

SOUTHEAST ASIA IN TRANSITION



Old Ways and New This contemporary Vietnamese print shows how important both the past and the present are in Southeast Asia. The elderly man, dressed in traditional clothes, is next to his son or grandson, dressed in western-style clothes. The print says, “The old bamboo and the young bamboo each have their time.” **Fine Art** What does this art suggest about culture and change in Southeast Asia?

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 European Influence
- 2 A New Political Map
- 3 War in Southeast Asia

The novel had the innocent title *The Lost Eden*. Yet Filipinos had to read it in secret. Mere possession of the book could lead to imprisonment.

Written by a young Filipino poet and doctor named José Rizal, *The Lost Eden* was published in 1887. By then, Spain had ruled the Philippines for more than 300 years. In the book, Rizal showed how Spanish officials abused their power. He called for reform but condemned revolution.

To show his loyalty, Rizal volunteered as a doctor in the Spanish army. In 1896, he set out to join the Spanish fighting in Cuba. On the way, Spanish police arrested him and sent him back to the Philippines to be tried for rebellion. “I never sought the liberty to rebel . . . only political liberties,” said Rizal at his trial. The judges, however, ignored his words and sentenced him to death.

While awaiting execution, Rizal wrote “My Last Farewell”:

“Land I adore, farewell! . . .
Joyous, I yield up for thee
my sad life, and were it
far brighter,
Young, or rose-strewn, for
thee and thy happiness
still would I give it.”

To Filipino nationalists, Rizal became a symbol of their struggle for independence from Spain.

CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE

Throughout Southeast Asia, years of European rule sparked nationalist movements. During the mid-1900s, Southeast Asians fought wars for independence whose effects are still felt today.

As you read, look for these chapter themes:

- ▶ Desire for profit led Europeans to take colonies in Southeast Asia.
- ▶ The growth of nationalism in Southeast Asia led to struggles for independence.
- ▶ The newly independent nations of Southeast Asia faced many challenges as they tried to create unified nations.
- ▶ Cold War tensions led to a long struggle between communist and non-communist forces in Vietnam.

Literature Connections

In this chapter, you will encounter passages from the following works.

“My Last Farewell,” José Rizal

“Who Am I?” Tru Vu

For other suggestions, see Connections With Literature, pages 804–808.

1

EUROPEAN INFLUENCE

FIND OUT

Why did European powers want to set up colonies in Southeast Asia?

How did European interest in Southeast Asia grow during the 1800s?

How did colonial rule affect the peoples of Southeast Asia?

Vocabulary protectorate, encomienda

“**T**his city of Malacca is the richest trading port and possesses the most valuable merchandise . . . that is known in all the world.” That was how Malacca looked to Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese sailor.

The city sat at the narrowest point on the Strait of Malacca. Each year, as many as 15,000 merchants sailed into Malacca from Southeast Asia, China, India, and the Middle East. They traded silks, iron, silver, pearls, and precious spices. During the 1500s, though, Europeans battled to control this rich port.

Arrival of the Europeans

For centuries, Arab traders carried spices, silks, and other goods from Asia to the Middle East. There, the Arabs sold these goods at a profit to traders from Venice and Genoa. In turn, these traders sold the goods throughout Europe at even higher prices.

European rulers and merchants envied the huge profits made by these traders. They wanted to gain a share of the spice trade for themselves. To do so, they had to bypass the Mediterranean and find an ocean route to the “Spice Islands.” Spain and Portugal sent explorers like Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama to hunt for such a route. In 1498, da Gama sailed around Africa and reached the



The Dutch in Java Dutch artist Aelbert Cuyt painted this portrait in the 1600s. It shows a Dutch merchant and his wife at the port of Batavia in Java, a city founded by Dutch traders. Now called Jakarta, it is the capital city of Indonesia. **Fine Art** How does the artist suggest the important role of early Dutch settlers in this region of Southeast Asia?

west coast of India. The Portuguese then pushed farther east and captured Malacca in 1511. From there, they built trading posts throughout island Southeast Asia. Europeans called this region the East Indies.

The next Europeans to gain power in Southeast Asia were the Dutch. In 1596, they set up a trading post on the island of Java. From there, they seized Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641. During the following decades, the Dutch pushed the Portuguese out of the region.

Taking advantage of rivalries among many small kingdoms, the Dutch gained control over almost all of what is now Indonesia. They set up plantations for the production of cash crops. For the next 200 years, the Dutch were the main European traders in Southeast Asia.

European Power Grows

During the 1700s and 1800s, changes in Europe affected events in Southeast Asia. First, Europeans acquired a taste for products

such as sugar, coffee, and tea that grew in tropical climates. Second, the population of Europe grew rapidly, increasing the demand for these goods. Third, the Industrial Revolution led Europeans to look to Southeast Asia for raw materials for their factories and mills as well as markets for the products of these factories and mills.

The Dutch in Java. To meet the growing demand for coffee and other crops, the Dutch set up a Culture System on Java during the 1800s. Under this system, they forced villages to set aside one fifth of their land to grow cash crops. Each year, local farmers had to sell a certain amount of their harvest to the Dutch at a low price.

The Culture System greatly benefited the Dutch government. It gained about one third of its total income from the export of these cash crops. On Java, however, local farmers suffered. They made no profit from the sale of their crops. If harvests fell short, farmers were forced to make up the difference by paying taxes or providing free labor. Worse,

they often were forced to neglect their own rice fields to work for the Dutch. As rice production fell, Java was struck by famine.

