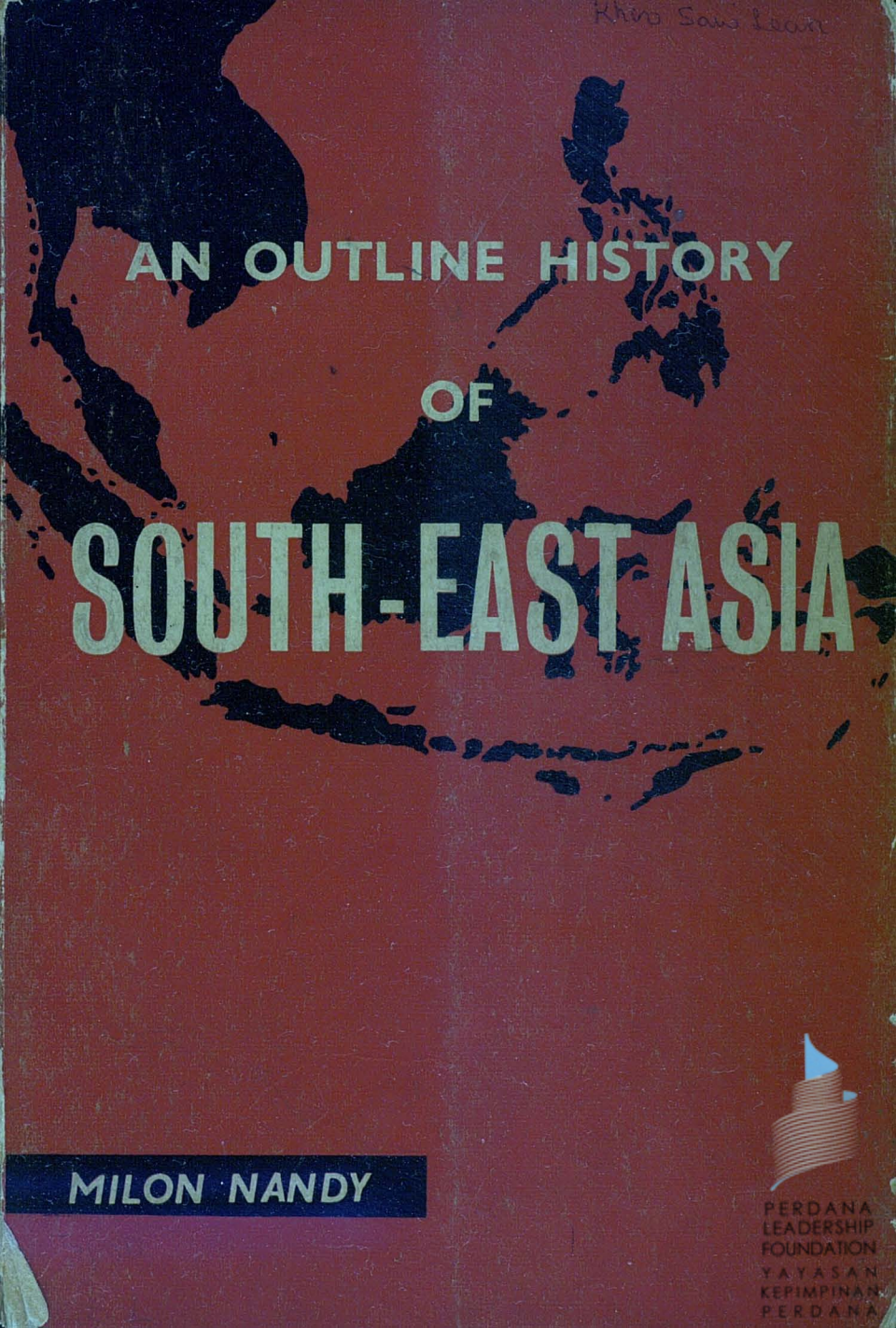


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AN OUTLINE HISTORY
OF
SOUTH-EAST ASIA

MILON NANDY



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The lack of history books on South-East Asia for the young student has caused much frustration not only among students but also among teachers of history in the schools in Malaysia and Singapore. This book has been written to meet the special needs of students preparing for Section B of the History Paper in the Cambridge School Certificate Examination. In so restricted a compass the book is, of course, incomplete; but sufficient information has been included to provide the essential background to the understanding of the problems of South-East Asia today.

The author, who has taught history in the School Certificate and Higher School Certificate classes in schools in Malaya and Singapore for more than a decade and has written several other history books, describes the great movements that have affected the development of the nations in this region, in a manner that is easy to understand.

It is hoped that this book, though intended for the School Certificate student, may be useful also to the Higher School Certificate student as well as the general reader.



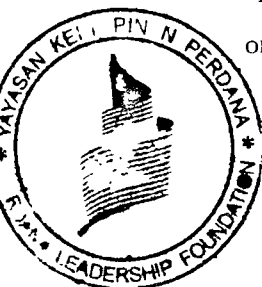
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AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

by
MILON NANDY
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PREFACE

Based on the latest History Syllabus on South-East Asia, of the Cambridge School Certificate Examination, this book aims to provide young students with a common starting-point in their studies of South-East Asia.

It is indeed a difficult task to present the history of South-East Asia within the space of a small book, such as this, and to make the story at the same time attractive and useful to students. Therefore, only the general sweep of the great current of events has been followed, and only the salient features that contributed most to the development of the nations in this region have been included.

In preparing this book, I have relied on my long experience as a history teacher up to the H.S.C. level. I have also drawn freely on the fruits of the research of various scholars of different nationalities, as presented in their many valuable contributions to the topics dealt with in this book; and my debt to them is great. I must also express my appreciation to Mr. P. Mahadevan and my brothers and sisters for the invaluable assistance that they have given in preparing the manuscript, and for suggesting improvements.

MILON NANDY



To DOLLY



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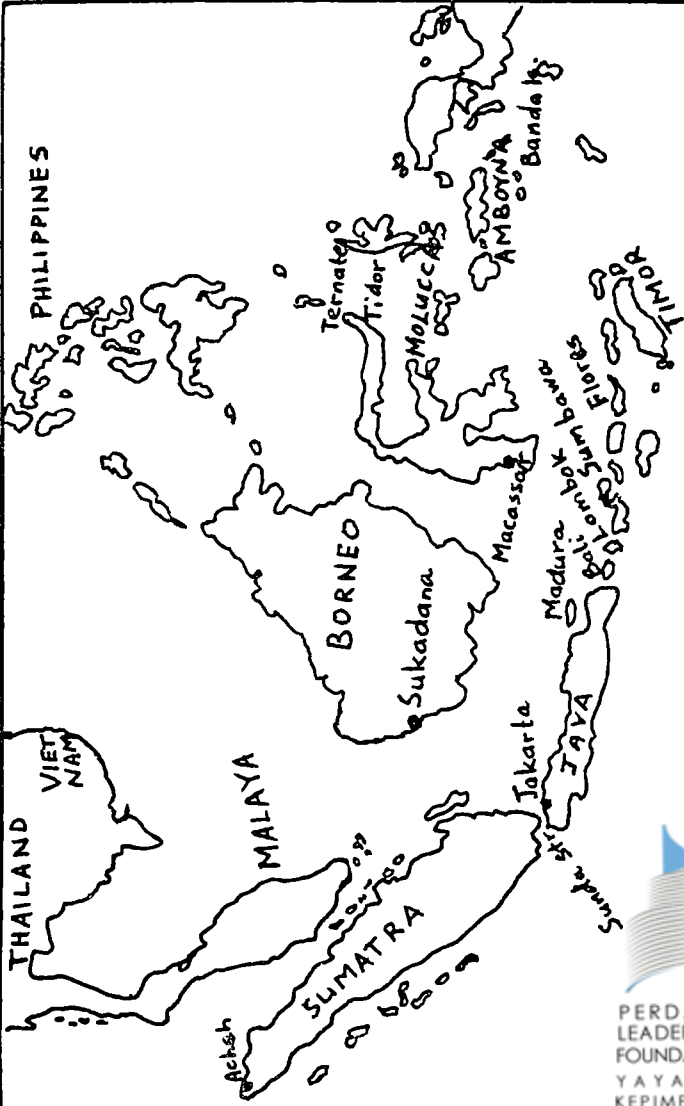
CHAPTER ONE

ACHEH IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Situated at the north-eastern end of Sumatra, the state of Aceh began to expand its power in the sixteenth century. This state had been created by Ali Mughayat Shah, who, before his death in 1530, had gained control of the pepper ports of Pedir and Pasai. The political ambitions of Aceh finally brought it into conflict with the Portuguese as well as Johore, where a new sultanate had been established by Ala'uddin, a son of Mahmud, the last Sultan of Malacca, which fell to the Portuguese in 1511.

Inspired by commercial as well as religious motives, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to take an active interest in the affairs of South-East Asia. Having established themselves in Malacca, they tried to establish a foothold in Sumatra as well, in order to gain control of the Straits of Malacca. But from Johore, Sultan Mahmud, who had been driven out by the Portuguese, and his successors continued to attack the Portuguese.

Meanwhile, Aceh had been growing in strength and it began to extend its control down the Sumatran coast. As a result, it soon came into conflict with the Portuguese, who secured much of their pepper trade from there. Aceh also incurred the hatred of Johore which held suzerainty over some states in Sumatra. And, within a few years, Aceh and Johore began to contest for leadership of the Malay



states, though each tried to expel the Portuguese. Thus, a triangular contest developed among the Portuguese, Aceh and Johore which lasted throughout the sixteenth century.

Portuguese Intervention In Pasai And Pedir

The Portuguese were friendly with the Sultan of Pasai, in Sumatra, and whenever local disputes arose, they supplied him with military aid. In return, the Portuguese were allowed to build a factory there. However, in 1519, the Sultan of Pasai was driven out by a rival claimant to the throne, who had been supported by ex-Sultan Mahmud of Malacca, at Bintang. In this situation, the Portuguese saw an opportunity for intervention. They drove out the new sultan in 1521, and, in his place, put their own nominee. The Portuguese then built a fort and secured a monopoly of Pasai's pepper exports. Thus, the Portuguese were the first to show how Europeans might gain concessions and power in South-East Asia by adopting the policy of intervention or even by creating dynastic disputes as opportunity offered. Royal rule was so personal and the political vision of most of the rulers of the smaller states of South-East Asia was so limited that the success of such a policy was almost assured.

Encouraged by their success in Pasai, the Portuguese immediately made an attempt to intervene in the neighbouring state of Pedir. But to their keen disappointment, they were now opposed by Aceh, which soon became a tough rival of the Portuguese.

Achinese Retaliation

The Achinese had invaded and subdued Pedir in 1521. The Portuguese then intervened on behalf of Pedir's dispossessed ruler; but the Achinese drove back the detachment of Portuguese and Malays that was sent against them. The

Achinese then attacked Pasai itself and the town was captured in 1523. The besieged Portuguese fort, however, was able to hold out until ships arrived to evacuate the garrison. The fort was then burned and abandoned. The Achinese, however, salvaged some cannon and military stores which they later used against the Portuguese with much success. Aceh now emerged as the most powerful state in northern Sumatra, and the Portuguese were unable to maintain a permanent settlement there. After this, a bitter enmity developed between the Portuguese and the Achinese. Aceh began to strengthen her forces in preparation for the expulsion of the Portuguese from the Straits.

Political Expansion In Sumatra And Malaya

Acheh was now making a firm bid to conquer the whole of Sumatra. It had captured not only Pedir and Pasai but also the states on the north-west coast, including the ancient kingdom of Menangkabau. It now became so aggressive that not only the Portuguese but also the states of Johore, Perak, Pahang, and the vassal states of Johore in Sumatra and the Javanese states, particularly Demak, were alarmed. The Portuguese, however, benefitted from the rivalry between Aceh and Johore, as it prevented these two Muslim states from combining against them.

In 1537, the Achinese, under Alauddin Riayat Shah, made a surprise attack on Portuguese Malacca, but it was driven off by the Portuguese with heavy losses. The Achinese sultans, who were ardent Muslims, wanted to control the Straits like the former sultans of Malacca. They made several attacks on Portuguese Malacca, but without success. Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah of Aceh also attacked and captured Aru (Deli), an important pepper island and a vassal of Johore, in north Sumatra, in 1539. In reply, Johore, Perak and the Sumatran state of Siak, together defeated Aceh in a big naval battle in 1540.

Acheh, however, soon recovered from the setback of 1540. It obtained arms and artillery-men from Turkey and sacked Johore Lama, the capital of Johore, in 1564. The Sultan of Johore, Alauddin, was taken to Acheh and put to death, but his son, Radin Bahir, was sent back to rule Johore as Muzaffar Shah. However, relations between Johore and Acheh became so bitter that when Acheh attacked Malacca again in 1568, Johore gave help to the Portuguese in defeating Acheh. In 1570, Muzaffar Shah was poisoned and Ali Jalla Abdul Jalil, a usurper from Pahang, became sultan. Then, in 1575, Acheh conquered Perak. The sultan, a kinsman of the Johore House, was killed and his widow and children were carried away to Acheh.

In 1579, the captive crown prince of Perak, who had married an Achinese princess, succeeded to the Achinese throne as Mansur Shah. In turn, his daughter was married to Sultan Ali Jalla Abdul Jalil Riayat Shah of Johore, and his younger brother was made ruler of Perak under the control of Acheh. The marriage, however, did little to improve relations between Acheh and Johore. In 1582, the Sultan of Johore beat off an Achinese attack with Portuguese help. In 1586, however, Johore and Acheh co-operated in an attack on Portuguese Malacca, but the alliance between these two Muslim states proved to be temporary.

Acheh's policy of expansion was continued by the new ruler, Iskandar Shah (Makota Alam), who seized the throne of Acheh in 1607. Iskandar Shah gained control over more territories in Sumatra as well as the states of Pahang (1618) and Kedah (1619) in the Peninsula. Perak, which tried to become independent, was re-conquered in 1620. The power of Acheh, however, began to decline rapidly from about 1629 when an Achinese fleet was destroyed by the combined

forces of Malacca, Johore and Patani. And, after the death of Iskandar Shah in 1636, Aceh soon lost most of its subject states in Sumatra as well as its empire in the Peninsula.

The Structure of Achinese Trade

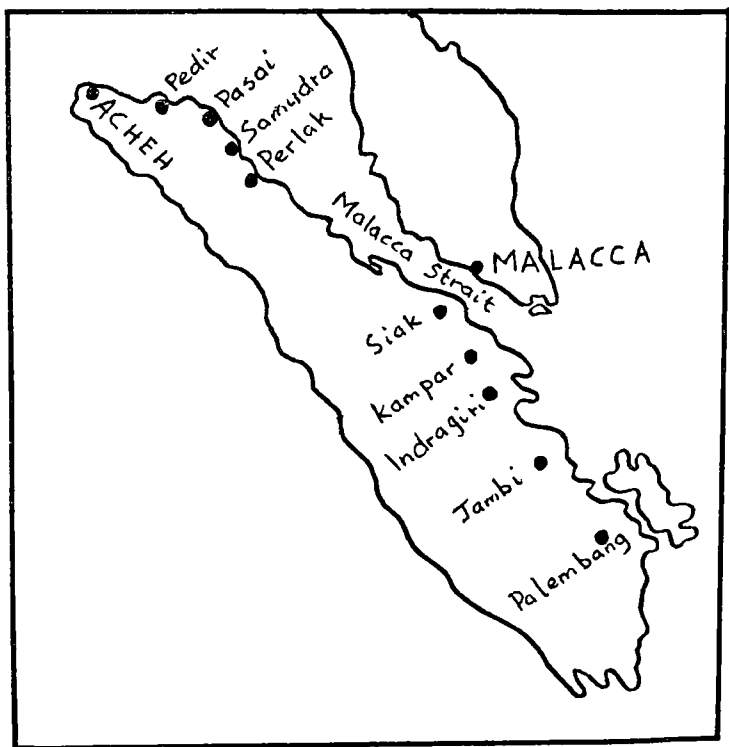
Aceh's policy of expansion was inspired by the wealth and power that it had acquired as the port of call for merchants from India and the Red Sea. Aceh and the neighbouring coastal Sultanates of Pedir and Pasai had become busy exchange ports, years before the rise of the Sultanate of Malacca. They were the main outlets for the exports of Sumatra's pepper, gold and camphor. Aceh was carrying on a rich trade with Gujerat and China. The rise of Malacca in the fifteenth century, however, drew much of the trade away from their ports. But when the Portuguese, who were violently opposed to Islam, captured Malacca, merchants, especially the Muslims, began to use Aceh, Pedir and Pasai again as their port of call in South-East Asia. Thus, the inhabitants of Aceh became richer and more powerful.

Aceh As A Centre Of Muslim Learning And Its Efforts To Propagate Islam

Aceh was converted to Islam in the second half of the fifteenth century. Here Islam had penetrated much more deeply into the social fabric than it did in Java. When Aceh became the main centre of Malay commerce, after the capture of Malacca by the Portuguese in 1511, it began to attract men of profound learning, including missionaries of Islam from India, Arabia and Egypt. Soon Aceh became the principal centre of Muslim learning in South-East Asia.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the rulers of Aceh started a series of 'holy wars' and gained control over the pepper growing areas on the north-western coast of

Sumatra. Thus, while securing a firm control over the pepper trade, they also spread Islam. The once renowned



Sumatra In The Sixteenth Century

kingdom of Menangkabau was converted to Islam in this way, in the middle of the sixteenth century.



