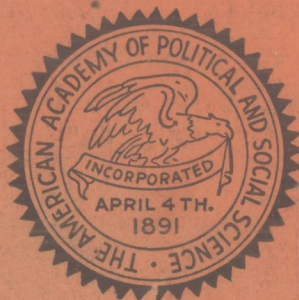


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**Southeastern Asia and the
Philippines**

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SOUTHEASTERN ASIA AND THE PHILIPPINES

Edited by

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Associate Professor of Political Science

University of Minnesota

Minneapolis, Minnesota

689

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1943

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Are the Filipinos Ready for Independence?	May	1927, Supp.
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INTRODUCTION

SOUTHEASTERN ASIA had little interest for the majority of Americans until a little more than a year ago. About all that most people knew of it was that we depended on it for our tin and rubber, and that Singapore was a strong naval base. Knowledge of the Philippines was not much greater. The spectacular conquests of Japan and their consequences to ourselves have completely changed this attitude. Little reliable information has been available, however, to satisfy the demand which has been aroused. Few Americans had lived in these countries long enough to understand their problems, and practically none of them had ever thought of publishing their knowledge. The same statement could be made regarding most of the British, Dutch, and French residents. The indigenous peoples were not vocal, and the very few who expressed themselves usually did so in local vernacular newspapers or in the debates of the various legislative bodies.

The object of this special issue of *THE ANNALS* is to present an unbiased account of the prewar political and economic situation, and of the causes of the Japanese victories as far as it is possible to deal with this subject. Very little reliable and detailed information has been published on the campaigns in the Philippines, Malaya, and other places, and since most of those who took part in them are now prisoners, we shall not learn the full truth until the war is over. The one fact which stands out indisputably is that every one of the United Nations was dangerously unprepared, and that the Japanese victories were due to this colossal sin of omission far more than to the various mistakes which were committed by the local governments and military and naval leaders. With the wisdom of hindsight it is now clear that southeastern Asia and the Philippines

were doomed from the day that the Japanese opened their attack.

The fall of the American and European dependencies is not the end of the story, and this description of conditions therefore is far more than an account of a tragic but dead-and-gone episode. The whole question will come up again at the postwar settlement, and will prove to be one of the most complex and difficult problems with which the leaders of the United Nations will have to deal. There can be no return to the world of 1941, but that world will have to be taken into very careful consideration if the new order is to be more stable and lasting than the old. The fundamental conditions of political, economic, and social life will not be swept away by Japan's temporary control: they are too deep-seated and too rooted in centuries of historical evolution to disappear so easily. Superficially they may be changed, and they may well prove to be more difficult to deal with. In essentials, however, they will be the same, and any settlement must accommodate itself to them if it hopes to succeed.

SEPARATION OF MASSES FROM RULING GROUPS

Perhaps the most important of these basic factors is the gulf—political, economic, and racial—which separates the overwhelming majority of the population from the controlling and ruling groups. The average man of southeastern Asia is a small farmer or fisherman whose interests are very largely confined to his fields and his village. He is conservative and is strongly influenced by his traditional belief that government comes from above and is not the business of the peasant cultivator. This does not mean that he is indifferent to his own well-being—taxes, irrigation works, anything which affects his own land or his village em-

phatically interests him. But while he expects government to look after his welfare, he knows little and cares less about democracy. He has not been much affected by the political agitation of the past twenty or thirty years, and there is little in common between him and the small minority of his Western-educated fellow countrymen who make up the local nationalist parties and have been demanding democratic government. A long and slow process of education will be necessary before the agricultural masses can play any effective part in the government of their own countries. At the present time popular government would be merely a camouflage for minority control.

FOREIGN MIDDLE CLASS

The separation between the agricultural masses and the controlling groups is even more marked in the economic field, for here it is racial as well as mental. With the partial exception of the Philippines, the middle class in every country is made up almost entirely of foreigners—Europeans, Americans, Chinese, and Indians. The explanation is in part that the most widespread cultivation is rice, a crop which is never very profitable to the grower, however lucrative it may be to the Chinese middleman who controls the milling and the distribution. Antiquated methods of farming, a disinclination to change them, and a heavy burden of largely unproductive rural debt are also important causes.

