





MAKERS OF MODERN ASIA

For Civil Services Examination

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ABOUT THE BOOK

The twenty-first century has been dubbed the Asian Century. Highlighting diverse thinker-politicians rather than billionaire businessmen, Makers of Modern Asia presents eleven leaders who theorized and organized anticolonial movements, strategized and directed military campaigns, and designed and implemented political systems.



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INTRODUCTION

The rise of the nations of Asia is now a commonplace of academic and media discussion. A decade ago, the focus was on the so- called East Asian Tigers— Japan, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan— whereas now much attention is being paid to the emergence as global players of the world's two most populous countries, China and India, whose economic and technological surge has caused a great deal of admiration— and perhaps an equal amount of alarm— in the West. Just as the nineteenth century belonged to Europe, and the twentieth century belonged to America, we are told that the century we now live in will be dominated by Asia, whose rise is said to be "irresistible."

The debates on Asia's rise have been dominated by politicians, journalists, businessmen, and economists, who all tend to look at the present and the immediate future. To them, the "problem" of China— and of India, Indonesia, Vietnam, too— that Bertrand Russell identified in his book is no longer urgent or current. That is to say, for these commentators the political in dependence and autonomy of these Asian countries is assumed, taken for granted. They thus present a partial, slanted picture of the Asian resurgence, for the economic achievements they speak of could scarcely have been possible without the creation (often by disorderly means) of an "orderly government" in these once poor, once divided, once colonized nations.

The depth, variety, and robustness of the Asian nationalisms explored in this book have been somewhat underplayed in global debates. There are several reasons for this. From the late nineteenth century until World War II, nationalist sentiments in Asia (and Africa) were generally dismissed by the colonial powers as the handiwork of a few disgruntled elites.

Makers of Modern Asia takes this new interest to a domain where it has not yet been extensively or carefully applied. Twentieth- century Asia is a superb showcase for the potential of biography as history. Countries such as China, India, Indonesia, and Vietnam have all had rich, diverse, complicated, and deeply contentious histories. Their premier nationalists and state- makers led influential and controversial lives. They were both actors and thinkers who organized popular movements against colonial rule, directed military campaigns (and on occasion opposed them), founded new nation- states, and subsequently shaped their political systems as well as their economic and social policies. There are eleven individuals featured in this book. By foregrounding politics and political lives, this book hopes to provide a richer, more nuanced context for the contemporary understanding of the economic rise of Asia.



1. GANDHI, INDIA, AND THE WORLD

- Born in the western Indian port town of Porbandar in 1869, educated in Rajkot and London, Mohandas Gandhi came to South Africa in May 1893 to help settle a dispute between two merchants. He spent much of the next two decades there, shuttling between Natal and the Transvaal. It was in South Africa that he developed the techniques of political protest for which he remains best known and to which he gave the name satyagraha, or truth-force.
- The satyagrahas led by Gandhi in South Africa rejected the cautious incrementalism of petition-writers. To defend one's rights, one had sometimes to defy discriminatory laws and court arrest. But satyagraha also emphatically rejected the violent methods then fashionable among nationalists and revolutionaries. In Europe, anarchists sought to bring about political change by assassinating kings and prime ministers; socialists, by or ga niz ing the working class in violent insurrections. These methods were emulated in India, where young radicals sought likewise to kill colonial administrators in a bid to frighten the British into leaving the country.
- The India that Gandhi came back to in 1915 was rather different from the one that he had left in 1893. Although still a colony of the British, it was far more active in a political sense. The Indian National Congress now had branches in most major cities and towns, and had greatly broadened its appeal among the middle classes. On the advice of his mentor, the Puné liberal Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Gandhi spent a year traveling around India, getting to know the land and its peoples. His first major public appearance was at the opening of the Banaras Hindu University (BHU) in February 1916. Among the invitees to this event were the princes and philanthropists whose donations had enabled the creation of the new university. Also present were important leaders of the Congress. Compared to these dignitaries, Gandhi was relatively unknown. He had been invited on account of his work in South Africa, rather than his status within India.
- At the annual Congress meeting, held in Lucknow in December 1916, he was approached by a peasant from Champaran in Bihar, who told him about the harsh treatment of peasants by British indigo planters. Gandhi was to spend much of 1917 in Champaran, seeking to obtain for the peasants security of tenure as well as the freedom to cultivate the crops of their choice. The following year, 1918, Gandhi was involved in two campaigns in his home state of Gujarat. First, he intervened in a labor dispute in Ahmedabad, demanding better working conditions for the textile mill workers. Then, he joined peasants in Kheda in asking the state for the remission of taxes following the failure of their harvest.
- These initiatives in Champaran, Ahmedabad, and Kheda marked Gandhi as a nationalist with a deep sympathy for the poor. Yet these were all local struggles. Then, in 1919, the colonial rulers delivered into Gandhi's lap an issue from which he could construct a much wider movement. During World War I, the British had instituted censorship of the press and permitted detention without trial. Now, on the recommendation of a committee chaired by Sir Sidney Rowlatt, these tough measures were continued. In response, Gandhi called for a countrywide campaign against the so- called Rowlatt Act. In towns across north and west India, life came to a standstill, as shops shut down and schools closed in response to the bandh call. It was the Rowlatt satyagraha that made Gandhi a truly national leader.
- Wherever Gandhi traveled in India, rumors spread of his miraculous powers. In some places it was said that he had been sent by the king to redress the grievances of the farmers and that he had the power to overrule all local officials. Rumors spread of how villagers who criticized Gandhi found their houses mysteriously falling apart or their crops failing.
- For several years after the noncooperation movement ended, Gandhi focused on social reform. In 1928, however, he began to think of reentering politics. That year there was a countrywide campaign in opposition to the all- white Simon Commission, sent from England to inquire into conditions in the colony. Gandhi did not himself participate in this movement, although he gave it his blessings, as he also did with a peasant satyagraha in Bardoli in western India in the same year.



