

Harold C. Hinton, Ph.D.

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FAR EAST AND SOUTHWEST PACIFIC

•Exit Mao Tse-tung . . .
enter Hua Kuc-feng

•Ten Hsiao-p'ing:
behind the throne?

•Koreagate

1977

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to provide, in brief,
a better understanding
of a vast region
of the world,
the author presents
an introduction to

the far east and southwest pacific

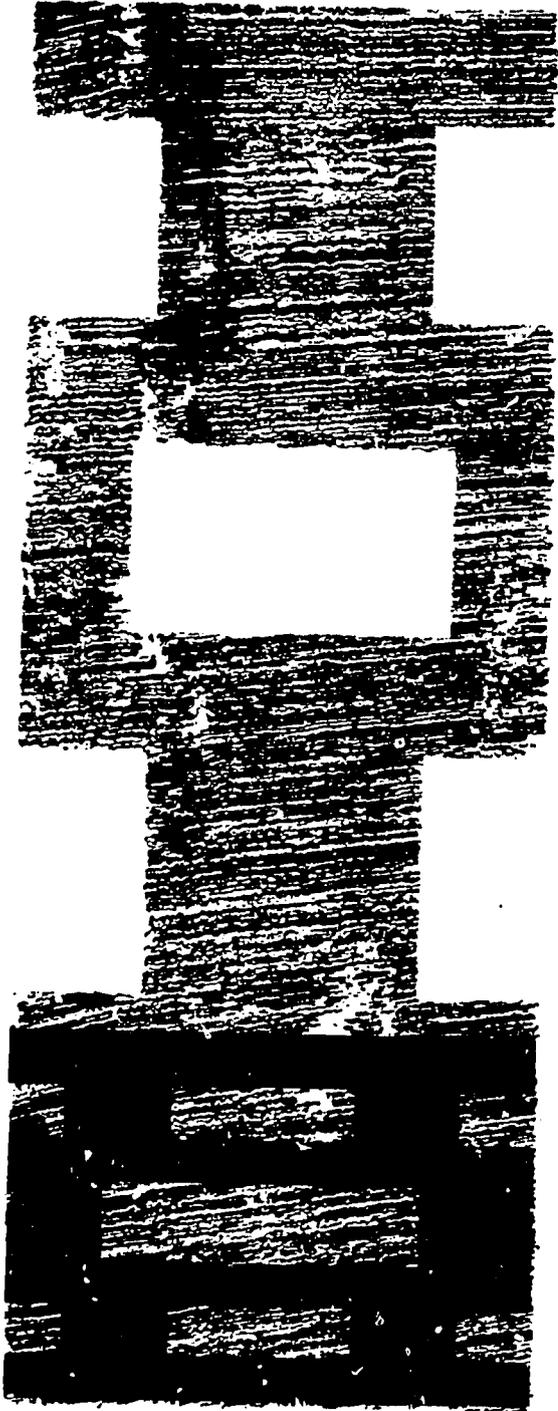
As with other titles in this series, the purpose of this volume is to provide a combination of necessary background and up-to-date, current information on each of the countries of the Far East and Southwest Pacific. There also is presented material on relations between the respective nations and in general, their international affairs. With this aim in mind, each annual issue incorporates substantial revisions and updating as compared with earlier ones.

The area covered in this volume is a vast one with a population of more than one billion. It is a region which has witnessed enormous changes in recent years. Japan, all but demolished in World War II, has recovered to the point of being the third largest industrial power in the world. This status has been accompanied by all of the expected strengths and vulnerabilities—inflation, pollution and a need for huge amounts of imported raw materials, etc. Korea has been partitioned into communist and non-communist states and was the theater of a major war. China has come under communist rule, first in cooperation but now in competition and conflict with the Soviet Union. A war that lasted more than twenty five years has brought North Vietnam, and later, South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia under communist rule. The end of Western colonial rule in the other countries of Southeast Asia shortly after World War II (other than Thailand, which never was a colony) has left them in widely varying stages of progress toward political stability and economic development.

It is often difficult to get accurate information of certain kinds about a region of such size and complexity. Some of the data presented at the beginning of each country are therefore the best estimate of the author. It is hoped that the maps and photographs will be helpful to a better understanding of geographic and other realities in this swiftly changing region of the world.

Washington, D.C., August 1977

H.C.H.



MAP AND OTHER SYMBOLS USED

- ◻ Capital
- ✈ Major Airport
- Major Road
- ▲ Mountains
- Swamp
- - - - Desert
- - - - Undefined Border
- ▲ Mountain Peaks

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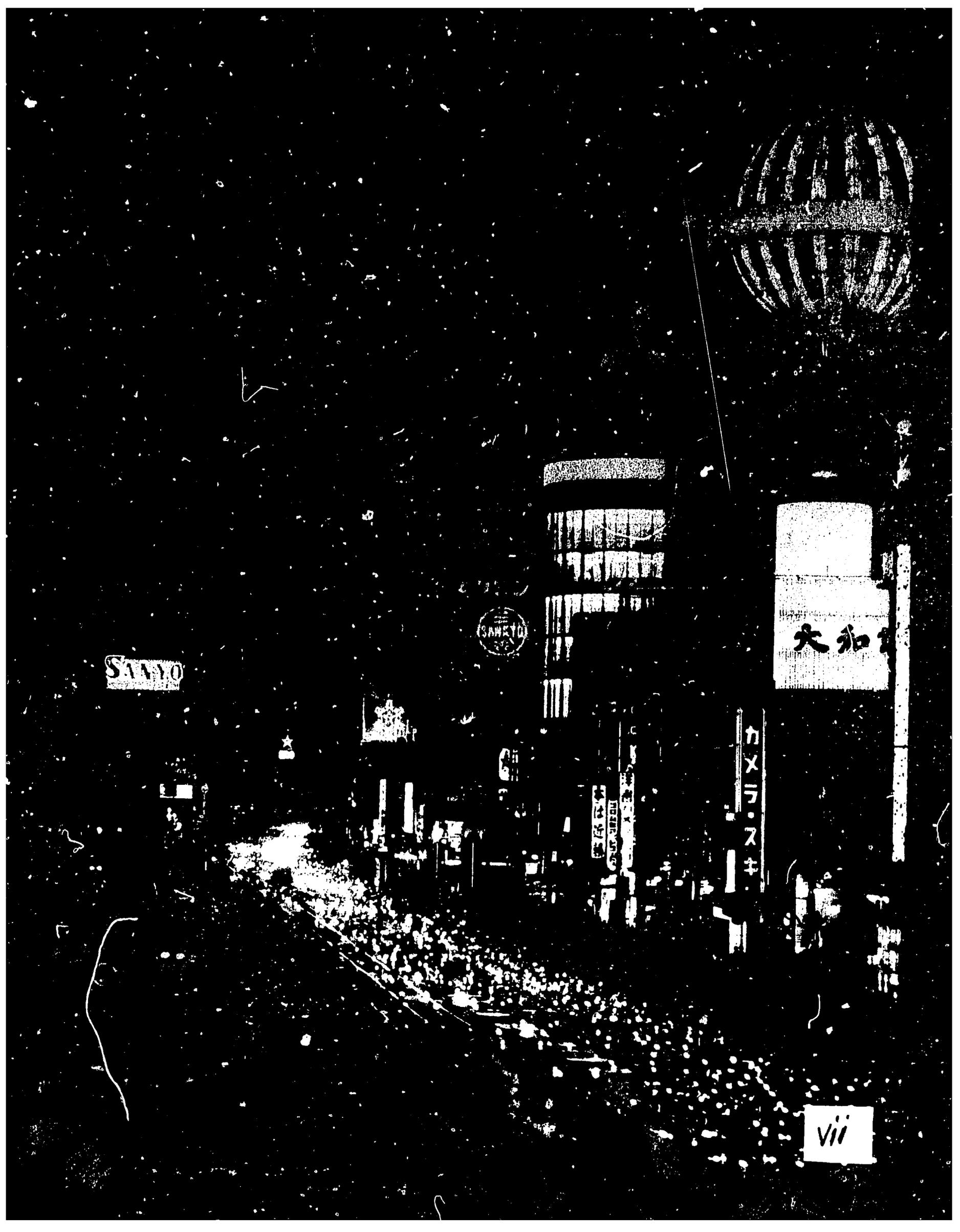
table of contents

Introduction	ii
Map: <i>The Far East and Southwest Pacific 1900</i>	2
Historical Background	
The People of Asia	3
Religious Beliefs	4
Medieval Conquerors	7
Economic Background	7
Nationalism, Communism and Revolution in Twentieth Century Asia	8
Australia	9
Burma	13
Cambodia	17
China	21
Indonesia	35
Map: <i>The Far East and Southwest Pacific 1977</i>	39
Japan	41
Korea	49
Laos	54
Malaysia	56
Mongolia	58
New Zealand	60
Papua New Guinea	62
Philippines	63
Singapore	67
Thailand	70
Vietnam	73
Small States and Dependencies	82

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SANKYO

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the peoples of asia

The origin of the peoples of East Asia is obscured by the veils of unwritten history; it is difficult and virtually impossible to trace the ancestry of the inhabitants of any nation or area with accuracy. The scattered remnants of skeletons and tools which have been preserved in the rocks of the region, and the physical appearance of the majority of the people in any given area are the only sources of guidance.

The most striking characteristic of the vast majority of the people of eastern Asia is their basically Mongol appearance. This is seen uniformly throughout the Chinese in the eyelid fold, incorrectly and with prejudice sometimes described as "slant eyes"; other identifying features include a broad nose, straight black hair and little facial and body hair even among the males. All of the foregoing are in dramatic contrast to the Caucasian characteristics which dominate Europe and the United States. The Chinese, and most other Asians tend to be shorter than Europeans and Americans.

The Japanese and Koreans come originally from a branch of the Mongols which lived a nomadic existence in the remote parts of Central Asia; the Japanese have some characteristics which came from intermarriage with the Caucasian Airu people who occupied the islands prior

to the arrival of the "newcomers" from the mainland.

The people of Mongolia, Sinkiang (China) and Tibet (China) all have a similar appearance and live a rugged life in some of the most inhospitable areas of the world. It is in these regions that the basic Mongol blood has remained unchanged for centuries; the eyelid fold is present to a slightly lesser degree than among the Chinese, and the complexion also tends to be darker than found in China.

The major peoples south of China in Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam originated for the most part in what is now Southwest China or Tibet; their Mongol heritage has been slightly modified by intermarriage with peoples living in Southeast Asia for countless centuries. The modern inhabitants of Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines are described as being of Malayo-Polynesian ancestry. Also short in stature, they tend to be slightly darker skinned than the Chinese.

The continent of Australia and the islands of New Zealand are the only two parts of this area of the world with a majority of Caucasians, almost all of whom are descended from British colonists. A few thousand primitive Bushmen survive in Australia, which has limited immigration to white persons. New Zealand has a minority group of Polynesian origin.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Confucianism ::

The moral and ethical thinking of Confucius, later expounded upon and formalized by other Chinese philosophers, constitutes the first systematic religion in the Far East. Confucius lived from about 551 to 479 B.C., and developed a system usually thought of as a religion. The basic ideal was a form of self-discipline which led to clear thinking and enabled the natural superiority of man to do greater good in all of his relationships. Education and moral influence enabled the ideal man to guide the lesser people around him with patience, justice and with a kind and fatherly attitude. A later Chinese philosopher, Mencius, modified and explained this system of belief, stating that by maintaining and creating an ever higher level of public

welfare through exemplary conduct, it would be possible for China's emperors and princes to peacefully govern those around them.

This system of morality was of great influence in China for many centuries, and became the basis for the existence of a class of civil servants and administrators who performed the functions of day-to-day governing for several dynasties of emperors. The religion migrated from China into Korea, Japan and Vietnam. With the passage of time it became fragmented into various sects. Even with this division, the basic ingredients of Confucius remain. This system of belief was never formalized into something administered or taught by a Church—it was preserved by the Chinese state which found it a useful tool to exercise its authority.

Buddhism ::

At about the same time that Confucius lived in China, Buddhism was founded in India by Gautama (c. 563-483 B.C.). This actually was, in some ways, a protest against the teachings of Brahmanism and Hinduism, which were then emerging in India. The *Buddha*, as Gautama is called, taught the idea of a continuous rebirth to the hardships of life, in human and animal forms, the notion that fate could be controlled by human efforts and also that a "good" person moved upward through several existences to an ultimate reward. The greatest reward possible according to this belief was the attainment of *Nirvana*—a state of nonexistence which ended the painful

rebirth into a continuation of burdensome lives. These teachings, which urged withdrawal of the person for meditation, created monastic communities in the ensuing centuries; the stress on personal religious experience made this much more of a missionary religion than Hinduism, contributing to its spread in the Far East.

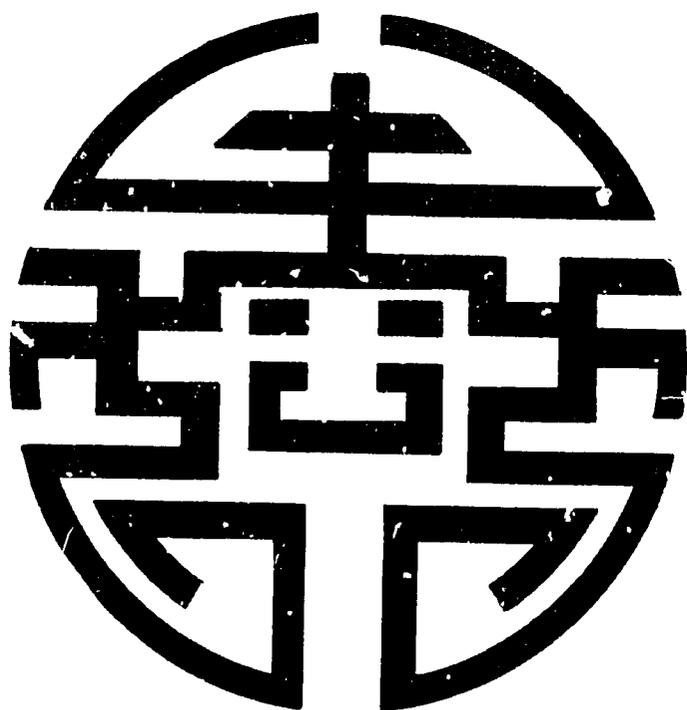
The form in which it migrated to Southeast Asia is known as *Hinayana* ("the Lesser Vehicle"), *Theravada* ("the Way of the Teachers"), or simply the Southern School of Buddhism. This school had its major home on the island of Ceylon, which was converted to Buddhist ideals in the 3rd century B.C. The *Hinayana* countries in Southeast Asia—Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and Burma—all have large communities of monks devoted to the daily practice of Buddhism. In recent times these communities have been influential and increasingly active in national and political affairs. Although the *Hinayana* Buddhists share the same central beliefs, there is no system of central authority regulating the monks, and almost every country has its own individual sect, such as the *Hoa Hao* of Vietnam.

Buddhism spread north and northeast from India in the first centuries of the Christian era in the form known as *Mahayana* ("the Greater Vehicle"), which entered Tibet, China, Korea and Japan. This form of the religion places less emphasis on good works and monastic withdrawal for contemplation, and greater weight on elaborate scriptures and faith. The canon (authorized texts) was printed in China in the 10th and 11th centuries, using some 130,000 wooden blocks on which characters had been carved. It was widespread in Central Asia until almost eliminated by the Turks, who had been converted to Islam.

Although *Mahayana* Buddhism became widespread in China, its prevalence was rather brief. It lost much of its following and influence after a few centuries because of persecutions at the hands of the Confucian civil administrators and because it failed to satisfy the Chinese temperament, seldom preoccupied with matters outside the world of the present.

A form of Buddhism developed in Tibet known as *Tantrism*, which was heavily influenced by a form of Hinduism that engaged in demon worship and varieties of supposedly magical practices. It still exists today particularly in eastern Tibet, but has been largely replaced by a newer form known as *Lamaism*, or "The Yellow Sect" to distinguish it from *Tantrism*. This is a combination of a purer form of Buddhism similar to *Mahayana* with an elaborate monastic organization common to *Hinayana*, but actually even more highly formalized. *Lamaism* in which the *Dalai Lama* is the ruling authority, spread to Inner and Outer Mongolia in the 16th century.

Although the term Buddhism is used to describe the beliefs of some of the people of Asia, without additional clarification the term is misleading. The teachings of Buddhism have changed over the centuries, and have been modified by so many varied external influences, particularly local beliefs of a basically animist nature. It does not contain established churches in the manner of Judaism or Christianity. The Buddhists retain the attitude that the teachings of their faith are always subject to further illumination, which may be in the form of minor variation or fundamental change. Less than 10% of the Indian people are followers of Buddhism today, in spite of the Indian origins of the belief.



Islam ::

An Arabic prophet living in the remote regions of the Middle East founded *Islam* in the 7th century A.D. This faith preached the belief in one God, revealed through the last of his prophets, Mohammed (Muhammed), a last judgment, the duty to donate to the poor and observance of the holy month of Ramadan. Mohammed personally stressed the need for daily and systematic prayer. Conquerors spread the faith eastward into India and Arab missionaries, traveling by sea, spread their beliefs to Indonesia as well as attracting sizable numbers of believers in China, Malaysia and the Philippines.

The other aspects of Islam are stressed in the Far East, including the concept of a resurrection into heaven and a system of predestination which is supposed to decide the fate and the behavior of man by divine decree. In reality, Islam is an extension and variation upon Judaic and Christian concepts and beliefs.

Hinduism ::

There are a small number of people exclusively in the Southeastern nations of Asia closest to India who are followers of Hinduism. This religion actually is the same as Brahmanism, the set of beliefs of most Indians with a history dating back to several centuries prior to the Christian era; as with Buddhism, it is also native to India. Because this system of belief is heavily dependent upon the historical Indian culture it did not spread as widely as Buddhism; the only countries in which it is significant in Asia are Cambodia, where it is overshadowed by Buddhism, and Indonesia, particularly in Bali.

Christianity ::

In spite of efforts to convert Asians to Christianity during the period of Western exploration and colonialism, there are comparatively few Christians in the area. The only nation with a proportionally large Christian community is the Philippine Republic, where Spanish missionaries had a relatively longer time to convert the people. In such areas in which missionaries are allowed access, such as Hong Kong, efforts continue, but actually the results are minimal, and are sometimes the product of the desire of converts for material benefits.

In South Vietnam there are a substantial number of Roman Catholic Christians who are descendants of the educated upper class of the period of French colonial rule. Their number was swelled by refugees when communist control became final in North Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh. In spite of their numbers, they are a minority when compared to the remainder of the South Vietnamese, who are predominantly Buddhist.

A major factor in the failure of Christianity to attract larger numbers in Asia has probably been the association in the minds of the people between the desire

for colonial military conquest and material wealth displayed by the Western nations, and the religion professed by the intruders. The differences between sects, within the Roman Church and also between the Protestants and Catholics have been difficult for the people of the Far East to understand, since they are told that Christianity is the teaching result of an all-powerful God living as man on earth.

Shinto ::

The Shinto beliefs emerged in the early Japanese migrants from Mongolia and actually were a flexible sort of animistic religion which gave human form to the various gods that ruled the forces of nature. This evolved into an organized system of mythology in which the sun goddess was paramount. As *Mahayana* Buddhism entered the islands, the two beliefs tended to merge into one. At minimum, it was possible to follow the ideologies of both without being inconsistent. Buddhism in Japan split into numerous sects of active followers and for several centuries Shinto beliefs were somewhat dormant, but not forgotten. In the late 19th and the first decades of the 20th century, the Shinto heritage gained greater importance, particularly the belief that the Emperor was a descendant of the sun goddess and possessed her divine powers. This revival of Shinto beliefs corresponded with a rise in militarism in Japan, culminating in World War II. After defeat by the allies, Japan renounced the idea of the divinity of the Emperor and Shinto lost its official status. The people who are nominally Shinto today almost all subscribe also to Buddhism and other faiths.



medieval CONQUEROR



Before the coming of Buddhism, which is a thoroughly humble and peace-loving religion, the remote areas of Central Asia and Mongolia were the birthplace of mighty conquering empires. A combination of factors, such as a great leader, weakness among the richer and more settled states of Central Asia, or possibly the drying up of pasture lands, gave rise to these movements from time to time during the "dark ages" of Christianity.

These forces were temporary unions of many nomadic tribes and of several racial ancestries into a powerful empire that would overrun Asia and part of Europe. The aggressive Mongols and Turks, born cavalymen with great stamina, used to riding for great distances, and fierce warriors, were able to subdue any opposing force with little difficulty. The Huns, who were more Turkish than Mongol, overran parts of North China, Central Asia and Eastern Europe during the leadership of Attila (445-453 A.D.) and in the succeeding decades.

A leader of Outer Mongolia, Temujin, renamed Chingis Khan, also spelled Genghis Khan, was able to create an empire in the early 13th century. The name he took means "Very Mighty King". His empire, as enlarged by his heirs, included all of China, Central Asia, most of Siberia and southern European Russia. His ability to conquer such a vast territory, which was usually defended by armies and populations that heavily outnumbered his forces, was based on the great mobility and horsemanship of his men. These talents enabled them to move rapidly from place to place, shift quickly in battle and to catch the enemy by surprise.

On the other hand, the nomadic people knew almost nothing of the arts of civilization and government administration, and had to call upon local inhabitants to help them run their empires. Their numerous empires usually lasted no longer than the needs and factors which produced them in the first place, and never more than a few generations. While they lasted, after initial massacres, they often provided a surprisingly efficient and humane government. The Mongol power faded to the extent that it only remained a threat to the Chinese, and they invaded the lands of others for the last time in the 17th century, when the Manchus, who were related to the Mongols, became paramount in China. Even these last Mongolian rulers were eventually all but assimilated into the Chinese population they ruled.

ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

In comparison to the industrial nations of Europe and America, the countries of the Far East and Southwest Pacific area, with the exception of Australia, New Zealand and Japan, are underdeveloped. Even communist China, with its capability in atomic weapons, has only begun to seriously exploit its potential mineral and industrial wealth. Among the more important underlying causes in recent history which help to explain the reasons for this are continued civil and international strife for more than 50 years and a density of population which prohibits broad investment necessary to modernization. The problem of how to feed the population now is more compelling than how to provide for the seemingly remote future.

Trade patterns and wealth from commerce have varied over the years, depending upon current political conditions in the region. Change is now occurring—China is seeking trading partners other than the Soviet Union because of the ideological differences which have arisen between the two. Japan is seeking wider trade with China and the resulting greater profits, but did not wish to and actually could not afford to alienate the United States, traditionally the major market for the products of modern Japanese industry.

The rise in the price of middle eastern oil after 1973 has been a severe blow to most countries of the region and especially to Japan, which is dependent on imports for nearly all its industrial raw materials.

The official policy of most governments emphasizes broad, long-term goals, but in the immediate future the prime goals of most countries of this region will be to provide at least the absolute minimum of food and comforts for their people. Foreign investments in noncommunist areas, which are greatly in need of aid, will be limited by the instability of the governments in power as well as by the threat, immediate or remote, of communist domination of much, if not all of Southeast Asia.

nationalism, communism and revolution in twentieth century asia

One of the principal and predictable results of Western influence, which contained the inherent threat of domination possible because of advanced technology, is an anti-Western sentiment in the non-Western and Asiatic nations and the desire to be independent of such influence and control; these elements are part of the structure of modern nationalism. As long as Western political control over colonial Asia seemed unshakable, there was little basis for the emergence of nationalism. When Japan defeated Russia in 1905, the myth that the Western powers were invincible was shattered.

Japan also showed by its example that it was possible, however difficult, for an Asian country to modernize itself along the lines of Western nations. During the brief period that it controlled substantial portions of Southeast Asia, Japan gave active aid and encouragement to revolutionary nationalists in the hope that they would join in resisting allied military efforts.

Next to the influence of the West itself and that of Japan's successes, the third great external influence on the emergence of modern Asian nationalism was the example of Soviet Russia. Before 1917 Marxism had almost no following in the area, but many Asiatic leaders became impressed with the seemingly rapid success of Lenin's *Bolsheviks* in seizing power within Russia in 1917. Of even greater interest was the loudly declared determination to modernize Russia along socialist lines, and to help the people of the non-Western world to throw off alien influence. The communism of Marx, prescribed for industrial nations of Europe and America, became the medicine which would cure the ills of the poor, non-Western countries.

Lenin attracted great attention with his theory that the main obstacle to progress in the non-Western world was Western "imperialism"; he urged that local nationalism, supported by Soviet Russia, could make progress toward expelling "imperialism." This would be, according to him, a preparation for the day when "proletarian" parties, in other words, communist parties, organized along the disciplined and effective lines of the *Bolsheviks*, could emerge and seize power. The combination of the concept of "imperialism", the exploitation of built-in nationalism and the triumph in Russia of a communist party has had an enormous influence in Asia and in the non-communist countries of the world. These ideas have become part of the mental equipment of many, although by no means all, Asian nationalists, whether or not they consider themselves communists. Stated otherwise, many Asian nationalists have adopted some communist ideas and techniques without becoming communists—or find it politically useful to act as though they were.

The result is a complex series of combinations of nationalist and communist elements, in which it is often difficult to see where the nationalistic spirit ends and the communist aims begin. The obvious communists are not hard to identify—Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam was certainly a communist and also a Vietnamese nationalist and probably saw no conflict between these two sides of his political personality.

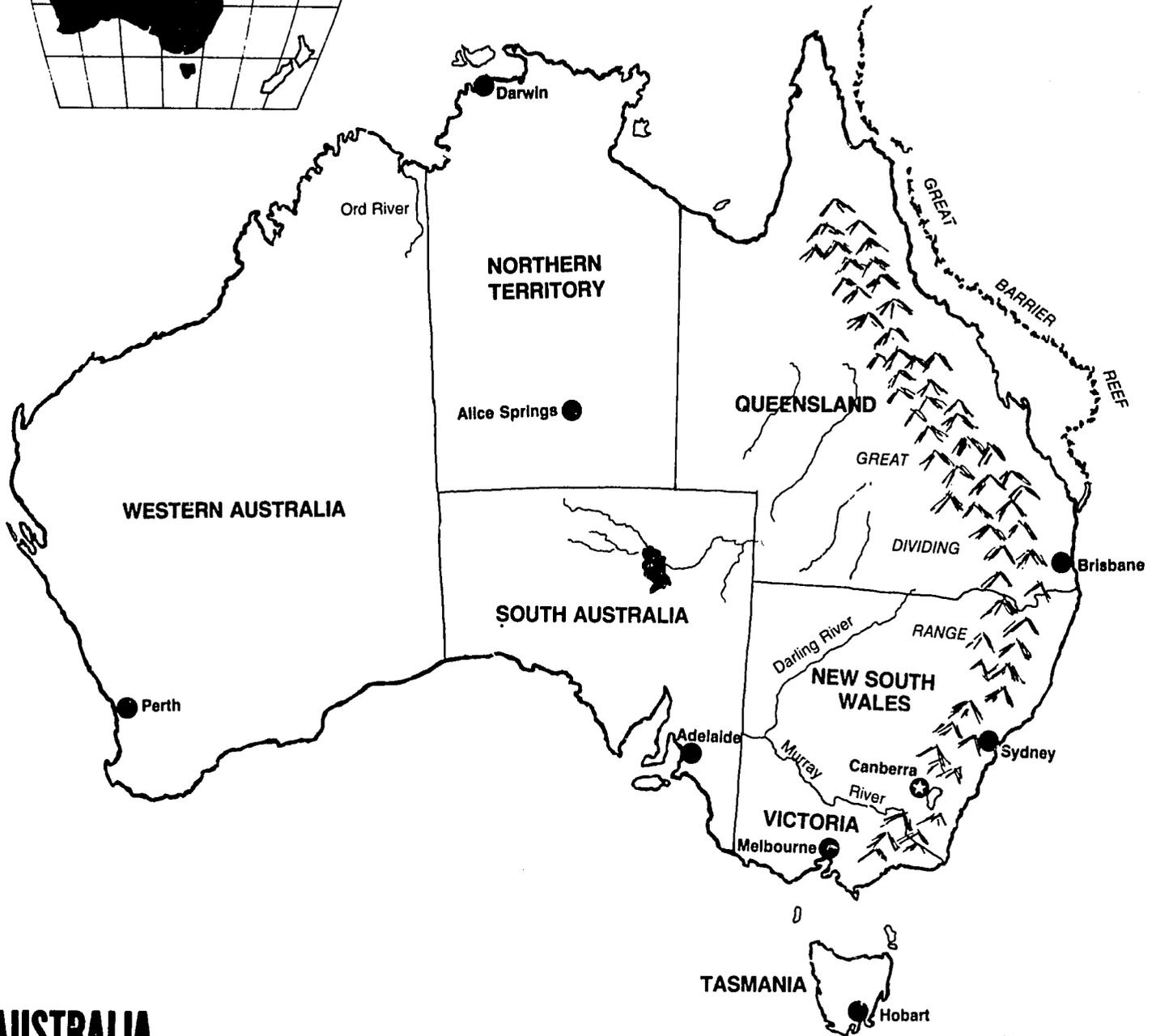
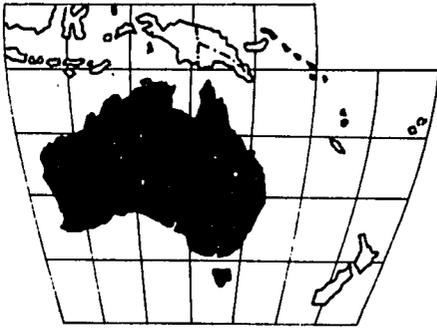
Anti-colonial movements began to assume importance in the colonies of Asia about 1920. The spread of Western education and political ideas, the limited measure of self-government granted by the colonial powers, and the influence of Woodrow Wilson's doctrine of self-determination—the idea that every people has the right to choose the form of government under which it will live—and the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia all played parts in the spread of nationalism.

The Chinese communities living in Asian countries other than their homeland were stimulated to nationalist activity by the revolutionary forces then at work within China, but usually preferred a continuation of Western political rule to the possibly oppressive rule of the native majorities where they lived. Non-Chinese nationalists usually resented the Chinese for their hard-earned wealth and economic influence, to the same degree that they also opposed the political control of the Western powers. As a result, their agitation was usually directed against both groups of outsiders.

Prior to World War II, in no country of colonial Southeast Asia were the nationalist movements even close to overthrowing the well-organized and equally well-armed colonial governments—they were unable to rouse large scale popular support for their cause of independence. There were only two nations of the area where any significant communist movement emerged before the War: Vietnam and Indonesia. The movement in the latter was centered on the island of Java. These were both areas which had a particularly elaborate and ancient culture that had been subjected to a very irritating form of colonial rule, consisting more of a belittling interference than outright oppression.

Except in Vietnam, the initial postwar and basically communist efforts to seize power tended to diminish with the increasing stability of new, non-Communist states in the 1950's. The Communist Chinese are the main promoters and would-be leaders of the movement in Asia, but with the exception of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and to a lesser extent Thailand, they have been unable to promote any forceful communist revolution or threat. In order to maintain its prestige among communist nations and parties, the Soviet Union has maintained and is increasing its contact with the area, especially in the form of sending industrial and military aid to Vietnam and Laos.

AUSTRALIA



AUSTRALIA

Area: 2,970,000 square miles.

Population: 13.9 million (estimated).

Capital City: Canberra (Pop. 208,000, estimated).

Climate: Tropical to subtropical in north, temperate in south; the interior is highly arid.

Neighboring Countries: Indonesia, Papua New Guinea lie to the north; New Zealand is to the east.

Official Language: English.

Ethnic Background: British (about 75%), other European, indigenous aborigines.

Principal Religion: Christianity.

Chief Commercial Products: Wool, wheat, meat, minerals.

Currency: Australian dollar (A\$1.00=\$1.02 U.S.±).

Former Colonial Status: British dependency (1788-1900).

National Day: January 26 (anniversary of first British landing at Sydney in 1788).

Chief of State: Right Honourable Malcolm Fraser, Prime Minister. Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II is titular Chief of State.

National Flag: A blue field with the Union Jack in the upper left quarter, a seven-pointed star in the lower left corner, and five stars at the right side.

The most barren part of the desert is composed of not much else other than centuries old rock. Temperatures in this desert area are quite cold at night and oppressively hot during the day. The seasonal variation runs from a maximum high of 130° F. to winter readings as low as -15° F.

Space does not permit a detailed discussion of the quaint forms of animal life common to this isolated continent. The arrival of the European settlers greatly reduced many of these unique species. The Duck-billed Platypus is a cross between bird and mammal—it lays eggs, but then nurses its young after they have hatched, yet its body is covered with fur. The largest kangaroo is the Grey Kangaroo, but it is outnumbered by thousands of smaller Red Kangaroos. The infant kangaroos are born prematurely and placed in the pouch of the mother to remain many months before emerging.

History: The continent of Australia hibernated during the many centuries of development of the western world. It was but thinly populated by an estimated 300,000 aborigines, a nomadic, tribal hunting and gathering society. About 160,000 aborigines remain today, but most have embraced a Western life style.

Ships of the Dutch East India Company touched on its coastline in the early 17th century; the Dutch explorer Tasman circumnavigated the continent in 1642-43. The first real penetration was by the British, led by Captain James Cook, who claimed the eastern portion of the island in 1770 in the name of the British Crown.

The principal interest of Britain in Australia was initially as a penal colony where its criminals could be exiled or held in prison. In the minds of the British there was need for such a place after the loss of the 13 colonies that became the United States. New South Wales was created a colony under a royally appointed governor in 1788.

Although initially populated by convicts and officials sent to control them, the Crown later permitted non-convict settlers to emigrate from the British Isles to Australia. Most of them were interested in sheep raising to which the island was ideally suited. A close social organization quickly emerged among these free settlers; they dominated the New South Wales Corps, which was a special military police force. They became very influential. They resisted and fought a succession of royal governors, sometimes gaining the right and privilege to use the services of convict labor at a low wage, and to expand their sheep raising activities. They also sought control over internal and external trade.

The famous Captain Bligh, the former commander of HMS *Bounty*, struggled with the New South Wales Corps when he was governor in 1805 and lost. The next governor, Macquarie, was much more respected and successful. He curbed the power of the police force, set limits on land grants and organized and permitted rapid economic development. No more convicts were sent to Australia after 1868.

The discovery of gold in 1851 gave a great boost to the Australian economy and was accompanied by a great deal of typical frontier-type disorders in the mining camps, in a manner similar to the developing American west during the same period. In the succeeding decades additional immigration of free settlers, exploration of the eastern continent and later the western part and general economic development took place at a rate which steadily accelerated.

The hot dry island called Australia is so immense that it is classified as a Continent—it is almost the size of the continental United States. With a width of 2,400 miles and a length of 1,970 miles, the country has a relatively smooth coastline which contains few harbors. Except in the north, close to Indonesia and Melanesia, it is isolated from the other nations of the world by wide expanses of water. This isolation has affected Australia in many ways, from its topography and animal life to its contemporary culture.

Australia is one of the oldest of the continents; the few mountains which it possesses have been worn with the passage of time and are today rounded in appearance and rise to heights of only up to 7,300 feet. The largest chain of mountains is found in the East and is called the Great Dividing Range; in the southeast they are known as the Australian Alps. They divide the narrow crescent of land along the coastline from the vast interior of the country and it is in this fertile area that the great majority of Australians live and also that where its largest cities are located.

To the west of these mountains there is a large lowland which begins the vast interior region often described as "The Outback." Its sporadic rivers occasionally widen into areas called lakes which are actually mud flats encrusted with salt. It is possible in this region, by drilling to great depths, to locate water in limited amounts which provides precious moisture to the surface.

To the southeast, in the regions of the Murray and Darling rivers, the land becomes more moist but the need for water is still so great that these rivers are drained off into irrigational ditches. Oftentimes the Murray River is unable to flow outside of the sand bank which encloses its exit to the sea close to Adelaide.

The Northern Territory and the territory of Western Australia are about 98% arid and semi-arid lonely desert. With the exception of settlements founded for the purpose of extracting mineral wealth, the population averages less than two persons per square mile, and in large portions the region is uninhabited. An occasional thunderstorm moistens the thirsty land of this region and grasses rapidly spring up from the ground as a result of the rain. They quickly flower, wither and die, dropping their seeds to the ground to await the many months before the next short rainfall.

AUSTRALIA

Six British Crown Colonies were unsuccessfully established in Australia from 1788 through the first half of the 19th century. By the end of that century, all had been granted self-governing independence. In 1901 the colonies became the six states of an Australian Federation under the name Commonwealth of Australia. Theoretically, the Chief of State remains the ruler of England since Australia remains within the (British) Commonwealth. Australia allied loyally during World War I to the British cause, and sent volunteer units who fought bravely on the Allied side in the Middle East and on the western front. The greater needs created by the British war effort also economically benefited Australia.

During the period between the two World Wars Australia continued to experience rapid economic growth. However, labor, represented by powerful unions, felt that the working man was not receiving the share he was entitled to of the fruits of his work, which led to widespread discontent. The Great Depression of 1931 crossed the oceans to invade Australia where it greatly harmed the country by a sharp drop in employment and foreign trade.

Prior to World War II the foreign policy of Australia was one of isolation with respect to the world community of nations. In spite of this Australia again dramatically responded to the outbreak of World War II when it came to the aid of the British in the European War in 1939, and in the years following joined the Allied Pacific effort. For Australia, the war was made much more complicated and dangerous by the entry of Japan into the Axis with Germany and Italy in 1941. The rigidly disciplined Japanese troops quickly conquered most of southeast Asia by mid-1942.

Australia became the base for the headquarters of General Douglas MacArthur after the fall of the Philippines. The Japanese killed thousands of Australian and British troops when they took Singapore in mid-1942. The real concern of the Australians was a fear that they also were going to be invaded. Darwin, the northern seaport, suffered heavy Japanese bombing raids. In early May the Japanese, having conquered New Guinea to the north, sent a large naval force towards the Solomon Islands—a vital stepping stone from which to invade Australia. Allied handling of aid power defeated this armada, destroying some 100,000 tons of the Japanese naval group.

The *Labor Party*, led by Prime Minister John Curtin, had come to power in October 1941, and was responsible for major changes in Australian international views during World War II. The country contributed many divisions of troops which served with eminent distinction in the slow, but successful battle against the Japanese empire. Having cooperated so closely with the United States in achieving victory, it was towards the United States that Australian strategic thinking turned after the war.

The post-war period brought great prosperity to Australia but it also brought the inflation which was rampant throughout the world community. This is the principal economic problem, though in 1974-1975 Australia, along with much of the rest of the world, entered a serious recession. Following the emergence of the Chinese communists as a

formidable power in southeast Asia, Australia increased its defense expenditures, which had been relatively small after World War II. It, New Zealand and other pro-western Asian nations entered into an alliance with the United States—the South Eastern Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)—to provide for common defense against the threat of Chinese and Asian communist movements. Australian troops took part in the war against communist terrorists in Malaya (1948-1960) and also battled in South Vietnam against the Viet Cong and northern Vietnamese.

Substantial postwar immigration, encouraged by the Australian government, resulted in a larger population, primarily Caucasian. Until 1966, Australian immigration policies discriminated against Blacks, Asians and other non-Caucasians and in earlier years this became known as the "White Australia" policy. Since 1966, these restrictions were increasingly removed; the overall rate of immigration has been reduced in the 1970's.

The country was governed by a coalition of the *Liberal Party* and the *Country Party* between 1949 and 1972, initially under its outstanding and witty leader, Robert Gordon Menzies. The Prime Minister after the resignation of Menzies in 1966 was Harold Holt, who maintained steady support for U.S. policies and efforts in Southeast Asia.

Elections held in December 1972 gave the *Labor Party* 70 of the 125 seats in the House of Representatives. The new Prime Minister, E. Gough Whitlam, a tall man of strong personality and intellect, recognized the People's Republic of China (communist) and established diplomatic relations with North Vietnam, North Korea and East Germany. He withdrew the remaining Australian troops from South Vietnam and established closer economic relations with Japan, while placing some restrictions on foreign investment which had been pouring into Australia's mineral-rich economy. He abolished the draft, lowered the defense budget and instituted fairer treatment of the aborigines.

The opposition *Liberal* and *Country* parties held a narrow majority in the Senate and blocked some of Whitlam's more controversial domestic measures. The States appealed to Queen Elizabeth II against a proposed Federal takeover of their offshore resources. There were charges the Whitlam government was under communist influence; inflation rose to 14 per cent per year.

Faced with these problems, Whitlam called an election in April 1974. It reduced his majority in the House of Representatives from 70 to 66, but enabled him to continue in office. Four constitutional amendments proposed by the Whitlam government were defeated by the voters. The controversial Whitlam managed, however, to get some of his measures passed by holding joint sessions of the Senate and House of Representatives. In July 1975 he fired his leftist Deputy Prime Minister, Jim Cairns, for corruption.

Whitlam's socialist tendencies and the poor state of the economy (inflation, unemployment) aroused increasing opposition. He was dismissed by the Governor General on November 11, 1975 after his budget had been defeated in the Senate. In the general election of December 13, the *Liberal-National Country Party* coalition won a landslide victory: 91 seats in the House of Representatives to 36 for Labor. Malcolm Fraser, the new Prime Minister, is conservative in his domestic policies and pro-American in foreign relations. He visited the U.S. in August 1976.

Culture: Apart from its small minorities of Bushmen (who are beginning to assert themselves politically), and Orientals, Australia is European and, specifically, British in culture and in population. It exchanges eminent artists, writers and scholars



Aberdeen Angus cattle on the Hunter River, New South Wales.

Courtesy: Australian Information Service

with the western world. Education is widely available; secondary schools are augmented by 12 colleges and universities which go to the post-graduate level. The accent of the Australians—due to the elements from which their forebears came in England—most closely resembles the accent of the British lower class. Many words have originated and are common in Australia which are not used in the rest of the English speaking world.

Because of the climate, outdoor sports such as swimming and tennis are very popular, and Australia has contributed many Olympic champions in these and other fields. Horse racing is widely enjoyed, and betting on the horses is a consuming topic of interest among all. The Australians have a justified reputation for an energetic wit and love of fun.

Two cities dominate urban life. Sydney faces the southeast coast and has a population of almost 3 million; Melbourne (2.7 million) faces the southern Bass Strait. All of the cultural entertainments and events common to Europe and America are abundant in both. Perth, with a population of 540,000 and lying on the southwestern coast, is caressed by a gentle climate similar to that found in the Mediterranean and Caribbean resorts of the western world.

Australia's Federal Capital is Canberra, a 20th century city, the basic plan for which was originated by Chicago architect Walter Burley Griffin shortly before World War I. Today, a garden city of more than 200,000 people—and over 8 million trees planted in the last half century—occupies the site of a former sheep station ranch in the foothills of the Australian Alps.

Economy: Sheep raising is of fundamental importance to the Australian economy—30 per cent of the world's wool is produced here. The somewhat inhospitable climate, particularly during rainy periods, is able to support vast herds of Merino sheep, known for their wool more than for their meat. During the dry periods those sheep which cannot obtain water from

the artesian wells die by the hundreds of thousands. Their numbers, and also the herds of cattle, are periodically threatened by the overwhelming population of rabbits, which have in past years caused acute shortages of food by consuming virtually everything green. The rabbit problem has been reduced by the introduction of viruses which are fatal to them.

Only about 1 per cent of the land is used for food production; the main planted crop is wheat. The areas which are forested are limited to the East and South, where eucalyptus trees tower as high as 300 feet.

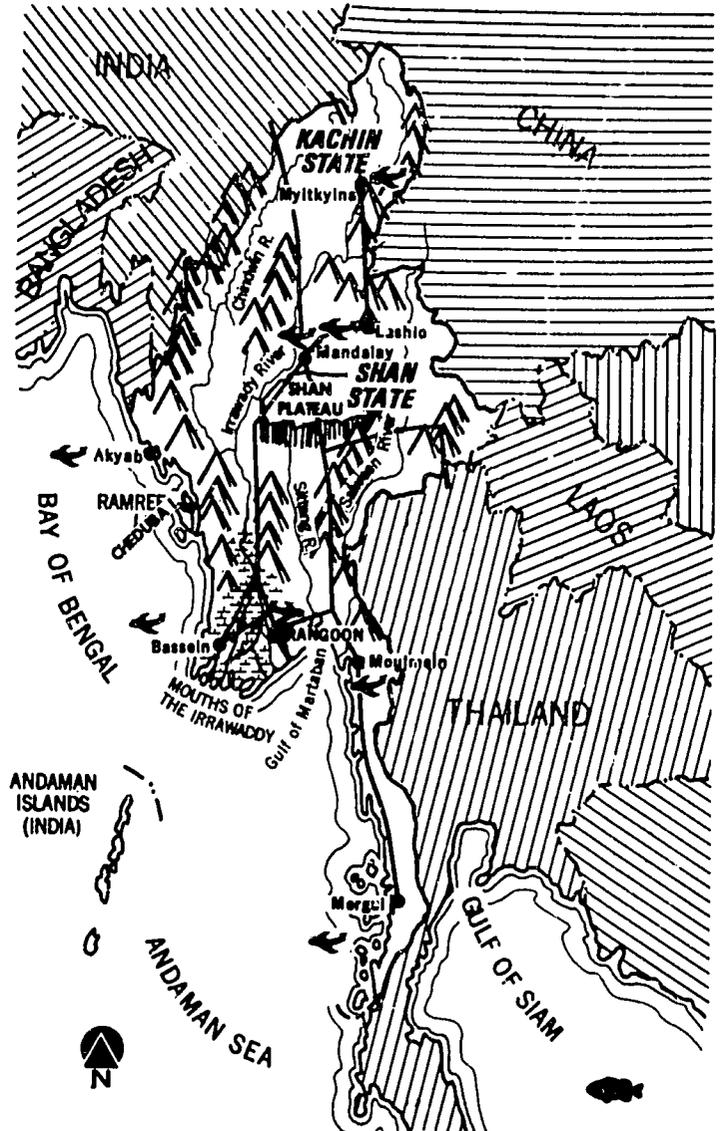
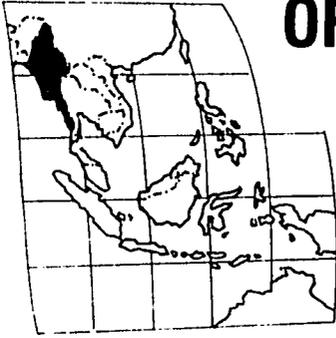
Australia's minerals are becoming increasingly important and have played a great role in promoting settlements and development of the continent. Deposits are located principally in the South, the central region and the West. Copper and gold are historically important, but today they are totally surpassed by lead, coal and iron, which are available in almost unlimited quantities. Recent discoveries of petroleum provide 70 per cent of Australia's needs. It also contains one quarter of the world's known uranium deposits.

Although remaining at a relatively high and prosperous level, the economy of Australia has been strained by inflation and unemployment.

The Future: Other than the very remote possibilities of a total collapse of world trade or World War III, Australia is one of the few nations of the world which has no other basic problems. Political stability has become a tradition and will probably continue. Water shortage, ultimate exhaustion of mineral resources and the pressures of population on fertile portions of the land are not immediate problems, but will have to be faced eventually. It is possible that progress in science and technology will partially lessen the effects of this combination of problems.

Relations with the Asian nations, particularly Japan, will continue to grow in importance.

THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE UNION OF BURMA



BURMA

The long western coastline of Burma faces the tropical waters of the Bay of Bengal in the North and the Andaman Sea in the peninsular southern regions. The northern part of the country is actually a moist and hot basin—it is separated from India and Pakistan by high, forested ridges and lower valleys, and from China, Laos and Thailand by mountains and by the Shan Plateau which combine to form a crescent enclosing Burma.

The mountains in the plateau region are not particularly high when compared to those in other countries of southern Asia; they reach a maximum height of about 9,000 feet. The Irrawaddy River originates in the mountainous region of the north, turbulently descending to the lowlands where it is transformed into a sluggish, muddy stream of water. It is along this river and also along the Sittoung River that the largest cities of Burma are located, including Rangoon and Mandalay.

The northern mountains are inhabited thinly by people who are mostly non-Burman; they live principally in the thick forests where the trees grow that become beautiful teak wood. Many are primitive and non-Buddhist—rumors of head-hunting in this area have persisted for centuries.

The great majority of the people live in the crowded central valley where great quantities of rice are raised each year, much of which is exported. The comparatively cool and dry season which starts in November, ends in about mid-February when the wind changes from its northern origin to a warm beginning over the Bay of Bengal. The air becomes hotter during April and May, and periodic storms begin to appear on the horizon.

In June the full force of the southwest monsoon rains inundate the coastline. It is in this region that an average of 200 inches of rain fall each year, but the further inland regions receive less rain as their distance from the coast increases. The rains abate in late October; the wind again comes from the North, providing a cooler and drier relief

Area: 261,700 square miles.

Population: 30.3 million (estimated).

Capital City: Rangoon (Pop. 1.74 million, estimated).

Climate: Tropical, with torrential rains during the summer monsoon (June-November) in the coastal areas.

Neighboring Countries: China (North and East); India, Pakistan (West); Laos (East); Thailand (East and South).

Official Language: Burmese.

Other Principal Tongues: English, Chinese, Karen, Shan.

Ethnic Background: Oriental Mongoloid mixtures, including Burman (60%) in the central valley area; Karen (12%) in the Pegu Yoma and Karen State; Shan (6%) in the Shan Plateau and Chindwin Valley; Chin and Kachin (5%) in the western mountains and extreme north, respectively; Was (2%) a very primitive group along the Chinese Border; Chinese, Indian, Pakistani and other (15%).

Principal Religion: Buddhism.

Chief Commercial Products: Rice, petroleum, timber.