The British in Malaya. While the Dutch concentrated on Java, Britain slowly gained control of the Malay Peninsula. In 1786, a British trading company acquired Penang Island. Nine years later, the British captured Malacca from the Dutch. Then, in 1824, British traders bought Singapore from the sultan who ruled it. From these three possessions, Britain gradually extended its influence into Malaya. In the 1890s, Britain combined several lands ruled by sultans to form the Federated Malay States.

To supply their industries, the British promoted production of tin and rubber in Malaya. For centuries, Malaysians had mined tin by hand. The British introduced machinery to increase tin production. They also brought rubber trees from Brazil. The trees thrived in tropical Malaya, creating a booming rubber industry. To meet their labor needs, the British imported hundreds of thousands of Indian and Chinese workers to Malaya.

The island of Singapore had an excellent location on the Strait of Malacca. Its deep harbor could handle modern steamships, and under British rule, Singapore became the busiest trading port in Southeast Asia.

Scramble for Colonies

By the early 1800s, rivalry between Britain and France led to a scramble for colonies on mainland Southeast Asia. Both powers wanted colonies that would provide raw materials for their factories and markets for their manufactured goods. Both nations also wanted bases from which to increase trade with China.

From India, the British pushed into Burma. In a series of wars with Burmese rulers, the British took over the area piece by piece. By 1890, Britain ruled Burma as a province of India.

Vietnam. During the 1800s, the French carved out an empire that became known as French Indochina. It included what is today Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Since the 1600s, French missionaries had traveled to Vietnam to convert people to Catholicism.

One French missionary also developed a western alphabet for Vietnamese to replace the existing one based on Chinese characters. This alphabet, *quoc-ngu* (kwahk-noo), is still used throughout Vietnam.

Vietnamese rulers, however, viewed the missionaries as a threat to their own authority. The Vietnamese grew more concerned as European powers began to carve up China. (See Chapter 15.) In an effort to end foreign

MAP STUDY

During the 1800s, many western nations built colonial empires in Southeast Asia. By 1914, these nations controlled nearly all of the region.

- Place** Which Europeans claimed land in New Guinea?
- Region** Which imperialist power ruled the largest empire in island Southeast Asia?
- Synthesizing Information** (a) Why did Britain and France become rivals for overseas colonies in Southeast Asia? (b) How did this affect the nations there?



influence, Vietnamese officials used harsh measures against the missionaries. During the 1840s, Emperor Thieu Tri expelled most of the missionaries. A number of missionaries and many Vietnamese Christians were executed.

Using this persecution as an excuse, French forces invaded Vietnam in 1858. Although they met strong resistance at first, the French gradually prevailed. In the 1880s, France made Vietnam part of its empire.

Cambodia and Laos. For centuries after the fall of the Khmer Empire, Cambodia resisted efforts by Thailand and Vietnam to conquer it. In the 1860s, the French intimidated the Cambodian king into signing a treaty that made Cambodia a protectorate of France. A **protectorate** is a country that has its own government but whose policies are directed by an outside power. Much of Laos had been under Thai control. When the Thais withdrew, the French moved in. By 1893, most of present-day Laos had been added to French Indochina.

Thailand Escapes European Rule

Thailand, then known as Siam, lay between the growing spheres of British and French influence. To the west, Britain held Burma. To the east, France ruled Indochina. Thailand's King Mongkut was a realist. He wanted to defend his country from the imperialist powers, but he saw that he could not fight the powerful European armies and navies. He wrote:

“Being, as we are now, surrounded on two or three sides by powerful nations, what can a small nation like us do? . . . The only weapons that will be of real use to us in the future will be . . . sense and wisdom.”

To ensure that no European power would dominate his land, King Mongkut made treaties with several European nations. France and Britain cooperated. They recognized that an independent Thailand would reduce the danger of conflict between them. At the same time, Mongkut hired European experts to

help Thailand modernize. Mongkut's successors followed his policies and succeeded in protecting Thai independence.

The Philippines Under Foreign Rule

Long before Europeans reached Southeast Asia, the Philippines had been a cultural crossroads. Chinese, Japanese, Malays, Arabs, and Indians traded there. In 1521, explorer Ferdinand Magellan claimed the Philippines for Spain. Later, Spain made the Philippines part of a vast Spanish empire that stretched from Manila to Mexico.

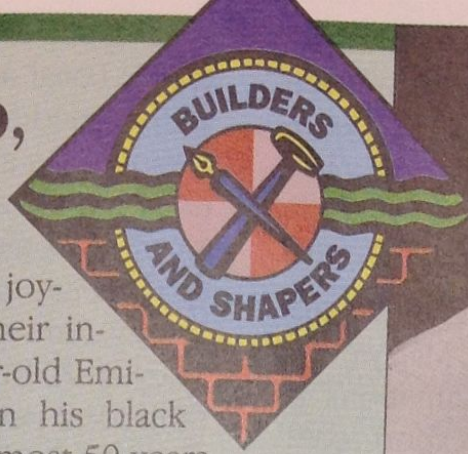
A Spanish colony. In the Philippines, as in its American colonies, Spain at first granted **encomiendas** to settlers. An **encomienda** was a right to demand taxes or labor from the people living on the land. In theory, the encomienda system was supposed to protect Filipinos and provide for teaching them Christianity. In practice, most settlers took advantage of the Filipinos. They also failed to provide religious instruction. By the late 1600s, the Spanish government had abandoned the encomienda system. Instead, the king of Spain appointed officials to rule the Philippines directly.

Spanish missionaries spread Catholicism throughout the islands. They set up schools and introduced many Spanish customs. The Catholic archbishop of the Philippines also gained enormous political power.

Rebellion and defeat. By the 1800s, Spanish power had declined around the world. In the Philippines, however, the wealth and power of Catholic religious orders were growing. Many Filipinos, like José Rizal, accused the Church of abusing its power. Their anger fueled a growing Filipino nationalism.