- The Salt March of 1930 was notable for at least three reasons. First, it brought Gandhi to world attention, with the march being widely covered by the Eu ro pe an and American press. Second, it was the first nationalist activity in which women participated in large numbers. The socialist Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay had persuaded Gandhi not to restrict the protests to men alone. Kamaladevi was herself one of numerous women who courted arrest by breaking the salt or liquor laws. Third, and perhaps most significant, it was the Salt March that forced upon the British the realization that their raj may not last forever and that they would have to devolve some powers to Indians.
- In the spring of 1942, the British prime minister, Winston Churchill, was persuaded to send one of his ministers, Sir Stafford Cripps, to try and forge a compromise with Gandhi and the Congress. Talks broke down after the Congress insisted that if it was to help the British defend India from the Axis powers, the viceroy had first to appoint an Indian as the defense member of his executive council.
- After the failure of the Cripps mission, Gandhi launched his third major movement against British rule. This was the "Quit India" campaign, which began in August 1942. Although Gandhi was jailed at once, younger activists directed strikes and acts of sabotage all over the country. In several districts, such as Satara in the west and Medinipur in the east, "in de pen dent" governments were proclaimed. The British responded with much force, yet it took more than a year to suppress the rebellion.
- Between 1917, when he went to Champaran, and 1942, when he was arrested for starting the "Quit India" movement, Gandhi was undoubtedly the most powerful force in Indian politics. His name was recognized all across the country. Hundreds of thousands of ordinary Indians had courted arrest at his command. Under his leadership and guidance, the Congress had become a genuinely all- India party, reaching beyond the middle class to embrace large sections of the peasantry and the working class as well.
- Gandhi was not universally admired, however. Among his critics were three Indians who each commanded considerable intellectual powers as well as political influence. They each represented a social base different from, and an ideological tendency opposed to, Gandhi's. They each led parties of their own, which rejected the claim of Gandhi's Congress that it was the main or even sole representative body of the Indian nation-in-the-making.
- Gandhi today has some enthusiastic Indian admirers and some hostile and aggressive critics. While the two men were alive, many more Hindus followed Gandhi than Savarkar. In the 1930s and beyond, many more erstwhile untouchables voted for Gandhi's Congress than for parties led by Ambedkar. However, the posthumous battles have swung somewhat in the other direction. Both the rightwing Hindu radicals and the left- wing anti- Hindu radicals have a strong following in India today. Political parties with influence and power presume to speak in their names and against Gandhi's. Meanwhile, there is also a Maoist insurgency active in parts of central and eastern India, whose leaders and cadres sometimes decapitate statues of Gandhi to show their contempt for the "Father of the Nation."
- Outside India, on the other hand, Gandhi has few critics, and a huge (and apparently still growing) number of admirers. His techniques of nonviolent protest have had a colossal impact across the world. The civil rights movement in the United States owes a great deal to the influence of Gandhi. Long before Martin Luther King Jr. arrived on the scene, Gandhi's name and doings were widely written about in the African American press.



2. CHIANG KAI- SHEK AND CHINESE MODERNIZATION

- when Chiang was born in 1887, China had been in a state of decline and national humiliation for more than forty years. In the second half of the nineteenth century, unlike Japan, China's Manchu dynasty and much of China reacted to the obviously superior power of the intruding West with obscurantism and desultory re sis tance. By the time Chiang was eighteen, he was already a revolutionary republican and modern Confucianist— and so, he cut off his pigtail, worn as a symbol of submission to the ruling Manchus. He was influenced by the new generation of neo-Confucian teachers who supported dramatic reform and modernization but within China's cultural context (as had been done in Japan).
- Foreign diplomats usually found Chiang informed and articulate. Shortly after Pearl Harbor, he traveled to India and won Gandhi and Nehru's pledge that they would not try to weaken the Allied war effort in Asia. His numerous foreign technical advisers were virtually all Westerners.
- Chiang became military leader of the Kuomintang (KMT's) revolutionary army in 1926. When, in 1927, the left wing of the Kuomintang, including the Communist Party, put out a secret order for his arrest or assassination, Chiang ordered the bloody purge of the Communists—carried out in Shanghai by the Green Gang. This action was the first demonstration of his willingness to use brutal means if necessary to attain what he saw as critical goals of the revolution—namely, protecting it from foreign control and the rise of an extremist party that was pledged to dismantling much of Chinese culture in the pursuit of a radical model of modernization. In 1917, Chiang wrote that Japan posed an increasing threat to China, and during a trip to Tokyo in 1927, Japanese Premier Tanaka Giichi warned him that the Revolutionary Army should not cross the Yangtze into North China and Japan's sphere. From that point on Chiang saw Japan as the gravest threat to China's sovereignty and even its civilization. A threat that surpassed that of the Chinese Communists.
- In 1928, Chiang captured Beijing, and the Manchurian warlord Zhang Xueliang joined the KMT. For the first time since the fall of the Qing dynasty, 95 percent of traditional China at its peak was formally united under one flag. But in fact Chiang's full authority extended only to the Chinese-administered part of Shanghai, the city of Nanjing, and several neighboring provinces. Warlords also flying the KMT flag, a few Communist enclaves, the small foreign concessions, and the Japanese occupiers in Taiwan controlled all the rest. In 1932, Chiang flirted with a domestic fascist approach but two years later abandoned it.
- Chiang hoped to have a decade— or if possible, two— to try to close the huge gap with Japan in military and industrial power. Thus, his first step in 1927 was to arrange the German-led—largely Chinese-funded—program to modernize the country's army. But he knew that a modern army first of all required an ordnance industry, which in turn required a broad industrial base. In 1928, the KMT National Congress issued plans promoting the state role in developing basic industries. Chiang also promised to achieve a strong, effective, and honest central government. Such a government was in his as well as China's interest.
- As soon as the long War of Resistance against Japan began, the Chinese, amid the chaos, showed their "Great Wall" organizational skills— and patriotism. Six hundred factories, over one hundred thousand tons of industrial equipment, tens of thousands of finished products and machine parts, and ten thousand skilled workers were moved from the seaboard to the interior. Put in overall charge of this massive undertaking was an obscure official in the Ministry of Economic Affairs. But the ordnance chief with a Harvard doctorate in mathematics, Yu Dawei, directed the exodus of the most strategic segment— the ordnance industry, which included the unfinished steel mill and other related factories. Left behind, however, was probably a substantial majority of the rest of the country's small industrial base.



- Arriving on Taiwan in May 1949, Chiang believed that after two decades of constant turmoil and war on the mainland, his years on the island would be undisturbed by either internal or external conflict. He could then show the world— especially the mainland— how a Chinese society could "achieve true progress." Chiang's rule on the mainland had been a quasi- soft to a semi- hard authoritarian one. On Taiwan, it was on the political front simply a hard brand of dictatorship.
- Economically, Chiang's "way" to modernization would continue to reflect his social/economic philosophy as it had further evolved during the war with Japan. Again, it would emphasize a state monopoly of basic infrastructure and state ownership of a wide range of enterprises but also included in some sectors an opening for competing private firms. Central planning in theory aimed at a socialist economy dominated by heavy industry. But in practice, during Chiang's first decade on Taiwan, the economy would be dominated by the effects of land reform, the creation of new light industries in the private sector, and the policy of import substitution. The plan would still give high priority to military needs but this time equal or even greater weight to control of inflation. The paternalistic danwei (unit or enterprise) system— suitable for the evacuated workers, staff, and families sent to Chongqing—was not, however, duplicated on Taiwan.