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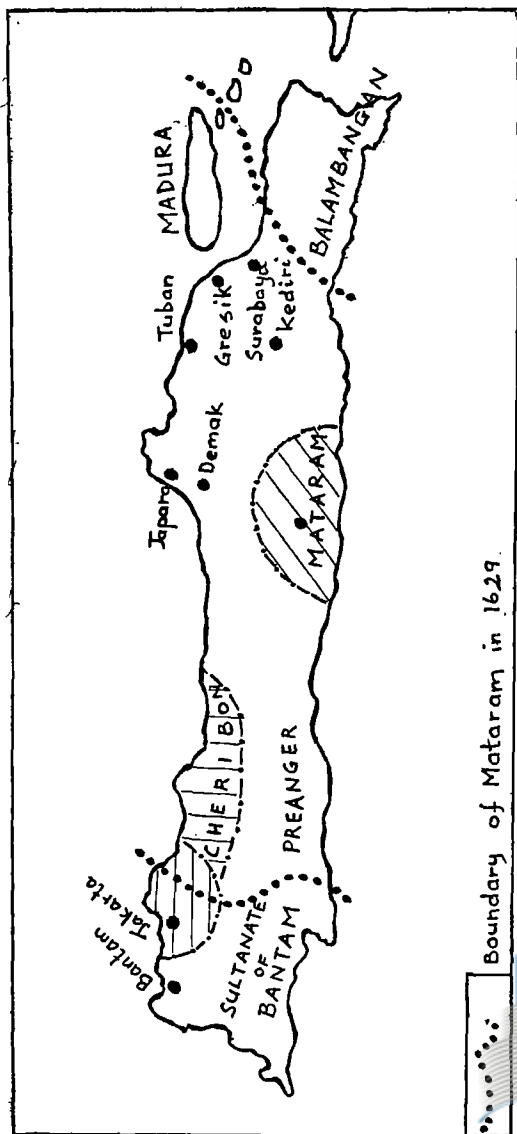
CHAPTER TWO

THE EMERGENCE OF MATARAM

(1586 — 1675)

In the first half of the sixteenth century the Muslim states of Madura, Tuban, Surabaya and Demak combined their forces and destroyed the power of the Javanese Empire of Majapahit. After that, the most powerful state in Java was the Sultanate of Demak, which became rich by controlling the trade at the ports of Japara and Gresik, and the rice-growing plains that stretched between them. Java's rice was imported to Malacca through Japara, and Gresik carried on a profitable trade with the Spice Islands. In the same century two new states emerged, Bantam and Mataram (now the area of Jogjakarta). Bantam, an independent sultanate, was founded in 1568 by Hassan Udin. Mataram, a small district to the south of Demak was tributary to Padjang (in modern times the Sultanate of Surakarta), a component state of the Sultanate of Demak. The Muslim ruler of Mataram, Suta Vijaya, who received the title of Senapati or commander-in-chief from the Sultan of Padjang, proclaimed his independence in the closing years of the century and embarked on a career of conquest. He is said to have been the founder of the new state of Mataram.

Under the rule of Suta Vijaya Senapati (1582 — 1601), Mataram aimed to revive the glories of ancient Majapahit. Suta Vijaya took advantage of the weakness of many of the



Boundary of Mataram in 1629.

Java In The Sixteenth Century

Javanese states, caused by repeated defeats at the hands of the Portuguese, and built up a large inland kingdom in Java, based on agricultural production, which extended from Cheribon in the west to the borders of Balambangan in the east. Suta Vijaya re-united the ancient principalities of Mataram and Kediri. Demak was conquered in 1588. And, in the first half of the seventeenth century, Mataram's ambition was to gain control over the whole of Java. Indeed, the main forces of Java's political, economic and cultural life were becoming centralized in Mataram, in the early years of the century.

Mataram's Expansion In Interior Java; Downfall Of North Javanese Towns And Its Repercussions; Expansion Beyond Java

Mataram's ambition for domination over Java was almost realised by Sultan Agung of Mataram (1613 — 1645). The steady tale of his conquests mounted up year by year. He easily defeated the coastal states which tried to combine against him. He took Tuban in 1621, and in the following year Gresik fell for the second time. He overran the island of Madura in 1624 and subdued Surabaya in 1625. The rulers of Cheribon were forced to pay homage to him. Sultan Agung's ambition seemed to extend beyond Java. In 1622, he sent an expedition to Borneo which destroyed Succadana. He ravaged Madura in 1624, killed its chiefs and deported 40,000 people to the mainland. He now took the title of Susuhunan ('he to whom all are subject') and claimed overlordship over the whole of Java. Bantam, a neighbouring state, which was soon becoming a rival for power, however, refused to recognise his claims, and, the Dutch in Batavia (Jakarta), incurred his anger by refusing to assist him in his attack on Surabaya in 1625, though the Dutch had been sending formal embassies with presents since 1622. He now prepared to attack Batavia, and refused

to receive the usual Dutch mission when it arrived in 1626. In 1629, Agung laid siege to the city with the biggest force he could muster; but the Dutch under Jan Pieterszoon Coen reduced it to starvation by attacking Mataram's supply ships. Sultan Agung now gave his attention mainly to the east of Java. He proclaimed a holy war against two states: Balambangan and the island of Bali. The state of Balambangan was still following the Hindu religion. Agung conquered this country in 1638. He also attempted to subdue the Hindu island of Bali, but failed. As an ardent Muslim, Agung established contacts with the Muslims in Arabia. By the time of his death in 1645, almost the whole of Java, excluding Jakarta and Bantam, came under his dominion.

The Rule Of Amangkurat I And The Beginning Of Mataram's Decline

Amangkurat I (1645 — 1677), the successor of Agung, however, was on friendly terms with the Dutch, who were allowed to trade freely in his territories by a treaty signed in 1646. The Dutch therefore promised to send an embassy, bearing liberal gifts to the sultan's court, and to offer any service that the sultan might require. Further, they recognised him as their overlord. By the treaty it was also understood that the Dutch would aid him against his enemies. The gifts that the Dutch sent represented a good source of income for the sultan. Yet he treated the first Dutch ambassadors as people of no importance and of low rank. The ambassadors had to sit down at a considerable distance from him, and wait for hours without receiving any attention. And when the sultan gave them attention, he criticised the gifts and demanded that more and better gifts be sent the next year. Later, his demands included money, diamonds and even artillery. The Dutch did their best to satisfy the sultan.

Amangkurat I or Sunan Tegalwangi, however, was a very cruel ruler. To re-organise the administration of his empire, he tried to crush local independence and thus stirred up a lot of discontent. The situation was complicated by the presence of a large number of refugees from Macassar. These refugees had settled on the east coast of Java and become pirates.

Then in 1674, with the help of the Macassar pirates and his own Madurese followers, Trunojoyo, a prince of Madura, who claimed descent from the old royal family of Majapahit, quickly overran east and part of central Java and established himself at Kediri. Amangkurat I, who could do almost nothing against the rebels, called on the Dutch for help.

The Dutch, however were not bound by the treaty of 1646 to give military help unless Mataram's enemies were also those of the Dutch. Maetsuycker, the Dutch Governor-General (1653 — 1678), however, realised that many of the rebels were strongly anti-Dutch. Besides, the sultan of the neighbouring state of Bantam would encircle the Dutch capital of Batavia if he could succeed in turning the confusion in Mataram to his own advantage. Therefore, Maetsuycker decided to send help, but with as little Dutch intervention as possible. But Speelman, whom Maetsuycker placed in charge of the naval force in 1676 against Trunojoyo, wanted to restore Amangkurat's authority and yet keep him under the control of the Dutch. Trunojoyo, however, managed to take Amangkurat's palace at Mataram and fleeing to place himself under Dutch protection, Amangkurat died at Tegalwangi. His successor, Adipati Anom or Amangkurat II (1677 — 1703), now realised that he could regain the throne only with the help of the Dutch. Therefore, in return for recognition as the legal sunan, Amangkurat II granted the Dutch, in October, 1677, vast commercial con-

cessions and also gave them wide territories, south of Batavia and the port and district of Semarang. The Dutch now held the Preanger area and their authority extended right across the land from north to south. By 1678 the Dutch under the new Governor-General, Rijklef van Goens, captured Kediri and defeated the rebels, and then placed Amangkurat II on the throne. Trunojoyo was captured and handed over to Amangkurat II, who slew him with his own hands; but Amangkurat was now completely under the control of the Dutch East India Company. Amangkurat II allowed the Dutch free access to Mataram's forts, and Dutch territorial claims in western Java were recognised. This was the beginning of Mataram's decline, and the Dutch soon became the unquestioned masters of the archipelago.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY IN INDONESIA, 1600 — 1815

The Moluccas and the Banda Islands in the East had long been known for their fine spices which fetched large profits in Europe. Early in the sixteenth century the Portuguese set up trading factories in Ternate and Tidore with the permission of their rulers, who were in fact political rivals in the Moluccas; but both were eager to have Portuguese support. The Portuguese were so firmly established that they were able to defeat all Spanish attempts to penetrate into the Moluccas. However, the position of the Portuguese began to weaken rapidly in the second half of the century, as a result of the opposition of the native rulers and European rivalry.

The Dutch who aimed to secure a monopoly of spices in South-East Asia, especially those of the Moluccas, sent their first ships to the East in 1595 under the command of de Houtman. The Dutch were well received not only by the native rulers but also by the Portuguese traders. The expedition was considered a great success and soon several small companies were formed in the Netherlands to finance a series of separate voyages to Sumatra, Java and the Moluccas. The Dutch then developed a steady trade at **Bantam**, the usual port of arrival. From there, the Dutch pushed

on to the spice markets of the Moluccas and as early as 1599, an expedition visited Amboyna and Banda, and obtained cargoes of mace, nutmeg and cloves.

Having established a foothold in Java, the Dutch tried to undermine the position of the Portuguese, who considered the East as their preserve, by offering protection to native rulers and co-operation against the Portuguese whom the Muslim chiefs now disliked. The Dutch, unlike the Portuguese did not combine religion with commerce, and they found it easier to co-operate with the native Muslims. Thus, they soon built up, a system of local alliances. In 1600 Amboyna agreed to an alliance, and in 1602, Banda accepted Dutch protection in return for a monopoly of the export trade in nutmeg. The Dutch were also able to establish an agency in Aceh. At the same time, the Dutch took direct action against the Portuguese, which in the end, destroyed the power of the Portuguese.

Establishment Of Spice Monopoly In The Moluccas

A naval victory over the Portuguese off Bantam in 1602 secured the position of the Dutch in Bantam. The Dutch also established command of the Sunda Straits and won control over the route to the Moluccas.

However, it now became clear to the Dutch that war and trade could not be carried on successfully if their companies, whose individual resources were limited, continued to compete with one another in the eastern trade. Therefore in 1602, the small companies were amalgamated in the Dutch United East India Company or V.O.C. (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie). A very large capital (about £538,000) was put at the company's disposal, and it had full authority to act on behalf of the Netherlands government. The Dutch now became so powerful that they were soon able to expel the Portuguese from almost all their positions.

In 1605 they gained notable successes in the Spice Islands (Moluccas): the Portuguese fortresses on Amboyna and in the Moluccas came under their control. Having gained the monopoly of trade with the Banda Islands, the Dutch were now almost in a position to gain the monopoly of both clove and nutmeg in the Moluccas. But the attacks of the Spaniards which began in 1606 prevented the Dutch for some time from consolidating this monopoly. The Spanish counter attack of 1606, however, benefitted the Dutch, for it broke forever the political power of Ternate, in the Moluccas, which had been a thorn in the flesh of the Portuguese. It also led the ruler of that island to make a treaty of alliance with the Dutch in 1607, and to recognise the Dutch as his protectors. Further, he agreed to pay all the expenses of the war after he had been restored to his former position. This treaty and the treaty made with Amboyna earlier, made the Dutch masters of the Moluccas. They now secured an almost complete monopoly in the Moluccas.

Then, in 1618, the V.O.C. appointed Jan Pieterszoon Coen as Governor-General. Coen, was ambitious, cruel and unscrupulous. He had first visited Indonesia in 1607, and when he again visited Indonesia in 1612, he produced a plan to improve the fortunes of the V.O.C. The fact that he was appointed Governor-General indicated that his plan had been adopted.

Coen did not intend to restrict the Dutch sphere of operation to the archipelago but to extend it to the whole of Asia. He also aimed to expel the Spaniards from the Philippines and the Portuguese from Macao, and to destroy all Asian and foreign European shipping. In the spice producing islands, he proposed to plant Dutch settlements and to set up fortified posts in important ports. But Coen had no intention of acquiring political control over the territories where he wanted to plant settlements, for he was

mainly interested in the network of sea-routes, based on Batavia.

As soon as he was appointed Governor-General, Coen drove the English from the Indies. In 1623, the Dutch seized the English factory at Amboyna, and killed some of the English merchants. After this 'Massacre of Amboyna', the English began to concentrate mainly on India. In 1619, Coen attacked and burnt the town of Jakarta and there built up the new city of Batavia. He blockaded Bantam and obtained mastery of the Java Sea. He almost exterminated the population of the Banda Islands in order to gain control of the nutmeg trade. When Mataram made a heavy attack on Batavia in 1629, Coen continuously attacked the supply ships of Mataram which could not provision its army by overland routes. As a result, Mataram's great army was defeated by famine. Bantam, whom Mataram regarded as a rival for power, now realised that the threat from Mataram was greater than that from the Dutch; and, it allied itself with the Dutch. But Coen died of cholera on the eve of the defeat of the army of Mataram. However, Batavia emerged as a centre of power in Indonesia. Thus, Coen could be regarded as the real founder of the Dutch Empire in the East.

The Conquest Of Macassar (1667)

The trade policy of the Dutch in the Moluccas, however, led to much smuggling of spices from those islands, and Macassar, which became the main centre for the illegal trade, soon developed into a rich and powerful state whose authority extended over all south-west Celebes, part of east Borneo and over Sumba and Sumbawa Islands to the east of Java. The absence of strict tariff laws in the territories of Macassar attracted Portuguese, Danish and English traders to their ports. Even the Dutch had established a trading post at Macassar in 1609.

The Dutch who aimed to establish a monopoly of the spice trade, however, realised that unless they controlled all the Moluccas and repressed smuggling in Macassar, they could not achieve their aim. They therefore wanted to bring Macassar under their control. But Macassar had been strengthening itself against the Dutch for economic and religious causes. It purchased firearms and artillery from the Portuguese and the British; and, relations between the Dutch and Macassar became so bad, especially in 1638 and 1650, that it looked as if war would break out. The Dutch were also alarmed by reports that the British had promised to help the ruler of Macassar against the Dutch. Neither side, however, showed preparedness to risk a showdown. Macassar continued to build up its resources and to welcome European rivals of the Dutch.

Then in 1666, the Dutch felt themselves strong enough to attack Macassar, and the new Governor-General, Maetsuycker, appointed Cornelius Speelman to undertake the campaign. Aided by an enemy of Macassar, Palakka, the Rajah of Boni, a state in Celebes, and partly by troops from Amboyna, under Jonker, Speelman laid siege to Macassar, and, after four months of hard fighting compelled the ruler of Macassar, Hassan Udin, to surrender in 1667 and accept the Treaty of Bongaya (1667). The Dutch were also assisted by Ternate, which had earlier received Dutch help in defeating Tidore, the rival of Ternate. Almost immediately, however, hostilities broke out again, but the Dutch speedily crushed their enemy. They then built the fortress of "Rotterdam" there, and expelled other Europeans. The Dutch now received the monopoly of trade in the port of Macassar. The ruler of Tidore had also been forced to accept Dutch overlordship in 1666, and most of the territory of Macassar was annexed and put under vassal rulers. The Dutch thus established themselves firmly in the Moluccas and Celebes.

Dutch Intervention In Bantam

The state of Bantam became prosperous and a considerable sea-power by overseas trade. Much to the displeasure of the Dutch, the ports of Bantam were visited not only by Asian traders but by European traders as well. The ships of Bantam visited Macao, Bengal and Persia, and during the reign of Sultan Abdul Fatah Agung (1651 — 1682), Bantam was a rival of Batavia (Jakarta) as a trading centre. It had survived a number of Dutch blockading operations. But Abdul Fatah had ambitions of imposing Bantam's authority over all western Java which led to a conflict, in connection with the Cheribon district, with Macassar whose sultan was under Dutch control. However, before he could pursue his claim to the Cheribon, a palace revolution broke out in 1681 which was led by his eldest son, Abdul Kahar (Haji), who had been ousted from the succession in favour of a younger son. The Dutch intervened in the civil war that followed between Sultan Abdul Fatah and his son, and with their help, Abdul Kahar, his son, emerged victorious. The Dutch then made a treaty with Bantam in ~~1682~~¹⁶⁸⁴ by which Bantam agreed to expel all foreigners. As a result, the British left Java and founded Fort Malborough in Bencoolen on the west coast of Sumatra in 1685. The Dutch were given all the monopolies they demanded, i.e. the export of pepper and the import of all manufactures into Bantam and its dependency, Lampoeng in Sumatra. Abdul Kahar also gave up Bantam's claim to Cheribon, which came under Dutch control. Thus, by dominating Mataram and Bantam, as well as Macassar, the Dutch became the chief power over all Java.

Civil Wars In Mataram And Extension Of Dutch Control Over Java

The Dutch continued to gain more and more territory

and privileges as struggles for the throne and other internal disputes continued to weaken Mataram and Bantam. To ensure peace and order for successful trade, the Dutch did not hesitate to intervene whenever dynastic or other disputes arose.