During the 1890s, the Filipinos rebelled against Spanish rule. A young soldier and politician, Emilio Aguinaldo (ahg ee NAHL doh), led the rebels. Their hopes for victory rose when the United States declared war on Spain in 1898. Filipinos declared independence and helped the Americans surround Spanish troops in Manila. The war ended when the Spanish surrendered to the Americans.

Emilio Aguinaldo, Freedom Fighter



On July 4, 1946, Filipinos joyously prepared to celebrate their independence. In Manila, 77-year-old Emilio Aguinaldo carefully put on his black bow tie for the last time. For almost 50 years, he had worn this tie as a symbol of grief—grief that the Philippines were not free.

Aguinaldo had devoted his life to the struggle for Philippine independence. As a young man, he led rebel forces against Spanish rule. In 1896, Aguinaldo attacked the Spanish garrison in his hometown of Kawit. Victorious, he then led more raids against the Spanish. He urged his followers:

“Filipino citizens! Now is the occasion for shedding our blood for the last time, that we may achieve our beloved freedom. . . . The time has come. Let us march under the Flag of the Revolution whose watchwords are Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity!”

In 1898, Aguinaldo joined forces with the Americans against Spain. He declared Philippine independence and, after the Spanish defeat, took office as the nation’s first president. He was so popular that young men all over the islands imitated his close-cropped hairstyle, the “Aguinaldo cut.”

The struggle for independence did not end in 1898. When the Americans tried to

assert control of the islands, Aguinaldo again took up arms. For two years, he led guerrilla forces against the Americans. Then, betrayed by an informer, he was captured. Reluctantly, Aguinaldo swore allegiance to the United States. “I believe I am serving thee, my beloved country,” he said.

Now, in 1946, nearly 50 years after Aguinaldo first proclaimed Philippine independence, the Philippines were free. Proudly, the old rebel leader marched down Dewey Boulevard in Manila. As the crowd cheered, Emilio Aguinaldo took off his black bow tie.

1. Why did nearly 50 years pass between Aguinaldo’s declaration of Philippine independence and the first celebration of independence?
2. **Drawing Conclusions** What character traits and beliefs do you think helped Aguinaldo work for his goals?

Filipinos expected the Americans to recognize their independence. Instead, the treaty between Spain and the United States placed the islands under American control. Bitterly disappointed, Filipino nationalists renewed their struggle, this time against the United States. About 100,000 Filipinos died before American forces crushed the rebellion in 1901.

American rule. Unlike the European imperial powers, the United States allowed Filipinos to hold high government office. The Americans also built schools, hospitals, and roads. They did little to change the Philippine economy, however. A few wealthy landlords owned huge estates, while most Filipinos lived in poverty.

Filipino nationalists continued to make demands for freedom. In 1934, the United States promised the Philippines independence within 10 years.

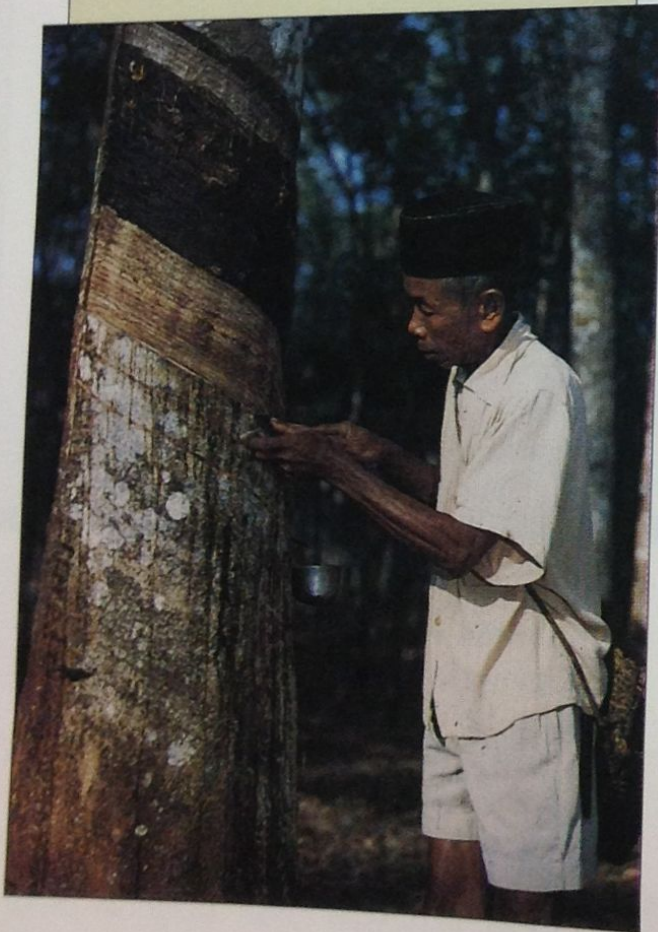
Impact of Colonial Rule

In Southeast Asia, as elsewhere, colonial rule altered the economy. In Java, Malaya, and Indochina, Europeans set up plantations to produce cash crops or other export commodities. The economies of those areas thus came to depend on European markets.

Europeans also sold factory-made goods to their colonies. By selling cloth, tools, and

Tapping a Rubber Tree Workers, such as the man shown here, must collect raw latex from rubber trees by hand, without machinery. When Indonesian rubber production began to decline in the 1970s, the government began a tree replanting program. By 1990, total output of rubber had increased by nearly 20 percent, to more than 1 million tons a year.