3. HO CHI MINH: NATIONALIST ICON

- Ho Chi Minh became a symbol of anticolonialism in the 1940s and 1950s. An object of fascination to his French and American enemies, who still argue about his bedrock political beliefs, he has suffered from his use as a national icon in Vietnam. His reputation as an austere and unpretentious patriot has been a source of legitimacy enjoyed by the Vietnamese Communists after their 1975 victory. His embalmed body still lies in its tomb in Hanoi's Ba Dinh Square, despite his own wish to be cremated. The use of Ho's name to represent the Viet nam ese Communist leadership became common in the 1950s and has never really disappeared.
- The strength of Ho's reputation is surprising, when one considers how little exposure he had on the international stage. Other than his travels around the Communist bloc and a 1958 visit to India, he had relatively little chance to be feted as a world leader. He did not attend the Geneva Conference or the Bandung Conference of Asian and African leaders in 1955; he never made it to New York for the UN General Assembly. His one chance to return to France as a head of state in the summer of 1946 was marred by the failure of the Fontainebleau negotiations. Yet even before Vietnam's victory at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, he was known around the world. Perhaps what has cemented Ho's place in history is the fact that his battles with the French and the Americans epitomize the David and Goliath struggle for decolonization.
- Ho Chi Minh went to Moscow as a neophyte Communist, eager to share his new discovery with his Vietnamese compatriots; he left Moscow late in 1924 as a trainee and low-level worker for the Comintern. He had already experienced the contest for power following Lenin's death and Trotsky's fall from grace by the time he departed for Canton. In China, he worked as a translator for the Russian news service, established along with the aid mission to support Sun Yatsen's republic. As a rule, Ho stayed out of doctrinal squabbles in order to concentrate on his objective of obtaining aid for Vietnam's independence movement. He had laid the groundwork for a Viet nam ese revolutionary youth movement and recruited an inner corps of Communist members among the expatriates, when he had to flee China in 1927, following Chiang Kai- shek's coup against the Communists within the United Front.
- Although the Comintern would develop a more radical line by 1928, Ho Chi Minh always remained attached to the United Front policies of his first years in the Soviet orbit. He stuck to the traditional Marxist view that undeveloped colonial countries were not ripe for communism; he adopted Lenin's plan that they should carry out a two-stage revolution, first nationalist and anti feudal, then Socialist. He envisioned the Communists as acting within a larger nationalist coalition, without a precise timetable for the implementation of Socialist policies such as the confiscation of large landholdings.
- From the moment of the DRV's birth until the breakdown of the shaky French-Vietminh relationship in December 1946, Ho Chi Minh maneuvered to maintain broad support for his government. He was too realistic to believe that his small guerilla force could carry out a revolution by force of arms without international support. He announced the dissolution of the Communist Party in November 1945 to avoid the appearance that the DRV was dominated by the Communists— and possibly to curb the power of rival groups who were less committed to the Vietminh United Front program than his own inner circle.
- After the Chinese Communists' victory in October 1949, the Vietnamese Resistance moved into a new phase. In early 1950, Ho Chi Minh traveled to China and Moscow, where he was finally able to get a hearing from the Soviet leadership. While Stalin was guarded in his relations with Ho, the Chinese leadership vouched for him and defended his unorthodox step of dissolving the Indochinese Communist Party in 1945. Still, Ho's position within the Communist world remained uncertain, in part because criticism from within his own party was making its way to Moscow.



- The Cold War forced former Asian colonies to align themselves with the United States or to lean toward one of the Communist powers for protection. The tragedy of Ho Chi Minh was that his efforts to make peace with France came to be viewed by his own party as mistakes. In the end he was forced to seek alliances with China and the Soviet Union that in many ways curtailed Vietnam's independence. But the only other option before him appeared to be national extinction.
- Ho was no more a denier of universal values than Nehru had been. In his early internationalism, he embraced both French and American values of equality and freedom. Yet because he never had the chance to serve as a peacetime leader, he was deprived of the opportunity to prove his sincerity or provide a model of "open nationalism" for the new century. That he also had faith in the promise of Marxism to create an egalitarian, just society cannot be doubted. But his desire to unify all Vietnamese patriots into one movement was far stronger than his attachment to Communist dogma; he preferred peaceful political transformation to revolutionary violence, in strong contrast to Mao Zedong's outlook.



4. MAO ZEDONG AND CHARISMATIC MAOISM

- Mao was born in 1893. Mao has the distinction, along with Gandhi, of being one of the very small numbers of non-European political leaders to achieve brand- name status in the twentieth century. Mao has been used as an endorsement for a wide variety of movements, from the radical Naxalite movement in India, to the Khmer Rouge genocide in Cambodia, to the anti- establishment protests of Paris students in the 1960s.
- The cultural moment known as the "May Fourth era," roughly from the mid- 1910s to the early 1930s, was a particularly important one for understanding how Mao would be shaped. For Mao was a child of his time, the very late Qing dynasty and the early Republican era. When he was eighteen, the 1911 revolution overthrew the twothousand-year-old imperial system, ushering in a period of Republican government marked by instability and militarism on the one hand, but a significant flowering of different models of political thought on the other. Politically weak governments allowed the spread of the innovative and often iconoclastic current of thought known as the "May Fourth" or "New Culture" period. The term "May Fourth" comes from the student demonstrations in Beijing on May 4, 1919, protesting against the unjust treatment of China at the Paris Peace Conference; yet the "May Fourth" or "New Culture" period refers to a much wider sense of national crisis linked to cultural opportunity felt among many Chinese from the mid-1910s to the mid-to late 1920s. The idea of "newness" shaped political discussion of the time and involved a rejection of the Confucian norm that age and precedent were preferable tools for dealing with crisis.
- Mao's radicalism was visible in his earliest years, even before he became a Marxist. He began to attend meetings of the study societies that would eventually, in 1921, become the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). In its early years, the party was not the machine to rule China that it would later become. But from 1923, it took advantage of a great opportunity to join up with the much larger Nationalist (Kuomintang) Party of Sun Yat-sen with Soviet tutelage. Sun died in 1925, and his place at the top of the party was taken by the younger Nationalist Chiang Kai- shek, who was rather less keen on the alliance with the CCP than Sun had been. Mao became an enthusiastic participant in the United Front between the two parties, which resulted in the Northern Expedition of 1926–1927, a combination of political and military campaigns that defeated or coerced the militarist leaders who had dominated much of China since the 1911 revolution. But the Nationalists had a horrific surprise for their partners. Chiang had grown increasingly suspicious of the intentions of his Communist allies, and in 1927, turned his secret society and security force allies against them, killing thousands in Shanghai and Guangzhou (Canton). The Communists fled to the countryside to regroup and recover. As Chiang's campaigns of "extermination" began to take their toll on the CCP, the party made its famous decision to leave for the northwest— a journey that would become known as the Long March.
- During the hair- raising months of the March in 1934–1935, Mao's position in the party began to rise yet further. However, there were still rivals to his leadership, including the Moscow- trained Wang Ming, who was able to claim the prestige of having spent time in the world capital of Communism. The making of Mao's leadership was an event he could not have engineered himself, but the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 gave him a superb opportunity. By the end of the war, Mao was undoubtedly the most prominent figure in the party, and his vision of revolution the one that would shape China.
- In four decades, from the early 1920s to the mid-1960s, Mao had created the body of thought that would become known as Maoism (or "Mao Zedong thought"). Of course, Maoism is, and must be, considered as a mode of Marxist thought. However, it was a Marxism shaped by a grassroots understanding of China's nature as an agricultural society that could not be changed by a Bolshevik- style urban-based revolution.