In Mataram, opposition to the Dutch was still strong, and when Susuhunan Amangkurat III (1703 — 1705) tried to free himself from Dutch control, the Dutch replaced him by his uncle, Puger, who assumed the title of 'Pakubuwana' (the pivot of the world). But many of his subjects hated Dutch interference, and when Pakubuwana died in 1719, some of his sons rebelled against Amangkurat IV (1719 — 1725), their elder brother, whom the Dutch recognised as ruler. The Dutch received more territory from Mataram during the time of Susuhunan Pakubuwana II (1725 — 1749).

Meanwhile, the Chinese had been settling in Java in ever increasing numbers as the years passed by, and the Dutch were unable to stop their immigration. Trouble now began with a rising among the Chinese. Though some of the Chinese grew very rich, those who wandered about without proper jobs became a source of danger to law and order. Besides, the Dutch had a secret fear of the growing importance and wealth of the Chinese. Even the Javanese disliked the Chinese, many of whom were money-lenders. Then, by an order, in 1740, the Dutch threatened to deport all unemployed Chinese to Ceylon or South Africa. The Chinese now feared that the order might be extended to all Chinese, including those who were employed. Many of them also came to believe that they would be fed to the sharks on the way. Therefore, a large number of them left Jakarta and took up arms against the Dutch. In retaliation, the Dutch massacred those who remained in Jakarta, numbering over ten thousand. The survivors escaped to Mataram and took revenge on all Europeans. The situation

now seemed to offer a golden opportunity to Pakubuwana II to expel the Dutch, and he joined the Chinese in an attack on the Dutch at Semarang. But when Dutch reinforcements arrived, Pakubuwana II was forced to make peace with the Dutch.

However, the Chinese had become so powerful that they made an alliance with the anti-Dutch chiefs and recognised a grandson of Amangkurat III as sultan. Fearing for his throne, Pakubuwana II now opposed the Chinese in alliance with the Dutch in 1743 and the rebellion was crushed. But Pakubuwana was compelled to surrender the north-coast districts and the island of Madura to the Dutch.

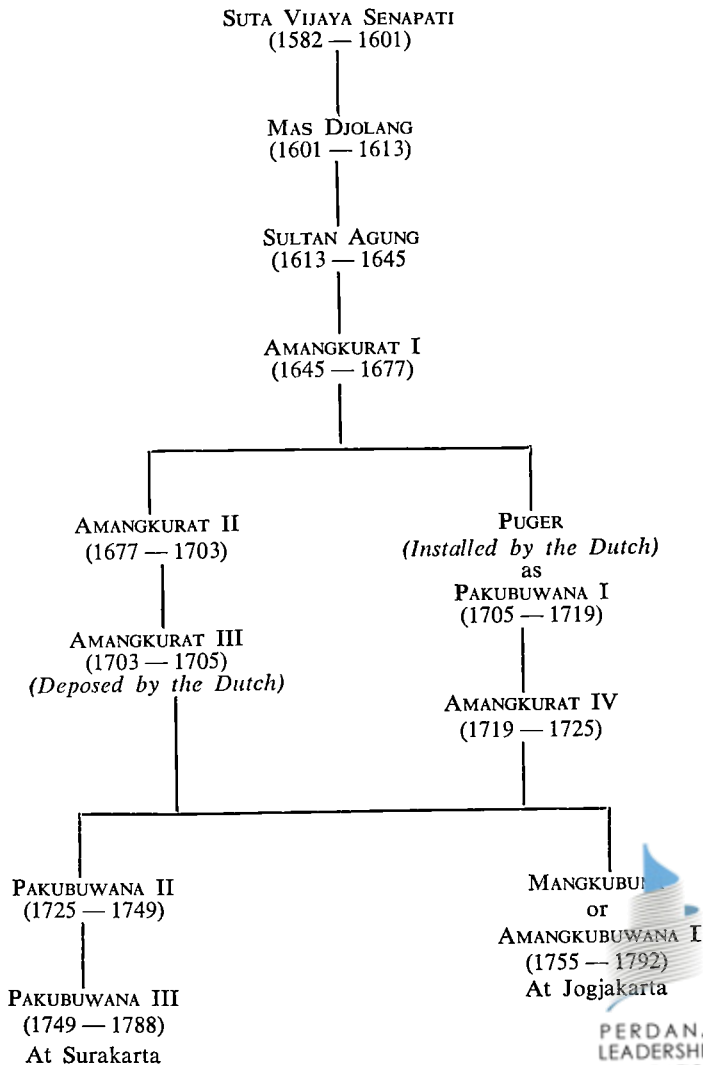
In 1749 civil war broke out again in Mataram. To ensure his son's succession, Pakubuwana II had ceded all his territories to the Dutch, and upon his death, the Dutch installed his son, Pakubuwana III (1749 — 1788) as ruler. But Pakubuwana was now opposed by his uncle, Mangkubumi, who resented the growth of Dutch influence. The war that followed lasted till 1755 and resulted in the extinction of Mataram. The kingdom of Mataram was split between Pakubuwana III, who received the eastern half with his capital at Surakarta, and his uncle, who took the western half with his capital at Jogjakarta. Mangkubumi was now known as Amangkubuwana I. In Bantam too a dynastic dispute led to a war which further strengthened the position of the Dutch. After this, Java was fairly peaceful under the domination of the Dutch. Most of Java was governed directly by Batavia. The five small Javanese states of Bantam, Cheribon, Jogjakarta, Surakarta, and the Mangunegara lands, under Pakubuwana III's nephew, were the vassals of the V.O.C. with Dutch Residents at the courts of their rulers.

Decline Of Dutch Power

However, the Dutch were unable to retain their former strength in the archipelago for long. Corruption had already crept into the administration of the Dutch East India Company. The officials of the company made fortunes by engaging in bribes, and when profits were low, the company was compelled to borrow to pay dividends. To make matters worse, the Dutch became involved in war with England in 1780, and for some time Dutch overseas trade was destroyed by the British navy. Further, when the war ended in 1784, the Dutch had to agree not to interfere with British shipping in the East. Thus, the Dutch were rapidly losing their monopoly of the eastern trade and the company was on the verge of bankruptcy.

The position of the Dutch East India Company became so bad that in 1783 it ceased to pay dividends. It borrowed money from the Netherlands government and its debts increased rapidly. Dutch trade suffered another blow when the Netherlands became involved in the French wars with England, which began in 1793. In 1795 the French captured the Netherlands and established a republic there and from England, its exiled king, William V, ordered the officials of the company in the East to put the company's territories under British protection. Finally, in 1799, the company was dissolved and the Dutch Republic took charge of the company's affairs. But until 1815, from now, the Dutch were almost eclipsed by the British whose strength and influence the Dutch could hardly challenge.

RULERS OF MATARAM TILL ITS DIVISION IN 1755



CHAPTER FOUR

REVIVAL OF DUTCH POWER, 1816 — 1914

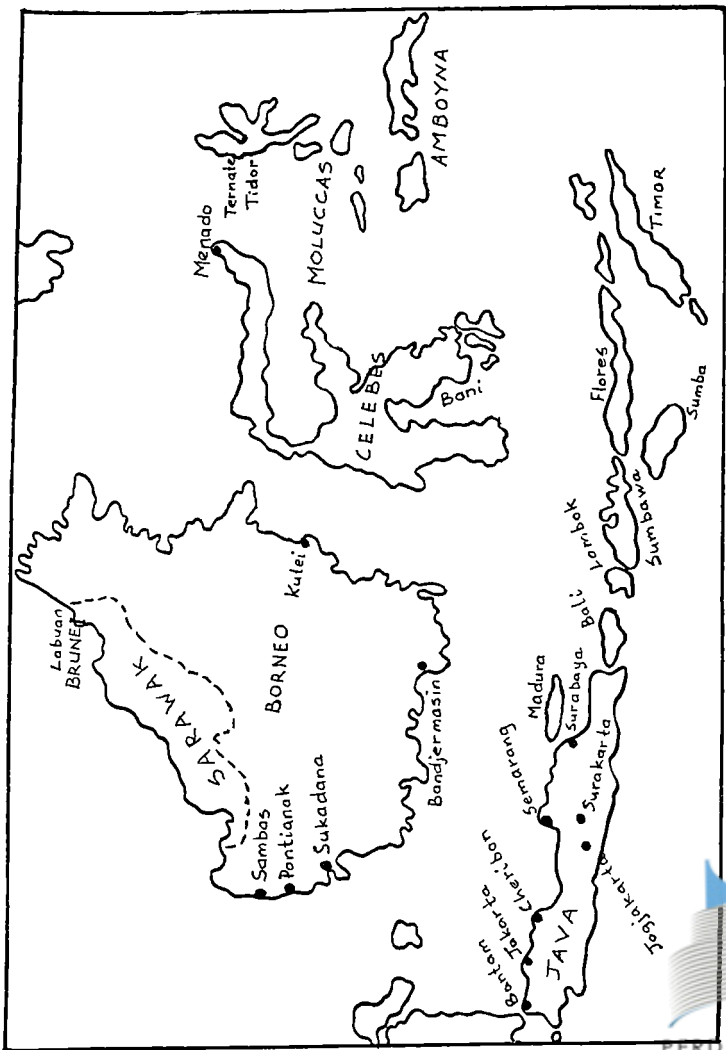
During the French Revolution, the French established a republic in the Netherlands after expelling King William V, who then took refuge in England. From England, in 1795, William V ordered Dutch officials in the archipelago by documents called the 'Kew Letters' to put the company's territories under British protection, so that they might not fall into the hands of the French. The British then occupied most of the Dutch positions outside Java with hardly any opposition. In 1795 they occupied Malacca and Padang. In 1796 Amboyna and Banda were occupied, and in 1799, Ternate. However, these places were restored to the Dutch Republic in 1802, when Napoleon was Emperor of France. But when Napoleon resumed his wars in 1803, the British re-occupied these places. The Dutch, however, kept Java in their own hands. From 1808 the defences of Java were strengthened under the governorship of Daendels against the British.

Once a lawyer, Daendels who had arrived in Java with extraordinary powers, acted like a dictator and reformed the administration with great energy. He also eradicated corruption. The hereditary district rulers of Java were made civil servants, and military rank was given to all officials. Daendels also reformed the system of justice into courts which worked according to Dutch-Indies Statutes; and later

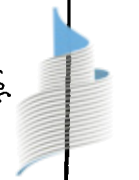
administrations were built on this foundation. However, he was recalled, and after his departure, the British captured Java in 1811. The English East India Company then appointed Stamford Raffles Lieutenant-Governor of Java and its dependencies.

Though the orders of the East India Company were, to evict the Dutch, destroy their installations, and return Java to the native rulers, Lord Minto, who had planned and mounted the expedition, determined to take over the island as a going concern. Stamford Raffles, the agent of Lord Minto, made approaches to the various rulers who were subject to the Dutch, offering to liberate them from the oppression of the Dutch. The permanent achievements of Raffles, however, were in the field of administration. He revised the treaties between the government and the Javanese princes and re-organised the administrative institutions and the judiciary. He reformed the system of taxes and contributions; but he was unable to introduce the jury system into the courts.

With the return of peace in Europe, after the fall of Napoleon in 1815, however, the British decided to surrender the former Dutch possessions in the East Indies to the Dutch. British willingness to allow the Dutch to re-occupy their former territories was prompted by their desire to make the kingdom of the Netherlands strong enough to resist French ambitions. It was clear that the prosperity of the Dutch depended largely on the eastern trade. Besides, the Archipelago was a financial liability to the British. As in the later years of the Dutch East India Company, expenditure far exceeded revenue. Therefore, by the Convention of London of 1814, the British agreed to re-instate the Dutch. Accordingly, in 1816, the Dutch re-occupied Java and by 1819, the last possession, Padang, in Sumatra, was handed over to the Dutch. The British, however, still held Fort Marlborough, their old post, on the west coast of Sumatra.



**Borneo And The Neighbouring Lands
16th Century To 18th Century**



The surrender of the possessions to the Dutch, however, did not please Raffles who still nursed feelings of revenge against the Dutch; and he made every effort to delay their restoration.

The manner in which the Dutch surrendered their possessions and regained them later seemed to reveal their weakness. Very little force was necessary to occupy them and the Dutch could get them back only because the British were unwilling to retain them. Therefore, many rulers and people of the archipelago were now encouraged to resist Dutch control, and in some areas the Dutch had to use force to re-impose their authority.

At the same time, other European states too became more and more interested in the archipelago and the lands nearby. Raffles had already founded Singapore in 1819, much to the disgust of the Dutch.

Soon, Borneo and the Malay Peninsula came under the influence of the British. The French established themselves in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Parts of New Guinea came under the Germans. In the Philippines, the Americans replaced the Spaniards. Fearing that these powers might extend their control, the Dutch took steps to retain their hold in the archipelago. They composed their dispute with the British by the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, which marked off the boundaries of the separate fields within which the colonial activities of the Dutch and the British were to operate in South-East Asia.

Meanwhile, the people of Saparua Islands and Amboyna had revolted against the Dutch when they returned to the Moluccas in 1817, and it took a few months for the Dutch to restore order there. The Dutch found it even more difficult to re-establish themselves in Celebes, where the ruler of Boni,

in the south, offered a tough resistance, and it was only in 1825 that the Dutch were able to gain some hold. The Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824 had left the Dutch supreme in the islands of the East Indies and the British in Malaya. Yet, the Dutch had to face constant opposition from native rulers to re-establish their authority. In 1858—59, the Bugis were at war with the Dutch. In south Celebes, Dutch authority became effective only at the beginning of the twentieth century when Dutch troops occupied the Sultanate of Boni. The people of Menado, in the north-east of Celebes, who were mostly Christians, however, welcomed the return of the Dutch.

The rulers of Bandjermasin, Sambas and Pontianak, in Borneo, also welcomed the return of the Dutch, for they needed help against Bugis pirates and Chinese miners, who worked gold in the interior, without fear of any interference. These miners were in a position of almost complete independence. However, when the Dipa Negara War or Java War broke out in 1825, the Dutch withdrew troops from Borneo and soon Dutch authority began to weaken in Borneo. But when Raja Brooke established British influence in Sarawak, the Dutch took immediate steps to strengthen their position in Borneo.

By now coal mines had been opened in Bandjermasin and in Kutei, and Chinese coal-miners, like the Chinese gold-miners, began to cause much trouble. Even the Bugis pirates were still a menace. In 1850 the Dutch sent troops against the miners, but it took four years to repress them. Then in 1859, a rebellion broke out when the Dutch put an unpopular prince on the throne of Bandjermasin. In the following year, the Dutch abolished the Sultanate of Bandjermasin and brought the territory under control, though the Bandjermasin War continued till 1867. In 1905 the Dutch sent a military expedition and established their power in the

interior which had remained unexplored and unadministered until then.

In 1846 and in 1849, the Dutch tried to conquer Bali, and gained control only over a part of it. Lombok, a neighbouring island, was brought under their control in 1894, and by 1914, they gained full control over Bali. In 1902 the boundary between Dutch Timor and Portuguese Timor was defined.

In New Guinea the Dutch maintained a very weak hold until the establishment of a British protectorate in south-east New Guinea in 1884 and the occupation of north-east New Guinea by the Germans. The Dutch now made arrangements for the administration of the western part of the island. By a treaty in 1895, the boundary between Dutch and British New Guinea was settled. In 1902 the Dutch divided the whole area into three administrative districts under the Dutch Resident in the Moluccas.

In Sumatra the Dutch were constantly faced with problems. Raffles, who was in charge of Fort Marlborough on the west coast of Sumatra from 1818 to 1824, was opposed to the surrender of Java to the Dutch. Therefore, he did everything possible to harass the Dutch in Sumatra, even by intervening in dynastic disputes. As a result, the Dutch were unable to gain control over Palembang until 1821. On the west coast, a religious sect called the 'Padri', began to cause trouble to the Dutch, and even in this trouble, Raffles intervened by offering protection to the people of Samawang and Padang against the Padris. The Dutch then protested to the Indian government and Raffles had to withdraw. Even the governor of Penang had signed treaties of friendship with Siak (1818), Deli and Langkat (1823) in Sumatra. However, the Dutch were relieved of British rivalry when the British abandoned Fort Marlborough in 1824, but the

Padri sect could not be defeated until 1837. The establishment of Singapore by the British and the activities of Raja Brooke, however, became a source of constant anxiety to the Dutch.

The Sultan of Aceh, Mansur Shah, who resented Dutch control over Siak, refused to establish friendly relations with the Dutch. In 1869 he tried to obtain help from Turkey to recover Siak. The Dutch, who now wanted to have a free hand in Sumatra, ended their quarrel with the British by signing the Sumatra Treaty in 1871, by which, Dutch possessions in West Africa were ceded to the British. Soon the Dutch began to prepare for the conquest of Aceh, which was necessary to them for political and economic reasons. Pirates from Aceh had been hindering Dutch trade for several years.

The Aceh War began in 1873, and it carried on for many years. The Dutch captured Kutaraja, the capital port of Aceh, in 1874, but its population rose against the Dutch and a long guerrilla war began. For a short while, the Dutch were helped by a chief named Tuku Uma. The Dutch allowed Tuku Uma to conquer and manage some areas inland, but in 1896 Tuku Uma rose against the Dutch and continued to resist until he was killed in 1899. The death of Tuku Uma was a great blow to the resistance movement of the Achinese. Other leaders now began to surrender and in 1903, the sultan himself recognised Dutch sovereignty. The resistance, however, continued sporadically in Aceh until 1918, by which time, the Dutch had united the archipelago. Only British Borneo and Portuguese Timor remained outside their control.