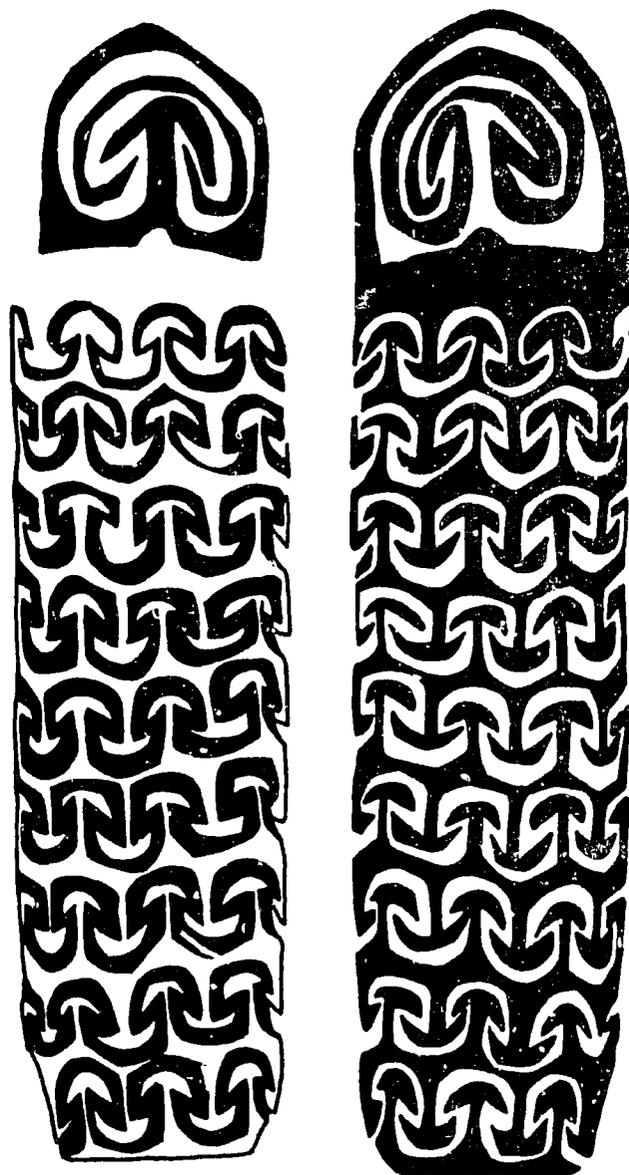
Currency: Kyat (4.76 kyats = \$1.00 U.S.) (unstable).

Former Colonial Status: British dependency (1886-1947).

Independence Date: January 4, 1948.

Chief of State: Ne Win.

National Flag: Red field, with a blue union in the upper left corner containing a large five-pointed star in the center surrounded by five smaller five-pointed stars representing the constituent states of the Union of Burma.



from the oppressive moisture of the preceding months.

History: In the early centuries of the Christian era, the fertile coastal region of Burma was inhabited by the Mons, who had cultural characteristics quite similar to those of India. In about 1000 AD they became converted to *Hinayana* Buddhism which had come from India by way of Ceylon—they in turn transmitted this sect to other people living in the region, including the Burmans.

The adjective "Burmese" is used to describe all of the people living within this country; "Burman" is used to designate the largest ethnic group. Burmans are closely related in terms of language and appearance to the Tibetans, and seem to have moved southwest into Burma from the remote regions of eastern Tibet beginning about 800 A.D. Although they have the characteristic oriental flat nose, they usually do not have the eyelid fold of their Chinese neighbors; the color of their skin varies from

deep brown to extremely light in color.

The Burmans emerged as the most powerful force in the country by the mid-eleventh century under King Anawrata, who established a national capital in the central city of Pagan, from which most of the country was subdued. The Shan people, who lived in the northeastern part of Burma disliked Burman rule, and in the late thirteenth century requested the protection of the Mongol empire which ruled China. The emperor Khubilai Khan sent a large force of cavalymen who invaded Burma, totally destroying the Burman kingdom.

The Mongols did not remain for any great length of time; when they left the Shan established a number of states which were under Burman influence, but which governed the nation. From about 1300 to the mid-eighteenth century Burma's history is one of repeated destructive civil wars among the Burmans, Mons and Shans. No one emerged victorious—these wars served only to limit the development of Burma.

BURMA

European merchants and explorers appeared along the coast after 1500; although the Dutch had trade bases for a brief period, there was no early colonization of Burma. In 1753, a new Burman kingdom emerged under King Alaungpaya, rapidly reuniting the several small states into which Burma had been split by civil war. This warlike kingdom raided Thailand, fended off two invasions of the Manchu dynasty of China, and in the early 19th century invaded Assam to the west.

The British East India Company which was in control of Assam at that time caused British troops to push the Burmans out of the area in the First Burmese War (1824). The British took over the Arakan and Tenasserim coasts, and advanced up the Irrawaddy River. Faced with defeat, the Burmans surrendered those coasts and permitted the British to maintain a minister at the Burman capital of Ava. However, they treated the British with contempt and interfered with colonial commerce, which led to the Second Burmese War of 1852. Trade relations were eventually established in a commercial treaty in 1862, giving the British the right to trade throughout Burma.

In 1878 Thibaw became king and rapidly alienated the British by again interfering with their trade and establishing relations with the French. This resulted in the Third Burmese War (1885-1886) which ended Burman rule. The country was governed as a province of British India until 1937 when it was changed to a Crown Colony.

The emphasis during the British colonial period was on profitable trade and not on the welfare of the various

ethnic groups in Burma. In depriving the Burmans of control, the British aroused the hate of this largest group of Burmese people; the minority Karen, Shan, Chin and Kachin people looked to the British for protection from the Burmans, and thus were less antagonistic towards their colonial rulers. The British also undermined the influence of the Buddhist monasteries and imported large numbers of Indians to perform skilled and semi-skilled tasks, rather than training the Burmans for these jobs. Thousands of Chinese also entered to engage in trade. These foreign minorities caused anti-Indian and anti-Chinese riots in 1931. The anti-foreign Burmans resisted adoption of European skills and cultural patterns more successfully than the people in almost all of the other British colonies.

There was considerable economic growth during the colonial period; Burma became one of the chief rice exporters of southeast Asia, the lower Irrawaddy valley was cleared of its dense forests and brought under cultivation. Burman labor was used for the cultivation of the huge rice crops.

In 1937 the British granted a degree of self-government to Burma which included an elected legislature and a cabinet. The lack of experience in government on the part of the Burmans created a basic instability in the government; there was little support among the people for the elected ministers and officials.

When the Japanese invaded Burma in 1942, they were welcomed by the people, and by many Buddhist monks. Chief Minister Ba Maw of the colonial government ac-

The pavilion of the Shivo Dagon pagoda, Rangoon.

Courtesy: World Bank



cepted leadership in a puppet government established by the Japanese in 1943. Although the people had welcomed their conquerors, the Japanese quickly set up a very oppressive administration designed to exploit Burma's capacity to produce rice. Active resistance soon formed centered around the *Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL)*, a political movement composed of left-wing nationalists and some communists, at the head of a guerilla army led by the Burman popular hero Aung San. The Allied forces, in an effort to establish a supply route to southern China, in order to support the war against the Japanese in that country, slowly fought their way through Burma in 1944-45.

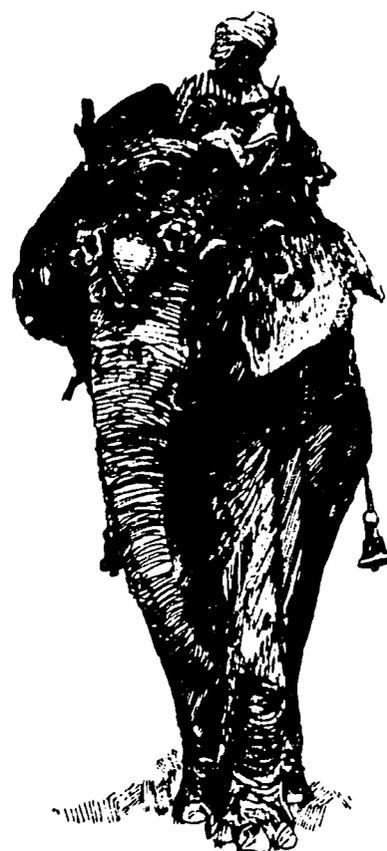
The country was eventually liberated by mid-1945. The British tried to establish a government along the line of the pre-war pattern, but friction erupted immediately because of the dissatisfaction of the *AFPFL* led by Aung San. The British government, controlled by the *Labor Party* of Prime Minister Attlee, was anti-colonial and nearly bankrupt—it was in the process of giving up its control over India and Pakistan. It agreed in 1947 to give Burma its independence; the *AFPFL* chose then to leave the British commonwealth entirely.

Aung San was assassinated in 1947 at the instigation of U Saw. (In the Burmese language "U" is a title, not a name.) U Nu, an attractive and fervently Buddhist member of the *AFPFL*, took control of the government. Burmese communists threatened the government of Burma in the years following 1948—in 1949 the government con-

trolled little of the nation outside of Rangoon. The lack of cooperation between insurgents enabled the Burmese army under Ne Win to reduce the revolution to a much lower level by 1951, although he did not eliminate it completely.

Communist China was not involved in the civil strife. The Burmese, although independent, were not experienced in operating an effective government; the *AFPFL* split and became a coalition of parties with a great degree of inefficiency, corruption and factionalism. The leftist-socialist group was led by U Nu; the more conservative wing was led by Ba Swe. The split between the two factions resulted in an abdication by U Nu in the fall of 1958; Burma was ruled by the military commanded by Ne Win until February 1960. Little progress was made toward solving the political problems of the country, or toward getting the sluggish economy moving during this period of military rule.

Elections were permitted in February 1960 which resulted in U Nu's faction being returned to office. In March 1962, adverse political and economic conditions again caused the military to intervene. This time Ne Win abolished the existing political parties, imprisoned a number of political leaders, including the highly popular U Nu, and established a military dictatorship under the *Union Revolutionary Council* which he led. He dramatically announced that he would make Burma a completely socialist, but not a communist state. The revolts had continued, particularly in rural areas, during the post-inde-



BURMA

pendence years. Ne Win was unsuccessful in negotiating an end to the revolution in 1963, and then launched military operations and jailed a number of communist leaders. The present government of Burma is repressive and unpopular—the army has proved unskilled and ineffective in managing the economy and agriculture is in a particularly poor condition. Relations with the United States were strained by the presence of Nationalist Chinese troops within Burma after they were expelled from what is now Communist China; Burma claims that there are now as many as 3,000 Nationalist Chinese in the country. Relations with Communist China, which formerly were polite and sometimes even cordial, deteriorated in the spring of 1967. This was principally caused by the effect of Mao Tse-tung's "Great Cultural Revolution" on the Chinese living in Burma, who are regarded with some distrust by the Burmese.

In late 1968 it became increasingly evident that the Burmese had acquired greater confidence in their ability to withstand the displeasures of Communist China. Contributing to this awareness were a good harvest, the reported killing of the communist leader, Than Tun and a tendency of some of the tribal insurgents to draw closer to the government because of pressures from the Burmese communists and the regime of Mao Tse-tung and his supporters in China.

Ne Win invited a number of former political leaders in early 1969 (some of whom had been recently released from jail) to advise him on Burma's political future. They urged a return to elected government instead of military rule. When Ne Win refused, U Nu went into exile and announced that he would try to lead a political movement for the overthrow of Ne Win. China is supporting armed revolts near the Sino-Burmese border by communist and tribal minority elements. On the other hand, diplomatic relations with China improved somewhat and ambassadors were exchanged at the end of 1970.

Since the end of 1969, Ne Win has been in the process of making Burma a one-party state, controlled by the *Burma Socialist Program Party*, a leftist movement with some communist elements, headed by himself. He also appears to be trying to reduce the political role of the military in favor of civilians. A new constitution was adopted by referendum at the beginning of 1974.

The country was renamed the *Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma*. The parliament is unicameral and is known as the *Hluttaw* (People's Congress). Real power is exercised by a 29-man Council of State, chaired by Ne Win and dominated by him and his colleagues. Ne Win officially is president of the Republic.

Inflation, shortages of basic commodities, including even rice, and severe floods, contributed to growing political unrest in 1974. In December, the funeral of U Thant, the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, turned into an occasion for riots by students and Buddhist monks that were suppressed by troops.

Relations with China were somewhat strained by continued Chinese support of communist insurgents in the Wa and Shan states along the Sino-Burmese border. Rangoon, in an unusual step, acted to present its side of the story to the people. The rebellion, however, continues to be a serious problem. Ne Win survived an attempted military *coup* and a period of political tension in the summer of 1976.

Culture: *Hinayana* Buddhism pervades almost every aspect of Burmese culture. The monks of this sect are numerous and influential—many Burmese males spend part, if not all, of their lives in monasteries. The countless temples and shrines have been constructed with great care and with precious materials which combine to create structures of exquisite beauty; the best known of these is the huge and ornate Shwe Dagon in Rangoon. A large and beautiful complex of temples at Pagan, near Mandalay, was seriously damaged by an earthquake in 1975. Although the Buddhists teach the normal traditions of Buddhism, there is still among the people a widespread belief in Animism, especially with respect to the existence and activities of "nats" which are spirits within objects.

The monasteries dominated education under the old monarchy and still are the principal source of learning in Burma. Women have enjoyed a high degree of freedom and social equality; they can inherit property, keep their maiden names after marriage and have equal rights in contracting marriage and suing for divorce. The Burmans, gay and humorous, are also prone to physical violence when they are angry.

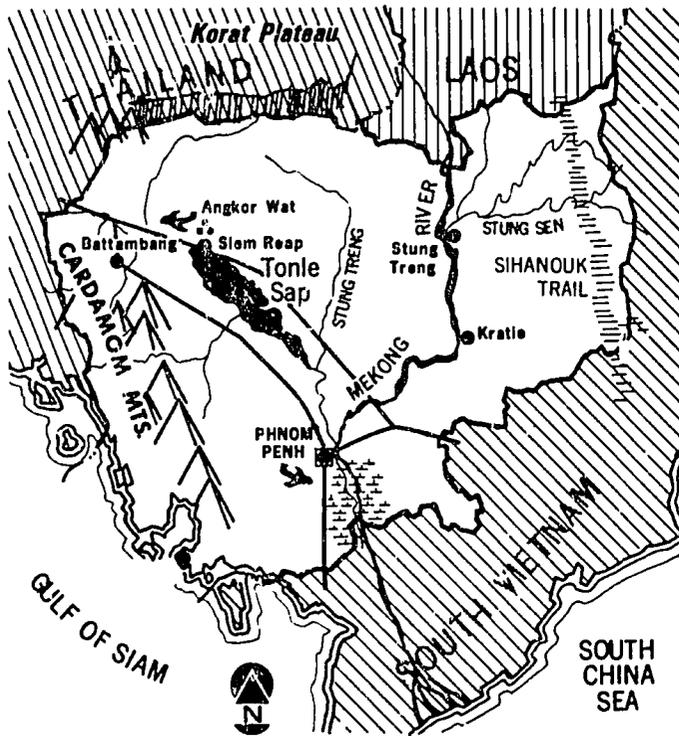
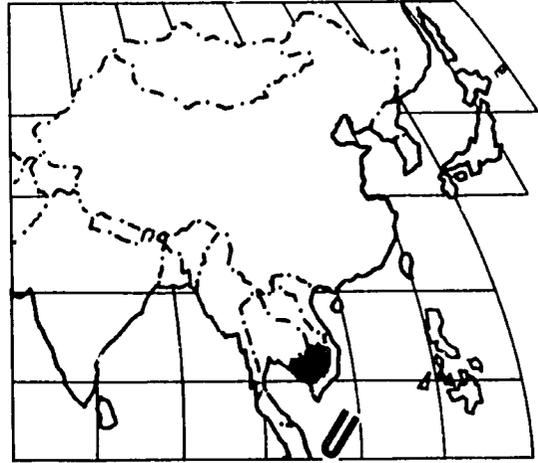
The minority groups living in the rural north are suspicious of the Burmans, and for the most part avoid contact with them. They live in agriculturally based societies.

Economy: Rice, grown in the fertile river valleys, completely dominates the economy of Burma. Formerly the world's leading rice exporter, it is now second, principally because of political unrest and mismanagement of the economy. Mining and export of minerals has also suffered from these problems.

The export of beautiful tropical and hard woods, of which Burma has varieties unknown in any other country, has been developed only to a fraction of what is possible. Except for some small textile and handcraft manufacturers, industry is non-existent. The standard of living of the Burmese, although rising slowly, is one of the lowest in the world and even of southeast Asia. Burma has only received a modest amount of foreign aid from the greater world powers principally in communications and small industry. Steps were taken in 1970 to encourage foreign tourism, as well as drilling for offshore oil by foreign oil companies. Burma is a major clandestine producer of opium; recently, however, the government has begun to crack down on drug traffic. Burma modified its isolationism to the extent of turning to the World Bank for credits in the summer of 1976.

The Future: With all of the social and economic problems of an underdeveloped country and with an unpopular and ineffective military government, the immediate future of Burma is bleak. Before major progress will be possible, Burma must end its state of unfriendly isolation from its neighbors and the powers of the world, adopt a more moderate and effective government, settle its internal conflicts peacefully, and become familiar with the technical processes of the world powers. The biggest unknown at this point is the long-term policy of China toward Burma.

DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA (CAMBODIA)



- Area:** 66,606 square miles.
- Population:** 7.3 million (estimated).
- Capital City:** Pnom Penh (Pop. 1.3 million, estimated).
- Climate:** Tropically hot with a rainy monsoon season during the summer from May to October.
- Neighboring Countries:** Thailand (North and West); Laos (North); Republic of Vietnam [South Vietnam] (East).
- Official Language:** Khmer (Cambodian).
- Other Principal Tongues:** French, Chinese, Vietnamese.
- Ethnic Background:** Cambodian (Khmer) about 65%, Chinese about 15%, Vietnamese about 10%, primitive and other about 10%.
- Principal Religion:** Buddhism (Hinayana sect).
- Chief Commercial Products:** Rubber, Rice.
- Currency:** Riel (R 35 = \$1.00 U.S.).
- Former Colonial Status:** French Protectorate (1863-1949); Associated State within the French Union (1949-1955).
- Independence Date:** September 25, 1955.
- Chief of State:** Khieu Samphan, Chairman of the State Presidium.
- National Flag:** Three horizontal stripes of blue, red and blue with an ancient temple called Angkor Wat in the center of the red stripe.

CAMBODIA

Cambodia has a rather short coastline which runs about 150 miles along the warm waters of the Gulf of Siam. The land stretches from this coast in a wide plain, which is traversed in the eastern part of the broad waters of the lower Mekong River. The western part of the plain is dominated by a large lake known as Tonle Sap, twenty miles wide and one hundred miles long—a body of fresh water that produces a heavy annual harvest of fish needed by the Cambodians, who do not eat meat because of Buddhist beliefs.

The borders with Laos and South Vietnam run through thickly forested foothills that rise to highlands at the demarcation lines. The greater part of the northern border with Thailand consists of a steep series of cliffs;

the part of Thailand closest to Cambodia is a plateau which is situated about 1,500 feet above the plain. The western border with Thailand and most of Cambodia's coastline is occupied by the Cardamom, Kirirom, and Elephant Mountains, which rise to heights of 5,500 feet.

Much of the central plain, which is the largest by far and is economically the area of prime importance in Cambodia, is regularly flooded by the mighty Mekong River in an uncontrolled fashion—there are no elaborate dikes to contain the waters such as are found along the Red River in North Vietnam. The rains which begin in May are the first cause of flooding; melting snows in Tibet and China in July add to the volume of water, which is also joined by monsoon waters from Thailand and Laos. By mid-September the flood waters may cover as much as 8,000 square miles of land. These are not violent waters—they deposit a fine silt which enriches the land and they also

CAMBODIA

bring huge quantities of fish to the Tonle Sap lake, permitting annual harvests of up to 15 tons per square mile of water surface.

The waters recede in October, and the winter season begins in November, bringing slightly cooler and much drier weather except in the western and southern mountains, where there is sporadic rainfall.

History: The Khmer people, from whom the modern Cambodians are descended, first organized themselves under a state usually known by its Chinese name of Funan, which emerged about 500 A.D. in southern Cambodia. This was apparently a result of trade with, and immigration from India to Cambodia via the Kra Isthmus which is now the southern part of Thailand. In the early 10th century a powerful state known as the Khmer Empire arose, with its capital at Angkor, north of Tonle Sap, where the huge and complex palaces were painstakingly constructed during the course of several centuries and are now a major tourist attraction.

The people were converted after 1000 A.D. to the southern school of Buddhism which originated on the island of Ceylon and is referred to as *Hinayana* Buddhism. At its height in about 1200, the Khmer Empire controlled much of what is now Vietnam, Thailand, Laos and Burma. For a number of reasons, including over-extension of its resources and attacks by the Thai from the North, the empire declined a century later and was ultimately destroyed by the Thai about the end of the 15th century. For the next three and one-half centuries, Cambodia was sandwiched between the Annamese of Central Vietnam and the Thai to the north and west, and was almost continuously dominated by one or the other, or both.

French interest in Cambodia was stimulated in the late 1850's by British advances in Burma. Both powers thought of Southeast Asia principally as a stepping stone to the supposedly vast treasures and markets of Southwest China. Although it established a protectorate over Cambodia in 1863, France did not dethrone the reigning family; the area was increasingly drawn into the Indochinese colony created at the end of the century in an attempt to rival the much larger British Indian Empire. The French prevented the Thais from moving against Cambodia and protected it also from its other traditional overlord, the Annamese, who also had become part of the Indochinese colony.

This protection was welcomed by the Cambodians, and as a result, there was not the violently anti-French attitude in the post-World War II period in this part of Southeast Asia that arose in neighboring Vietnam. As in other parts of South Asia, the existence of a stable colonial administration attracted a sizable number of Chinese immigrants, who quickly emerged in a virtually dominant position in profitable ventures as commercial middlemen.

Japan quickly overran Cambodia in 1941, and as a token of appreciation, two of the Cambodian border provinces were awarded to Thailand, by then the official ally of the Japanese. Although they were returned after World War II, the Cambodians have a lingering suspicion that the Thai still covet them.

Politics in Cambodia were dominated after the return of the French in 1946 by the single popular and unpredictable man who ruled until 1970: Prince Norodom Sihanouk. He had been made king by the French in 1941 but became impatient with the conservative traditions of the monarchy and interested in the liberal political movements within the country; he abdicated in 1955. Freed of the burdensome ceremonial duties and

able to play a free role in politics, he became premier and quickly took advantage of the French defeat in Vietnam (see Vietnam) to declare the independence of Cambodia.

In 1960, Sihanouk abolished the monarchy and became the titular as well as actual chief of state. Nationalistic, but not anti-French, he had an immense popularity with the people of the nation. He skillfully used this popularity to cope with what he regarded as his major domestic problems—the traditional aristocracy, the partly westernized intellectuals, the businessmen, the small communist movement and a segment of right-wing opponents who he believed were supported by Thailand. His efforts were almost uniformly successful at first. He founded and continued to lead the *Sangkum*, or *Popular Socialist Movement*, which was the only significant political party in the country. He did, however, allow his Premier, General Lon Nol, to exercise some power.

But for the popularity of Sihanouk at home, Cambodia would never have been able to deal with the external pressures with which it was faced. In order to keep open the largest number of possible alternatives, Sihanouk remained "neutral" in the international cold war and aloof in the hot war in Asia. He engaged in active and skillful diplomacy which often puzzled the most astute foreign ministries. His view after independence was to the effect that Cambodia was surrounded by potentially hostile forces and neighbors, with the exception of Laos.

To counter-balance the threat of North Vietnam, he established close relations with the communist Chinese in the years following 1956—the government of Mao Tse-tung was not anxious to see Ho Chi Minh dominate Cambodia, and apparently restrained its southern ally sufficiently to satisfy Sihanouk.

The Prime Minister hoped that he could rely on the senior allies of Thailand and South Vietnam to restrain any ambitions of the communists, but also had doubts about the sincerity and effectiveness of U.S. support of those countries. For this reason, and also because the U.S. and South Vietnam resented the fact that Cambodia served as a sanctuary for and an area through which North Vietnam supplied the communist forces in southern Indochina, relations between Cambodia and the U.S. were strained after the early 1960's. Complaints by the U.S. increased sharply in late 1967 as the fighting in South Vietnam became more intense; there were some hints that the United States would claim a right to pursue the *Viet Cong* into the eastern provinces of Cambodia. Prince Sihanouk announced he was willing to discuss the possibility of pursuit of the Viet communists with a U.S. emissary, but when the diplomat arrived back in the U.S., he was denounced by Sihanouk, who proclaimed that the only item on the agenda was the "territorial integrity of Cambodia." The whole situation was made more complicated by Cambodia's claims to areas in South Vietnam, which were used at the bargaining table repeatedly when dealing with the U.S., refusing to grant the U.S. any concessions unless it recognized the validity of Cambodian claims. When the U.S. announced in April 1969 that it recognized Cambodia's existing frontiers, diplomatic relations, severed four years earlier, were restored.

The ever-changing and shrewd diplomacy of Sihanouk impressed the U.S., Communist China, the British, French and the Soviet Union to an extent that its Asian neighbors did not constitute a direct threat to the survival of Cambodia. There was a significant increase in communist-led revolts in the provinces bordering Thailand and Laos in the latter part of 1968, as well as the number of communist rebels illegally

present within Cambodia. The displeasure of anti-communist Cambodians grew so great that in March 1970, while Sihanouk was out of the country, major anti-Hanoi demonstrations broke out in Phnom Penh. General Lon Nol and Prince Sirik Matak proclaimed the ouster of Sihanouk and a new government under their leadership. The communist problem, however, was not the only issue—there had been disputes over Sihanouk's socialist economic policies.

North Vietnamese and Cambodian communist forces promptly began to enlarge their military activities in various parts of the country. At the end of April 1970, American and South Vietnamese forces entered to clean out the "sanctuary" areas along the border from which the communists had been conducting raids. A secondary objective was to give some support to the new Cambodian government.

American ground forces were withdrawn at the end of June 1970, and South Vietnamese ground forces withdrew soon afterward. The country suffered severely as a result of this military activity.

Although in poor health and under heavy military pressure from communist forces, Lon Nol was able to keep his government in power. He dissolved the National Assembly in late 1971 and began to rule by decree. He then proclaimed himself President, reshuffling his cabinet drastically and excluding Sirik Matak from it.

During the ensuing years, public confidence in the government eroded badly and the communists, with North Vietnamese support, made major military gains. The American military role included continuous bombing in support of Lon Nol's army, but with no advisors in the field and no ground forces. The bombing was halted in mid-1973 because of U.S. Congressional action.

The communist rebels, with the aid of North Vietnam, claimed to be loyal to a government headed by Sihanouk and based in China, but in reality they had their own local leadership. Communist military efforts came close to isolating Phnom Penh by early 1975. Undermined by his own shortcomings, political bickering, uncertainty as to continuing American support and communist military gains, Lon Nol's government evaporated. The rebels refused to negotiate with it, leaving it no alternative but to surrender amid ominous proclamations of collection of "blood debts" from the leadership. The final collapse came in early May 1975 when Phnom Penh fell to the communists. The United States confined its active role in this situation to the rescue of an American merchant ship, the *Mayaguez*, seized by the Cambodian communists later that month, and the transport of several thousand refugees to safety.

The policies of the new regime reflected the guerrilla mentality of its leaders and personnel. The major cities, including Phnom Penh, were forcibly evacuated to a considerable extent, allegedly on account of food shortages. There were some executions of supporters of the former regime, and fairly widespread atrocities, mainly against persons of middle class background.

Sihanouk returned from China in September 1975; most of his entourage, however, chose to go to France from China the following month. Cambodia was actually run not by Sihanouk, but by the shadowy leadership of the Cambodian Communist Party, known as the *Angka* ("organization"), of which Saloth Sar is Secretary General.

An election held on March 20, 1976, filled 250 seats in the People's Representative Assembly. All 515 candidates were picked by *Angka*. Sihanouk resigned on April 5, and the rest of his government did the same two days later. Sihanouk has

since disappeared. An entirely communist government was announced on April 14, 1976, headed by Khieu Samphan, Chairman of the State Presidium.

Culture: The art and culture of the Khmer Empire, based largely on its Indian, Hindu and Ceylonese Buddhist origins, were an elaborate and comparatively highly developed combination to which distinctly local elements have been added during the centuries which have passed. The surviving specimens of the Empire are mainly of stone and bronze which display highly stylistic and ornate techniques. The modern Cambodians are conscious and proud of the fact that they are heirs of the once-mighty Khmer Empire—actually the culture and livelihood of the peasants have remained relatively unchanged until recently, since the French made no major effort to modernize them.

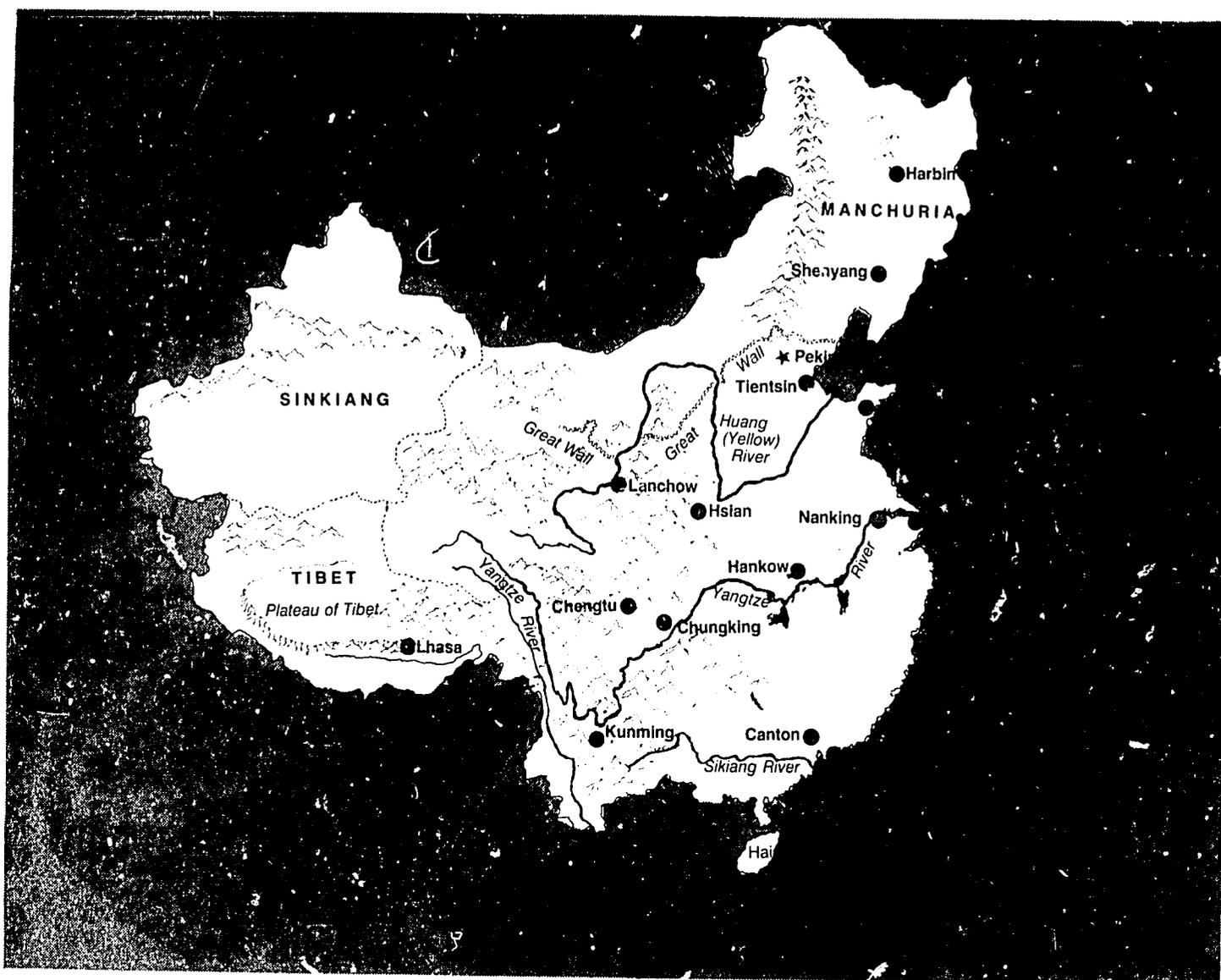
A unique mixture of Buddhism and Hinduism persists; the Buddhism of the *Hinayana* sect, which spread from the island of Ceylon, predominates in religious life. The Khmer (Cambodian) language was spoken prior to the arrival of Indian influence and is now written in a script derived from India. Among the educated, French has been widely spoken.

Economy: Agriculture and fishing completely dominate the economy of Cambodia. There are untold numbers of oxen and water buffalo, but they are not consumed because of the Buddhist practices of a majority of the people; the buffalo works for the farmer in the rice paddies and the ox works in the higher fields which are dry. This economy had started to prosper and develop in recent years, helped to a great extent by Sihanouk's ability to attract foreign aid from several countries. In early 1975 all semblance of economic order was reduced to shambles.

The former dependence on the Mekong River through South Vietnam for communication with the outside world was eliminated by the port now called Kam Pong Sung, formerly Sihanoukville, which is connected by road with Phnom Penh. Cambodia has participated in a program to control and use the forces and resources of the Mekong River with its neighbors; this project, similar to the TVA program in the U.S., has been stalled during reorganization under communist rule.

The Future: Cambodia will be subject to communist control for an undetermined time. The regime is primitive, repressive and has fundamentally nationalistic tendencies. The continued flight of refugees suggests that conditions within Cambodia are difficult. Border clashes with Thailand which intensified in January 1977 will continue. They are rooted in territorial disputes and narcotics smuggling from Cambodia into Thailand.

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA



COMMUNIST CHINA

Mainland

Area: Approximately 3.7 million square miles, including Inner Mongolia and Tibet.

Population: 806 million (estimated).

Capital City: Peking (Pop. 7 million, estimated).

Climate: Dry, cold with bitter winters in the mountainous West and North, temperate in the East, subtropical with rainy monsoons in the South.

Neighboring Countries: Soviet Union (Northwest, North, Northeast); Mongolian People's Republic (North); Korea (Northeast); Nationalist China (Southeast); North Vietnam, Laos, Burma, India, Nepal (South); Pakistan and Afghanistan (Southwest).

Official Language: Chinese (Mandarin, the dialect of the majority, spoken in Central and North China).

Other Principal Tongues: South and West Chinese dialects, including Cantonese, Hakka, Fukienese and Wu, and the Tibetan language. Tribesmen of remote Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria have their own languages and dialects.

Ethnic Background: Chinese, sometimes referred to as *Han* (about 95%). Relatively small minorities of Mongol, Turkic, Tibetan, Thai and other ancestry live in the remote regions of the interior.

Principal Religions: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity, all of which have been severely discriminated against by the communist government and now have much less importance in public life than prior to 1949.

Chief Commercial Products: Cereal grains, cotton, pig bristle, vegetable oils, coal, iron, tin, petroleum. Mineral resources have only been partially explored, but will probably turn out to be substantial.

Currency: Yuan (Y 2.36 = \$1.00 U.S.).

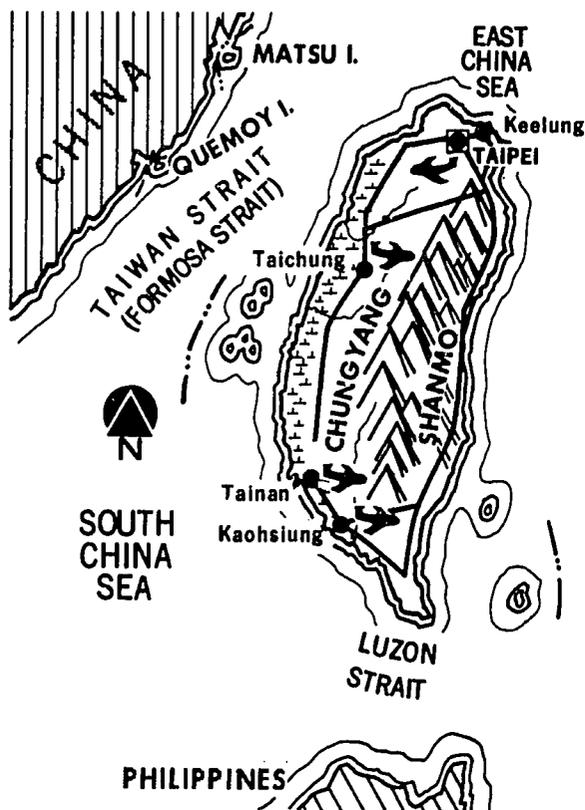
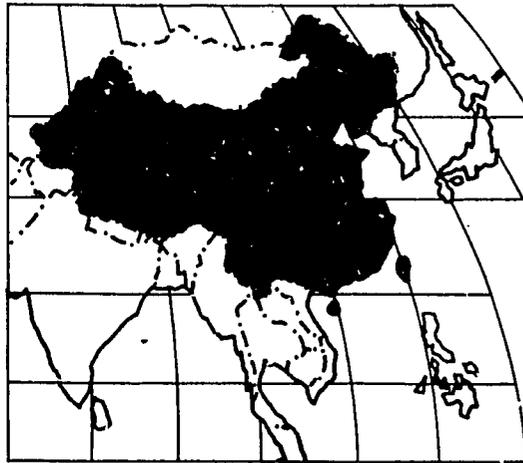
Former Colonial Status: China was never fully colonized by Western powers.

National Day: October 1, anniversary of the founding of Communist China in 1949.

Head of Government: Hua Kuo-feng, Premier

National Flag: Red, with one large and four small five-pointed stars at upper left.

THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA



NATIONALIST CHINA

Taiwan (Formosa)

Area: 13,885 square miles.

Population: 16 million (estimated).

Capital City: Taipei (Pop. 1.65 million, estimated).

Climate: Subtropical and humid in the lowlands, with an eleven-month growing season; in the higher elevations of the central mountains the temperatures are cooler.

Neighboring Countries: Nationalist China has been on the island of Taiwan, sometimes called Formosa, located 100 miles from the southeast China mainland, since 1949. It is about 50 miles north of the Philippine island of Luzon.

Official Language: Chinese (Mandarin, the dialect of the mainland majority which is spoken in Central and North China.).

Other Principal Tongues: Amoy, a Chinese dialect, is spoken by the majority of the population, known as Taiwanese, or Formosans. Tribal aborigines in the mountains speak a number of tongues related to Malay.

Ethnic Background: Chinese, sometimes referred to as Han. The highlands are occupied by a small group of Malayo-Polynesian ancestry who resemble the people of Indonesia.

Principal Religions: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism. These three, which migrated with the earliest Chinese from the mainland, have not been and are not clearly defined, but tend to blend together.

Chief Commercial Products: Rice, sugar, fruits. Direct economic assistance from the U.S. is no longer necessary. Military assistance has continued since 1949.

Currency: New Taiwan Dollar (NT\$ 40 = \$1.00 U.S.).

Former Colonial Status: Taiwan was a Japanese dependency from 1895 to 1945.

National Day: October 10, anniversary of the Chinese Revolution that began in 1911.

Chief of State: C.K. Yen, President.

Head of Government: Chiang Ching-kuo, Premier.

National Flag: A red field with a blue rectangle in the upper left containing a 12-pointed white star.

CHINA

Occupying a land area larger than that of the United States, including Hawaii and Alaska, China stretches for a distance of 3,400 miles from its northeastern region adjacent to remote Soviet Siberia, to the mountainous regions of Tibet sitting astride Nepal and India. In terms of temperature, altitude and roughness of terrain, fertility of the soil and rainfall, there are two basically distinct regions. The invisible line which divides the two starts in the distant north at the Amur River, and runs southward through the crest of the Great Khingan Mountains. It follows the contours of the Hwang Ho, or Yellow River, turning northwest and then west to accommodate that part of the river that arches toward Mongolia. Turning again southward, it searches out the upper part of the river, passing through the region around Lanchow and Chengtu and finally becomes obscure in the hilly southern area of Kunming near the Vietnamese border.

To the south and east of this demarcation line lies China proper; to the north and west the area is referred to as "outer" China. The land is relatively fertile south and east of this line, and in the eastern region of Central "inner" China, there are few hills which break the monotony of the level land. In the south, the land is also fertile, but is more hilly.

In the West, on the left hand side of the rough demarcation, the land is a combination of closely crowded mountains with rough surfaces possessing little greenery even in the warmer regions of the lower altitudes. The towering peaks are occasionally interrupted by expanses of flat territory which is also desolate and dry, being surrounded by a natural barrier that withstands the invasion of rain clouds. The mountains in the North on the edge of the line give way to the Gobi Desert, filled with shifting earth, ugly rock formations, and harsh extremes in temperature, all of which combine to exclude more than occasional visits of man and beast. The mountains envelop this desert which extends from Manchuria into southern Outer Mongolia.

These areas of outer China are largely unmapped by Western standards. The thinly scattered people of Tibet, Sinkiang and Manchuria have traditionally relied on herds of animals as their principal resource, although great treasures of mineral wealth probably lie buried below the surface of the earth. A short growing season provides the small amount of greenery available to man and beast. The air is dry in both summer and winter, blowing out of Asiatic Russia (Siberia). The great distance the wind has traveled prior to its arrival in China has taken all moisture from the air. The absence of bodies of water in the endless expanses also make the dry winds cold—bitterly so, almost beyond belief, in the winter.

In the spring enough warmth arrives to melt the snow in the lower altitudes of the mountains. This is sufficient to support limited agriculture at the lower edges of the mountains bordering the Gobi Desert of western Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, in the area between the mountains and the Taklamakan Desert in Sinkiang and in the valleys of Tibet, but only during the brief summer season.

To the south and east of the imaginary line the land changes into temperate farmland; it is relatively flat and somewhat drier in parts of northern China, notably in the North China Plain. The hillier and more mountainous areas found in southern China have more moisture and warmer temperatures, producing thick growths of forest on the land not under cultivation. The three main rivers, the Hwang Ho (Yellow), the Yangtze and the Sikiang (West River) have their origins deep within the remote territory west of the mountains, but flow through the

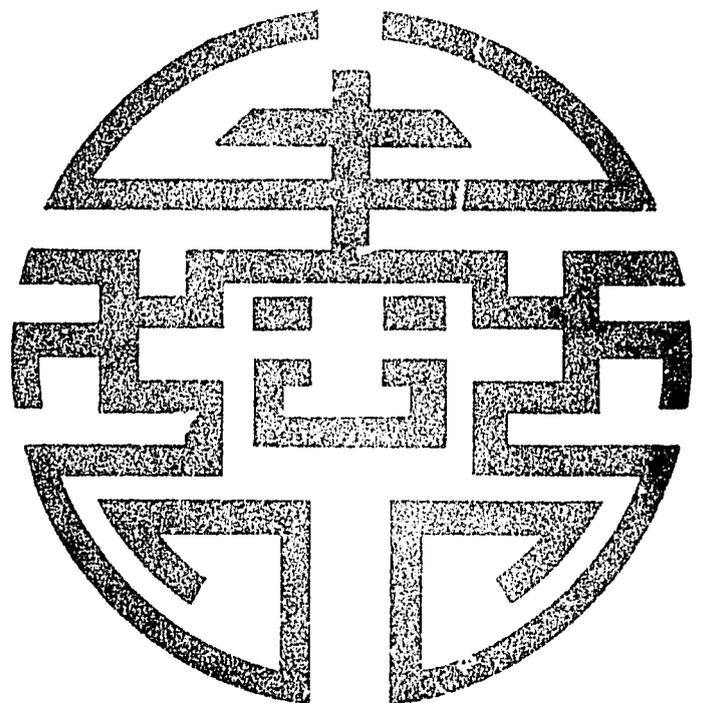
more level eastern regions in a sluggish manner. Refreshed by the cool waters of melting snow, they are quickly

swelled in the spring by rains brought by the southeastern monsoon, and overflow their banks, spreading rich silt over the surrounding land. Flood control has been attempted, but the rivers are still master. They are also a traditional source of communication and transportation in the region, but this value is being replaced by railroads.

The area around the Hwang Ho is temperate and is the part in which the modern Chinese civilization was born. The river itself is unpredictable—it left its old course south of the Shantung peninsula in which it had flowed for more than 800 years, and assumed its present course north of the peninsula in 1953, a shift of more than 500 miles. The immense quantities of silt it carries in its waters gave it the popular Western name "Yellow River" and also have built up a river bed over the years which is higher than the surrounding land. When it enters flood stage, the results have been catastrophic.

The growing season increases in the central and eastern region of China which is drained by the Yangtze; it becomes almost continuous throughout the year in the southeastern area through which the Sikiang River flows. If the rainfall in these regions was uniform from year to year, both would produce great quantities of food to feed the millions of Chinese. The variations in rain, however, cause periodic loss of crops by either drought or flood. During a prolonged drought even the violent summer rains are not of much help, since they run quickly into the rivers and flow into the sea rather than watering the land, which then dries out, unless there is further, preferably steady rainfall.

The island of Taiwan, also known as Formosa, has an elongated oval shape, and its entire length is dominated by a chain of mountains rising with regularity to heights of 6,000 to 11,000 feet. These peaks lie close to the eastern side of the island and drop steeply at the coastline into the warm waters of the Pacific. The western slopes descend gently to a fertile plain that occupies almost one-half of the island's surface. The climate varies from tropical to temperate, depending upon the altitude. As is true



Chinese between about 2,000 and 1,500 B.C.—a society which had become recognizably Chinese in language, appearance and culture.

By the period 1,500-1,000 B.C. the Chinese had begun to develop into a highly complex pattern. Advanced and very artistic techniques of casting and sculpting bronze developed. The system of *ideographic* writing was refined and became the method of communication and recordation of ideas; it did not and it does not now have an alphabet, but consists of a collection of thousands of symbols, each of which represents a word. For many hundreds of years this system of writing was known only to scribes and intellectuals and has only recently become more widely known.

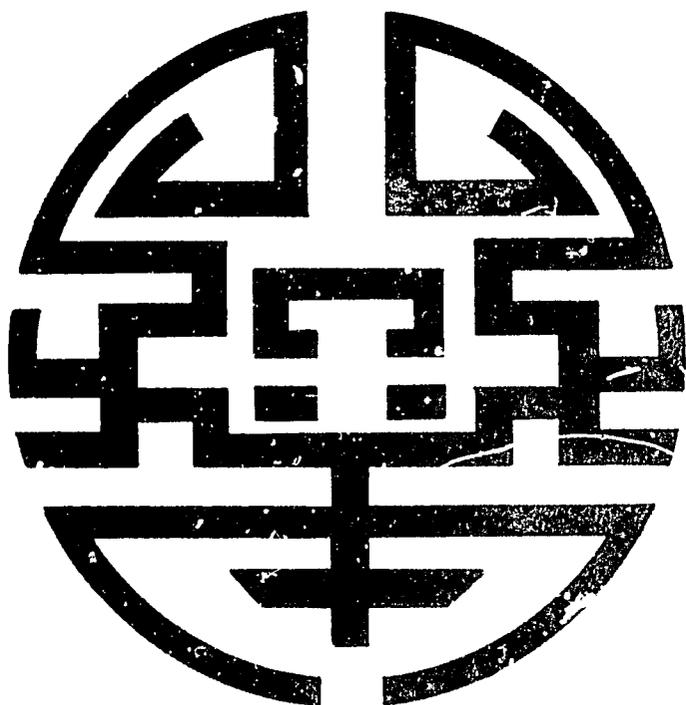
During this early period the Chinese were ruled by emperors of the Shang Dynasty. The Shang rulers were replaced by the Chou dynasty, which governed briefly from about 1,100 to 800 B.C., when their power rapidly diminished. North China then disintegrated into a number of feudal states led by "princes" who occupied their time, and that of their subjects, in a variety of wars against each other. The use of iron tools in agriculture during this period produced a high yield from the earth, which in turn permitted a correspondingly high rate of population growth. As the people pressed outward, they came into greater conflict with non-Chinese people who inhabited central China around the Yangtze River.

The stronger rulers subdued the weaker and smaller states, and the number of feudal princedoms became less, gradually falling under the control of two major states: Ch'in in the west central and northwestern part of China, and Ch'u in the central Yangtze valley. By 221 B.C. the Ch'in ruler, who led a highly organized and militarily strong state, conquered his rivals, including the Ch'u, and established control over all of north and central China as well as part of the southern regions.

In the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. China enjoyed a classical age comparable to that of Greece during the same period. Literature and the arts flourished, and the desire for knowledge and social order led to the creation and formalization of the two religions which originated in China: Confucianism (see Historical Background) and Taoism, a mystical and contemplative system of belief. Both of these became a source of satisfaction for the learned Chinese as well as providing the element of mysticism, and the security arising out of obedience, to the uneducated lower classes.

The Ch'in Dynasty unified the empire by means other than military conquest; the Great Wall of China was constructed laboriously over a period of years to ward off the periodic raids by the nomadic Mongol warriors from the North; roads and other public works were built and the system of writing and weights were standardized. Actually the rule of the Ch'in was extremely oppressive and produced much discontent among the Chinese people, and it was soon overthrown by a new dynasty that took the name *Han*.

These rulers governed from 206 B.C. to 220 A.D. The people of China today are sometimes referred to as *Han*, to differentiate them from the minorities that live in the outer part of what is modern China. In spite of a brief collapse at the halfway point of their reign, the Han succeeded in making China into an empire of power, wealth and cultural brilliance comparable to the other great civilization of the same period, the Roman Empire. Its boundaries were pushed well into central Asia, where local leaders were awed by the brilliance of Chinese advances in learning and military prowess. Even if not directly



on the Chinese mainland 100 miles across the Formosa Strait, the summer winds bring abundant rain which supports intense agriculture. The smaller rivers do not cause the catastrophic floods of the three mighty rivers of continental China, so that bountiful harvests of a variety of produce, principally rice, are regularly gathered.

History: The origins of Chinese civilization are buried in the impenetrable mists of the Paleolithic and post-Paleolithic period. Knowledge of these beginnings is inadequate since it is derived from the discovery of scattered tools and skeletal remains of the people who lived in China from the period of about 8,000 B.C. to about 4,000 B.C. It is probable that between 5,000 and 3,000 B.C. a small number of people of basically Mongol ancestry (members of the "yellow race") migrated from remote eastern Siberia into what is now northern China, where they mingled with people already in the area.

This combination experienced cultural changes and advances in the primitive tools they used to provide shelter and food which came from central Asia as the result of sporadic contacts with what is now considered the Middle East. These developments included such things as the idea that spoken language could be portrayed in a manner "heard" by the eye—in writing—as well as the techniques of making bronze, from which useful tools and art objects could be cast to kill and cultivate food as well as to satisfy their need for beauty. This combination of people and ideas produced the earliest known ancestors of the modern

CHINA



supervised by the Chinese, rulers of the outlying states of Asia were often willing to acknowledge themselves tributary and vassal states of the mighty empire.