- The cult of personality surrounding Mao Zedong peaked during the initial phase of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR, 1966– 1969). China's youth was mobilized behind the Chairman's call to "bombard the headquarters," and eagerly took part in Mao's revolt against his own party. The role of the young Red Guards caught not only China's but the world's attention. It seemed that they followed Mao not as a politi cal leader, but rather as a god, "the reddest of red suns in all our hearts."
- What, in essence, was charismatic Maoism? First of all, it was dependent on a cult of personality. Mao himself became the center of ideological correctness and his work, codified as "Marx- LeninistMao Zedong thought," positioned him in a line of succession to the canonical Marxist thinkers. Rather than having to boost his own image, Mao was supported by allies.
- Mao's legacy still has great significance even in the go-go economy of early twenty- first- century China. At a basic level, Mao's legacy, while contested, still provokes respect among many Chinese. At a time when the state's social welfare provision has been heavily reduced from the days of the "iron rice bowl" of birth-to-death work, education, and health provision, Mao's memory is often invoked to promote an alternative vision.



5. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: A ROMANTIC IN POLITICS

- o Gandhi and Nehru were united by a common political agenda—the freedom of India—and by intimate personal bonds. Gandhi had four sons of his own; but in some respects he was more attached to Nehru than to his own children. Yet their intellectual temperaments were dissimilar. Nehru saw himself as the upholder of the scientific, rational, spirit; Gandhi saw himself as a man of faith, for whom God and Truth were interchangeable. They also disagreed on the economic path for a future free India. Gandhi wanted this to be based on the village; whereas Nehru advocated rapid urbanization and industrialization.
- Despite their varying views on economic development, Gandhi was clear that Nehru would be his political heir. This preference became apparent as early as 1929, when Gandhi pushed for him to be named the next Congress president, and was confirmed in the 1930s, when Gandhi saw that Nehru shared his views on interreligious harmony. Then, on the eve of Independence, Gandhi decisively threw his weight in favor of Nehru against his rivals within the Congress Party, preeminent among whom was Vallabhbhai Patel.
- The Partition of India had created two sovereign states. Pakistan was designed as a homeland for Muslims. On the other hand, and largely on Nehru's insistence, India fashioned itself as a secular state with equal rights for all regardless of their religious affiliation. He boldly pushed this policy against the grain of public opinion, a large section of which wanted retributive violence against the Muslims who had chosen to stay behind in India. In the crucial months after Independence, when the clamor for revenge was at its strongest, Nehru wrote two remarkable letters to the heads of the provincial governments, urging them to stick to the inclusive framework laid down by Gandhi himself.
- As a modern-minded man, Nehru was also keen that women play their part as equal citizens in the nation. Unlike in the West, women did not have to wait to be granted the franchise—they got it at the same time as men. Nehru was nonetheless distressed to find that there were few women candidates in the first general elections. He reminded the chief ministers: "A nation cannot go far ahead unless it gives full scope to its women." Four years later, he said in a speech in Calcutta that "a basic revolution takes place in a country only when the women change. . . . I think you can test a revolution in a country by looking at the change that might have taken place there in the position of women, in every aspect, that is legal, economic, social and so on."
- India's two main religions, Hinduism and Islam, were both deeply patriarchal. Their scriptures and their historical practice relegated women to an inferior status. Women were not allowed to assume positions of power and authority. Women were denied the right to follow the profession of their choice. Men could choose to have several wives at once, but the women had to be content with a single husband, this chosen for them by their father or grandfather. Moreover, she was bonded to this man, not of her choosing, for life; regardless of how well or badly he behaved.
- The need for coordinated national planning for economic development was first expressed in India by the technocrat and civil servant M. Visvesvaraya, in a series of books and pamphlets published in the 1920s and 1930s. Then, in 1938, the Congress appointed a National Planning Committee, of which Nehru was chairman. After Independence, a Planning Commission was formed, composed of technocrats and economists who held ministerial rank.
- Nehru took a close interest in the planning process. He gave his personal imprimatur to the crucial Second Five-Year Plan, which focused on dams and factories in the public sector to create jobs and build a solid productive base for further growth. Private enterprise was allowed into the consumer goods sector, but here too it was subject to a system of licensing, with the state issuing permits selectively and deciding on production targets and wage rates. Certain sectors were exclusively reserved for small or household units.



- Nehru was a socialist in economics but a democrat in politics. He pressed the governmental machinery to enlist the "enthusiasm and co- operation of the people," so that ordinary citizens had "the sensation of partnership in a mighty enterprise, of being fellow- travellers towards the next goal that they and we have set before us." As one "bred up in the Gandhian tradition," he could not appreciate the violence generated by the Rus sian Revolution. The "repeated purges and the like" created, in his mind, "further doubts and distaste" with regard to Communism.
- At the same time, Nehru was attracted by the promise of planning, of using science and technology to promote economic growth and end poverty. And so, in the context of India, he yet wondered: "Could the new economic approach, shorn of its violence and coercion and suppression of individual liberty, be helpful in solving our problems or the world's problems? The older methods, evolved by the capitalist world, had failed and offered no solution. Indeed, they had led to great wars and they themselves, whatever their protestations, were based on violence and suppression of countries and peoples, and lack of integrity and moral approach."
- Nehru's foreign policy was shaped by two central (and interconnected) beliefs: pan- Asianism and nonalignment. In March 1947 he organized an Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi. This had delegates from twenty- eight countries, Af ghan i stan and Burma and Indonesia and Vietnam among them, but also seven "Asian republics" of the Soviet Union. China and Tibet sent separate delegations. In his inaugural address, Nehru spoke of how "for too long we of Asia have been petitioners in Western courts and chancelleries. That story must now belong to the past. We propose to stand on our own feet and to cooperate with all others who are prepared to cooperate with us. We do not intend to be the playthings of others."
- The Asian country that most interested Nehru was, of course, China. There were, in his view, three reasons why India and China would come closer together. These were their shared civilizational ties, their shared history of resistance to European colonialism, and their similar economic problems. These were both backward, agricultural, massively populated countries seeking to end poverty and destitution. "A variety of circumstances pull India and China towards each other," wrote Nehru to his chief ministers in June 1952. In spite of differences in their forms of government, they were drawn together by "the long pull of geography and history and, if I may add, of the future." With the defeat of Chiang Kai- shek, Nehru moved quickly to recognize the Communist regime in China. At his invitation, Zhou Enlai came to India in 1954, where he impressed his host, not least because his talk was free of the "slogans and cliches" of "the average Communist." Later that year, Nehru himself visited China, to a rapturous reception. The talk in his circle was all of brotherhood between the two nations, as captured in the slogan "Hindi- Chini Bhai Bhai."
- Nonalignment was for Nehru a moral as well as practical imperative. For both the United States and the Soviet Union now in possession of hydrogen bombs, any country drawn into their rivalry risked disaster. So Nehru's, and India's policy was to ensure that "if again war breaks out, in spite of endeavours to the contrary, then we shall keep out of it and try to keep as many other countries as possible out of it."
- Through the 1950s, the personality and ideas of Nehru dominated discourse in and about his country. The prime minister "was a great golden disc shining in the middle of Delhi" (to use the words of an Indian growing up in a political family at the time). Western observers saw him likewise as larger than life, as embodying the collective hopes and fears of his nation.