Perhaps the principal reason, however, is that the people of southeastern Asia lack business capacity. They have little desire for a commercial career, and vastly prefer agriculture or fishing; and when they have gone into business they have not as a rule made a great success of it. They prefer to follow the traditional way of life, and make very little attempt to develop the immense potential wealth of their countries. The inevitable result is

that this development and the economic and political power which goes with it have fallen into the hands of foreigners. There is no equivalent to the middle class of business and professional men which in India increasingly controls economic development and has led the movement to transfer political power from the British to the Indians. In southeastern Asia, on the other hand, the economic situation has reacted upon the political. The Chinese and Indian middle-class residents are separated from the people of the country in race, in interests, and often in religion, and during the past twenty years there has been a widespread and growing antagonism to their economic power.

This opposition has been much more marked than has the opposition to the Europeans who hold the most important positions of all in government and business. There seems very little likelihood that the peoples of southeastern Asia will accept the leadership of foreign Asiatics in the nationalist movements. Yet if the past is any criterion, it will be a long time before they are able to create a similar class from among their own people.

DIVERGENT INTERESTS

Another significant point is the lack of unity of interests between the countries under review. They have little in common save that all are weak, largely undeveloped, and politically and economically under foreign control. There is a broad similarity of problems, but this is outweighed by the differences that mark off the peoples from one another. They are divided by long-established customs and ideas, hostilities that are generations old, religion, and divergent historical development. The recent appearance of separate nationalisms has added a new and growing element of disunity, and there is no sense of community of interests. No one solution can be applied

indiscriminately to the whole area: it must be carefully adapted to the local conditions of each country if it is to work successfully.

FOREIGN TRADE

Study of the economic situation shows the interdependence of southeastern Asia and the Philippines on the one hand and the Western Hemisphere and Europe on the other. This is particularly true of the Philippines, Malaya, and the Dutch East Indies, with their tin, rubber, sugar, and vegetable oils; but it also applies to a less degree to Burma, Thailand, and Indo-China. The prosperity of a large part of the population depends upon the sale of their produce in Western markets, and the greater part of the revenue which maintains their social services comes directly or indirectly from the same source. The bulk of it has been provided by the European and American companies which have invested heavily in mines and plantations.

The fact that imports into southeastern Asia from Europe have very considerably exceeded exports to Europe has in turn reacted upon the trade between the latter and the United States. It has been one of the factors which enabled Europe to buy from the United States very considerably more than it sold to her. The triangle was completed by the excess of United States imports from southeastern Asia over exports to it, since this went a long way towards providing the foreign exchange which enabled these countries to buy from Europe more than they sold to it.

This triangular trade between Europe, the United States, and southeastern Asia must be a very important consideration in the formation of postwar tariff policies. Any drastic interference with it is likely to have unexpected repercussions on United States-European trade, be-

sides affecting seriously the standard of living of the peoples of southeastern Asia.