The Han dynasty collapsed in 220 A.D., and the following four centuries were marked by frequent nomadic invasions from the North which resulted in a series of states in northern China ruled by non-Chinese. A Chinese, or *Han*, state did survive in the South, however, under a series of weak dynasties. *Mahayana* Buddhism, sometimes referred to as northern Buddhism (See Historical Background) spread quickly following its arrival from northern India by way of Central Asia at the beginning of the Christian era.

China was reunited by the Sui and T'ang dynasties after 581, under an energetic succession of emperors it once more extended the area of its power far into Central Asia. For the first time in world history a written examination was developed for civil servants, appointment of whom on the basis of ability, rather than family ties, had begun under the Han dynasty. The emperors of the T'ang dynasty were Confucian and the hierarchy of officials and civil servants shared their belief; the believers in the newly arrived Buddhism were occasionally persecuted because of their religion, leading to a decline in its influence.

There was a short period of disunity following the decline and fall of the T'ang dynasty in the 10th century A.D. The brilliant cultural advances of the ensuing three-century period centered chiefly on the art of painting and the discipline of philosophy. Under the influence of Buddhist theology, official Confucianism was modified by about 1200 into Neo-Confucianism, which concerned itself more with the extraordinary and lofty ideals of abstract philosophy than had the original form of this belief. The country was ruled by emperors of the Sung dynasty, and was continually threatened by a succession of powerful non-Chinese states that emerged along the northern border; the end of this era came with defeat by the most powerful northern force, the Mongols, who were able to succeed in their conquest only after a long and bitter campaign. The Sung had withstood the Mongols longer than any of the other civilizations of the world into which the conquerors intruded, but ultimately became a part of a vast empire stretching from the Pacific to what is now the Middle East.

The Mongols ruled China from 1280 to 1368, taking the name Yuan dynasty. Already disliked by the Chinese in a number of ways, the Mongols had but slight respect for Confucianism and the civil service examinations and systems, factors which led to even greater opposition by the Chinese, particularly the upper classes. The rulers were actually religiously tolerant, and permitted small communities of Franciscan missionaries to introduce Christianity into several parts of coastal China.

Both the Mongols and Christianity were expelled from China in 1368 in a great upheaval with strong anti-foreign sentiment. The new dynasty which came to power, the Ming (1368-1644), at first ruled firmly and energetically, creating a powerful empire, but a period of decline began about 1500. Japanese pirates began to increase their activities along the coast. Internal weakness became an in-

creasing problem which was transformed into an even greater liability by the rise in power of the Manchu rulers to the north. In 1644, a combination of domestic rebellion and Manchu might was sufficient to overthrow the Ming dynasty; within a few decades the Manchus had subdued all of China.

The new rulers took the name Ch'ing dynasty, but are more easily remembered by their Manchu name, which avoids confusion with the earlier Ch'in dynasty. Although Chinese culture was by this time largely static to a degree that made basic changes all but impossible, under the Manchus, the country was once again united and became rapidly powerful. In an effort to consolidate their positions, the Manchus ruled through existing Chinese institutions, including the very formal civil service with its Confucian orientation; for this reason, and others, they became accepted rapidly by their Chinese subjects. After an initial period of wise and successful rule, the Manchus indulged themselves in a period of energetic, but arbitrary and costly activity in the late 18th century, which undermined the power of the dynasty and caused the beginning of its decline.

Europeans, principally British, started to seek Chinese silk and tea in the 18th century, but had little to offer in return at first that interested the Chinese and consequently their efforts presented few problems to the Manchus. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, two developments occurred which led to dramatic changes in China's relations with the Western powers. The British discovered that opium, grown in their possessions in India, could be sold at a handsome profit in China; at the same time Britain underwent its Industrial Revolution at home, making it possible to manufacture cheap cotton textiles and other goods in much greater quantities than before. The Manchus made an unsuccessful effort to prevent the importation of opium—the failure of their effort was caused by widespread smuggling when legal means of marketing the narcotic were closed.

The Industrial Revolution, particularly in Britain, not only created economic wealth, but also furnished a base for a greater military power. Determined to promote the sale of huge quantities of textiles and other products, and also to "legalize" the sale of opium in China, the British fought a series of small wars with the Manchus beginning with the Opium War of 1839-1842. Incidental goals were to exempt foreigners from the cruel criminal laws of China, abhorred by European Christians, and to open dependable diplomatic relations. The British achieved their purposes. The other major powers, including the United States, also profited from the efforts of Great Britain, by means of the "most favored nation" clause in their commercial agreements with China. Under this principle of international trade, all nations were granted the same advantages which China had accorded to its "most favored nation," Britain. At the insistence of various Christian mission organizations from a number of countries, the Manchus were forced to permit the re-entry of the Christian teaching into China.

Under a series of treaties, which were and are termed "unequal treaties" by the Chinese, signed under pressure

in the last half of the 19th century, China lost a large degree of its sovereignty. Its best ports were carved into foreign "concessions" which were administered by foreign consulates and were places where non-Chinese could live and carry on business with a minimum of interference from Chinese officials. At the end of the century, near the close of this period, since termed one of the "diplomacy of imperialism," much of China was carved up into foreign "spheres of influence" by virtue of some further "unequal treaties" forced upon the Manchus. In each of these, a particular Western power (with the exception of the United States) was granted sweeping and exclusive economic rights in its area, coupled with a great degree of political influence.

Russian domination was established in Manchuria, but the fertile southern portion of that region went to the Japanese in 1905 after they defeated the Russians in a brief conflict. The Germans established themselves in the province of Shantung; the British became the major power in the Yangtze valley region; the Japanese controlled Fukien Province and the French asserted their dominance over Southwest China. Outside what had been China, the states which had paid tribute to the Manchu emperors also became colonies, or spheres of influence, of Britain, France, Russia and Japan. Russian influence became paramount in Outer Mongolia, now known as the Mongolian People's Republic, and penetrated into Sinkiang in the 1930s. The British became a powerful influence in Tibet, remaining so until 1947.

These losses of territory and authority were dramatic demonstrations of China's basic backwardness and weakness by the standards of Western powers, and were an insult to the sense of national pride of the Chinese. The economy of the coastal regions, traditionally more wealthy than the interior areas, was almost dominated by foreign trade and investment, the introduction of manufactured goods, and new industrial techniques and economic organization along European lines. The awkward process of modernization was thus started, but brought China the pains that usually accompany this process. Missionaries and Chinese who studied Western culture and ideas spread them widely, undermining the basic confidence of a growing number of people in the truth and wisdom of many aspects of traditional Chinese culture. Most important, the values of Confucianism were substantially weakened. These developments created somewhat of a cultural vacuum, into which a variety of foreign influences flowed.

Millions of Chinese rose in revolt against the Manchus in the mid-19th century under the leadership of a religious figure in Kwangsi Province who incorporated some Protestant Christian elements in his teachings and founded the short-lived Taiping Kingdom. This rebellion was quelled largely due to the loyalty to the Manchus of able Chinese officials devoted to the traditions of Confucianism. The revolt ultimately resulted in reforms and modernization within the official hierarchy.

Following the death of I-chu (also known as Emperor Hsien-feng) in 1861, his wife, referred to as the Empress Dowager, was co-regent during the reign of her son, Tung-chih (1862-1874) and wielded considerable influence during that period. Her son died without heirs, and the throne then passed to her nephew Kuang-hsü in 1875, but this remarkable woman, Tzu-hsi, wielded actual power until her death. Ruthless, able and extremely conservative, she embodied the tradition cherished by the Manchu court officials who clung to the security of the past. She was able

CHINA

to imprison her nephew-Emperor when threatened by his attempt in 1898 to modernize the government and the country.

At the popular level, there were several anti-foreign and anti-Christian outbreaks of violence in the years following 1870. Both sentiments joined to provide discontent resulting in the 1900 Boxer Rebellion, which was encouraged by influential members of the Manchu court. A joint military expedition, in which the U.S. took part, was sent in by the Western powers and soon crushed the rebellion. The Empress Dowager, shaken by defeat, granted her reluctant assent to certain innovations in the imperial government, but her life, and the effective control of the Manchu dynasty, ended in 1908.

During the last part of the 19th century, as the power of the Manchus continued to decline, there came into the political life of China a slowly growing number of people who knew something of the political ideas of the West. Although they did not attain high official status, they became aware of the need for China to adopt Western political and technical ideas in order to preserve the Chinese identity as a state in the world, and in order to perpetuate those elements of the Chinese culture that could be salvaged. These early reformers were not unified; their disunity prevented them from achieving any real influence

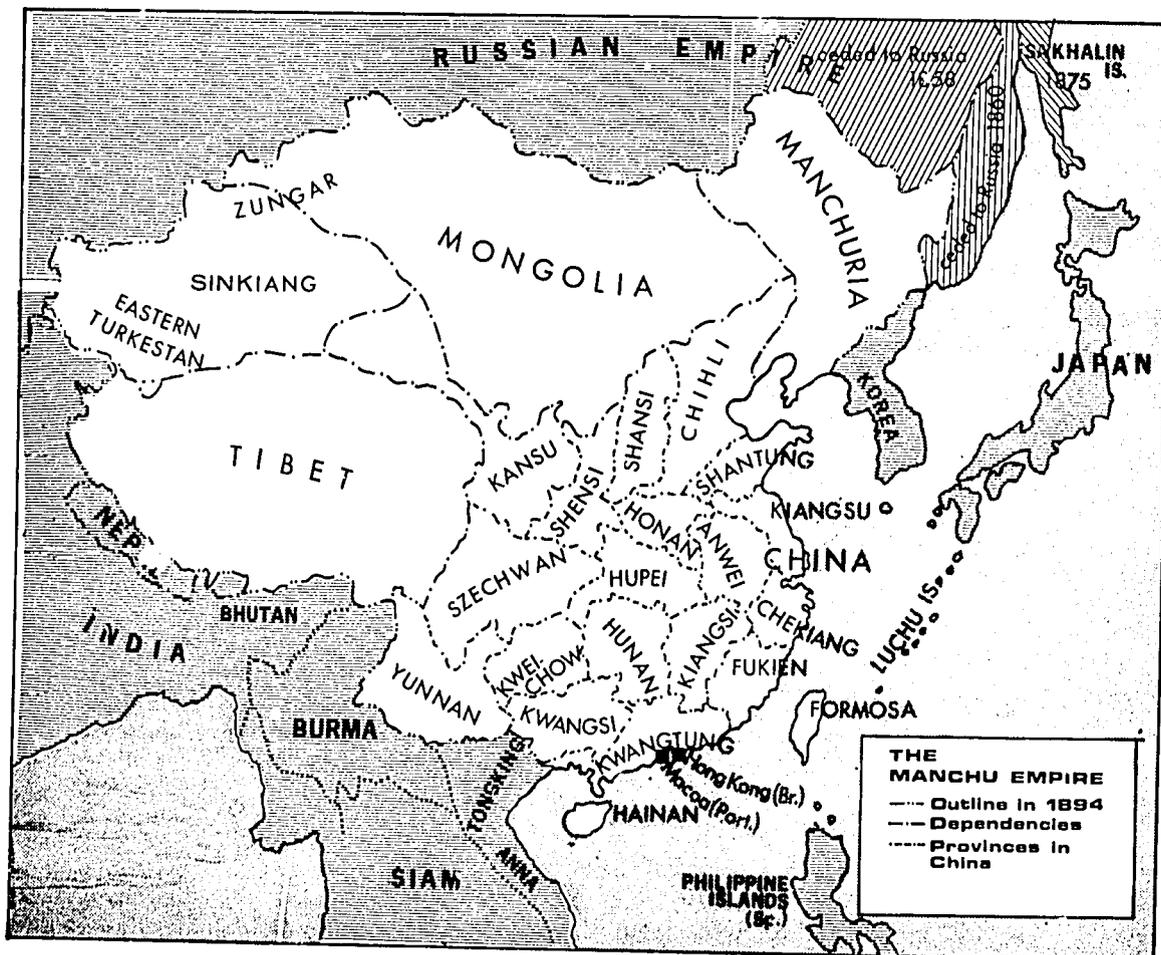
on the Manchu court until it was too late. Because of their inability to obtain positions of leadership within the official government, reform leadership passed to the more radical elements in this group.

The most important of the radicals was Sun Yat-sen,

who dedicated himself to the overthrow of the Manchus, and to the modernization of China along semi-Western lines. Although he was able to attract a relatively large following, Sun was not really a major intellect and was almost totally lacking in political skills. When Tzu-hsi died in 1908, the Manchu court installed the two-year-old Pu Yi. He reigned until 1912 through regents appointed by the court; he was later to become "Emperor" of Manchukuo (Manchuria) as a Japanese puppet, using his English name of Henry Pu Yi. When revolution unseated the Manchu court in 1912, Sun Yat-sen became Provisional President of the new Republic of China. His rule was brief—he resigned in a few months in favor of the more powerful Yuan Shih-kai, a former Manchu official. In the following years he devoted himself to the forming of a political party, the *Kuomintang* (National People's Party) and to drawing up plans and a political theory for the modernization of China.

The *Kuomintang* broke with Yuan in 1913, but the party was easily suppressed because it had almost no real power. After a short time Yuan attempted to make himself the first emperor of a new dynasty—it was this step that aroused intense opposition, and he died in 1916 without achieving his ambition.

Following the death of Yuan, China literally disintegrated into a score of petty states run by individual military governors, usually referred to as "warlords." They had little governing ability and their rule was almost uniformly oppressive. The legal government of China in Peking continued to be recognized diplomatically by the foreign powers. In reality this "government" was an ever-shifting combination of one or more warlords, sometimes under the influence of one or more foreign nations, possessed of no



power beyond the personal power of its leader or leaders. Communications were extremely poor and there was a thin scattering of modern arms in the outlying regions, making it almost impossible to achieve any genuine national unity. Sun Yat-sen set up headquarters in southern Canton, and tried in various ways, without success, to overthrow the shadow government at Peking and to unite the country under the *Kuomintang*.

In addition to the trend towards economic modernization in the cities and coastal regions during the 1920s, there was a marked growth of nationalism among the Chinese, who sought an end to foreign influence in their country and an identity in the world community. In 1919 the government was in the hands of a group under Japanese influence to the extent that it was willing to sign the Treaty of Versailles, turning over what had been German territory and interests in China to Japan, rather than recognizing Chinese authority. An outburst of patriotism led by students, which became known as the May Fourth Movement, prevented the actual signing of the treaty. The people of China, particularly the youth, desired the end of foreign influence and internal disunity and came to believe that these goals could only be achieved through a major political and social revolution. Some chose the *Kuomintang*, and a smaller number joined an infant communist movement.

The *Chinese Communist Party* was founded in 1921 by young, leftist, nationalist Chinese, most of whom were students. The movement quickly came under the control of the Third International, more familiarly known as the *Comintern* led by Russia under its energetic revolutionary leader, Lenin. The picture became even more complicated when the *Comintern* decided to enter into an alliance with Sun Yat-sen's *Kuomintang* and ordered the local Chinese communists to do the same. This unstable union was produced by a common overwhelming desire to expel Western and Japanese influence from China and to eliminate the power of the warlords.

To accomplish these aims, the *Comintern* reorganized and greatly strengthened the *Kuomintang* through money and military aid, but it also hoped that communists could gradually acquire control over it by infiltrating top positions, and by putting pressure on the party through communist-dominated labor unions. The plan made considerable progress at first while the party was led by the politically inexperienced Sun Yat-sen, but after his death in 1925 he was succeeded by General Chiang Kai-shek, who became alarmed at the threat of Soviet domination of China and the more immediate threat of an ill defined "social revolution." He determined to head off these threats by military force, which he began in 1926 and 1927, by breaking with the *Comintern*, the Chinese communists and the left wing of his own party.

He was able to seize Peking, the nominal capital of China in 1928, and then proclaimed the new Republic of China at Nanking under the control of the *Kuomintang*. Actually, his regime controlled only the eastern provinces of China, and was faced with tremendous problems: a large army that had to be fed, floods, famine, political apathy and backwardness, and continual pressure from the Japanese. Manchuria was seized by Japan in 1931-32; the territory was renamed *Manchukuo* and the deposed Manchu pretender to the throne in China, Henry Pu Yi, was installed as a puppet ruler for the conquerors who then undertook a widespread industrialization of the area.

The communists had certainly lost a battle, but were not defeated. Areas of communist control began to emerge in Central and South China by 1930. Chiang Kai-shek, beset with all of these problems, made probably the poorest choice of possible remedies: increasingly conserva-

tive and oppressive measures that ultimately lost him the support of increasing numbers of educated Chinese. It is possible, on the other hand, that had he not been diverted by a Japanese attack in the pre-World War II years that he would have succeeded in establishing some sort of stable and comparatively modern China with a right-wing government. It is very likely that he would not have been overthrown by the communists.

In the enclaves controlled by the communists, a leader gradually emerged in the late 1920s and early 1930s: Mao Tse-tung. The pathway to success was difficult—in 1934 the communists were forced by overwhelming *Kuomintang* military pressures to evacuate their base areas in Central and South China. After a long dramatic foot march led by Mao, they took weary refuge in the more remote and desolate regions of Northwest China.

Japanese forces invaded eastern China in 1937; the weakened condition of the communist movement in China prompted the Soviet dictator Stalin to urge the communists to form into another alliance with the *Kuomintang* in order to resist the Japanese. Mao Tse-tung probably saw an opportunity not only to resist the Japanese, but to overthrow the *Kuomintang* after it had been weakened by the Japanese, and made the agreement which was urged. The expansion of the communists from that time forth was actually at the expense of not only the Japanese, but also the *Kuomintang*, referred to also as *Nationalists*. The Japanese conquered the prosperous coastal regions of China, depriving the *Kuomintang* of its major economic and political bases. Driven into the hills and mountains of southwest China, it became more conservative and more subject to corrupt influences.

Inflation and war weariness sapped the strength of the *Kuomintang*, enabling the Japanese to inflict some further heavy defeats on it as late in World War II as 1944. In the areas which they controlled, the Japanese were unable to prevent the communists, more skilled in the art of guerrilla warfare than the Nationalists, from infiltrating and setting up base areas within territory that was supposed to be Japanese. Partly in retaliation for this resistance the Japanese committed terrible atrocities against the Chinese people in the occupied areas, driving many into sympathy with the communists and thus assisting them to seize political control on an anti-Japanese, if not openly anti-*Kuomintang* platform.

Increasing numbers of Japanese soldiers were withdrawn from China starting in 1943 because of the defeats that were being suffered in the Pacific war. This permitted the communists to expand rapidly, so that by the end of the war they controlled nineteen base areas, some of which were quite large, in various parts of China, principally in the North and Northwest.

The elimination of Japanese troops and control of China at the end of the war brought about a frantic flurry of political and military activity by both the *Kuomintang* and the communists. The U.S. was the major political power in the Pacific area at this time, and it attempted to bring about some sort of settlement between the two so that there could be an end to civil strife. The talks, conducted under the encouragement of U.S. General George C. Marshall, the special envoy of President Truman, completely broke down in 1946 because neither side had any real desire for an agreement, but preferred a trial of armed strength.

The *Kuomintang* was plagued by the basic inability of Chiang and his colleagues to deal with China's very serious problems: inflation, corruption and loss of political unity. The military leadership employed very poor strategy and

CHINA

tactics against the communists, so that the *Kuomintang* lost almost all the major battles at the same time the home "front" was deteriorating to the point of collapse. By the end of 1949 the *Kuomintang* was driven to the island of Taiwan, also known as Formosa. The Chinese communists under Mao then controlled all of mainland China except for the then independent state of Tibet. They proclaimed the Chinese People's Republic and changed the name of their capital to Peking from Peiping, as it had been called by the Nationalists.

In 1950-51 the Chinese communists invaded Tibet. Although there was some initial resistance, the "roof of the world" was brought under Chinese control; the Dalai Lama, spiritual leader of the Buddhists, who also was vested with rather wide governing powers, soon was a figurehead. He fled Tibet in 1959 after some unsuccessful uprisings against the Chinese in the eastern part of the region; the people continued to be deprived of a leader to whom they traditionally ascribed divine powers and character.

The "People's Liberation Army" brought the new regime to power, and it remained important as a defense against possible enemies, both external and internal. The *Chinese Communist Party* has been the real instrument of Mao and the regime; its members hold all important public offices and it is the only political force since the Manchus that has demonstrated itself able to hold China together. Mao Tse-tung played an apparently overpowering role, and with his colleagues' consent, he made himself into a dictator whom all Chinese, especially the youth, are taught to worship to a degree that would have created envy in the heart of the previous emperors.

The combination of Mao, party and army held together quite successfully until about 1965, and achieved a number of results that were impressive, considering the backwardness from which the country has only started to emerge in the 20th century. The people doubtless have regarded the regime as the only hope of escape from the long nightmare of civil and foreign war, general chaos and abject poverty, and therefore have given it a good deal of popular support. The communists restored the defunct economy and launched an impressive program of heavy industrialization with Soviet technical assistance and equipment. The small plots of farmland were collectivized into larger acreages patterned after the farms of Soviet Russia, not only to promote progress toward "socialism," but to give the government greater control over the people and output of the rural areas. In short, China progressed from rampant disorganization toward a centralized, autocratic and rationally administered state. Traditional Chinese culture and society were forcefully changed in directions desired by the communists, with widespread, fundamental and seemingly impossible effects. It must be remembered also that the Chinese, with only insignificant expectations, had never esteemed the values of personal liberty developed and cherished by the people of Western nations.

In its foreign relations, the Chinese regime initially established an alliance with the Soviet Union, then led by the conservative and aged Stalin; it also entered into diplomatic relations with all communist countries and with a number of nominally neutralist others. The United States, which had become protector of the Nationalists on Taiwan, refused to recognize Mao's government, which in turn has shown little interest in diplomatic relations with the U.S. With only slight success, the Chinese communists initially tried to promote revolutions elsewhere in Asia, but re-

treated from this policy somewhat in the mid-1950's in order to be in a better position to cultivate the friendship of the neutral Asian nations.

When communist North Korea was threatened with total defeat by the United States, the Chinese provided "volunteer" soldiers to fight for their communist ally against the predominantly U.S. forces of the U.N. battling on behalf of the South Koreans. The inability of large forces of Chinese troops to win a decisive victory against the U.N. in 1951 demonstrated to the Chinese communist hierarchy that the U.S. was dangerous if directly challenged, and more important, that the Soviet leadership was not willing to risk its own destruction on China's behalf in the event of an all-out Chinese-United States clash.

In the mid-1950s policy differences and political tensions began to appear between the aging Mao and some of his underlings who were more rational than he. Clinging to the ideals of his youth, Mao seemed to believe fanatically that a sort of continuous revolutionary process throughout China, conducted largely by the young people who have been indoctrinated in, and taught to revere Mao and his "thought," was absolutely necessary for progress. Some of his colleagues began to prefer a more conventional and bureaucratic approach to political control and nation building.

In 1956, probably to strengthen his own political position, Mao launched a series of major policy changes in both the domestic and foreign areas, culminating in something called the "Great Leap Forward" in 1958. This effort resulted in herding the peasants, by propaganda and other pressures, into "people's communes," where they were worked to the point of almost utter exhaustion. Crude "backyard furnaces" were promoted to boost iron production, but actually were almost totally useless since the small quantity of metal they produced was inferior and economically worthless. All of these programs were failures, and they seriously strained China's relations with the Soviet Union, then the only source of economic and military aid, to a point that the Soviet leader Khrushchev cut off all aid by 1960. During this period of turmoil Mao engaged in another futile gesture—the shelling of the islands of Quemoy and Matsu, controlled by the Nationalists, close to the China mainland in the Straits of Taiwan (Formosa). Whatever his original intentions had been, nothing more than an artillery and airpower duel occurred, which nevertheless alarmed other nations because of another possible Chinese-U.S. confrontation.

The end result, after economic setbacks and failure to succeed in doing any damage to the Nationalists in the offshore waters, was that instead of being stronger, Mao was somewhat weaker. On the other hand, he was able to persuade his colleagues to rally around an anti-Soviet policy. The Soviet Union was accused of being as great, if not a greater political enemy than the United States. The task of struggling against the supposed imperialistic designs of the U.S. was hopefully assigned to other infant revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The revolutionary zeal of the Chinese, and their tendency to urge youthful and nationalistic movements to greater tasks than were possible, with endless quantities of advice and of Mao "thoughts," coupled with quantities of arms did not produce the desired results. Right wing, moderate nationalist, and socialist leaders of Asia and Africa became rapidly aware of the not very serious threat, and took steps to expel Chinese agents. The prospects for revolution in Indonesia and in sub-Saharan Africa, which had seemed promising in the years 1963-1965, began to decline.

The leadership in Communist China, partly as a result of the lack of success elsewhere, for a time became very insistent that the conflict in Vietnam must continue at almost any cost

until a major political setback could be inflicted by the Vietnamese communists on the United States. But, at the same time, the Chinese were quite satisfied that the actual fighting was by the North Vietnamese and their supporters in South Vietnam, and they preferred to remain on the sidelines as a supplier of military aid and as a cheerleader. Accordingly, Peking was distressed when Hanoi began negotiating with the United States in 1968. By 1969, however, the Soviet Union mounted increasing pressures in the dispute concerning the borders separating the two nations; there was a military build-up by both sides along the border and some limited conflict. In what appeared to be an abrupt reversal of policy, Peking began to show interest in improving its relations with the United States and because of this, came to favor the signing of a ceasefire agreement by North Vietnam and the U.S. It even seems to have put some pressure on Hanoi to this effect (but behind the scenes) in 1972.

Since about 1958, growing Chinese political pressures on the Soviet Union, which were calculated to prove the correctness of Mao's brand of communism and the error of the Soviet brand, have produced serious and fundamental tensions not only between the Soviets and the Chinese, but between many communist bloc nations. After the fall of Khrushchev, who actually handled the revolutionary impatience of the Chinese rather clumsily, his more practical successors offered China a limited agreement, which was spurred by Mao. By virtue of this refusal, Mao seemed to have worsened his relations with some of his more influential supporters who prefer a less antagonistic attitude toward Russia and toward the United States, particularly in view of the possibility, however remote, of a major war with the United States.

By the last half of 1965, the aging Mao, impatient and convinced that the time was at hand to silence, refute and overthrow his critics within the party and among the communist nations, and also to put his stamp indelibly on the Chinese revolution for an indefinite future, manufactured the "Great Cultural Revolution." His first obstacle, the reluctant municipal boss of Peking, Peng Chen, was overthrown by a combination of political pressures and military threats by the end of May 1966. Mao then relied upon the revolutionary young people, organized into "Red Guards" and enjoying the support of the army under the command of Mao's companion and designated heir, Defense Minister Lin Biao. The Red Guards attacked and terrorized Mao's real and imaginary opponents in the universities, in the party structure and anywhere else they were thought to be found. In some cases, persons were declared to be anti-Mao whether or not they in fact were such, in order to provide a continuing series of targets at which the "Great Cultural Revolution" could focus and fire, and thereby continue its existence.

Early in 1967 it was necessary for Mao to urge the army to intervene in order that chaos might be averted, but also to keep the "Great Cultural Revolution" moving. The army quickly discovered that both of these tasks were incompatible, and increasingly began to emphasize the restoration of order at the expense of the restlessness encouraged by the unruly Red Guards. In the late summer of 1967, Mao was brought, willingly or unwillingly, to endorse this turn towards a more conservative view. After that time, the impact of the "Great Cultural Revolution" on everyday life lessened. During 1968 the army acquired more and more local power, and with Peking's consent, it broke up many of the Red Guard units.

It appeared during 1969 that a moderate coalition led by Premier Chou En-lai and some of the military (with the possibly reluctant consent of the semi-senile Mao) was trying to restore domestic stability and more nearly normal foreign relations. Chou felt it advisable, after several months of Soviet threats, to enter into negotiations on the mutual border dispute and other matters relating to the state, downgrading disputes concerning communist theory. By the end of 1970 it

appeared that the negotiations had resulted in a deadlock partly because of Soviet suspicion of what appeared to have become a "co-equal" among communist states.

The year 1970 saw real, although uneven, progress toward stability in China's internal and foreign affairs. The establishment of diplomatic relations with Canada in late 1970 gave Peking an important post in North America from which it could observe and perhaps influence developments at the United Nations and in the United States.

An important event of 1971 was the purge of Defense Minister Lin Biao and some other military leaders, apparently at the initiative of Premier Chou En-lai, who wanted to decrease the political influence of the armed forces and eliminate an arch opponent of better relations with the United States. In the same year, Nationalist China was expelled from the United Nations and the People's Republic of China became the official representative of the Chinese nation.

Since 1969 a re-emergence of bureaucratic controls has resulted in discontent on the part of radicals who cling to the revolutionary ideals of the past. A period of political ferment reflecting this dissatisfaction began in the summer of 1973 and has since continued.

The moderates launched a campaign in mid-1974 in the interest of economic growth to curb the power of the radicals. Premier Chou En-lai initially appeared to be still in charge, even though he retired to a hospital in mid-1974; he possibly sought to conserve his energies, survive Mao and ensure that an early demise on his own part did not give the radicals an opening to resume the initiative.

A new state (not party) constitution abolished the post of Chairman of the Republic (chief of state) in January 1975; it made a few other changes, none of them basic. It was adopted by the National People's Congress (China's version of a parliament) which met for the first time in ten years. This was one of several signs that political conditions were returning to normal after the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution.

The death of Chou En-lai on January 8, 1976, deprived the world of one of its most astute statesmen and placed the future of the moderates in Peking in jeopardy. Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, Chou's main assistant since 1973, apparently antagonized the radicals and did not remain in office for long, leaving the scene in April 1976, presumably with Mao's approval. The new premier announced at that time, however, was not a radical, but a compromise choice. Hua Kuo-feng's record suggests a closer affinity with the moderates than the radicals. A major earthquake in mid-1976 tightened the political ties between Hua and the army, which handled most of the relief work.

Mao, frail and senile, died on September 9, 1976; his death removed the main shield of the leading radicals including his widow, Chiang Ching; they were purged by Hua a month later. The so-called "gang of four" was accused of fomenting disturbances and riots in various provinces during 1976; even after their purge, propaganda against them continues unabated. Teng Hsiao-ping has been "rehabilitated" and again is second in command to the premier.

Because of concern over Soviet military increases along the Chinese-Soviet border, China exhibited increased interest in improving its relations with the United States in the hope of having a diplomatic counterweight. To the surprise of Americans, China extended an invitation to an American ping pong team to visit in April 1971. This was quickly followed by ex-President Nixon's visit in 1972. In its propaganda, however, China continues to be critical of U.S. policy, especially in the Far East. Former Secretary of State Kissinger visited China for the seventh time in November 1974;

CHINA

Southeast Asia. Secretary of State Kissinger visited China for the seventh time in November 1974; an invitation was extended to President Ford in late 1975, which was accepted; he made the trip in December of that year.

Peking has become seriously concerned over what it considers an inadequacy of United States efforts to cope with the Soviet Union's expansionism, both in the Far East and on a worldwide basis.

The Republic of China (Nationalist) on the island of Taiwan remained under the control of the elderly Chiang Kai-shek until his death in 1975. He and the *Kuomintang* have given a somewhat improved performance since their mainland defeat in 1949. The island is ruled by a minority of 3 million refugees from China who speak Mandarin, a central and northern mainland dialect of the Chinese language. The 11 million Taiwanese, or Formosans, speak Amoy, a southern mainland dialect of the language, and are allowed some voice in the management of their own affairs. Of fundamental significance is the fact that Nationalist China is recognized by the United States and a decreasing number of other nations of the world as the legitimate government of *all* China, in addition to controlling the provincial government of the island of Taiwan. This recognition is in form only, however, and is subject to change. It appears that the communist Chinese believe that part of the understandings between it and the United States are a withdrawal of this recognition, a promise on which it expects delivery without too much more delay.

Military and police controls on the island are strict, and any opposition is severely repressed. Massive military assistance from the U.S. has been consistently provided; large amounts of aid provided up to 1963 supplemented the economic and educational foundations left by the Japanese during their 50-year rule of the island which ended in 1945. The result is a Nationalist state with a large and fairly modern army, a prosperous agriculture, a growing industrial base and one of the highest living standards in Asia. Because of the civil war and loss of the mainland, there have been no elections for the National Assembly since 1948. It now functions largely as the rubber stamp for the *Kuomintang*; its numbers have been drastically thinned by death. The Taiwan provincial assembly is elected, however, and there is a considerable degree of local self-government.

Chiang Ching-kuo, the son of Chiang Kai-shek, held a number of important party and government posts; including that of Minister of Defense; he was the second most powerful person on the island prior to his father's death and was appointed Premier when his father was elected to a fifth term as President in May 1972.

Now the head of state, the younger Chiang is bringing increasing numbers of Taiwanese into the government in the hope of fostering their loyalty; he is improving the efficiency of the bureaucracy. After the death of his father on April 5, 1975, Vice President C.K. Yen was sworn in to fill out the remainder of the leader's term. Actual power is wielded by Chiang Ching-kuo.

Culture: The fundamental and lasting institutions of family life and farming completely dominated Chinese popular culture for thousands of years; this was also true throughout most of Asia, but these two foundations were developed to a higher level within China. Agriculture combined the careful cultivation of cereal grains, skillful efforts to control water by the construction of levees and irrigation ditches, and the return of all available fertilizer, including human waste, to the soil. This permitted production of great yields with a high nutritional content, which in turn permitted a rapid rate of population growth. The family was the basic social unit—above it stood the village, governed usually by the heads of the leading families; contact with central government officials was avoided by the leaders with varying degrees of success.

PROVINCES OF COMMUNIST CHINA



Traditional upper class culture was also based on the family and on the group of related families which together formed a clan. Ancestor worship, involving sacrifices to dead forebears, who were not considered to be actually divine, began among the upper classes and spread to the lower during the Chou period. The wealthy avoided manual labor and regarded literacy and education—especially in the Confucian tradition—ownership of land, and public service as the highest social goals and symbols of status. This upper crust, dominating education, government service and land ownership, was not so exclusive that the lower classes were entirely excluded from it. Unlike India, China had no caste system as a part of its culture, but in reality, it was almost unheard of for a person of peasant origin to acquire enough education, wealth or influence to move to the top of the social scale.

The scholarly elite, as this upper class may be called, developed an almost unbelievably complex writing system derived from the priests of the Shang era. Learning this was a major undertaking, and over the centuries it became the medium of almost every type of literary effort, except for the epic poem, which never emerged in China. Other varieties of verse, as well as history, plays, novels, essays, encyclopedias and other writings were produced in enormous abundance. The poetic works of Mao Tse-tung, composed with skill, are a modern counterpart of these ancient and more recent literary efforts. About 900 A.D. a form of printing was developed: a character or page

was carved in reverse on a block of wood, which was then used as a stamp. It has been estimated by some that under this system, up to the time of the 18th century, more

literature had been printed in Chinese than in all of the other languages of the world combined.

In spite of tendencies toward conservatism and anti-foreignism, traditional Chinese culture was probably the richest, and certainly the longest lived and most continuous of the great civilizations, ancient and modern, of the world. It was relatively free from the religious bigotry and intolerance that was evident in much of Western history. In contrast to the principles of decaying despotism of France under the Bourbon kings, the Chinese philosophical expressions greatly impressed well-educated Jesuit missionaries who came to China in the 18th century. Through their writings, the French writer and philosopher Voltaire communicated some of the Chinese ideals to the educated of Europe.

The decline of the traditional Chinese political system in the late 19th and early 20th centuries also brought a decline in the vitality and self-confidence of most of the traditional Chinese cultural values. Education was increasingly altered to conform to Western ideals; literature began to be written more and more in the vernacular, or conversational language, rather than in the old, difficult and formal literary language. During the 1920s the ideals of Marxism gained ground among intellectuals, but not always in the form of communist doctrine.

At the level of the uneducated, the solidarity of the family was greatly weakened by the beginning of economic progress toward industrialization which created jobs for women, drawing them away from their families to the factories in the cities. The Japanese invasion in 1937 and the ensuing chaos uprooted millions of people and heavily contributed to the further breakdown of the traditional

CHINA

social and cultural order.

The communists have exploited this fluid and unstable situation to press ahead toward their own goals of a new culture and a new society, to be achieved, to a large extent, by overhauling the educational system. This has produced a new generation of Chinese heavily indoctrinated in the desired ideals and cast in a completely new mold. The fundamental purpose of all of this is to break down the traditional ties of family and religion, as well as other values that have interfered with the purposes of the regime. The ultimate desire is that every Chinese be willing, and indeed eager, to do what the state wants of him, to encourage others to do the same, to report on them if they do not, and in general to exist in able to contribute to the often-changing programs and goals of the leadership.

Progress toward these goals has been faster in the cities, where indoctrination and control are easier than in the countryside. However, some progress has been evident among the peasants. The Peking dialect of Mandarin (Northern Chinese) is being taught in all schools, several hundred of the most complex written characters have been simplified, and the regime has shown a more than passing interest in the development and introduction of an alphabetical writing system. Literacy is now much more widespread than before the advent of the communists, but the ability to read, as well as the school system, are both basically used to indoctrinate and propagandize the people along the lines indicated above, rather than to encourage creative and independent thought.

The regime permits the people almost no contact with the outside world, with the exception of closely guarded diplomatic missions. It almost appears that this aspect of the country's anti-"imperialism" is a revival of anti-Western sentiment along the lines of the conservative Manchus and of the Japanese Tokugawas; it is certain that this absence of contact provides even greater opportunities for indoctrination to the communist regime.

On the island of Taiwan, the basic cultural pattern is that of the moderate intellectual classes of China of the first half of the 20th century. To this has been added a large degree of modernization and adoption of Western customs, as a necessary adjunct to American military and former economic support. The inner circles of the nationalist regime have grown conservative with age, but are actually realistically practical for the most part.

Economy: In terms of the percentage of the people involved and the value of the product within the whole economy, agriculture has always been and is now the most important industry in China—vitaly necessary to feed some 760 million people. Food crops, especially

cereal grains have been emphasized rather than livestock raising and dairying. In recent years, commercial crops such as cotton have received more attention in order to supply textile and other industries which process raw materials. Fishing, both at sea and in the inland waters, is also widespread and contributes valuable protein to the diet of the Chinese.

Mining and lumbering have grown, permitting a corresponding growth of modern heavy and light industry; however, much of China has been deforested over the centuries. Uranium, mined in the remote regions of outer China, has permitted the explosion of atomic and hydrogen bombs, and there appears to be the beginning of a missile industry which will provide the means to deliver

this form of destruction to other countries.

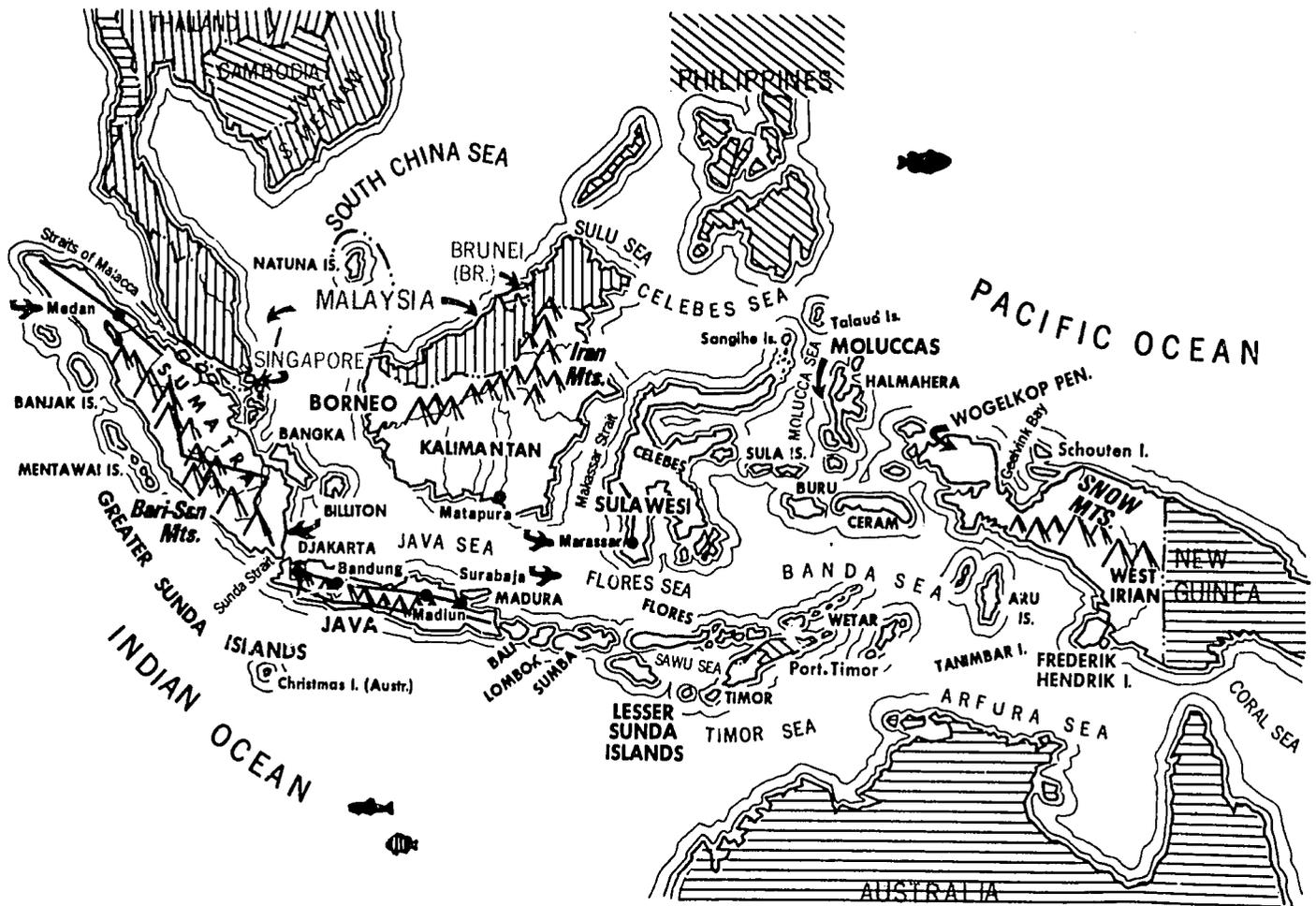
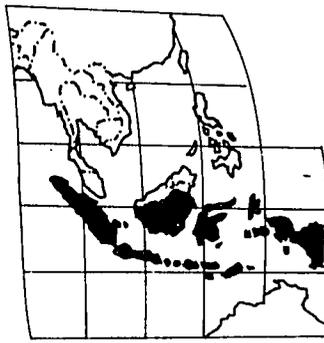
Modern industry began in the treaty ports and consisted principally of textile and metalworking plants. The communist regime is trying to rapidly modernize, diversify and expand China's industry. Beginning in 1950, foreign trade, which had been mainly with Japan and Western nations, was shifted sharply to the Soviet Union and to the communist nations of Eastern Europe. However, with the collapse of the "Great Leap Forward" in 1960 and the beginning of the tensions that brought an end to Soviet aid, the government of Mao Tse-tung redirected its trade toward Japan and Western nations, with the most notable exception of the United States. Australia and Canada have supplied large amounts of their surplus grain, particularly in the lean years of Chinese farm production. Since China's intervention in the Korean War, all Western countries have refused to ship materials which would directly support a military effort. By exporting food and water to the thriving British Crown Colony of Hong Kong, Communist China earns several hundred million dollars each year in foreign currency which is used to help pay for its imports.

Since it is communist, the regime of China believes in rigid and central economic planning and control. During the first three years of its power from 1950 to 1952 it rebuilt what had been destroyed during the preceding years of war and laid the foundations for economic progress in a "socialist" direction. One of its major successes in this respect was the wiping out of the rural landlord class and the turning of land over to the peasants, but only for a short period. In 1953, with substantial Soviet assistance, the first "Five Year Plan" was launched, which stressed the construction of communications and transportation, particularly railways, and heavy industry centering around iron and steel production. This was also the period when agriculture began to be collectivized, whereby the individual peasants tilled their combined plots with more modern techniques, and with a small amount of the great quantities of farm machinery that had been promised.

The second "Five Year Plan" was launched in 1958, but was quickly replaced by the "Great Leap Forward." This was a period in which the planning and statistical apparatus that the regime had created was wrecked and replaced by a hodgepodge of senseless and impossible goals which were to be achieved by a "quota" system of uncoordinated production. The hope was that there would be a great economic surge, but the whole thing was a dismal failure that led to a crisis in agriculture and to an end of Soviet aid. Following this there was a period of relaxed control and recovery during which heavy industry was de-emphasized, and the peasants were given slightly more of the basic comforts of life. The economy began to recover in 1962, and a third "Five Year Plan" was launched in 1966, but information on progress under this latest scheme is scanty.

China's leadership evidently believes that with reasonable luck and an absence of political disturbances, methods can be devised to feed the growing numbers within the country, and at the same time to industrialize the nation. Mao Tse-tung, however, apparently has not understood the need for stability; his "Great Cultural Revolution" has provided turmoil which has been economically damaging, although not as destructive as the "Great Leap Forward." The end of the cultural revolution in 1968 was followed by a resumption of solid, although unspectacular, economic growth.

THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA



INDONESIA

Area: 735,470 square miles.

Population: 132 million (estimated).

Capital City: Djakarta (Pop. 5.2 million, estimated).

Climate: Tropical, with a monsoon season from November to March.

Neighboring Countries: Malaysia and The Philippine Republic (North); Australia (South).

Official Language: Bahasa Indonesia (a formal version of the Malay language).

Other Principal Tongues: Malay, Common Malay (a dialect) and about 250 other Malayo-Polynesian languages and dialects, including Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese; Dutch, Chinese.

Ethnic Background: Malayo-Polynesian (a mixture of Polynesian, Mongolian, Indian and Caucasian many centuries old), about 95%; Chinese, about 3%; other (including European), about 2%.

Principal Religions: Overwhelmingly Islam, with small groups of Christians, Hindus and Buddhists.

Chief Commercial Products: Rubber, petroleum, copra, palm oil, quinine, tin.

Currency: Rupiah (R 275 = \$1.00 U.S.).

Former Colonial Status: Dutch colony (from about 1625 until 1949).

Independence Date: December 27, 1949. (August 17, 1945, is celebrated as the national holiday or independence day; this was the date Indonesian revolutionaries proclaimed the Republic of Indonesia).

Chief of State: General Suharto.

National Flag: Two horizontal bands; the top is maroon and the bottom is white.

Stretched along the Equator in between Australia and the Asian mainland for a horizontal distance equal to the width of the United States, Indonesia consists of about 3,000 individual islands. The largest are Sumatra and Java; Kalimantan occupies the southern portion of the island of Borneo and West Irian is the western portion of the island of New Guinea.

If Indonesia did not have a great variation in elevation, its climate would be uniformly oppressive because of its equatorial location. The heat and humidity of the coastal areas gives way to more moderate temperatures as the altitude rises to breathtaking heights. Although West Irian is predominantly low and swampy, as is Kalimantan, there are mountains that are snow-covered throughout the year on New Guinea.

This is an area of volcanic peaks—some dormant and some active—which have enriched the soil greatly during their centuries of explosive activity. Krakatoa, located on a tiny island between Java and Sumatra, exploded with such force in 1883 that it produced a tidal wave which was felt around the world, and which inundated parts of nearby seacoasts. In other areas of the world, torrential rainfall such as occurs during the monsoon season is the enemy that washes valuable topsoil to the sea, exposing unfertile land to the sun. In Java the downpours are welcome—they wash away old soil and expose even richer volcanic ash and dirt which is fertile almost beyond belief.

The wildlife of Indonesia is more interesting and varied than in almost any other country of the world. The Komodo dragon, ten feet long and a remnant of prehistoric times, inhabits the island of Flores to the east of Java. The Javanese rhinoceros makes increasingly rare appearances in the *Udjung Kulon* ("western tip") preserve on the end of Java, where successive governments have tried to maintain a natural setting of plants and animals. The gibbon, most agile among the primates, swings overhead in the tall trees that provide thick shade for the banteng, a native ox with white legs that resembles an ordinary dairy cow. Although crowded by a multitude of species adapted to its character, this area, as well as most of the interior of the Indonesian islands, is extremely inhospitable to modern man.

History: Fossils and other prehistoric remnants of human skeletons indicate that Indonesia was the scene of one of the earliest areas of the world to be inhabited by man. The present population of the area acquired its somewhat uniform appearance in about the second millennium before the Christian era, a time when there was a gradual intermarriage and mixture between native Polynesians and people from the Asian mainland. This combination, relatively stable since that time, is now referred to as Malayo-Polynesian.

The arrival of Indian cultural, religious and commercial influences about the time the Christian era began greatly influenced the people. Hinduism and Buddhism, mingled with the ancient animist background of the Indonesians, produced an extremely complex, and varied, and unique culture, especially on the island of Java. The advances brought by the Indians and the availability of good harbors in the Malacca and Sunda Straits were the basis for the rise of two powerful commercial and naval empires at the beginning of the 9th century A.D. *Srivijaya* was based on the island of Sumatra; *Sailendra* arose on

neighboring Java. The empires thrived on a lively trade centered on the production of spices treasured throughout the rest of the world, though available only rarely.

The Indians brought Islam to the islands at the beginning of the 11th century, but it did not have initial widespread influence. The development of the Indonesian empires was briefly disrupted in the 13th century by a naval expedition sent by the powerful Mongol emperor of China, Khubilai Khan. Shortly afterwards, a new empire, known as *Majapahit*, became dominant, and seized control of the valuable spice trade. Islam had been spreading slowly, and by the end of the 16th century, the vast majority of the people had become Moslems.

The lure of profits in the spice trade brought the Europeans to the East Indies, or Dutch East Indies as the islands were later called. Rumors of untold wealth had sifted into medieval Europe—they furnished a basis for investment in exploration, the purpose of which was to earn large sums of money rather than to discover unknown lands. The spices were, and now are, grown principally in the Moluccas (Spice Islands) and on Java.

There was some mild interest in the area on the part of Portugal and Great Britain, but the Dutch were successful in ultimately dominating Indonesia, controlling the area through a commercial organization, the Dutch East India Company. The *Majapahit* empire had weakened greatly, leaving the island of Java a relatively easy conquest—this was the island quickly identified as the most strategic and fertile, producing coffee, indigo and some spices. The local leaders who came to power after the empire were either militarily defeated or scared into surrender by the Dutch, who compelled them to deliver produce to the Company.