6. ZHOU ENLAI AND CHINA'S "PROLONGED RISE"

- Zhou Enlai was born on March 5, 1898, into a declining mandarin's family in Huai'an, Jiangsu province. As a child, Zhou read classic Chinese literature and was cultivated in Confucian ethics. As he grew up, in his conceptual realm there was always a place reserved for the teachings of the ancient sages that he had learned in his childhood, even when he seemed to have wholeheartedly embraced Communist ideologies. While receiving modern education, he was exposed to the larger world, in which a backward China was sinking into an ever- deepening national crisis. He diligently studied Chinese classics and absorbed new knowledge. He also developed great interest in politics, increasingly longing for ways to make "China rise high again in the world."
- Despite his strong opposition to Japan's imperialist policy toward China, he was impressed by the
 effectiveness of Japan's modernization drive. But when he saw the deep divisions in Japanese society,
 he became increasingly interested in the ideas of socialism, vaguely feeling that this could solve China's
 problems.
- In March 1919, on the eve of the May Fourth movement, Zhou returned to China. Two months later, when the Versailles Conference imposed on China the deal of allowing Japan to take over the prewar German sphere of influence in Shandong, the long- accumulated nationalist sentiment among the intellectuals and students broke into a series of mass protests.
- From December 1920 to August 1924, Zhou was in Europe, mostly in France. When he arrived in Europe, he was not yet a Communist. Four years later, he was firmly committed to Communism as the lodestar for China's salvation and liberation. First, on the most urgent level, Zhou was genuinely ashamed of China's backwardness. A persistent theme in his thinking was how to promote China's development and salvation. Second, Zhou was enthusiastically attracted by the concept of national liberation. It was here that he found in Communism the intellectual and political instrument for realizing his ideals and goals. Thus, after comparing England's reformist changes with Russia's radical revolutionary transformations, he concluded that unless China followed Rus sia's example, "the goal of transformation is unlikely to be realized." He saw a Communist revolution as the only way to lead to a "new China" and a "new world." For this, any sacrifice was justified and any price was worth paying.
- o In May 1921, he joined a group of Communists and Communist sympathizers in Paris. After the establishment of the Communist Party of China in July 1921, Zhou became a founding member of its European branch and served as its director of propaganda. In a few short years, Zhou's name became widely known among members of the CCP circle in Europe. At the moment, China itself was on the eve of the "Great Revolution," which was carried out by the CCP- Kuomintang (KMT) United Front and took the various warlords as its target. In July 1924, following the Comintern's instructions, the CCP's European branch decided to send its members back to China to participate in the Great Revolution. Zhou was selected and boarded a ship for China in late July. Zhou arrived in Guangzhou, the center of the Great Revolution, in September 1924, and quickly emerged as one of the main figures in the CCP. In Guangzhou, Zhou met Mao for the first time, which opened the half-century-long bond that would later be characterized by Zhou living and working in the shadow of Mao's authority, ideas, and programs. Like Mao, Zhou also believed that "political power comes from the barrel of a gun." Among CCP leaders, he was one of the first to put this maxim into practice. In August 1927, Zhou organized the Nanchang Uprising, which began the CCP's military challenge to Chiang. But, unlike Mao, Zhou's thoughts remained urban-centered.
- On October 1, 1949, the People's Republic of China was established. Mao, now chairman of the PRC, announced that "we the Chinese people have stood up." Zhou was appointed premier and foreign minister. Zhou attended the Geneva Conference of 1954 and the Bandung Conference of 1955. This turned out to be Zhou's moment. Central to Geneva's agenda was how to make peace in Korea and



Vietnam. Zhou worked closely with the Soviet delegation to persuade or even pressure their Vietminh comrades to accept a solution that would leave Vietnam divided. While doing so, Zhou emphasized that such a settlement in Indochina would promote the interests of the peace camp throughout the Asian-Pacific region. Zhou also seized the opportunity to build working relationships with leaders from Britain and France who were in Geneva.

- In China's foreign affairs, Zhou attempted to combine radical rhetoric with relatively reasonable actions. He publicly described the Cultural Revolution as having profound transformative power, which would further glorify the significance of the Chinese revolution and create a "new Asia" and a "new world." Yet Zhou also used his authority to remedy the diplomatic losses that radicalism in Chinese foreign policy had caused.
- Zhou Enlai passed away on January 8, 1976. China was then a country significantly different from the one it was in the 1920s, when Zhou was studying in Japan and Europe and envisioning that one day "China will rise high again in the world." China, as a modern multinational state, had emerged as a recognized power on the international scene. The achievements of the generation of the Chinese revolutionaries represented by Mao and Zhou were by no means small accomplishments.