Technology Why can rubber be an expensive crop to grow?



other products cheaply, they undercut local crafts. Local artisans could not compete with factory-made goods and were forced out of business. As a result, the economies of Southeast Asia became dependent on the industrialized nations for manufactured goods.

Foreign rulers built modern transportation systems to make their colonies profitable. They also built schools and universities to train local people for careers such as administration, teaching, and medicine. Education had unforeseen results, however. As in Africa and India, it created an educated middle class and contributed to the growth of nationalism.

Colonial rule had little impact on the cultures of Southeast Asia. Except in the Philippines and Vietnam, most people did not become Christians. Europeans did, however, bring many Chinese and Indian workers to Southeast Asia, adding to its cultural diversity. In Malaya, a system of separate schools for Malay, Chinese, and Indian students helped to create long-lasting ethnic divisions.

SECTION 1 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Java, (b) Malaya, (c) Singapore, (d) Manila.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Culture System, (b) French Indochina, (c) Mongkut, (d) Emilio Aguinaldo.
- 3. Define:** (a) protectorate, (b) encomienda.
- 4.** (a) What resources attracted Europeans to Southeast Asia in the 1500s? (b) In the 1800s?
- 5.** How did the Dutch, British, and French extend their power in Southeast Asia?
- 6.** Describe three effects that European colonization had on Southeast Asia.
- 7. Defending a Position** (a) How did King Mongkut's actions show that he was a realist? (b) Do you agree with his policy? Why or why not?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Imagine that you are a Filipino in the time following the Spanish-American War. Write a letter to an American senator explaining why the United States should grant the Philippines independence.

A NEW POLITICAL MAP

FIND OUT

Why did nationalism grow in Southeast Asia?

How did the nations of Southeast Asia win independence?

What problems did the new nations face?

Vocabulary nationalize, martial law

A young Indonesian named Sukarno* stood before the Dutch court. He faced a prison sentence for plotting to overthrow Dutch rule. "Yes, we are revolutionaries," Sukarno told the court. "Even when a worm is hurt, it squirms and turns. So do we."

In 1930, the Dutch felt sure that they could put down any rebellion in their colony. They imprisoned Sukarno and ignored his words when he warned:

“A nation can exist without tanks and guns. A nation cannot exist without faith. That is what we have. That is our secret weapon.”

Growing Nationalism

By the early 1900s, nationalist movements were taking root throughout Southeast Asia. Nationalists took pride in the history and traditions of their people. Everywhere, they organized forces to win independence.

In 1905, nationalist hopes surged when Japan crushed Russia in the Russo-Japanese War. For the first time, an Asian nation had defeated a major European power. In the 1930s, however, the Japanese conquered much of China and threatened Southeast Asia. During

World War II, Japan overran most of Southeast Asia from Indochina to the Philippines.

At first, some Southeast Asian nationalists welcomed the Japanese advance. They were glad to see the French, British, and Dutch forced to retreat. The Japanese tried to encourage local support. They emphasized the need for "co-existence and co-prosperity" among Asian peoples. In Buddhist countries, they stressed their shared religion.

Japanese troops, however, tortured and killed people who opposed their presence. They tramped through Buddhist temples and seized food and fuel from the people to support their war effort. Nationalists who had opposed the European colonial powers soon switched to fighting the Japanese. The Allies sent arms to local groups that resisted the Japanese. As a result, by 1945, many Southeast Asians were well-armed, experienced guerrilla fighters.

Japanese Conquest The Japanese seized most of Southeast Asia during World War II. They wanted the region's natural resources to help fuel the Japanese economy. This photograph shows Japanese troops as they prepared to invade Burma. **Power** Why did Southeast Asian nationalists support Japan's invading armies at first?



* Like many Indonesians, Sukarno used a single name.



An Appeal to Nationalism This World War II poster urged the people of Southeast Asia to resist the Japanese “octopus.” With its message in Dutch, it appealed to people living in Dutch-ruled territories. **Choice** Why is a Dutch message to resist foreign rule ironic?

The Road to Independence

After the defeat of Japan, European powers planned to return to Southeast Asia. Nationalist leaders were equally determined to win independence. Some countries won freedom peacefully. In others, the struggle for independence involved violence.

Peaceful transitions. In the Philippines, the United States finally made good on its promise of independence. On July 4, 1946, Filipinos celebrated independence.*

After the war, the British returned to Burma. They found Burmese nationalists armed and well organized. Aung San, the leader of Burma’s main political party, called for

* Since 1962, Philippine Independence Day has been celebrated on June 12 to commemorate the day in 1898 when Emilio Aguinaldo declared independence. July 4 is Philippine-American Friendship Day.

immediate independence. Weakened by the war and fearing that communist forces might seize power, the British agreed. Although Aung San was murdered, Burma won its independence early in 1948.

Conflict in Malaya. In 1957, after a long struggle between communist rebels and Malay supporters of Britain, Malaya gained independence from Britain. It took the name Malaysia in 1963, when it joined with Singapore, Sabah, and Sarawak.

Malaysia faced severe problems among its three major ethnic groups. Malays, mostly farmers and fishers, made up 50 percent of the population but were among the poorest people. The Chinese and Indians, on the other hand, dominated business and the professions. Although the government promoted education and found jobs for Malays, ethnic unrest continued.

Indonesia and Indochina. After World War II, the Dutch returned to Indonesia to find that Sukarno had declared Indonesia’s independence. For four years, the Dutch fought to regain control of their colony. In the end, they were forced to give up all of Indonesia except West Irian, the western half of New Guinea. In 1949, Sukarno became president of an independent Indonesia. Twelve years later, after further armed clashes, West Irian also became part of Indonesia.