The War Of Dipa Negara Or The Java War 1825 — 1830

Dipa Negara was the eldest son of Amangku Buwono III who had been placed on the throne of Jogjakarta by Raffles.

in 1811. When Amangku Buwono III died in 1814, his son Djarot succeeded him as Amangku Buwono IV. Raffles, however, promised to place Dipa Negara, a man of great influence, on the throne, if Djarot, his younger brother, died before him. But when Djarot died in 1822, Java was no longer under the British, and the Dutch, perhaps unaware of Raffles' promise, installed Djarot's two-year-old son as Amangku Buwono V. Dipa Negara, the uncle of the new infant sultan, was therefore deeply hurt. Soon, discontent elsewhere in Java added to Dipa Negara's personal grievance.

Local chiefs had been allowed to lease out estates to Europeans and Chinese who could not purchase land from the government. But the Dutch governor, van der Capellen, put an end to this system, as a result of which, many chiefs, including Dipa Negara, lost a good source of income. Further, the activities of the Chinese too displeased the Javanese of Jogjakarta. As the chief money-lenders the Chinese were never popular, and the privilege Chinese middle-men enjoyed in collecting tolls, which were 'farmed' to them, for crossing from native land to government land, earned for them the hatred of the Javanese of Jogjakarta. The tolls charged by the Chinese were often exorbitant.

But what finally caused Dipa Negara to begin a revolt was the government's decision to build a road over some of his property where a sacred tomb was situated. Besides, Dipa Negara was a deeply religious man, and the refusal of the Dutch to recognise him as Java's religious head, offended him, and he soon aroused wide-spread sympathy among the common people.

In 1825 Dipa Negara led almost a holy war against the Dutch. He and his followers had tried to frustrate Dutch efforts to build the proposed road over his property and when a Dutch officer was killed, the government sent a

detachment to burn down his house. In Jogjakarta, Dipa Negara massacred many Europeans and Chinese. The Susuhunan of Surakarta, Pakubuwana VI, who was also not quite pleased with Dutch methods, however, thought it wiser to support the Dutch. Yet, serious guerrilla warfare in Jogjakarta ended only in 1829. Dipa Negara showed himself a master of guerrilla tactics. The Dutch who had a small force at first were strengthened by troops from Surakarta and the loyal regents of Java, from the princes of Madura and also from northern Celebes. Troops also arrived from Europe. As both sides made it a point to destroy all crops so as to deny them to the enemy, the peasantry starved to death. At last, the rebels were worn down, and the end came when the nephew of Dipa Negara and his men went over to the Dutch. Dipa Negara then offered to negotiate with the Dutch, in 1830, but they treacherously arrested him. He was then exiled to Celebes where he died in 1855. Thousands of Dutch government troops and Javanese perished in this Java War. Dipa Negara is now regarded as one of the progenitors of Indonesian nationalism.

After the war, the Dutch seized part of the territory of Jogjakarta. To weaken the princely states, they also took territory from Surakarta though Pakubuwana VI had given them aid, and the discontented susuhunan was banished to Amboyna to prevent him from beginning another revolt. Thus the practical results of the war, for both Jogjakarta and Surakarta, were loss of territory and further subjection to direct Dutch rule.

The Culture System

Partly as a result of the Java War, and the Belgian Revolt against Dutch rule that broke out immediately after, the Netherlands was falling increasingly into debt. Therefore, in 1830, a new economic policy known as the Culture

System, was adopted on the lines proposed by the Dutch Governor-General, Johannes van den Bosch (1830 — 1833).

Johannes van den Bosch had been in the Indies in the days before Daendels. He was a man of great ability and was sent to the West Indies on a special mission. After that he was sent to the East Indies to reorganise its economy.

Van den Bosch believed that the Javanese peasant was too ignorant to make unaided economic progress. The Javanese had to be guided and taught by the authorities, and if necessary, forced to work. Van den Bosch's aim was to increase considerably the production of export crops in Java, and to strengthen Dutch commerce and shipping by giving them first option in handling the crops. In this way he expected to balance the budget both in Europe and the East Indies.

The Culture System was in essence the same as the old practice of compulsory cultivation. Cultivators had to use one-fifth of their land to produce crops suitable for the government to export to Europe instead of paying taxes in money, as Raffles had arranged. The main crops under this system were coffee, indigo and sugar, and the subsidiary crops were tea, tobacco, pepper and other commodities. Financially, the Culture System, which lasted from 1830 to the 1860's proved to be a great success. Cultivation of export crops increased, and Java virtually became a vast state plantation. The large profits, amounting to about nine hundred million guilders (about £43,000,000), that the government made, helped greatly to reduce the national debt of the Netherlands.

The Javanese cultivators, however, saw no difference between the new system and the old system of compulsory cultivation. As payment was proportional to the quantity

produced, the Dutch as well as Javanese officials, forced the cultivators under their charge to devote more than one-fifth of their land to producing export crops. Further, the cultivators could not grow crops for themselves until they had grown the export crops. To make matters worse for the cultivators, they were forced to use the best land for the compulsory cultivation. Thus, the whole administration was transformed into a most powerful commercial machine which tried to extract the maximum profit from the land.

One of the serious results of the operation of the Culture System was that there was famine in central Java for several years during the 1840s, owing to too much concentration on the export crops. Rice cultivation was almost ignored. The evil effects of this system at last aroused severe criticism in the Netherlands. The Dutch Liberals condemned it as being altogether bad. However, the Culture System was gradually abolished from the 1870s onwards.

The Liberal Reforms

In 1848 the constitution of the Netherlands was altered. The Dutch colonies were now taken away from the personal control of the King and placed under the States-General (Parliament), and critics of the Culture System now found an opportunity to effect reforms. A new spirit was beginning to inspire the government.

Beginning with the least profitable crops, the practice of compulsory cultivation in Java was gradually given up in favour of free agriculture, and by 1890, the System was abandoned for all crops, except, coffee, which dragged on until the end of 1916. The development of commerce and industry was now left to private enterprise. By the Agrarian Law of 1870, long term leases of land were granted by the government to private persons and companies, and several

plantations began to develop. Private enterprise had come into its own, and state production was declining.

The introduction of these changes, known as the Liberal Reforms, coincided with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and exports grew rapidly. But the native cultivators were losing land as more and more Europeans began to own plantations in Java and many of them were compelled to work as employees.

The Ethical Policy

Though the Liberal System was less harmful than the Culture System, the Dutch now felt that it did not raise the standard of living of the Indonesian people. This new feeling was expressed by Dr. Abraham Kuyper, who became Prime Minister in 1901. He argued that the Netherlands government must adopt a policy of moral responsibility for the welfare of the people, and that it had a 'moral duty' to fulfil with respect to the people. This policy of 'moral duty' became known as the 'Ethical Policy'.

In a few years, much was done to develop education, promote public health, improve agriculture, and expand the system of land and sea communications. In some respects, for example, in the provision of medical services and the training of native doctors, the Dutch administration was notably ahead of its time. It is fair to say that Dutch rule during this period lived down its past mistakes and became in many important respects a pattern for the rest of the world.

In the 1870's it had been proposed that a start should be made with institutions of popular local government, but after three inquiries the Dutch finally decided that the people were not mature enough for it to be effective, and the project

was shelved until 1903. By the Decentralization Plan of that year, the central government received power to delegate some of its authority to local councils. The first of them, set up in 1905, covered three towns. Two years later a council was established for each residency in Java. The members were both natives and Europeans, but they were nominated by the government.

The Indonesians, however, were not pleased, for the Dutch officials now began to interfere more and more in village affairs which they had managed themselves before. Even the educated class which the new policy produced was dissatisfied, owing to the difficulty in participating in national affairs. Thus, the Ethical Policy became partly responsible for the rise of nationalism in Indonesia. A national movement appeared in 1908, demanding an immediate increase of self-government, and by 1917, the principle of election had to be conceded by the Dutch.



CHAPTER FIVE

THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM IN INDONESIA

Nationalism in Indonesia began in Java in the early years of the twentieth century. Events in other countries during the closing years of the nineteenth century, such as, the Boxer Rebellion in China, the Filipino Revolt against Spain, and the victory of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 — 1905, had made a deep impression on the minds of the educated Indonesians, who were no longer pleased to remain in positions of inferiority under European rule. It was significant that in 1899 Japanese citizens i.e. fellow-Asians had been accorded equality of status with Europeans in Indonesia. But early Indonesian nationalism did not express itself against imperialism but in a movement for educational and cultural advancement; and with the emergence of Radin Adjeng Kartini, in 1900, a new chapter opened in the native movement in Java. Kartini, a champion of education for women, and Dr. Usuda, a retired medical officer, who began a campaign in 1906 for the advancement of Java, were convinced that the country could not progress without western education.

The Formation Of Political Parties

With a group of intellectuals and Javanese officials, Dr. Usuda founded the first nationalist organisation, Budi

Utomo, 'High Endeavour' in 1908. The aim of Budi Utomo, which took its inspiration from Rabindranath Tagore, the great Indian poet, and to some extent, from Mahatma Gandhi, was to organise schools on a national basis. Its battle was not against Dutch rule, but against poverty and ignorance. Then in 1911, another organisation, the Sarekat Islam, was formed with entirely different aims. An offshoot of an Islamic revival among Indonesians, resulting from the activities of Christian missionaries, Sarekat Islam was able to convince the Indonesians that economic progress was a religious and social necessity for the people. Originally, it appeared as a combination of Javanese traders with the aim of resisting Chinese penetration into the 'batik' industry, but it soon became a mass political party, under the leadership of Omar Said Tjokro Aminoto. Within five years it had a membership of 800,000, and thus acquired a strong agitational character. Until its split with the Perserikatan Komunis India (PKI) or Communist Party in the 1920s, Sarekat Islam was the vanguard of the nationalist movement and it maintained some unity. But after the suppression of the Communist risings in 1926 and 1927, several parties, began to appear on the scene. The Communist Party was banned though communism was not entirely suppressed. Among the new parties that appeared was the Perserikatan Nasional Indonesia (PNI) in 1927 (a party with a similar name was founded in 1946). Under the dynamic leadership of Sukarno, the PNI grew rapidly in size and sought to rally all the existing nationalist organisations behind a big non-co-operation movement on the Gandhi model. But the revolutionary tendencies that Sukarno displayed led to his arrest in December 1929, and after his trial in 1930, the PNI was dissolved by the government. The members of the PNI were then absorbed by the Partai Ra'jat Indonesia or the People's Party of Indonesia (PRI) formed in 1930, and the Partai Indonesia (Partindo) formed in 1931 by Sartono. But

the various organisations lacked a common policy to achieve their common aims. Partindo, like the PNI, adopted a policy of resistance to the government. This attitude was also reflected in the Freedom Group, later called the Indonesian National Education Club. Under the inspiration of Sjahrir and Hatta, this organisation devoted itself to the task of training a leadership for nationalist activity. On the other hand, the PRI, which was more moderate, and the Greater Indonesia Party (Parindra), formed in 1935, wanted to co-operate with the Dutch to achieve independence. In 1937, a more radical party, the Indonesian People's Movement (Gerindo) was formed. In 1939 another attempt was made to unify the nationalist movement as a whole, which led to the formation of the Federation of Indonesian Political Parties (Gapi); but the movement collapsed shortly before Java was invaded by the Japanese in 1942.

Constitutional Reforms

The affairs of Indonesia, until 1916, were controlled from the Netherlands. Then it became clear to the Dutch that changes had to be made to meet some of the demands of the nationalists. Therefore, the Dutch government set up a Volksraad or People's Council in 1916. Half of the members of this Council were to be elected by local councils and the other half nominated by the Governor-General. The Volksraad first met in 1918, but from the beginning the Indonesian members were dissatisfied because the majority of its members were Dutch, and its powers were mainly advisory. The Volksraad was, however, reformed in 1925 to have an elected majority. Yet, its powers were nominal and the Indonesian members were still a minority. The Governor-General had the power to legislate even against the wishes of the members. Besides, though the Volksraad passed a budget each year, it had to be approved by the

State-General (the Parliament) in the Netherlands. Thus, its main function was only to criticize the government. Therefore, the Volksraad hardly exercised the functions of a parliament, and this only helped to stiffen nationalist sentiment.

Japanese Occupation

Indonesian loyalty to the Dutch was shattered forever by the sudden collapse of the Dutch regime under the advance of the Japanese in 1942. The forces of Indonesian resistance now found an opportunity to attain maturity.

The Japanese, who were short of hands, gave Indonesians the opportunity to run much of the machinery of civil administration. They also provided the military training that was denied to them before by the Dutch. The Indonesians thus received invaluable training for the future. The Dutch language was outlawed and replaced by Indonesian and Japanese languages. They permitted the singing of the Indonesian national anthem and the display of the Indonesian flag. These had been banned under Dutch rule. To foster strong racist feelings, the Japanese deliberately played on Indonesian resentment of the Dutch and loudly proclaimed a "Three A Movement" with three slogans; 'Japan the leader of Asia', 'Japan the Protector of Asia' and 'Japan the Light of Asia'—a movement which got its name from the first letter of the word 'Asia', which occurred in each of the slogans. They also released all the nationalist leaders, including Sukarno, from Dutch prisons. But the brutal methods of the Japanese soon removed the impression that they had come as liberators, and antagonized the Indonesians. The Japanese did not give even a restricted type of self-government to the Indonesians as they had given to the Burmese, until shortly before they surrendered in 1945. But they were unable to control the forces that they had set in motion.

Nationalist leaders now began to make their own plans to get rid of Japanese control. Sukarno and Hatta openly co-operated with the Japanese, while others, under Sjahrir, organised an underground resistance movement. In 1943, a single nationalist movement, composed of all the nationalist groups, called the Putera, or 'People's Strength Concentration' was formed in Java, with Japanese support. The Japanese used Sukarno, the Chairman, and Hatta, the vice-chairman of Putera, for propaganda purposes to reduce opposition to Japanese authority. But, though the Japanese used the Putera for the spread of propaganda and the recruitment of labour battalions, Sukarno and Hatta used it to intensify nationalist ideas; and, by 1945, most Indonesians hated the Japanese with the same intensity as they hated the Dutch. However, when defeat became obvious, the Japanese began to give active support to the nationalist movements in the hope that the Europeans would never be able to re-establish their hold in South-East Asia. They set up a Preparatory Committee to prepare a draft constitution for independence. But when the Japanese surrendered to the allies in August 1945, the Indonesian nationalists themselves declared Indonesia an independent republic. A government was set up with Sukarno as the President. As a result, when the British, the first allied troops, arrived in Java, they found an administration already functioning. The Dutch arrived six weeks later to regain possession of Indonesia, but they were now opposed by the Indonesians.

Independence

Upon their surrender, the Japanese in Indonesia were instructed by the Dutch government, by radio, to remain in command until the arrival of allied troops. Indonesian nationalism now expressed itself in violence. Fighting broke out, and the Japanese were soon overwhelmed by the Indonesian military units that they had themselves trained. Thus,

when British troops arrived they found that the Japanese had been disarmed and the Indonesian Republic was operating the machinery of administration in Java as well as Sumatra. Then, when the Dutch troops began to arrive a few weeks later, fighting broke out again, and the Indonesian Government moved its capital to Jogjakarta to prepare for a big struggle, as more and more Dutch troops began to arrive. Realizing, however, that the Indonesian Republic could not be crushed without a full-scale war, the British pressed the Dutch to enter into negotiations with the Indonesian Republic.

At a conference held at Linggajati (Cheribon), under the chairmanship of the British Special Commission, Lord Killearn, the Dutch reached an agreement with the Indonesian Republic on 15th November, 1946. The authority of the Republic over Java, Madura and Sumatra was recognised, and both sides agreed to the formation of a United States of Indonesia, under the crown of the Netherlands. This compromise, however, was not successful. The Dutch who wished to retain some powers, wanted to have a federal government, but the Indonesians wanted to have control over the whole of Indonesia. The Dutch then undertook two military operations which they described as 'police action' in 1947 and 1948, in an effort to regain control over their former territories; but they were not successful. The situation got beyond control, and in 1948, the United Nations entered the dispute. In 1949 it persuaded the Netherlands government to recognise the Republic as a sovereign independent state, which was to include the whole of the Dutch East Indies Empire except, the Dutch part of New Guinea. Accordingly, at the end of that year, the Netherlands formally surrendered its sovereignty, and a provisional government was set up. A constitution, which created an elected Presidency and a legislature of two houses, was then proclaimed in 1950. Sukarno became the President of the new state.

CHAPTER SIX

THAILAND UNDER CHAKRI KINGS

Burmese Invasion (1767) And Founding Of Chakri Dynasty (1782)

The Burmese king, Alaungpaya, founder of the Konbaung Dynasty of Ava in Upper Burma, had captured some French soldiers who had assisted the Mons of Lower Burma against him at Syriam in 1756. Largely with these soldiers, who were efficient artillerymen, he built up a strong army which was the source of Burmese power for about fifty years. The capture of Syriam in 1756 by Alaungpaya had ended the history of the Mons as a separate people. The whole of Upper and Lower Burma was brought under a single rule. But the Burmese king did not cease to be a warrior.

After occupying the capital of Manipur in 1759, Alaungpaya turned against Ayuthia, the old capital of Thailand. By subduing the Siamese, Alaungpaya expected, among other gains, to obtain a large number of slaves to re-populate the delta districts of Burma, which had been devastated by internal conflicts. But the Siamese, who had expected his invasion, massed to defend the westward approaches to Ayuthia. The Burmese, however, attacked from the south and took the Siamese by surprise. Alaungpaya led his army through Tenassarim and began a siege of the city of Ayuthia in 1760. But the Siamese offered a tough resistance, and Alaungpaya was desperately wounded by the bursting

of a cannon. Alaungpaya's critical condition and the approach of the monsoon season caused his army to make a hurried retreat homewards, but Alaungpaya died at Taikkala, just before reaching his homeland.

