hands and the absentee landlords who controlled much of the best land, gave nationalist leaders in Lower Burma cause to work for land reform leading to a Tenancy Act in 1939 and a Land Alienation Act in 1941. Not only has rural indebtedness been one of Lower Burma’s problems, but also the fact that this part of the country is tied to a staple crop economy means a disproportionate dependence of all life, that of peasant, landowner, miller, merchant, on exports of this one item to world markets. When world prices fall, the farmer in Lower Burma suffers more than does his counterpart in Upper Burma.

Industrialization.— Burma’s place in the industrial world is similar to that of other Southeast Asian nations. The country is predominately
agricultural. The years of exploitation by a colonial power to produce raw materials to enrich its own treasury meant that industrialization received little attention. As in other countries with a similar agricultural background, the industries which are established process some of the products of the land. In Burma it is the rice mills mainly which provide industrial employment.

A lack of coal presents a handicap to any great industrialization. But among her mineral resources are oil, tin, lead, zinc, silver, manganese, tungsten and copper. The Burmans as a group are mainly tillers of the soil. The extracting of ores and the commercial enterprises connected with it have been in the hands of the Indians and Chinese. Precious stones of the kind that adorned the rajas and emperors of a day gone by are mined and of these the most important are rubies, sapphires, jade and amber.

The internal strife which characterizes the Burman scene today makes for instability of crop production, waste and devastation of natural resources which could contribute to her own well-being. Burma with exportable surpluses is a vital factor in the well-being of her neighbors. India in particular could be a complement to Burma's needs. India needs the products Burma has to sell and in turn, India produces what Burma needs to import. A Burma that can not stabilize conditions at home can not be a competing factor in world markets. India and her other neighbors will look elsewhere for their rice. Burma stands a chance to lose any of the gains made in prosperity and economic well-being in prewar days.

The Way of Life

Buddhism.— The image of Buddha is found throughout most of Burma,
ranging from the great stone relic of early Arakan to the minatures made of jade, ivory and teak. Pagodas dominate the village scene. Buddhist monasteries from which monks set forth each day to beg are part of the town and village life. The meditations of Siddhartha, the Indian prince, are the substance of the contemplative life of the yellow-robed men who seek to find salvation through the eight-fold path which leads to Nirvana. The outward signs of Buddhism give a picturesque air to the countryside. But Buddhism is more than that in Burma. It is a way of life tied intricately to the past. It is a religion which reaches out to touch innumerable facets of daily living in the present. It is a philosophy that accepts this world's misery on the promise of release from pain and suffering which is to be found in Nirvana.

Prince Siddhartha, called Buddha, the enlightened one, who was the founder of the faith, was Indian in origin. It is thought that he might have been a contemporary of Confucius, although historians can not set an exact date. Authorities believe that more than 500 years elapsed before the story of his life was written. The margin for error which lies in such a long period of time during which fancy is notweeded from fact, makes it difficult to know which is myth and which is truth.

Buddhist literature declares that when Siddhartha was very young, it was prophesied that he would renounce his worldly goods and rank, escape from desire and find the truth to life. His father sought to prevent the realization of the prophecy in order that the line of succession for his kingdom might not be broken. With this purpose in mind, he surrounded his son with all worldly pleasures and attempted to keep all sight of pain and suffering from him. But the time came when the young prince
demanded to go out into the world. What he saw then was the misery of old age, disease, pain and death. Buddha accepted the doctrine which exists to this day in India, that of a continual birth and rebirth, or the transmigration of souls. But he sought an answer to life which he thought was a never-ending misery carried on eternally by reincarnation. Through a long period of meditation and fasting he searched for this salvation. At last he found what he believed to be the truth. Life and suffering were one and the same. Suffering was caused by desire. One had to escape from desire in order to be relieved from suffering. An eight-fold path of right living led to escape from desire. Nirvana was the goal of this path for then one would be rid of all desire and thus pain. Release from the cycle of birth and rebirth followed.

Buddha then spent a lifetime of teaching and gathering disciples. The faith spread to much of the Far East but a split developed after the death of the master. What is known today as the "Greater Vehicle" or Mahayana Buddhism was the later development which incorporated into the original, prayer and ritual that was Indian in origin. The "Little Vehicle" of Hinayana Buddhism clings to the original ways of the master in its teachings. Both forms of Buddhism entered Burma via the trade routes, but it is Hinayana which has largely remained.

The Buddhist code preaches not just the selfish aim of individual salvation through Nirvana. In line with many another religion, it denounces lying, covetousness, murder, theft, slander, abuse and hatred. The attitudes of kindness and sympathy and respect for age and authority are expected.

Throughout the years Buddhism was the religion of the royal houses and kingdoms. It has been and is an educational and political factor through
the activities of the monasteries. The monks undertake the religious and intellectual training of the village children. They have kept alive the traditions and literature of the country. Their influence has been used to determine the course of political action.

While the British ruled Burma, the natives were exposed to Western ideas and thoughts which threatened to disturb the meditative way of Buddhism. But the impact was not sufficient to uproot any of the basic beliefs. It is still a powerful force in Burma today.

Although the majority of the people in Burma profess Buddhism, other religions are found in various parts of the country. Arakan which was originally a Buddhist center is a Moslem area today. Hinduism is found in Lower Burma and Christianity is found particularly among the Karens. An animistic cult prevails in the more remote sections of the country.

Education and literacy.—Monastic schools connected with the Buddhist faith have been and still are the major source of education in Burma. Some education for the natives was provided to a very limited extent by the British and by the missionaries. Present government leaders hope to set up more lay schools along the lines of modern educational practices to replace the traditional and to a certain extent, decadent influence of the monastic schools.

In comparison with similar nations in the Far East, Burma had a high percentage of literacy before the last war. It went hand in hand with the comparatively higher standard of living which the country enjoyed. Comparison with Western standards, however, would make the percentage seem low. The same problems plagued the British which present themselves to the independent nation now. Experiments with vernacular schools have not
been successful due to the scarcity of trained teachers, lack of texts written in the various languages and the limitations of the languages when it comes to translating modern terminology and complex ideas. Burmans have had the same attitude toward the opportunities an education offered as have many other Southeast Asians. They have looked to it as a means of escape from manual labor. Today, the Burma government realizes that education should be tied to the needs of the people and the country with an emphasis on the need for competent, skilled laborers as well as lawyers and government clerks.

Rights of women.—— One of the outstanding features of the Burmese cultural pattern has been the freedom which women in Burma have enjoyed for years. This, too, is in great contrast to many other Oriental countries where a woman ranks little better than a work animal. Even before the British came, the emancipation of Burmese women included equal rights in property, inheritance and divorce. Burma has been different also in that the caste system which was so prevalent in so much of Asia did not exist in the country. Buddhism preaches equality and although actual equality does not exist, still the festering sores of a caste system do not add to the inequality.

Health.—— The higher standard of living brought a higher standard of health. The fact that famine so seldom visited the land meant that the natives had a greater resistance to disease than did people in other countries in that part of the world. Certain tropical diseases plague the land, however, and at times reach epidemic stages. The worst of these in Burma is malaria which rides the countryside as it does in all
such climates, but much has been and is being done to control its force.

Present unstable conditions in the country naturally mean that these higher standards of living and health are jeopardized. The uncertain rice production and market lowers economic prosperity. The need to concentrate all energies on the causes of unrest and rebellion within the country diverts capital from the fields of education and development to the military field.

Prospects for the future. The potentialities for building a sound social foundation for the nation exist in spite of the cultural ties that forge such strong links with the past. The ability to produce goods and services for a self-supporting nation lies within the country and the people. It remains for the leaders with the help of other nations, to set the pace and the direction of progress.

The willingness of the Burmese government to accept Point Four assistance along all lines and to allow Fulbright scholars to bring their knowledge to the problems the nation faces is a good beginning. The foundation can be fortified by this assistance. Through strength and knowledge and cooperation, the Burmans could build on that foundation to make a real nation.

The clamor of the minorities must be stilled not by armed might alone, but by rooting out the causes of dissatisfaction in a just manner. A real union could then be effected and not one in name only. The confusion and indirection of the present make some people in the country wish that the pukka sahibs were back in the harness. Unless real unity can be achieved, the old rule of divide and conquer may bring a different brand of master for the nation under whom there would be no freedom.
Suggestions for Further Study

1. The Portuguese were the pioneers in discovery, exploration and in trade and mission settlements in the Far East. Traces of their cultural influence remain today in some sections of the East. For a fuller understanding of their part in the story of Southeast Asia, find information on the activities of Vasco da Gama, Alfonse de Albuquerque, Francisco de Almeida and Diogo Lopez de Sequeira.

2. All the early explorers were not swashbuckling conquistadors. The figure of St. Francis Xavier stands out in contrast to the might of the sword as wielded by the conquerors. Look for information which will tell the story of his life in Goa and the surrounding countryside.

3. The system of corvee labor has been and still is in some countries a traditional means of getting roads and other public works built. Find out how this system works. Has there been anything like this in the American story?

4. Compare and contrast conditions in Burma under colonial rule with those in Indonesia and Indochina. What factors in the country of Burma promoted the comparative peace of British rule?

5. What reasons can you find for Communists acting as resistance groups in Southeast Asia during the last war? What effect has that had on the present-day direction of many of the nations?

6. The city of Rangoon was the center of a recent gathering of world Socialists. At this gathering the Asian Socialists decided to remain a separate bloc. What are the basic beliefs and practices of a Socialistic philosophy which would make it attractive to present-day Burma?

7. India and Burma could work together in the economic sphere for the advancement of both nations. Find out what India produces and needs and just how this would work in with Burma's economy.

8. Find information which will tell you exactly what Point Four is and how it works. In connection with this locate information on the Fulbright scholarships.

9. How does the British Commonwealth system work? Do you think Burma made a wise choice when she decided to be independent outside the Commonwealth?