The colonial period was much the same as in other parts of the colonized world: relatively uneventful and centered around the desire to extract the wealth from the colony. The Napoleonic Wars in Europe resulted in a brief period of British occupation of Java from 1811 to 1816. When the Dutch returned they attempted to continue a pattern of free economic activity established by the British; the tribute system was reverted to in 1830 to supplement revenues lost by the Netherlands when Belgium and its industrialized wealth broke away from the Dutch Crown.

In the last part of the 19th century there was a return to free economic development based on private investment, principally from Dutch sources. This period also witnessed a large influx of Chinese, who quickly acquired a place in the economy second only to the Europeans. Indonesian nationalism began to crystallize at the start of the 20th century, but was directed against the Chinese as much as against the Dutch. The colonial government had adopted the "Ethical Policy," under which strenuous efforts were made to promote the welfare of the Indonesians through public works and health measures. However, education and preparation for self-government were almost totally neglected, resulting in a rapid growth of both nationalism and communism in the 1920-1940 period in spite of increasingly harsh police measures by the Dutch.

Indonesia was a prime target for the Japanese offensive in Southeast Asia in 1941 due to its great natural wealth. Weakly defended by a government in exile which had been driven from its European homeland by the Germans, the islands rapidly fell. The Indonesians had some pro-Japanese feeling based on their dislike of the Dutch and Chinese during the first part of the occupation, but the

INDONESIA

brutality and greed of the Japanese quickly ended such sentiment. Native leaders, supposedly by agreement, divided into two groups—those who pretended to collaborate with the Japanese and those who went underground and launched a resistance movement. Sukarno (many Indonesians possess only a single name) was the most prominent member of the “collaborators,” who hoped to persuade the Japanese to set up a united Malay state including Malaya and Indonesia under Javanese leadership in exchange for allegiance to Japan. The Japanese indicated some interest which died quickly as the fortunes of war turned against them.

Although they were foreign conquerors, the Japanese not only destroyed the prestige of the Dutch in the eyes of the Indonesians, but they also gave the latter valuable experience in political activity and public administration. The nationalists of the islands decided to make use of this knowledge against their Dutch colonial rulers. Sukarno immediately proclaimed the independent Republic of Indonesia when the Japanese collapsed in 1945; this move had widespread support of other leaders and among the population of the outlying islands.

The Dutch, who returned later in the year, desired continued control over the people and wealth they regarded as their own, and there was the beginning of a conflict which lasted for four years of complex fighting between the Dutch and the Republic of Indonesia. The U.S., and most world opinion favored Indonesian independence. The situation was further complicated in 1948 when the Indonesian Communist Party (*PKI*) attempted an armed rebellion against the Indonesian revolutionaries who were led by Sukarno.

A settlement was reached at the end of 1949 that recognized the independence of Indonesia, which was supposed to be linked to the Netherlands through the Dutch Crown. West Irian, part of the island of New Guinea, was not included in the agreement; Dutch-owned industry and investment was to remain intact. The new Republic of Indonesia, based on Java, promptly abolished the federal system created by the Dutch administration and established a unitary republic which later cut all ties with the Netherlands.

The Indonesians faced independence with almost insurmountable difficulties—geographic and cultural differences, poor communication between the islands, the dominant power of the Javanese, resented in the other islands, referred to as “Outer Islands,” the political turmoil left by the years of Japanese occupation, and battle against the Dutch, and the primitive state of economic and political development. In addition to these liabilities that the infant republic had to bear, there was the leadership of Sukarno. Flamboyant, popular, unpredictable, self-indulgent, articulate, dictatorial and lovable are adjectives that have been used to describe him, depending upon the point of view of the observer. He created external problems to cover up the miserable state of the Indonesian economy, beset with rising prices and stagnation. The country became a political triangle of the *PKI* communists led by the young and energetic Aidit, the army, and Sukarno. Anarchy was prevented by the popularity of Sukarno, who was able to command the support of the communists and the obedience of the army.

The promises given to leave foreign investment intact were temporary—Dutch assets were seized in 1957, some Chinese investment was nationalized in 1958-59 and most American resources were confiscated in 1963-64.

Supported by Soviet diplomacy and aid, Sukarno threatened West Irian with a substantial military force

using Soviet weapons; under American pressure and mediation, the Dutch surrendered this western portion of New Guinea in 1962 rather than fight for it. The appetite for additional conquest was whetted, and at the same time the economically and politically miserable life of the Indonesians was ignored by Sukarno, who announced that Malaysia was the next target. This area of Southeast Asia was formed by the British by uniting Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo (Sabah and Sarawak) into a single independent nation. It soon became clear that the British were willing to fight to protect the newly founded nation of Malaysia.

The confrontation with Malaysia, launched in 1963 by Dr. Sukarno, led the *PKI*, which had achieved considerable power, to demand the arming of communist-led “workers and peasants.” This demand was resisted by the army, but endorsed by Communist China and was given an increasingly enthusiastic reception by Sukarno in 1965.

In this tense atmosphere, the dictator fell ill in August 1965. By this time, Sukarno had decided to create conditions which would lead to a leftist orientation for Indonesia by prodding the *PKI* in a *coup* against the army leadership. When the time for its execution came on October 1, 1965, he failed to give it public endorsement.

The *PKI* forces killed a number of army leaders quickly in the chaotic violence of the first week of October 1965, but failed to capture two powerful generals, Nasution and Suharto. Seizing leadership, Suharto crushed the rebellion. Resentment against the *PKI* which has been smoldering in the islands for years, particularly among the Moslems, erupted into a human slaughter that resulted in the death of thousands of communists. The *PKI* was almost annihilated and was outlawed as a political party, in spite of the efforts of Sukarno to protect it. The army stripped Sukarno of all power in March 1966, and he died in 1970. Although formally the president of Indonesia, he was in reality a deposed dictator with little chance of returning to power.

Having achieved effective control of Indonesia, Suharto and the army ended the “confrontation” with Malaysia without much publicity, and at last began to tackle Indonesia’s massive economic problems. Steps were taken to rejoin the UN, from which Indonesian diplomats had withdrawn in 1965. An interest was shown in resuming normal economic relations with the non-communist world, including the Netherlands and the United States.

Communist China knew and approved of the attempted revolution in 1965 and supplied the *PKI* with some arms—it has denounced the present regime as a gang of fascists, particularly after there was some anti-Chinese violence following the *coup*. The Soviet Union has had mixed feelings; it did not wish for communists to be slaughtered with the arms it had provided, but since the *PKI* had adopted the Chinese side of the dispute in international communism, the Soviets undoubtedly were gratified by the example of its failure—an example to other communist movements of the world which have sided with Peking.

After the 1965 *coup*, the appointed *Provisional People’s Consultative Congress (MPRS)* was purged of pro-communist elements. In a March 1967 meeting, it proclaimed Suharto president for five years and set the next general congressional elections for 1971.

The new government made peace with Malaysia in 1966, by disavowing Sukarno’s threat to “crush” that nation in a “confrontation.” During the summer of 1968 the army succeeded in defeating some communist organizations that had been trying to start a guerrilla movement in East Java.

When the Dutch withdrew from Dutch New Guinea, now West Irian, in 1962 the U.N. promised that a popular

vote would be taken to determine the will of the people. The alternatives were independence or union with Indonesia. However, Indonesian military officers present in West Irian in 1969 rigged a unanimous vote for union with Indonesia. This was possible because the vote was taken in Consultative Assemblies that had been created earlier.

It was announced in November 1969 that general elections would be held in Indonesia on July 5, 1971. The result was an overwhelming victory for the government party, the *Sekber Golkar*, a federation of about 260 trade, professional and regional groups. It won 227 out of 360 contested seats in the House of Representatives—100 additional seats are filled by the government through appointment. President Suharto was inaugurated for a second term in March 1973.

Widespread discontent among the people over the lack of political freedom and social justice erupted in serious riots in January 1974. Antipathy was directed against inflation, commodity shortages and mainly against the government; other elements included dissatisfaction with the economic influence of Japan, which has grown by leaps and bounds, and the mercantile activities of the local Chinese.

In the wake of the riots, President Suharto made some personnel changes that had the effect of strengthening the position of his principal assistant, Ali Murtopo. It is not clear yet whether the authoritarian, military-dominated government will be liberalized as a result of the riots, or will become still more oppressive.

Government corruption, food shortages, an inferior educational system, tensions between the Indonesian majority and the important Chinese minority—and other problems—continue to dog the country. In 1975, *Pertamina*, the government oil monopoly, nearly went bankrupt as a result of overborrowing and maladministration.

In Indonesia's third general election in May 1977 *Golkar*, the government party, won 230 out of 360 seats in the House of Representatives. The *Development Unity Party (PPP)*, a coalition of Moslem parties, won 108 seats and the *Democratic Party (PDI)*, a coalition of Christian parties, won 22 seats.

The Indonesian leadership continues to fear China, and since the fall of South Vietnam, Hanoi. Partly for this reason, and partly because of its desire to be clearly the leading state in ASEAN (with Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and Thailand), Indonesia has been shopping for American arms with some success. President Ford visited Djakarta in early December 1975.

Portugal withdrew from its half of the island of Timor in 1975; the other half belongs to Indonesia. The withdrawal was followed by an attempted takeover by local leftist elements, which aroused concern in Djakarta. Pro-Indonesian elements opposed the leftists, and in December, immediately after the departure of President Ford, Indonesian troops began to occupy the territory. Its union with Indonesia was proclaimed in mid-December. The United Nations Security Council (with the U.S. abstaining) voted to order Indonesian withdrawal in late 1975 and April 1976. The resolution has been ignored.

Culture: Indonesia is a country of great cultural differences; this diversity is compounded by the presence of a great number of commercially minded Chinese. This is a nation of islands which have traditionally had only informal contact with each other—a nation ruled in effect by a cultural minority located on the island of Java. Although the vast majority of Indonesians are at least nominally Moslem, this powerful belief has not united the people because it has been imposed on a basic blend of Hinduism and animism. Its variation from island to island is fundamental and difficult to conceive. In the Outer Islands, where religion was less formalized before the arrival of Islam, the religion of Mohammed is practiced in a much purer form than on Java and Sumatra. Bali, the island fabled in story and song in the western world, is the exception; it is an almost classic host of traditional Indian Buddhism.

Non-violence and courteous agreement are a tradition in Javanese culture—open disagreement is avoided—differences are buried in an atmosphere of agreement, no matter how unreal. But, once it becomes apparent that differences cannot be hidden, violence becomes painfully real as it did in 1965. The Malay word *amok* has passed into English as *amuck* to denote the terrors of blind violence.

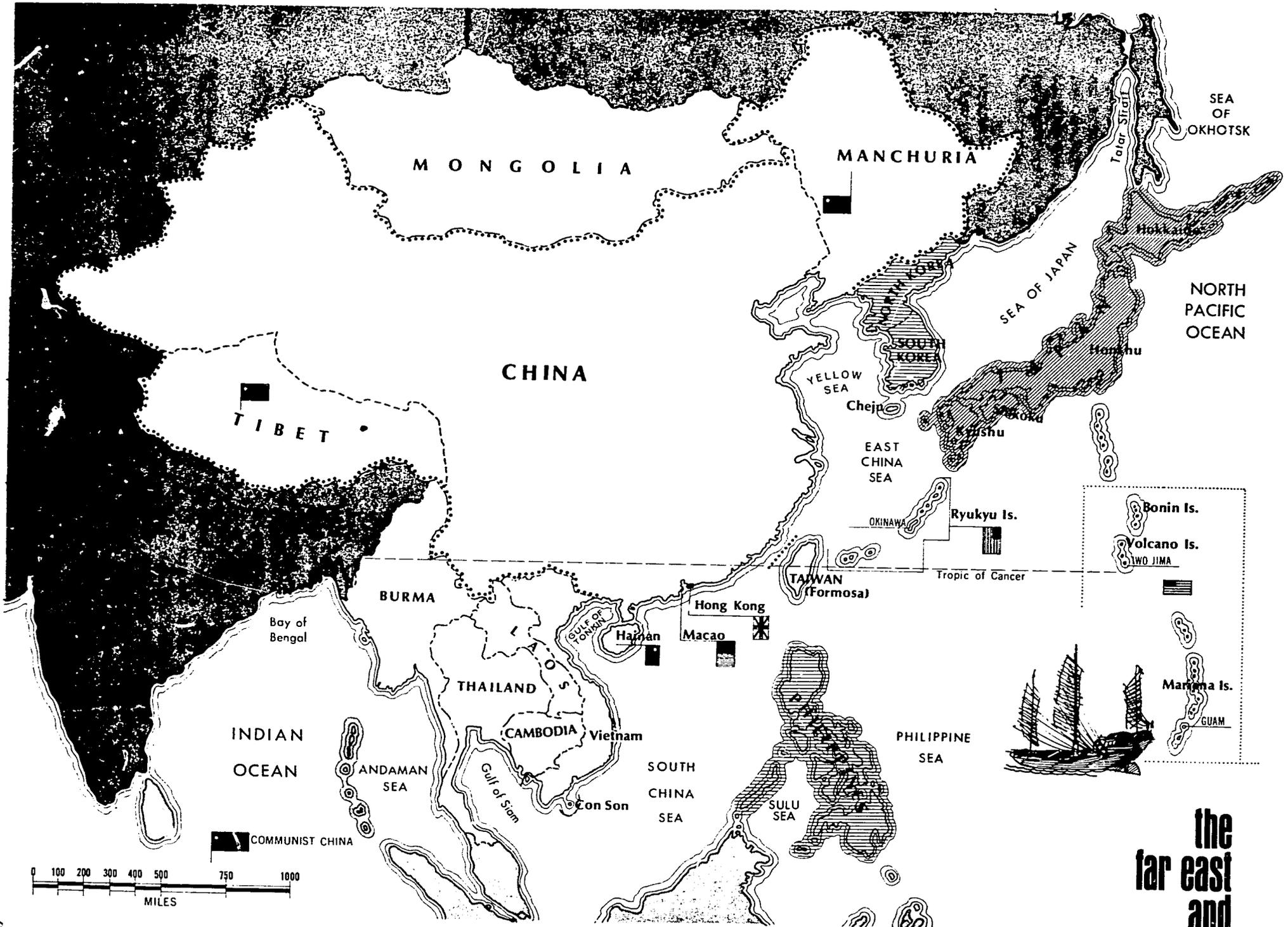
Arts and crafts of many varieties are highly developed in Indonesia—they combine the artistry of the Polynesian with the industrious character of the Chinese in an ever-changing variety reflecting the customs of the islands.

Economy: Indonesia has almost no modern industry; its economy is almost totally dependent upon the production of raw minerals and vegetables. The coffee, spices and other products of tropical agriculture which have been raised for centuries now are grown on larger, modern plantations, for the most part. The most important resource comes from the fertile earth—rubber, but the precious trees which produce this valuable export have not been planted fast enough to replace the older trees which have died. Indonesia, once the world's leader in rubber production, has taken second place to Malaysia, undoubtedly due to the chaotic conditions which grew worse under Sukarno.

In spite of some progress toward development with the help of extensive foreign aid, since 1966 the economy has continued to be beset by trouble. There is still serious inflation, commodities (including food) are regularly in short supply and there is widespread unemployment. The main bright spot is oil. Indonesia has large petroleum reserves, mainly in Sumatra and Kalimantan (Borneo), and belongs to the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Oil revenues, which are substantial, have been a tremendous help to the government's economic development program.

The Future: Although having abundant resources to become one of the richer nations of Southeast Asia, it is unlikely that the Indonesians will be able to overcome the economic and political problems created by the colonial Dutch, the conquering Japanese and the dictatorship of Sukarno. These disadvantages must be conquered to put the mineral and agricultural wealth of the earth into the pockets of the people.

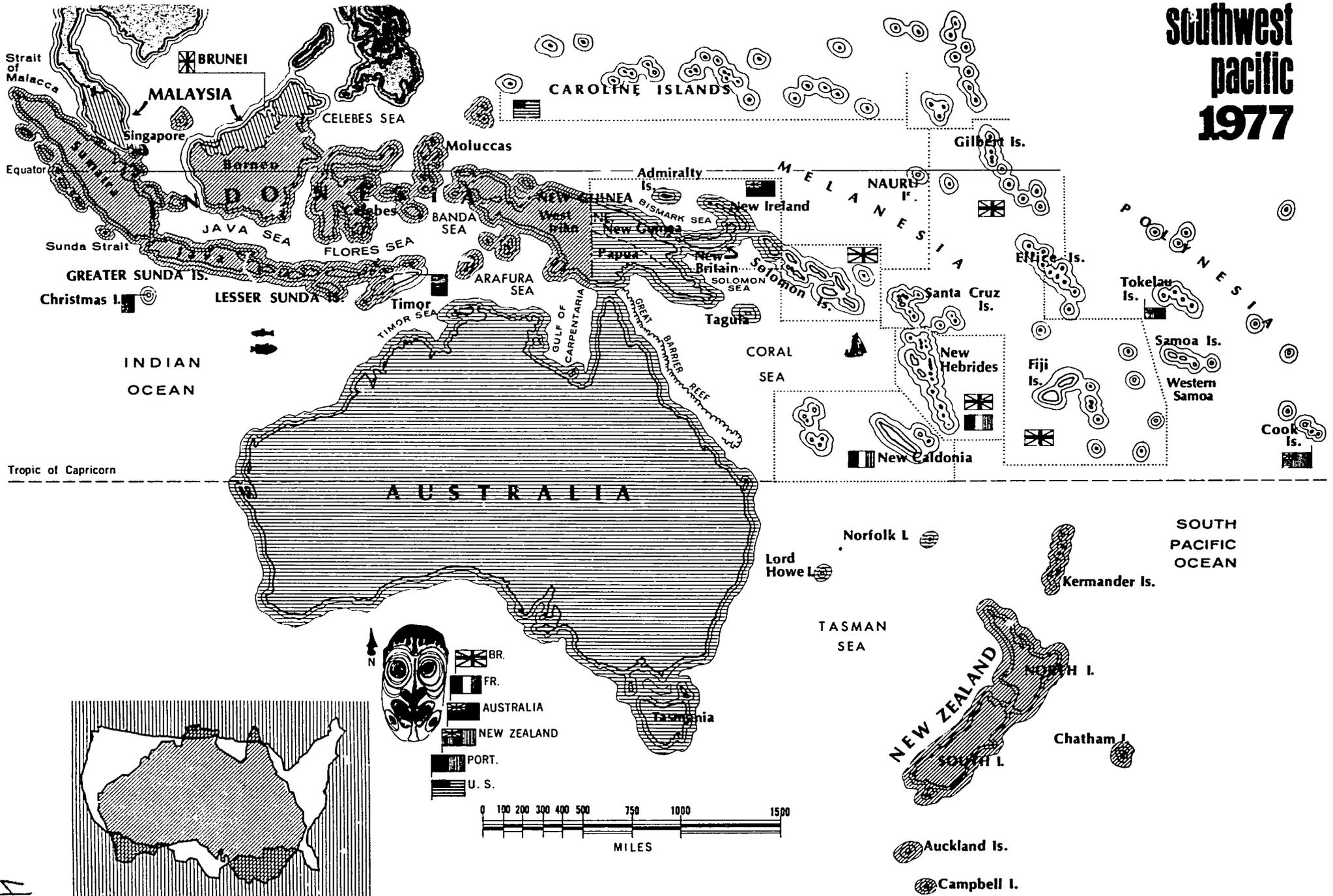
The present military regime is providing stability and possibly guiding the nation toward future democracy. If there is a PKI-sponsored uprising against its authority the future is highly unpredictable. ■



59

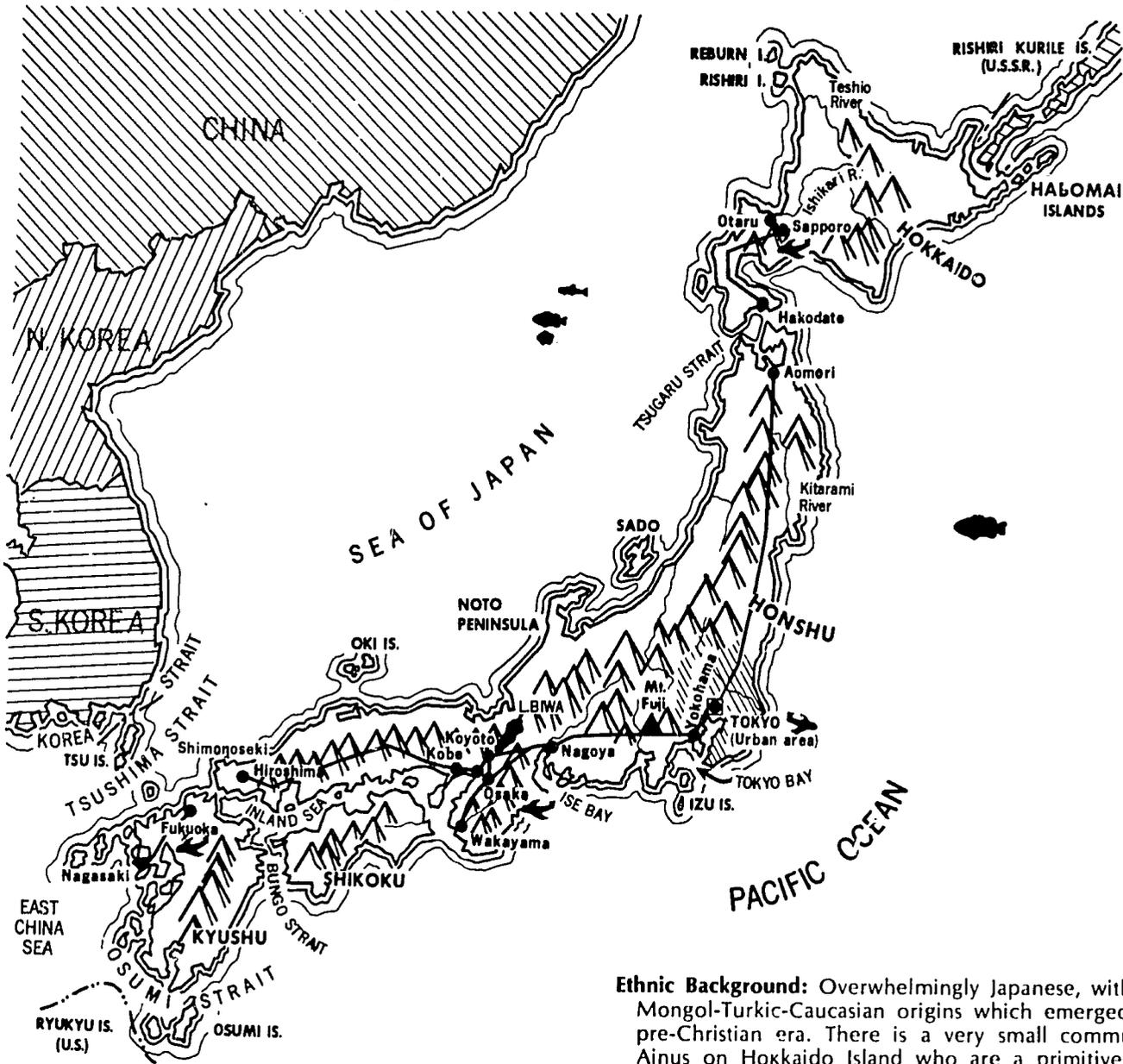
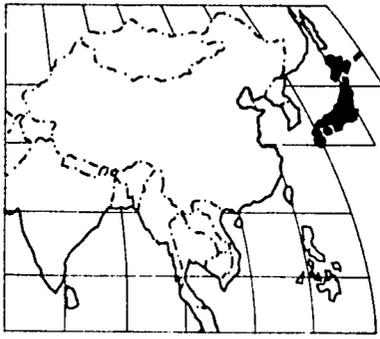
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170

JAPAN



JAPAN

Area: 142,726 square miles.

Population: 112 million (estimated).

Capital City: Tokyo (Pop. 11.7 million, estimated).

Climate: Subtropically warm in the extreme South, becoming temperate in the North. The high elevations have much lower temperatures than the coastal areas. There is a rainy monsoon from June to October.

Neighboring Countries: The islands of Japan are closest to Russia (North); Korea (West); and Communist China (Southwest).

Official Language: Japanese.

Ethnic Background: Overwhelmingly Japanese, with mixed Mongol-Turkic-Caucasian origins which emerged in the pre-Christian era. There is a very small community of Ainus on Hokkaido Island who are a primitive people of Caucasian ancestry.

Principal Religions: Shinto, the official religion, is largely extinct, Buddhism is widespread and split into many old and new sects; Christianity.

Chief Commercial Products: Products of heavy industry, including ships and autos, products of lighter industry, including electronic appliances and cameras and a wide range of other items, textiles and yarns, iron and steel, fish.

Currency: Yen (Y 355.4 = \$1.00 U.S.).

Chief of State: Emperor Hirohito.

Head of Government: Takeo Fukuda, Prime Minister.

National Flag: White, with a red disc representing the rising sun in the center.

The island nation of Japan consists of four larger bodies of land, Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu and the smaller Ryukyu Islands south of Kyushu. The southern half of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands to the north, which Japan possessed at the height of its World War II power, were ceded to the Soviet Union at the close of World War II.

Geographically, Japan is part of an immense hump of the earth's surface which extends from Siberia on the Asian continent through Korea and Japan southward, rising above water again in the areas of Taiwan (Formosa) and the Philippines and extending further south into the eastern portions of Indonesia and Australia. As is true in other portions of this ridge, Japan is unstable and subject to frequent and sometimes violent earthquakes.

Thermal pressures from deep in the earth escape periodically through the many volcanoes which are interspersed among the mountains. Mt. Fuji, its lofty crater surrounded by a mantle of snow during the entire year, visible from the streets of Tokyo on a clear day, and one of the most beautiful sights in Asia, has not been active since 1719. All of the mountainous areas, volcanic and non-volcanic, are scenic—the taller peaks on Honshu have justly earned the name "Japanese Alps."

The mountains leave little level space; only about 15% of the total land area is level, and much of the only large plain is occupied by the huge and busy capital of Tokyo. As a result, farms are located in the hilly areas of the islands and are made level by the labor of the farmers, who have constructed elaborate terraces over long periods of time in order to win more land for their intense cultivation. Japanese farming is actually better called gardening, since the small units of land, an average of 2-1/2 to 5 acres per farm, are tilled with such energy that none of the soil or available growing season is wasted. This tremendous agricultural effort produces almost enough to feed the people, who live densely packed at the almost unheard of rate of more than 5,000 per square mile in the inhabitable portion of the islands.

The climate of the islands is totally dominated by the seasonal winds, or monsoons. Cold winds blowing from the Asian continent invade the land beginning in September each year. All of Hokkaido and a substantial part of Honshu lie buried in snow from December to March. In the spring, the winds shift, blowing from the warm equatorial South Pacific; the growing season of Honshu and Hokkaido then commence. The subtropical island of Kyushu remains warm all year around, permitting two or three harvests of paddy rice each year. Only one crop of dry, or field rice, grows in the much shorter summer of Hokkaido. In the last half of August and in September, the southern monsoon brings typhoons, laden with rainfall, and often destruction from the Pacific to the shores of Japan.

Rainfall and weather are also affected by the oceanic water currents which envelope the islands. The warm

southern *Juro Siwo* dominates the southern months; the arctic *Oya Siwo* descends as far south as Tokyo in the winter. Both currents bring a huge number of fish to the off-shore areas on the Pacific side, and an even larger number to the Sea of Japan. Depending almost wholly for animal protein upon this bounty from the sea, the Japanese raise only an insignificant number of livestock on the islands.

History: The earliest known inhabitants of the Japanese islands were the Ainu, a primitive people of white Caucasian ancestry who probably had come to Japan earlier than the people we call Japanese.

Driven steadily northward by the Japanese in the period shortly before the beginning of the Christian era, they exist today in a small community of unusual people on the island of Hokkaido. The men have much more body and facial hair than the Japanese; the women have the curious custom of tattooing a moustache on their upper lip, and dress in a manner similar to the men.

The Japanese came primarily from the mainland of northeast Asia, by way of Korea, and are of the same ancestry as the Koreans. They were mainly of Mongolian stock whose ancestors had lived a nomadic existence on the continent of Central and Northeast Asia. This ethnic group became the predominant one but there were also other elements from the South China coast and the Southwest Pacific. Japanese architecture, adapted because of the threat of earthquakes into a flimsy style of wood and paper inadequate to withstand the colder months of the winter, is similar to that of the southwest Pacific.

All the various elements gradually blended into a people possessing almost identical physical characteristics, considering the tremendous size of the present population. In the first centuries A.D. the Japanese lived mainly around the Inland Sea, a body of water almost completely enclosed by the four larger islands. They were essentially primitive, organized in many warring clans, and had no writing system with which to express their language that is derived from mainland Asiatic dialects originally spoken in what is now Manchuria, Mongolia and Siberian Russia. The Yamato clan emerged as the strongest and most respected group; its leaders became known as emperors when Japan emerged as a more civilized state under Chinese influence.

This process began in the 5th century A.D., probably as a result of visits by Chinese merchants to Japan. The Japanese were greatly impressed by the tales told of Chinese military power, wealth, prestige and culture, especially during the T'ang period (618-907), and quickly set about importing a number of the elements of the more highly organized culture of China. One of the most important of these was Chinese character writing which the Japanese adapted to their own tongue. The intricate symbols, which represented words to the Chinese, were modified by the addition of special symbols representing the actual sounds of syllables, and also to indicate the endings of words, or inflections, in order to convey different meanings. In contrast, the Chinese character writing has never expressed the sound of the spoken Chinese language.

In an attempt to imitate the T'ang dynasty of China, the Japanese imperial court built a capital at Nara, near the waters of the Inland Sea on the island of Honshu. The creation of a central government was not possible, however, because many clans, especially those in central and northern Japan, were strong and independent and

JAPAN

still preoccupied with battling the Ainu people and each other. These clans did not attempt to overthrow the imperial court, however. They contented themselves with largely ignoring it on the scattered occasions when they received directives from the Nara capital.

Kyoto became the imperial capital in the late 8th century after Nara was abandoned, and became the home of a brilliant culture. Ancient legends were altered and more were created to prove the divinity and supremacy of the imperial clan and represented as truth. An arbitrary date in the 7th century B.C. was selected as the time that the sun goddess gave the blessing of creation to Japan and established the reign of her descendants on the islands. The arts flourished, particularly a highly distinctive and fine literature in the form of novels produced by ladies of the imperial court in the modified writing system adapted from the Chinese characters.

Although the more martial, semi-independent clans outside the capital admired and imitated the cultural achievements of Kyoto, they were primarily interested in their military power. In 1160 one of the two most powerful military clans, the Taira, defeated the other, the Minamoto, and then seized control of Kyoto, but without remaining in power. Shortly afterward, the Taira were in turn defeated by the Minamoto, whose leader Yoritomo was appointed as the first *Shogun*, or Generalissimo, of Japan by the emperor and founded the Kamakura Shogunate (1185-1333).

The imperial family was not disturbed by the powerful Shoguns; its male members often married women from other clans during this period, notably the Fujiwara clan, which usually dominated the imperial court. The Shogunate quickly became the real government, rendering the emperors revered, but powerless figureheads. The Kamakura Shogunate was faced with the external threat of the powerful empire established by the Mongol emperor Kubilai Khan in China in the late 13th century. Two attempted Mongol invasions were defeated by a combination of Japanese military resistance and violent typhoons. The failure of these invasions added substance to the growing belief of the Japanese that they possessed a unique and superior character and were under divine protection.

The Ashikaga Shogunate overthrew the Kamakura in a civil war early in the 14th century and remained supreme until the middle 16th century. It was noted principally for its patronage of the arts. The Zen school of Buddhism, stressing mysticism and contemplation, became very popular with the aristocracy and with the *samurai*, or warrior class. Fighting was truly a profession among the *samurai*—they developed a crude military science, which gave the art of fighting a formality which was almost beyond belief, as well as being fanatical and conservative.

The Ashikaga were politically weak, and during the last years of their nominal rule Japan disintegrated into a state of feudal warfare resembling that of the dark ages of Europe. Commercial interests continued, however, to promote trade and build roads. Warfare was gradually brought under control in the late 16th century by two persons—Oda Nobunaga and his brilliant general, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who succeeded Nobunaga as dictator (*Kampaku*) when his overlord was killed by a dissident general in 1582.

In the middle of the 16th century Portuguese ships and Jesuit missionaries began to arrive in Japan, which had not previously been touched by Western discovery and exploration. The Jesuits, led by Francis Xavier, who

was later to be elevated to the status of sainthood, made a large number of converts, particularly in Kyushu and its largest city of Nagasaki. Their position was enhanced by the conversion of a leading feudal lord of the island, Otomo Yoshishige, to the faith of the missionaries, which led many vassals and followers into the arms of the Church. Firearms and other Western methods of violence were introduced and eagerly received by the Japanese.

Spanish Franciscans who arrived in 1593, began a period of even greater efforts toward conversion of the Japanese and also confused the non-Christian rulers of the islands by periodic bickering with the Jesuits. In the last years of his rule, Hideyoshi became convinced that Christianity was nothing but a veil concealing a future European invasion, and he embarked on a course of persecution of priests and their converts who then numbered about 250,000.

The anti-Christian, anti-European sentiments of Hideyoshi were continued and expanded by the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, who as a vassal of Hideyoshi had established himself at Edo, now known as Tokyo. This level area underwent a period of phenomenal growth in the first half of the 17th century as the seat of the Shogunal government from which a brutal persecution of Christianity was directed in the years 1615 through 1640. In addition, the anti-Western sentiment of the ruling

Shogunate led to the closing of all ports in the empire to foreign ships, with the exception of ten Chinese and one Dutch ship each year, which landed at Nagasaki.

The Tokugawa governed Japan with a heavy hand. In order to control the other clans they used a number of devices, including the taking of hostages from the families of the clan heads. Their control was weakest in the Southwest, where a number of clans were accustomed to contacts with the outside world and impatient with the official "Exclusion Policy," as it has since come to be known.

Beginning in the 17th century, the clans—each ruled by a powerful lord, or *daimyo*, built ornate castles, around which towns arose. In this way, Japan acquired the most important single base for modernization, a multitude of moderate sized towns, as distinguished from cities which were primarily political centers. Agriculture prospered, sporadically interrupted by revolts of the peasants who lived in abject poverty. Trade flourished, the population increased, and a merchant class emerged which quickly acquired a great deal of influence over the *daimyo* and the military *samurai* by making loans to them. There was much intellectual activity which was conservative, to the extent that it advocated that the imperial clan, which had survived over the centuries, should be restored to full power and replace the usurping shogunate. Conservative political thought included a study of Japan's Shinto religious heritage.

Sporadic Western attempts to "open" Japan to foreign trade were largely unsuccessful until the 1850s. Just as the mystery of Japan, and the lure of commerce, prompted Russian, British and U.S. attempts to penetrate the islands, many educated Japanese were interested in the Western nations and their scientific achievements—their appetite was whetted to a keen edge by the limited trade and cultural contacts with the Dutch.

The confusion among the Japanese when Commodore Perry of the United States sailed his fleet into Tokyo Bay in 1853-1854 is hard to describe. The interest in Western trade and ideas was keen among some of the *samurai*, particularly in the southern region, and for this reason they opposed the Tokugawa. The element among the clans which was anti-foreign was also against the shogunate,

and saw the threat of the foreigners as an opportunity to urge that the Tokugawa accomplish an impossible task—the exclusion of the Americans and other intruders. The weakened regime, in a desperate move, asked the advice of the other clans. Commodore Perry of the U.S. was able to get the treaty desired by the U.S., and other powers soon had their agreements. All of these were patterned after the “unequal treaties” that were being imposed on the waning Manchu dynasty in China during the same period. The opponents of the Tokugawa, especially the powerful clans of the southwest, accused the government of weakness and continued a fanatic anti-foreign campaign. Western naval bombardments at Kagoshima in 1863 and Shimonoseki in 1864 convinced them of the folly of their demands, and they did an about-face, becoming eager advocates of learning as much as possible from the West—in order to be better equipped to resist its influence and power.

The Tokugawa fell in 1867, and with their collapse the system of shogunate government ended after about 700 years. The powerful clans, principally those of the Southwest, “restored” the emperor and moved the imperial capital to Tokyo, the city of the Tokugawas. The emperor actually reigned, but did not rule—he was the institution used by a few dozen young *samurai* who were determined that Japan would be modernized. Mutsuhito, the dynamic young emperor around whom this government centered, received foreign representatives at his imperial court at the beginning of the *Meiji* period. (The reigns of the Japanese emperors are not described by their own names. A “period name” is used instead; thus Yoshihito ruled during the *Taisho* period from 1913-1926, and Japan is now in the *Showa* period of Emperor Hirohito.)

By the end of the *Meiji* period, commonly known in the West as the *Meiji Restoration* (1868-1912), Japan had largely achieved its goal of modernization—a feat not duplicated by any other non-Western nation in the world in such a brief period, or indeed at all up to the present. The leadership set up a strong central government and governed in an almost dictatorial style that nevertheless made some concessions to the beginning of democratic institutions which were permitted. Economically, a small group of *zaibatsu* arose which dominated the beginnings of industry in Japan in a manner reminiscent of Carnegie, Harriman, and Morgan in the United States, but there was abundant room for small business. This balance between central control and local initiative, coupled with the urban character of Japan, its fairly low rate of population growth, and the fact that the people demanded so very little in personal comforts, permitted a rate of modernization which no other nation of the world has experienced.

The new leaders wiped out the old clan system of authority and at the same time modernized land tenure. The landowning peasants were rather heavily taxed, however, yielding greater funds for modernization. Modern communications were established and new machinery was imported to manufacture textiles and other goods. A modern education system, geared to the production of literate and obedient subjects of the Emperor was created.

An effective army and navy and a modern legal system also emerged within a short time, permitting the Japanese to repudiate the “unequal treaties,” but the leadership avoided foreign military adventures at first. It tolerated but largely disregarded the political parties which emerged in the early 1880s and created a *Diet*, or parliament, under a constitution of 1889 that proclaimed the emperor as a virtual god, behind whom the governing oligarchy continued to rule. The period of adopting foreign institutions and techniques diminished and practically ended



JAPAN

by 1890, when an intense nationalist, antiforeign reaction set in, with an emphasis on ancient Japanese institutions and customs, and their legendary superiority. The emperor became the object of still greater glorification, even though he possessed little more than nominal power.

Increasing agitation by the political parties against the government and the growth of military strength and prowess led Japan to pick a fight in 1894 with the decaying Manchu empire of China. The Japanese army and navy seized control of Taiwan, (Formosa) and conquered Korea, which was annexed in 1910.

The Japanese did not conquer territory from the Chinese alone—the Russians were competing in the same period for influence in Northeast Asia; they had had a "sphere of influence" in Manchuria since 1898. The Japanese launched a victorious land and sea campaign against the Russians in 1904 and thereby established themselves as a leading power in Asia, and in fact one of the world powers.

Japan did not lose the opportunity offered by the vulnerability of Germany during World War I. It quickly declared war on Germany in order to seize German holdings which had recently been established in Shantung Province in China, as well as several small island groups in the Pacific. At the same time, it shipped considerable quantities of munitions to the allied powers of Europe and to Russia, its former enemy. But at the end of the war, and after the Red revolution in Russia, Japan sent a large military force to occupy eastern Siberia, to see if the region could be added to the growing Japanese empire. Internal and external pressures forced the Japanese from Siberia and also from Shantung in 1922, and Japan agreed to limit the size of its navy by treaty at the same time. The post-World War I period in Japan was one of transition. The voting lists were enlarged to include a greater number of the male population, and political parties became more influential than before. But the speed of modernization in Japan left some unsolved problems and created many others. The rural population remained isolated from urban progress, although paying for it by increased taxes, rents and difficult conditions in the countryside in the 1920s all of which created much discontent. The cause of the peasants was championed by ambitious army officers, partly in sincerity but principally for political reasons. The officers, who were largely of rural origin, found allies among some civilian conservatives. They adopted the position that rural poverty had two basic causes: poor government by the political parties, and economic combinations of interest in monopolistic patterns. They criticized the political parties, who were more influential during the 1920s than at any previous time. The *Zaibatsu*, as the economic empires were called, also came under fire for their devotion to the goal of high profits. The military and civilian conservatives also blamed injurious and "insulting" tariffs and discriminatory trade policies of some foreign nations for the adverse conditions of the peasants.

This line of thought had a broad base of appeal, and the rightists strengthened their position by taking forceful action in the form of assassinations and coups. The extreme right wing did not succeed in seizing power, but it was able to force the more moderate right in the government and in the army to take control after 1936 and

to adopt a somewhat more extremist outlook. All political parties were abolished in 1940.

Japan took advantage of the conflict between the nationalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek and the communist revolutionaries led by Mao Tse-tung in China. Increasing pressures, both diplomatic and military, were brought to bear in order to give Japan great influence in, if not direct control over China. The Japanese army seized Manchuria in 1931-1932 soon after the local authorities had threatened Japan's interests, there by accepting the authority of Chiang Kai-shek's government. Renaming the area Manchukuo, the Japanese military set up Henry Pu Yi, who had abdicated as Manchu Emperor of China in 1912 (see China, p. 27, as a puppet emperor.

Frequent military clashes with China led to an invasion of eastern China and atrocities committed by the invading soldiers by Japan in 1937. Merciless bombing of the mainland cities alienated the Chinese completely and enabled both Chiang and Mao to rally support for their separate struggles against the Japanese; an uneasy truce emerged between the two Chinese leaders because of the Japanese threat, but this truce was little more than an agreement not to fight each other.

These Japanese efforts at expansion led to increasing criticism and pressure from the outside world, including the United States. In an effort to limit the capability of

the Japanese war machine, the U.S. gradually cut down shipments of oil and scrap steel.

The reduced shipment of strategic materials caused Japan to look for sources elsewhere, particularly to iron in the Philippines and oil in Indonesia. The German victories which took place in Europe in 1940 provided an example of the rewards of aggression. Fortunately for the rest of the world, cooperation between Nazi Germany and Japan was always very unsteady even though they and Italy formed an alliance in 1940. All three, but most of all the European "Axis" powers, had the habit of making bargains with other nations without consulting or informing their allies.

In late 1941 Japan decided to force the issue with the United States, and demanded resumption of oil and scrap steel shipments. Washington refused, and in addition encouraged the Dutch in Indonesia to withhold their oil unless the Japanese agreed to a political settlement in Asia, which would have involved an end to aggression and a withdrawal from China. Believing that the U.S. would oppose any Japanese seizure of the resources of Southeast Asia, the Japanese decided to knock out the U.S. Pacific Fleet stationed at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. The American Ambassador cabled from Tokyo on November 17, 1941 that it was possible that the Japanese might make a sudden sneak attack, and on December 7 Japanese airplanes almost wiped out the U.S. battleship fleet in Pearl Harbor in a few short hours.

The Japanese army and navy quickly overran Southeast Asia, which was weakly defended; their military performed with maximum efficiency in their effort. Initially their superior might in the Pacific was close enough to cause the fear of an imminent naval-air attack on California. The Japanese army met its greatest resistance in the Philippines, where the people cooperated with the U.S. defense force led by General Douglas MacArthur, but ultimately the islands fell. Apart from unwise attempts

to gain even further territories from Australia, India and in the Central Pacific, the Japanese military settled down to occupy and exploit their newly won empire. The only land resistance during this period was sporadic and weak, from Chiang Kai-shek's forces, which were contained in southwest China, and from scattered communists in the western mountains of China under the command of Mao Tse-tung.

By their brutality the military rulers quickly alienated leaders of the local people who were not already anti-Japanese. Even when they proclaimed supposedly independent governments in Burma and in the Philippines in 1943, they failed to arouse any real enthusiasm, even among local nationalists. Their actual reason for these moves was that Burma and the Philippines were the two areas of their empire most exposed to Allied military pressures. In the later years of the war, active resistance to the Japanese formed in most Southeast Asian lands they had conquered, and much of it had a distinct communist element.

As the war economy of the United States came into production, the Japanese suffered increasing defeats in naval and air battles with the U.S. starting in mid-1942. Australia initially served as the main base for the Allied campaigns; it and New Zealand also contributed fighting units to the war. Island after island fell to American Marines and Allied Army units. U.S. aircraft and warships, principally submarines, increasingly cut the Japanese islands off from their Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific conquests by sinking tremendous amounts of Japanese shipping and by defeating the Japanese navy.

By 1944 General Tojo, who had led Japan to war with the U.S., was deposed as premier and disappeared from the circle of military officers who were in control. Important persons in the imperial court and the government saw that the war was lost and believed that peace should be negotiated as soon as possible in order to save the Emperor and avoid a communist revolution. The military insisted on continuing the losing battle; the Emperor might have overruled them but chose to remain silent.

On August 6, 1945, the sky above Hiroshima was lit by the fiery destructiveness of the first atomic bomb used in the history of the world. The Japanese were already hard pressed by the Allied troops, who were being reinforced by soldiers that arrived in the area after the fall of Germany earlier in the year. On August 8, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan. It had agreed to do this the preceding February in exchange for postwar control of Outer Mongolia, which had been a nominal Chinese territory prior to the war, and also for Sakhalin Island and the Kurile Islands in Northern Japan, as well as important railway and port rights in Manchuria. A second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki on August 9; the next day the war and peace factions submitted the choice of war or surrender to the Emperor.

The Emperor, in an act of great moral courage, chose surrender—the final terms of capitulation were agreed to by August 14, 1945 and the formal treaty was signed aboard the U.S.S. *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay on September 2, 1945. The islands had been terribly battered and exhausted by the war. National morale was almost completely crushed; individual army leaders and high govern-

ment officials chose *harakiri*, a formal suicide which eliminated the necessity of facing their conquerors or the people they had led.

The occupation was an almost exclusively American affair, with General MacArthur functioning as the chief representative of American authority. The basic aim of the occupation was to alter Japan's political outlook and government structure so that it would never again commit aggression. The armed forces were completely disbanded, thousands of individuals suspected of furthering Japan's war efforts were removed from public office, and a few remaining top officials were tried by an international tribunal and executed. The *zaibatsu* financial empires were split up into smaller units, and Japan was forced to pay reparations to countries it had attacked. Land reforms were adopted making it possible for the tenant farmers to own the land they had tilled, and all restrictions on political and union activity were removed.

The general attitude during the first three years of the occupation was that Japan should be punished and isolated. The advance of communism in China and the pressures of the cold war in Europe and elsewhere during 1948-1949 made Japan undergo a subtle transformation in American eyes from a defeated enemy to a prospective political partner in the anti-communist struggle as well as an economic base for Far East recovery. Steps were immediately taken to promote economic recovery and to revive foreign trade. Japan earned a great deal of money by serving as a United States and UN base during the Korean War, from 1950 to 1953.

In 1951 Japan signed a peace treaty with the United States and some other Western and Asian nations, but the communist bloc refrained from concluding formal peace agreements with it. Under the U.S. treaty Japan regained its independence but lost all of its empire outside the home islands; further reparations were left to be determined between Japan and each individual country concerned. Japan then signed a security treaty under which the U.S. was allowed to maintain military bases in Japan and to administer Okinawa in the Ryukyu Islands, where it had established its largest military base in the Western Pacific. This treaty was renewed in 1960 but was modified at that time by the inclusion of certain concessions to Japan. It was renewed a second time in 1970.

A new constitution introduced in 1947 provided for a constitutional monarchy-parliamentary form of government resembling that of Great Britain. It also provided that Japan forever relinquish the right to maintain an army or navy, but this prohibition has been evaded to some extent by the creation of a small military establishment known as the Self-Defense Forces. The divine right of the Emperor, derived from the Shinto legends of ancient Japan was also repudiated.

Considering Japan's turbulent political history before 1945, its government has been surprisingly stable and democratic since that time. The cabinets and Prime Ministers who have exercised executive powers since World War II have in general been popular and responsive to the wishes of the people, and have exhibited an ability to follow economic policies that have contributed greatly to the tremendous growth in income. All the prime ministers have faced the threat of demonstrations and riots inspired by the leftist groups which frequently occur,

JAPAN

often as a result of minor incidents. The rather high-handed Premier Kishi Nobusuke (1957-1960) severely antagonized the left when he pushed through a revised security treaty with the United States, provoking widespread rioting and civil strife.

A strong left wing movement has persisted, composed of a small, but very active *Communist Party*; a larger *Social Democratic Party*, which is divided into extreme left and moderate right wing elements; large labor unions which are politically active, and a high proportion of Japanese intellectuals. This movement regularly wins about one-third of the votes in elections but has not been in power, except in 1947. The rest of the adult population, including women, tend to vote for the conservative *Liberal Democratic Party* which has, in one form or another, been in power since 1946 except for a few months in 1947. There are a few newer parties such as the *Komeito Party* (Clean Government Party), which is sponsored by a revivalist Buddhist sect calling itself *Soka Gakkai*. The university students in the larger cities are prone to disorder, a tendency which has its origins partly in the leftist intellectuals of the faculties.

Japan has had some difficulties in overcoming the ill will left behind in Asia by its wartime conquests, but progress has been made in this direction, particularly in 1967 when Prime Minister Sato visited most of the non-communist capitals of the area. Payment of reparations has been of assistance in this effort, in addition to economic aid given by Japan to the poorer countries.

Premier Sato secured a pledge from President Nixon in 1969 that civil administration of Okinawa is to be turned over to Japan in 1972. A formal treaty tentatively stating this was drafted in final form in June 1971. The U.S. will retain some of its military installations needed to support its defensive commitments to South Korea and Nationalist China. This gain helped Sato win a triumph in December 1969 elections.

Early in 1970 the government announced that it would rely less on the United States for military security, although the basic security treaty with the United States was renewed. Relying more on its own efforts, Japan plans an expansion of its Self-Defense Forces in the next five years in substantial amounts, but this does not represent any basic change in foreign policy.

Student radicalism has declined considerably in recent years and other domestic concerns have come to the fore. There is widespread concern and demands for action over pollution and urban slums that have accompanied Japan's astonishing industrial growth. There is serious concern over sentiment within the U.S. to restrict textile imports from Japan, which are usually cheaper than those made within the U.S.

Two events stood out in 1970. One was the successful Expo 70 at Osaka. The other was the dramatic and widely publicized suicide of a flamboyant, extreme right wing writer, Yukio Mishima. His act was probably intended to jolt the public out of its preoccupation with wealth and possessions into a greater sympathy for Japan's traditional militaristically oriented values.