Like the Dutch, the French sought to regain control of their colonies in Indochina. Although France granted limited independence to Laos in 1949, it fought to hold on to Vietnam and Cambodia. As you will read later in this chapter, Vietnamese nationalists were determined to end French rule.

Challenges for the New Nations

Like emerging nations everywhere, the new nations of Southeast Asia faced many challenges. Under colonial rule, they had little experience with self-government. After independence, leaders had to forge diverse groups into unified nations committed to the achievement of common goals. To make matters worse, almost all of these new nations faced severe economic problems.

Burma becomes Myanmar. After independence, Burma had trouble achieving unity. Minority ethnic groups such as the Karen and the Shan demanded their own countries. At the same time, Burmese communists fought to overthrow the new government.

Like other new nations, Burma had to decide how to develop its economy. At first, it moved toward a limited form of socialism. The government **nationalized**, or placed under state control, British-owned plantations. It made rice growing a state monopoly. When these measures failed to improve the economy, the Burmese army seized power. In 1962, General Ne Win became dictator and set up a one-party socialist state.

For years, Ne Win kept Burma largely isolated and crushed dissent. Finally, under increasing pressure from students and other protesters, the government allowed elections in 1990. Opponents of the military dictator won easily, but the army rejected the results. It jailed the winners. Its hardhanded policies forced others to flee the country.

Under Ne Win, Burma changed its name to Myanmar. The new name comes from the Burmese words for "country" and "the people." The name change recognizes that the nation contains many ethnic groups besides the dominant Burmans.

Singapore. In 1963, Singapore achieved independence from Britain. At first, as you have read, it joined Malaya, Sabah, and Sarawak to form Malaysia, but this union did not work. Within two years, Singapore, with its Chinese majority, was forced out of the union.

Like Myanmar, Singapore fell under the control of a strongman, Lee Kuan Yew. Although Singapore had a parliament and held elections, Lee ruled the one-party state like a dictator. To stay in power, Lee controlled the press and the labor unions. He also rallied support by playing on the fears of invasion by Malaysia and Indonesia.

Despite harsh rule, Singapore prospered economically. Lee provided stable government. Also, by limiting the power of labor unions, he kept wages low and attracted foreign business. Still, many people felt that

Singapore's economic success did not make up for lack of freedom.

By the 1990s, new leaders had replaced Lee, and moves were made toward more democratic elections. The Asian economic crisis of the late 1990s hurt Singapore, but not as severely as elsewhere.

The Philippines After Independence

During the years after independence, the Philippines faced serious challenges to their democracy. Some problems grew out of centuries of Spanish rule. Under the Spanish, a small upper class had controlled the wealth and power of the islands. The gap between rich and poor grew even wider after independence. Another problem was widespread corruption in government.

The Huk rebellion. Filipino communists, known as Huks, fought against the government during the 1950s. By promising land reform, they won the support of many peasants. Because the United States feared a communist revolution, it helped the Philippine government crush the Huk rebellion.

Speaking Out Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the daughter of Burmese nationalist leader Aung San, won a free election in Myanmar in 1990. However, the military government then placed her under house arrest. Because she continued to oppose the government's oppression, Suu Kyi won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1991. **Human Rights** How did Myanmar's military government violate democratic principles?

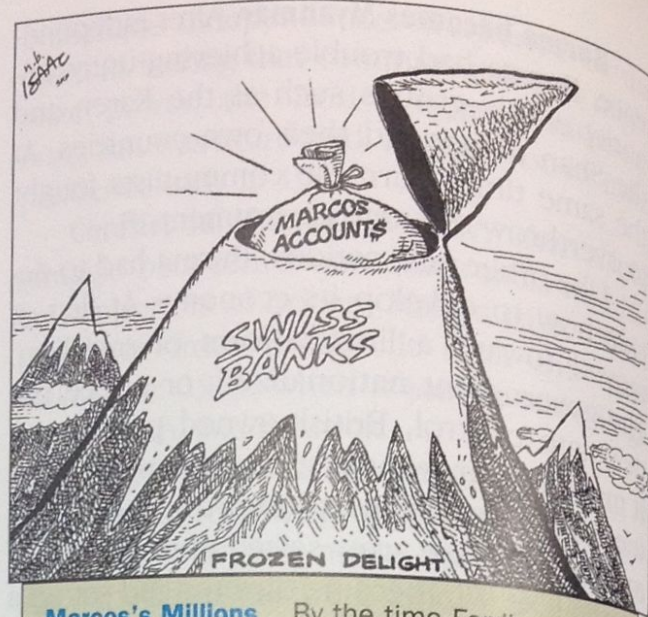


The Philippine government then took steps to improve conditions for peasants. It built health clinics and schools and dug wells. It also made some effort to end corruption and to redistribute land. However, rich landowners used their power to block most land reform programs.

Ferdinand Marcos. In 1965, Ferdinand Marcos was elected president. A smart politician, he won popular support by extending programs to help the poor. At the same time, Marcos used government money to enrich himself and his supporters. When anti-Marcos protests broke out in 1972, Marcos imposed **martial law**, or temporary rule by the military. He shut down newspapers and jailed opponents. Although Marcos ended martial law in 1981, he kept tight control over the country.

In 1983, Benigno Aquino (buh NEEN yoh ah KEE noh), a popular reformer, returned to Manila from exile. As he stepped off the plane, he was murdered by supporters of Marcos. Aquino's death set off massive protests. To restore calm, Marcos finally agreed to hold elections in 1986. His chief opponent was Corazon Aquino, the widow of the slain reformer.