Suggested Readings

1. A story well worth reading is the account of the survey made for a possible trade route through northern Burma. It is to be found in A Thousand Miles on an Elephant in the Shan States (Holt S. Hallett, London, 1890).
2. Rudyard Kipling was one of the ardent defenders of the aims and methods of imperialism, particularly the British brand. He popularized the "white man's burden" theme. The entire collection of Barrack-Room Ballads is good reading in connection with this. "Tommy", Fuzzy-Wuzzy" (Sudan Expedition), "Gunga Din" and "Mandalay" in particular are worth reading. Kipling's "Recessional" gives a somber note of warning for the empire.

3. "To understand war you must go to Burma". That is James Michener's pronouncement on present-day Burma. The story can be found in his Voice of Asia, pages 217-233.

4. A very amusing and revealing episode told in The Land of the Great Image (Maurice Collis) is the story of the Kandy Tooth, one of the most famous of the Buddhist relics.

5. A very human side of the Burma Road story is told in the chapter called "Mudholes and Precipices" in Burma Surgeon (Gordon Seagrave).

6. A much fuller account of Buddhism and its practices is to be found in Religions of the Far East (George C. Ring).
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


Detailed account of every possible facet of this aspect of Burma. Excellent work.


Narrative poem which tells the story of Buddha, Prince Siddhartha.


A standard reference for Burma. Wealth of material presented with a tempered view.


The account of the experiences of Friar Manrique and the Portuguese missions in Goa and Arakan. Excellent for the very early years of European penetration in the Burm-India region.


Furnivall one of the authorities on that part of the world. Concerns itself with Burma and Netherlands India.


(Previous annotation in Chapter II).


(Previous annotation in Chapter III).


(Previous annotation in Chapter II).


(Previous annotation in Chapter III).

A very colorful, personal account of the country. Includes the story of the Burma mission to which he was attached, the Burma Road and the Battle of Burma.


A sequel to *Burma Surgeon*. The story of the return to the garrisons in the Naga Hills and the road back to Myitkyina.


(Previous annotation in Chapter IV).
CHAPTER VI

MALAYA

"O Masters, lords and rulers in all lands,
How will the future reckon with this Man?
How answer his brute question in that hour
When whirlwinds of rebellion shake all shores?
How will it be with kingdoms and with kings----
With those who shaped him to the thing he is----
When this dumb Terror shall rise to judge the world,
After the silence of centuries?"

The whirlwinds of rebellion have been shaking the shores of South-east Asia with a cyclonic force that has wreaked havoc and chaos in the lives of millions of people. The nations are gripped with a "dumb Terror" that menaces the freedom and security of the entire world. Man, bowed by the weight of centuries of oppression and exploitation, is answering his own "brute question" in this hour, in the only manner he knows. Ignorance leads many millions to feed upon the promises of those who would in turn enslave their followers. Sudden death and terrorism is the answer bred by this ignorance.

"How will it be with kingdoms and with kings----With those who shaped him to the thing he is----" has already been partially answered by some nations. The causes vary in their roots and their intensity throughout this part of the world, but colonial regimes must answer for the years during which they permitted the roots to be laid bare and exposed without taking steps to avoid the rot and decay which followed.

1 Edwin Markham, The Man with the Hoe.

-160-
In Malaya the Communists have found a fertile soil in which to sow their seeds of dissension in fields already ripe with racial disunity. There have been many good points to the British rule in the peninsula. But the fact remains that the Malays themselves are a minority in their own country due in large part to the encouragement by the British of large-scale immigrations of Chinese and Indian laborers. The wealth of the country in rubber and tin grew to astounding proportions through the exploitation of this cheap labor supply. Conditions were permitted to exist, however, which eventually produced strength in the Chinese and Indian communities and relegated the Malay to the background. Differences became more pronounced as the years went by and an appalling disunity settled over the country. The harvest of that disunity is being reaped today in the sudden death by ambush, the derailed trains and the widespread pillaging and burning.

The rubber and tin of Malaya are vital to the free world. Planting and mining are carried on today behind barbed-wire fences and with the aid of armed guards. The peninsula would be a coveted prize should it fall into the hands of the Communists.

Malaya represents one of the last remaining vestiges of British colonialism in the Asiatic world. The way is open to the British to use their control as a force for advancement and enlightenment rather than exploitation and oppression. The masters are seeking their answer to the "brute question" by making some beginnings that might have been made long ago. They have seen that the peoples of Malaya must have some common grounds for citizenship and unity. And they have recognized that the direction must be toward responsible self-government.
The Malayan Heritage

Background of modern Malayan society.-- The story of the early civilization of Malaya is to be found in the reconstructed relics which have been excavated by anthropologists all the way from Mongolia to Java. The earth has yielded a fascinating record of prehistoric man in the form of skulls, chipped, stone-age implements and the bones of animals. The river valleys, the limestone waves and the terraced rice lands have been a fertile source of information. Comparison with similar finds in other parts of the Asiatic world links the Malay to the aboriginies of Australia and Melanesia, to the Veddooid (Ceylon and South India) group and to the Mongoloid-Indonesians.

It is thought that from time to time, migratory waves of these various peoples passed through the peninsula. They came southward from central Asia. They moved across the straits from what is Indonesia today. They came from far and near and left the strains of their race and culture.

Modern Malayan society bears the heritage of these migrants. Except for the Westernized, more progressive areas of the country, this heritage shows up in the religions, the means of subsistence, the social organizations and the customs which amount to tribal law. Intermarriage with later immigrants who descended upon the land such as the Arabs, the Chinese, the Indians and the Thais has produced a cultural mixture and a complex racial pattern in many parts of the country. But certain tribes and groups have maintained distinctive characteristics which set them apart from other people.

One of these is the Negritos who, as in many another Southeast Asian region, live in the more remote and inaccessible sections of the country. These are the oldest of the present Malay races. They still live in a very
primitive way, existing on roots, the fruits of the jungle and the results of fishing and hunting.

Another group is that of the Senoi tribesmen who are descendants of one of the earliest peoples to inhabit the peninsula. They are related to the Dayaks of Borneo and the Bataks of Sumatra. The Senoi, or Sakai as they are sometimes called, are one step farther up the scale of civilization from the Negritos. They do till the soil of the hillside slopes on which they live in central Malaya. But their existence has to be eked out by hunting and fishing. There is a communal organization to their society which is somewhat more advanced than that of the Negrito.

The Senoi are the people of the famous houses built on piles and the more famous blowgun. The men of the tribe are artists when it comes to making and using the blowguns. Reeds may be used, but more often bamboo tubes are bored out and a fibre is fitted inside. A mouthpiece is fashioned and set in and when the darts are made and inserted, a deadly weapon comes into being. The darts are made from a very thin piece of the leaf rib of a palm. The pointed end is covered with poison and the shaft notched so that it will break off in the animal leaving the lethal end imbedded. The tribesmen have perfected an amazing accuracy of aim in the use of this weapon.

Although the Senoi is not the most advanced group in Malaya, there are members who have come in contact with more civilized segments of Malay society. These have allowed their children to attend school and have themselves accepted the Moslem faith.

Another distinguishable group is that called the Proto-Malay which is a combination of Mongol and Indonesian strains. These people still live in
primitive settlements in the forest regions of Pahang and Johore. One characteristic element of their culture is the detailed ritual which surrounds the care of the dead,-- one such detail being the building of soul-ladders at the site of the grave so that the spirit may ascend whenever it wishes.

The coastal Malays of today represent the more civilized, progressive element of the descendants of the early inhabitants. The coastal regions have been more accessible to outside influences and more vulnerable to aggressive assaults from other regions. These people represent a greater mixture of racial strains than do the other groups. When Europeans first penetrated to this part of the world, they found the coastal Malay tribes supporting themselves by means of primitive rice culture and piracy. It was a brave trader who dared to enter the waters around the Strait of Malacca for plunder and brigandage was the order of the day.

Hindu traders had been among the first to venture into this area and many years afterward, Moslems brought to Malacca both their worldly and spiritual goods. The springboard for the propagation of Islam was established in Malacca in 1450.

**European penetration**-- When the Spanish and the Portuguese ventured into this part of the Pacific they were a long way from home. The need was great to find harbors where they might replenish their supplies and obtain water. The Mohammedan settlement on Malacca was one of their first ports of entry. Supplies were not the only attraction for the conquistador, de Albuquerque. Fresh from wars with the Moors who represented the infidel,
the adventurers carried their holy war into that Moslem settlement on
the tip of the peninsula. Control passed to their hands in 1511 and in
1545 St. Francis Xavier founded the mission settlement from which Christianity
was supposed to spread out over that part of Asia.

The decline of Portugal as a sea power and as a commercial force left
the way open for the Dutch into whose hands Malacca fell in 1641. Political
developments in Europe threw the port into the laps of the British in 1795.
At the same time Java came under British domination. Power politics and a
realignment of spheres of influence put the Dutch back in both Malacca and
Java by 1817. The port changed hands again when after the opening of Singa-
pore as a free port, trade began to bypass the Dutch settlement. Holland
negotiated a deal with Britain which exchanged the British-held port of
Bencoolen on Sumatra for the Dutch-held Malacca. Throughout these years
from the time of the Portuguese on, the Malays of the coastal Malaccan area
were subjected to constant rivalry and warfare on the part of European in-
terests. The native rajas vied for the favors and protection of the foreign-
ers at the same time that they attempted to spread their own power within the
country. For the ordinary peasant, life under these circumstances was a pre-
carious existence at best.

Development of British Control

Raffles and Singapore.--- Singapore, the "cross-roads" of empire and of
the East, where the history of British Malaya really begins, represents the
visionary foresight of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. Today, it is a con-
glomeration of warehouses and docks, of cargoes of rubber and tin, the odors
of spices and timber, palm oil and copra. It is Chinese, Indian, Malayan
and European all rolled into one. It is Oriental behind an Occidental facade. It is cricket and tennis and Oxford accent mingling with rickshaws, pedicabs, sampans and the polyglot of Eastern languages. It echoes to the talk of the price of rubber and the stacking of silvery ingots of tin.