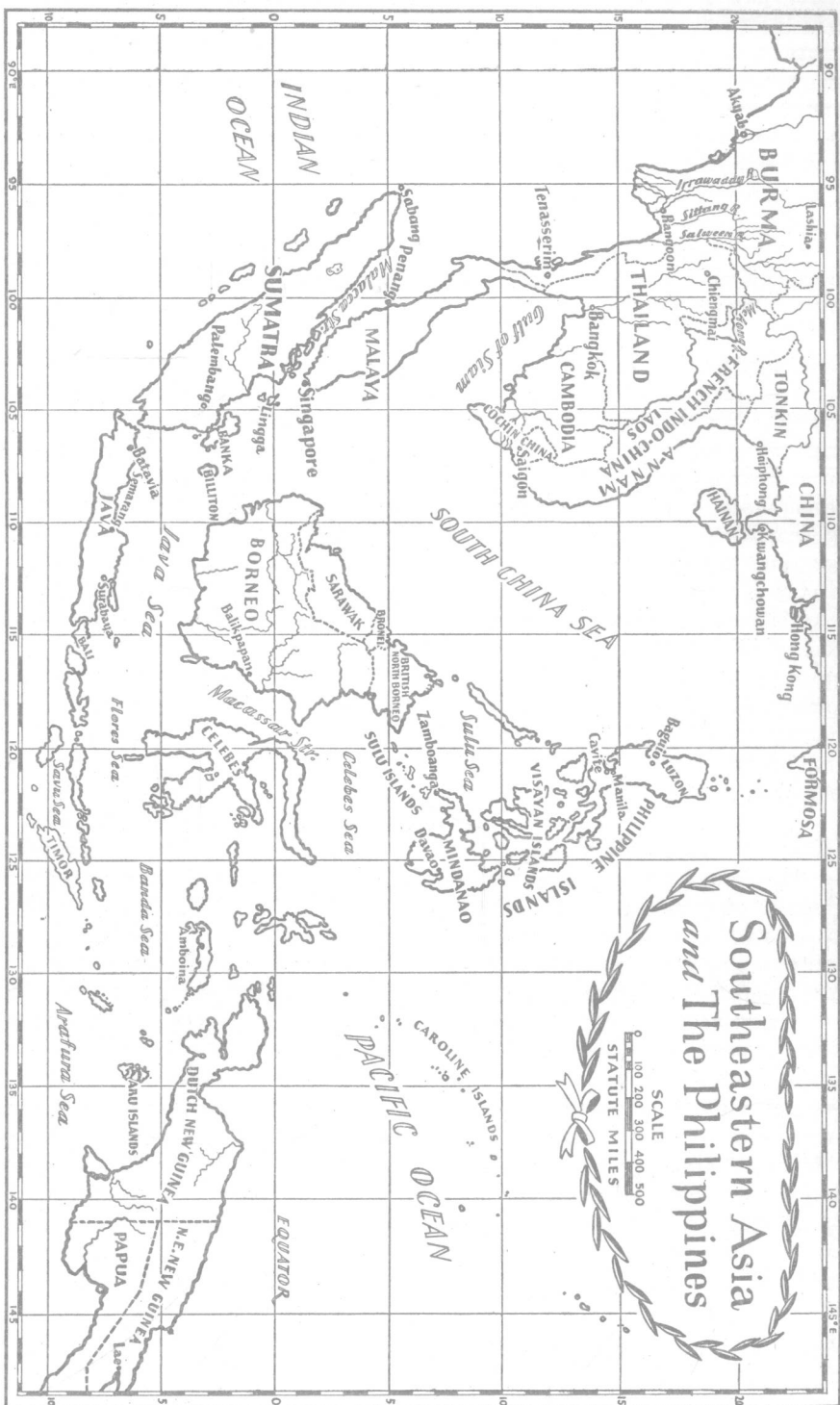
INDUSTRIAL WEAKNESS

Japan's conquests emphasized one other condition which the peoples of the colonial powers had apparently forgotten, at least if one may judge by the amazed bewilderment which was caused by her victories. This is that the Philippines and the countries of southeastern Asia were too weak to defend themselves, and their safety depended upon the immediate dispatch of adequate forces by the protecting powers. These forces either did not exist in 1941 or were needed in other theaters of war, and all that the local armies, navies, and air forces could do was to fight a hopeless delaying action.

Even if the British and Dutch dependencies had raised large local forces, as was done by the Philippine Commonwealth Government after 1935, the colonies would still have been unable to repel unaided the attack of a great power. Their weakness was not in manpower but in equipment, for both in Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies many volunteers had to be rejected because there were no arms for them. Manufacturing was in its infancy, and except to some extent in the East Indies it was practically confined to preparing rubber, tin, rice, and other local products for the market. Most of the equipment, including all the airplanes, had to be imported from the United States or Great Britain, and in 1941 the factories were unable to fill the orders given them.

The industrial weakness of southeastern Asia will continue to exist for a long time to come, and one of the problems of the postwar settlement must be to prevent a repetition of the disasters of fifteen months ago.

LENNOX A. MILLS.



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