In the summer of 1971, Japanese-U.S. relations were seriously strained by unexpected American moves in the direction of closer relations with the People's Republic of China and by a number of economic and currency problems.

Okinawa was returned to Japanese jurisdiction on May 15, 1972, shortly before Prime Minister Eisaku Sato was to

leave office in favor of a successor. On July 5, 1972, Kakuei Tanaka, a farmer's son and popular politician whose formal education ended with the 10th grade, was elected president of the ruling *Liberal Democratic Party*, thus assuring him the Prime Ministership of Japan. In September, Tanaka paid a successful visit to Peking and established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China.

A series of political and economic setbacks in 1973 badly eroded the Tanaka government's popularity. Inflation, pollution and corruption continued to be major issues. The Middle East war of late 1973 followed by a temporary Arab oil embargo against Japan, which imports about 80% of its oil from the Arab nations of that region, produced some dramatic results. The price paid by Japan for its imported oil *quadrupled*. The government made some statements critical of Israel and began to woo the Arab states in other ways as well, in particular, by promising them \$3 billion worth of aid in various forms in return, it was hoped, for exemption from any embargo in the future.

This crisis reduced Japan's economic growth in 1974 roughly to zero and further weakened the Tanaka government. In order to recover, the ruling *Liberal Democratic Party* spent large sums of money received from business contributions in an effort to influence elections held in July 1974 for the upper house of the Diet, the House of Councillors. The *Liberal Democratic Party* emerged with only half the seats (126 out of 252), however, and suffered a further setback—business contributions began to decline. Several leading figures resigned from the cabinet, and the feeling grew that if Tanaka stayed in office until his term expired in 1975, he would bring disaster to his party in the next elections to the lower house of the Diet also scheduled for 1975. The Watergate affair in the United States and President Nixon's resignation in August 1974 focused the attention of the Japanese public on the behavior of their own leaders.

The final blow fell in October-November when a series of press articles exposed Tanaka's personal wealth and the questionable means by which it had been obtained. He resigned in late November, only a few days after a state visit by President Ford which he had vainly hoped might save him.

Feeling that it might be facing its last chance to save itself from losing power, the *Liberal Democratic Party* dispensed with the usual jockeying for the premiership and entrusted the selection to the party's Vice President, Etsusaburo Shiina, whose surprising choice fell on the moderate Takeo Miki. The latter published a list of his personal assets (an unprecedented step in Japan) but could not persuade his colleagues to do the same.

Miki's political position was weaker than that of several other leaders of his party, including Tanaka. Miki tried with some success to improve his image and strengthen his position by a number of initiatives. One was a trip to the United States in August 1975, following which Emperor Hirohito also visited the United States. In November 1975 Miki participated with five West European premiers in a conference on economic matters, the first time a Japanese premier had done this. In December 1975, a general strike of government workers was called off at his insistence.

It was revealed in the United States in February 1976 that over the previous twenty years the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation had paid about \$21 million in bribes to various Japanese officials and politicians to promote the sales of various types of military aircraft. There was some evidence that the United States Central Intelligence Agency had been aware of these bribes, but other agencies of the government, including the Securities and Exchange Commission, cooperated with the Japanese government's investigation of the scandal, which

rocked Japan. Miki's investigation aroused the anger of some of his senior colleagues in the *Liberal Democratic Party* who evidently feared that they and their friends might be implicated. As a result, Miki was in danger of being forced out of office even before the general election expected in November 1976. Nevertheless, the inquiry proceeded and resulted in, among other things, the arrest and conviction of Tanaka.

In elections for the lower house of the Diet (Parliament) held in December 1976, the ruling *Liberal Democratic Party* continued its slow slide, to 249 seats (from 265) out of 511. The *Socialists* (123 seats from 112) and *Communists* (17 seats from 39) also slipped. The *Kometto* (55 seats from 30) and *Democratic Socialists* (29 seats from 19) gained. The new *Liberal Club* won 17 seats (from 5) and *Independents* 21 (from 0). Following the election, Miki resigned and the able, experienced conservative *Liberal Democratic Party* leader, Takeo Fukuda, became Premier. He visited the United States in April 1977.

Japan concluded an air transport agreement in 1974 with China, but the Taiwan government cancelled the highly profitable flights between Japan and Taiwan in retaliation. Japan's efforts at a peace treaty with China marked time, largely because of Soviet objections. The Soviet Union continued to be difficult about inviting Japanese capital and technology to develop the mineral resources of Siberia on terms that the Japanese could accept. Relations with the United States and western nations were somewhat cool in the political field, but economic ties remained important and close.

Culture: Before the arrival of Chinese influence, Japanese culture was rather simple and primitive and was centered around the Shinto beliefs in spirits existing everywhere in nature. Under Buddhist influence, Shinto acquired a monastic organization, and in the late 19th century it was made the official state religion and became the basis for the divine power of the emperor, a descendant of its sun goddess. Buddhism, however, was not eliminated—the Japanese believed in and practiced both, interwoven with Confucianism and some Christian beliefs. Today it is acceptable for a Japanese to marry in a Shinto Temple, to venerate his dead ancestors at the Buddhist Temple and at the same time to celebrate the Christian holidays even if in reality he has little faith in any religion.

The revival of Shinto by the state did not prevent the heavy influence of Western cultural patterns in Japan after the middle of the 19th century—science and technology were and are eagerly studied and adopted, with adaptations, into the Japanese pattern. The Japanese are not the mere imitators they are often believed to be; in recent years they have been making major and remarkable technological advances and scientific discoveries. The old cultural patterns are not dead in the rural areas, but they have not posed any major resistance to modernization.

The increasingly urban life of the Japanese is a distinctive one. The business sections of the city are usually constructed of reinforced concrete, but the outlying buildings are simple, but attractive, wood and paper structures. The people who work in the central city during the day go to the suburbs in the evening—thus, the morning and evening commuting hours are as frantic as those in the cities of the United States. Television and radio are widely enjoyed, particularly as a result of the ability of Japanese industry to provide electronic appliances and instruments at low prices while maintaining good quality. All of the fine arts are widely found in the cities, particularly in Tokyo. Traditional European and Western musical works and ballet are heavily attended, as are cultural expressions which are distinctly Japanese such as the Kabuki

dancers, who perform in a highly refined style esteemed throughout the world.

Japanese art techniques were quite advanced before World War II. In the postwar period there has been a tendency to depart from the traditional representation of landscapes and historical events in detailed canvases into somewhat more modernistic modes of expression. Many universities and colleges provide higher learning for the Japanese student population. In most of them, English is widely taught and spoken. They do not represent any specific level of education; their degrees have many different meanings in terms of achievement. Many universities are dominated by the extreme leftist student organization known as *Zengakuren*, the influence of which, however, is less than it was in the late 1960's when it was most powerful.

Economy: After the start given by the Korean War, the Japanese showed once more their almost unequalled talents for hard work and economic organization. The rural areas became considerably more productive and prosperous than they had been prior to 1945; the government assisted in this achievement to prevent the rural population from turning to communism as had happened in China. The *zaibatsu* financial clans which had controlled much of the economy in an interlocking pattern were partially decentralized; although they have resumed something like their prewar position of power, their stock is much more widely held and they are subject to government control.

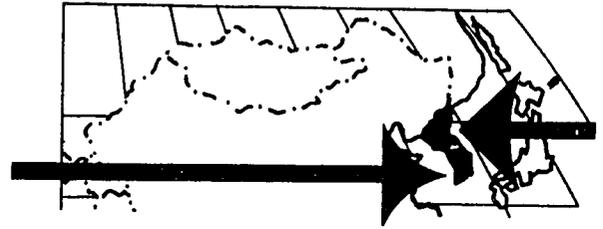
Trade, which rapidly recovered, is now at an unheard of level and is conducted principally with the U.S. and other developed countries. The development of technological advances and manufacturing skills has permitted the Japanese to produce and export high quality electric and electronic appliances, sewing machines, motorcycles and other consumer goods at an ever spiraling rate. The islands now produce more automobiles than either France, Germany or Italy.

The prosperous Japanese economy is the envy of many other nations. In 1970-1971 production rose to a level higher than that of the Soviet Union—the U.S. remains number one, Japan is second and the Soviet Union is number three in the world. Living standards in Japan are close to Western European levels. The problems now facing Japan are those of a developed country—urban blight and ghettos, shortages of skilled jobs for the graduates of its schools and a persistent inflation of currency.

The world-wide oil crisis of 1973-1975, accompanied by sharp increases in the cost of foreign petroleum, had a serious adverse effect on the Japanese economy. By 1975, however, recovery was underway; inflation was slowing down and the balance of payments was in fairly good shape in spite of the rise in oil prices. The situation improved further in 1976.

The Future: Barring some general or Asian war, a collapse of foreign trade or a major earthquake such as the one that struck Tokyo in 1923, Japan can continue its orderly growth and prosperity. Further efforts will be made to sell products in Europe and Communist China. Increasing interest in foreign products and foreign travel will continue to rise, but the price of both will also undoubtedly continue to rise. Japan is not likely to rearm on a large scale unless some international crisis breaks out that causes it to feel seriously threatened.

THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA



SOUTH KOREA

Area: 38,452 square miles.
Population: 33.7 million (estimated).
Capital City: Seoul (Pop. 4 million, estimated).
Climate: Temperate with a short winter, hot and humid in the summer with a rainy monsoon from July to October.
Neighboring Countries: North Korea (North); Japan (East).
Official Language: Korean.

The predominantly mountainous peninsula of Korea is actually an extension of the mountains of southern Manchuria, from which it is separated by the Yalu and Tumen Rivers. The spine of the mountains runs from northeast to southwest but remains close to the eastern coastline of Korea—east Korea is rugged, containing many scenic mountain peaks. The famous Diamond Mountains (Kimgan-san) in North Korea are particularly spectacular, reaching their greatest height in the Changpai San at the northern border, where the peaks are snow-covered all year. From these immense mountains, streams gather to form the Yalu River which empties into the Yellow Sea, and the Tumen River which flows into the Sea of Japan. The steep descent of these rivers provides one of the world's best sources of hydroelectric power, with a great potential that has only begun to be developed.

The western coastal regions contain most of the peninsula's level plains, interspersed with frequent rivers—this is the agricultural belt where rice predominates, raised in wet paddies in the South, where two crops are harvested each year, and grown in the North on dry

Other Principal Tongues: Japanese, spoken by many older Koreans; English, spoken by many of the educated Koreans.

Ethnic Background: Korean, a mixture of Manchurian, Mongol and Caucasian blood which has existed since about 3500 B.C.

Principal Religions: Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity.
Chief Commercial Products: Rice, coal, light manufactured goods.

Currency: Won (W 255 = \$1.00 U.S.).

Former Colonial Status: Korea was a tributary state of the Chinese empires for most of its history up to 1895; Japanese protectorate (1905-1910); Japanese dependency (1910-1945); since 1945 it has been under U.S. influence and UN (overwhelmingly U.S.) protection.

National Day: August 15, 1948 (Republic Day).

Chief of State: Park Chung Hee, President.

National Flag: White, with a center circle divided equally by an S-curve into blue and red portions; there is a varying combination of 3 solid and 3 broken lines in each corner.

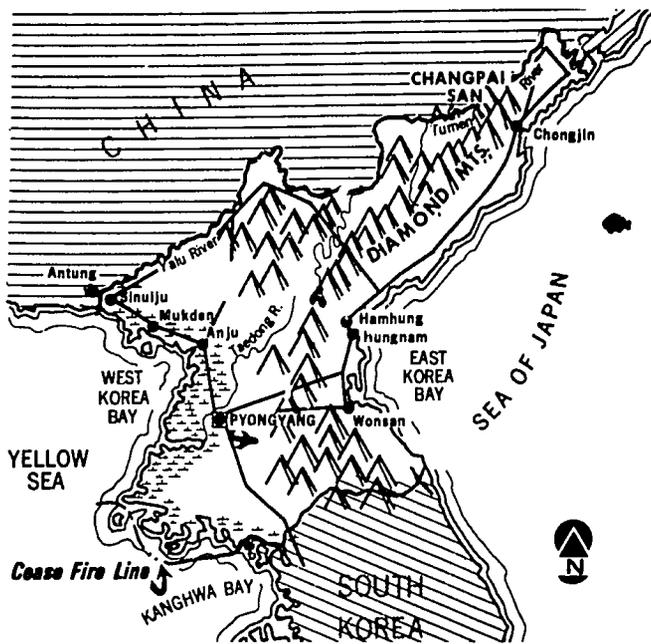
plantations, where only one crop matures at the end of the summer. Tidal variations along the west coast are extreme; there is sometimes a difference of 30 feet between low and high tide. The offshore islands, numbering about 3,500, are the remnants of the mountain chain, standing with their shoulders above water.

The long coastline and the nearness to some of the richest fishing grounds in the world have made the people, especially in the South, skilled fishermen and have led to frequent squabbles with individual Japanese and with Japanese governments, because the people of the overcrowded neighboring islands desperately need the same protein which the Koreans harvest from the sea.

The cooler climate of North Korea resembles that of Manchuria. It is better endowed with minerals, hydroelectric facilities and capacity, and the lower regions of the mountains support thick stands of timber. South Korea has a warmer climate, which supports a greater agricultural production. In December the temperatures in Pusan may be mild at the same time that frigid blasts of below-zero arctic weather envelop the remote mountains of the North. The Siberian black bear and leopard mingle with fierce wild boars, Manchurian tigers and smaller Korean tigers in the thinly populated northern region.

THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

KOREA



NORTH KOREA

Area: 46,814 square miles.

Population: 15 million (estimated).

Capital City: Pyongyang (Pop. 0.83 million, estimated).

Climate: Temperate, with a longer and much colder winter than in the South; summer wet season from July to September.

Neighboring Countries: Manchuria, China (North); Soviet Union (Northeast).

Official Language: Korean.

As the warmth increases to the south the animal life becomes more nearly tropical, dominated by herons, gulls and other birds with colorful plumage.

History: From their appearance and language, the Koreans appear to have similar origins to the Turkic-Manchurian-Mongol people who have inhabited northeastern Asia for more than 4,000 years and have also migrated to the island of Japan as well as to the Korean peninsula. By the 2nd century B.C. they began to undergo a series of waves of Chinese influence; the northern part of the country became a part of the Chinese empire.

For most of the first nine centuries of the Christian era, Korea was divided into three states: Koguryo in the North, Silla in the Southeast, and Paekche in the Southwest. All of these were under strong Chinese cultural influence, including Mahayana (northern) Buddhism, Confucianism and the Chinese written language. There was a small area of Japanese influence along the southern coast.

From the 10th through the 14th centuries, the entire peninsula was united under the Buddhist Koryo dynasty, which although theoretically independent, was dominated and paid tribute to the nomadic Mongol empires of Northeast Asia which had overshadowed the Chinese. In 1392

Other Principal Tongues: Japanese, spoken by many older Koreans; Russian, spoken by many of the educated Koreans.

Ethnic Background: Korean, a mixture of Manchurian, Mongol and Caucasian blood which has existed since about 3500 B.C.

Principal Religions: Buddhism, Confucianism. The government discourages religious activity.

Chief Commercial Products: Coal, iron, other metals, cement, chemicals, lumber.

Currency: Won (W 275 = \$1.00 U.S.).

Former Colonial Status: Korea was a tributary state of the Chinese empires for most of its history up to 1895; Japanese protectorate (1905-1910); Japanese dependency (1910-1945); since 1945 it has been under initially Soviet and later Soviet-Communist Chinese influence and protection.

National Day: September 8, 1948.

Chief of State: Kim Il Sung, President

National Flag: Two blue stripes on the top and bottom separated by two thin white stripes from a broad central field of red which contains at left center a white circle with a 5-pointed red star.

the area came under the control of the Confucian Yi dynasty which ruled from an imperial capital established at Seoul.

For several decades the Yi showed great creativity, wisdom and artistry, advancing in the field of astronomy and inventing an alphabet based on sounds which could be expressed by a movable metal type also devised during the period. Although ruled by a local line of rulers, Korea remained a faithful tributary of the Chinese empire; as the initial creative cultural zeal wore off in the 15th century, Chinese character writing was readopted, assisting in cultural and commercial contacts between the two nations. China provided military protection, which enabled the Koreans to withstand, but with great difficulty, a major Japanese invasion from 1592 to 1598.

The drain and exhaustion of the war rendered the prostrate Koreans an easy mark for the powerful Manchus from Manchuria, who after conquering the peninsula, seized China itself after 1644. There was a general decline of cultural and political activity in Korea, which became an intensely isolationist vassal of the Manchu empire in China for the next two centuries. Occasional Europeans who were shipwrecked on the rough coastline were held captive.

KOREA

Shortly after the mid-1850s the major Western powers became interested in the region. China was weakened by its own efforts to resist domination by the same powers and expressed no reaction when the Japanese recognized the "independence" of Korea in 1876. Japan did not win this concession from China—it was merely taking advantage of the power of the Western nations. Despite its almost extreme preoccupation with anti-foreignism, the Yi rulers were compelled to sign a series of "unequal treaties" with the major powers, similar to those which had been and were being extracted from China and Japan. The Japanese acted quickly to obtain similar concessions.

Inside Korea, nationalists and modernists at the imperial court and the more educated youth looked to Japan as a source of inspiration and direction. On the other hand, the elderly conservatives remained attached to the traditional Chinese empire of the Manchus. China still insisted that it was overlord in Korea. The Japanese, who had rapidly modernized their armed forces, therefore declared war on the Manchus in 1894. With little resistance, Chinese forces were driven out of Korea, but the Japanese were not able to establish undisputed authority by defeating the Manchu forces—the Russians had also started to exhibit considerable interest in the peninsula.

The short Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 resulted in a Japanese victory and the establishment of a protectorate over Korea, which had been the biggest issue in the conflict. With no opposition, Japan simply annexed the peninsula in 1910; Korea became the largest dependency of the growing Japanese empire.

Japanese rule was harsh and military, devoted to creating investment opportunities for Japanese capital, raising rice to feed Japan, and establishing military bases for further expansion on the Asian continent. But the modern techniques of the Japanese and the advanced education which they offered created in the long run a dramatic and beneficial change from the extreme isolationism which had prevailed under the Yi emperors prior to the advent of Western powers.

Angered by open Japanese exploitation and inspired by newly learned democratic slogans used in World War I, thousands of Koreans, many of whom had been converted to Christianity, staged a massive, peaceful demonstration in favor of independence in March 1919, which was brutally suppressed by the Japanese. Independence movements fled to bases outside the country or went underground; they split into a communist wing located in eastern Russia, Manchuria and northern China, and a nationalist wing located mainly in eastern China. Relaxing their rule briefly because of adverse Korean and world popular opinion, the Japanese intensified their exploitation when they undertook the conquest of Manchuria and China in the 1930s. In an effort to avoid further unrest, they attempted to absorb the Koreans by forcing them to adopt Japanese names and to speak the language of their conquerors. This had no lasting effect and actually served to further embitter the Koreans against the Japanese.

At the close of World War II, when Japan had all but surrendered to the U.S. and British forces, the subject of the future of Korea was considered by the leaders of the "big three" at the Potsdam Conference from July 17 to August 2, 1945. Stalin reaffirmed his promise that the U.S.S.R. would declare war on Japan, which it had refrained from doing prior to that time, and proposed that it would secure the Korean peninsula from the Japanese armies. It was ultimately decided that Soviet

forces would occupy the northern part of the area and accept the surrender of the Japanese troops in that region, and that U.S. forces would do the same in the southern portion. The American expectation was that the whole peninsula would come under the supervision of the then infant UN.

This decision, made half way around the world from the helpless Koreans, was to be the basis of continued conflict and friction for more than twenty-five years, and also was to cost the loss of thousands of lives. It also ultimately was to result in an economically disastrous division of the peninsula.

The U.S.S.R. declared war on Japan on August 8, 1945, two days after the first atomic bomb had burst with a terrifying holocaust on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. The Japanese accepted the Allied surrender terms on August 14, but in this period of a few days the Soviets had quickly moved into occupation of North Korea at the cost of a few light skirmishes in Manchuria. The boundary between U.S. and Soviet troops was fixed shortly afterward at the 38th parallel.

In the North, the Russians promptly installed a puppet regime run by Korean communists under the control of the Soviet occupation forces. In the South, U.S. occupation forces followed a shifting policy primarily devoted to economic recovery and to the creation of a democratic government. There were seemingly unending negotiations between the two powers in 1947-48 on the formation of a government for the entire peninsula; these broke down when it became clear that the Soviets would not settle for less than elections rigged in favor of the communists, who were actually a small, predominantly northern minority. The United States laid the issue before the UN, which tried in 1948 to hold free and supervised elections in both halves of the country as a first step towards reunification.

The Russians excluded the UN mission from the North whereupon it then authorized elections only in the South—Syngman Rhee, a venerated nationalist figure who had been popular for decades, became the first president. The Republic of Korea was declared independent and was admitted to the UN, and American occupation came to an end. The Russians promptly reacted by establishing the "Democratic People's Republic of Korea" in the North and withdrew their occupation forces. Soviet control and support of the local communists were sufficient to maintain North Korea in the Soviet bloc with little or no Russian military presence.

On June 25, 1950, after careful preparations, and with a heavy dose of Soviet military aid, North Korean forces invaded South Korea. Having the advantage of surprise, they were barely prevented from overrunning all of South Korea. President Truman of the U.S. ordered military intervention on the side of the South Koreans; two days after the conflict began the UN condemned the aggressive acts of North Korea and ordered military sanctions against the Soviet satellite. A combination of mass bombing of the North and flank attack by an amphibious landing at Inchon, a coastal town near Seoul, succeeded in driving the North Koreans from the territory they had conquered.

General Douglas MacArthur commanded the UN forces. With the same energy he demonstrated in World War II against the Japanese, he insisted that the two Koreas should be reunited, and invaded North Korea above the 38th parallel in October 1950. Assuming that neither the Chinese or Russians would intervene, he sent his forces rapidly toward the Yalu River, in spite of growing concern in the United States.

His aim of defeating the North Koreans was a miscalculation. China was not prepared to accept a threat to Manchuria, and they were prepared to engage in battle to obtain the prestige of a victory over the American "im-

perialists." In addition, both China and Russia were interested in saving the communist regime in Korea. Chinese forces, pretending to be "volunteers," crossed the Yalu River into Korea. The question remains today as to whether they merely wanted to create a buffer region to protect Manchuria, or to conquer South Korea for the North Koreans. MacArthur challenged them by embarking on an offensive to clear out all North Korean and Chinese forces in North Korea; at this point the Chinese Communists struck with great force, using the same successful guerrilla tactics they had learned in their battles with the Chinese Nationalists during decades of civil war.

Their effort to drive U.S. and UN forces out of North Korea succeeded, but they could not mount an invasion of South Korea. MacArthur advocated a wider war effort, including the bombing of Chinese Manchurian bases, but was removed by President Truman. He was replaced by General Matthew B. Ridgway.

Chinese forces tried to invade South Korea in April and May 1951, but their supply lines had become too long to support the effort. Armistice negotiations began in July 1951, but since neither side had won a clear victory, the talks dragged on for two years, while fighting continued. Each side sought to obtain a defensible position, and gradually the lines of battle hardened with heavy fortification which would have made a major breakthrough by either force almost impossible. Squabbles over the repatriation of prisoners also prolonged the conflict—the Chinese and Korean communists disliked, and refused to recognize the proposition that their soldiers would choose not to return to their homeland. An armistice was reached on July 27, 1953, a few months after Stalin of the Soviet Union died; about 70% of the Chinese prisoners held by the UN forces refused to return to China or North Korea, and they were soon released, mostly to the Nationalist Chinese on Taiwan.

American politics also contributed to this armistice. The popular military hero of World War II, General Dwight Eisenhower, was chosen by the Republican Party to oppose President Truman's Democratic successor, Adlai Stevenson. Eisenhower's promise during the campaign to end (not to win) the Korean War greatly influenced the American public. The settlement was a stalemate of military might—the demarcation is at about the same position as it was prior to the conflict. South Korea was saved from military capture by the communists of North Korea and China. The biggest changes which occurred during the strife were the loss of several hundred thousand lives and an almost utter devastation of both Koreas.

In 1953, shortly after the armistice, the Soviet Union and Communist China embarked on policies of substantial economic aid programs to North Korea. As a result, it has acquired a broad industrial base and an industrial production rate which is actually higher per capita than that of Communist China. Kim Il Sung, the political leader selected by the Soviets in 1945 to lead North Korea, has maintained exclusive control over the local communist party at the expense of his rivals.

The Korean War and the later Russian-Chinese ideological disputes have given him an opportunity to attain a much wider degree of freedom of action within the communist sphere of the world which he readily seized. For a few years after 1960 he tended to favor the Chinese without being totally dominated by them, but since 1964 he has swung back toward the Russians, but not to the extent of the former almost total submission.

Political approaches to the desired reunification of Korea under communist auspices have failed in the post-

Korean War period. Probably in an effort to take advantage of U.S. involvement in Vietnam Kim Il Sung began in 1965 to send terrorist teams across the 38th parallel in the hope of undermining the recent political stability of South Korea, but with little success. The latest attempts in early 1968 included an attempted assassination of South Korean President Park, and the dramatic seizure of an unended U.S. intelligence vessel, the *Pueblo*, in waters near Wonsan after the ship had allegedly violated North Korean territorial waters. There was a widespread fear that North Korea might attempt another invasion of the South after this incident.

Pressures by North Korea on South Korea eased somewhat during 1969, however, and in 1970 Kim Il Sung made a major proposal for the peaceful reunification of the two Koreas.

After months of negotiations between the United States and North Korea at the village of Panmunjom, the same site at which the talks that ended the Korean War occurred, both sides reached agreement for the return of the crew of the *Pueblo*. This unusual accord provided for the U.S. to acknowledge in writing that the vessel had penetrated into the territorial waters of North Korea, and at the same time permitted the verbal denial of the truth of the written statement by the U.S. military representative signing the document. The personnel of the *Pueblo* returned to the U.S. on December 23, 1968, after their release, but the vessel remains in the possession of North Korea.

In South Korea, despite massive American aid in the postwar period, the economy floundered and the elderly President Rhee grew senile, autocratic and unpopular. He resigned in April 1960 and left the country in the face of rebellious student demonstrations which the army made no effort to suppress. There followed a year of political ferment and regrouping under a weak government headed by President John M. Chang which ended in May 1961, when the army seized control of South Korea.

After a period of military rule, General Park Chung Hee, the leader of the military junta which had seized power, nominally became a civilian and was elected President—he was re-elected in 1967. Under his government, not genuinely free, but much more democratic and responsive to the needs of the people than that of North Korea, there have been some notable gains. The economy has greatly expanded, and South Korea had chosen and been able to contribute troops to the struggle in Vietnam. The government was able to withstand opposition to the necessity of establishing diplomatic and commercial relations with Japan in 1965.

In spite of large scale student demonstrations against him, President Park won a popular referendum altering the constitution in October 1969; the change permitted him to run for a third term in 1971; he was victorious in April elections. National Assembly elections held in May 1972 gave 113 seats to the ruling *Democratic Republican Party* and 89 to the *New Democratic Party*.

The sentiments in favor of restriction of textile imports in the U.S. and a decision to reduce United States military presence in South Korea caused great concern during 1970-1971. Increased political contacts with North Korea beginning in the summer of 1971 contributed to increased political ferment in South Korea and led to President Park's decision to proclaim an emergency and rule by decree in December 1971.

Suddenly, in early July 1972, there was a surprise an-

KOREA

nouncement by both North and South Korean governments that following a series of secret talks, an agreement had been reached to end hostilities between the two, and to work towards eventual reunification of this divided country.

On October 1972, citing new conditions produced by the negotiations with North Korea and the Nixon efforts to lessen cold war tensions, President Park proclaimed martial law and prohibited normal political activity. In North Korea, the main trends of 1972 were the rising power of Kim Yong-ju, Kim Il Sung's younger brother, and the adoption of a new state constitution designed to make confederation and ultimate unification with South Korea more attractive to Seoul.

President Park's increasing personal power has aroused considerable opposition, especially from the intellectuals, students and the powerful Christian churches. This opposition has been cruelly suppressed on the ground that it gives aid and comfort to North Korea at a time when American protection of South Korea is becoming increasingly unreliable. An opposition leader, Kim Dae Jung, was kidnapped in 1973 in Japan by the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency and brought back home. President Park's widely beloved wife was fatally shot in August 1974 in what was officially described as an attempt on the life of the President himself. Since the assassin had some Japanese connections, the government launched a dispute with Japan, but there are reasons to believe that this quarrel, as well as tension in North Korea-South Korea relations which existed in 1974, were at least partly efforts by the Park government to distract attention from its harsh domestic policies.

By early 1975, it appeared that Park's heavy handedness was endangering the crucial support of the army leadership for him in spite of his easy victory in a rigged referendum held in February. President Ford visited South Korea in November 1974, but it seemed possible that Congressional budget reductions would produce a partial or even total withdrawal of American forces from South Korea.

The fall of Indochina to communism in 1975 left South Korea the only non-communist nation on the east Asian mainland and intensified the sense of danger felt in the country. This has been exploited by President Park to increase his rigid control through repressive measures. Critics in the U.S. have urged withdrawal of economic and military support. This became somewhat muted apparently in part because of widespread bribery of U.S. Senators and Congressmen by Tongsun Park, a Korean businessman (not a blood relation of the president).

Talks with North Korea have virtually broken down because of Pyongyang's efforts to use them as a means toward a political takeover of the South. Kim Il Sung announced in 1975 two conditions under which his regime would feel justified in attacking the South; a southern attack on the North (very unlikely) or a popular revolution in the South requiring outside support. In the absence of these conditions, it seems unlikely that he would try to mount an offensive and even more unlikely that the Soviet Union or China would support him in such an attack. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union continues to send him arms and China gives him political support while in reality both the communist giants as well as the U.S. and nearly everyone else, hope that another war will not break out in the Korean peninsula.

Kim Il Sung is apparently grooming his son, Kim Jong Il, now a secretary of the ruling *Korean Worker's Party*, to succeed him. Probably for foreign propaganda purposes, North Korean military personnel killed two American officers in the Demilitarized Zone in August 1976. After an American air and naval buildup in the area, however, Kim Il Sung issued something close to an apology.

Culture: Korean culture, although distinct from that of Japan, resembles it in many respects. The people have the same ethnic heritage, and have been exposed to repeated Chinese influences over many centuries. But each has retained its own individuality. The ancient pre-Chinese aspects of Korean culture, such as shamanism—the belief in occult sorcerers and worship of demons—have a Northeast and Central Asian derivation.

On this base the ingredients of Chinese culture, including Buddhism and Confucianism, were superimposed as a second layer. Since the 19th century there have been many conversions to Christianity, which today exerts a profound influence in the peninsula. Japan's influence has been tempered by its oppressive behavior in the 20th century while in control of Korea.

Since 1945 Soviet influence has been dominant in the North and American ideals have become paramount in the South. It must be remembered, however, that the Koreans have for centuries been able to maintain their individual character—a highly creative and original collective personality.

Economy: The prime consideration in the economy of both Koreas is rice—wet in the South and dry in the North. The North has witnessed a rapid growth of heavy industry supported by its mineral deposits and hydro-electric power, and financed by Russian and to a lesser extent Chinese capital in order that those nations might politically benefit from the wealth of what is produced. At the same time, there has been little, if any, improvement in the living standard of the people.

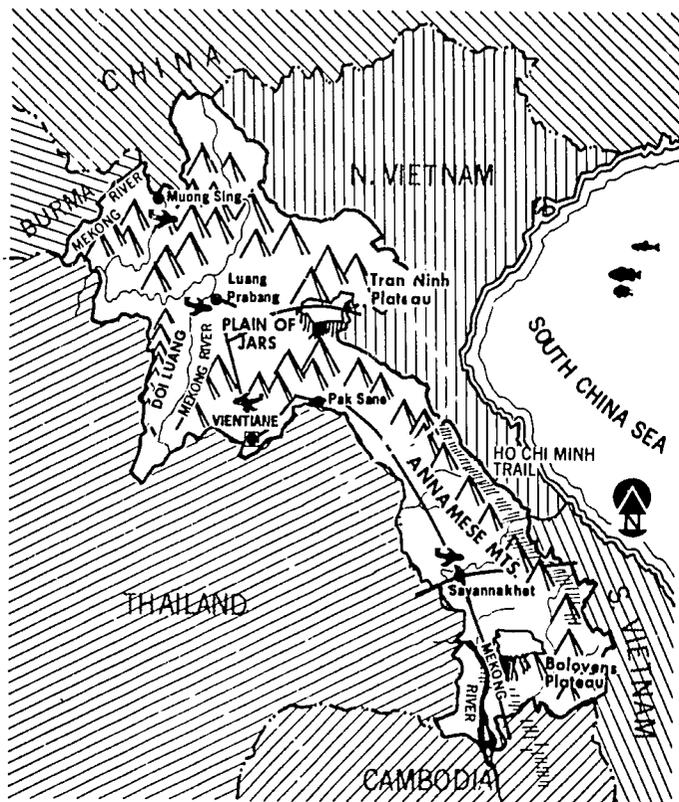
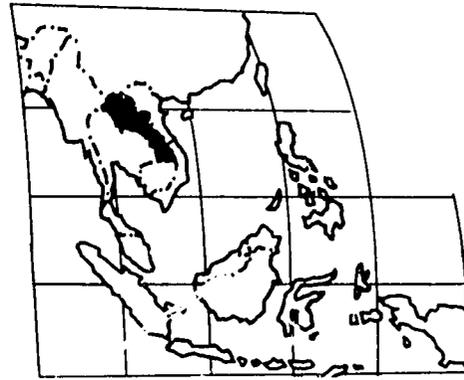
In South Korea there has been a tremendous growth of light manufacturing since the beginning of 1965 which has greatly improved living standards. The beginning of a wage economy based on manufactured exports is clearly present, similar to that based on the industry and skills of the Japanese who export consumer goods to the world. By 1974 the economic growth rate had slowed; inflation was a serious problem and the balance of payments was in trouble (mainly due to the increased costs of oil and other imported raw materials).

The South Korean economy was in serious trouble by 1976 because of the foregoing increases. Further, prices of its exports fell due to the world recession. There was a possibility that Seoul might have to default on some of its international obligations. The main bright spot was the discovery of oil near the east coast at the beginning of 1976.

The North Korean economy was also in trouble because of rapid industrial and military expansion, although the North was in a better energy situation because of the presence of coal and substantial hydroelectric power. The North by 1976 had run up a large deficit in its international payments as a result of imports from the major communist powers, Japan and some of the West European countries.

The Future: The best thing that could happen in Korea would be a combination of the industrial North and the predominantly agricultural South. The agreement reached in 1972 to work toward reunification will not result in immediate progress—its realization is a very long-term, but hopeful, goal.

THE LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC



Laos is a landlocked tropical country largely covered with hills and tropical forests interrupted by patches of low scrub vegetation in the areas where the soil is poor. From one point of view it is an extremely backward country with almost no roads and no large cities, but from another point of view it is an area of the world where the native beauty has not been greatly altered by the presence of man.

Most of the land which is fertile lies along the valley of the Mekong River, where it is eroded and flows as silt to the rice paddies in the Mekong Delta in South Vietnam. The land receives ample rainfall, but the sandstone soils have little capacity to retain the moisture. In the last part of the dry season from November to May the air becomes oppressively hot and very dry—this is the time when the tribesmen living in the mountain forests burn the trees to clear the land. This practice, coupled with natural forest fires, robs the land of what little vitality it had; when the farmer ceases to cultivate the land it becomes choked with a primitive, ugly scrub vegetation.

LAOS

Area: 91,400 square miles.

Population: 3 million (estimated).

Capital Cities: Vientiane, Administrative Capital (Pop. 200,000, estimated); Luang Prabang, Royal Capital (Pop. 50,000, estimated).

Climate: Tropical, with a rainy monsoon from May-October and a dry season from November-April.

Neighboring Countries: Communist China (North); North Vietnam (Northeast); Burma (Northwest); Thailand (Southwest); Cambodia (South); South Vietnam (Southeast).

Official Language: Lao.

Other Principal Tongue: French.

Ethnic Background: The majority group, living in the Mekong Valley, are the Lao, of Thai ancestry. There are a number of tribes, including the Meo, Yao, Kha and Lu, some of which are Thai, but most of which are Malay, Chinese and Vietnamese ancestry.

Principal Religions: Buddhism; animism is predominant among the tribes.

Chief Commercial Products: Tin, teak, green coffee, cardamon, gum benzoin, opium.

Currency: Kip (K 242 = \$1.00 U.S.).

Former Colonial Status: French protectorate (1893-1949); member of the French Union (1949-1954).

Independence Date: December 24, 1954.

Chief of State: Souphanouvong, President.

National Flag: Two narrow stripes (one at the top and one at the bottom); a wide blue stripe in the center, with a large white circle in the middle.

History: The Lao people moved into northern Laos from the southwestern Chinese province of Yunnan beginning in the 11th century A.D. During the succeeding centuries they slowly expanded toward the south, founding two communities in central and southern Laos. In their efforts to settle these additional lands they came into frequent conflict with the Burmese and Thai who were also competing in this area of Southeast Asia.

The French had established their colonial authority over neighboring Vietnam by 1883. When there was a dispute between Thailand and Laos over demarcation of the border, the French proclaimed a protectorate over Laos in 1893, making it a dependency within the French Indochinese Empire. Because of its remoteness and lack of natural resources, the French did almost nothing to develop Laos; they did succeed in ending the payment of tribute to the kings of Thailand, however.

When the waves of Japanese soldiers inundated Southeast Asia in 1942, they supported their Thai ally in taking some border territory from Laos. A nationalist movement, known as the *Lao Issara* and directed mainly against the Japanese occupation forces, arose during World War II. When the French re-entered after the defeat of the Japanese, Thailand was forced by Britain and the U.S. to return the territory it had acquired while allied with the Japanese. The *Lao Issara* promptly started anti-French activity from bases in Thailand. Preoccupied with resistance movements in Vietnam, the French granted Laos internal self-government within the French Union in 1949; this split the resistance movement. The non-communist majority took a leading role in the new government, but the communist and pro-communist minority formed itself into a party known as the *Pathet Lao*.

LAOS

This communist movement opposed the new government, and became increasingly under the influence of Ho Chi Minh's communist movement in Northern Vietnam. Following invasions of northern Laos by communist Vietnamese in 1953 and 1954, the *Pathet Lao* completely controlled the provinces of Phong Saly and Sam Neua on the Vietnamese border. Under the terms of the agreement reached in Geneva in 1954, it was allotted these provinces for "regrouping."

After prolonged haggling, the government, which had achieved full independence from France on December 24, 1954, and the *Pathet Lao* agreed on political and military unification in 1957. The strong showing of the *Pathet Lao* in 1958 elections alarmed the Laotian government, and also the U.S., leading to a breakdown of the 1957 agreement. The situation became critical when the government tried in the spring of 1959 to integrate two battalions of the *Pathet Lao* forces into the army and to demobilize the remainder of the communist oriented forces. The result was a confused, small-scale civil war in which the North Vietnamese seized the opportunity to give increasing personnel and equipment to assist the *Pathet Lao*: The U.S. increased its assistance to the government to meet the threat.

A military coup replaced the right-wing government with a neutralist regime under Prince Souvanna Phouma in 1960. Diplomatic relations were promptly established with the Soviet Union; when the Prince was driven from Vientiane by right-wing forces in December 1960 he appealed for Soviet military aid. Russia promptly airlifted arms to the neutralist forces, but also sent an even larger shipment to the *Pathet Lao*, with whom Souvanna Phouma was cooperating. North Vietnam compounded the problem by sending its own forces into the mountains of eastern Laos at the beginning of 1961 in order to improve its access to South Vietnam via the "Ho Chi Minh Trail"; this was to assist in stepping up the revolutionary war against Premier Diem's government by the communist Viet Cong in South Vietnam. It also increased aid to the *Pathet Lao*.

Evidently realizing that a war could not serve the aims of either side, U.S. President Kennedy and Soviet Premier Khrushchev agreed in 1961 that Laos should be neutralized. In spite of this, following intense jockeying for position, the *Pathet Lao* withdrew from the coalition government which had been set up. The result was continuation of a highly complex and somewhat obscure, undeclared civil war. It included mercenaries and operations managed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Attention was focused on the battle raging in South Vietnam, and rather than provoke an incident, the various elements tacitly agreed to limit activities in Laos.

During the following years until 1971, military activity was related directly to the Ho Chi Minh trail, vital to the North Vietnamese war effort in South Vietnam. The communists sought to keep it open, while the South Vietnamese, assisted by the U.S., sought periodically to close it, without success. As part of the accord supposedly settling the Vietnamese conflict reached in Paris, a form of agreement was reached in early 1973 regarding Laos. It included many of the *Pathet Lao* demands and tended to lessen the influence of the right wing in the government. Fighting practically stopped and all foreign troops were to leave the country within 60 days.

A coalition government, not installed until April 1974, was a means whereby the *Pathet Lao* greatly strengthened its political influence. Prince Souvanna Phouma's age and ill health reduced his role, and Prince Souphanouvong, the leading *Pathet Lao* in the coalition government, assumed the chairmanship of the Political Council. He in effect made it, rather than the National Assembly, the real legislative body. Although *Pathet Lao* military units located themselves in

"neutral territory," non-communists were not allowed to function politically in, or even to enter, areas held by the *Pathet Lao*. It is unlikely that all North Vietnamese troops were withdrawn from the highlands after the coalition government was formed.

A heart attack suffered by Premier Souvanna Phouma in mid-1974 made things easier for the *Pathet Lao*. Following more maneuvering for position, the early months of 1975 saw demonstrations by pro-communist elements (students, etc.) in some towns, as well as fighting in remote areas. The fall of South Vietnam and Cambodia in the spring of 1975 made a *Pathet Lao* takeover inevitable; the right-wing members of the government resigned in May. Soon there was a shift in favor of "hardline" communism—the monarchy was abolished and a new government was created with Souphanouvong as President. The ex-King was arrested in March 1977.

In 1976, political "education" of the people was widespread, involving several thousand "advisors." A sizable Soviet aid program, including the building of an airfield on the Plain of Jars, has been made available. The extent of Vietnamese communist influence is not clear, but is probably considerable. The new regime is on bad terms with Thailand and the U.S., although the latter maintains diplomatic relations with it.

Culture: In race, religion, ancestry and other cultural respects, the Lao are generally and accurately regarded as country cousins of the Thai. They are an extremely easygoing and lighthearted people; their country was relatively peaceful in modern times until the Vietnamese communist movement began to engage in subversion within Laos in 1953. Religious festivals, derived from very old traditions of southern Buddhism which had migrated from its origin on the island of Ceylon, are frequent and colorful, very similar to those of Thailand.

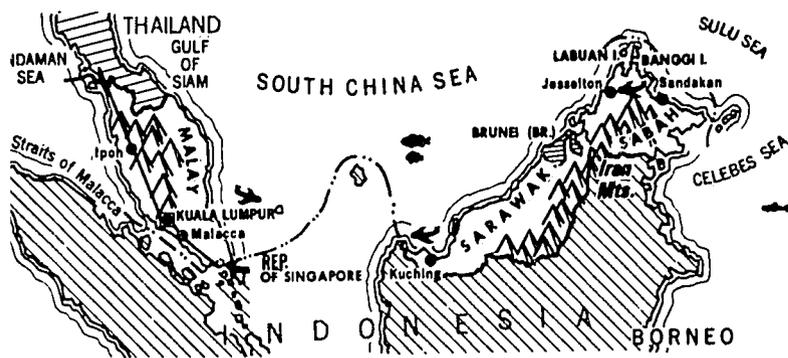
Economy: From the standpoint of economic geography, Laos falls into two clearly divided areas. In the Mekong Valley, productive agriculture centered on rice prevails. In the hills, the remote tribesmen sporadically cultivate the poor soils in a migratory fashion. Like the adjacent highlands of Burma, Thailand and China, the Laotian mountains are among the main opium producing regions of Asia. Most of this hypnotic substance is smuggled out by air.

Communications are poorly developed, and roads are almost non-existent. The few that have been constructed are regularly washed out during the monsoon season. All in all, there is no nation of Asia more underdeveloped than Laos.

The future: Laos is not only underdeveloped, it is probably undevelopable. Continuing, substantial foreign aid will be required to support its needs. If the political difficulties of Southeast Asia should calm down, the flow of aid would probably diminish. The main hope lies in the UN-sponsored Mekong River plan; this is an effort to bring hydroelectric power and industry to Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and South Vietnam.

The political future of Laos depends largely on the roles of the United States, Thailand and above all, the communist powers—Vietnam, the Soviet Union and China.

THE FEDERATION OF MALAYSIA



MALAYSIA

Area: 128,775 square miles.

Population: 11.9 million (estimated).

Capital City: Kuala Lumpur (Pop. 475,000, estimated).

Climate: Tropically hot and humid.

Neighboring Countries: Thailand (North); Singapore (South); Indonesia (South and Southwest).

Official Languages: Malay, English.

Other Principal Tongues: Chinese, Tamil.

Ethnic Background: Malayo-Polynesian, a mixture of Polynesian, Mongol, Indian and Caucasian many centuries old (about 50%); Chinese (about 40%); Indian, primitive and other (about 10%).

Principal Religions: Islam, Buddhism, Christianity.

Chief Commercial Products: Rubber, tin, timber, iron ore, palm oil, coconut.

Currency: Malaysian Dollar (M \$3.26 = \$1.00 U.S.).

Former Colonial Status: British commercial interests acquired the islands of Penang in 1786 and Malacca in 1824. The various states of Malaya entered into protectorate status from 1874-1895; they remained British colonies until 1963 with the exception of the Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1945. Sabah was administered by the British North Borneo Company from 1881 to 1941, occupied by the Japanese from 1942 until 1945 and was a British Colony from 1946 to 1963. Sarawak was granted to Sir James Brooke by the Sultan of Brunei in 1841; it became a British protectorate in 1888; after the Japanese were expelled in 1945, Sir Charles Vyner Brooke, the ruling Rajah, agreed to administration as a British Crown Colony, which lasted until 1963.

Independence Dates: Malaya became an independent member of the British Commonwealth on August 31, 1957. Independence was achieved by the Federation of Malaysia on September 16, 1963.

Chief of State: Hussein bin Dato Onn, Prime Minister. His Majesty Tuanku Ismail Nasiruddin Shah is titular chief of state; in Malay his title is *Yang di-Pertuan Agong*, meaning "King."

National Flag: Fourteen horizontal stripes of red and white with a dark blue rectangle in the upper left corner containing a yellow crescent and a 14-pointed yellow star.

Located at the southern end of the Malay Peninsula, the mainland portion of Malaysia consists of a broad central belt of forested mountains. In the areas of Malaya where the mountains give way to lower altitudes, the vegetation turns into a thick green jungle situated on swampy plains, particularly in the coastal area. The climate is uniform during the year because of the closeness to the equator—oppressively hot and humid.

The Borneo states, also known as East Malaysia, contain wide coastal lowlands which have basically poor soil and are interrupted by frequent rivers. The altitude rises in the South as the border with Indonesia is approached. The division between the two occupants of the island straddles a scenic range of rugged mountains the highest of which is Mt. Kinabalu, towering majestically to a height of 13,000 feet. The people of the civilized world have penetrated Borneo to view this remote area, which is inhabited by a primitive people who have advanced but little above stone age life. The people of Malaysia are quite similar to their Indonesian neighbors—a mixture of Polynesian, Mongol, Indian and Caucasian origins. There are also a substantial number of Chinese who are descendants of laborers brought in by the colonial British.

History: Malaya would have been colonized sooner than it was if the Dutch had not focused their attention on the fabled riches of Indonesia. The pre-colonial history of both nations is almost the same. The absence of Dutch control permitted the British to enter the area without opposition. In order to promote an orderly administration that would be a base for profitable trade, the British compelled the rulers of the small individual states of Malaya to accept "protection." This included the presence of a British commissioner at each Malay court to insure that British goals were achieved. Four outlying, impoverished states of Siam (Thailand) in the North were added to Malaya in 1909.

The rubber tree was brought from Brazil and planted in the rich soil to grow in the climate almost ideal for the tree. Drawn by the natural resources and the stability of the area, British capital poured in, and there was a mass influx of Chinese laborers. In many cases these Chinese soon entered commerce and some became extremely wealthy and influential. A fear was born among the Malays that the Chinese would become their masters—a distrust which exists to this day.

The British favored the Malays since they were native to the area, often at the expense of the Chinese. There was some political activity by the Chinese after World War I—some favored the Nationalist government of China, others supported the communist revolutionaries. This activity was not strong enough to present a serious threat to British rule, however.

When the Japanese arrived in 1942 they treated the Chinese with much greater brutality than they did the Malay; there was some Malay sympathy for the Japanese. This resulted in an anti-Japanese guerrilla force of Chinese, many of them communists, which operated from bases deep within the thick jungles. Receiving weapons smuggled in by the British, the communist guerrillas killed their non-communist rivals.

When the British returned they resumed their pro-Malay policies. This, and the encouragement of international communism, caused the guerrillas to openly revolt. They did not have much support from the Chinese community, and lacked effective outside assistance. The British mounted a military effort which reduced the rebellion to almost complete disintegration within a few years. Recent efforts to revive this revolt and a similar one in

MALAYSIA

Indonesia on the part of Communist China have been unsuccessful.

The British granted Malaya internal self-government in 1955, and full independence in 1957. Under the able leadership of Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman, head of the dominant *Alliance Party*, which includes Malay and Chinese elements, Malaya achieved a high degree of political stability in the post-independence years. The party and the government have not succeeded in greatly lessening the basic tension between the two ethnic groups, however.

Faced with increased interest in acquiring more territory of the Indonesian dictator Sukarno, and a marked swing to the left in Singapore politics, Rahman and the British devised a plan to unite Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak into the Federation of Malaysia. The tiny, oil-rich Sultanate of Brunei was invited to join, but declined. After many complicated negotiations the federation came into existence in September 1963.

The communists and Sukarno in Indonesia, encouraged by their ability to acquire West Irian from the Dutch without a fight, were furious that the federation had come into being. A "confrontation" with Malaysia was started, which involved sporadic fighting in the remote parts of Borneo, and unsuccessful attempts to land Indonesian guerrillas in Malaya. The "confrontation" was quietly discontinued after General Suharto seized power from Sukarno in Indonesia. Some Chinese Communist insurgents are still active near the border of Thailand.