When Raffles raised the Union Jack over Singapore in 1819 it was an almost uninhabited island of swamp lands and jungle. Raffles first began his dreams of empire when Malacca and Java came into the hands of the British. He envisioned Java as the focal point from which Britain was to extend her control across all of Malaysia. When Java was returned to the Dutch, his original dream crumpled, but Raffles remained determined in his desire to give Britain a base of operations through which she could begin her empire building. From the Sultan of Johore he obtained the dismal settlement of Singapore. In a short time the harbor was found to be a far deeper one than that of Malacca. Its location proved to be more strategic for trade in that part of the world.

Sir Thomas went against the advice and cautions of many of the East India Company's officials. He ignored protocol and tradition in order to further the building of Singapore. Perhaps the most important single feature of his plan was the setting up of a free port for the entry of any and all kinds of goods. The prosperity of the crown colony today is directly due to this factor. Indians and Chinese in particular were lured to the island, for their roles as middlemen fitted the role that Singapore was to play in the distribution and collection of goods from all points of the world. In 1826 Raffles died at the age of 46, but his visions of empire began to take on hard reality in the growth of Singapore.
For a number of years the British East India Company remained content to operate within the Singapore and Malacca areas. They had reached out to control the Dindings, a group of islands off the coast of Malaya, as well as some of the territory around Penang which became known as the Straits Settlements, but no attempt was made to control all of the peninsula at that time. The East India Company went out of existence in 1867 and Britain then assumed responsibility for the colony.

**Extension of British control to peninsula.**—Conditions on the peninsula proper were anything but peaceful in those intervening years. Numerous petty states vied with each other for control. Sultans and rajas had difficulty maintaining their own powers and permitted piracy and plundering to be the way of life within their lands. The British claimed that these conditions jeopardized their trade and in 1874 they moved to intervene. By force and by persuasion the local rulers one by one signed agreements with Britain which permitted Residents to be installed who would protect British interests and give advice on the government of the various areas.

The advice developed into actual rule before long. The original duties of the Residents which revolved around the collection of revenue, supervision of trade and maintenance of law and order expanded to the point where the sultans were left only the hollow formality of rule. This was not done without friction and disagreement, however.

The Straits Settlements had been previously organized out of the territory originally under the control of the India Company. In 1895 the Federated Malay States came into being. This was a union of Negri Sembilan, Perak, Pahang and Selangor. Kuala Lumpur became the capital of the Federated States.
of British control brought a protectorate administration to the states of Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan and Trengganu under a non-federated organization. The Sultan of Johore managed to maintain a greater degree of independence and his state did not join either group at that time.

Ceremonial ritual and the trappings of pomp and circumstance were eventually the only vestiges of their former rule which were left to the local sultans. Residents concerned themselves with all administration except that of religious affairs. The peasant had no voice in the proceedings.

Previous to the time of the Federation, the resources of the country had been developed mainly by the Chinese. China and India both were sources of a cheap labor supply and when Britain achieved control these sources were exploited to the fullest. The development of the land and its resources began on a large scale and the indigenous Malay as a group was by-passed by the Indians, Chinese and British.

Colonial Rule and Policies

Problems arising from economic exploitation. — Although the Federated States, the Straits Settlements and the Unfederated States presented some semblance of unity as far as a political organization was concerned, many differences existed in the degrees of economic and social development. The areas of the country which began to be opened in the interests of economic enterprise were the places where the immigrant population began to outnumber the native Malay. To these same places came the railroads, roads, telegraph systems, hospitals and schools. Exposure to Western culture brought a greater degree of social development which worked hand
in hand with economic progress.

The tremendous influx of an alien population posed problems for the more advanced economic regions that were not so keenly felt in the more isolated parts of the country. When the British arrived on the scene, the Chinese were already there in fair numbers. With the introduction of rubber plantations, the number of Chinese increased and Indian laborers were recruited, both groups by contract. Alien Malays from the East Indies came in large numbers to work on plantations or in the mines.

The ties of these aliens to their homelands opened the way to interference on the part of their home government, spread the feeling of separateness and prevented the growth of a feeling of unity. The abuses of contract labor aroused Indian leaders in India and they sought to interfere to protect their own nationals. The Chinese were swayed by the course of nationalism in China and the policies of the new Republic of 1912. The lack of a common citizenship promoted an intensity of feeling among minorities. Even in the sphere of labor and services there was no common bond. As a group, the Chinese were generally the shopkeepers, the middlemen, or at the bottom of the level, the tin miners. The Indians worked on the roads or on plantations. The Malay raised his own patch of rice or tended his small acreage of rubber trees and took no part in the wholesale exploitation of his country. The same general levels of society exist today in Malaya. The southern states have felt this problem of an alien population to a greater degree than the northern states for they have long been the areas of economic development.

In 1914 Johore went through the formalities of putting herself under British protection although Britain had wielded her influence in that area since the beginnings of British Singapore. Johore and the so-called Un-
federated States kept the pretense of separate political units even though they were actually subject to as much British pressure as were the Federated States.

The coming of age of the automobile industry brought a swiftly developing prosperity to Malaya. World trade began to boom in the port areas of Singapore and its environs. The United States' need for rubber and tin in this new age linked the economy of Malaya to that of the United States. In spite of the difficulties posed by the alien populations, British rule in those years brought prosperity and law and order to the country.

An examination of the British record shows that more was done in Malaya than in many another colonial area in the work of combating diseases, offering medical services, setting up an educational system and in bringing about internal peace. Good as that record was, it fell far short of approaching a complete job and their real failure lay in the fact that these good beginnings were not used to weld the nation into a real union.

World-wide depression in the 'Thirties and particularly the collapse of the American economy deflated the swelling balloon of prosperity and brought a series of economic crises to Malaya. As in many another country, while prosperity lasted and the living was good, the discontent of various groups and their hostility to other groups lay submerged. When the bottom dropped out of the United States' market for rubber and its effects were felt in Malaya, the deep-seated racial animosities among the masses emerged to add to the economic troubles. Malayan nationalists became openly critical of the British and their policy of having all life revolve around the exports of tin and rubber. Up to this point, Malaya had differed from other colonial areas in that she did not bear the great hatred for her colonial
masters that was so powerful a force in other Asian countries.

Nationalist sentiment. — Very little in the way of an organized nationalist movement existed in Malaya before the beginnings of the Second World War. Educated Malayans were prompted to make definite approaches to a nationalist movement at the time the depression hit full force. But they worked against tremendous odds. The country represented a mosaic whose widely scattered pieces had never been fitted together. Racial, religious and economic differences erected barriers to cooperation which were almost insurmountable. What slight cooperation was achieved among groups risked the danger of being shattered by the variety of demands that ranged all the way from complete independence down to a simple desire for larger representation in the legislative council.

Close on the heels of the economic crises came the shadow of events in the Pacific which followed Japan's beginning bids for power and domination. The defenses of Singapore were strengthened by the British but they proved to be inadequate. The British navy failed to protect the peninsula through its Singapore base. The country fell to the Japanese invader and it suffered a similar fate of other such countries in World War II.

The almost total lack of unity within the country meant very little organized resistance to the conqueror. Some few collaborated with the enemy. Some few remained loyal to the British. But in general the ordinary Malay remained neutral and was dealt blows from all sides. The Chinese element had more feeling in the struggle for they had already been conditioned to the need for resistance through the ties to their own embattled mother country.

Conditions of both the war and the postwar eras enabled colonial areas to wring more than one concession from Britain. In some cases it became
apparent that the mother country wished to be one step ahead of the colonial peoples in anticipating some of the demands, thereby hoping to avoid greater losses. While the war was in progress, Britain suggested the formation of a Malayan Union with a common Malayan citizenship. The proposal was rejected. The Malays as a group realized that they had become a minority in their own country. Common citizenship with equal rights and powers would mean virtually handing over the country to the Chinese. Nationalist groups generally representing the Malay element in the country worked against it. They preferred then, as they do now, to have the British remain. They felt that continued British rule would protect their interests as a group from the advances of the Chinese majority. Other groups sponsored a plan which would simply involve proposals for a more democratic government and the Malayan Communist Party wanted independence. So for the time being the British-proposed plan of union was shelved.

Problems of postwar era.—Prosperity found its way to the country again in the immediate postwar years. The rubber and tin market boomed with the demands arising from the long war-time shortages and the needs for reconstruction throughout the world. But the era of high prices was short-lived. The war had paved the way to large-scale production of synthetic rubber in many parts of the world. The end of the war meant the opening of other sources of supply and Malaya had to compete with these areas. Prices dropped and economic ills again led the way to discontent.

To stem the tide of unrest, new proposals were made for a completely Federated Malaya. The people of the peninsula were more amenable this time and agreed to the plan and to remain as a part of the British empire. Singapore was set up as a separate entity. By so doing, the Chinese majority with
in the country was cut, for Singapore is overwhelmingly Chinese in population. Reducing this majority smoothed the way for the acceptance of a common citizenship plan. In July 1947 constitutional proposals were made to provide for greater participation in the governmental process by the peoples. This was to be a first step in a gradual approach to self-rule. The British, however, are still the controlling force in the government.

The Communist Party used the conditions of unrest in late 1947 and early 1948 as a signal for overt action. Until World War II, the Malayan Communist Party had remained in the background. During the war it served as a resistance group and as such was able to attract many Chinese whose hatred of the Japanese was intensified by the conditions within Nationalist China. As a resistance group they were armed by the British and this strength enabled them to begin their reign of terrorism in 1947.

In January of 1948 when nine sultans agreed to the formation of a Federation of Malaya, the Communists took the opportunity to stir up anti-British feeling. Organized guerrilla groups which were Communist led and supported began large-scale pillaging of the countryside. The British planters, the non-Communist Chinese and the Malays were the targets of murder, arson and ambush. By June of 1948 a state of emergency existed which is still labelled today by the British as the "Emergency". In July of that same year, the Communist Party was outlawed and concerted efforts were made to rid the countryside of this menace. Britain's High-Commissioner, General Sir Gerald Templer is at present directing the police force in its struggle to cope with the "Emergency". Present reports from Malaya indicate that the amount of banditry is on the decrease.