After a campaign marked by fraud and violence, Marcos declared himself the winner even though Aquino won a majority of the votes. Filipinos then took to the streets,



Marcos's Millions By the time Ferdinand Marcos was forced to leave the Philippines in 1986, he had amassed a fortune abroad. He had drained millions from the Philippine treasury and deposited it in Swiss banks, as this cartoon shows. **Power** Why would a powerful ruler like Marcos steal from his nation's treasury?

demanding that Aquino be put in office. When the military gave its support to Aquino, Marcos fled to Hawaii.

Aquino in power. Corazon Aquino entered office on a tremendous wave of "people power." After her election, a columnist in the *Philippine Daily Enquirer* wrote:



Aquino Campaigning

Corazon Aquino generated great enthusiasm during her 1986 campaign to become president of the Philippines. She had decided to enter politics after her husband's murderers were freed by Marcos. Her campaign ended in victory when Marcos fled the country.

Political System How did Aquino's victory strengthen democracy in the Philippines?

“We voted in the past for Presidents for all sorts of reasons, but those who voted for you in the last elections did so because they also *loved* you.”

Once in office, Aquino faced severe tests. The government was challenged by army leaders who tried to seize power and, in some areas, by communist rebels. Aquino made little progress in ending corruption or pushing land reform programs. Millions of Filipinos continued to live in desperate poverty. In 1992, General Fidel Ramos was elected to succeed Aquino.

Both Aquino and Ramos had to balance strong anti-American feeling in the Philippines against the aid provided by the United States. Many Filipinos campaigned fiercely to remove American military bases from their country. They considered the bases a symbol of colonial rule. In late 1992, American forces withdrew from the bases. The Philippine government, however, agreed to allow the United States to have access to the installations.

SECTION 2 REVIEW

- Identify:** (a) Aung San, (b) Sukarno, (c) Ne Win, (d) Lee Kuan Yew, (e) Huk, (f) Ferdinand Marcos, (g) Corazon Aquino.
- Define:** (a) nationalize, (b) martial law.
- How did World War II affect nationalist movements in Southeast Asia?
- Describe how the following nations became independent: (a) Burma, (b) Malaysia, (c) Indonesia.
- What problems have the Philippines faced since independence?
- Making Inferences** What does Burma's change of name to Myanmar suggest about the role of ethnic groups in Southeast Asia?
- Writing Across Cultures** Singapore has encouraged foreign businesses to invest in its economy. Write a newspaper editorial explaining whether or not you believe American businesses should invest in Singapore even though Singapore limits the freedom of its citizens.

3

WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

FIND OUT

What role did Ho Chi Minh play in Vietnam?

How did the United States become involved in the war in Southeast Asia?

What were the short-term and long-term effects of the war?

Vocabulary domino theory, genocide

World War I had ended at last. In 1919, United States president Woodrow Wilson joined the leaders of Britain, France, and Italy at the Versailles peace conference. Wilson wanted a peace treaty that would guarantee all people the right to determine their own future.

A young Vietnamese nationalist took Wilson seriously. He went to Versailles and called on France to grant independence to Vietnam. France refused, however. Disappointed, the young man left Versailles, vowing to help his people win their freedom. During the struggle that followed, he would take the name Ho Chi Minh—"He Who Enlightens."

Struggle Against France

During the years after World War I, Vietnamese nationalists pushed for changes. France responded with force, crushing all attempts at reform.

Ho Chi Minh. Ho Chi Minh emerged as a leader of the independence movement in Vietnam. After his bitter experience at Versailles, Ho helped to found the Communist party in France. Communism appealed to many nationalists because it rejected colonialism. When Ho returned to Vietnam, he had two goals—to build a communist movement and to win independence.



The French in Indochina The French made themselves at home in Vietnam. In this photo, French officials relax on a hotel terrace in Saigon. Saigon's broad, tree-lined avenues and handsome parks reminded them of Paris. In addition, French was used as the language of business and government. **Power** In what ways did the French try to impose their culture on the Vietnamese people?

During World War II, Ho and other Vietnamese nationalists formed the Viet Minh. They used guerrilla warfare against the Japanese occupation forces. By 1945, the Viet Minh occupied parts of northern Vietnam, including the city of Hanoi. Ho wrote a declaration of independence for Vietnam that echoed the American Declaration of Independence. It proclaimed:

“All men are created equal. The Creator has given us certain inviolable Rights: the right to Life, the right to be Free, and the right to achieve Happiness.”

In 1946, however, France set out to regain control of Indochina. For eight years, French forces battled Vietnamese nationalists.

Cold War issues. By this time, the struggle in Vietnam had become part of the Cold

War. The Soviet Union and China supported Ho's communist forces. Although the United States opposed colonialism, it supported the French. American leaders believed in the **domino theory**. According to the theory, if one nation fell to communist forces, neighboring nations would also become communist, like a row of falling dominoes.

In 1954, the Viet Minh trapped a French army at Dienbienphu, forcing it to surrender. Later that year, France withdrew from both Vietnam and Cambodia under a peace agreement drawn up in Geneva, Switzerland.

A Divided Nation

The Geneva agreement temporarily divided Vietnam at the seventeenth parallel. Ho Chi Minh and the communists controlled North Vietnam. A non-communist govern-

ment led by Ngo Dinh Diem (ngaw dihn dzee EHM) ruled South Vietnam. Within two years, the Vietnamese were to hold elections to reunite the country. However, thousands voted with their feet. They fled either south or north to the area of Vietnam where they felt politically most comfortable.

In North Vietnam, Ho put a communist system firmly into place. He limited freedom of the press and silenced opponents. Still, he won the support of poor peasants by redistributing land taken from large landowners.