The reign of his successor, Naungdawgyi, his son, which was full of trouble and rebellions, lasted for only three years; and, after his death in 1763, his brother, Hsinbyushin (1763 — 1776), became king. The new king revived the war with Ayuthia. He intended to exploit the northern approach to Ayuthia by conquering the Laos country and using it as a base of operation. Therefore, in 1764, he advanced through the Shan States and captured Chiengmai; and, after subduing Luang Prabang, he made an alliance with Vientiane. He then reached Ayuthia in early 1766, and after a long seige, the city was captured in 1767. It was reduced to ruins and the Burmese carried off many slaves and much booty. The king was driven into exile. Even the royal records were burnt. The Burmese, however, soon became involved in a war with China.

China, under the Manchu Emperor, Chi'en Lung (1736 — 1796), aimed to expand her control over the neighbouring states. Having imposed her authority over a few states, she attacked Burma, but the Burmese were too strong, and in 1770, they defeated the Chinese invasion and forced the Chinese to ask for peace terms. But the war with China weakened Burma's hold on Thailand and enabled the Siamese to stage a rapid recovery under the leadership of Paya Taksin.

A half-Chinese officer, Paya Taksin, raised an army and declared himself king. He took advantage of Burma's conflict with China to strengthen his army, and by the end of 1768, he regained Ayuthia. But, soon, the Kingdom of Ayuthia began to break up into many small independent

states, and it took a long and bitter struggle for Taksin to re-unite the country. Taksin shifted his capital to Bangkok. In 1775, he took Chiangmai, and before the death of Hsinbyushin, the Burmese king, in 1776, drove out the Burmese from all Ayuthia and Chiangmai. Tenasserin, however, was still under Burmese control. But Paya Taksin soon became insane and he was deposed in 1782. By now, a Siamese army commander, General Chakri, had become prominent for his part in the wars. He ascended the throne of Thailand as Rama I and founded the Chakri Dynasty which reigns till this day.

Wars With Burma And Cambodia

The reign of Rama I (1782 — 1809) saw another great struggle with Burma. The Burmese king, Bodawpaya, the ablest of the sons of the great Alaungpaya, was a man of boundless ambition. He aimed to gain control of all the neighbouring states. In 1785 war broke out between the Siamese and the Burmese, and it lasted for a long time. But Thailand under Rama I was a victorious power. The Burmese army suffered many defeats. Rama I, however, did not wish to invade Burma. His main aim was to consolidate his kingdom and reorganise its administration. Though Thailand had real claims upon the Tenasserim provinces of Mergui and Tavoy, Rama I had to abandon them to Burma in 1792 after holding them for a brief period. However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century Thailand had become so powerful that she began to think of expansion. She now aimed to extend her control over the Laos kingdoms of Luang Prabang and Vientiane in the north, the Malay States in the south and the ancient Khmer Kingdom of Cambodia.

Disputes about succession to the throne had divided the ruling class of Cambodia into two groups. One group sought

help from the Vietnamese, while the other, sought help from the Siamese. But the wars with Burma in the second half of the eighteenth century, diverted Siamese attention from Cambodia for sometime.

However, soon after Thailand had recovered under Paya Taksin, another contest for the throne developed in Cambodia between two princes: Ang Nong and Ang Tong. The former sought help from the Siamese and the latter, from the Vietnamese. In 1769 Paya Taksin expelled Ang Tong, but during the civil war which broke out in 1779, Ang Nong was killed. Ang Eng, the son of Ang Tong, was now made king. A Siamese army then entered Cambodia but when Paya Taksin was deposed, the commander of the Siamese army, General Chakri, had to return to Bangkok without achieving anything in Cambodia.

But Cambodia soon fell into disorder again and the boy-king, Ang Eng, had to seek refuge with the Siamese, his former enemies. And, after he was proclaimed king of Cambodia in 1794 at Bangkok, he was sent back to Cambodia as a dependant of Rama I, under the protection of a Siamese army. For some years after this, Thailand was master of Cambodia. She gained control of three Cambodian provinces to the north of Battambang — Mongkolbaurey, Sisophon, and Korat and 'silently' annexed them in 1795. In the same year, Battambang and Siem Reap (Angkor) were transferred from Cambodia to Thailand

Then, in 1796, King Ang Eng died and after the throne had been kept vacant for six years, his son, Ang Chan was made king. But in 1812, another dynastic struggle occurred. A brother of Ang Chan rebelled and Rama II of Thailand sent an army to support the rebels, while Ang Chan received help from the Vietnamese. However, Rama II did not wish to risk a major war, and he withdrew his forces.

But in 1831 the forces of Rama III of Thailand invaded Cambodia, accompanied by Ang Duong, a brother of Ang Chan who fled to Vietnam. The Vietnamese, however, soon repelled the Siamese and re-instated Ang Chan. However, Ang Chan died in 1834; and, as he had left no son and as his brother was now a protégé of the Siamese, the Vietnamese proclaimed a princess, Ang Mey, as queen. But Vietnamese control over Cambodia soon stimulated opposition, and finding the moment opportune, prince Ang Duong, who had still been living in exile in Thailand, returned to Cambodia in 1841, and ascended the throne with Siamese support. War now developed between Siamese and Vietnamese forces which continued until a compromise was agreed to in 1845. Both Thailand and Vietnam now acquired joint control over Cambodia, and Ang Duong had to pay tribute to both. By now Cambodia had lost much territory to both Vietnam and Thailand, and it was French intervention a few years later that saved her from extinction.

Rama III (1824 — 1851) And Resumption Of Contacts With Europeans

The reign of Rama III was not very progressive. He was too conservative to adopt new policies.

The British had expected Siamese aid during their war with Burma, but the government of Rama III was so conscious of its clash of interests with the British in Malaya that it kept itself suspiciously aloof. Even when the East India Company sent their second ambassador, Captain Henry Burney, to Bangkok, the Siamese kept a wary eye. Burney was, however, able to conclude a treaty with Siam in 1826, by which, British subjects were allowed to trade in Siam.

The United States of America too sent an envoy to Bangkok in 1833. The envoy, Roberts, managed to make

a treaty regulating the treatment of American nationals visiting Siam. But the efforts of Burney and Roberts to establish consuls there, failed.

However, Britain as well as the United States, made further efforts to obtain more reasonable terms for their merchants, shortly before the death of Rama III. The results of the Burney Treaty were disappointing to the British. Their merchants in Singapore complained that the Siamese king monopolised the export of the most valuable articles.

The British plenipotentiary, Sir James Brooke of Sarawak, arrived in Bangkok in 1850. Though Rama III was now anxious for good relations with the British, he was too ill to participate in the negotiations, and Brooke was unable to negotiate a satisfactory treaty. The American, Ballestier, who arrived after Brooke, to represent the grievances complained of by American citizens, and to obtain a new and more favourable treaty, was not even allowed an audience of the king. The Siamese ministers refused to have any dealings with him. He was therefore forced to leave without even being able to present the letter of the President of the United States. But after the death of Rama III in 1851, the situation altered, and Thailand entered upon a new era.

The Bowring Treaty

Rama III's successor, King Mongkut, or Rama IV (1851 — 1868), was a man of much learning. His knowledge of foreign languages and science and his contacts with foreign scholars enabled him to grasp the realities of the times. He was also capable of dealing with the problems that arose from the demands of the Europeans. Realising that his country could not remain isolated, he favoured a policy of gradual westernization and made a new treaty with

the British, negotiated with Sir John Bowring, the governor of Hong Kong, in 1855. The Treaty of Friendship and Commerce with Britain restricted the duty payable on British imports and provided for a clear definition of export duties. British subjects were to be permitted to buy or rent land near Bangkok. The treaty also laid down that a British consul was to be stationed at Bangkok and exercise both civil and criminal jurisdiction over all British subjects in Thailand. Thus, the Siamese courts were no longer competent to try any British subject in Thailand. In short, Thailand was now open to British trade, and British traders were exempted from Siamese law and courts.

The treaty, however, soon attracted the attention of other powers, and within a few years, similar treaties were made with most European countries, and the United States. The revolutionary change in Siamese policy increased British trade tremendously. Bangkok was the main centre of British business, and soon the British had the largest capital investment in Thailand.

Though Mongkut's relations with France were friendly at first, French ambitions in Indo-China led to a clash of interest with Thailand. A Treaty was then signed between France and Thailand in 1867 by which Thailand surrendered her claims over Cambodia. In return, the two former provinces of Cambodia — Battambang and Siemreap — were formally recognised as belonging to Thailand. The increasing activity of the French in this area, however, had the effect of strengthening Anglo-Siamese friendship.

Chulalongkorn And The Modernization Of Siam

King Mongkut's policy of employing Europeans to reorganize the government services had contributed much to the modernization of Siam. Europeans arrived as advisers

and teachers and many of them became heads of departments. But Chulalongkorn or Rama V, his son, went further.

When Mongkut died in 1868, Chulalongkorn was only sixteen years old. He had received his early education from his English governess, Mrs. ^{r.f.} Leonowens, who had tried her utmost to instil into him her views on the reforms necessary in Siam. He had also been under the authority of an English tutor, **Robert Morant**, for some time. However, until he had reached his majority in 1873, Siam was under a regency; and during this time he went to Java and India to study the methods of administration there. What he saw during the tour impressed him deeply, and when he took up active rule, he began to put into operation a series of reforms which completely changed the lives and outlook of the Siamese people. At his coronation in 1873, he announced the abolition of the practice of prostration in the royal presence.

An admirer of western institutions, Chulalongkorn continued to appoint Europeans to modernize his country. Chief among his advisers was Rolin-Jacquemins, a Belgian lawyer of repute, who had been appointed by his father. Chulalongkorn, too, like his father, encouraged education, especially among the nobility. He also abolished slavery and prohibited compulsory labour for the government. He appointed British experts as financial advisers to put the country's finances on a sound footing and to prevent corruption. Belgian lawyers reformed the administration of justice and several European judges were appointed in the courts. A British officer from Burma organized the police force. Further, the construction of railways was begun. In 1893 the first railway was opened between Bangkok and Paknam.

During the 1890's, the system of local administration was remodelled to strengthen the government's control over the country. Officials replaced hereditary provincial governors who had held much authority before, and government officials were appointed to collect taxes directly. Thus, the long reign of Chulalongkorn, which lasted until 1910, made Siam a modern country.

Revolution Of 1932 And Establishment Of Constitutional Government

As Siam was politically independent, the nationalist movement there was not directed against a foreign power, as in most other parts of South-East Asia; but against the autocratic rule of the Siamese king, and partly against the economic domination of the Chinese.

The Siamese king, Prajadhipok, the seventy-sixth child of Chulalongkorn, was an autocrat who felt himself free to accept or reject the advice of even his ministers, in the affairs of the country. But western education had exposed many Siamese youths to the ideas of constitutional monarchy. These western educated men were dissatisfied at finding that the highest positions in the country were offered only to the aristocracy, and it was so even with the army. Longing for a share in political power, this western-educated group finally led a bloodless revolution in 1932.

The Siamese government was in great financial difficulties in 1931, as a result of the world slump, and to reduce expenditure, the king ordered a reduction in the number of officials and in pay-scales. These measures stimulated resistance, and with the backing of army and navy officers, the western-educated group successfully carried through a 'coup d'état' in 1932 while the king was away from the capital. However, the king returned and agreed to introduce the

principle of constitutional monarchy. He also agreed to exclude members of the royal family from important public appointments and to form a Legislature composed of half elected members and half nominated members for a period of ten years, after which the Assembly would be fully elected.

The crisis has been described as a 'middle-class revolution', for the population as a whole did not participate in it. Prominent among the leaders of the revolution were Nai Pridi, a lawyer, and a soldier, Pibul Songgram. After sharing power with the civilians for a brief period, the army officers began to dominate the affairs of the state. The power of the army officers increased when the army defeated Prince Bovadej, a member of the royal family, who had tried to overthrow the new constitution by force in 1933. Nai Pridi, who had been accused of being a communist had lost his influence. The situation soon became such that the king, Prajadhipok or Rama VII, was forced to abdicate in 1935; but the extreme youth of his successor, Ananda, his nephew, enabled General Pibul, who later became Prime Minister in 1935, to gain complete control of the affairs of the country.

RULERS OF THAILAND

(From Paya Taksin till Japanese Occupation)

PAYA TAKSIN
(1767 — 1782)

RAMA I
(1782 — 1809)

RAMA II (son of Rama I)
(1809 — 1824)

RAMA III (son of Rama II)
(1824 — 1851)

RAMA IV OR MONGKUT (brother of Rama III)
(1851 — 1868)

^a RAMA V OR CHULALONGKORN (son of Rama IV)
(1868 — 1910)

RAMA VI (son of Rama V)
(1919 — 1925)

→ VI

(vii) PRAJADHIPOK (brother of Rama VI)
(1925 — 1935)

(viii) ANANDA MAHIDO (nephew of Prajadhipok)

↓
RAJA IX
(BHUMIBOL ADULYADEJ)

CHAPTER SEVEN

BURMA

Unification Of Burma By Alaungpaya (1758 — 1760)

The power of Ava, the home of the Toungoo dynasty in Upper Burma, began to show signs of decline in the early eighteenth century. The Mons of Lower Burma were always in a state of rebellion against the authority of Ava, whose weakness was finally exposed when invading forces from Manipur reached within striking distance of the city of Ava in 1738. The Mons were then encouraged to rise against Ava's rule which was now almost confined to its own immediate territory. In 1740 they declared their independence and installed their own king at Pegu, their old capital. The Mons then captured Prome and Toungoo in the north. The Burmese, however, captured the port of Syriam from the Mons in 1743, but the Mons soon recovered it. The Mons were also able to raid Upper Burma, and finally they captured Ava itself in 1752 and deposed King Mahadam-mayaza Dipati. This was the end of the Toungoo dynasty of Burma.

But almost immediately, a Burmese leader named Alaungpaya, the founder of the last dynasty of Burma, proclaimed himself king and under his leadership, a resistance movement began in Upper Burma. Alaungpaya captured Ava in 1753, and then drove the Mon garrison out of Prome, which the Mons tried unsuccessfully to recapture in 1755.

This victory secured Alaungpaya the allegiance of all central Burma. From far and wide other leaders, who had formed centres of resistance, flocked to his standard. He built a palace at Shwebo, his home town, in the traditional style, thus adding another to the list of capital cities in Upper Burma. He exacted the oath of allegiance wherever he went.

Alaungpaya then went south and occupied the town of Dagon, which he now renamed Rangoon, 'the End of Strife'. In 1756, he captured Syriam where the Mons were assisted by a brilliant Frenchman, the Sieur de Bruno, who had ambitions of extending French influence. Alaungpaya wrecked a fearful revenge upon Bruno and all the French who fell into his hands. Bruno was slowly roasted to death, but before he was executed, Alaungpaya forced him to write a letter which he later used to decoy and capture two French ships which arrived in the Rangoon river with reinforcements. Alaungpaya butchered the officers he found on the ships, but the other men he captured were forced to serve in his army; and it was these men, who were efficient artillerymen, who made the Burmese army strong enough to be reckoned with for about fifty years. In 1757, Alaungpaya captured the Mon capital of Pegu itself. He also overran Manipur and occupied its capital in 1759. The whole of Upper Burma and Lower Burma was now brought under a single rule, and the Mons could not remain as a separate people any longer. Thus, by his many conquests Alaungpaya unified Burma.

Expansion Into Siam And Arakan

The town of Chiangmai, in Siam, had always been a subject of dispute between Burma and Siam. Chiangmai had, for some time been under Burmese control at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but as a result of a rebellion that broke out in 1717, Burma was unable to

re-assert its authority until the emergence of Alaungpaya. This great leader not only wanted to invade Siam but he also wished to punish the Mons who had fled into Siam when he drove them out of Pegu in 1757.

Alaungpaya's invasion began in 1759, and it was 'an example of the strategy of indirect approach'. After marching southwards to Tavoy and Tenasserim, the Burmese army marched across country to the Gulf of Siam, and then northwards to the capital city of Ayuthia. But during the siege of Ayuthia, Alaungpaya was wounded by the bursting of a cannon in 1760, and his army had to retreat. Though Alaungpaya died in the same year, his successors carried on the war with Siam.

After re-taking Chiengmai in 1763, the Burmese planned a three-pronged attack against Ayuthia in 1765. One Burmese army closed in from Chiengmai in the north, one crossed the border and advanced from the west, and the other moved northwards from Tenasserim. This strategy led to the capture of Ayuthia, which was plundered and almost completely destroyed in 1767 by the Burmese king, Hsinbyushin.

The Burmese, however, soon became involved in a war with China, which weakened their hold on Siam. A resistance movement now began among Siamese refugees in Cambodia, and Ayuthia was re-captured by the Siamese in 1768. The Siamese also captured Chiengmai in 1775. The Burmese, however, made an attempt to conquer Siam in 1785; but the Siamese armies under Rama I were too strong for the Burmese, and the attempt did not succeed.

Burmese attention also turned westwards, and in 1784 — 85, King Bodawpaya (1781 — 1819), conquered the independent coastal kingdom of Arakan, which was in a state of disorder, resulting from disputes about the throne. The

Burmese invasion drove large numbers of the Arakanese across the border into the district of Chittagong, which was under the nominal jurisdiction of the British East India Company. The border region of Chittagong then became the base for Arakanese resistance to Burmese domination.