In September 1952 one of the biggest steps toward unity was taken. A
new citizenship law went into effect whereby approximately 72 percent of the population of the new Federation became citizens at that time. For those born in certain areas or whose parents had been born in certain areas, citizenship became automatic. For others, the way was left open to apply for citizenship through meeting certain qualifications. Henceforth, these peoples are citizens of a nation and not just of a single state. A national consciousness is thus promoted which may help to overcome other barriers to unity.

Malaya is planning for the future with the help of the British. Law and order are slowly coming into being. The British are planning for a new army set-up which will be more powerful than the police force of the present and more capable of maintaining law and order. Elections on a small scale and for minor offices have been held. A wider basis for elections and representation is being planned. To give a sure foundation to the filling of government posts with trained personnel, the British are considering a more extensive civil service system. In spite of the precarious conditions under which production takes place, rubber, tin and copra are being channelled out to markets again and the economic picture looks brighter. The government has plans to encourage a more diversified economy to cushion the periodic drops in prices and markets.

The fact that the British are now fully aware of the vital economic, political and social needs of Malaya and are taking corrective measures to solve the problems is a strong basis for a greater cooperation among the peoples. And the fact that most of the people realize that they would be much worse off with the British out of the country sets the stage for cooperation with the colonial officials in their efforts. The miracle of
unity will not come overnight. It will undoubtedly suffer a number of set-backs before it is achieved. But the building has begun.

The Wealth of Malaya

The land.— Malaya is a lush, green country with dramatic and beautiful contrasts in its land. Rugged mountains, thickly covered with jungle growth range from north to south. Palm-lined beaches lie at the edges of quiet coves in the peaceful, backwater sections of the peninsula. A tropical rain forest springs into being along the coasts where man has not cleared the land. Malaya is a country of thatch-roofed villages, houses on stilts, rice fields, patches of wild rubber trees and coconut groves. Deposits of tin thread through the land exposing themselves in the mountains, the swamps and the valleys. Huge rubber estates mingle with tiny Chinese and Malay villages. And in the big cities East and West meet and merge with the tide of commerce and industry.

Malaya has been considered to be one of the richest countries in the world. This wealth has been computed not alone in actual production but also in her potential for production. Her wealth takes on greater magnitude with the realization that four-fifths of the country is covered with dense jungle growth. The phenomenal growth of the rubber industry and the development of the tin resources have been the major sources of Malaya's prosperity.

Tin and rubber.— The mining of tin in Malaya goes back many centuries. The Chinese had worked a number of mines long before the first Europeans arrived on the scene. They had tapped only the richest deposits which were close to the surface and when it became difficult to extract the ore, the
mine was abandoned and another sought. Abandoned mines dot the countryside today; some the sites of ancient workings, some more recently abandoned and since flooded. The advance of British control over the country brought British investors with machinery and gradually the Chinese tin monopoly was replaced by a British monopoly.

The production of rubber in Malaya belongs to her more recent history in comparison with the tin industry. Sources of wild rubber were tapped for many years before cultivated rubber on big plantations began to produce on a large scale. The thriving automobile industry in America and its growing demands for rubber, plus the availability of European capital caused planters to turn from the traditional crops of coffee and tea to this new crop which had proved to be a bonanza. Indian labor was found to be adaptable to plantation production and these immigrants were recruited in large numbers.

The volume and prices of the rubber and tin export trade fluctuated during the years with the economic conditions of the countries who were the biggest buyers. Especially was Malaya's economy sensitive to the purchasing power of her best customer, the United States. So great had Malaya's trade with America become, that just before World War II nearly two-thirds of all her rubber and tin exports were funneled out to the United States. 1

Agricultural needs.-- So much of the energies of the country went into the business of producing tin and rubber for the rest of the world that Malaya became more and more dependent on other nations for her sources of foodstuffs. In general, it was the Malay who cultivated the rice lands.

His holdings were small and he was satisfied if his crop yield was sufficient to provide for his own wants. What surplus he did have did not begin to meet the needs of the non-rice producing population. The government became aware of the need to make land available to the Chinese for the cultivation of rice. In 1939 British efforts to realize this goal in the face of the war emergency were denounced by the Malays who feared that it would be one more step toward control by an alien people. In spite of the protest a number of individual states offered land to Chinese farmers for the growing of rice. But this added source does not meet the gap between production and consumption.

Malaya produces other crops but the amounts are negligible in comparison to the needs of the country. Tobacco, coffee and tea are grown but almost entirely on small holdings. The soil is not as fertile as it is in some other areas of the Southeast of Asia. It needs constant care in order to produce continuously. The fact that it has not been given this care means smaller crop yields.

Although rice is the staple crop for the ordinary farmer, vegetables and fruits are also found in a small-holder's garden. In addition, the average Malay farmer tends a few rubber trees of his own. Fish supplement the rice diet and the catch in normal times is sufficient to put some on the market for export.

**Industrial aspects.**— Several attempts have been made to balance the Malayan economy by introducing some amount of industrialization. The pattern of the industrialization has followed that of other Southeast Asian nations which are agricultural in nature. Processing industries which prepared some of the products of the land were developed and these items have remained the major manufactures. Malaya possesses the potential for greater industrial-
Water power exists which could be turned into hydroelectric power. Raw materials for the finished products are available either in their own country or nearby. A system of communication and transportation sufficient to meet the needs of light industries exists and could be expanded to meet increasing needs. Internal stability would attract investment capital. What remains as a prime requisite for greater industrialization is a dependable, skilled labor supply. In actual numbers, the population is sufficient to meet the demands of both agriculture and industry. But the stumbling block up to recent times has been the fact that economic enterprises have had to depend on an imported labor supply, the quality and quantity of which varied with existing conditions in Malaya and in the homeland of the immigrants. The indigenous Malays have been very unwilling as a group to go beyond their own little patch of farm land.

The system of education has not promoted any large-scale training for technical and skilled work. The separateness of feeling among the various groups and the general lack of education has meant the absence of a common attitude toward the need for cooperation in order to ensure the well-being of all. Without education which will promote unity and without that unity there can be no understanding of the meaning of a balanced economy or the need to go beyond the boundaries of one's own paddy fields. It remains, then, the psychological more than the physical factors which must be overcome in order to produce a sound economy.

Malaya's Separate Ways

Diverse values.— The cultural aspects of the Malayan society are as divergent as the groups who inhabit the country. There is no such thing
as a common language, a common patriotism, a common religion or a common philosophy toward life in general or even toward its separate values. The recently enacted common citizenship law which includes a fair portion of the people is a good beginning. But formally granting citizenship does not mean that the knowledge to use the rights of citizenship wisely can be automatically conferred. Further than that, it is still somewhat difficult for certain groups of Indians and Chinese to qualify for that citizenship.

Languages.— The differences in language mediums makes communication between peoples almost impossible. It breeds a lack of understanding and appreciation for the customs and values of each group. Since the arrival of the British, English has been the language of the very small native upper class. Lack of educational offerings has kept it from wider usage. The Chinese and Indian communities cling to their own individual languages. But within these two groups there are linguistic differences. The speech of the Indian or the Chinese varies with the section of his homeland from which he came and with the strata in society to which he belonged. Friction exists at times between Indian and Indian and between Chinese and Chinese as well as among the total groups. The Malay speech varies from the pure, rarely heard Malay, to the pasar Malay which is echoed in the market areas throughout much of Malaysia.

Religions.— Eastern religions in general reach out to touch every small facet of life. They are concerned with the minute details of a man's daily existence from dawn to dark. Established rituals thousands of years old are bred into an Easterner by his religious background. In a nation such as Indonesia where the overwhelming majority of people are followers
of Islam, the common rituals and customs become a force for unity. In Malaya there is no such common bond. Hinduism as practiced by the Indian with its emphasis on caste and Buddhism as practiced by the Chinese with its emphasis on equality clash from the beginning in their basic philosophies. The Buddhists also disagree among themselves on which is the right path to Nirvana and some are followers of the Hinayana and some of the Mahayana cult. Some of the Chinese communities within Malaya are Taoist followers. The Malays are generally believers in Allah, the one god of Islam. The English in the country represent the Christian element. The cult of animism has a hold on the more isolated Malays and their belief in soul-substance gives the property of a soul to every existing thing both animate and inanimate.

National consciousness.— A common patriotism is difficult to achieve for there is so little of tradition or anything in the sense of a national glory which can be venerated in common. There is a dearth of heroes for the country to whose memory homage may be paid in anything that might draw the divergent groups into a united fervor for ideals. The holidays are bound up in religious tradition. Feast days and fast days, festivals, sacred months and days and special rituals vary as widely as do the paths of the Buddhists, the Taoists, the Hindus and the Muslims. In addition to this lack of a common tradition and perhaps most difficult of all to overcome, is the tie of the alien population to its original homeland. In spite of the citizenship which has recently been conferred to large numbers of what was termed an alien group, many still consider themselves transients in Malaya. The country is looked upon as a means of economic betterment to the point where the alien may accumulate enough to go back to his ancestral
village in either China or India, there to spend out his days in comfort with the knowledge that he will be buried in the sacred tombs of his ancestors or in the sacred river of his land.

**Education.**—The colonial policy toward education for the people of Malaya until recent times was not based on a common approach. Compulsory education was not a common practice. Primary education that was free was offered to the Malay minority. Grants were made to some schools operated by the Indians and the Chinese for their own people and mission schools received some support. Estate schools were set up for the children of Indian laborers but their influence was limited due to the fact that the plantation worker viewed his children as a source of income to be earned by working on the estate. He begrudged the loss of wages for the time spent in school. A few schools held offerings beyond the primary level but these seldom had Malay, Chinese or Indian students. They were more apt to open their doors to the children of officials within the country.