7. SUKARNO: ANTICIPATING AN ASIAN CENTURY

- By the time Sukarno was born in 1901, his home island of Java had been in Dutch hands for nearly 150 years— and parts of it for much longer than that. Sukarno's theosophist father was also a devotee of the Mahabharata, the great South Asian epic that, with the Ramayana, had been long domesticated in Java and Bali in the wayang shadow-puppet theater and other popular arts. As a boy, Sukarno recognized himself in Bhima, one of the heroic Pandawa brothers, who, following endless adventures and a great war called the Bharata Yudha, succeeds in recovering their stolen kingdom from their usurping cousins, the Kurawas.
- Sukarno graduated as an engineer in May 1926. He had written a thesis on harbor construction and waterways and was offered some promising jobs and even opened an engineering office with a classmate. But this soon "slowed down until it ground to an absolute standstill." Sukarno now occupied himself full time with the achievement of Indonesia.
- With friends from the Technical College, Sukarno had formed a study club (Algemeene Studieclub) to debate issues of current events, political philosophy, and nationalist strategies. Sukarno's club in Bandung was one of several in the colony. It is probably among his friends in the study club that Sukarno tested the arguments that he propagated in a lengthy essay in 1926 in the club's new publication, Suluh Indonesia Muda, the Torch of Young Indonesia. In "Nationalism, Islam, and Marxism," he put forward the political idea that would catapult him to national leadership and define his career.
- All over Asia, Sukarno went on, this movement contained three elements that were often in competition with each other: nationalism, Islam, and Marxism. Only by unifying these apparently disparate elements, he wrote, would it be possible to achieve "the realization of our dreams." Then he asked: "[C]an Islam, as a religion, cooperate with Nationalism, which stresses the nation, and with Marxism, which teaches materialism?" And then: "With full conviction, I answer: 'Yes.'"
- on July 4, 1927, Sukarno and some friends from his study club formed the Indonesian Nationalist Party, or PNI. The party was based on no one ideology or religion or social program. Its single goal was the immediate independence of Indonesia. Its members pledged themselves to noncooperation with the Dutch authorities. Sukarno was now a man in motion. He threw himself into developing his party and propagating the call for unity. As a Dutch observer wrote that same year, "There is ferment in the Indies. . . . The inner motives of the leaders differ fundamentally, but this need not and does not prevent them from working with each other for the achievement of one common goal: the overthrow of Netherlands rule."
- In 1955, Sukarno presided over one of the triumphal moments of his career, hosting the Asian-African Conference in Bandung. Much on Sukarno's mind at the conference, and a chief concern of India's Nehru and the other sponsors, was bringing the People's Republic of China into this "understanding of each other" and mobilizing the collective influence of the new states to mitigate potential violence and war between Communist and non- Communist states (and particularly between China and the United States).
- On this score, the conference succeeded brilliantly in part due to the deft diplomacy of Zhou Enlai, who demonstrated "conciliatory reasonableness" in engaging conference delegates over a variety of issues. Zhou convinced the delegates that China would not resolve the Taiwan crisis by resorting to war, for example. In the end, the conference "condemned colonialism in all its manifestations," and agreed that each nation possessed the right "to defend itself singly or collectively in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations." The debates behind these seemingly predictable resolutions represented the kind of collective action Sukarno was calling for— they were not "made by others."



Sukarno did everything he could, in short, to make himself larger than life. To his secular critics, this was laughable, evidence of delusional fantasies. But to many common people of Indonesia, as Sukarno knew well, this was the key to his great authority. He cultivated a certain air of kingliness, even godliness, modeled on the story cycle of the wayang. His bearing was regal, his appearance immaculate; he was virile and beloved of women. He was Bhima. He was Arjuna. He was Yudhistira, "who brought all the neighboring kings to his kingdom."



8. DENG XIAOPING AND THE CHINA HE MADE

- Deng Xiaoping was born in 1904 in a small village in northeastern Sichuan. His family was Hakka, an often persecuted minority group that had arrived in the area from the south around 1800. Deng's Hakka background and his family's origin in the south were important to him. According to people who knew him, he was proud to be an "outsider," a son of migrants. It made him feel special, select. It also toughened him. As are many among his people, Deng was a small man— as an adult, he stood barely five feet tall. His father— himself an educated man— sent his eldest son to a Western-style school, which would prepare Deng for a work-study program in France. Deng's seven years in France were the formative element in his life.
- His journeys there and back were integral elements of his awakening. Going through Hong Kong, Vietnam, Singapore, Sri Lanka, and Egypt gave him a sense of Asia that he had not had before and a sense that all Asians were being exploited by Europeans. Only Asian conquest of the most advanced forms of European modernity could rectify this injustice, Deng later wrote. In France, he worked, went to eve ning school, and realized that socialism was the most advanced form of modernity Europe could offer.
- At nineteen, he joined the Chinese Communist Youth League, the youth wing of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). He became a full- time revolutionary in 1925. The following year the French police were looking for him, and he absconded, quickly, through Germany to Russia.
- Deng stayed in Moscow for a year. This was his stage of higher education— he studied at Sun Yat-sen University, a training school set up by the Comintern to educate leaders for the Asian revolution. Being in Moscow and at an elite institution gave Deng a sense of the centrality of the movement he was part of. Stalin himself came to lecture at the university. Its students were supposed to go back to their countries and create socialist modernity there, patterned on the Soviet experiment. Deng enjoyed his stay in Moscow.
- When Deng Xiaoping was suddenly recalled to China by his party in January 1927, the summons may have come as a relief to the young man. He had been abroad for eight years and had learned more than anyone could have expected when he set out as a fifteen- year- old. He had first and foremost learned about society and how to change it. Marxism to Deng meant materialism, in opposition to most Chinese beliefs and ideas. His primary concern was how to make his country rich and strong.
- The task Deng was brought to China to handle in 1927 was one of the most dangerous a young Communist could engage in. Feng Yuxiang, a Christian warlord in central China who reputedly liked to collectively baptize his troops with a fire- hose, had somewhat serendipitously also expressed an interest in joining the Communist cause. Although the Soviets distrusted Feng, they could not let the opportunity pass. So Deng went off to Xi'an, and right into the lion's den. He escaped by a hair's breadth when Feng, a few months later, joined Chiang Kai- shek in arresting every Communist they could put their hands on. Deng fled to Shanghai, where he joined up with those who were left in the underground CCP leadership. After a few months he became chief secretary to the Central Committee, a sign both of how impressive his comrades found him to be and of how few Communists were left. Deng was twenty three years old. The rest of his life would be spent in high positions in the CCP. The party, in a certain way, would become his life.
- Mao's death in September 1976 changed the political picture in China almost entirely. His hand-picked successor, the colorless bureaucrat Hua Guofeng, was more afraid of the radicals than he was of the old guard, and conspired with the heads of security and of the army to have the main Cultural Revolutionaries, including Mao's widow, Jiang Qing, arrested. Even after Hua's coup, Deng had to wait nine months before he was allowed to return to his former positions. But the direction of things as far as Deng was concerned was clear. The military had made Deng's return a precondition for their



support of Hua Guofeng. But neither Hua nor the marshals had expected Deng's political position to become crucial so soon after his return as vice-premier in mid-1977. What Deng had to offer in the faction- ridden, Byzantine milieu of Chinese politics in the late 1970s and early 1980s was experience and a sense of direction. Deng had no master plan for how he wanted to proceed, but he gave voice to an overwhelming majority of party members who wanted no return to the bad old days of the Leap and Cultural Revolution and who wanted instead to stress the need for rapid economic growth.

Deng died at home in Beijing in 1997. His legacy is mixed, though of supreme importance to China's twentieth- century history and to everyone who lives in China today. His main achievement was allowing the country to rebuild its economic strength, so that today— for the first time in over two hundred years— China is a global commercial power house. He did this through his willingness to experiment, even when he himself had no idea about the outcome. What he did demanded bravery, dedication, and enormous personal strength. Through his actions, hundreds of millions of Chinese could move out of poverty and despair and lead lives of a quality that they would not have dreamed about before 1980.