Bodawpaya also interfered in Assam. The state of Manipur was a tributary to Burma, and Bodawpaya seized part of the territory of Manipur after settling a dispute over the succession to its throne in 1812. He then used Manipur as a base and intervened in Assam. The interference in Assam was continued by the next Burmese king, Bagyidaw (1819 — 1837), who also threatened Cachar, a neighbouring state. The British East India Company now began to grow uneasy at Burmese intentions; and, Burmese demands for the surrender of the rebels operating against them from the territory of the company, led to frequent clashes between the company and the Burmese. The clashes finally developed into war which eventually brought the whole of Burma under British rule.

Wars With The British (1826 — 1885)

King Bagyidaw's determination to end the constant troubles on the frontier by conquering Assam and even Bengal, aroused the opposition of the East India Company. Therefore, when the Burmese assembled a large army on the Arakan-Chittagong frontier and also invaded Cachar in early 1824, the East India Company declared war against the Burmese.

At first the Burmese were successful. They invaded Chittagong and defeated the British at Ramu. But when, almost immediately, a British army occupied Rangoon, the chief port of Burma, the Burmese took alarm and withdrew their forces from Chittagong. In about a year's time, after

that, the whole of Arakan came under British control. The British also occupied the ports of Tavoy and Mergui in the Tenasserim coast. Advancing north, the British then occupied the town of Prome on the Irrawaddy, and when the British had come very close to the capital of Ava, a peace treaty was signed at Yandabo on 24th February, 1826, under which Burma renounced her claims to Assam and Manipur. The Burmese also agreed to pay a crippling indemnity and cede to the East India Company the coastal provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim.

As a result of the war, however, the Burmese began to nurse feelings of hostility towards the British. But King Bagyidaw, who now realised the futility of further wars with the British, maintained a friendly attitude towards the British for the rest of his reign. The British Residents who were sent to Burma after 1830, according to the terms of the Treaty of Yandabo, were on good terms with the king and they helped to settle disputes about the boundary between Burma and Manipur. The friendly relations between the British and the king did not, however, enable the Burmese king to regain his lost territories. Though, originally, the British had considered giving up Tenasserim, the rapid growth of the new port of Moulmein, which soon became the chief centre of Burma's foreign trade, caused the British to abandon the idea.

King Bagyidaw was succeeded by his brother, Tharrawaddy in 1837. The new king was displeased at the Treaty of Yandabo and the loss of Arakan and Tenasserim. His extreme hostility towards the British Resident, whose presence represented an insult to his sovereignty, caused the British to close the residency in 1840. As a result, the channel through which disputes between the British and the Burmese could be settled was removed.

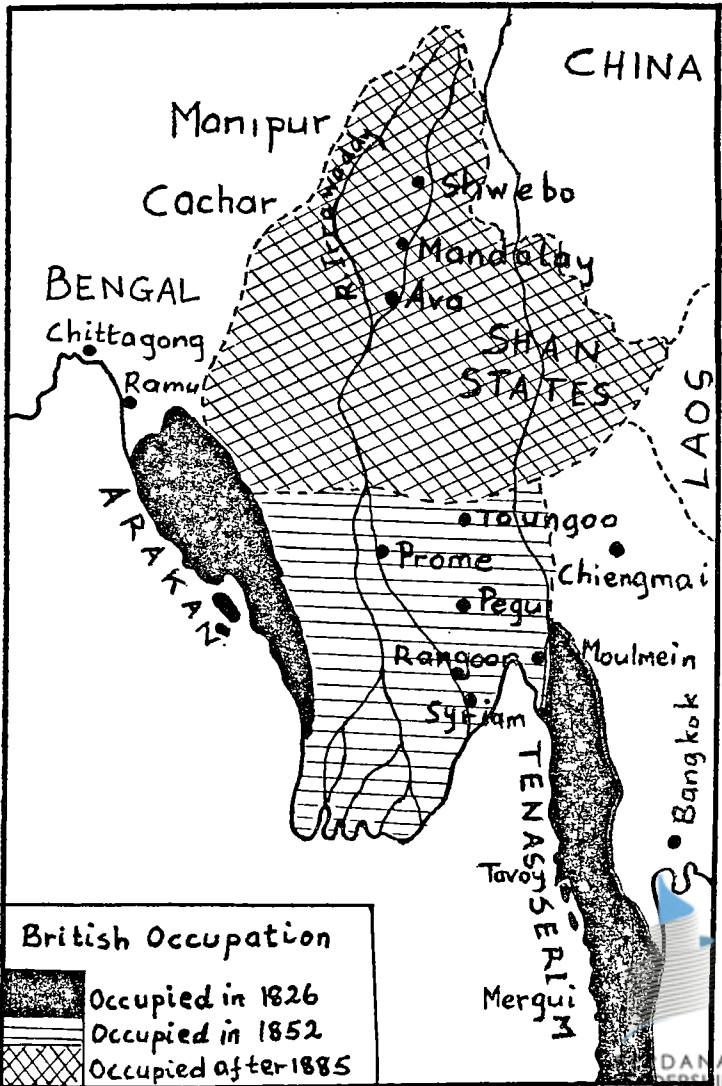
After the death of Tharrawaddy in 1846, his son, the Prince of Pagan, became king. An inefficient ruler, Pagan allowed the local officials to do as they pleased as long as they paid the due amount of revenue; and, in the absence of the residency, the British traders were unable to seek any relief from the ill-treatment of the Burmese Governor at Rangoon, who did not hesitate to cause any inconvenience to foreigners to obtain money from them. But some of the British traders themselves were arrogant towards the local authorities, and this only served to harden the attitude of the Governor of Rangoon towards the British. Finally, the Governor-General of India, Lord Dalhousie, who was ever ready to take firm action, sent a war-ship to Rangoon in 1852, to demand compensation for the punishment of two British captains on false charges. Unable to obtain satisfaction, the commodore of the vessel blockaded the port and exchanged fire with the Burmese shore batteries and destroyed all Burmese war-boats within reach. The British then sent a full expedition with a further demand for an increased amount of compensation; and when it was refused British forces invaded Burma for the second time and easily occupied Rangoon in April, 1852. They then overran the Irrawaddy delta country and the northern lands beyond Prome and Toungoo. These events led to a revolution in Burma and provided Lord Dalhousie with an opportunity to declare the annexation of the occupied areas in 1852, as there was no government with whom he could negotiate.

In 1853 King Pagan was deposed and replaced by his brother, Mindon, a man of great ability. Burma prospered under King Mindon's rule, and he was so considerate towards the British that he refused to attempt the re-capture of the ceded provinces when the British were engaged in suppressing the Indian Mutiny which broke out in India in 1857. Yet, Mindon distrusted the British to some extent. To make

sure that Upper Burma (Independent Burma) would not suffer the same fate of Lower Burma, he began to strengthen his position by making treaties with France and Italy. He employed Frenchmen and Italians to train his army. However, in 1862 and 1867, he entered into commercial treaties with the British. The treaty of 1867 provided for the re-appointment of a Resident and the exercise of extraterritorial jurisdiction by the Resident over British subjects. But towards the end of Mindon's rule relations with the British became bad. Mindon was especially annoyed when in 1875 the Government of India ruled that the British Resident was no longer to remove his shoes, when entering the royal presence. Mindon refused to receive the Resident at all. This 'Shoe Question' in Burmese history indicates how national pride could be injured by questions of etiquette.

After the death of King Mindon in 1878, Thibaw, one of his junior sons, became king by a palace intrigue. The cruel methods adopted by Thibaw to crush opposition led to much disorder in the country and British trade suffered. The British, however, were involved in wars in Afghanistan on the north-west frontier of India and with the Zulus in South Africa. They were also having trouble with Russia. The troubles in which the British were involved, encouraged the Burmese to adopt an attitude of defiance against the British subjects as well as the Resident. Therefore, when the British Resident in Afghanistan was murdered, the residency at Mandalay was closed down in 1879 to prevent a similar incident in Burma. Thus, once again, after forty years, the channel for official communication between Upper Burma and the British was removed.

However, King Thibaw made a mistake by trying to play off the French against the British. French activities in 1885 were causing the British some anxiety. At this time, the French were gaining control over North Vietnam,



and the British feared that they would also try to establish control over Upper Burma as well. A French consul-general was posted to Mandalay in 1885 and a commercial treaty was concluded between France and Burma, which provided for the construction of a railway from Mandalay to Toungoo and the opening of a bank in Mandalay. These concessions would enable the French to dominate the economy of Upper Burma. Further, the French agreed to permit the import of fire-arms to Burma through North Vietnam. It was now clear to the British that Upper Burma would some day become a French protectorate, an eventuality which would lead inevitably to frequent clashes with the areas occupied by them in Lower Burma. Then, when King Thibaw, pressed by his creditors for money, imposed a heavy fine on a British timber firm, the Bombay Burma Trading Company, with French encouragement, the British took steps to settle their differences with Thibaw. Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy, sent an ultimatum to Mandalay, demanding that the case in which it was proposed to deprive the timber firm of its rights to exploit teak forests be submitted to arbitration; that the residency be re-established, and that the foreign relations of Burma be placed under British control. But the ultimatum was rejected by the Burmese government, and war ensued. The French, however, kept aloof. The British began their invasion of Upper Burma in November, 1885, and captured Mandalay within a fortnight, after an almost bloodless campaign. King Thibaw surrendered, and by a proclamation issued in 1886, the former territories of Thibaw were annexed to the British dominions.

Burma And British Rule

The annexation of Upper Burma in 1886 was followed by much disorder. The Burmese army refused to surrender and it melted away to continue guerilla warfare; and, it took the British another five years to crush the resistance.

However, under British rule there was much economic progress in Burma. Burma's exports increased enormously, and in return, the Burmese were able to buy large quantities of small manufactured goods. Burma became one of the world's largest exporters of rice and its export of teak too grew. A railway was begun in Lower Burma from Rangoon to Prome in 1874, and in 1885 another line was built from Rangoon to Toungoo, partly to provide a line of communication for troops in the expected war with Upper Burma. The line was carried to Mandalay in 1889 and to Myitkyina near the Chinese frontier in 1898. Other lines were built to Bassein, Lashio and Moulmein. The steady improvement in communication with the rest of the world made Rangoon one of the busiest commercial ports of the East. The population too increased from under seven million in 1870 to nine million at the end of the century. Oil was discovered and it became an important item in trade after 1900.

But the British made some mistakes too which led to some undesirable results. The profitable rice trade brought about the colonization of large areas of jungle in Lower Burma and an intense competition for land. Indian and Chinese businessmen acquired the lands of peasants either by purchase or sometimes by violent methods. Money-lenders now came to play an important part in the life of the people. The small rice-cultivator was unable to compete with large combines of rice-millers who kept prices low. All this created jealousy and discontent. The sudden introduction of modern civilization, ruled by money and dominated by unrestricted competition, disrupted Burma's ancient way of life. The Burmese soon began to feel that they were being ousted from the control of their own country. As Burma was under the Indian Government, most of the important positions in the country were occupied by Indians, who at this time, had been migrating to all parts of the

world. But the British could not be blamed for this, because there was little secondary education in Burma, and they found it easier to use educated Indians in the government services than to wait some years until enough Burmese had been trained. Even in the towns, Indian businessmen and labourers drove out the Burmese. As a result of all this, the Burmese began to form the impression that the British were deliberately keeping the people down in order to provide employment for the educated Indians, who might cause trouble if left without work in their own country. To make matters worse, the British paid little attention to their religion, Buddhism, which dominated Burmese life. Further, many of the native institutions of Burmese society were undermined; and, it was this undermining of traditional Burmese society that later caused much unrest and instability in the country. But the British were well-intentioned and honestly believed that they were conferring great benefits on the Burmese, and they made no deliberate attempt to crush the good qualities of Burmese civilization.

Nationalism And Japanese Occupation

The national sentiment of the Burmese, which was dormant for a long time, suddenly awoke in the early years of the twentieth century. Intense political agitation and organized boycotts were carried on by the Nationalist General Council of Burmese Associations which also demanded home rule. The national feeling was so strong that the Secretary of State for India recommended to parliament that the 'dyarchy' system that the Government of India Act of 1919 had granted to India should be extended to Burma; and, to bring Burma into line with the other provinces of India, the Government of Burma Act was passed in 1921. Under the 'dynarchy' system the control of certain matters, such as, education, public health, forests and excise, were transferred to a Legislative Council, while to the Governor and his

Executive Council were reserved certain other departments, such as, defence, law and order, finance and revenue.

The 'dyarchy' system, though it was found to be inadequate, provided an outlet for popular opinion. In the new legislature, the voting-power of the Government was weaker than that of the Opposition which was solidly nationalist. The leading party was the People's Party under U Ba Pe. The members of the party were moderates and were anxious to use the Legislative Council to compel the Government to adopt reforms. But though there was much progress in the spheres of education and public health, the 'dyarchy' system did not work properly, for the Burmese had only the liberty to voice their demands but they had no control over finance which was necessary for the reforms.

Burmese nationalists also began to agitate for Burma's separation from India. Burma's artificial association with India and the increasing Indian immigration and economic competition, caused the Burmese to fear that Burma would some day become a vassal state of India after it achieved its independence. In response to Burmese demands the Government of India Act of 1935 was passed, which provided for the separation to take effect in April, 1937.

The first Prime Minister of Burma, under the new constitution, was Dr. Ba Maw, the founder of the 'Sinyetha' or Poor Man's Party. He was first elected to the Legislative Council in 1932. Another man who had risen to prominence was U Saw, who edited a newspaper called 'The Sun' which was openly pro-Japanese and anti-British. U Saw was the leader of the 'Myochit' or Patriotic Party. He went to England in 1941 to obtain an unqualified pledge from the British Government of dominion status for Burma after the war, but was not successful. He was tried and executed for the assassination of Aung San, the Prime Minister of Burma, in 1947.

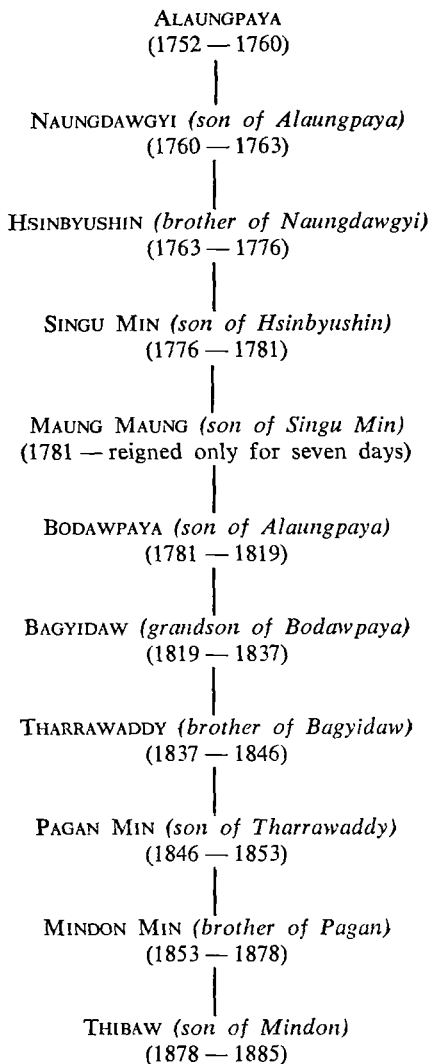
Before the outbreak of the Second World War, however, the left-wing nationalists were actively planning revolution. Prominent among the extremists was a group of youthful Burmese who called themselves the 'Thakins'. Led by Aung San, the 'Thakins' were ready to collaborate with the Japanese when they invaded Burma; but during the Japanese occupation of Burma (1942 — 1945) many Thakins, including Aung San, changed their ground and resisted Japanese rule.

The Japanese occupation wrecked the economic system of Burma which suffered more from the war than any other country in Asia. Japanese air-raids reduced many of the Burmese towns to ashes. Retreating British forces destroyed Burma's oil works, mines equipment and river transport so as to make them useless to the Japanese. Allied air-raids kept Burma's railways out of action. The failure of the Japanese to export rice and import badly needed consumer goods caused the greatest distress; and, the chaos and the uncontrollable inflation caused by the Japanese currency policy made the situation worse. The heavy demands of the Japanese for forced labour and the frightful atrocities committed upon the Karens, who had hidden British soldiers and formed European-led resistance groups, added to the sufferings of the people.

The administration of the country was at first handed over to the Burma Independence Army; but after its suppression, a Burmese Executive Administration was set up with Dr. Ba Maw at its head. In 1943, the Japanese granted independence to Burma and Ba Maw, the Puppet Prime Minister, declared war on Britain and the United States. But real control of the country was in the hands of the 'Supreme Adviser' to the Burmese Government, Dr. Gotara Ogawa, formerly Minister of Commerce and Railways in Tokyo. The Burmese, however, soon discovered that they

were not really independent and that the propagandist talk of the Japanese about Asiatic brotherhood and co-prosperity was only a cloak for ruthless exploitation. Therefore, the Burmese welcomed the return of the British, and the Burma National Army, under Aung San, which the Japanese had organized played a useful part in mopping up operations against the retreating Japanese. Aung San became the focus of national aspirations which found expression in a political party called the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League. It was Aung San who organized the students' strike in 1936, after which he became the leader of the 'Thakin' group. In 1940 he fled to Japan and accompanied the Japanese when they invaded Burma. He was appointed Minister of Defence in Ba Maw's cabinet, and the courage and ability he showed in secretly organizing the anti-Japanese swing of the Burma National Army, made him and his party, the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, the most powerful force when British administration was restored in Burma.

THE ALAUNGPAYA OR KONBAUNG DYNASTY



CHAPTER EIGHT

VIETNAM

Unification By Nguyen Anh (1802)

After the division of Vietnam in 1673, the Trinh family ruled Tongking in the north, under the name of the Le dynasty, whom the Chinese government recognised as the legitimate rulers of the whole of Vietnam. In the South, the Nguyen family ruled Cochinchina, and their repeated attempts to secure Chinese recognition, failed.