In South Vietnam, the fighting continued among various groups opposed to Diem. In 1956, Diem blocked the scheduled elections, fearing that the communists would win. By 1960, communists in the south had formed an underground army known as the Viet Cong. With arms from the north, the Viet Cong fought a guerrilla war to overthrow Diem. (See World Literature, "Thoughts of Hanoi," by Nguyen Thi Vinh, page 314.)

Diem had the support of the United States. However, he steadily lost popular support in Vietnam by failing to end corruption or set up land reform programs. Also, Diem, a Roman Catholic, angered the Buddhist majority by favoring Catholics. As protests increased, Diem cracked down harshly. His actions increased support for the Viet Cong and led to his assassination in 1963.

American Involvement

As the Viet Cong expanded their power, the United States took a more active role in the war. It sent thousands of military advisers to South Vietnam. In response, North Vietnam stepped up its involvement. Ho Chi Minh sent North Vietnamese troops to help the Viet Cong. To reach the south, they used routes that ran through Laos and Cambodia. These routes became known as the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. In 1964, two small American patrol ships in the Gulf of Tonkin claimed that North Vietnamese gunboats had attacked them. In response, the United States Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. It gave President Lyndon

Johnson the power to "take all necessary steps including the use of force" to help South Vietnam.

MAP STUDY

The struggle against French rule led to the creation of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. During the 1960s, the conflict between North and South Vietnam became a major war.

- 1. Interaction** How might the climate of the region have affected the fighting in the war? See the climate map on page 778.
- 2. Place** In which capital city was the last battle of the Vietnam War fought?
- 3. Drawing Conclusions** How did North Vietnam's use of the Ho Chi Minh Trail help spread the war to other nations?



In 1965, Johnson sent American combat forces to South Vietnam and began to bomb towns and cities in the north. Within three years, 500,000 American troops were fighting in Vietnam. Despite the American buildup, the Viet Cong continued to fight effectively.

Young Soldiers The long war in Vietnam devastated that small nation. More than 1 million people in North Vietnam and South Vietnam died in the conflict. Even young boys like these fought. For the United States, the Vietnam War was the longest war in its history. **Choice** Why did many Americans oppose the war in Vietnam?



The Soviet Union and China supported Viet Cong efforts with arms and supplies.

The war spreads. The American buildup spread the war to Laos and Cambodia. In 1964, the United States sent planes to bomb the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos. Despite heavy attacks, the supply route remained open. Also, the bombing angered many Laotians and increased support for the Pathet Lao, the local communist guerrillas.

For years, Cambodia tried to stay out of the war. The North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong, however, had bases inside Cambodia. In 1969, the United States began bombing these bases. The next year, American and South Vietnamese troops invaded Cambodia to destroy the bases. As in Laos, the bombing of Cambodia increased support for the local communist guerrillas, the Khmer Rouge.

A Slow Return to Peace

By the 1970s, Vietnam had been at war for more than 30 years. In the following poem, Tru Vu expressed the weariness and suffering of the people of Vietnam:

“ I am neither a communist
nor a nationalist:
I am Vietnamese.
Is it not enough?
For thousands of years
that’s what I’ve been:
Don’t you think that’s enough?
And Vietnam in flames
and mother who weeps
and youngsters who suffer
and all the words we use to kill each
other!
O river
we stand on our respective banks
our fallen tears mingling. ”

End of American involvement. The Vietnam War sparked loud protests in the United States. Antiwar demonstrators called for withdrawal of American troops. In 1969, President Richard Nixon began to withdraw the troops

and to seek peace talks. Four years later, a peace treaty ended American involvement in the war. It did not, however, end the war in Southeast Asia. (See Connections With Literature, "Fallen Angels," page 805.)

Vietnam reunited. After the Americans left, South Vietnam fell to the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese. In 1975, communist forces surrounded Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam, and the government surrendered. Vietnam was finally united.

The victors renamed Saigon Ho Chi Minh City, after Ho, who had died in 1969. The communist government took over private businesses and farmlands in the south. It sent thousands of South Vietnamese to re-education camps for forced study and labor.

Years of war had left Vietnam's economy in shambles. Under communist rule, the country remained poor. Government controls and a United States ban on trade with Vietnam kept out foreign investment. In the late 1980s, to increase production and gain investment, Vietnam relaxed some controls. The United States lifted its trade ban in 1994. As the government moved toward a market economy, foreign investment increased. A new setback came with the Asian financial crisis of the late 1990s, slowing investment. Today, Vietnam remains a poor country struggling toward a better future.

Tragedy in Cambodia

Soon after Saigon fell, the Khmer Rouge swept to power in Cambodia. The Khmer Rouge leader, Pol Pot, renamed the country Kampuchea. He set out to destroy all traces of foreign influence in Cambodia. Since most city dwellers had come in contact with foreigners, Khmer Rouge soldiers forced people out of the cities and resettled them in the country. There, many died of starvation. The Khmer Rouge also tortured and murdered anyone it suspected of being disloyal.

The actions of the Khmer Rouge are an example of **genocide**, or the deliberate killing of an entire national or ethnic group. Executions and famine killed as many as 2 million Cambodians out of a population of

7 million. (See Connections With Literature, page 805, Haing Ngor: A Cambodian Odyssey.)

In 1979, Vietnamese forces invaded Cambodia and overthrew Pol Pot. They remained there until 1989. Khmer Rouge forces continued to fight from remote bases. The UN finally negotiated a peace settlement in 1991, and elections were held.

By 1998, Pol Pot had died, and Khmer Rouge leaders had put down their arms. Cambodians faced a dilemma: whether or not to put these former leaders on trial for crimes against humanity.



Escape From the Killing Fields

"They killed my family, they took my brother away," said Chhean Im. "They were always looking for some reason to kill us." Chhean Im was among those who survived the brutal Khmer Rouge reign of terror in the "killing fields" of Cambodia.