A sound education is basic to the broadening of horizons for all groups in Malaya. It would provide a common ground for understanding of the need for cooperation. In Malaya so little has been done that they must start practically at the beginning. It will be a long time before a maturity can develop which will enable the various groups to surmount the walls erected by their present differences.

**Crafts.**—Even in the field of arts and crafts, which in some Asiatic countries is bound up with long-standing cultural traditions, Malaya can find no common appeal. The overemphasis on the production of rubber and tin has consumed the time and energies of the people. The lack of both encouragement and markets for local crafts has all but erased what cottage
industries there were. The dependence on other nations for machine-made goods has brought to Malaya a flood of cheap substitutes which dampens the initiative and creative skills of those who might hope to compete with artistic, hand-made products. Values other than economic are to be had from the pursuit of an art or craft. The feeling of appreciation for a creative labor which produces a thing of beauty and of utility has been destroyed by the advent of economic exploitation. It has provided nothing to take its place.

The history of other countries has proved that a real nation can be constructed from a multitude of building materials. Common values can emerge to enable a people to draw together the diverse materials, both tangible and intangible, out of which a united nation is made. The beauty, richness and fullness of life within such a nation is enhanced by the varying backgrounds and cultural patterns of the separate groups. The potentialities for such a building lie within Malaya. The course has been set by the British. Time, patience and hard work can be the architects of unity.

New Approaches to Government

In the direction of self-rule. — The revolutionary movement in Southeast Asia wrought changes in many countries in the old, imperialistic orders which had held sway for centuries. Malaya differed in this respect for she did not expel her colonial masters. She did press for changes, however, and in most respects the British have acted wisely on these expressed desires. The formal order of colonialism remains. Ranks familiar to a by-gone era in most countries are still to be found in Malaya. A British High-Commissioner is responsible to the home government for the
conduct of affairs within the country. In the High-Commissioner's hands still lays the power of veto over legislation. But the new organization of government provides for an elected assembly which, with sufficient experience, could become a valuable asset in the approach to self-rule. In time more and more government posts will be open to Malayan citizens when the expanded civil service begins to produce people capable of filling the positions. In keeping with the fact that Singapore occupies a unique position through its situation as a great naval base and as a far more advanced area, the decision to govern it as a separate entity appears to be a wise one.

All these changes are in the right direction.

Standards of living.— Other aspects of life in Malaya lend hope to the future. In the present, they provide material on which to build. By Eastern standards, the health of the people and the average level of living is good. The renewed efforts toward broader educational objectives are in line with the present needs of the people. The oppression which is apparent in other Southeast Asian nations as a result of overpopulation and excessive taxation is almost totally absent in Malaya. The cities and urban areas are crowded but there is much land still to be cleared and there is not the hue and cry for land reforms which exists in other parts of the Pacific world. The big businesses in Malaya pay the majority of the taxes. The galling yokes imposed by such things as salt taxes and taxes on the everyday articles of consumption in the life of a peasant are not in evidence in the country. Income taxes, gasoline taxes and taxes on commodities like tobacco provide a source of revenue which does not hit the average citizen in any oppressive way.

Resettlement project.— The British are making a number of approaches to the problem of a real communal spirit which can lead to a national spirit.
One of these is the resettlement project which is in the process of completion at present. Beginning shortly before World War II, extending through the period of the war and afterward, great numbers of people moved onto public lands which lay close to the jungles. They did this without official permission and became squatters in a sense. These lands lie in the more isolated regions of the country where the terrorists who had jungle headquarters could reach out and strike with rapidity and success. The government set in motion a project to resettle these people in groups around which a community could be built. As a result, trim, new villages and towns have come into existence. The so-called squatters have helped to move their own homes into the resettlement areas and have aided in the construction of the public buildings which signify a community anywhere. Schools, hospitals, markets, shops, streets and playgrounds have been erected through communal efforts. Working and living together, sharing common problems and common pleasures have made a strong beginning on a grass-roots level for the much-desired unity as a whole people.

Cooperation is the keynote to what lies ahead for Malaya. The Communist threat within the country and without its borders could not be met with any degree of success in Malaya's present immature stage without the help of the British. She is not yet ready to handle on her own the fabulous riches in tin and rubber. Britain's stake in Malaya is based on her own economic needs and on the larger need as a member of the free community of nations. Strong bastions of anti-Communist sentiment in Asia are needed and Malaya might become such a source of strength. The Communists offer a cause to follow which appeals to those who lack education and economic well-being, both of which are usually resisting forces to the Communist line. The British must help to provide a real cause for which to work and fight, a cause that will lead to the dignity of unity and self-rule.
Suggestions for Further Study

1. In 1877 a rubber seedling was sent out from the botanical gardens at Kew in London to the Botanic Gardens at Singapore. This was the beginning of Malaya's enormous rubber industry. Find all the information you can on the planting and care of rubber trees. What are the various processes through which raw rubber must go before it becomes a finished product? Compare the rubber industry of Malaya with that of Brazil in varieties of plants, care, production and markets.

2. Are there other "free-port" areas in the world which might compare to Singapore? Are there some which you think should become free ports? Why?

3. Has the United States encountered similar problems to those of Malaya caused by a so-called alien population? What have been some of the solutions to these problems in other countries of the world?

4. The Chinese population in Malaya today presents the biggest stumbling block in coping with the emergency. Relate the recent history of China to this problem.

5. The American scene has witnessed a number of "resettlement" projects in its history. Try to find out what these were, and why they were considered necessary.

6. Tin smelters set up in Texas during the last war have run competition for the smelters of Malaya. Find out how this process works and why the United States can compete on a profit basis with the sources of tin at such a distance.

7. Be able to explain the following: pedicab, sampan, ingot, protocol, Resident, High-Commissioner, indigenous.

8. Hinduism is an important force in Malaya due to the large Indian population. Find information on this religion and compare its beliefs and practices to those of Buddhism and Islam.

9. America's history is proof that a nation can be created from diverse races, creeds and cultures. Certain common values have emerged to hold it together as a united nation. What principles developed through American history might be applied to nation-building in Malaya? What factors are present in the Malayan scene which were not in the American scene? What makes these factors so difficult to overcome?

10. Some government leaders in Southeast Asia support the idea of a Pan-Malayan Union which would unite the Malay peoples of all Malaysia in an organization they believe would give strength to the individual nations. Find out what countries are primarily Malay people. What advantages and disadvantages can you find for such a union?
Suggested Readings

1. An Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore (C. B. Buckley, Singapore, 1902) provides a wealth of fascinating reading on this world-renowned port.

2. Lady Raffles' Memoir of the Life of Sir Thomas Raffles (London, 1835) is well worth thumbing through for a contemporary account of the empire builder. Emily Hahn's Raffles is a less conservative, more colorful figure.

3. "Malay Jungle War" is described in the January 12, 1942 issue of Life Magazine.

4. For those interested in tribal customs and culture, Cole's The Peoples of Malaysia will provide absorbing reading.

5. For those who wish more information on the problem posed by the Chinese population, Victor Purcell's The Chinese in Malaya (Cambridge University Press, 1949) is a good starting point.

6. Sir Frank Swettenham was one of the outstanding British figures in Malaya. A revised edition of his British Malaya (G. Allen and Unwin, London, 1948) presents the country as he saw it from the standpoint of a colonial official.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


Excellent for a knowledge of the indigenous peoples of Malaya. Anthropological approach but written in very readable style.


Treats of Malaysia as entire area of peninsula, island settlements and area of Indies. Thorough and scholarly but not for light reading.


Written in breezy style with much of the local color of the times. Biography likens Raffles' ability as an empire builder to that of Clive and Hastings.


(Previous annotation in Chapter II).


(Previous annotation in Chapter II).


(Previous annotation in Chapter IV).


A detailed, scholarly work. Examines forms of government, colonial practices and law.


Mainly a study of why Malaya found herself in predicament of being quickly overrun and unprepared at time of World War II. Exhaustive treatment of rubber and tin industries and their domination of all life.

Interesting, first-hand account of life in contact with indigenous Malay tribes. Some parts of Malaya remain so unchanged that what was true at time of publication is so today in certain areas of country.


Points up the rich inheritance of the Malays as a people through discussion of religion, social systems, political and economic life.


(Previous annotation in Chapter IV).
"To the tintinnabulation that so musically Wells. . . .
From the jingling and the tinkling of the bells."\(\dagger\)

Thailand, Land of the Free, where tiny silver bells tinkle endlessly and softly, swinging from the temple eaves. Thailand, where people still laugh, still think gentle thoughts and still take time out for fun.

To many Westerners, Bangkok is Thailand with its tracery of temple spires against a backdrop of skyline and exotic color; its picturesque, if unsanitary, klongs (canals) teeming with activity; its placidity which is almost without comparison in the Asia of today. To many Westerners, Bangkok life seems to be tinged with a little of the unbelievable. Elevators remain out of order for years at a time. Submarines that do not submerge are moored in the canals. Traffic is a snarl of London-type double-decker buses, samlors, oxcarts and unhurried pedestrians. To add to the fairyland aspect, electric power fails innumerable times during a day, telephone and mail service are treated lightly and bloodless revolutions occur quite frequently with army or navy backing. Through it all, tempers remain unruffled and the mood tolerant.

But Bangkok is not all Thailand, fabulous and entrancing as it is. Outside the city, out into the country lies the real Thailand, the quiet little villages and hamlets where life is pursued in the paddy fields and

\(\dagger\) Edgar Allen Poe, The Bells.
along the eight-fold path to Nirvana.

It is not that there is no misery, no hunger, no trouble in Thailand. But by comparison with other Asian nations, Thailand is an oasis of peace and happiness.
Thailand's History

Kingdom of Siam.— The periodic migrations which marked the early history of many other Asiatic countries left their marks on Thailand as well. Hindu and Buddhist civilizations which had originated in India and Burma were transplanted to the river valleys. The Mon-Khmer peoples were among the migrants who set up Buddhist kingdoms which led to a Cambodian empire that controlled a part of the present territory of Thailand.