The Trinh concentrated more on administrative reforms in Tongking, while the Nguyen extended their authority southwards, along the coast, into the Mekong delta; and, in 1720, they drove out the ruler of the Kingdom of Champa. Gradually, they also gained control over much of Cambodian territory.

However, following the death of Nguyen Phuc Khoat of Cochinchina, in 1765, who had left an infant son, a greedy minister, Truong Phuc Loan, seized power and proclaimed himself regent. The inefficiency of Truong Phuc Loan stimulated a revolt under three brothers: Nguyen Van-Nhac, Nguyen Van-Lu and Nguyen Van-Hue, in the district of Tay-Son, in 1773. These rebel leaders, who were not connected with the ruling dynasty, though they bore the family name, grew rapidly in strength and power.

The unrest that developed from the political weakness of Cochinchina, tempted the Trinh, in the north, to attempt

capture of Cochin-China, under the pretext of aiding the Nguyen family. In 1775, they occupied Hue, the capital of Cochin-China, but were then halted by the Tay-son, under Van Nhac. In 1776, Van Lu captured Saigon in the South, and though the Nguyen regained Saigon for a brief period, it was again captured by the Tay-son leaders in 1777. The Tay-son hunted down the Nguyen, killing three of them. Only Nguyen Phuc-Anh or Nguyen Anh, a fifteen year old boy, managed to escape with the help of a French Catholic priest, Pigneau de Behaine, who later played an important part in Nguyen's restoration. The country was then divided among the Tay-son brothers. Van Nhac, as emperor of Annam, ruled the central part; Van Hue ruled Tongking, and Van Lu ruled the south.

Later, when Nguyen Anh learnt that the main body of the Tay-son army had left the Saigon region temporarily, he quickly rejoined his supporters. Then, mainly with the help of Do Thanh-Nhon, his devoted supporter, who had raised a new army, Nguyen Anh regained Saigon. Do Thanh Nhon was the only military commander whom the Tay-son brothers feared. But for some obscure reason, Nguyen Anh had Do Thanh-Nhon murdered. Do Thanh Nhon's men then rebelled, and Nguyen Anh's position became so weak that the Tay-son were able to recapture Saigon. Nguyen Anh was forced to take refuge on the island of Phu-Quoc, and Pigneau escaped into Cambodia.

Then, in 1782, Nguyen Anh's younger brother, Nguyen Man drove the Tay-son out of Saigon, and Nguyen Anh and Pigneau returned to the city. But in the following year, Nguyen forces were defeated and Nguyen Anh's brother was killed. Therefore, Nguyen Anh was again forced to go into hiding. Pigneau took refuge in Siam.

Pigneau then decided to help Nguyen Anh with French troops. In 1787 he arrived in France where he managed

to conclude a Treaty in the name of Nguyen Anh, between France and Cochin-China. The Treaty provided for French military aid in return for the cession of Pulo Condore and territory in the Bay of Tourane. But the governor of the French settlements in India, to whom the French government had left the task of carrying out their obligations, was not willing to give official help; and the French Revolution that broke out in 1789, made it impossible for the French government to do anything.

However, Pigneau, who was now in Pondicherry, in India, was able to raise a few hundred volunteers and purchase four shiploads of arms with the money provided by some French merchants in Pondicherry.

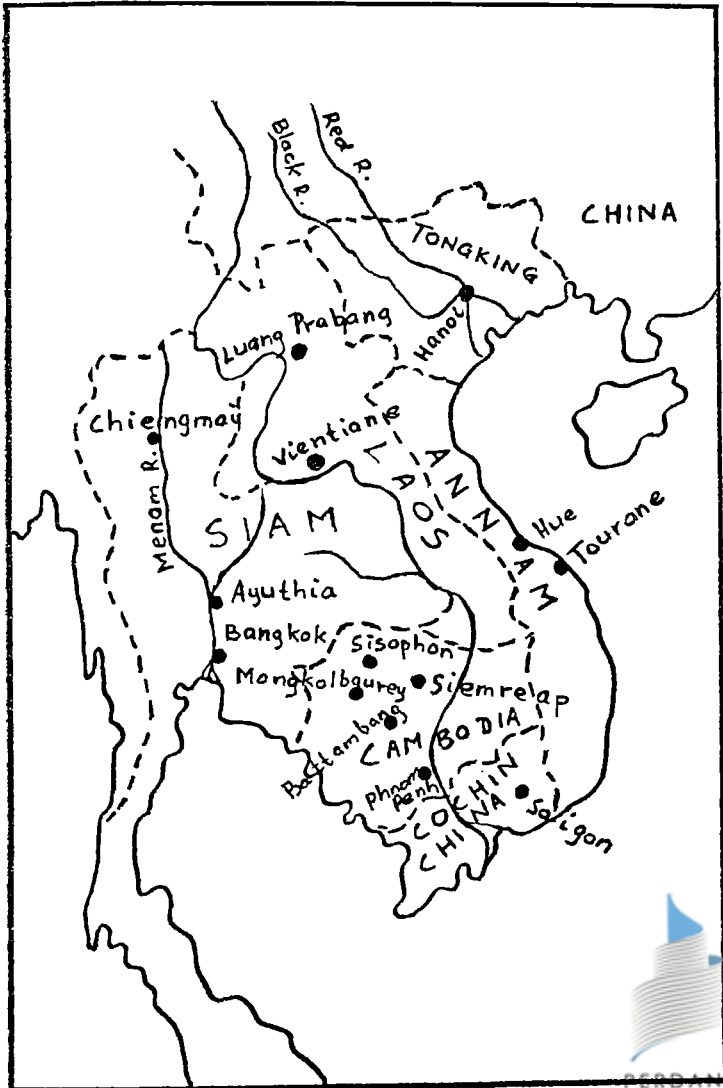
Meanwhile, Nguyen Anh had captured Saigon in 1788, and the subsequent arrival of French volunteers helped him to consolidate his position. The French volunteers trained his army and helped him to create a navy. At the same time, disputes broke out among the Tay-son brothers which weakened their resistance. Then in 1792, soon after the death of Van-Hue, the ablest of the Tay-son rebels, Nguyen Anh attacked the north. In the following year, Van-Nhac died; but the war continued for another ten years. Finally in 1801, Nguyen Anh captured Hue, and Hanoi, in 1802. He then proclaimed himself Emperor of Vietnam, and assumed the title of Gia Long, to indicate that he had united Vietnam from Gia Dinh, in the south, to Thanh Long, in the north. Meanwhile, Pigneau had died of dysentery. In 1803, the Chinese government recognised Nguyen Anh as the ruler of Annam. Thus, after fighting for almost a quarter of a century, Nguyen Anh brought about the unification of Vietnam.

French Expansion And Administrative Reforms

Emperor Gia Long divided his new state of Vietnam into three main regions, corresponding with their historical

development. Each region had its own administrative headquarters. Tongking, in the north, was under a viceroy; Annam in the centre, was governed directly by the emperor from his capital at Hué, and Cochin-China, in the south, was under another viceroy. Each region was further divided into provinces. In Tongking there were thirteen provinces; in Annam, there were nine, and in Cochin-China, four. Each province was again divided into counties and below them were districts and villages. Central administration was divided among six ministries: Public Affairs, Finance, Rites, War, Justice and Works. Each ministry was under a president, who was assisted by two vice-presidents and two or three councillors. The heads of the administration together formed the Supreme Council. The code of laws that Gia Long issued in 1815 was based on Chinese principles. Under his rule, roads and irrigation systems were built and improved. To build up his state peacefully, Gia Long tried to cultivate friendly relations with his neighbours.

In appreciation of the invaluable services that the French priest, Pigneau de Behaine, who died in 1799, had rendered to Gia Long, the Christian missionaries in Vietnam were treated fairly and their work flourished during his rule. But his successor, his son, Minh Mang (1820 — 1841), hated the 'barbarians from the West'. He rejected all French attempts to renew commercial relations with his country. He was determined to check the spread of Christianity and in 1825, issued an order forbidding the entry of Christian missionaries. In 1826 he refused to receive a French consul and broke official relations with France. He persecuted the Christians, demolished churches, and in 1836 closed almost all the ports in Vietnam to foreign shipping. The persecution of Christians continued with even greater vigour, during the reign of his successor, Thieu Tri (1841 — 1848). Finally, unable to establish friendly relations with Vietnam, the



Siam And Vietnam

French sent warships to secure the release of imprisoned French missionaries in 1843 and 1845, and in 1847, the French bombarded the port of Tourane. This was the beginning of the French conquest of Vietnam.

The next emperor, Tu Duc (1848 — 1883) showed some tolerance at first; but, soon, he too developed a distrust of the European missionaries, and in 1851, ordered the suppression of all Christian groups. Two French priests were put to death. The severe persecution of the Christians that followed caused the Emperor of France, Napoleon III, who had just come into power, with dreams of creating a French Empire like that of his uncle, Napoleon I, to send a strong protest to Hué. But when French warships bombarded the port of Tourane, after the rejection of the protest, the persecution was intensified, and in 1857, a Spanish missionary, a Bishop of Tongking, was executed. This event caused Spain to intervene as well. In 1858, French and Spanish forces occupied Tourane. In 1859 they captured Saigon, in the south. In 1862, the French occupied the three eastern provinces of the delta. The Vietnamese Emperor then agreed to a treaty in June 1862, ceding the three eastern provinces, i.e. Bien Hoa, Gia Dinh and My Tho, to France. The treaty also allowed complete freedom of worship in Vietnam and the opening of three ports to trade. Further, the emperor agreed to pay a large indemnity.

In 1867, the French occupied the western provinces of the delta and annexed them, in reaction to the continued resistance from inhabitants operating in the ceded provinces, with external aid. All the areas occupied by the French were now called Cochin-China.

Having occupied Cochin-China, the French tried to open a profitable trade with China through the Mekong valley. But a French expedition discovered that the Red

River route through Tongking would be better than that of the Mekong. Thus, the French now began to take an interest in Tongking.

Tongking, by now, had fallen into a state of disorder as a result of an influx of refugees from China and Yunnan, during the Tai'Ping Rebellion in China (1850 — 1864) and the Panthay Rebellion in Yunnan (1854 — 1873). The refugees, who had mostly taken to brigandage, were a hindrance to peaceful trade. And, following a complaint from a French merchant, Dupuis, who tried to carry on a trade in arms with Yunnan through Tongking, about the inconsiderateness of Vietnamese officials, the Governor of Cochin-China sent Francis Garnier, with a small escort, to negotiate an agreement relating to the Red River route. Unable to reach an agreement with the Vietnamese officials, Garnier stormed the citadel at Hanoi and captured a number of towns with astonishing rapidity; and though Garnier was killed, the Vietnamese Emperor was ready for peace. In 1874 a treaty was signed by which, French sovereignty over all Cochin-China was recognised. The emperor agreed to open certain ports to trade as well as, the Red River route. Freedom of worship was allowed, and a French Resident was to be admitted to Vietnam. Further, Vietnam's foreign policy was to conform to that of France. In return, the French undertook to protect the emperor.

However, as Vietnam still remained a vassal of China, the Vietnamese emperor continued to seek help from China to ease the situation caused by the continued influx of refugees into Tongking. Disturbed by the influence still exercised by China on the affairs of Vietnam, the French government, which was now contemplating overseas expansion, sent a force to Vietnam in 1882 to protect the French Resident and to establish French influence. Hanoi was easily occupied and a military conquest of the Red River delta was

begun. In 1883, Hué was attacked and the emperor was forced to surrender. Tu Duc had just died, and the dynastic dispute that followed weakened Vietnam, which then became a French protectorate under a new treaty. The foreign affairs of Vietnam were placed under the control of France. Then, by a treaty signed in 1885, China finally recognised the French position. In 1898, all the regions occupied by the French, including Cambodia and Laos, were formed into the Indo-Chinese Union for administrative convenience, under a Governor-General.

Nationalism And Uprisings Against French Rule

The French, like the Dutch did not realize the necessity of preparing the natives, under their control, for self-government. In Cochin-China, a Colonial Council had been set up as early as 1880, which was reformed in 1929. But the function of this Council was only to advise the Governor, who himself, had to act within the powers granted to him by the Governor-General of the Indo-Chinese Union. In Annam, the French Chief Resident wielded all authority. The Vietnamese Emperor and his ministers were subordinate to the Chief Resident in all administrative matters. Even in Tongking, the French held all authority. Vietnamese intellectuals were excluded from the most important administrative posts. This denial of political rights, produced a movement for the expulsion of the French. Some Vietnamese residents in China, formed the Association for the Restoration of Vietnam in 1913. The activities of this association which caused a number of disturbances in Tongking and Cochin-China against the French, had the support of the Vietnamese intellectuals and the Emperor, Duy Tan (1907 — 16). In 1916, the French quickly suppressed an attempted insurrection, and sent Duy Tan into exile, obviously for his anti-French tendencies. The next emperor, Buu Dao, reigned till 1925 as Emperor Khai Dinh.

However, what happened before the First World War were only minor skirmishes between the Vietnamese intellectuals and students on one side, and the French administration, on the other. Vietnamese nationalism as a movement began only from the time of the war. The hundred thousand Vietnamese who served in France during the war, returned to Indo-China with new political ideas. Their exclusion from administrative and political responsibility during the post-war years increased the dissatisfaction of the educated Vietnamese.

Though the French did make some concessions, and set up Consultative assemblies in Annam and Tongking, they did not meet the demands of the Vietnamese. French refusal to grant any real measure of self-government prompted the Vietnamese to resort to violence. The National Party of Vietnam, which was formed in 1927, began to terrorize officials and organise a series of strikes. In 1929 an attempt was made to assassinate the French Governor-General, Pasquier. In 1930, the party instigated a rising, combined with a mutiny of Vietnamese troops at Yen Bay in Tongking; and when the revolt was crushed, by the French, its leaders escaped into China. But now the communists, who formed the Vietnam Communist Party in 1930, assumed control of the anti-French movement. The Party was later known as the Communist Party of Indo-China. Under the leadership of Nguyen Ai-Quac (Ho Chi Minh), the communists became very active and many of them were arrested. Finally, Ho Chi Minh too fled to Hong Kong and was imprisoned there for three years. But his supporters were able to form a new party of Viet Minh in 1939.

Meanwhile, Emperor Bao Dai (1925 — 45) had made an attempt to establish a less autocratic regime in Annam, but the French firmly discouraged him. This attitude of

the French only served to confirm the view that the Vietnamese could gain reforms only by communist methods. Therefore, there was much unrest in Vietnam until the outbreak of the Second World War, but the French remained inflexible.

Japanese Occupation

By an arrangement made between Indo-China and Japan in 1941, Indo-China remained under French administration, allied to Japan, when Japanese forces invaded South-East Asia. Though the French retained control over Indo-China, the Japanese could carry on their activities without any restrictions. The Japanese were more interested in garrisoning their troops in Indo-China than running the administration. Thus, Indo-China was the only country in South-East Asia to remain under colonial rule during the Japanese occupation of this region.

In an effort to win the support of the people and to combat Japanese propaganda, the French government in Indo-China introduced many liberal reforms. A Franco-Vietnamese Grand Council, composed of thirty Vietnamese and twenty-three French members, was set up in 1943. The powers of this council, however, were limited.

Despite the friendly relations that existed between the Japanese and the French in Indo-China, a resistance movement had been organised, at the opening of the War, by some French-men who were anti-Japanese. By 1945, the resistance had become so strong that the Japanese were certain that revolt would break out against them, if it was not checked. Therefore, they turned against the French and arrested the French administrators, who had been for sometime talking about the liberation of Indo-China. Thus, French rule was ended and the Japanese army assumed control. The Japanese

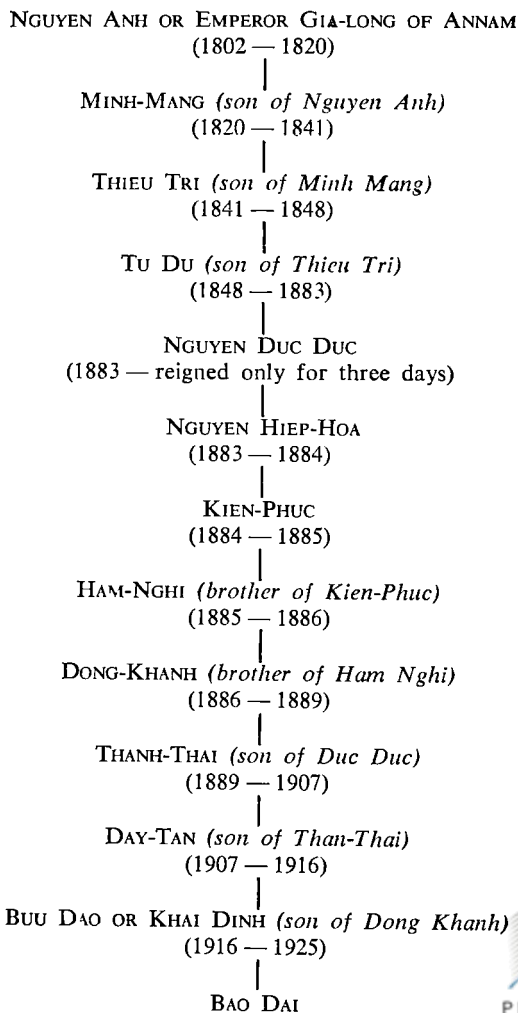
then encouraged the Emperor, Bao Dai, to declare the independence of Vietnam.