Like other Cambodians, Chhean Im had to return to her village. There, the Khmer Rouge forced her to work in the fields. For four years, she worked seven days a week and barely had enough to eat. She recalled:

“A few grains of rice in a bowl of water, that’s all the Khmer Rouge would ever give me to eat. A few times I stole a vegetable or some plant and hid it in my pocket, even though I knew they would kill me if they saw.”

Chhean Im faced death every day. She watched as soldiers killed people for the most minor crimes. "They would beat the person terribly. Then four of the Angka [secret police] would pick him up by the arms and legs and throw him alive on a big fire."

When the Vietnamese invaded in 1979, Chhean Im took advantage of the confusion in her village. "There was a lot of shooting," she recalled, and many villagers tried to

Effects of the War

Today, people in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos still feel the effects of war. The fighting killed millions of people and disrupted the lives of many others. Massive bombing destroyed villages, bridges, roads, and irrigation systems. In parts of Vietnam, the United States used deadly chemicals to destroy trees, making the land unusable. Everywhere, unexploded land mines still pose danger.

After the communist victory, many Vietnamese tried to escape the harsh political and economic conditions at home. Some left in leaky, unsafe boats. At sea, these "boat people" faced starvation, drowning, and attacks from pirates. The lucky ones reached harbors and found temporary homes in refugee camps.

Thailand, Hong Kong, and other countries reluctantly took in refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Today, hundreds of thousands still live in refugee camps. Many are afraid to return home.



Life in Cambodia In 1975, the Khmer Rouge took control of Cambodia and forced the people to leave the capital city of Phnom Penh. In 1979, when the Vietnamese captured the city, the survivors were allowed to return. Here, a Cambodian woman trudges along a road near a poster praising communism. **Human Rights** How did the Khmer Rouge deprive Cambodians of their freedom?

escape. "Some people helped me and I followed them." During her flight, she was lucky to avoid land mines, starvation, and capture. Many others were not so lucky.

After two weeks of running, hiding, and walking, she reached a refugee camp in Thailand. Eventually Chhean Im managed to join relatives who lived in the United States. Like many survivors of the killing fields, she now lives in southern California. ■

SECTION 3 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Dienbienphu, (b) Ho Chi Minh Trail, (c) Saigon.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Ho Chi Minh, (b) Ngo Dinh Diem, (c) Viet Cong, (d) Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, (e) Pol Pot.
- 3. Define:** (a) domino theory, (b) genocide.
- 4.** How was France's fight to regain control of Indochina part of the Cold War?
- 5.** How did the war in Southeast Asia spread after the United States became involved?
- 6.** Describe three results of the war in Southeast Asia.
- 7. Defending a Position** Do you think Diem should have allowed elections in 1955, even if it meant the communists might win? Why or why not?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Write a list of questions about how the war in Southeast Asia affected people in the United States. Then, ask a parent or older friend your questions and write down their answers. Conclude by writing a one-paragraph summary of what you have learned.

CHAPTER 12 REVIEW

Understanding Vocabulary

Match each term at left with the correct definition at right.

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| 1. protectorate | a. deliberate killing of an entire national or ethnic group |
| 2. encomienda | b. temporary rule by the military |
| 3. martial law | c. country whose policies are directed by an outside power |
| 4. domino theory | d. right to demand taxes or labor from people living on the land |
| 5. genocide | e. idea that if one nation fell to communist forces, neighboring nations would also become communist |

Reviewing the Main Ideas

1. How did the Industrial Revolution spur colonialism in Southeast Asia?
2. How did Thailand avoid European domination during the 1800s?
3. (a) Explain how the Philippines came under the rule of Spain. (b) Of the United States.
4. How did Japanese occupation strengthen nationalist movements in Southeast Asia?
5. (a) What were Ho Chi Minh's goals for Vietnam? (b) How did the Geneva peace agreement lead to further conflict in Vietnam?

Reviewing Chapter Themes

1. After the 1500s, European nations gradually gained control of Southeast Asia. Explain how two of the following extended their power: (a) the Dutch in Java, (b) the British in Malaya, (c) the French in Indochina, (d) the Spanish in the Philippines.
2. Some Southeast Asian nations gained independence by peaceful means, while others had to fight for freedom. Choose two nations and explain how each won independence.
3. Many Southeast Asian nations faced problems forming unified governments. Describe the challenges faced by Myanmar, Singapore, or the Philippines since independence.
4. Cold War tensions played a major part in the Vietnam War. (a) Explain how the Cold War influenced American policies in Vietnam. (b) Describe three results of the Vietnam War.

Thinking Critically

1. **Understanding Causes and Effects** (a) How did the British increase ethnic diversity in Malaya? (b) How did this affect Malaya after it gained independence?
2. **Analyzing Ideas** Why do you think that many newly independent nations fall under the control of dictators?
3. **Making Global Connections** Do you agree or disagree with President Johnson's decision to bomb North Vietnam? Give reasons to support your opinion.

Applying Your Skills

1. **Reading a Map** Study the map on page 267. (a) Which independent state existed between British and French territory? (b) Which European country held the least territory by 1914? (c) How does the map reflect the history of Southeast Asia?
2. **Using Your Vocabulary** Use the Glossary on pages 794–803 to review the meaning of the following terms: *export*, *imperialism*, *modernization*, *buffer state*. Use each term in a separate sentence about European influence in Southeast Asia.
3. **Constructing a Time Line** Use the information in the chapter to construct a time line of events relating to the Vietnam War. (a) Which events on the time line are related to the spread of the war to other parts of Southeast Asia? (b) How are Southeast Asians still feeling the effects of this war?