The original Thais emigrated from the part of China which is today Szechwan Province. It is believed that they were pushed farther southward by Mongol hordes who invaded their land. By the time of the 14th century, a strong Thai kingdom had been established in the area around the Menam River. It was the people of this kingdom who called the country Siam.

Portuguese ships dropped anchors at coastal towns in the early 1500’s seeking trade with the inhabitants. The Dutch, the English and the French followed suit in later years as they sought for Eastern wares. But in the late 1600’s the trading posts of the Europeans went out of existence as Siam developed a policy of isolationism.

Beginning of Chakri dynasty.— The Burmese overran the country in 1767 leaving a trail of destruction which weakened the Thai kingdom but did not destroy it. For a number of years there was constant warfare with the Burman invaders. Disunity and unrest made it almost impossible to keep the invaders out until in 1782 General Chakri mustered sufficient military strength to get the situation under control and set up a government with the capital at Bangkok. The new capital and the revived kingdom flourished mainly through the fact that the Menam delta proved to be exceptionally
fertile. Bangkok began to grow and prosper due to its advantageous location as a port for this area.

In comparison with other Southeast Asian nations, Thailand's story from that time until the middle of the 19th century was relatively uneventful. Under the Chakri dynasty she maintained her independence while all around her European powers were gaining control of other countries. This was not due to Thailand's own ability to ward off the imperialistic designs of other nations. It was rather that the conflicting interests of rival colonial powers made the existence of an independent Thailand as a buffer state, an absolute necessity. Particularly did it serve the interests of the French and British whose control had spread to either side of Thailand.

**Western influence.**—A new era began for the nation when King Mongkut (Rama IV) came to the throne in 1851. As a young prince, Mongkut had spent some time in studies under the tutelage of American missionaries. He acquired a taste for many Western ways and customs. During his reign the policy of isolationism which had characterized the past was set aside. Mongkut actually sought foreign trade and entered into treaties which permitted foreign interests to enter the country.

Under his rule, the army and navy underwent a reorganization, certain aspects of the governmental system were modernized and some elements of Western education were encouraged. It was King Mongkut who hired Mrs. Anna Leonowens (the Anna of *Anna and the King of Siam*) to educate his son Chulalongkorn who later became one of the beloved kings of Thailand.

Chulalongkorn (Rama V) ascended the throne in 1873. The fruits of his Westernized education became apparent in his policies. He did not throw
overboard the complete power of the monarchy, neither did the country become a democracy as Westerners know the term. But he did institute progressive reforms which followed the teachings of the Western culture which he had absorbed. The old feudal ways of the court were set aside. Slavery was abolished. Public services became more efficient and the period of railroad building began. The system of taxation was studied and reorganized and the cultural traditions of the Thais were upheld.

King Vajiravudh's rule was the direct opposite of Chulalongkorn's. Vajiravudh was a pleasure-loving monarch and devoted his talents to literature and the theatre. World War I broke out during his reign and Thailand joined on the side of the Allies. Her participation brought her to the Paris Conference and into membership in the League of Nations. In line with the Wilson appeal for small nations and their territorial rights, Thailand, by treaty, ended the extraterritoriality rights of Austria, Hungary and Germany within her boundaries.

In the meantime, foreign investment capital began to develop the economy of the nation. Neighboring and world markets were found for the country's tin, rubber, teak and rice. The era just before the world depression was a prosperous one for Thailand.

Revolution and a constitutional monarchy. -- King Prajadhipok, successor to Vajiravudh, had ruled but a few years before the country was shaken by the depression. Prajadhipok enforced measures to keep the economy from completely reeling and took back again into court circles, many practices of government. Some of the measures displeased various groups within the country, particularly those educated groups outside the court's retinue. June 24, 1932 brought a bloodless revolution which ended the absolute monarchy and put in its stead
a constitutional monarchy. The king accepted this limitation on his power and remained the monarch in name at least until 1935 when he abdicated in favor of his young nephew, Ananda, who became Rama VIII.

In no sense of the word could the revolution of 1932 be considered a popular movement supported by the masses. Neither was it anti-monarchical. Rather it was a coup staged by a small group of Westernized leaders with army support. The power wrested from the king and court was not transferred to the people but to the minority of intellectuals who inspired the revolution and the military leaders who backed it.

Two outstanding figures who helped to engineer the coup were Pridi Phanomyong and Pibun Songkram. As was the case with so many other leaders of revolts in Asia, Pridi was exposed to a Western-type education. He went to France to study on a scholarship and there he came in contact with other visionary young liberals studying abroad who wanted to remake the old orders in their respective countries. His years of study over, Pridi returned to Bangkok to become a professor of law. He found other educated people with the common interest of bringing democracy to Thailand. Vestiges of the old, feudal court system still placed emphasis on royalty and its privileges in the government. For the rank and file of people, education could lead only to limited opportunities. Pridi and the group which revolved around his leadership protested against the outmoded practices of government and led their People's Party to a bloodless victory. A National Assembly was then organized and a constitution drawn up.

The democratic ideals of the Pridi group suffered, however, at the hands of one who had also participated in the revolt. Pibun Songkram who
represented the military element in the revolution sought for the backing of the rest of the military. He won their favor and as a result of the political power they wielded and of the developing rift between the civilian group and the military group, he became Prime Minister in 1938. As Prime Minister, he appointed his rival, Pridi, as regent to the young king. This action was designed to remove Pridi from any possible position of influence.

World War II.—In 1939 Pibun announced the change of the name of the country from Siam to Thailand. Little by little he asserted his power and growing authority until by the time World War II began he was virtually dictator of the country. A number of his actions had displeased Western powers, particularly the demands for boundary adjustments on the Burma and Indochina frontiers. The old, friendly relations became strained as Pibun set his foreign policy course more and more in the direction of cooperation with Japan. In 1941 Thailand declared war on Britain and the United States and opened her country to Japanese occupation.

Believing that the declaration of war was not the will of the people of Thailand, the United States did not reciprocate. Instead, efforts were made to contact the Free Thai organization which came into being shortly after Japan moved into the country. Seni Pramoj, the Thai minister in Washington, headed up the Free Thai movement in the United States and established connections with the resistance group in Thailand.

Pridi, as regent for the king, was in a position to work fairly unobtrusively with those who opposed the totalitarian regime sponsored by Pibun and the Japanese. The educated classes and many government leaders were active in the underground movement. United States OSS agents moved into the country with the aid of Pridi's organization. Pridi was known
as "Ruth" to the men of Major-General William J. Donovan's OSS and as such gained widespread fame and respect.

Under the very noses of the Japanese, radio stations were set up which transmitted weather information to the bases of air operations which attacked Japanese positions in Burma and Malaya. Other kinds of information including Japanese strength, troop numbers and positions was provided by the underground to outside agents of the Allies.

Although Thailand did not suffer the ravages of actual warfare which other Eastern nations did, yet the Japanese occupation of the country drained the resources to such an extent that the serious shortages of food and materials and the inability to carry on trade dealt the economy of the country a severe blow. The rubber and tin which Thailand was able to produce was funneled into the Japanese war machine. Lack of trade cut off the country's supply of machinery and raw materials.

Postwar years.— When the war ended, Pibun Songkram was arrested as a war criminal. Pridi emerged as the hero of the hour. Under the Regent's direction, Thailand renounced its declaration of war against the United States and Britain and set about making amends for the actions of the Pibun government. Thailand sought membership in the United Nations and by 1947 with the help of the United States, she achieved this goal. The friendly policy of the United States toward the country helped to get her back into the good graces of other Western powers as well as her neighbors.

The youthful King Ananda who had been studying in Switzerland during the war, came home to open the first session of the new Parliament in June 1946. His mysterious death a few days later caused turmoil in the country. Palace officials refused to admit whether it was a suicide, murder or death from natural
causes. A bullet wound in the head ruled out the natural cause theory and rumors were rampant on the subject of Ananda's death. The opposition to the Pridi elements which had been in control since the end of the war, attempted to direct suspicion toward Pridi and his followers.

In the meantime, Pibun along with others who were charged with war crimes, was released by the Supreme Court which declared that the charges were unconstitutional. In 1947 Pibun, backed by the army, succeeded in forcing out the government and in setting up a new State Supreme Council. King Phumiphon Adulet who had succeeded to the throne on the death of his brother Ananda, was a student in Switzerland. He made no move to return to his country with this new course of events.

Pibun's coup was a bloodless one and diplomatic relations with the United States remained on the same footing as before. One of the major reasons for continued support of Thailand by the United States was the anti-Communist stand of the Pibun government. Also, Thailand's ability to produce a rice surplus for export to her neighbors meant a greater chance to work for stability in those neighboring areas. In any country where rice is the staple, governments can rise or fall for lack or abundance of it. In the international sphere, Pibun developed better relations with both Western and Eastern powers, particularly with France on the question of Indochina.

By 1949 the country was on its fourth constitution. The trend was increasingly away from any liberalization of participation in the government by the masses. The ghosts of royal patronage and privilege reared again as the country moved toward conservatism.

February 1949 witnessed an unsuccessful coup to overthrow the Pibun
government. It was staged by Pridi supporters. This time the navy backed the attempted revolt. The navy had always lacked the power and influence in government circles which the army enjoyed. The Pibun government proved to be too solidly entrenched to be upset by this attack upon it.

The vote of confidence given Pibun Songkram in 1949 helped to promote stability within the country but it did not mean any greater political or social freedom for the peoples. The military continues to support the Pibun government and has successfully put down a number of ousting attempts since that time on the part of the opposition.

An Agricultural Economy

The land and its resources.— A fairly fertile soil, the comparative peace within the nation and a gentle Buddhist philosophy combine to make Thailand a land of happy peasants still. Close to 90 percent of the people are farmers who produce the rice crops that provide for the needs of the country and for its chief export.