There was continuing tension between the Chinese and Malays; Singapore, with a population overwhelmingly Chinese, resented Malay domination of the central government. Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore engaged in efforts to increase his party's influence and power within the federation—this led to the expulsion of Singapore from Malaysia in August 1965.

The *Yang di-Pertuan Agong* (King) is selected by the nine hereditary sultans of the former Federation of Malaya from their membership; he holds a five-year term and sits as a member of the Parliament. The *Dewan Negara* (Senate) consists of 58 members appointed or elected for a six-year term; the *Dewan Ra'ayat* (House of Representatives) is composed of 104 members from Malaya, 24 from Sarawak and 16 from Sabah, for a total of 144 Representatives.

In elections for the West Malaysia (Malaya) seats in the House of Representatives held in May 1969, both the Malay and Chinese elements of the *Alliance Party* lost heavily. Independent Chinese parties and an extremely anti-Chinese Moslem party gained. The division of seats was *Alliance Party* 66, *Pan-Malayan Islamic Party* 12, *People's Progressive Party* 4, *Democratic Action Party* 13, *Gerakan Rakjat* (*People's Movement*) 8, independent 1.

The elections touched off rioting between the various communities in which the army and police sided with the Malays. This led the government to cancel the elections for East Malaysia (Borneo) and to proclaim a state of emergency, suspending the constitution. Parliamentary government was restored in February 1971.

Tunku Abdul Rahman retired in 1970 and was succeeded as Prime Minister by his able deputy, Tun Abdul Razak. Under his leadership, Malaysia has begun to play a more active international role, and in particular to improve its relations with Peking.

Razak advocated in 1971 that the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), of which Malaysia is an active member (the others are Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines and Sing-

apore), seek a neutralization of Southeast Asia under a guarantee from the major powers.

A general election in August 1974 resulted in a sweeping victory for the *National Front* (the *Alliance Party* plus some smaller ones), which won 135 of the 154 seats in Parliament. The main opposition party, the *Democratic Party*, won 9 seats. Because of memories of 1969 as well as strong precautions, there was no racial violence.

Malaysia established diplomatic relations with China in 1974. In January 1976, Razak died and was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Hussein bin Dato Onn, a tough and cautious politician who had been Deputy Prime Minister and who has had a recent heart attack. The year 1976 witnessed a noticeable increase of communist terrorism in Malaysia. In March 1977 an agreement was signed with Thailand providing for joint military operations against communist guerrillas near their common border.

Culture: Except for Singapore, Malaysia has the highest percentage of alien Chinese found in Southeast Asia. The Chinese are divided into several linguistic groups which reflect the origins of their ancestors who migrated from China. The linguistic groups tend to remain apart from each other, except in economic activity. Many educated Chinese, particularly among the younger generations, learn English and Malay, as well as the prevalent Mandarin dialect of Chinese. This enables them to participate in the national life of Malaysia and to have broader interests including foreign contact. Very few Malays have learned Chinese, but the more educated among them usually speak English.

The majority of the Malay community lives in a fairly traditional manner, working principally as farmers and fishermen. Islam is a powerful force on the Malays, but is practiced in a somewhat more relaxed manner than in the highly militant countries of the Middle East.

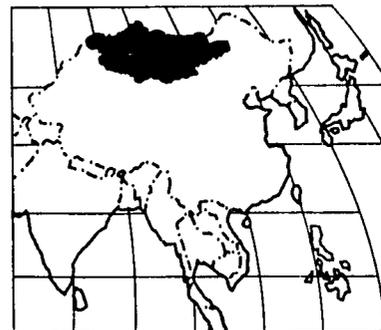
Economy: Because of rich natural resources and a relatively small population, Malaysia has one of the highest standards of living in Asia. Rubber trees have been planted regularly to replace the old and dying trees, permitting this country to surpass the production of Indonesia, which had long been the largest producer of rubber in the world. The arrival of synthetic rubber has made the long-range value of this resource doubtful.

The export of large quantities of tin provides a solid base for the economy; Malaysia produces about one-third of the tin consumed by the world. Other trade assets are derived from a typically tropical agriculture.

The export of large quantities of tin (one third of the world's need) and tropical agricultural products has provided a solid base for the economy. However, a problem has been created by increased prices of oil imports coupled with a decline in the prices of Malaysian exports.

The Future: Malaysia's prosperity will continue to depend on its ability to maintain political stability. The basic distrust and dislike between the Malays and Chinese will be a serious threat to stability. ■

THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC



MONGOLIA

Area: 604,247 square miles.

Population: 1.45 million (estimated).

Capital City: Ulan Bator (Pop. 268,000, estimated).

Climate: Dry, with bitterly cold winters.

Neighboring Countries: Soviet Union (North, Northwest); Communist China (South, East).

Official Language: Mongolian.

Other Principal Tongue: Russian.

Ethnic Background: Mongol (about 97%), Turk (about 3%).

Principal Religion: The Lamaistic sect of Buddhism.

Chief Commercial Products: Wool, cattle, meat, dairy products, hides.

Currency: Tugrik (T 4.00=\$1.00 U.S.).

Former Colonial Status: Tributary of the Manchu Dynasty of China from end of the 17th century until 1912; Soviet influence since that time. Nationalist China recognized Mongolian independence in 1946, but withdrew recognition in 1952. Communist China recognized the Republic in 1949.

National Day: July 11th, in recognition of a Communist revolution in 1921.

Chief of State: Yumzhaagin Tsendenbal, Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural (Hural).

National Flag: Three vertical bands of red, blue and red. The band closest to the pole has a set of traditional symbols with a five-pointed star at the top all in yellow.

The Mongolian People's Republic is located in an area of extreme contrast in terms of geography. The arid sands of the Gobi Desert in the southeast region of the country support almost no vegetation, and have a variation of temperature that splits the craggy rocks which interrupt the monotonous landscape. Proceeding northward there is a gradual change, punctuated by the presence of mountains rising to heights of more than 13,000 feet. The desert builds into mountainous forest which ceases its thick growth in the heights where continuously present snow dominates the landscape.

Water also becomes more abundant in the North, but the rivers are uncontrolled and rough, descending in cascades over rocky beds and resembling the swirling waters of the Pacific Northwest and Alaska.

It is in this somewhat inhospitable part of the country that most of the people live a thinly scattered existence devoted to pastoral methods of animal husbandry. Their dwellings are constructed of felt from their animals, stretched over rickety frames. Although possessing an international currency, they still think that one horse, yak or ox equals seven sheep, fourteen goats or one-half of a camel.

History: Prior to the 16th century, the people who inhabited Mongolia had an aggressive warlike character which enabled them periodically to conquer vast areas as far away as eastern Europe. This was principally due to the greatly superior horsemanship and cavalry techniques of the Mongols, acquired as a necessity due to the organization of their society which was traditionally nomadic. This pastoral existence contributed to the superior stamina of the fierce horsemen.

Several Mongolian leaders became well known; the most famous was Chingis (Genghis) Khan; he and his successors were able to lead the people in the conquest of vast areas of eastern and southern Asia as far as Baghdad, now the capital of Iraq. However, the Mongols were eventually "conquered" by the people they had subdued. Their empire broke up in the 16th century and they were converted to lamaist Buddhism, a pacifist religion, by the people of Tibet. At about the same time, they became dominated economically by the industrious Chinese, who possessed skills in manufacturing and trading unfamiliar to the Mongols. They soon found themselves trapped between Russia and China, two large, wealthy empires, equipped with newly discovered firearms and other instruments of modern technology which rendered the skills of horsemanship and prowess in cavalry warfare obsolete.

Unable or unwilling to acquire the skills and techniques of the people they had dominated, the Mongols were reduced to the status of a tributary of the mighty Manchu Empire which had come to power in China. Russian interest in the area awakened to a greater extent in the 19th century; considerable economic and political power was gained in what was then *Outer Mongolia* by the end of that century.

MONGOLIA

The numerous and hard-working Chinese pressed northward in the first decade of the 20th century, settling what was Inner Mongolia to the edge of Gobi Desert, and creating a threat to the people of remote Outer Mongolia. For this reason, when the Chinese Manchu Empire collapsed in February 1912, the princes and lamas of Outer Mongolia refused to recognize the claim of the Republic of China to the lands within the region.

In order to achieve success in their resistance, they appealed to the Russian tsar for protection. An agreement was arrived at in 1913 whereby China was to administer Inner Mongolia, and its legal "sovereignty" over Outer Mongolia was "recognized," but actually, the region was to remain autonomous under local administration.

China took advantage of the collapse of the government of the Russian tsar in 1917, and attempted to seize absolute control of Outer Mongolia, in violation of the 1913 agreement. This attempt was initially successful, but in 1921 Outer Mongolia was invaded by a force of White (anti-Bolshevik) troops from Russia, but control was wrested from the White Russians by the Bolshevik (Communist) forces, who remained until 1925.

The Russians quickly organized a communist regime, built around Mongols who were either communist or pro-communist—Mongolia became the first satellite of Soviet Russia. From the Soviet point of view, Mongolia served as a buffer against the increasingly powerful Japan, and now also serves as a buffer state, separating it from the threats voiced by Communist China. It also has been cited as a model of the possibilities of achievement under communism.

In the succeeding decades the communist regime brought the nomadic tribes and lamaist monasteries under increasingly centralized control. Occasional resistance was easily crushed by Soviet troops armed with modern mechanized equipment. State services, previously unknown in the region, were provided, including badly needed shelters for livestock to provide protection from the bitter winter wind and snow.

A defensive alliance between Mongolia and Russia, signed in 1936 and renewed every ten years since, was used by the Russians in 1939 to drive a force of invading Japanese from eastern Mongolia. The troops of both nations joined in 1945 to fight Japanese troops remaining in Inner Mongolia; at the same time, Stalin was able to obtain the promise of the Chinese to recognize Outer Mongolia's independence if a vote of the people showed that this was their desire. The plebiscite was held under carefully regulated conditions in October 1945, resulting in a unanimous vote for independence from China. The Nationalist Chinese subsequently recognized Mongolia's independence in 1946, but withdrew this in 1952, claiming that the Soviet Union had violated the commitments made to the Nationalist Chinese under the treaty of 1945.

The Communist Chinese, after a delay, recognized Mongolia in 1949, and subsequently signed a boundary treaty with it in 1962. But China has occasionally shown some signs of wishing to increase its influence, using economic aid and other methods and probably seeking eventual control of the region. These gestures have caused Mongolia to cling to Russia for protection—it has sided with Russia in all phases of the Soviet-Chinese disputes in recent years. It has received in return substantial economic aid, which has permitted the beginning of industrialization in the country.

Mongolia sought and was granted admission to the UN in 1961, and at about the same time it started to establish diplomatic relations with a small number of "neutral" nations

such as India and Indonesia. Japan recognized the Mongolian People's Republic early in 1972. Russia has, and will permit these moves so long as Russian control remains paramount in the government of the people and in the foreign relations of the nation. Russia has no apparent desire to absorb Mongolia as a republic within the U.S.S.R., and as there is increased contact with the outside world, the Mongols will undoubtedly become even more opposed to any form of domination or absorption by the Chinese Communists.

The *Great People's Khural* is a single-chamber legislature of 287 members who are elected from a single-party list of candidates for a three-year term of office. It in turn selects nine of its members to serve on the Presidium which functions as a cabinet, conducting current matters of state. The last election was held on June 16, 1966, and was, as always, completely dominated by the *Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party*.

A decision was made in 1972 to leave vacant the Chief of State's position (Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural (Hural) after the death of the incumbent, Sambuu. However, the post was assumed in 1974 by Tsendenbal, the First Secretary of the ruling *Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party*, who gave up the premiership at the same time. A boundary treaty with the Soviets Union was signed in late 1976; because of tensions along the Sino-Soviet border, Russian troops are in Mongolia.

Culture: The nomadic pattern of life of the Mongols, reflecting a need and desire for mobility, has slowed the growth of substantial cities until recent years. Likewise, there have been no buildings of any great size except for the monasteries within the country.

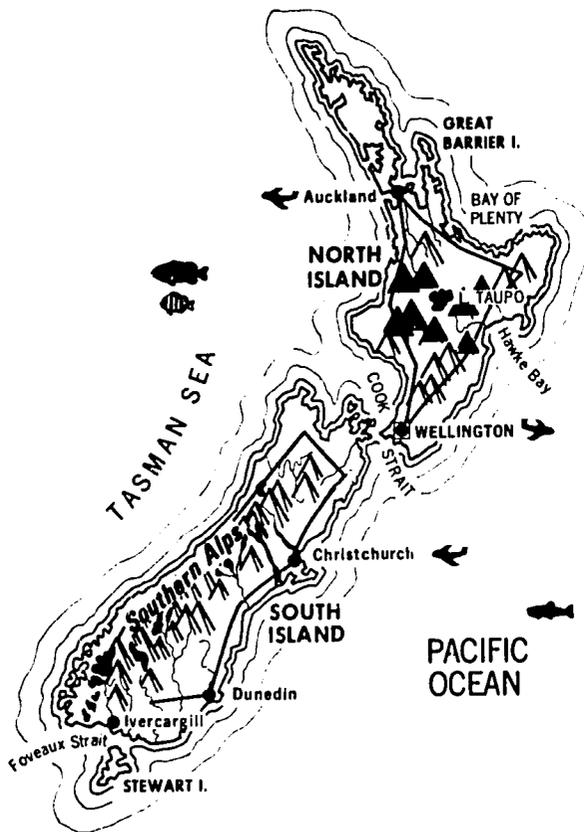
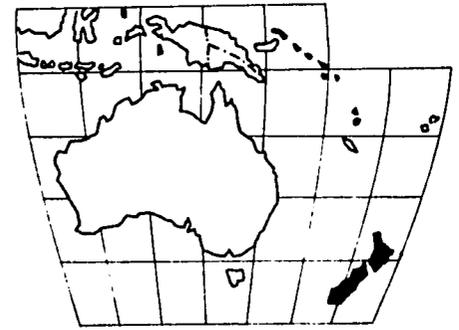
The traditional literature of the people is ancient—it first consisted mainly of epics that were sung without being written, passed down from generation to generation. In the 13th century the Mongols developed a system of alphabetical writing based on the Tibetan script which served to record the epics as well as being a tool for later literary efforts, actually of a very limited quantity.

Religion was primitive until the advent of lamaist Buddhism in the 16th century. Although the processes of industrialization and modernization intrude into the solitude of the people with increasing frequency, the Mongolians are still excellent horsemen, fond of festivals which stress the traditional skills of horsemanship—particularly racing—archery, wrestling and physical stamina.

Economy: Because of the predominantly dry climate, livestock is the basis of the Mongolian economy. The biggest change which has been attempted with some success by the communist governments has resulted in the settlement of the herdsmen in definite areas where they grow food for their animals. Nomads do not fit into the life of the modern communist state, which desires a firm central government. A severe winter in 1967 caused serious damage to the livestock and to the economy as a whole. Mining and industry are expanding at a substantial rate with the assistance of Soviet financial and technological resources. Mongolia is a member of COMECON, the Soviet-controlled economic bloc established to promote trade and economic unity among the Soviet satellites. The Mongolian economy, with its livestock and minerals, has been virtually integrated into that of the Soviet Union.

The Future: Mongolia will remain communist and controlled in reality by the Soviet Union and will have a rapid rate of economic growth, considering its centuries of remote backwardness. The government will continue to be one of the least repressive within the communist world. The only cloud on the horizon seems to be the remote possibility of a Soviet-Chinese border war. ■

NEW ZEALAND



NEW ZEALAND

Area: 103,000 square miles.

Population: 3.08 million (estimated).

Capital City: Wellington (Pop. 301,000, estimated).

Climate: Temperate, with ample rainfall on the North Island, with subtropical conditions at the northern tip; colder on the South Island, approaching subarctic conditions in the mountains at the southern tip.

Official Language: English.

Ethnic Background: British (about 93%), Maori (about 7%).

Principal Religion: Christianity.

Chief Commercial Products: Wool, mutton, dairy products.

Currency: New Zealand Dollar (NZ \$1.10=\$1.00 U.S.±).

Former Colonial Status: British Colony (1839-1907).

National Day: February 6 is New Zealand Day, anniversary of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 between the British and the Maori.

Chief of State: Robert David Muldoon, Prime Minister. Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain is titular chief of state since New Zealand is a member of the British Commonwealth.

National Flag: A blue field with the Union Jack in the upper left corner and four 5-pointed stars in the right half of the field.

The remote islands of New Zealand are about 1,200 miles from their nearest neighbor, Australia, and prior to the advent of air transportation it was one of the world's most isolated nations. The hilly North Island is the most habitable of the two islands, and though smaller than the South Island, it has more than half of the country's population.

In the North Island a mountain range stretches irregularly from North to South—from Auckland to Wellington—and is the scene of past and present volcanic activity. The highest peak of the island, Ruapehu, last erupted in January 1975; other non-active craters resemble Mt. Fuji in Japan. In the central plateau area there is other activity caused by the thermal pressures from deep within the earth in the form of geysers, hot springs, steam vents and foul-smelling deposits of sulphur. The almost continuous rain occurs as driving showers and thunderstorms in amounts up to 240 inches per year, permitting quick growth of rich green vegetation for the countless sheep of the island to eat.

The South Island is much more rugged and contains the Southern Alps which equal their European namesake in beauty and wildness. At the southern tip, blasts of antarctic air are felt during most of the year. In contrast to the abundant growth to the north, the grasses of the South Island permit only smaller herds of Merino sheep which have a fine coat grown to protect them from the chilly air. The multitudes of sheep of the North Islands are crossbreeds designed to produce both meat and wool.

In terms of the Northern Hemisphere, New Zealand occupies a position in the Southern Hemisphere which would run from the mild climate of southern California northward to the much cooler central part of British Columbia, which has bitterly cold winters. The reversal of warm and cold zones and of summer and winter in the southern hemisphere make northern New Zealand the warm, subtropical area and the southern region the colder one.

History: At a time unrecorded in written history, the Maori people, vigorous and handsome Polynesians, migrated to the North Island of New Zealand. Their South Pacific way of life had to change—there were no coconuts to harvest, dress had to be warmer and there were no mammals on the island to provide meat. Fresh water fishing in the rivers and sparkling lakes became an important source of food. These people were of a basically quarrelsome nature—there was almost steady intertribal warfare with overtones of cannibalism.

The first European to make more than a quick visit to New Zealand was the famous British navigator, Captain

NEW ZEALAND

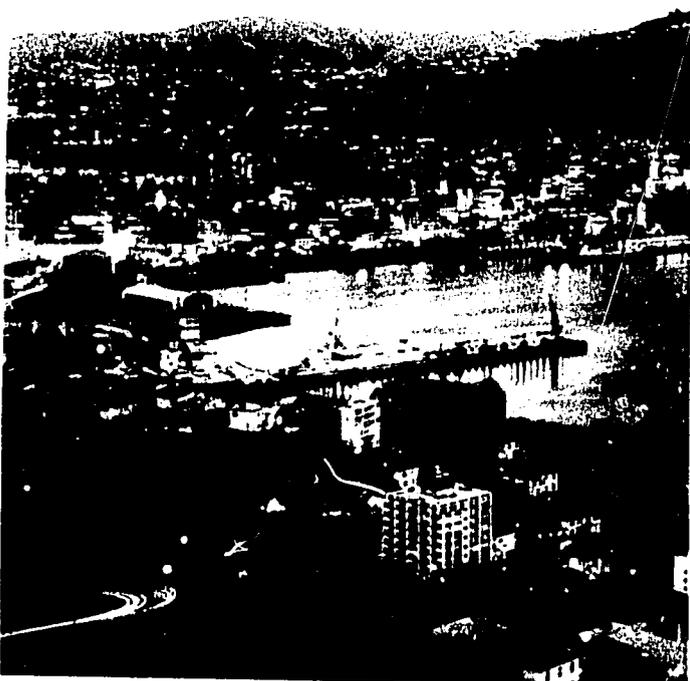
James Cook who came in 1769-70. The growth of the whaling industry in the next decades attracted increasing British colonization and trade because of the closeness of the islands to the Southwest Pacific whaling areas. Missionaries settled in 1814 and quickly converted the Maoris to Christianity, but were unable to still the unceasing tribal conflicts. The Maoris traded their goods for guns and alcohol, which fanned the flames of local warfare even higher.

After several thousands of Britishers had settled in New Zealand, Great Britain annexed New Zealand in 1839 and slowly expanded its authority over the territory and over the Maoris. The tribesmen resisted the colonizers; there was ten years of sporadic bitter fighting in the 1860-1870 period—the native population which had been about 150,000 at the beginning of the century was reduced to less than 50,000 by the time the conflict ended.

In 1876 the separatism of the four individual provinces was abolished, and a central and more efficient administration was established. The economy provided a bare support for the hardy colonizers and their descendants until the turn of the 20th century, when faster ships and refrigeration boosted the export of New Zealand agricultural products, which went mainly to Great Britain. The government of this period was largely local, although not fully self-governing—the *New Zealand Liberal Party* was in control from 1890 to 1912.

New Zealand was granted dominion status within the British Commonwealth in 1907 as a result of a new vigor imparted to the colony's politics and administration by energetic Liberal leader Richard John Seddon, Prime Minister from 1893 to 1906. It was for all practical purposes independent from that time on.

The Maoris who had survived the battles with the British underwent a gradual transformation; they adopted Western dress, started to build wooden houses with corrugated iron roofs, and began to practice agriculture and animal husbandry in the manner of the Englishman. The population is now drawing towards 200,000, but there is little or no intermarriage with those of British descent.



Under the leadership of the *Reform Party*, New Zealand fought in World War I on the Allied side and took part as an independent state in the peace settlement at Versailles. It joined the League of Nations and was awarded a mandate over the island of Western Samoa, which it had captured from the Germans during the war.

Adverse economic conditions during the 1920-1940 period created an increase in labor organization and unrest. By the late 1930s, however, aided by an ambitious program of public works and social security under a succession of *Labour Party* governments, prosperity began to return. New Zealand took an active part in World War II, although it did not face the Japanese threat that confronted Australia. In the postwar period New Zealand recognized the declining influence of Great Britain in Southeast Asia and the rise of U.S. power in the region; it entered into the ANZUS treaty with Australia and the U.S. to guard against a resurgence of Japanese military power and to provide peaceful solutions to differences that might arise between the three with respect to areas of control. It also joined the SEATO treaty with the United States, Australia, Britain, France, Thailand, Pakistan and the Philippines primarily to assure Thailand of Western support against communist subversion, and secondarily to meet the threat posed by the growth of communism in the region.

The *National Party* dominated the stable political system of New Zealand, modeled after the parliamentary system of England, until 1972. The *Labour Party* came to power as the result of elections held that year, winning 55 seats in Parliament on a platform of more welfare benefits. This was reversed in elections held in late November 1975 when the *Labour Party* was defeated because of its liberal domestic policies by the *National Party*, which won 55 seats. Its former, conservative leader, Robert Muldoon became Prime Minister; the opposition was reduced to 32 seats and other smaller factions elected no representatives.

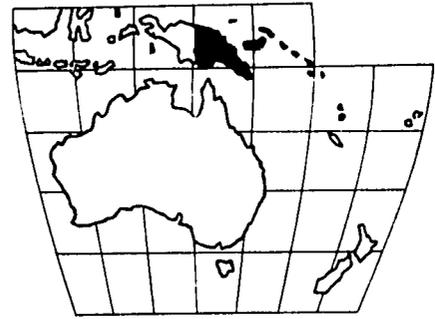
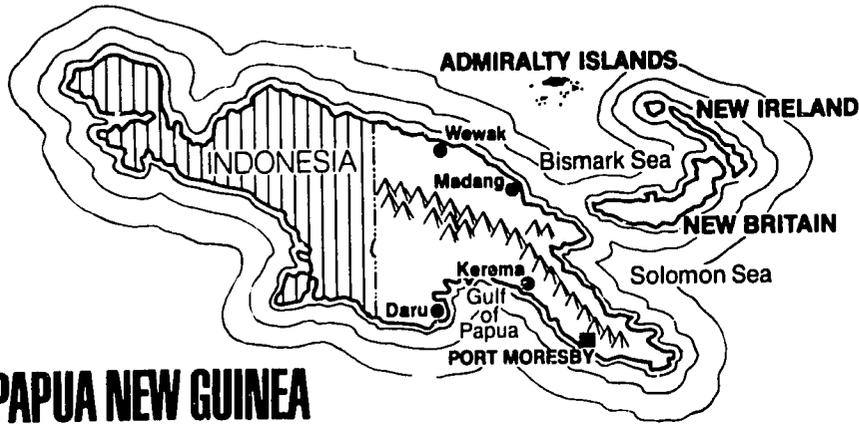
Culture: Apart from the Maori community, life in New Zealand is totally British—more so than in any other nation of the British Commonwealth except for the British Isles. Isolated and relatively small, it has a reputation for being provincial and conservative, whereas British cultural values have rapidly changed since World War II. Thus, the old saying that New Zealanders are more British than the British has some validity today.

The accent of the great majority is similar to that of the middle and upper class gentry of England; New Zealand did not receive the large influx of criminals and other lower class Britishers who were sent to Australia as members of the penal colony or as impoverished immigrants. In the southern highlands around Dunedin and Invercargill the accent of the people is reminiscent of the Scottish speech of their forebearers.

Economy: Agriculture, livestock raising and dairying predominate in the New Zealand economy. A small and growing industrial system has been added in the post World War II era which will continue its gradual expansion. Although the economy is dependent on foreign trade, almost to an alarming degree, it has progressed to the point where it provides the people with a high standard of living administered by a state oriented to social welfare, somewhat along the lines of the Scandinavian countries.

The Future: British membership in the European Common Market is causing New Zealand to seek increasing trade with the United States and the free nations of Asia. Its agricultural exports will continue to find foreign markets, particularly as the world population grows. Apart from the somewhat remote possibility of being involved in a large war in Southeast Asia, no major problems face the country. ■

PAPUA NEW GUINEA



PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Area: 92,160 square miles.
Population: 2.57 million (estimated).
Capital City: Port Moresby (Pop. 73,000, estimated).
Climate: Tropical.
Neighboring Countries: Australia (South); Indonesia (West).
Official Language: English.
Ethnic Background: Mostly Papuan and Melanesian, with a small minority of Australians and other Europeans.
Principal Religion: Traditional tribal beliefs.
Chief Commercial Products: Copper, gold, silver, timber, copra and other tropical products.
Currency: Australian Dollar
Former Colonial Status: Until 1975, a United Nations trusteeship administered by Australia.
National Day: Not yet determined.
Chief of State: Michael Somare
National Flag: Divided diagonally from top left to bottom right; two triangles, the top right being orange with a yellow bird of paradise and the bottom left showing five white stars (in the Southern Cross formation) on a black field.

This brand new nation has been formed out of Papua, the southeastern quarter of the huge island of New Guinea (Irian), the western half of which is controlled by Indonesia, and the Territory of New Guinea (which includes the northeastern quarter of the island plus the nearby Admiralty, Solomon and Bismarck Islands).

The terrain is covered largely with very high mountains, swamps and jungles. The climate is uniformly tropical except in the more temperate altitudes of the mountains. Apart from the extremely small European minority, the inhabitants are very backward and belong either to the Papuan group (on New Guinea) or to the Melanesian people (in the islands).

History: Prior to the late 19th century, apart from missionaries, New Guinea attracted two main types of Europeans: explorers and investors, lured by its supposedly substantial mineral resources. Dutch influence based on Indonesia became dominant in western New Guinea. The northeastern part of the big island and the smaller islands to the east were annexed by Germany in 1884. The southeastern part of the island, known as Papua, was placed under British protection in the same year, during the greedy scramble for colonial possessions that was then underway. Britain soon changed its policy toward Papua to a less possessive one and later transferred the area to Australia.

The German holdings in northeastern New Guinea and the nearby islands were seized by Australia during World War I and then were awarded to it under a League of Nations mandate which after World War II became a United Nations trusteeship.

In reality, Australia administered the entire dependency until 1974 from Port Moresby without regard to the legal distinction between the status of Papua, a direct Australian dependency, and New Guinea, the trusteeship.

In 1942 the Japanese conquered the islands east of New Guinea and invaded parts of New Guinea itself, including both of the eastern regions. Some of the bitterest fighting of the Pacific war occurred during the next two years as American, Australian and British forces drove the Japanese out of all but a few strongholds. Following the end of the war, Australian civil administration was restored. In response to growing UN criticism and a growing demand for self-government, an elected assembly was established in the Spring of 1968.

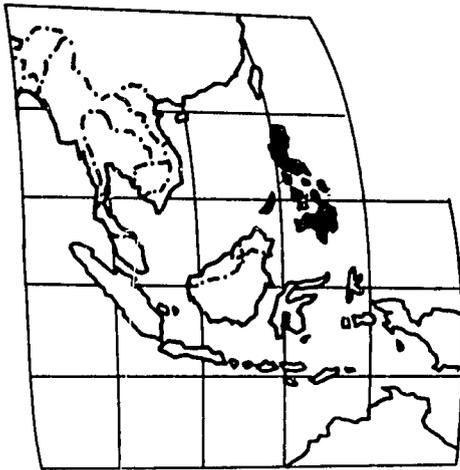
In March 1972 elections to the House of Assembly (the parliament), the *National Coalition*, led by Michael Somare was victorious. His program, which called for full self-government in 1973, was accepted by the Australian government soon afterward, even though it was opposed by many of the European and indigenous inhabitants. These persons firmly believed that the island was not advanced sufficiently for independence. Other facts influencing the Australian decision, in addition to demands by the *National Coalition*, were evidently the moderate left-of-center orientation of the Australian government, a strong desire to get rid of the responsibility of governing the area as a dependency, a hope that independence of Papua-New Guinea might appease the aboriginal population of Australia and a desire to improve Australia's image internationally. Although Australia temporarily retained some powers, Papua-New Guinea attained full independence in September 1975. The main problem since then has been secessionist sentiment on the island of Bougainville, rich in copper.

Culture: A small portion of the indigenous inhabitants live at an Old Stone Age level, hunting and gathering for a living. Others, somewhat more advanced, practice a primitive subsistence agriculture. The social system is based on clans and tribes. Fighting and gruesome head-hunting among different tribes, which once were common, have been largely suppressed by the Australian administration.

Economy: The economies of the two areas, Papua (in the South) and New Guinea (in the North) are basically similar, except that most of the mineral deposits (copper, gold and silver) so far discovered are located in New Guinea. The external trade of Papua is largely with Australia, that of New Guinea is mainly with Great Britain.

The Future: Australia will almost certainly find it both economically profitable and necessary from various points of view (security, for example) to retain a close connection with Papua New Guinea. This role is likely to involve political support for the European community, and for the *National Coalition* to the extent that it does not come into conflict with the European minority. It remains to be seen whether tribal warfare will re-emerge and whether the rather high standards of administration introduced by the Australians will endure into the period of independence; this has not happened in many other underdeveloped countries that have emerged from colonial status into independence.

THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES



PHILIPPINES

Area: 115,700 square miles.

Population: 40.3 million (estimated).

Capital City: Manila (Pop. 2.08 million, estimated).

Climate: Tropically warm with rainy monsoons in the summer.

Neighboring Countries: The Philippines' closest neighbors are Nationalist China on the island of Taiwan (North) and Indonesia (South).

Official Languages: Filipino (a formal version of Tagalog), English, Spanish.

Other Principal Tongues: Tagalog and tribal dialects of principally Malay origin, including Visayan, Ilocano and Bicol.

Ethnic Background: Malayo-Polynesian (about 90%); Chinese (about 10%); Negritos, mixed and European about (10%).

Principal Religions: Christianity, predominantly Roman Catholic, about 92%; Moslem, about 5%; Animist and other, about 3%.

Chief Commercial Products: A variety of coconut products (copra, coconut oil and fibers), Abaca (Manila hemp, used in rope making), timber (Philippine Mahogany), sugar, iron ore.

Currency: Philippine Peso (P 3.85 = \$1.00 U.S.).

Former Colonial Status: Spanish Colony (circa 1570 to 1898); U.S. Dependency (1898-1946); occupied by the Japanese (1941-1944-45).

Independence Date: July 4, 1946. (June 12, the anniversary of the proclamation of independence from Spain in 1898, is a national holiday.)

Chief of State: Ferdinand E. Marcos, President.

National Flag: The left edge is the base of a white equilateral triangle containing a yellow sun and three yellow stars; the rest of the flag is divided into two horizontal stripes with blue on the top and red on the bottom.

The land which makes up the territory occupied by the Republic of the Philippines consists of that part of a mountain chain running from northern Siberia in Russia through the China Sea to Borneo and New Guinea and the small islands of eastern Indonesia, and thence southward through eastern Australia. Countless ages ago the sea invaded the lower part of these mountains—the Philippines are a small portion of the top of this mountain range that has sufficient height to rise above the surface of the tropical waters of the Southwest Pacific.

This nation includes eleven larger islands with more than 1,200 square miles of land on each island: Luzon, Mindanao, Samar, Negros, Palawan, Panay, Mindoro, Leyte, Cebu, Bohol and Masbate. More than 95% of the nation's land and people are located on these islands.

The remaining 7,072 (every time they are counted the total is different) islands are desolate, jungle-infested and mostly uninhabited tiny areas of remoteness. Few have an area of more than one square mile, and about 4,631 exist as land masses in the 20th century only because it is impossible to sail across them—they are dots on navigation charts not even possessing the dignity of a name.

The temperature is consistently warm. The altitude of the terrain, most of which lies above an altitude of 1,600 feet, modifies the oppressiveness of what might otherwise be an intolerable climate. Almost all of the islands are mountainous, containing a multitude of dead and active volcanoes. The eastern slopes receive ample rainfall during all months of the year. The westward-facing parts are moistened by the southwest monsoon from May to October. All areas of the islands have periodic, often devastating, visits from typhoons of the region which bring torrential rains.

The land is covered with vast expanses of thick jungle which grows with incredible rapidity and contains among its taller trees the varieties from which Philippine mahogany is marketed to the world. The part that has been tamed by the population varies from a thick growth of poor grass which supports grazing to plantation production of coconut, rubber, pineapple and other tropical crops.

History: About two centuries before the Christian era a fairly advanced people from what is now North Vietnam and southern Communist China migrated to the larger islands of the Philippines. They practiced a system of communal agriculture based on irrigation. Many of their descendants live in the islands today as small non-Christian communities. The larger group of Filipinos of Malayo-Polynesian origin arrived in the isles from the 8th to the 15th centuries from Java and the Malay peninsula. Their migrations occurred principally during the period of the strong *Srivijaya* kingdom in the Indonesia-Malaya area and during the *Majapahit* kingdom on Java, which dominated a large area at the beginning of the 13th century A.D.

Moslem traders and pirates arrived during the 14th century, and there was a small Chinese settlement which flourished during Chinese economic domination of the Far East which lasted from the beginning of the 14th century until the arrival of Spanish colonists. Magellan was killed in the islands in 1521 during his famous voyage around the world, but there was no serious attempt by the Spanish to establish a colony during the following fifty years. The Spanish occupation forces were dispatched from and government was by the authorities in the colony of Mexico. The initial settlement was small, and had as its only contact with the European world the annual visit of the "Manila Galleon" sent from Mexico once a year.

As they had done in Central and South America, the Spanish gave large tracts of fertile land to prominent Spaniards who had almost complete authority over their domains, and exploited the native inhabitants without interference. Many of the Filipinos who were driven from their lands by the Spanish, went to the more hilly and mountainous areas of the islands and developed farms based on intricate stone terracing of the steep sides to enable their crops to grow on level land. The best friends among the Spanish that the Filipinos had were the monks living in the monasteries that grew rapidly in number and also in wealth based on land ownership. Many of the natives were converted to Roman Catholicism and also were provided with limited educational and other social services by the religious institutions, which had a limited success in protecting them from the demands of government officials and the local Spanish land-owning aristocracy.

When Spain lost its colonies in Central and South America during the first part of the 19th century, the Philippines assumed an even more important position. Efforts to develop the economy to serve the Spanish were largely unsuccessful, as were efforts to subdue the warlike *Moros* (Moslems) in the southern islands, who had lived there for many decades without interference. The slow growth of education, the spread of European cultural and political ideas, and unrest caused by oppressive economic policies of the Spaniards gave rise to a small group of educated Filipinos who demanded independence from Spain. Its most prominent member was the brilliant José Rizal, executed by the Spaniards in 1896, at a time when the people had broken into open revolt.

Taking advantage of the preoccupation of the Spanish with the war being fought in Cuba against the United States, local leaders proclaimed an independent Republic of the Philippines early in 1898 and quickly adopted a European-type constitution. The Filipino leaders believed that the United States supported them in this independence move, and joined in a combined effort against the remaining Spanish forces in the islands. The U.S., partly out of fear that some other power, possibly Germany, would seize the Philippines, forced the Spanish to cede them to the U.S. as part of the terms of the Spanish surrender on December 10, 1898.

The rebel forces, led by General Emilio Aguinaldo, immediately broke into armed revolt against the United States, feeling that they had been betrayed by the Americans with whom they had fought against the Spanish for six months. It took a little more than three years before guerrilla activity against U.S. forces ceased; Aguinaldo had been captured earlier, on March 23, 1901.

PHILIPPINES

By 1916 the United States had committed itself to a goal of eventual independence for the islands and began the creation of internally self-governing institutions. It purchased about 400,000 acres of land from the Catholic monasteries for distribution to the people—the colonial administration also made efforts in the fields of communications, public works, and education. The economic policies of the administrators were not as helpful; the emphasis was on creating areas for profitable American investment and little was done to develop the economy as a whole for the benefit of the Filipinos. A foreign trade emerged that was almost totally linked to and dependent on the U.S. market. Feudal systems of sharecropping in the rural areas, which had arisen under the Spanish as a result of land grants, continued and became an even worse problem. The local elected governments permitted by the colonial administration drifted toward control by Filipino political machines and bosses who bore a remarkable resemblance to some of their contemporaries in Latin America. In the 1930s Manuel Quezon, who formed and led the *Nationalist Party*, emerged as the leading politician.

Political idealism was one factor that prompted the United States to adopt legislation providing for an almost fully self-governing Commonwealth to be established in 1935. The other was pressure from U.S. sugar interests for protective tariffs against Philippine sugar, which were impossible unless it was independent. The first President of the Philippine Commonwealth was Manuel Quezon. The growing threat of the Japanese in Asia in the late 1930s lessened the desire for total independence on the part of the more radical Filipinos, who saw the need for U.S. protection.

The islands were quickly overrun by a force of well-trained Japanese soldiers who inaugurated in 1942 the same cruel type of military rule over the people that was their policy in the other areas of Southeast Asia they conquered. This resulted in a limited guerrilla movement operating clandestinely in the rural areas to sabotage the military installations of the Japanese. Quezon and his government went into exile in the United States, where he died in 1944. His successor, Sergio Osmeña, was soon able to return to the Philippines as a result of the progress of General Douglas MacArthur's forces in liberating the islands.

The economy had been devastated by the war, and it was necessary for the United States to pour in huge sums for relief and rehabilitation and to grant duty-free status to Philippine exports in the American market until 1954. Much of the aid, unfortunately, did not reach those who needed it. Osmeña died in 1946 and was succeeded by Manuel Roxas (pronounced Rohas) who led the *Liberal Party*. The government was largely ineffective, and almost open corruption and black marketing were widespread, draining the beneficial effect of the aid which was pouring in. Rural land tenancy still remained a thorny problem, and the armed guerrilla movement which had resisted the Japanese underwent a rapid and subtle transformation into a communist movement, usually known as the *Hukbalahap*, or "Huks," a name inherited from resistance movements dating back to Aguinaldo. In spite of these adverse conditions, the United States granted full independence on the date promised before the war: July 4, 1946.

President Roxas died in 1948. The corruption and inefficiency of the government he had led were mild when compared to the regime of his successor, Elpidio Quirino.

Dishonesty and scandal reached crisis levels, and the *Huks* went into open, and initially successful revolt. The perilous situation was saved by an exceptionally able and energetic Secretary of Defense, Ramón Magsaysay, who enlisted American advice after his appointment in 1950 and greatly diminished the guerrilla threat. He made the army into an effective fighting unit and forbade it to engage in its usual customs of looting and harassing the civilian population. He granted amnesty and a free plot of land to *Huks* who surrendered—this combination of force and kindness almost eliminated the *Huks* within a few years.

Magsaysay defeated Quirino for the presidency by a large majority in 1953. He maintained a consistently pro-U.S. foreign policy and took the Philippines into the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Organization (SEATO) in 1954. Internally, he made strenuous, but largely unsuccessful efforts to break the power of the small group of families who dominated most agriculture, industry and trade—the descendants of the Spanish aristocratic class. Although reduced below prior levels, corruption in public and private life continued, and the old problem of sharecropping had yet to be solved. Killed in an airplane accident in March 1957, Magsaysay was succeeded by his inept Vice President, Carlos García.

The country remained somewhat stagnant under García and under his successor, Diosdado Macapagal. The latter dabbled in an active, relatively anti-U.S. foreign policy which he thought would make the Philippines more popular, powerful and acceptable in the Asian community through a denial of dependence on the United States.

Ferdinand Marcos of the *Nationalist Party* defeated Macapagal in 1965, amid a general sense of urgent need of change among the people—change toward better performance by their rulers. Marcos embarked upon a reform platform similar to that of Magsaysay, but to date he does not appear to have had much more success than did Magsaysay. Corruption has become a virtual custom among minor government officials and employees, and is still rampant. The *Huks*, abetted by discontent among the poverty-stricken rural people, have resumed their guerrilla activity against the state, although they no longer operate under a single, centralized command. Traditional political rivalry in the post-independence period has been between the *Nationalist Party* and the *Liberal Party*.

President Marcos was re-elected in November 1969 over a *Liberal Party* opponent by a large majority. He is the first Philippine President to win re-election. In the Senate, the *Nationalist Party* won 7 of the seats at stake and now hold 19, the *Liberal Party* won 1 and now has a total of 5. In the House of Representatives, the *Nationalists* won about 84 seats to the 20 for the *Liberals*.

Growing social unrest began to erupt in March 1970 in the form of student and labor demonstrations in Manila, some of which had an anti-U.S. tone. These soon died away and interest began to center on the issue of revising the constitution through holding a convention.

In 1968, probably for reasons of domestic politics, the Marcos government revived an old Philippine claim to Sabah, a part of Malaysia closest to the Republic. The predictable result was a serious crisis in relations with Malaysia amid a barrage of bitter charges and counter-charges. By the end of 1969 the dispute appeared to be dying down.

In September 1972, alleging the existence of a crisis caused by serious floods and growing insurgency on the part of Communist elements in Luzon, Marcos proclaimed martial law. He has had some success in improving the state of law and order, except in Mindanao where a Moslem revolt is in progress. Of greatest importance,

he has received approval by referendum of a new constitution under which he can rule as a virtual dictator for an unlimited period. There was another such referendum in February 1975.

Probably the most serious opposition to the Marcos regime came from the Catholic Church and insurgent Moslems in the southern islands (mainly Mindanao). The Moslems had a variety of grievances, and their revolt was supported by arms and money from other Moslem countries, principally Libya and Sabah (the latter in Malaysian Borneo). Some of the Arab countries tried unsuccessfully in January 1975 to mediate the conflict. Out of fear of antagonizing them, with possible adverse effects on Philippine oil imports, Marcos did not press the war against the Moslem insurgents, and announced in mid-1975 (much too optimistically) that a truce had been concluded with them; in reality the war continued in spite of further negotiations in 1976 and 1977.

Marcos' martial law regime allowed great political power to the armed forces and was rather repressive and corrupt, without being a full-fledged dictatorship. Among its opponents are many of the Catholic clergy. Mrs. Imelda Marcos became Governor of Manila and announced ambitious plans for its redevelopment; she has built up her own political base and seems a likely candidate to succeed her husband. One of her rivals, Executive Secretary Alejandro Melchor, was dismissed in late November 1975 when a plan that he was to bring into effect for purging the civilian bureaucracy and the military leadership aroused strong opposition.

Marcos created a *National People's Council* in January 1976 to advise him on legislative matters. Elections have been postponed indefinitely. He apparently plans to revitalize the electoral system so that he can pick the successful candidates from panels chosen by various public bodies.

Marcos has been talking of forcing the U.S. out of its huge bases in the Philippines, but this is almost certainly to divert popular attention from his domestic policies as well as to get greater concessions from the United States, including higher rents for the bases. In addition, he is determined to appear at home and abroad as entirely independent of the United States and as the leader of a truly Asian nation. Partly for this purpose, he visited and granted diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China in June 1975; another consideration was that he wanted, and apparently thinks that he got, a pledge from Peking not to support the small Philippine communist insurgent movement, the *New People's Army*. The Chinese urged Marcos not to squeeze the U.S. out of its bases, since Peking fears that an American military withdrawal from the region might create a vacuum that could be filled or exploited by the Soviet Union. Relations with the United States are reasonably good; President Ford visited in December 1975. Marcos established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in June 1976.

Culture: The culture and outlook of the Filipinos can best be understood through their ancestry and government. The Malay majority have the somewhat energetic and restless character of their brethren in Indonesia and Malaysia; in addition they have definitely superior learning ability. The Spanish rule which lasted 350 years provided an example of how to dominate, oppress and exploit people—easily absorbed and translated into a tendency toward, and tolerance of corruption. On top of these ingredients there are the sugary grains of American idealism and democracy, and enthusiasm for higher learning. The foregoing ingredients of instability are garnished by a Moslem minority with violent tendencies, and by a rural guerrilla movement.

The contrasts in this cultural scene are dramatic. Manila, a busy, modern city, has a sophisticated cultural atmosphere which can compare with most Western cities. Some of the peasants live in a poverty even more oppres-

sive than that of their Latin American counterparts. Catholicism is predominant but is sprinkled with many local ingredients which are sufficient to shock traditional European and American Catholics. There is a close-knit Moslem minority, a clannish Chinese group, and small communities of primitive animists living on the remote islands. Although this last group is surrounded by the hostilities of untamed nature, it exists in isolation from the larger problems of the modern world.

The Filipino language, a refinement of the Tagalog spoken by the Philippine Malays, is the official language. Spanish is spoken by a small number of the old aristocracy left by the Spaniards. The educated Filipinos cherish the English language as well as the esteem for formal education and academic degrees common to the United States—the economy has difficulty in absorbing all of them to the fullest extent of their abilities.

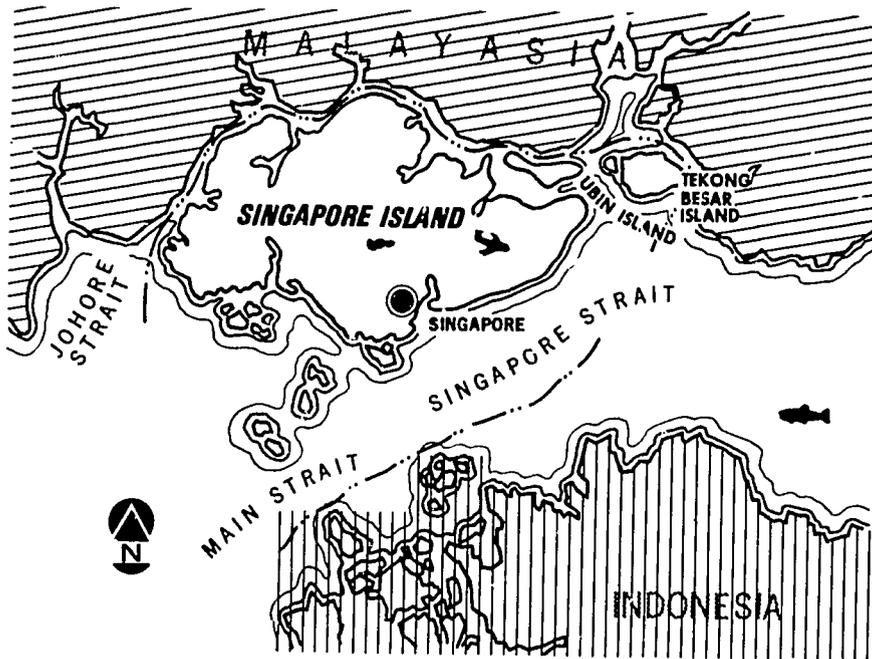
Economy: The Philippine Republic is fairly rich in natural resources and, with the exception of the Manila plain, is not overpopulated. The post-World War II economy has been sluggish until only recently, principally due to corruption and mismanagement in government. A sizeable community of Chinese has arisen over the last 50 years, engaging in intensive commerce and energetic light industry, as is common in other nations of Asia. In a manner reminiscent of Hong Kong and Singapore, they have grouped in Manila for the most part. All the Filipino political parties and machines have followed a policy of periodically blackmailing the local Chinese into paying large campaign contributions in order to avoid discriminatory legislation.

In the last three years there has been a substantial growth in the economy, especially in agriculture, but on the whole the national income of the Republic remains inadequate in relation to its rapidly growing population. Even more oppressive is the fact that much of the wealth still winds up in the hands of a small group of rich individuals and families. Inflation and corruption continue to be a problem.

Under President Marcos' *New Society*, a limited land reform program is in progress. Landlords, as part of the establishment, have been well compensated by the government for what land they have lost, and this has further inflated the economy. There are substantial government deficits and a rather high military budget. Oil imports are more expensive than before 1973, and Philippine exports to the United States no longer enjoy special low tariff rates. On the other hand, the prices of Philippine exports have held up well.

The Future: There are no convincing signs at present that anything but slow and uncertain progress toward social and economic reforms will be made. The resurgence of *Huk* guerrilla activity, even though disorganized, may be a very early warning of things to come. The Republic needs a political hero with the overwhelming popularity necessary to change old, outmoded ways in favor of measures of dramatic reform. Marcos may well prove to be such a person, but the tasks ahead of him could prove to be insurmountable. The military debacle in South Vietnam in 1975 was interpreted to be at least partially the product of a changed U.S. policy in Asia which could affect the Philippines in the future.

THE REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE



SINGAPORE

Area: 225 square miles.

Population: 2.26 million (astimated).

Capital City: Singapore (Pop. 1.32 million, estimated).

Climate: Tropically hot and humid.

Neighboring Countries: Malaysia (North); Indonesia (South).

Official Languages: Chinese (Mandarin dialect), Malay, Tamil, English.