But the underground movement of the Viet-Minh or the League for the Independence of Vietnam continued under Ho Chi Minh, with some support from the French and Americans. And, when Japan capitulated in August, 1945, the Viet Minh seized control of much of the country. Emperor Bao Dai, however, abdicated and went abroad; but Vietnam was still in a state of unrest. French attempts to re-establish themselves in Vietnam were resisted by the Nationalist Viet Minh, headed by Ho Chi Minh. Eventually, the French were compelled to recognize the Vietnam Republic. The situation that the French faced in Vietnam was similar to that faced by the Dutch in Indonesia.



RULERS OF VIETNAM

(From Nguyen Anh till Japanese occupation)



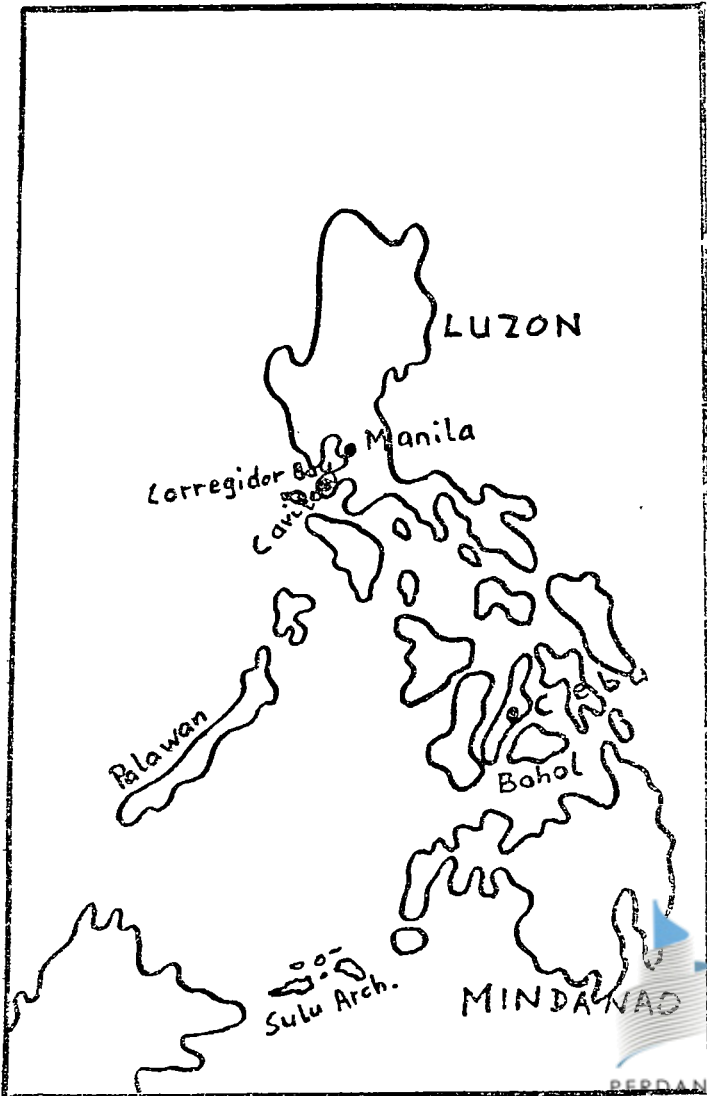
CHAPTER NINE

THE PHILIPPINES UNDER SPANISH RULE

Establishment Of Spanish Authority

Having established themselves in Central America early in the sixteenth century, the Spanish began to explore the Pacific. In 1521, Magellan reached the Philippines, where he was killed by some natives; but his ship 'Victoria' earned the distinction of being the first to circumnavigate the world.

However, Spanish interest in the Philippine Islands was aroused after 1545 when it became clear to the Spanish that they could not trade in the Spice Islands, which the Portuguese regarded as their preserve. The islands were named after King Philip of Spain. By 1565 a permanent Spanish settlement was already established on the island of Cebu, despite Portuguese attempts to obstruct the Spanish in the Philippines. The Spanish then invaded Luzon, the most important island in the Philippines, and there founded the city of Manila in 1571. From 1616 onwards, the Dutch made several attempts to capture Manila but failed. By now the Spanish had already established themselves firmly in the Philippines, though they had little control over the islands in the south. The Spanish then introduced their own system of government under a governor who had absolute authority, which was occasionally challenged by the clergy. They also introduced a system of large-scale land holdings which enabled Spanish laymen as well as the clergy to own large



The Philippines

tracts of land. Spanish types of schools were established by the clergy, and higher education began in the Philippines after the establishment of the College of St. Thomas in Manila, in 1611.

The Chinese, who had settled there before the arrival of the Spanish, however, were a menace to the Spanish authorities in the Philippines. A Chinese pirate Lim Ah Hong attacked Manila in 1574. The position became so bad that when some envoys arrived from China in 1603 the Spanish were alarmed. The suspicions of the Spanish authorities about the intentions of the Chinese, stimulated a conflict in which several local Chinese were killed. Hostilities between the Spanish and the Chinese broke out again in 1639, but as the Chinese were skilful traders and artisans the Spanish had no intention of expelling them. Instead, severe restrictions were imposed on their movements in the Philippines and steps were taken to restrict further immigration of Chinese nationals. Then in 1662, the Spanish were suddenly filled with consternation, for the Formosan pirate, Cheng Cheng-Hung (Koaxinga) planned a mammoth invasion of the Philippines. But fortunately, the attack did not come, for he was dead, and the Spanish who had been frantically throwing up defences in Manila were relieved. By now, however, the Spanish had established their authority. They imposed their own way of life on the Filipinos and introduced the Spanish dollar which was later used widely in South-East Asia. However, the natives had various grievances, and the Spanish had to crush several rebellions in the eighteenth century. The first began in 1744 in Bohol Island. The leader, who withdrew into an interior mountain stronghold with several thousand of his followers, resisted Spanish attacks for many years. The missionary absorption of communal land for cattle ranches, caused another rebellion in 1745 — 1746. The third rebellion occurred in 1762 — 1763.

just at the time when British-Indian forces captured Manila, as a part of William Pitt's aborted anti-Spanish campaign undertaken at the end of the Seven Years' War; but the Spanish were able to deal with the British as well as the rebels. After occupying Manila for about twenty months, the British surrendered the city to the Spanish by the Treaty of Paris in 1763; but the Spanish paid a dear price. Manila was sacked of all valuable treasures, and about four hundred houses were burned. Spanish prestige suffered so much that there were several Filipino uprisings; but, fortunately, they were not co-ordinated.

Hispanization Of The Philippines

The most striking aspect of Spanish rule in the Philippines was the hold of the Church over the Filipinos.

When the Spanish arrived, the Filipinos were still culturally and politically backward, compared with the peoples in most other parts of South-East Asia. They were still animists. Thus, they were much more open to the cultural influences of the West than the other peoples of South-East Asia. Though some Hindu influence had penetrated from Java, Christianity spread rapidly among the animists, and after the spread of Christianity, political and economic changes occurred. By showing kindness and wisdom in dealing with the natives, the early missionaries paved the way for a peaceful occupation of the greater part of the country. The friars, who held much temporal power, virtually ran village life. Markets and shops run by Chinese and Filipinos, grew up around their churches and monasteries. New crops such as, maize, cacao and tobacco were introduced, and friars improved cultivation of local crops, especially that of coffee and sugar. The friars were purveyors of the only education available, and by devotion and energy, they achieved a great deal. There is no doubt that

in the early days, the Filipinos benefitted from the work of the missionaries. Spanish culture spread in the Philippines through Christianity. Though, in general, the Filipinos copied the vices rather than the virtues of the Spanish, the elements that they digested became an integral part of the Filipino way of life. They now acquired a new sense of human dignity and security. There was also greater social cohesion.

Manila was the centre of Spanish activity and the cultural influences of Christianisation and Hispanization spread from there rapidly southwards. But Mindanao remained an Islamic area. The Spanish cultural influence continued so long that eighty per cent of the Filipinos are Christians. This reflects the deep hispanization, of the Philippines.

Filipino Reaction Against Spanish Rule

Spanish rule in the Philippines caused many uprisings, especially towards the end of the nineteenth century. They were often inspired by agrarian grievances, and sometimes the revolts were directed against the Spanish clergy. But the peasant revolts achieved nothing because of lack of proper leadership and discipline.

The early Filipino patriots, however, believed in reform rather than revolution. One of them was José Rizal, regarded as the first patriot of the Philippines. Coming from a wealthy family, José Rizal, a doctor, became famous overnight with his novel "Noli Me Tangere" (Touch Me Not or Social Cancer) when he was still in his twenties. The novel, published in Berlin in 1887, was in reality an exposé of the Spanish system in the Philippines. In 1888 Dr. Rizal founded the Spanish-Filipino Association from among students in Spain; and, the books he continued to publish, calling for reforms, in accordance with the views of this association,

led eventually to his deportation to Mindanao in 1892. The educated Filipinos were, however, keen supporters of Dr. Rizal's movement, and among them Dr. Rizal organised the Filipino League. Then in 1892 there appeared a more revolutionary organisation, the Katipunan. Led by Andres Bonifacio, the Katipunan believed in action, whereas the Filipino League was in favour of adopting peaceful methods.

In 1896, under a new leader of mixed Chinese Tagalog ancestry, Emilio Aguinaldo, the Katipunan rose in rebellion. Convinced that the rising had been caused by Dr. Rizal, though there was no evidence, the Spanish executed Dr. Rizal, after a travesty of a trial. National feeling against the Spanish ran high and sporadic fighting broke out everywhere. Dr. Rizal became the martyr of the nationalist movement. Aguinaldo, who carried on the struggle announced a provisional constitution for a free Philippines; but the rebels were badly organised and the Spanish authorities were finally able to persuade Aguinaldo to retire to Hong Kong. After that, the Spanish had a brief interval of peace in the Philippines until the Spanish-American War broke out in 1898.



CHAPTER TEN

**THE PHILIPPINES IN THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY**

American Intervention

The American attack on the Philippines was prompted by the situation in the Caribbean area. A rebellion against Spanish rule had begun in Cuba in which the United States intervened; and when the American warship the 'Maine' was blown up in Havana harbour on 15th February, 1898, hostilities between the United States and Spain broke out. So as to divert the Spanish forces, the Americans attacked the Philippines.

Looking for allies now, the United States was willing to assist the Filipino revolutionaries in exile in Hong Kong and Singapore to resume their struggle against the Spanish. The American fleet lay at Hong Kong, and Aguinaldo hurried to Hong Kong from Singapore where he had been on his way to Europe. Pratt, the American consul in Singapore, arranged to send Aguinaldo by an American ship, and Aguinaldo disembarked at Cavite, apparently to carry out guerrilla warfare against the Spanish. At Malolos, the Filipino revolutionaries set up a republican government, about forty miles from Manila. Meanwhile, the American fleet under Admiral Dewey had soundly beaten the Spanish in Manila Bay on the first of May, 1898. Two months later, Manila surrendered to the Americans. The Spanish govern-

ment now declared their desire for peace. The revolutionaries who had previously liberated Cavite province had by now surrounded Manila. Aguinaldo was organising a fighting force against the Spanish throughout the islands but little did he realise that the Treaty of Paris, signed between Spain and the United States, on 10th December, 1898, had ceded the Philippines to the Americans, who themselves now wished to have a base for their influence in this region. Thus, the revolutionaries found themselves again in revolt against a new and vigorous 'colonialist' power. The insurrection that followed was ended only in 1901, with the capture of Aguinaldo, the President of the Philippines Republic that was declared by the nationalists in 1899.

Economic Development

American rule brought many economic benefits to the Philippines. American business concerns began to develop the natural resources of the Philippines. As a result, the production of coal, iron and cement increased greatly. There was also an increase in the production of sugar, coconut-oil and hemp. To encourage production, the products of the Philippines were allowed to enter the United States, tax-free. This economic policy of the United States, however, had the effect of making the Philippines mainly a producer of raw materials for the American market. Further, by developing trade in the direction of the United States, the economy of the Philippines became increasingly dependent on that of the United States. The country not only depended on American trade but also on American investments and technical and managerial skill. About eighty per cent of the trade of the Philippines was with the United States. Free trade with the United States encouraged the 'money-crop' system from which the landlords and the Filipino business agents, 'compradors' derived large profits. But the masses benefitted little. Rice, which could be produced in the

Philippines, was imported, and no industries were established to produce consumer goods. This economic dependence on the United States caused many of the Filipino nationalists much anxiety, as the date for independence grew nearer, for it was obvious that complete independence of the United States would mean the ruin of the economy of the Philippines.

On the other hand, the measures adopted to reform the system of land ownership proved to be ineffective. In 1904, the government bought large areas from the Roman Catholic Church and redistributed them. Attempts were made to limit the amount of land held by one man, and to liberate the cultivators from the clutches of money-lenders. But the landlords and employers continued to oppress the cultivators, most of whom were still tenants or labourers. However, there was much improvement in social conditions under American influence.

Constitutional Reforms

After the capture of the Philippines from the Spanish, the Americans maintained a military system of government in the Philippines until 1901, when resistance to American occupation had been crushed. In that year, a civil government was established with William Taft as governor. Taft later became the President of the United States. The civil government proceeded to carry through a series of projects for the rapid modernization of public works, hygiene, education, transport and justice. However, the United States retained all authority. An elected Legislative Assembly was set up in 1907, in response to Filipino aspirations for self-government, which had the right to advise and to warn, but had no executive powers. There was also an Upper House of the Legislature, consisting entirely of American officials. However, in 1913, a Filipino majority was established in the

Upper House which was replaced by an elected Senate, by the Jones Act of 1916. But the Governor-General could still veto any act of the Legislature. Acts affecting such matters as public land, immigration, tariffs, and mining, required the assent of the President of the United States. The limited powers granted to the Filipinos under self-government, induced the Filipinos to take a greater interest in national affairs. As a result, several political parties emerged, the most important of which, was the Nacionalista Party. Under the leadership of Sergio Osmena, this party aimed to achieve independence for the Philippines.

Then in 1934, the Tydings-McDuffie Act was passed by the United States Congress, which provided for a wide measure of self-government for ten years, to be followed by independence. But during this period, the President of the United States would retain control over foreign affairs and defence. The President would also retain the right to veto any legislation affecting the constitution or foreign trade of the Philippines. The Act also provided for the gradual imposition of import tax on the produce of the Philippines and the stationing of American forces in the Islands. Soon, a constitutional convention met and drew up a new constitution which created the Commonwealth of the Philippines in 1935. The first President under this constitution was Manuel Quezon of the Nacionalista Party.

Therefore, in fairness to the United States, it may be said that the people of the Philippines were prepared for independence by slow and easy stages, and, though the prospects of independence were dimmed by the Japanese invasion in 1942, the Filipinos achieved their independence immediately after the departure of the Japanese.

Japanese Invasion

Shortly after the surprise attack on the American Pacific Fleet in Pearl Harbour, in December 1941, the Japanese bombed Manila, the capital of the Philippines, and several other strategic sites. Manila fell on second January, 1942. General MacArthur resisted the Japanese landings but the American forces were forced to withdraw to Bataan Peninsula, where they held out till April. The island of Corregidor, the last American stronghold, was taken in May. General MacArthur escaped by boat and plane to carry on the campaign from Australia. The invading Japanese forces committed many acts of cruelty, including the burning of Cebu to the ground. But after they had driven out the Americans, the Japanese, who aimed to include the Philippines in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, linked intimately, that is, to the Japanese war effort, began to adopt a more conciliatory attitude.

The Japanese could not pose themselves as liberators in the Philippines which had already been allowed a measure of political independence under American rule. Therefore, the trappings of independence had to be simulated, and Japanese propaganda had to be subtly phrased to win the support of the people. Accordingly, the Japanese set up a single political party, the 'Kalibapi'. A Preparatory Committee for Philippines independence then drafted a constitution, and a puppet republic was established in 1943. The President under this constitution was 'selected' to fill a constitutional dictatorship. Meanwhile, an underground movement had begun. The Peoples Anti-Japanese Army or Hukbalahaps, led mostly by communists, continued to resist the Japanese, and to keep up the morale of the underground, the Philippine government in exile, under Quezon, continued to beam propaganda from Washington. Filipino guerrilla forces were particularly strong in Mindano; and when allied

forces were expected to land in Mindano, towards the end of the war, the Japanese became extremely hostile to the Filipinos. Meanwhile, the United States had already promised that the Philippines would receive full independence in 1946.

The Japanese occupation of the Philippines, as in other parts of South-East Asia, brought nothing but ruin and sorrow to the people who were exposed to the tyrannical excesses of the Japanese militarists. However, by the end of 1944, American forces under General MacArthur were ready to return to the Philippines. In early 1945, MacArthur's forces invaded the main island of Luzon and fought their way overland to Manila to break the backbone of Japan's hold on the Philippines. In August 1945, Japan surrendered and the war ended. But before the country could recover from the effects of the war, the United States gave independence to the Philippines on 4th July, 1946, to fulfill the promise made earlier. The new President of the Philippines was Manuel Roxas. President Quezon had already died in 1944, while in exile.



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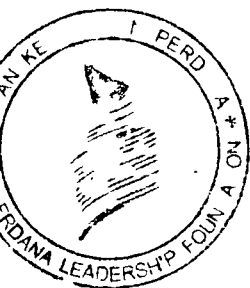
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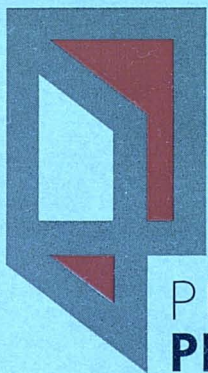




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