The fertility of the soil and the kinds of crops vary with the regions of the land. Geographically, there are four major divisions. Northern Thailand is a land between two rivers, the Salween and the Mekong. Mountain ranges and broad, open valleys that run north and south in this region are the sources of rivers which flow down into Central Thailand and there converge to form the Chao Phraya, one of the chief rivers of the country. Central Thailand is the most prosperous and most thickly populated region. This is really the heart of the country with its fertile soil and huge rice yields. Eastern Thailand is a land of high plateaus where the soil is poor, the population small and the standard of living low. This area does produce, though,
some quantity of silk, sticklac, rosewood and hides. The peninsular section of Thailand is the mineral area. The mountains and valleys yield a variety of minerals with tin the outstanding one. Rubies and sapphires are also found in this region. Teak forests and rubber plantations add their yields to the list of export items from this section.

Rice, the key to prosperity.—The production and export of rice is the major factor in Thailand's economy. Problems of population pressures do not plague the land. The population of the entire country has been a sparse one at best and much uncleared land remains to be settled and cultivated. Only a very small percent of her 18,000,000 people are landless. The vicious system of debt and land tenancy which survives in many another Far Eastern nation, is almost non-existent in Thailand. All these favorable conditions contribute to the large yearly rice yield. The exports of rice are the major sources of revenue with which to purchase in world markets the materials and manufactured goods which the nation needs.

Economic development and industry.—In the years preceding the Second World War, it was mainly British capital which was engaged in developing and controlling the economy of the country. These outside interests were concerned largely with the control of the teak, tin and rubber production. In the areas which they developed, they also instituted a program of road and railroad building. In recent years, United States interests have broken the British monopOly on tin and rubber and have investigated the possibilities for further economic development.

Light industries characterize the industrial development of Thailand. The predominance of agriculture as an occupation, the lack of both coal and iron in sufficient quantities and the lack of a large consumer market makes
the establishment of heavy industries an unlikely possibility. Paper factories, sugar refineries, silk mills and rice mills are the major industries of the present.

The division of labor runs along the classical line of Southeast Asia. The native peoples, in this case the Thais, are the rice farmers. The Malays are fishermen. The Indians are merchants on a small scale. The Chinese play the dominating role in the economy through their activities as large-scale retail merchants and traders. The Chinese population of the country has generally maintained a cultural separateness and a higher financial standard that has caused resentment on the part of the Thais. Recent years have brought a curtailment of Chinese immigration and government-imposed restrictions on occupations which have been designed to break the hold of the Chinese on the economy of the nation.

The immediate postwar years were a time of shortages in farm implements, machinery, clothing and similar goods which are ordinarily high on Thailand's import list. But the fact that Thailand was one of the few Asian nations not in some stage of revolt or civil war at the end of the last war enabled her to step up her rice production again. Burma and Indochina in prewar years had also produced an exportable surplus of rice. But both these nations were in turmoil at war's end and in the years that followed. Lack of competition in the markets and the needs of her neighbors gave Thailand an open field for her rice. She staged a rapid economic comeback in spite of the typical problems of the times such as a black market in rice and a general inflation throughout the country. Her rubber and tin industries got back on their feet again with the huge postwar demands for these materials. The era of high prices brought on by the Korean War and the defense needs of nations through-
out the world has brought a great measure of prosperity to Thailand.

Patterns of Living

Religion.-- Buddha is the dominant figure in the life pattern of Thailand. Buddhism is the national religion with the king the defender of the faith. The ways of the eight-fold path to Nirvana reach out to influence the educational life, the moral code and the community living in Thailand. The temples of the land, both great and small, serve a variety of purposes. Often they are schools, hospitals, monasteries and places of worship all rolled in one. They are the center of the community and life revolves around their services to the community and the rites and holidays bound up in age-old tradition.

The roots of Buddhism lie deeply imbedded in the city of Bangkok. Hundreds of temples, pointed roofs reaching skyward, are the outer manifestations of these roots. These temples, known as "wats", have been erected with the wealth from kings, princes and commoners who wished to show a tangible and oftentimes spectacular evidence of their devotion to the enlightened one. The materials of construction for temples and altars vary in their beauty and their value, but mother-of-pearl, black lacquer, silver bells, gilt-painted metal, gold, jasper and jewels are common elements of the total picture. The style of architecture varies from the traditional Buddhist expression to that of adaptations and mixtures of modern approaches through the use of marble walls and tile roofs. War Arun, or the Temple of Dawn, is one of the hundreds of Thailand's temples. It stands out against the Bangkok skyline as a well-known landmark. Wat Phra Kaew is the temple of the world-famous Emerald Buddha. This figure of the Indian Prince Siddhartha
is revered by Buddhists all over the world. Its emerald quality comes not from the use of that gem but from the fact that it was fashioned from a solid piece of green jasper. The ancient Hindu epic of the Ramayana which weaves in and out of so much of the tradition of the Far East, is depicted in mural form on the walls of the corridors of Wat Prakeo.

In January of 1953, Thailand's Ministry of Culture announced a plan for the development of a world center for Buddhism to be built at Saraburi. The close to 20,000 monasteries and 200,000 priests in the country would be united in an organization with central headquarters that would function similar to the Vatican. According to the plans which will take five years to complete, there will be constructed in this center an ecclesiastical university, a library, administrative buildings, residencies and temples. Saraburi, the site of the proposed development, is the shrine of Buddha's Footprint.

The Malay population of Thailand numbers about 700,000 and these are generally followers of Mohammedanism. The Indian communities are generally Hindu and the Chinese are Buddhists, Taoists or Confucianists. Of the Christian communities served by missionaries, the Roman Catholic faith is more widely established than any other.

**Education.**—As in many another country where Buddhism plays a dominant role in the life of the people, the education of the children takes place at the hands of the monks. The old culture and tradition are preserved through this method of education and but rarely does it include any modern, Westernized elements.

State-supported education in Thailand has been in existence for a number of years. The policy since 1921 has been that of a free and theoretically at
least, compulsory education on the elementary level. Literacy statistics prove that the compulsory angle of it has not been strictly enforced. Seventy percent of the population is still illiterate. In the field of higher education, the universities of Bangkok are the sole representatives. The capital city boasts a University of Moral and Political Sciences, Chulalongkorn University and the University of Medical Science.

Social aspects.— By Eastern standards the health of the people is fairly good. Unsanitary conditions due in large part to the practices and beliefs which are part of the traditional way of living, are found along the klongs and rivers. Diseases breed under such circumstances but since the abject poverty that exists in many other countries is not prevalent in Thailand, the people have more resistance to disease. Malaria, however, haunts the lives of the inhabitants with as many as three million cases in existence yearly.

The structure of present society in Thailand is similar to other countries in Southeast Asia. The Thais in many cases have been pushed into the background through their reluctance to become involved in or trained to handle the affairs which concern business and finance. The nucleus of a middle class exists which leans toward Western ideas. However, in recent years this class has been dominated by military officers. Too few of them are trained for the professions, for real government administration or for the type of work involved in running a big business. The Chinese and others of the foreign element have stepped into the gap to control and manage what the Thais might do for themselves. The position of the Chinese is particularly resented and in very recent years this resentment has taken the tangible form of legislation to limit their activities.

Throughout the modern history of Thailand there has been evidenced a
willingness to learn from the example of the West. A completely Western culture can not be superimposed on the nation but if the way is left open through friendly relations to bring to the Thais the benefit of modern health, science and educational practices, these may be adapted wisely to the existing cultural pattern.

Political Aspects

**Independence and stability.**—Thailand stands alone in the distinction of being the one Southeast Asian nation which has maintained its independence throughout its history. Conquistadors, adventurers, zealous missionaries and profit-seeking traders cast anchors in Asiatic waters and sought their own ends in the lands of the Far East. Colonialism, exploitation and imperialism waxed and waned. Through it all, Thailand remained what her name means, Land of the Free. There were times when her existence as an independent nation was completely dependent on the whims, caprices and rivalries of the European interests which hemmed in her borders. But several of Thailand's kings were able to stave off possible intervention through indulging in a diplomatic game of playing both ends against the middle and exploiting particularly the rivalry of Britain and France.

Thailand is also unique in present-day Asia in that it is one of the few places where gangsterism, rebellion, revolution and the threat of Communism are not the masters of the moment. Several factors contribute to the comparative stability within Thailand. One is that the lack of population pressure on the resources of the land means an abundance that amounts to surpluses. The absence of the grinding poverty that stalks other nations, breeds a complacency within the country. Those who would advocate a new
political order through the forces of rebellion or real revolution would find unfertile ground in Thailand in face of the political passiveness of the people. As long as he eats well and can satisfy his other small wants, the peasant is tolerant of many things which in other circumstances would foment unrest.

Changes of government have been frequent within Thailand, particularly since the end of the last war. Nine governments in all have moved in and out at Bangkok since 1944. But these have all been bloodless coups, in many cases hardly affecting the normal routine of the day in the capital city. On the surface this would seem to be instability, but in no sense of the word can it be compared to the chaotic and mutinous disorder which reigns in many of the neighboring lands. The revolutions in Thailand revolve around personalities rather than issues.

Forms of government.— Thailand is labelled a free nation in the world of today, but it is not the democracy which most Westerners associate with the word "free". The fact that it is a so-called constitutional monarchy gives to its forms of government the outward symbols of government by the people. A legislative assembly exists but although representatives in the House are chosen by the people, the members of the Senate are appointed by the king. The real power lies in the hands of a few who control the policies of the government. The latest constitution provides for basic civil liberties such as freedom of speech and press and the right to qualify for voting privileges. Yet only a very small percentage of the total population avails itself of these rights. Thailand is a land of happy peasants and that fact conditions the amount of political activity on their part that can be stirred up on the question of issues. It is only around the small intellectual and
military groups that the policies and practices of government become im-
portant.

International relations.-- The present government of Thailand is seek-
ing to meet a number of its needs through the assistance of the United States
and the special agencies of the United Nations. Her needs are similar to
those of other countries in that area. Scientific and technical knowledge
are needed to make the most of the available resources. Government and
business personnel need to be trained. Doctors and educators could help
to raise the standards of living. In line with these needs Thailand has
accepted the resources at the disposal of the World Health Organization and
the Food and Agriculture Organization.