Ethnic Background: Chinese (about 75%); Malayo-Polynesian (about 15%); Indians and Pakistani (about 8%); others, including European (about 2%).

Principal Religions: Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity.

Chief Commercial Products: Processing and exporting rubber, tin and other raw materials from neighboring countries, light industry.

Currency: Singapore dollar (S\$3.06=\$1.00 U.S.).

Former Colonial Status: Possession of the British East India Company (1819-1867), British Crown Colony (1867-1958), occupied by the Japanese (1941-1945), internally self-governing (1958-1963).

Independence Date: September 16, 1963.

Chief of State: Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister. (Inche Yusof bin Ishak, President, is titular chief of state.)

National Flag: Divided horizontally, with a white crescent moon and five white stars on a red field at the top, and a white bottom.

The tiny island of Singapore is separated from Johore State at the tip of Malaya by a narrow strait of water; road and railway bridges provide access to the mainland. The terrain of the island is marked by extensive hills, oppressive swamps and steaming jungle. The city occupies the more agreeable part of the island on the southeast coast. Its harbor is not naturally a good one, but it lies at the crossroads of Southeast Asia at one end of the Straits of Malacca. This is the best and shortest passage

between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, thus Singapore has been an important naval base and commercial port for 150 years. The busy city has an appearance of modern progress which helps to disguise its basically oriental character without entirely smothering the attractive aspects of Asian culture and tradition.

History: Prior to the arrival of Europeans, Singapore was a small part of the Malay world inhabited by people of Polynesian, Mongol, Indian and Caucasian mixed ancestry that blended smoothly into the civilizations of Malaya and Indonesia. The Dutch virtually ignored Singapore when they arrived in the 17th century because of their preoccupation with the superior harbors at Malacca and Penang on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula.

In 1819 Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles from the British East India Company occupied the island after realizing the commercial possibilities of the harbor. It was made a Crown Colony in 1867. In spite of Dutch competition based on neighboring Java and Sumatra, the colony began to achieve the size of a major commercial port. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 attracted even heavier traffic from Europe to the Straits of Malacca. At the same time, the rubber and tin resources of Malaya were being developed and needed facilities to reach the world.

The commercial development also resulted in the migration of many Chinese to the island; they quickly became the majority ethnic group as numbers of workers used to process rubber and tin were brought from China. Singapore became the principal British stronghold in the region from which they competed in the colonial efforts in Southeast Asia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. A large British naval base was constructed in the 1920s, equipped with coastal defenses intended to protect it from attack by sea.

Three days after the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, Japanese torpedo boats sank the *Prince of Wales* and the *Repulse*, two mammoth British battleships which had been dispatched to Singapore. An invasion of Malaya was quickly undertaken by the Japanese soldiers, highly trained in jungle warfare. Malaya fell to the invaders within four weeks and the siege of Singapore began. The British held out for two weeks before the Japanese finally captured Singapore and 60,000 prisoners on February 15, 1942, in one of the worst military defeats ever suffered by Great Britain.

As in other areas of south Asia, the Japanese mistreated those they had conquered, particularly the Chinese population. This cruelty was not rewarded—the Japanese were ultimately isolated from Singapore and other holdings in southeast Asia by United States sea and air action.

The British peacefully returned to the island when Japan collapsed in 1945.

It was decided to keep Singapore separate from Malaya, as had been done before the war, to avoid upsetting the precarious Malay majority on the mainland. Britain retained its bases, but decreased their size as it embarked on a withdrawal from colonies east of the Suez Canal. It maintained control over Singapore's external relations, but permitted increasing degrees of internal self-government. The government nurtured by the British was faced with serious civil strife in the mid-1950s which was promoted by communist-controlled labor unions and student organizations, but it was able to maintain order.

After a new constitution had been adopted, the leftist *People's Action Party*, which had some communist members, came to power in an electoral landslide in 1959. The new Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew, was able and energetic; he quickly placed his communist supporters and allies in positions of little power and influence. Sensing British and Malayan concern over his election, he made strenuous efforts to create good will with them. A widespread and ambitious program of socialistic economic development and social welfare programs was instituted which caused the communists to redouble their efforts to seize control of the government—they feared a possible increase in popularity of the *People's Action Party*.

In local elections held in early 1961 the communist-dominated *Barisan Sosialis Party* gained several major victories over the candidates of the *People's Action Party*. This was a major source of concern to Britain and Malaya. Prime Minister Tunjku Abdul Rahiman of Malaya immediately proposed that Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo territories of Sabah and Sarawak be joined into the Federation of Malaysia. His purpose was two-fold: to protect the stability and progress of the entire region and to control the leftist trend in Singapore; his plan was vigorously supported by the British. Had Singapore become a communist state, Malaya would have suffered a serious economic blow, since the island processed and shipped the rubber and tin which produce most of Malaya's foreign exchange.

In spite of opposition by the *Barisan Sosialis Party* and by the *Malayan Communist Party*, and in spite of threats of war issuing from President Sukarno of Indonesia and from Communist China, the Federation of Malaysia came into existence in 1963. President Sukarno immediately declared that Indonesia was in a state of "confrontation" (a sort of undeclared, irregular war) with Malaysia, severing all trade relations. Singapore suffered somewhat from this step, since Indonesia had been one of its most important trading partners, but Indonesia suffered equally, if not more. The economic needs of both gave rise to a widespread smuggling operation which helped to offset the effects of the official boycott.

The union of Singapore with the Federation of Malaysia came to an end in August 1965. The Federation may have solved the immediate problems of a communist takeover, but it did not solve the basic antagonism between the Malays and Chinese; this was the greatest internal problem within Malaya. The Malay-dominated government of the Federation preferred to deal at arms-length with the Chinese-controlled regime on the island rather than add more Chinese to the Federation's population. Lee Kuan Yew energetically tried to extend the activities of the *People's Action Party* to mainland Malaya and to exert greater influence in financial matters. Although the separation of Singapore from the Federation of Malaysia

SINGAPORE

has been described as a matter of mutual consent, in reality Singapore was confronted with a demand to withdraw—it had no choice but to do so.

The constitutional framework provides for a single-chamber legislature over which a Speaker presides. In elections held on September 21, 1963, the *People's Action Party* elected 39 Representatives and the remaining twelve came from the *Barisan Sosialis Party*. Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew has been able to dominate the political scene in Singapore to the extent that the members of the *Barisan Sosialis Party* angrily stalked out of the Parliament in 1966. Since that time, the leader of the party has been held in detention and, in reality, the party has gone underground. The *People's Action Party* won all 58 seats in the Parliament in an election held in April 1968. To promote greater national unity, efforts are underway to form a citizen's army. A new leftist opposition party, the *People's Front*, was formed in April 1971. In elections held in September 1972, the ruling *People's Action Party* won all 65 seats; in January 1977, it won all 69. The latter election was followed by further arrests of political opponents, or alleged opponents, of the government.

Culture: Singapore's culture is centered around the industry of a bustling port and upon the fact that this is a Chinese city in the middle of Southeast Asia. The colonial British had provided a thin veneer during the time they were dominant which has rapidly diminished to the point

of being a fading memory. The island has acquired a genuinely cosmopolitan atmosphere imported from the four corners of the earth because of its status as a major international port which lies at the crossroads of Asia.

Economy: Singapore is heavily dependent on foreign trade and investment, which it is doing its best to promote. This is necessary to partially offset the 1971 withdrawal of British forces, which brought in a great deal of money. Overcrowded, containing substantial numbers of poverty-stricken citizens, Singapore nevertheless has extensive welfare and public housing programs, and in fact has one of the highest living standards in Asia. The Lee government is now trying to convert the huge British naval base into a profitable civilian ship repair facility.

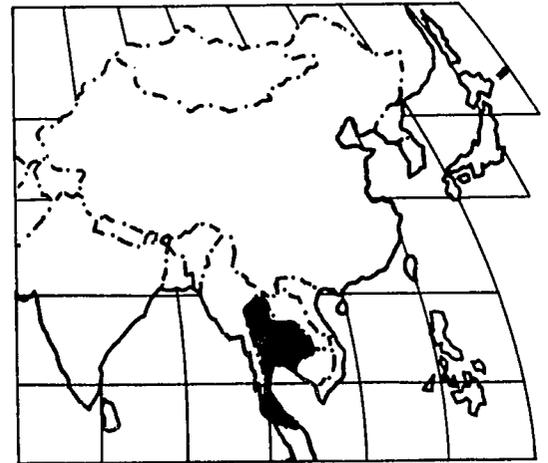
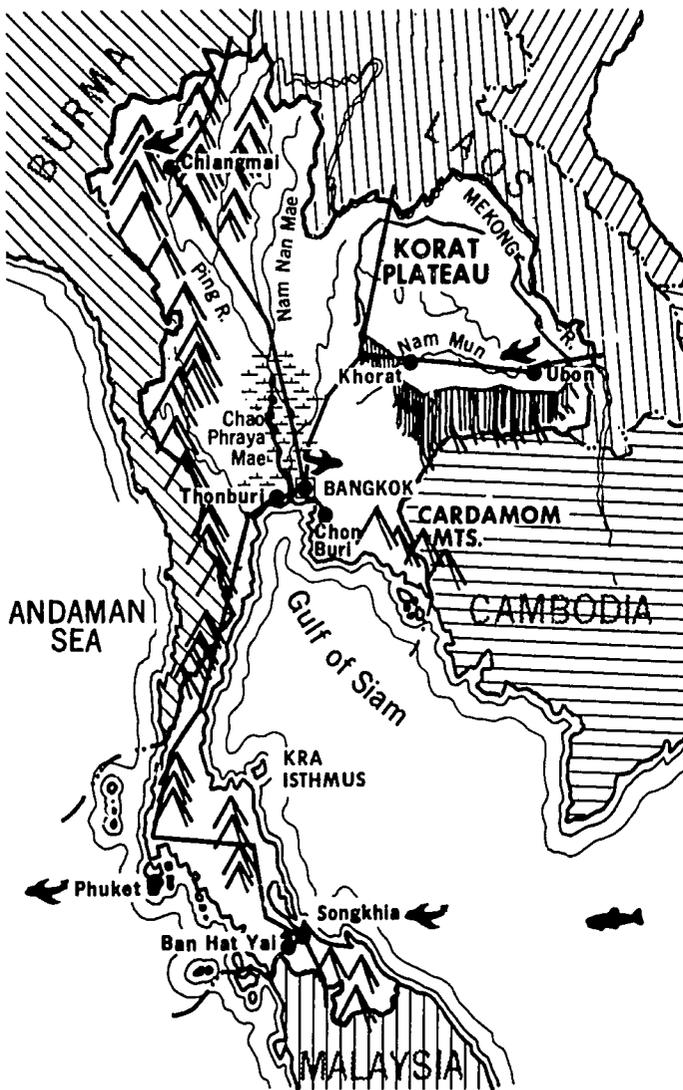
The Future: The only thing certain about Singapore's future is that it will be influenced by others. A major war or a sharp drop in foreign trade would be disastrous and would probably result in a communist seizure of power. Other sources of income will have to be sought to replace the money received from the British presence in Singapore. ■

Courtesy: Singapore Tourist Board



Singapore Harbor

THAILAND



THAILAND

Area: 198,455 square miles.

Population: 42.2 million (estimated).

Capital City: Bangkok (Pop. 2.08 million, estimated).

Climate: Tropically hot with a wet monsoon season (May-October), dry and increasingly hot (November-April).

Official Language: Thai.

Other Principal Tongue: Chinese.

Ethnic Background: Thai (about 80%); Chinese (about 14%); Malay (about 4%); inland tribal groups (about 2%).

Principal Religions: Buddhism, Islam.

Chief Commercial Products: Rice, tin, timber, rubber.

Currency: Baht (B 20.75 = \$1.00 U.S.).

National Day: December 10 (Constitution Day).

Chief of State: Thanin Kraivichien, Prime Minister; King Bumibol Adulyadej of titular chief of state.

National Flag: A wide horizontal blue stripe in the center, two narrower red horizontal stripes at the top and bottom; the red stripes are separated from the blue by a stripe of white.

The broad central plain of Thailand, through which flows the Menam River, is the most fertile and productive area of the country, containing the principal cities, including Bangkok. Viewed from the foothills which are found on the western edge of the plain, the land resembles an almost endless window with countless panes of glass when the precisely divided rice paddies are flooded with water.

The North and West are hilly and mountainous, and are covered with jungles containing timber and mineral resources. Valuable teak wood is still brought from the jungle on the tusks of the Asian elephant. The northeast region is dominated by the arid Korat Plateau. Ample rainfall occurs in the plateau, but it is not absorbed by the sandstone soil—it collects into streams and rivers quickly, and runs to the sea instead of enriching the land. More people live here than can be supported by the limited agriculture that is possible.

The southern region consists of the narrow Kra Isthmus which is hot and oppressively humid on the coastal belt, where quantities of rubber are produced by Thailand's Malay minority.

History: People of Thai origin, both civilized and primitive, today not only inhabit Thailand but also live in the adjacent regions of all of Thailand's neighbors with the exception of Malaysia. The original home of these people was in southwest China, where they were ruled by a highly organized kingdom in the 7th century A.D. The pressure of the Chinese and later the Mongols caused a migration of the Thais southward; they founded a state in what is now northern Thailand.

During the following centuries of slow expansion they were able to crush the Khmer empire in neighboring Cambodia. In the 16th century, Siam, as it was then called, was conquered by the Burmese. Apart from sporadic contact by French merchants, the Europeans did not enter the area during the 17th century period of exploration and colonization.

There was another Burmese invasion in 1767, but shortly thereafter Burma was invaded by the Manchu empire of China, enabling the Siamese to expel their conquerors. The present reigning dynasty came to power in 1782 and moved the capital city to the more secure location of Bangkok; Siam again emerged quickly as a strong state. This new dynasty soon came into conflict with Vietnam, ruled by the Annamese monarchs of Hue, over control of Laos and Cambodia.

Early in the 19th century, Siam began to have more extensive contacts, commercial and otherwise, with Europe—principally Britain and France—and with the

THAILAND



United States. The British gradually established control over Burma and the French asserted their power over Vietnam. Laos and Cambodia had been tributary states of Siam, but the French were ultimately able to combine them with Vietnam in their colony of Indochina. Thus, Siam was surrounded by the British on the west, the French on the east, and the *Manchu* empire of China on the north.

Siam avoided becoming a European colony by strengthening itself through an increasing degree of modernization, actively pursued by its kings in the last half of the 19th century. Phra Maha Chulalongkorn, King from 1868 to 1910, gained fame not only by abolishing Siam's feudal system, modernizing the government and army, and introducing conveniences such as the telegraph and railroad; he paid an extended visit to the European capitals. He is the son of the monarch described in the book "Anna and the King of Siam" and in the musical play "The King and I."

Following a crisis promoted by the French, it was ultimately agreed by Britain and France that Laos would become French, but Siam would remain independent. There were some later treaties in 1904-1907 which adjusted the borders with Laos and Cambodia, under which regions were traded back and forth between France and Siam. In order to keep other colonial powers out of Siam, France and Britain established "spheres of influence"—the French east of the Menam River and the British west of the river. As a result of its somewhat limited, but significant modernization program, and the fact that it escaped being a colony of a European power, Thailand today lacks the sense of inferiority and resentment toward the industrialized nations that many people feel in the countries of former colonial Asia.

After World War I there was a period of extravagant spending by the royal government, which was followed by a world-wide economic Depression. This created tensions and discontent within Thailand and gave rise to intense political activity. The result was a bloodless overthrow of the monarchy in 1932 by a combination of civilian politicians and military leaders. The two groups cooperated

in the adoption of a constitution which limited the power of the king and established a parliamentary form of government. The first Prime Minister was a brilliant lawyer usually known simply as Pridi.

The king, dissatisfied with the government, abdicated in 1935, and was succeeded by his ten-year-old nephew and a regency council. This and other unsettling conditions, including the increased power of Japan in Asia, led to the overthrow of Pridi by the military, led by Marshal Pibul Songgram. In theory the country continued to be governed by a triumvirate consisting of Pridi, Pibul and Luang Pradit, the foreign minister.

Three weeks after the bombing of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese, Siam signed a treaty of alliance with Japan; war was declared on the United States and Great Britain on January 25, 1942. With the support of Japanese troops, Thailand compelled the French to cede some border territories in Laos and Cambodia. The four southern states of Thailand, which had been given to the British in Malaya at the turn of the century, were returned by the Japanese after they had seized the British colony.

As the Pacific war began to turn against Japan the adaptable Thais began to prepare for defeat. An anti-Japanese guerrilla movement arose, and American military intelligence officers were able to operate almost openly in Bangkok during the last months of the war.

Pibul resigned as premier in 1944 in favor of Pridi, who was more acceptable to the increasingly victorious Allies. At the end of the war, Britain took the position that Thailand was an enemy country and compelled payment of reparations in the form of rice, which was sent to Malaya. The U.S., taking the more moderate position that Thailand had been forced to cooperate with Japan, was able to persuade the British to adopt a similar policy. Thailand was forced to surrender the territories it had gained during the war, however.

Thailand was admitted to the UN in 1946 and established diplomatic relations with Nationalist China—a step that it had avoided in order to be freer to deal with its citizens of Chinese birth and ancestry without external interference.

The king died from a gunshot wound at the hands of an assassin in 1946; Pridi, accused of having a part in the slaying, was deposed and later fled to China, where he still lives today. The army, still led by Pibul, again seized power. In 1948 Thailand established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, which in turn set up what seemed to be an unnecessarily large embassy in Bangkok. As though to balance this move, Thailand took part in the Korean War on the UN side, which was opposed by Russia, and it soon began to receive U.S. military aid.

This aid strengthened the political position of the army in domestic affairs, making the fairly frequent coups in Bangkok more difficult, but usually bloodier. Nevertheless, changes of government occurred without massive violence. The war in Vietnam and French Indochina had definite effects in Thailand. Communist China began to set up organizations on Chinese soil designed apparently for subversion of Thailand in 1953, causing alarm within the Thai government. An appeal to the UN was unsuccessful because of a Soviet veto.

Nehru, the pacifist and neutralist leader of India, had advised other nations of Southeast Asia to adopt policies

of friendly gestures toward the Communist countries. Burma had accepted this position, but Thailand decided instead to ally itself with the United States. SEATO, supposedly similar to the NATO alliance in Europe, was specifically intended to protect Thailand from attack or subversive pressure from Communist China or North Vietnam.

Soon after that, however, Pibul began to permit freer discussions of political issues, which resulted in some disorder, and actually began to encourage a growth of neutralism. He was overthrown by his rivals in 1957; Field Marshal Sarit emerged as the supreme military figure in 1958. Keeping Thailand firmly in an anti-communist position, he gave the country an orderly, stable and not too oppressive government, and was also able at the same time to accumulate a vast private fortune through corruption. The communist gains in Laos between 1960 and 1962 created some uneasiness which the U.S. was able to dispel by pledging direct assistance to Thailand on request in the event SEATO failed to act—a French veto had become a distinct possibility since the withdrawal of French forces from Indochina.

Marshal Sarit died at the end of 1963, but military rule continued in Thailand, although under less effective leaders. Reliance was placed upon the ability of the popular royal family to maintain the unity of the Thai people, as well as on an increased degree of official respect shown for Buddhism and its various organizations.

Increasing communist influence in Laos in the early 1960s was paralleled in Thailand by a beginning of revolutionary unrest in the poverty-stricken northeast region. Although the government has treated this as a genuine threat, perhaps partly to obtain additional American aid, it has been difficult to assess the exact extent of the problem. It is directed both from Communist China and North Vietnam—the Chinese seem to wield greater influence, however. Since 1968 insurgency declined in the Northeast but became more serious among the Meo tribesmen in the North.

Beginning in 1965, Thailand permitted the U.S. to use air bases within the country from which to attack North Vietnam and the Viet Cong; in early 1967 these bases began to be used for B-52 bombers capable of carrying atomic and hydrogen bombs, which however were not actually used. In addition, Thailand sent a limited number of troops to fight in Vietnam and Laos; it participated in the struggle in a number of other wars. The reactions of the communists were predictable—as Thailand increased its assistance to the U.S. and South Vietnam, the communists stepped up their subversive pressure and guerrilla activities within the country. An increased U.S. military buildup in Thailand was paralleled by a greater flow of U.S. aid to the Thai armed forces. Since 1973, however, the signing of an armistice for South Vietnam led to reductions in American Air Force strength in Thailand.

Thailand plays a fairly active role in Asian international politics; it has cooperated with Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and Bangkok is the site of the regional headquarters of a number of international organizations, including the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.

After the National Assembly was dissolved in 1958

there was no representative chamber in Thailand. Following a long delay, a constitution was drafted by a Constituent Assembly and promulgated by the King in June 1968. Elections held in February 1969 gave the *United Thai People's Party*, the government party, a total of 75 seats, the *Democratic Party* 57 seats, five small parties a total of 15 seats and independents won 72. The Senate is appointed by the government.

In November 1971, because of domestic criticism of the government and the uncertainty of the international situation in Southeast Asia, the military leadership proclaimed an emergency, suspended parliamentary institutions, and reshuffled the cabinet.

In 1972, a new constitution was proclaimed, under which the 299 members of the National Assembly were all appointed by the government.

In October 1973, student demonstrations that had the support of the King and at least part of the Army toppled the existing rather dictatorial military government. There was ushered in a predominantly civilian government committed to greater freedom and reform.

The new government under Sanya Thammasak showed a somewhat greater tendency than its predecessor to accommodate with the communist powers (especially China) and to maintain less close relations with the United States. It also had less effective control over the population, as was indicated by anti-Japanese demonstrations in January 1974 (at the time of a visit by Premier Tanaka) and anti-Chinese riots in mid 1974. Communist rebellion tended to grow somewhat more serious.

A specially appointed committee drafted a new constitution in 1974 under which there was to be a bicameral National Assembly with a popularly elected lower house of 240 to 300 members and an upper house of 100 members appointed by the king. The premier and half the cabinet are appointed by the king from among the members of the lower house, and no cabinet members may be an active career government official. This latter provision is designed to end the domination of the cabinet by career military and civilian bureaucrats. A cabinet must resign if it loses a vote of confidence in the House of Representatives (the lower house).

In preparation for the first general election under this constitution, scheduled for January 1975, there was considerable realignment of existing political parties and an emergence of some new ones, 42 in number. Unlike previous Thai elections, this one produced no dominant government party. Another innovation was the fact that the army, whose current leading figure was Commander-in-Chief Kris Sivara (he died in 1976) kept hands off the elections.

When the balloting was held on January 26, 1975, three of the four conservative parties that were offshoots of the pre-1973 government party, the *United Thai People's Party*, did reasonably well (the fourth, the *Social Nationalist Party* did not). The *Social Justice Party* won 45 seats, the *Thai Nation* 28 seats, and the *Social Agrarian Party* 19 seats. Two moderate or middle-of-the-road parties, the *Democratic Party* and the *Social Action Party*, won 72 and 19 seats respectively. The remainder of the 269 seats were divided among 17 minor parties, including the moderately left-wing *New Force* (12 seats). Obviously, no one party or coherent grouping, even the military-bureaucratic-business alliance that had dominated the pre-1973 government, had anything like a majority.

A coalition was necessary; it was formed by Seni Pramoj, leader of the *Democratic Party* in coalition with the *Social Action Party*, but was defeated in a confidence vote in March and resigned. It was crushed between the left, which thought it was not putting enough pressure on the United States to

remove its air bases from Thailand, and the right, which though it was putting on *too much* pressure.

The next coalition was headed by Kukrit Pramoj, the brother of Seni Pramoj and leader of the *Social Action Party*, with the two strongest conservative parties, the *Social Justice Party* and the *Thai Nation*. Kukrit announced that he wanted the American military presence withdrawn from Thailand within a year. His government was clearly worried about developments in Indochina following the collapse of South Vietnam and Cambodia to the communists. Even more alarming was the reported entry to 3,000 fresh Chinese-supported guerrillas into the country from Laos.

Kukrit's main response to these problems was to try (with little success) to improve relations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and Laos, and (with greater success) to improve relations with the People's Republic of China, to which he granted diplomatic recognition in July 1975. In a move designed partly to please Hanoi, he ordered the United States in March 1975 to withdraw its combat military personnel from Thailand within a year; this was done. Kukrit's determination was reinforced by the American use of bases in Thailand, without the permission of the Thai government, to rescue the *Mayaguez* in May 1975 (see Cambodia). He also helped to bring about the winding up of the SEATO organization in Bangkok (although not of the Manila Pact of 1954 on which it was based).

Kukrit tried to generate a program of rural reform and development, but in the most critical area, the northeast, there was a disturbing increase of communist insurgency supported by Hanoi through Laos; the Thai army's efforts to cope with this were largely ineffective.

Facing a vote of no confidence, Kukrit dissolved Parliament on January 12, 1976, on the advice of the army leadership. The military vetoed the idea of his replacement by his brother, Seni, in coalition with several socialist parties. Kukrit called a general election for April 4, 1976, but first ordered the remaining 4,000 American military personnel for whom the U.S. was demanding diplomatic status, out of the country within four months. They were mostly manning electronic intelligence installations at Ramasun (in the northeast) and near Chiangmai (in the north). Kukrit's action angered the Thai military, since they considered these installations important to Thai security as well as to American interests. The army threw its considerable political weight against Kukrit and contributed to his defeat in his own race for reelection.

The election, which followed a corrupt and violent campaign, gave Kukrit's *Social Action Party* 45 seats out of a total of 279. Seni Pramoj's *Democratic Action Party* won a plurality of 115 seats, and he formed a coalition government with three conservative parties having 92 seats between them. This government was acceptable to the military, but not to the left (students, etc.). It appeared that the United States might be able to work out with the Seni government an arrangement that would permit the electronic facilities to continue operating.

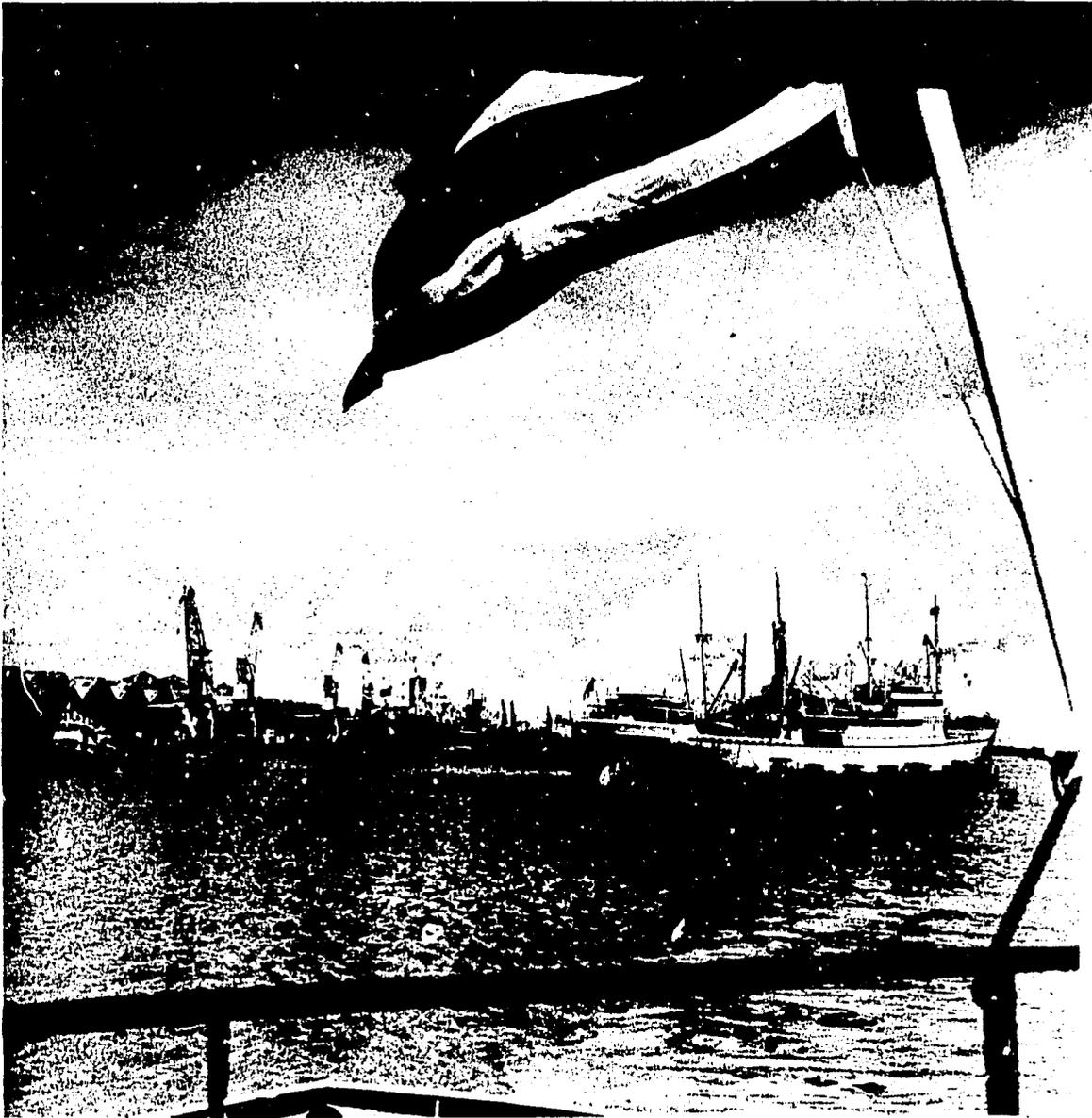
Probably in the vain hope of easing the mounting problem of communist insurgency, Kukrit recognized Hanoi in August 1976. After three years of existence, the civilian government was overthrown by the military in October 1976 following student riots during which members of the revered royal family were insulted. Power passed to a military *junta* which governs through a figurehead cabinet headed by Premier Thanin Kraivichien. A National Assembly of 240 members was appointed by the *junta* in November 1976. An attempted *coup* by another military faction in March 1977 was a failure.

Culture: Shortly after their arrival in Southeast Asia the Thai were converted to the southern school of Buddhism, which came from the island of Ceylon. The numerous colorful festivals and the participating monks almost completely dominate the traditions of the people. Thai architecture is unique and is as extremely colorful and elaborate as the clothing, dancing and sports typical in the Menam River valley.

Although the Siamese are generally fun-loving and light-hearted, they are also quite capable of violence—their boxing matches, for example, are usually quite bloody and brutal affairs. The customs and traditions of the larger cities and Bangkok have been modified somewhat by increased contacts with western nations, particularly with U.S. personnel. A Thai recently remarked, "The Americans are good for our economy but bad for our culture." This undoubtedly is true from the point of view of the people, who cherish their individuality and distinctive culture.

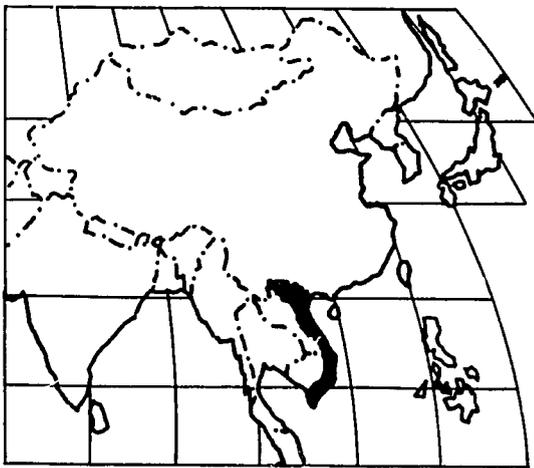
Economy: In reality, the first part of the above quotation, is not exactly true. The massive American "presence," including troops and bases, which Thailand is experiencing can do more damage than good in a largely pre-modern economy such as Thailand has. The spending of amounts necessary to accomplish U.S. aims creates inflationary pressures, which to date fortunately have not been serious. The country is definitely one of the most prosperous in Southeast Asia and has been growing, particularly in the cities, at a dramatic rate. The economy is almost wholly dependent, however, on the export of raw materials and, in terms of industry, is underdeveloped. Cultivation of rice in the Menam River region has enabled Thailand to replace neighboring Burma as the world's leading exporter of this mainstay of the Asian diet. Recently, economic troubles have led to an increased interest in trading with communist countries.

The Future: Economic moderation and the prospect of political reform indicate that the immediate future of Thailand will be stable and that its income will steadily increase. If, however, communist pressures in the region continue to increase as they have been doing, and as the U.S. withdrawal from the region is completed, the government may be faced with external pressures and internal subversion which could force it to change its pro-western position. The Thai record of adaptability to external forces suggests that the government would not wait until the situation became desperate before making such a move.



Bangkok harbor.
Courtesy: World Bank

THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM



VIETNAM

The map of Vietnam is shaped like a dumbbell. The northern "bell" is an area formerly known as Tonkin—it is quite mountainous, with peaks as high as 10,315 feet close to the southern Chinese border. The mountains gradually diminish in height as they approach the plains and river deltas closest to the Gulf of Tonkin.

The Red River originates in the lofty plateaus of the Chinese province of Yunnan, some 8,000 feet above sea level, and forms the border with China for a distance of about thirty miles. When it enters North Vietnam it is 260 feet above sea level, descending through a narrow gorge until it widens after being joined by the Black River. After being joined with the River Claire it meanders 93 miles to the sea, flowing in a shifting, irregular course that is 140 miles of curving and twisting water.

The two principal cities of North Vietnam, Hanoi and Haiphong, are situated on the river and flooded by its waters during the wet season each year—waters which

VIETNAM

Area: 128,190 square miles.

Population: 39 million (estimated).

Capital City: Hanoi (Pop. 0.65 million, estimated).

Climate: Subtropical, with cooler weather in the higher elevations. The Mekong Delta area is hot and humid.

Neighboring Countries: Communist China (North); Laos, Cambodia (West).

Official Language: Vietnamese.

Other Principal Tongues: French, Chinese.

Ethnic Background: Vietnamese (about 85 per cent), Thai, Cambodian, Lao, Chinese tribesmen (about 15 per cent).

Principal Religions: Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, subdivided into many sects. Roman Catholic Christianity is a strong element in the South. The government officially discourages religious activity.

Chief Commercial Products: Rice, rubber, coal, bauxite, wolfram, uranium.

Currency: Dong (D 9.80=\$1.00 U.S.±).

Former Colonial Status: French colonial dependency (1883-1954); occupied by the Japanese (1942-1945; in revolt (1945-1954).

Independence Date: July 21, 1954. The government recognizes September 2, 1945, when independence from the French was declared and the colony went into revolt.

Chief of State: Ton Duc Thang, President.

National Flag: A red field with a five-pointed yellow star in the center.

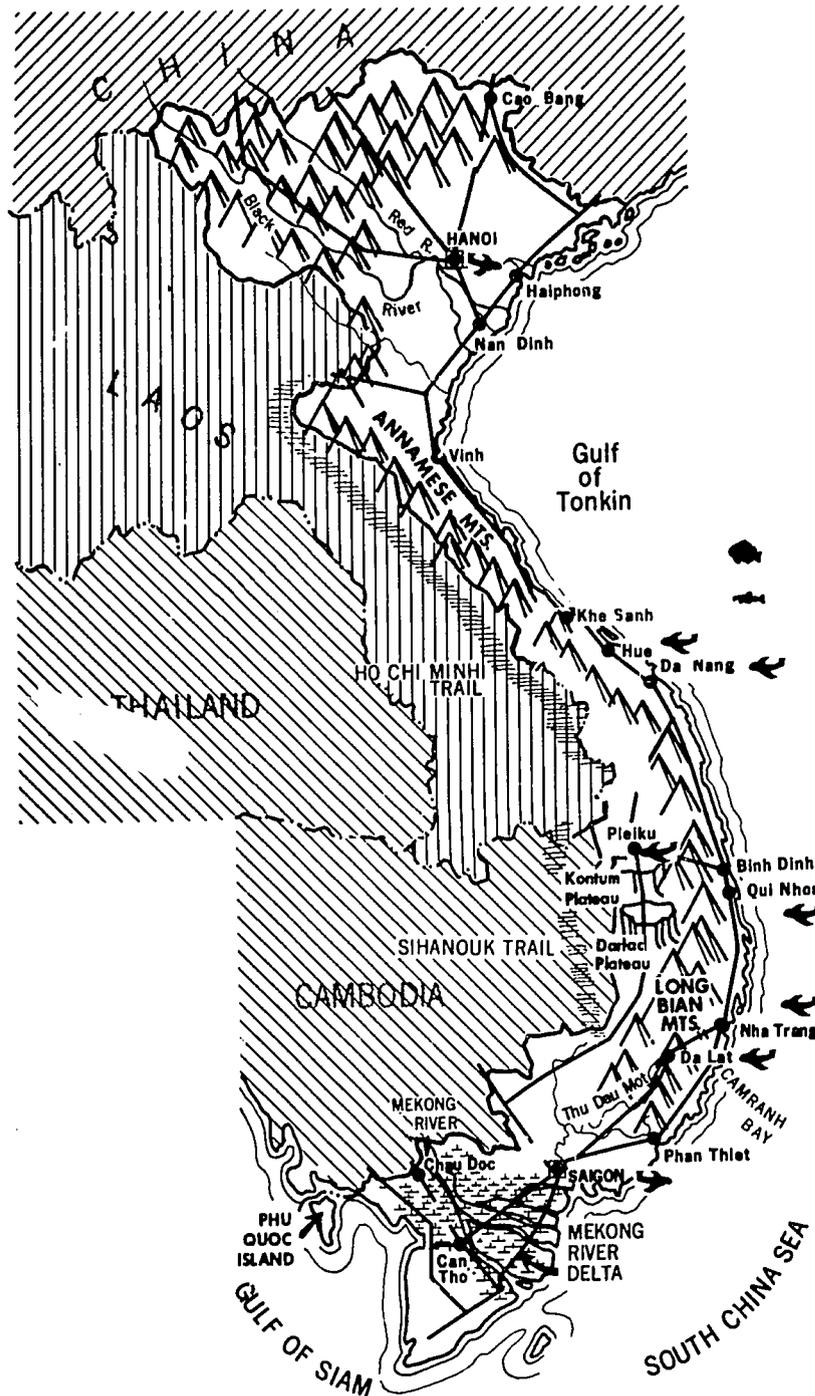
are colored red by the silt washing to the sea from the highlands. It is in this river delta region that the food of North Vietnam is produced by peasants laboring in the fields with limited tools used by their forebears.

The "bar" of the dumbbell is a thin coastal plain, closely confined on the west by the Annam Cordillera, a north-south range of mountains forming a natural barrier between Vietnam and Laos to the west. This coastal belt is narrow and somewhat inhospitable. Its lands are not enriched by the silt of any large river, and the typhoons of the South China Sea frequently do much damage.

The lower "bell" starts with an area of central highland plateaus which are heavily forested and inhabited by a somewhat backward people who till the limited available land after clearing it by burning. These highlands gradually give way to the Mekong Delta, where Saigon is located.

The Mekong River starts in remote Tibet where snows gradually melt in the thin, icy air, gathering into small

Vietnam



streams. Before reaching Vietnam, the waters travel almost 3,000 miles through some of the most rugged country in the world. The river is yellow and sluggish by the time it enters the country—the tides of the sea are felt as far back as Phnom Penh in Cambodia during the dry season, and even further upriver during the wet months each year.

Intense agriculture, dominated by rice production, has enabled the people living in the Mekong River Delta to produce large surpluses of food in the past and now.

History: From their physical appearance, the Vietnamese appear to have a common ancestry with the Malays, Indonesians and Polynesians of southern Asia, but there is a definite Mongolian element also present. They began to move southward from central and southern China in the last centuries B.C., entering what is now North Vietnam shortly before the Christian era. Conquered by the power-

ful Han dynasty of China about 100 B.C. they remained a part of the Chinese empire for the next 1000 years.

It was natural that during these many centuries that the Vietnamese adopted much of the Chinese political systems and cultural patterns, but they actually felt a combination of respect, dislike and fear toward the Chinese.

After the collapse of the T'ang dynasty in China in the early 10th century, the Vietnamese broke away from direct Chinese control. They avoided further conflict with China by acknowledging themselves to be a tributary state until conquered by the French in the late 19th century.

In the late 15th century, the Vietnamese conquered lands to the south occupied by the Chams, who spoke a language similar to that of Indonesia, and had adopted many of India's cultural patterns, including Hinduism and Buddhism. By the 18th century they began to colonize the Mekong River Delta after seizing the kingdom of Funan, also a basically Indian type of state.

VIETNAM

French interest in Indochina, the name given to the area extending from Burma to Vietnam, began in the eighteenth century. Initially taking the form of commercial and missionary contacts, the French effort did not become serious until the mid-19th century. Forces of Napoleon III conquered Vietnam in a series of military campaigns, beginning in the South and working slowly northward. The proclamation of a protectorate over the Annamese (Vietnamese) state in 1883 was followed by a short war with the Chinese to force the Manchu emperors of China to recognize the end of the tributary status of the country.

The French divided their newly won possession into three segments: Tonkin in the North, Annam in the narrow middle belt and highland plateaus of the South, and the colony of Cochin China in the Mekong Delta. The three areas were ruled by a governor general, who also presided over Cambodia and Laos after 1887.

Actual administration of the colonies was by the French during the colonial period, although an imperial court was permitted to exist in Annam. The significant benefits brought to the area by the French included a narrow gauge railroad from Hanoi to Kunming in China which follows the banks of the Red River by which it was possible for the French to extract mineral wealth from the North. In addition, intensive cultivation methods which produced large quantities of valuable rubber were introduced.

During the early colonial period the French encouraged the migration of people from Tonkin in the North to the area of Cochin China; immigrant Chinese were also permitted in the southern colony.

Less attention was paid to preparing the people for independence than was paid to the promotion of French culture among the Vietnamese. As a result, an upper class of Vietnamese emerged that was fluent in French, at home in French culture, and in some cases Roman Catholic, but usually bitterly resentful of French political domination.

Shortly after World War I, a nationalist group, composed of people supported by the French-oriented upper class emerged, competing with a communist movement in the north which was led by a dedicated patriot and communist, who took the name Ho Chi Minh in 1943. Both of these movements attempted armed uprisings against the French in 1930 which were brutally suppressed. The communists survived by going underground, and Ho strengthened his position by betraying some of his nationalist rivals to the French police.

The Japanese took French Indochina by default after the Germans installed the Vichy government in Paris in 1940. Japan demanded the right to land forces in the area on June 25, which was granted by the Vichy in September; within three months the Japanese controlled all of northern Vietnam. A year later they occupied the South as well.

In 1943 Ho Chi Minh was able to gain the support of Nationalist Chinese generals in southern China for what was supposed to be an anti-Japanese guerrilla movement. The movement was actually anti-French, through whom the Japanese nominally administered the country, and also was anti-Nationalist Vietnamese. It was formed by Ho in 1941, and was called the *Viet Minh*.

In March 1945 the Japanese ousted the local French authorities, whom they correctly suspected of being in contact with General de Gaulle and the Allies. The Japanese rule was short-lived—surrender was to come within six months.

At the Potsdam conference in July 1945, the Allied powers decided to divide Vietnam at the 16th parallel into two zones for the purpose of disarming and evacuating the Japanese. The southern region was to be administered by

the British and the North was to be controlled by Nationalist Chinese. If this had not been done, and if the Japanese troops had gone home, it is probable that Ho Chi Minh would have seized control of all of Vietnam in 1945.

Ho hastily proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam at Hanoi on September 2, 1945—the same day that the surrender of the Japanese was signed on the U.S. Battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo harbor. Shortly thereafter the forces of the Chinese Nationalists moved into the northern region.

Ho expanded his power in the rural areas of the North, eliminating nationalist rivals, and managing to co-exist uneasily with the Chinese occupation forces which gave every indication of intending to remain in Vietnam. The British suppressed activity by the Viet Minh in the southern part of the country, and quickly returned the area to the French. Seeking a withdrawal of the Chinese in the North, Ho and the French put pressure on them. The outbreak of civil war in China, in addition to this pressure, brought about a Chinese withdrawal in the spring of 1946.

Ho permitted the French to re-enter northern Vietnam, promising to keep the Democratic Republic of Vietnam within the French Union, so long as its autonomy was

respected and providing it was allowed to control all of Vietnam. He probably wanted French economic aid, but the chief reason for this attitude was very probably Stalin's desires at the time. The Russians wanted a French communist victory at the polls in France, and did not wish to alienate the French by supporting a communist revolt in Vietnam.

The French colonial regime refused to allow Viet Minh control of Cochin China, and some of its most important officials showed considerable bad faith in dealing with Ho. By the end of 1946, fighting erupted between the French and the Viet Minh, who retreated to the mountains above Hanoi to conduct a war of guerrilla activity and harassment.

In an effort to find some figure through whom they could indirectly govern Vietnam, the French selected Bao Dai, the hereditary Emperor of Annam and a descendant of the royal family which had ruled from a massive palace at Hue. He abdicated when Ho Chi Minh proclaimed independence, and he actually was fully in favor of the end of colonial rule. He accepted the French offer in 1946, but only after a mass of complicated agreements were reached; he became Provisional President and later permanent chief of state of a government organized by the French to maintain their power in Indochina.

Although there were later negotiations, the war continued, with neither side winning, until 1949, when it became clear that a communist victory in China was close at hand. Fearful that Ho would receive massive support from the Communist Chinese regime, the French hastily granted independence to Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, and appealed to the United States for aid and support, which was given to a limited extent.

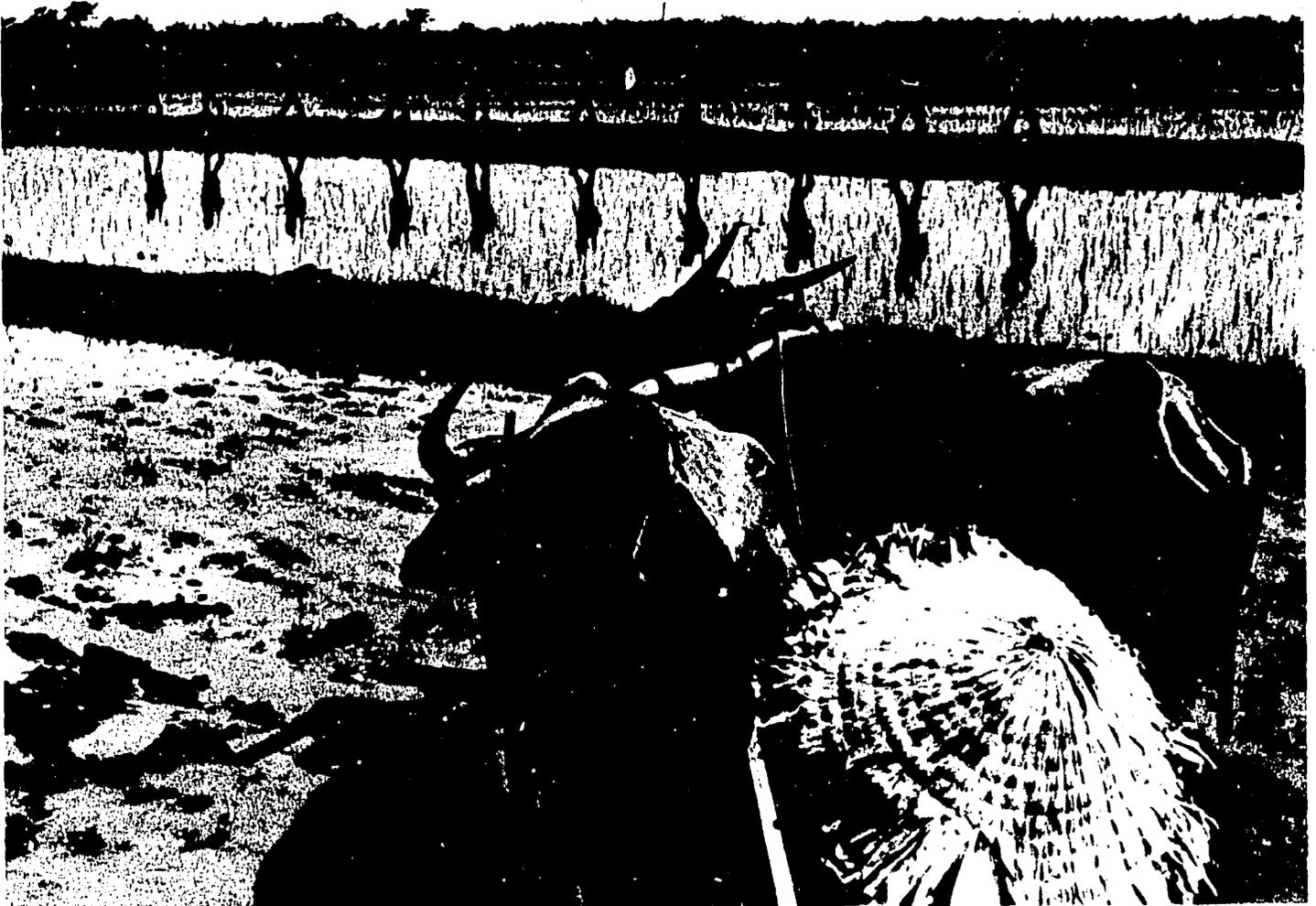
The French insisted on retaining a high degree of control in military matters. On the other side, the Viet Minh received diplomatic recognition from Communist China in January 1950, and with Chinese military aid, cleared French troops from the border areas of northern Vietnam later in that year. What had been an internal, colonial struggle became the major theater of the cold war in Asia, a fact which led to increased involvement of the United States and of the Chinese Communist state.

By the spring of 1953, the French prospects in Vietnam were bleak—the approaching end of the Korean war would enable greater Chinese effort in Vietnam. In desperation, France granted further political, economic and military

concessions to the non-communist Vietnamese state and substantially increased their own military efforts. Their purpose was not to defeat the Viet Minh, since such a goal was not possible, but rather to obtain an honorable political settlement which would be better than total defeat. The U.S., the Soviet Union, Britain and France decided that a conference would be held at Geneva, Switzerland to deal with the questions of Indochina and Korea in the spring of 1954.

The French had fortified a position at Dienbienphu in northwest Vietnam in response to a Viet Minh thrust into neighboring Laos. The Viet Minh stealthily surrounded the French with artillery and mortars supplied by the Chinese,

and laid siege to Dienbienphu. They quickly destroyed the air strip to prevent reinforcements and supplies from being sent in, and the French were dismally defeated in one of the most futile military efforts of the century. The tiny base fell on May 7, 1954, the day before the matter of Indochina was to come before the Geneva conference. The French were skeptical and the British were opposed to a U.S. proposal for joint military effort at Dienbienphu made a month earlier.