9. INDIRA GANDHI: INDIA AND THE WORLD IN TRANSITION

- Born on November 19, 1917, Indira Priyadarshini Nehru was the only child of Jawaharlal and Kamala Nehru. A single girl child was a rarity in her generation and in the class to which her family belonged. The public stage on which Indira's life would be enacted was also undergoing dramatic changes. She was born in a time of war, revolution, and upheaval.
- Indira's early years saw her family being pulled into the ruck of nationalist politics under the inspiration of Mohandas K. Gandhi. Young Indira was seeped in the nationalist ethos of her family. Just short of her thirteenth birthday, she wrote to her father that her friends had decided her future profession, hastening to add: "That is of course after we have got Swaraj [Independence]— till then everyone has just one job— fighting."
- But the family's immersion in the nationalist movement also took its toll on Indira. With her parents and relatives in and out of prison and her mother chronically ill, Indira found herself shouldering far greater responsibilities than did most children of her age. In 1931, Nehru sent her to the Pupils' Own School in Poona. This experimental school started by a young couple sought to inculcate in the students an awareness of their cultural heritage. Three years later she was sent to another unconventional educational institution: Rabindranath Tagore's Visva Bharati in Santiniketan.
- e It was Shastri's sudden demise in January 1966 that catapulted her into the prime minister's office. Her elevation as prime minister was by no means a smooth affair. In fact, there was a strong contender for the office: the senior Congressman Morarji Desai, who had earlier been passed over in Shastri's favor but was now determined to wrest his due. In the event, the party bosses— a group of five regional heavyweights, collectively known as the Syndicate— piloted Indira's candidature. Paradoxically, it was her political weakness and ideological indistinctness that led them to believe that she would be a pliable prime minister. Her ability to borrow the sheen of Jawaharlal Nehru was seen as an added advantage. Mrs. Gandhi's initial months in office seemed to bear out the Syndicate's assessment. She was diffi dent and inarticulate in Parliament, leading one of her harsh opponents to brand her "goongi gudiya," the Dumb Doll. Very soon, though, she began to demonstrate a degree of political finesse and decisiveness that was entirely unanticipated.
- In her broad approach to political and economic issues, Indira Gandhi was her father's daughter. She
 believed both in the framework of political economy instituted by Nehru and in the objectives that he
 wished to pursue.
- o In late 1969, the Congress Party was split. The masterstroke was her decision to call for national elections in 1971, a year ahead of schedule. This broke the link between the national and provincial elections and so fixed the electorate's attention on national as opposed to local issues. Pitted against her party, Congress (R), was a hastily cobbled together coalition comprising the Congress (O), the rightwing Jana Sangh, the pro- business Swatantra, the socialists, and a smattering of regional parties. This self- styled "Grand Alliance" adopted the slogan "Indira Hatao" (Remove Indira). The lady responded with "Garibi Hatao" (Remove Poverty). Mrs. Gandhi's electoral strategy paid off handsomely. She won by a margin that exceeded that of her father's best performance.
- Congress (R) returned to power with 352 out of 518 seats. The next largest party garnered a pitiable twenty- five. Her standing was further bolstered by the adroit handling of the East Pakistan crisis that erupted in March 1971 and that ended in December with a decisive military victory over Pakistan and the creation of Bangladesh. In the state elections held the following year, Mrs. Gandhi's party swept all thirteen states that went to the polls. By 1972 Mrs. Gandhi had consolidated her hold over the party and her standing among the people.



- o In 1967, the Supreme Court delivered a verdict asserting that the fundamental rights were part of the basic structure of the Constitution and hence could not be amended by Parliament. In 1970, the Supreme Court held that the nationalization of banks was in violation of the fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution. Later that year, the Court delivered a heavier blow by holding the government's abolition of the privy purses of the princely rulers unconstitutional and invalid. In the wake of Mrs. Gandhi's massive electoral victory, the Constitution was amended in December 1971 to restore to Parliament the power to amend the fundamental rights. This, in turn, was challenged in the Supreme Court, which took a complex position on the question—but one that was seen as a defeat for Mrs. Gandhi. This spurred her to move an even stronger set of constitutional amendments during the Emergency that aimed at an enormous concentration of power in the prime minister's hands. A tame Supreme Court would go on to endorse these changes to the Constitution, although they were subsequently repealed by the next government.
- By claiming at once that she stood for the supremacy of the people and that the will of the people was represented in her person, Mrs. Gandhi was moving toward "a Jacobin conception of direct pop u lar sovereignty." It is against this backdrop that her response to the popular protests must be understood. Beginning with students' protests in Gujarat against inflation and corruption, it rapidly transmuted into a wider campaign for reform. Under the leadership of the veteran Gandhian, Jayaprakash Narayan ("JP"), the movement spread to other parts of the country, drawing in diverse social groups and an unlikely assortment of political parties. In partic u lar, the movement was imparted considerable strength by the cadres of the Hindu Right: the RSS, the Jana Sangh, and their affiliated student organizations. The JP juggernaut unnerved Indira Gandhi.
- Her overweening sense of legitimacy coupled with her fears about the nature of the opposition led Mrs. Gandhi to proclaim the Emergency. The suspension of democratic procedures and civil liberties during the Emergency— and the ensuing excesses with slum clearances and population control, particularly under the malign inspiration of Sanjay Gandhi— are well known.
- The decision to end the Emergency and to call for fresh elections is equally puzzling. In fact, the opposition initially saw the move as aimed at perpetuating Mrs. Gandhi's rule. Various reasons have been proffered for why Mrs. Gandhi confounded this expectation: that she was misled into believing that she would actually win the elections (though there is some evidence to the contrary); that she was swayed by the criticism from friends of India across the world; that she realized that the Emergency had not paid the expected dividends. In the absence of any documentary evidence, this remains a tantalizing question. In the event, Mrs. Gandhi and her party were decisively routed at the polls. The newly formed Janata Party, which united her adversaries from across the political spectrum, came to power with a thumping majority. But from the beginning it was beset with internal contradictions and factional conflicts.
- Looking back at the Indira Gandhi years, it is understandable why they lend themselves to easy moralizing about the dangers and corruption of overweening power. Her peculiar combination of great power and great insecurity inflicted deep blows to the Indian body politic. But Indira Gandhi's tenure in office should not be reduced to a morality play. For better and for worse, her policies and choices redefined Indian politics, economics, and international relations.
- Mrs. Gandhi held the reins of power at a time when India was undergoing far reaching changes in each of these domains— changes that she grappled with and accelerated. Her actions and policies deepened as well as distorted Indian democracy, spurred as well as constrained the Indian economy, enhanced as well as redefined India's position vis-à-vis its neighbors and the wider international system. Leadership in a time of transition requires courage and decisiveness. And even Mrs. Gandhi's sharpest critics would not deny that she possessed these qualities. But dealing with such far-reaching changes also calls for more than ordinary levels of political judgment. And it is on this terrain that Indira Gandhi will have to be evaluated by the historian.