The strong anti-Communist stand of Thailand has been the basis of very
friendly relations with the United States. In October 1950 the two nations
signed a Military Assistance Agreement whereby the United States provided
arms and equipment and a technical training mission to bolster the military
strength of Thailand.

In the sphere of international relations Thailand has in general pro-
moted a cordial understanding with both her neighbors and Western powers.
She does not recognize the government of Mao Tse-Tung in China, but neither
has she promoted the cause of the Chinese Nationalists. She has recognized
the Bao Dai government in Vietnam. Thailand is a whole-hearted member of
the United Nations. Thai troops are on the fighting front in Korea. The
city of Bangkok is host to three of the regional offices of the United
Nations; the International Rice Commission, the Far Eastern Office of the
Food and Agricultural Organization and the Economic Commission for Asia and
the Far East. In addition, she is a member of the International Bank for
Reconstruction and the International Monetary Fund.

Since Thailand seldom hits the international headlines, her importance to the free world is often overlooked. The sources of trouble and unrest in the world bring attention to themselves through their almost constant and violent eruptions into the news and the threats that they pose to the rest of the world. International diplomacy and the strategy of the cold war are directed to these unstable areas. So much of energy and resources go into attempting to cure the ailing members of the world society that the needs of the healthy bodies within its midst are often forgotten.

Thailand's tradition as an independent nation and her stand against Communism make her an outstanding part of Asia today. Her example should help to set the sights of other nations in the direction of stability and unity. In the war of ideas, Thailand could serve as a channel through which the knowledge, the goods and the principles of true freedom might flow in order to broaden her own horizons and lift the dark shadows in the lives of her neighbors.
Suggestions for Further Study

1. Find out how the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund operate. How does Thailand make a contribution to these organizations? In what way does she benefit from them?

2. In 1949 the Chinese immigration quota in Thailand was cut from 10,000 to 200 per year. Compare the reasons for this action in Thailand to the causes of the Chinese Exclusion Laws in the United States.

3. Bangkok is one of the important air terminals for the passengers and goods of 16 air lines in the Far East. Try to find out what air lines operate in this area and why Bangkok should be the important take-off and transit point.

4. What other independent nations in the world which are backed by a military clique have received the recognition and aid of the United States? In connection with this be able to explain the meaning of de facto recognition and de jure recognition.

5. Look for information on the construction, type of architecture and religious relics found in a typical Buddhist temple. Make a sketch of the important details. Wat Arun, Wat Prakeo, or Wat Po which are in Bangkok might serve as guides.

6. What other strategic areas of the world serve as buffer states in the face of conflicting interests? Why?

7. Be able to explain the following: coup d'etat, extraterritoriality rights, constitutional monarchy, wat, sticklac.

Suggested Readings

1. An interesting introduction to life in Thailand can be found in Kumut Chandruang's My Boyhood in Siam (John Day Company, New York, 1940).


3. The chapter called "The Cremation of a Queen" in Anna and the King of Siam describes the elaborate ceremony carried on to this day upon the death of royalty.

4. Never Dies the Dream (John Day Company, 1949) is a novel of European-Siamese relations by Margaret Landon who also wrote Anna and the King of Siam. The feeling of an Eastern people can be sensed in it.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


A reliable and interesting account of Thailand's story. Date of publication excludes postwar years.


(Previous annotation in Chapter II).


A warm and fascinating tale of intricacies of palace life in 19th century. Based on two books written by Mrs. Leonowens: The English Governess at the Siamese Court and The Romance at the Harem.


(Previous annotation in Chapter II).


(Previous annotation in Chapter III).


Story of a former American navy man who stayed on in Bangkok to publish a newspaper. MacDonald has a human touch and a belief in people that makes this a story worth reading.


(Previous annotation in Chapter IV).


Historical interpretation of entire Far East including sections on Southeast Asia. Clear, easy reading.


Contains a goodly section on Southeast Asia, country by country. Emphasis on modern times, needs of countries, threat of Communism.

Very interesting story of the OSS attempts to establish underground contact with Thailand and to infiltrate and connect with the Free Thai movement in the country.


Analyzes the Communist menace in all of Asia.


Short account of present-day conditions.


(Previous annotation in Chapter IV).
INDEX

Abaca, 30
Addams, Jane, 17
Aglipayanos, 36
Aguinaldo, Emilio, 13, 14, 15, 19, 45
Alejandrino, Castro, 28
Amboina, 60
Ananda, 194, 196
Anglo-Burmese War, 134, 135, 138
Arman, 101, 102, 103, 106, 107, 110
Anti-Imperialist League, 16
Atlantic Charter, 6, 56, 143
Baguio, 33
Bali, 78, 85
Bangkok, 189, 191, 192, 201, 206
Bao Dai, 106, 109, 110, 113, 126
Bataan, 22
Batik, 85
Baw Maw, 142
Blak-na-Bato, 13
Bonifacio, Andres, 13
Borneo, 70, 78
Bryan, William Jennings, 17
Buddhism, 150-53, 180, 201, 202
Budi Utomo, 66
Burma, 131-55
Burma Road, 137-140
Cacique System, 31
Cambodia, 101, 103, 107, 112, 113, 123
Cacauism, 123
Carnegie, Andrew, 17
Cavite, 11, 13
Cebu, 9
Chakri Dynasty, 191, 192
Chinese, 57, 58, 61, 66, 101, 103, 106, 111, 117, 120, 135, 141, 150, 161, 169, 171, 172, 173, 175, 176, 177, 179, 200, 203
Chulalongkorn (Rama V), 192
Cleveland, Grover, 17
Cochinchina, 101, 102, 103, 107, 110, 112, 113
Communism, 27, 93, 110, 113, 125, 134, 147, 173, 188, 206, 207
Confucianism, 123, 202
Conrad, Joseph, 40
Corregidor, 22, 33
Culture System, 62-3
Desa, 89
Dewey, Commodore George, 14, 16, 17
Djakarta, 73, 77
Douwes Dekker, Eduard, 63
Dutch East India Company, 59-61
El Filibusterismo, 12
Federalista Party, 18
French East India Company, 103
Friars, 10
Godkin, E. L., 17
Gompers, Samuel, 17
Haiphong, 118
Hanoi, 118, 126
Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, 21
Harrison, Francis B., 20
Hatta, 70, 71, 72, 73
Ho Chi Minh, 110, 111, 112
Hong Kong, 11, 17
Hukbalahaps, 27, 28
Ifugas, 19
Igorota, 19
Ikat, 85
Indochina, 99-126
Indonesia, 55-93
Irian, 90
Irrawaddy, 133, 148
Islam, 57, 58, 81-3, 180
Java, 57, 58, 59, 77, 84, 85
Johore, 166, 169
Jones Act, 45, 46
Katipunan, 13
Karens, 144, 197
Kasama System, 31
Kipling, Rudyard, 5
Lao, 101, 104, 107, 112, 123
Lashio, 139, 140
Laurel, Jose, 23
Legaspi, 9
Leyte, 29
Liberalism, 62, 63
Liga Filipina, 12, 13
Linggadjati Agreement, 75
Luzon, 17, 22, 27, 28, 29, 32
MacArthur, Arthur, 15
MacArthur, Douglas, 22, 24
Magellan, 9
Mahan, Alfred Thayer, 16
Malacca, 56, 58, 164, 165, 166
Malaya, 160-184
Mandalay, 131
Mandarins, 99, 103, 104, 105, 121
Manila, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 22, 24, 28, 33, 41
McKinley, William, 17
Mekong River, 116, 198
Menam River, 191
Mindanao, 12, 29
Mohammedans, 8, 35, 36, 58
Moluccas, 77
Mongkut (Rama IV), 192
Moros, 19, 35, 36
Nationalista Party, 19, 20, 21
Negritos, 7, 35, 162
Nirvana, 151, 152, 190, 201
Noli Me Tangere, 11
North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 114
Osmena, Sergio, 19, 21, 24, 25, 26
Palawan, 29
Pantsjasila, 84
Philippine Insurrection, 14, 45
Philippine Islands, 5-49
Philippine Trade Act, 26, 27, 34
Pibun Songkram, 194, 195, 196, 197
Pigafetta, Antonio, 9
Pnom Penh, 118
Point Four, 147
Portuguese, 59, 60, 102, 134, 164
Prajadhipok, 193
Pridi Phanomyong, 194, 195, 196, 197
Quezon City, 33
Quezon, Manuel, 19, 21, 23, 24
Quirino, Elpidio, 26, 27, 28
Raffles, Sir Thomas, 61, 165, 166
Ramie, 31
Rangoon, 131
Red River, 116, 118
Renville Agreement, 75
Rizal, Jose, 11, 12, 38, 40, 42
Rómulo, Carlos, 48
Roxas, Manuel, 21, 23, 26, 27
Saigon, 103, 111, 118, 126
Sakdalista, 22
Salween River, 198
Sarekat Islam, 66
Schurman, Jacob G., 18
Senoi, 163
Shan States, 133
Singapore, 165, 166, 169, 170, 172
173, 183
Sjahrir, Soetan, 70, 71, 72, 73
Sjarifuddin, Amir, 70, 71
Soekarno, 67, 71, 73
Spain, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 103
Straits Settlements, 167
Strong, Josiah, 16
Suez Canal, 10, 138
Sumatra, 57, 58, 77
Taft, William H., 18
Tagalog, 37, 144
Tao, 23, 31
Taoism, 123, 180, 202
Taruc, Luis, 27
Thailand, 189-207
Thakin So, 143
Theebaw, 135, 141
Tonkin, 101, 102, 103, 107, 110, 114
Tydings-McDuffie Act, 21, 146
U Saw, 142
U Aung San, 143

Vajiravudh, 193
Vientiane, 118
Vietminh, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 124, 125
Vietnam, 101, 110, 111, 112, 114, 124, 125, 206
Villa, Jose Garcia, 40
Visayan, 37
Volksraad, 64

War Damage Act, 25
Wilson, Woodrow, 19
Wood, Leonard, 20