Vietnamese troops cross a rice paddy.

It is hard to imagine any time in recent history when the fate of a small country depended to such a great extent on world politics than was true of the fate of Vietnam, to be decided at Geneva. The French wanted to get out of Indochina on any reasonable basis. The Soviet Union did not want to press France to the extent that it would join

VIETNAM

the European Defense Community, a proposed multi-country army including West Germany to oppose the threat of Soviet forces. Russia desired even less a direct clash with the U.S., which had only recently completed a massive series of hydrogen bomb tests in the Pacific. Communist China also wished to avoid conflict with the U.S. and did not want Ho Chi Minh to achieve too much power.

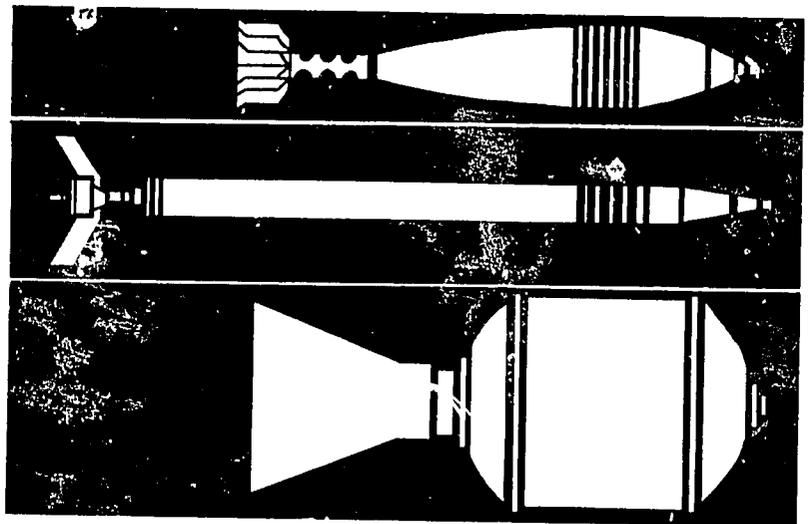
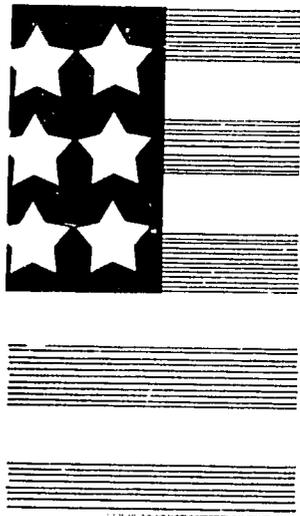
Ho Chi Minh's delegation to the conference arrived with a demand that the three nations of Indochina be treated in such a manner that would have produced a communist victory not only in Vietnam, but also in Cambodia and Laos. But the Chinese delegation shortly thereafter conceded that a final settlement would treat the three countries separately. Ultimately, the final settlement contained some minor concessions to the communist movement in Laos, but no more.

Vietnam was divided at the 17th parallel, considerably further north than had been demanded by Ho Chi Minh. Elections were scheduled for mid-1956, to be held in both regions. Military details of withdrawal, etc. were left to the French and Chinese. This was a defeat for Ho, who

An, the southernmost province, which had to be suppressed by government troops in 1956. This caused Ho to moderate his programs in order to retain his popular support.

Nearly everyone at the Geneva Conference had expected South Vietnam to collapse, or to quickly go communist via the ballot box. Bao Dai had no real authority and was almost totally under the influence of corrupt military leaders. He appointed Ngo Dinh Diem, an energetic northern Catholic who had strong nationalist convictions, to be Prime Minister; the emperor resumed his more luxurious life in France and was later deposed by Diem in 1956. From the time of his appointment, Diem enjoyed the support of some prominent officials in the U.S.

He also quickly received the support of the several hundred thousand Catholic refugees who flooded into the south in 1954, and managed to keep South Vietnam from going communist in spite of almost impossible difficulties. He gained the allegiance of the traditionally corrupt army, defeated the dissidents of the two hostile religious sects, the *Cao Dai* and the *Hoa Hao*; he was able to suppress the *Binh Xuyen*, a gang of rural bandits, and ultimately he adopted a new constitution in 1956.



desired immediate elections before a non-communist government could be set up in the South; he was sure of victory in the North since he was credited with expelling the disliked French. Similar sentiments were prevalent in the South, but would probably die out in time, according to his reasoning.

In order to exclude American military forces from Indochina, the settlement forbade any foreign power from maintaining forces in Vietnam. A general political agreement was included in the final version in which many things were left subject to interpretation. Mainly for reasons of domestic politics coupled with doubts about communist good faith, the U.S. declined to sign the agreement. The Chinese, although angered by this refusal, agreed to accept an informal American promise not to "disturb" the agreement by force. The settlement was "adopted" without actually being signed by the representative of any nation on July 21, 1954.

Ho Chi Minh's regime promptly took over North Vietnam from the French and began to build a strong and effective regime with large amounts of economic and military aid from Russia and Communist China. Exhibiting revolutionary zeal, Ho embarked on an extremely brutal land reform program which cost him much of his popularity, although he retained the support of his followers. The program provoked a peasant revolt in Nghe

Under this system he became the first president, but actually had dictatorial powers—the constitution had been approved by a popular referendum which had obviously been rigged by Diem. He replaced local officials with his own appointees who were often unpopular. The United States, impressed by his ability to put together a workable regime and to establish apparent authority over the country, extended him massive military and economic aid, and supported him in his refusal to hold elections in 1956 as required by the Geneva agreements.

North Vietnam was furious and called for international action against Diem because of the absence of the election—the proposal was received somewhat coldly by the Soviet Union and Communist China. Hoping for a political victory as a result of misrule by Diem, Ho Chi Minh discouraged the communist guerrillas, who had remained within South Vietnam after the division accomplished at Geneva, from taking up arms against Diem. But in 1957, the guerrillas, called *Viet Cong*, undertook a terrorist campaign in the South, not only against unpopular village officials, but against lesser authorities such as school teachers. Their aim was to compel and force support of the villages for their movement.

Under the influence of his conservative relatives, notably his brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, and Madame Nhu, Diem responded as might be expected—he set up a virtual police

state and tried to smother all opposition, non-communist and communist. He was able to withstand military revolt in 1960 and supported subsequent efforts of his brother to establish political power in rural areas through the use of anti-Viet Cong measures.

There was no major direct support of the Viet Cong by North Vietnam until 1960, probably because of Soviet and Chinese unwillingness to provoke another crisis in the region. After undergoing serious economic difficulties in 1960, Communist China sharply reduced its aid to North Vietnam, which at the same time decided to give substantial and active support to the Viet Cong. In response, the United States, during the first months of the Kennedy administration increased its economic and military aid to the Diem government, raising the number of American military advisers in the battle against the Viet Cong.

The Chinese, interested in revolutions in black Africa, withheld substantial support initially, even though requested to give North Vietnam additional aid. After the split between the Russians and Chinese, in return for some Vietnamese support for the Chinese side of the dispute, considerable political and military aid was extended to Ho Chi Minh.

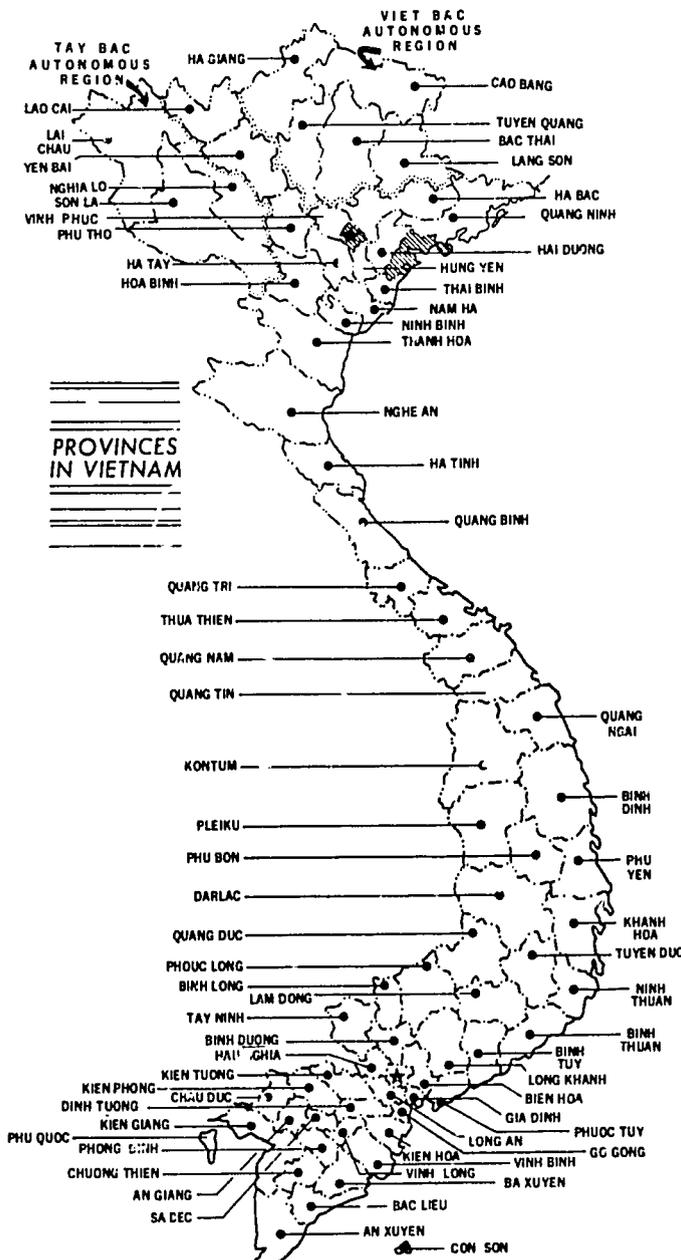
The Diem government further alienated public opinion in South Vietnam in response to growing communist pressures, resulting in a considerable degree of support for the Viet Cong. Diem infuriated the Buddhist community in the spring of 1963, alienating almost all of this influential segment of the public by his harsh measures. Buddhist demonstrators were joined by student demonstrations—government violence against both groups antagonized more and more army officers, many who had close ties with the Buddhists and students. The U.S. government was embarrassed and disgusted with Diem by this time. An army coup deposed him on November 1, 1963, resulting in the violent deaths of Diem and Nhu, accompanied by chaotic and popular rejoicing.

There followed months and ultimately years of unstable military governments. Power was supposedly exercised by a military junta in Saigon, but local military leaders in the provinces were almost independent of the central government. The military was far from unified during this period. The United States was beginning an election campaign in 1964 and seemed to desire the *status quo*, even though it was shaky. This was interrupted by events in the Tonkin Gulf on August 1-2, 1964, when North Vietnamese torpedo boats were reported to attack U.S. destroyers patrolling the area. President Johnson secured a somewhat vague resolution from Congress authorizing him to take military action in response, and a single air strike against North Vietnamese naval installations was made in retaliation. Recently, public disclosure of secret documents indicated that the U.S. planned a stepped-up military campaign against the communists as early as the spring of 1964.

A great many non-communists had supported the Viet Cong and its political arm, the *National Liberation Front*, because of their opposition to Diem; when he was deposed, their support ended. Feeling the need of stronger military action to compensate for this loss of support, and also because it seemed more possible that military action would succeed after the downfall of Diem, the Viet Cong embarked on wider military efforts. At the end of 1964, regular units of Ho Chi Minh's North Vietnam army began to enter South Vietnam for the first time. By taking this action, Ho not only assisted in the rapid military buildup resulting in greater success, but was able to achieve firmer control of the Viet Cong and the *National Liberation Front*.

There was a rapid increase in the area under communist control, particularly in the central highlands of South Vietnam. Sensing a possibly imminent communist victory, the Soviet Union sent Premier Kosygin to Hanoi in February 1965 to give reassurance of Russian participation and influence, and to promise some defensive weapons against possible American air attacks in the North. At the same time, the Viet Cong launched a series of assaults on U.S. military installations in the South.

These attacks, and the opinion that if South Vietnam was to be saved there would have to be immediate action, resulted in U.S. air attacks on North Vietnam in February at a time when Kosygin was still in Hanoi. This action, in the form of sending U.S. Marine and combat units, commenced in the spring and summer of 1965. South Vietnam was saved from the Viet Cong at least for the time being. The Soviet Union was compelled to send much larger amounts of air defense equipment to North Vietnam—probably more than it had originally intended.



VIETNAM

There was a crisis in Soviet-Chinese relations, already strained by "ideological" disputes concerning the role each nation was to play in aiding Ho Chi Minh's forces. The Maoist leadership resented the superior economic ability of the Russians to buy influence in Hanoi, and limited its 1965-66 assistance to the maintenance of the Chinese-North Vietnamese rail line and the shipment of infantry weapons to Ho. An agreement was reached in April 1965 for the shipment of limited amounts of Soviet equipment through China to North Vietnam, but the trains were occasionally delayed and harassed by the uncertainties of the "Great Cultural Revolution" then in progress within China.

In mid-1965 a dashing young Air Force general, Nguyen Cao Ky, emerged as the leading figure in the military establishment of South Vietnam, becoming Premier and retaining that position for two years. This provided a welcome respite from the seemingly continuous change of rulers in the country. It became increasingly clear during this period that the army exercised almost all political power—a fact which served to arouse Buddhist opposition—but no other person or group in South Vietnam seemed capable of exercising power. The organization of the army, and American military aid and involvement, seemed to be the only elements which enabled the Republic of Vietnam to survive the pressures of the communists.

The cost to the United States rose to more than \$30 billion per year, placing a serious strain on the American economy and on its political system. Reasonable men found it possible to differ on the question of whether the price of the fighting, both human and economic, was too great, not only to the United States, but to both Vietnams.

Some political progress took place in South Vietnam, although it was disappointingly slow. Elections in 1966 selected members of a Constituent Assembly who drafted a constitution which led to elections in September 1967 for a new National Assembly. Military intrigue reduced General Ky to the candidacy for vice president—General Nguyen Van Thieu, a Catholic, was the leading candidate for president. In spite of a surprisingly heavy vote in favor of an anti-military "peace" candidate, the Thieu-Ky team won the elections.

President Thieu appointed the honest and respected Tran Van Huong to the office of premier in May 1968; this was one of a series of steps through which, with the approval of the U.S., Thieu enlarged his power and status at the expense of Vice President Ky. The return from exile of the popular General Duong Van Minh ("Big Minh") in October 1968 raised the possibility that he might become head of a neutralist faction which would try to bridge the gap between the existing government and the Viet Cong. The government retained the habit of jailing its most prominent political opponents.

Although the military situation continued to improve with the presence of 500,000 U.S. troops, the South Vietnamese army usually could not hold its own against the army of North Vietnam and the Viet Cong units. The government controlled more than half the people and land area at the end of 1967, although in many instances this control was loose or sporadic—the enemy controlled large areas of forest and mountains except for periods when U.S. troops engaged in occasional "search and destroy" operations.

As 1968 began, both sides found themselves heavily and totally involved in a conflict that was costly and inconclusive, with little hope for a negotiated settlement. Too many pressures from outside sources prevented movement toward peace. Both the U.S. and the Soviet government probably

shared the wish for a settlement under reasonable terms, but the U.S. was handicapped by the 1968 elections and the Soviet Union could not afford to appear less revolutionary than the Chinese.

In late January 1968 the communists started an all-out offensive at the time of *Tet*, the Lunar New Year which is a traditional holiday for the Vietnamese. They invaded most of the provincial capitals, parts of Saigon and held a portion of the ancient imperial capital, Hue, for several days. The U.S. lost hundreds of aircraft on the ground, and the rainy weather of the monsoon prevented effective air strikes. The offensive was successful to the extent that it drove the South Vietnamese and U.S. back into the larger cities and fortified positions, and regained much of the territory that had undergone "pacification" during the previous year. It also raised substantial questions as to the extent of support of both the Thieu government and the Viet Cong. The official goal of the campaign was to produce a spontaneous popular uprising in Vietnam; in this respect, it was a failure.

In the hope of avoiding further increases in American involvement and aspiring to a peaceful end of the conflict, President Johnson suspended the bombing of all but the southern section of North Vietnam on March 31, 1968 and renewed his invitation to Hanoi for peace negotiations. Talks got underway in Paris shortly afterward, and in spite of the extremely limited progress which was made, President Johnson suspended all bombing of North Vietnam at the beginning of November 1968.

A temporary impasse arose when the Saigon government refused to participate except as a major party to the negotiations and further insisted that the Viet Cong be represented only as part of the North Vietnamese delegation. Needless to say, Hanoi refused to accept such conditions. After 1969, all parties were present to participate in North Vietnam-Viet Cong and U.S.-South Vietnam four-way talks, but no significant progress was made until July 1971.

American troop withdrawal started in 1969, and this move seemed to increase the chances for a political outcome of the struggle favorable to the communist side. In mid-1969 the communists proclaimed a "provisional government" for the South and the Saigon government of President Thieu turned to what it considered the most reliable elements for support—the army and the Catholics.

Local economic and political conditions improved in some areas of the South, particularly in the fertile Mekong Delta area. The government showed substantial interest in land reform measures, hoping to win more political support from the people.

In North Vietnam, the tremendous strain of continuing to battle, and political debates before and after the September 3, 1969 death of Ho Chi Minh created difficulties.

President Thieu won unopposed reelection in November 1971—his major opponents had dropped out of the race, charging that the election was rigged. In early 1972 he began to try to build a loyal government party to consolidate his political position. The northern provinces of South Vietnam were struck by a massive North Vietnamese invasion at the end of March 1972. This produced in retaliation an American mining of Haiphong Harbor; an international "crisis" which followed quickly subsided.

After the failure of the invasion, President Thieu proceeded to tighten his political grip—by September 1971, local officials were made appointive rather than elective and the president organized a new pro-government party, the *Democracy Party*.

The military stalemate which was evident in the fall of 1972 was acutely embarrassing to U.S. President Richard M. Nixon, who had been elected in 1968 in part because of his "secret" plan to end the Vietnam conflict honorably. Interpreting his reelection in November 1972 as a mandate, he ordered resumed bombing of the north, particularly Hanoi, in order to

persuade the communists to negotiate. After intense December bombing, the North Vietnamese verbally agreed to end the conflict in January 1973; the formal agreement was signed on March 2, 1973. The U.S. gave up its insistence on a North Vietnamese withdrawal from South Vietnam and continued its own withdrawal. In exchange, it got its prisoners back, and Hanoi accepted a political arrangement that did not guarantee overthrow of the Thieu government as had been adamantly demanded.

Neither North nor South Vietnam had any genuine interest in abiding by the political provisions of the January 1973 agreement, which called in principle for a vaguely defined coalition government and general elections. To strengthen its hand, Hanoi, with the help of continuing, although somewhat reduced, military aid from the Soviet Union and China, began to create a "third Vietnam" under the nominal control of the Vietcong in the highlands of South Vietnam. This activity, much of which was in flagrant violation of the agreement, included road building, troop buildups, the stockpiling of weapons and other measures. Deprived of American air support under the terms of the pact and unwilling to commit its own air force against communist-held areas in the highlands, South Vietnam made no genuine military effort to contain the foe.

In the Saigon-controlled areas, which included nearly all the population until March 1975, the Thieu government continued its basically repressive policies. To be sure, Thieu fired a number of corrupt military and civilian officials, including some who had been close to him in 1973-1974, but there was no basic change in the style of the regime. Thieu seemed to have learned utterly nothing from the experiences of Ngo Dinh Diem and Chiang Kai-shek. Anti-Thieu protest movements arose in 1974 among both the Buddhists, who stressed liberalization and peace, and the Roman Catholics (Thieu was a Catholic), who emphasized opposition to corruption. Concessions were promised to both by Thieu in late 1974, but little actually happened. In reality, five major opposition newspapers were closed down in early 1975, leaving only one in operation.

During 1974, North Vietnam emphasized the development of its economy through aid from other communist countries, principally the Soviet Union and China. The military strength of Hanoi was built up as was that of the Vietcong in the highlands of South Vietnam. A strategy of "accelerated erosion" began through nibbling at Saigon's military positions in both the highlands and in the Mekong Delta. This approach was obviously inadequate to achieve Hanoi's two principal objectives: imposition of the political provisions of the January 1973 agreement and/or the downfall of Thieu. One reason for this cautious approach was probably the attitude of the Soviet Union and China, which did not want their "détente" with the United States to be endangered by a major resurgence of fighting in Vietnam.

The departure of Richard M. Nixon from the U.S. presidency in 1974, followed by the Vietcong capture of two provincial capitals in early January 1975, Phuocbinh (Phuoclong Province), about 80 miles north of Saigon, and Ban Me Thuot (Darlac Province) in the central highlands was the beginning of the end. Shocked by the loss of these towns and unquestionably worried by the refusal of the U.S. Congress to vote further large-scale military aid, President Thieu simply abandoned the three provinces of Kontum, Pleiku and Darlac in March 1975. The retreat quickly turned into a rout as communist forces, taking advantage of the dry season and the government withdrawals, moved forward. By the end of March the two important coastal cities of Hue and Danang had fallen to the communists. Saigon fell at the end of April. The long war in Vietnam was over, although the two halves of the country remained temporarily separate entities.

The behavior of the leadership during 1975 in South Viet-

nam demonstrated that their concern was solely for their personal safety rather than for the future of South Vietnam. Thieu issued military orders which were disastrous, changing daily and leading nowhere. He was more worried about army loyalty to him during early 1975 and called one commando unit back to Saigon to protect him from any attempted *coup*. Many of the officers in the field deserted to seek personal safety, leaving their men leaderless.

A massive evacuation occurred as the communist forces closed in; more than 100,000 refugees fled, principally to the U.S. Thieu went to Taiwan and other prominent officials moved to Hawaii. Almost all the leadership was able to depart with substantial wealth, in contrast to most of the refugees who had little more than the clothes they wore.

Rather than gloat over this latest communist victory, both the Soviet Union and China continued to emphasize the spirit of détente with the United States.

After its "liberation" from the Thieu regime, South Vietnam was run by men sent from Hanoi, the chief of whom was Pham Hung, who although a southerner was a member of the top leadership of the *Vietnam Workers Party*—the communist party. Imposition of communist controls on the South proceeded fairly slowly, and without the "bloodbath" that had been widely expected. One reason was the difficult and chaotic conditions facing the new regime; another, probably, was concern for international opinion. Nevertheless, there were some executions and a great deal of political indoctrination. Former employees and supporters of the Thieu regime often found it difficult to find jobs and even food. There was some armed resistance in early 1976, mainly in the central highlands. The new regime planned to reduce the population of Saigon (now known officially as Ho Chi Minh City) by one third in 1976, through evacuation to the countryside.

The leadership of north and south announced in November 1975 that there would be elections on April 25, 1976 for a single National Assembly for the entire country. The election was held on schedule and in the communist manner—there were no opposition candidates. The South was allotted 243 seats, and as a token concession the voters were allowed to choose from among 281 candidates; in the North there were 249 candidates for 249 seats. The election was in July, followed by a meeting of the Assembly at which a new constitution was adopted and the unification of the country formally proclaimed.

The ruling party held its Fourth Congress in December 1976, at which it renamed itself the *Vietnam Communist* (rather than *Workers*) *Party*. At this congress, and in other respects, the domination of the North over the recently "liberated" South was clear.

Soviet aid and influence on the new regime were substantial, although not overwhelming. It was widely assumed that Moscow would like a naval base at the huge American-built complex at Camranh Bay. Chinese influence was considerably less than that of the Soviets.

Hanoi claimed that President Nixon promised it \$3.25 billion in reconstruction aid and tried to bargain against as much of this amount as possible by promising cooperation in accounting for American personnel missing in action. Properly assuming that most if not all missing personnel were dead, the U.S. refused the request.

Hanoi showed some interest in allowing American oil companies to prospect offshore, but no arrangement along these lines could be concluded as long as the United States maintained its embargo on trade with the North Vietnamese.

Early in 1977, the Carter administration initiated contacts with Hanoi looking toward a "normalization" of relations. Relations with the ASEAN states (Thailand, Malaysia, Singa-

VIETNAM

pore, Indonesia and the Philippines) have been cool. One reason is that Hanoi acquired an immense stockpile of American military equipment (some \$5 billion worth) to add to its existing stockpile of Soviet equipment and had not demobilized its army. This produces fear on the part of its neighbors that it intends to aid insurgents on their soil or even try direct aggression against them.

Culture: The Vietnamese have been influenced by the culture of China to a greater extent than all other nations of Asia, except Singapore, where there is a Chinese majority. Chinese characters were used to write the Vietnamese language until the French replaced them with an alphabetical system. The Red River in North Vietnam is controlled with dikes of Chinese design.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that during the thousand years of greatest Chinese influence, the Vietnamese were virtually confined to what is now North Vietnam. Those who later moved south to Cochin China in the Mekong Valley, retained less of the Chinese influence the farther south they moved. This, plus the fact that many of South Vietnam's modern leadership came from the north and only recently moved south after the communist takeover in North Vietnam, partially explains the instability and factionalism that infected South Vietnam politics before the communist conquest of 1975.

All Vietnamese, regardless of their politics, feel that the Chinese, regardless of their politics, are the main traditional threat to their national survival. This fear presumably accounts for North Vietnam's obvious reluctance to request more than limited aid from Communist China. It should also be remembered, however, that the Chinese have not been too anxious in the recent conflicts to involve themselves to any greater extent than appeared to be absolutely necessary.

South Vietnam is religiously divided between Buddhists with a variety of practices that are quite distinctly Vietnamese, and Roman Catholicism, brought to the area by the French colonists. This division is reflected in the political and military experiences in the South—the Catholics, more aggressive and better educated along Western lines, supported a conservative nationalism for the most part, but the Buddhists favored a brand of "pacifism" which whether intended or not, assisted the Viet Cong materially and morally.

Economy: There traditionally have been three layers in the Vietnamese economy: the bottom one based on rice growing, the middle based on mining in the North and rubber plantations in the South and the third added by the war, based on large-scale Soviet and Chinese aid in the North and substantial American aid in the South. The socialist economy of the North developed the most impressive industrial system in Southeast Asia, although the cost of paying for it, particularly in view of destruction by U.S. bombing, has kept living standards at a very low level.

Unlike that of the North, the economy of the South was largely free enterprise rather than socialist, and there was much less industry. Living standards probably show greater differences between the classes in the South than in the North, but it is also highly probable that most people in the South have lived better than any one in the North. Land reform measures and the introduction of a new variety of rice developed in the U.S. resulted in a dramatic increase in rice production in recent years.

Economic and social conditions in the South, needless to say, deteriorated badly at the close of the conflict: there were food shortages, a widespread incidence of disease and lack of basic services. The new regime has admitted that it would take a long time to improve these conditions.

The Future: In spite of serious problems, united Vietnam is likely to develop into a major power in Southeast Asia and exert a strong influence on its neighbors.

NAURU

Area: 8 square miles

Population: 6,200 (estimated)

Formerly a UN trust territory administered by Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain, Nauru was granted independence on January 31, 1968; it has announced that it will not apply for UN membership. The island was annexed by Germany in 1888, became a joint League of Nations mandate of Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain between World War I and World War II, when it was captured by the Japanese, who treated the population harshly. The three powers returned to control under a UN trusteeship following the war.

The people are well supported by valuable phosphate deposits on this island, which has a pleasant climate. The deposits will probably be exhausted in about twenty years but will leave a legacy of wealth that will continue to provide the needs of the people. The government consists of Head Chief Hammer De Roburt, who has held office since 1956, and a Legislative Assembly. The last elections were 1966. The government does not tax the inhabitants of the island because of the earnings of the phosphate exports.

WESTERN SAMOA

Area: 1,097 square miles

Population: 135,000 (estimated)

Capital City: Apia (Pop. 26,000, estimated)

This extremely poor state occupies the islands west of American Samoa in the South Pacific. They first were under German control from 1899 to World War I, but they were granted to New Zealand by the League of Nations and later by the UN as a trust territory. Independence was granted on January 1, 1962, but Western Samoa continues to conduct its foreign relations through New Zealand and has not applied for membership in the UN.

There is a 45 member legislature composed of the heads of leading families and tribes; two delegates are elected to represent Samoans who do not belong to a prominent family or tribal group. When the present Chiefs die, their successors will be picked by the legislature. Malietoa Manumafili is chief of state, but actual executive power is vested in Prime Minister Tupua Tamasese Lealofi, elected in February 1970. When his predecessor visited the United States in 1966, his request for U.S. assistance was turned down, and he has periodically threatened to turn to communist bloc nations for aid. New Zealand provides a minimum amount of economic assistance.

The exports of these islands are products of tropical agriculture—copra, bananas and cocoa. Farming is conducted by the Samoans at a bare subsistence level.

the dependencies

The active interest of the United States and European nations in the colonization of the countries of Southeast Asia was dramatically lessened by two elements of World War II: Japanese military conquest, and the economic drain of the war against Germany and Japan. Shortly after the end of the war two colonial wars erupted, the first against the French in Indochina and the second against the Dutch in Indonesia. The necessity of the European to yield to nationalistic pressures made it clear that the age of colonialism in Asia was over.

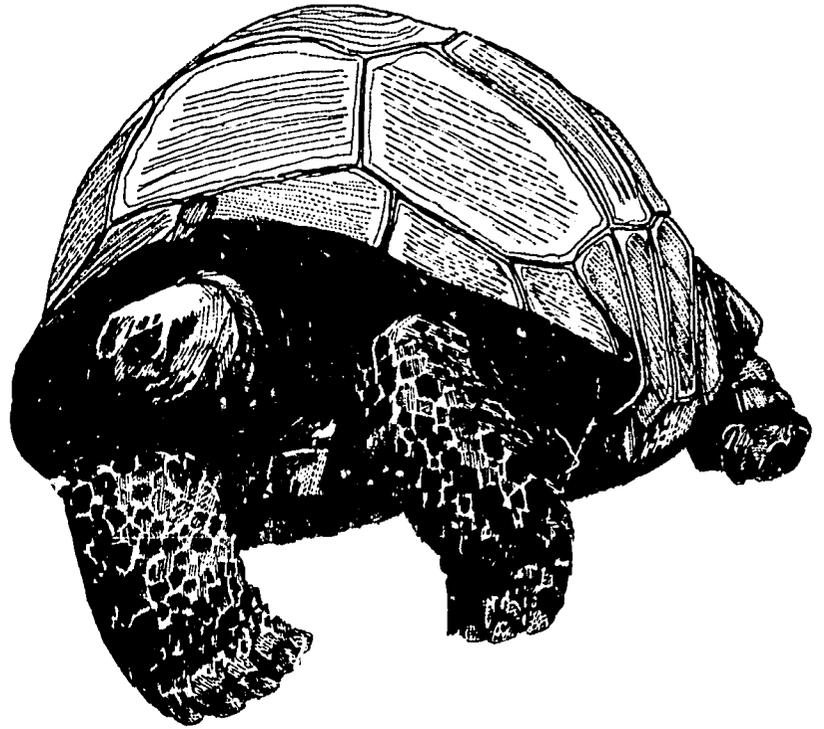
Only three areas of European power remain: Brunei, Hong Kong and Macao. All of these are extremely small areas which have held only a slight interest on the part of the Asian nations.

Brunei is accessible to the nearest active state of the region, Indonesia, only by land through the state of Sarawak, a portion of the island of Borneo that is part of Malaysia.

Hong Kong and Macao remain as colonies with largely Chinese populations and on the fringes of China. Communist China per-

mits their existence as a source of revenue and as a medium of contact with the outside world. It is hard to believe that they would survive unless the mainland Chinese valued them for some purpose.

There are some 2,500 small island dependencies not described which are in the West and Southwest Pacific, held by the United States, New Zealand, and Australia for the most part, which have limited strategic importance except in the case of Guam and the Northern Marianas, where there are major American bases, and seldom are involved in international politics.



british dependencies

BRUNEI

Area: 2,226 square miles

Population: 90,000 (estimated)

Administrative Capital: Brunei Town

Brunei is a small state on the northwest coast of the island called Borneo, the name of which is derived from Brunei, and is surrounded on the landward side by Sarawak. The terrain consists mostly of mountains, jungles, and swamps, and the climate is tropical. The people are mainly Malays, Dayaks (a largely primitive native people), and Chinese.

Brunei was once a powerful Moslem state but declined during the modern period. Having already lost Sarawak and North Borneo, over which it had control, to Britain, Brunei "accepted" British protection in 1888. Soon afterward the economy began to grow because of the cultivation of rubber and the discovery of substantial reserves of petroleum. Fearful for this political position and oil revenues, the Sultan refused to join the Federation of Malaysia when it was formed in 1963, although both the British and the Malaysians would have preferred him to join. He remained a British-protected ruler, and at the end of 1962 British troops put down a rising against him led by a pro-Indonesian leftist named Azahari. British troops have been mostly withdrawn since the end of the so-called "confrontation" between Indonesia and Malaysia in 1966. The young Sultan, who governs with the aid of a partially elected Legislative Council, is now concerned with the prospect of further British withdrawal in view of the 1968 Philippine claim to nearby Sabah. Economic development, based on oil revenues, has made Brunei a wealthy state.

HONG KONG

Area: 398 square miles

Population: 4.5 million (estimated).

Administrative Capital: Victoria

The British Crown Colony of Hong Kong consists of three parts. The first is the island of Victoria, on the north side of which the city of the same name is located. The second part is the small area known as Kowloon, at the tip of the peninsula jutting from the Chinese mainland toward Victoria. Between Victoria and Kowloon lies one of the world's busiest and most beautiful harbors. The third part is composed of the New Territories, which extend northward from Kowloon to the Chinese border, and also include some islands in the waters around Victoria. Kowloon is connected by rail with the Chinese city of Canton.

Most of the area of Hong Kong consists of hills and low mountains, but there are enough level lands in the New Territories for large quantities of food to be harvested; Hong Kong is actually dependent for much of its food and water on the mainland of China. The population is almost totally Chinese, many of them having arrived since 1949 in order to find greater safety, freedom, and economic opportunity than was allowed on the troubled mainland of China. The climate is subtropical and monsoonal in the summer but relatively cool in winter.

Realizing the potential value as a naval base, although not seeing at first the commercial possibilities of Hong Kong, the British annexed it from the Manchus in 1842, after the so-called Opium War. Under orderly and effective British administration, and sharing in the increase of British trade with and investments in China during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Hong Kong experienced rapid growth as a port. Kowloon was annexed in 1860, after another Anglo-Chinese war. The New Territories were added in 1898 in order to provide agricultural land and living space for the growing population but are held on a 99-year lease. This means that, unless returned sooner, the New Territories will probably revert to China in 1997.

Given their large population Victoria and Kowloon can probably not survive without the New Territories. Every one in Hong Kong is aware of this situation, and many of those who are young enough to have to worry about it, and are able to take remedial action, have made at least tentative arrangements to leave before the critical date arrives.

The British hope to be able to work out some satisfactory arrangement before 1997, assuming that China acquires a more reasonable political leadership, and in the meantime they have no intention of withdrawing from Hong Kong as they have withdrawn or are withdrawing from their other holdings "east of Suez." They have continued to exercise reasonably honest and effective, but not always imaginative, administration over the rapidly growing population.

The flow of refugees from China has necessarily been stopped. Public housing has been built for a large number of the poor, but many "squatters" still remain without permanent homes. Because of the peculiarly delicate nature of the political situation, the British have made no real effort to introduce self-government; for one thing, they are anxious not to antagonize Communist China, which would regard any such step as a trick to prevent the reversion of the New Territories, and perhaps the rest of the colony to China, in 1997 or sooner.

In the period of the damaging Japanese occupation of Hong Kong from 1941-45, and of the Communist takeover of China in 1949, Hong Kong's "trade" with the mainland of China has been increasingly confined to the import of food and water. The mainland economy now earns close to \$700 million a year from trading with Hong Kong. The colony is able to pay this bill and still grow economically because of its excellent port facilities and commercial relations with the rest of Asia, its established business firms, and its very efficient, but rather poorly paid labor force. In recent years, especially in the early 1960s, foreign capital, including that from America and Japan, has poured into Hong Kong, building apartments, erecting office buildings and light industrial plants in particular.

Because of the effect of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and recent communist gains in nearby Macao, Maoists in Hong Kong of the so-called "Red Guards" decided in the spring of 1967 to try to inflict a major political defeat and humiliation upon the British. It appears probable that the Maoist leadership in Peking did not give a specific order for the operation, and did not want to face the confusion and economic losses that would result from an actual seizure of Hong Kong. But Peking probably felt that it had no choice but to give public support, mainly in the form of propaganda, to the actions of its enthusiastic followers in Hong Kong.

Had the latter cooperated with the communist-led unions in Hong Kong, which are strong, things might have gone badly for the British. Instead, the Maoists distrusted the unions as being interested in bread and butter issues, and also because they were supposed to be controlled by the sort of party leaders who on the mainland were the targets of Mao Tse-tung's latest political offensives.

A series of demonstrations in late May 1967, followed by a sporadic campaign of terrorism and occasional incidents created by Mao enthusiasts at the Chinese border, disrupted life in the colony somewhat and caused a limited falling off in trade and tourism, but actually did almost nothing to shake British control of the colony. In fact, the campaign tended to alienate public opinion among the Chinese population of Hong Kong from the communist cause and push it for the first time onto the side of the British.

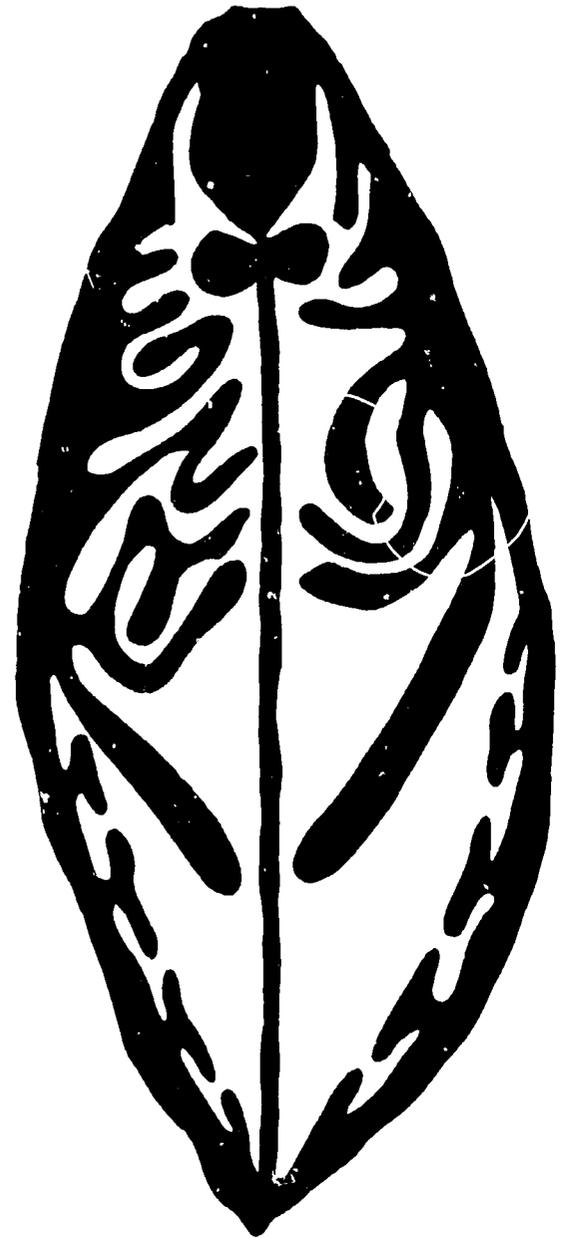
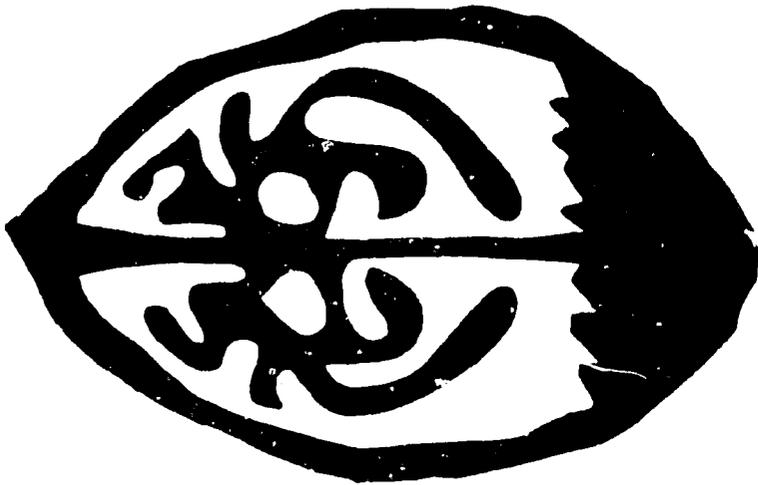
Communist China was very careful about involving itself directly in the Hong Kong situation; it did not ship any significant quantity of explosives to the terrorists, and its troops at the border created almost no trouble for the British. There was some disruption of deliveries of food and water to Hong Kong, but this seems to be more the result of the general confusion on the mainland than of any decision in Peking to apply direct economic pressures on the colony.

Hong Kong will be permitted to exist by Communist China in the immediate years ahead because of the income that it produces, as well as providing an area for the limited local contact with the outside world that the regime deems necessary.

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Statue Square in the middle of the busy downtown commercial district on Hong Kong Island.



portuguese dependencies

MACAO

Area: 6 square miles
Population: 300,000 (estimated)

The area of the Portuguese colony of Macao is divided about equally into Macao proper, which has a common land frontier with the Chinese mainland, and three nearby islands. The terrain is mostly flat. The offshore waters are muddy with silt carried by the Pearl River. The climate is subtropical, with a summer monsoon and a relatively cool winter. Except for a small community of Portuguese (officials, soldiers, police, missionaries, business men, etc.) and other Europeans, the population is overwhelmingly Chinese.

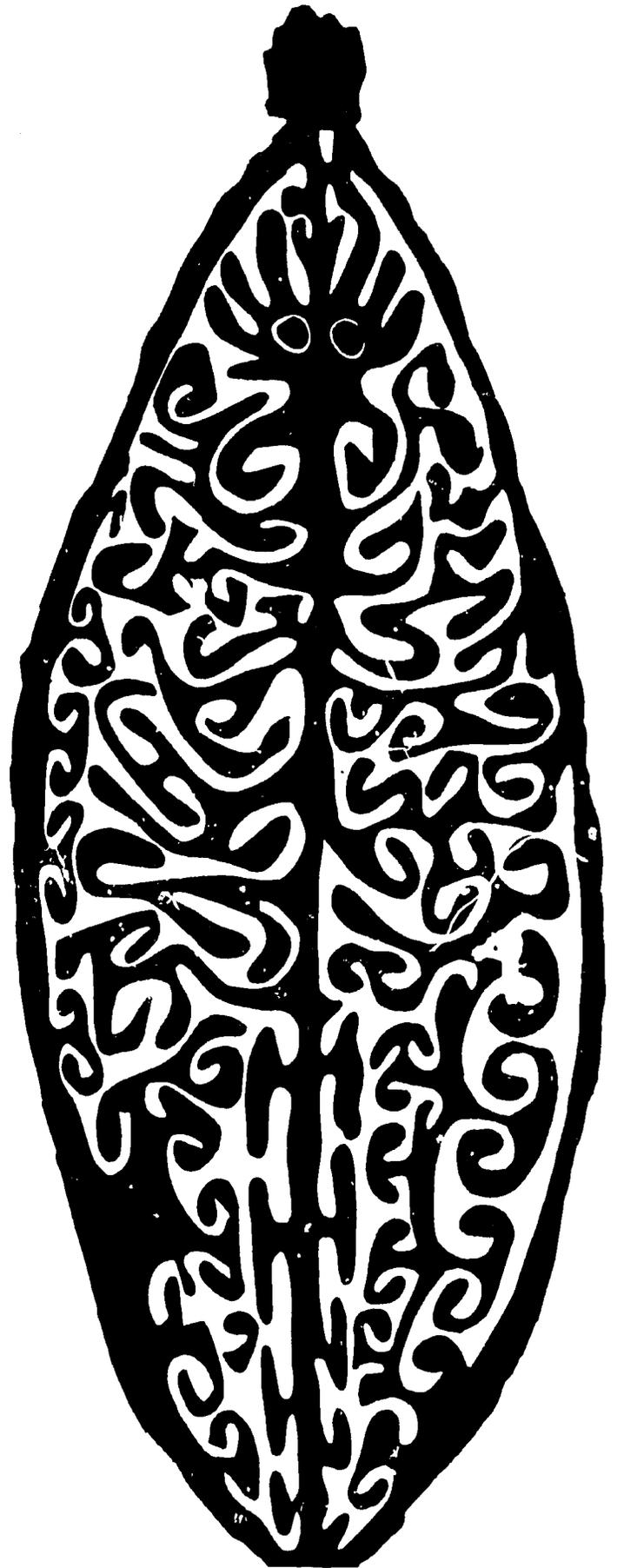
Portugal acquired Macao in the mid-sixteenth century for use as a base from which to trade with nearby Canton by an agreement with the Ming dynasty of China. It became prosperous in this way in the eighteenth century, but during the nineteenth century it was rapidly overshadowed by Hong Kong. It was not occupied by the Japanese during World War II, however, as was Hong Kong. From its earlier days of prominence Macao has retained some beautiful old buildings and something of a Mediterranean flavor. It has a reputation, partly justified but also somewhat exaggerated, as a center of opium and gold smuggling and assorted vice. Gambling is unquestionably a major feature

of the economy, and auto racing and bullfighting have recently been introduced as well.

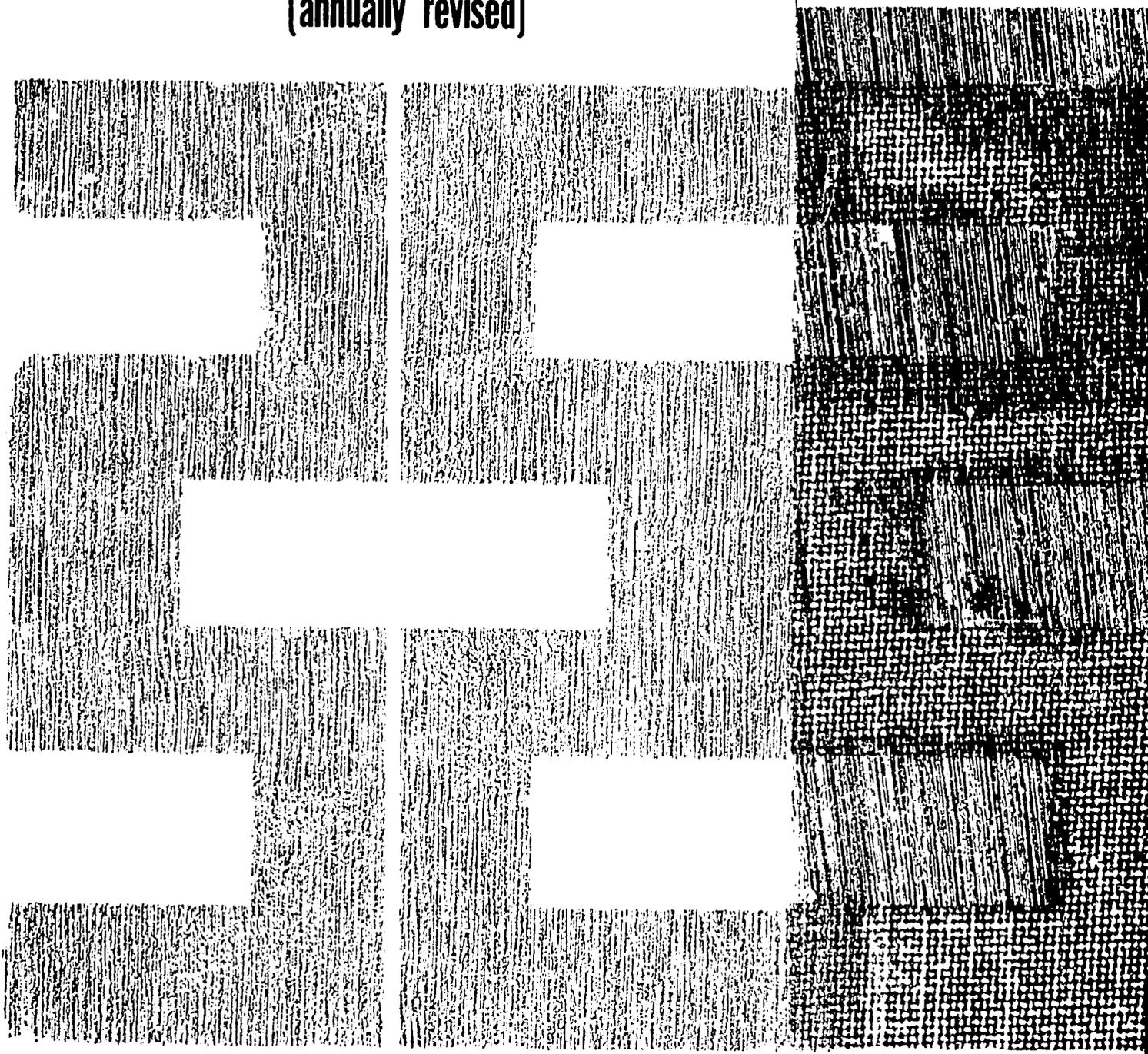
In late November 1966, local Maoist enthusiasts took offense at some clumsy Portuguese official actions and decided to inflict a political defeat on the Portuguese. Peking approved of their decision, but did not necessarily originate it. Massive and violent demonstrations proved too much for the small Portuguese garrison and police force, even though it was fairly clear that Chinese troops would not move in.

The Portuguese were compelled to agree to nearly all of the demonstrators' demands at the end of January 1967, the effect of which was to leave the Portuguese nominally in control of the colony, but also to give the local Maoist organization a virtual veto over any act of the colonial administration. The situation would probably be even worse for the Portuguese if the far stronger British administration in Hong Kong had been simultaneously compelled to yield to the similar demands of local Maoists; the resolute British performance has helped to shield Macao from further pressures, at least for the time being.

The new government of Portugal would like to return Macao to China, but Peking will not accept it, probably because of the disturbing effect that such a transfer would have on Hong Kong.



(annually revised)



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