10. SINGAPORE'S LEE KUAN YEW: TRAVELING LIGHT, TRAVELING FAST

- He was born in 1923, the eldest son of a well-to-do baba family in colonial Singapore. The babas were a community of English and Malay speaking Chinese that had been at home in Singapore, Penang, and Malacca (together constituting the British colony of the Straits Settlements) for generations. In colonial Singapore babas were respected and did well because they were useful to British colonial and business interests, but they held themselves aloof from the Chinese-speaking community with whom they had little in common.
- Two events disturbed Lee's world and were fundamentally important in determining the sort of man he was to become. The first was the Great Depression, which shattered any complaisance he may have had about his destiny. He did not begin to doubt himself, but he no longer took for granted the world around him. His family lost its fortune, reducing them to relatively humble means as they moved in with relatives, and Lee became a typical "Depression child," acquiring the pessimistic conservatism and insecurity about the future that is typical of so many who lived through that period. The second pivotal event was the Japanese Occupation of Singapore. Lee did not have a good war, though it must be said that it could have been much worse. His mother accepted the patronage of a wealthy Chinese harbor-front contractor to protect and support her family, and Lee himself accepted a job with the Japanese Propaganda Department.
- Lee returned to Singapore in 1950 with a conviction that he and his fellow "returning students"—Asian graduates of English universities—had a duty to take leading roles in the anticolonial movement so as both to guide Singapore to independence and to save it from communism. He entered legal practice in 1950 and used his position to build a loose network of left-wing social, industrial, student, and political organizations that would subsequently become his political base. He joined up with fellow "returned students," and in 1954 they set up the People's Action Party (PAP). They went a step further and formed a united front with local Communists and militant leftists in order to tap their much larger and betterorganized political base.
- With Singapore finally in de pen dent, Lee successfully led it down a path of intense economic development and increasingly tight social and political control, both of which were to become hallmarks of his rule, and which are the focus of much of the subsequent sections of this chapter. Although the PAP has stayed continuously in power to the present day (holding all seats in Parliament from 1968 to 1981 and almost all seats thereafter), the character of the government, and Lee Kuan Yew's role within it, has changed dramatically. The government of the 1960s and 1970s was dominated by a collective leadership of the original "old guard" leaders— the "classes of 1959 and 1963," so to speak— but by the early 1980s Lee had acquired the authority of an autocrat due to a spate of retirements (some of which were forced) among his old colleagues. He used the opportunity to shift the Singapore political and social landscape in two directions that were dear to his heart: he moved "Chineseness" to the center of the Singaporean national identity, and he enhanced the elitist character of the education system.
- In 1984 the family legacy in government seemed assured when his eldest son, Lee Hsien Loong, entered Parliament and began rising quickly through the cabinet. In 1990 Lee Kuan Yew stepped down as prime minister but retained effective control of policy matters as senior minister in a government led by his immediate successor, Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong.
- Lee is most positively regarded on both the local and the global stage for his ideas about economic growth and development. Indeed, when finding a title for the second volume of his memoirs, Lee chose this achievement as his primary boast—having taken Singapore "from third world to first."



- If there was one element of Singaporean life in which Lee Kuan Yew was the prime driver, it was building the country's national identity. Lee Kuan Yew's vision for Singapore is derived partly from the economic imperatives in which Singapore finds itself: a city- state utterly dependent upon its capacity to survive and profit from the whimsical currents of the global economy.
- The politics of the region have also helped to form his vision: a small, developed microstate flourishing in a region dominated by large, developing states. Yet in perhaps its most decisive way, the idea of Singapore emerges from Lee's imagination as a manifestation of his own personality and drives. The "idea" of Singapore is powerful and omnipresent in his mind and now in Singaporean society. "Singapore" the idea is, very simply, the best: a tiny Chinese beacon of talent- driven achievement in a Southeast Asian sea of mediocrity and a global ocean of giants.



11. ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO: IN PURSUIT OF AN ASIAN PAKISTAN

- Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was born in Larkana, in the southern province of Sindh in present-day Pakistan, on January 5, 1928. As the scion of one of Sindh's wealthiest families, whose vast landholdings were said to have defeated even the census officials of the raj, the young Zulfikar enjoyed a life of unparalleled privilege. Bhutto's father, Sir Shahnawaz, was prominent in Indian politics. He was knighted for his services to the British Empire in 1925 and was appointed in 1934 to serve as the first Muslim member of the Governor's Council in Bombay.
- Sir Shahnawaz sparked his son's interest in the French emperor by presenting him on his twenty-first birthday in 1949 with a five-volume leather-bound biography of Napoleon by the American historian William Sloane, which was first published in 1896. Curiously, Shahnawaz was also instrumental in introducing young Bhutto to the works of Karl Marx: The Communist Manifesto was another birthday gift from father to son. It too would remain a lasting source of inspiration. Bhutto would later recall that "from Napoleon I imbibed the politics of power. From the pamphlet [The Communist Manifesto] I imbibed the politics of poverty."
- Bhutto returned to Pakistan at the end of 1953. Armed with his Oxford degree in jurisprudence and with powerful connections at his disposal, the bright young barrister (Bhutto had been called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1953) was quickly snapped up by the best legal chambers in Karachi. Yet it was clear from the outset that Bhutto had set his sights on a political career.
- Bhutto was lucky to have among his patrons General Iskander Mirza, a close family friend, who had held power as governor general before assuming the post of president in 1956. It was Mirza who gave Bhutto his first opportunity to shine on the world stage by choosing him (although still without an official position) as head of Pakistan's delegation to a UN Conference on the Law of the Sea in 1957— a post to which he was reappointed in 1958. Both occasions enabled Bhutto to display his sharp legal mind and to try and break new ground in his interpretation of the postwar world. It was, of course, no secret that the position Bhutto most coveted was that of foreign minister— a position that was to elude him until 1963.
- Bhutto's political ambitions to secure national leadership now took center stage. In June 1966 he resigned as foreign minister over the conduct of the war with India. He had prepared the ground for his resignation through the skillful manipulation of public opinion in the aftermath of the 1966 Tashkent Declaration signed by India and Pakistan, which formally brought the war to an end. Denouncing the declaration as a humiliation for Pakistan, for which he held Ayub and his government responsible. Deep and widespread public disenchantment with Ayub's policies ensured that Bhutto's timing was perfectly judged. In December 1967 he announced the creation of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and proclaimed its three- pronged motto: "Islam is our Faith, Democracy is our Polity and Socialism is our Economy."
- The outcome of polls proved to be a cruel blow for Bhutto. For although his party won 81 out of 138 seats in West Pakistan, it had no representation in East Pakistan, where it had failed to put up any candidates. Here, the Awami League won a landslide victory by securing 160 out a total of the 162 seats allocated to the province and gaining complete control of the provincial assembly as well as a clear majority in the National Assembly. However, in a mirror image of the PPP's per for mance, it failed to win any seats in West Pakistan (although unlike the PPP it had fielded seven candidates in the western



provinces). The elections precipitated a constitutional crisis. The failure of the PPP and the Awami League to reach a power-sharing agreement after protracted and bitter negotiations in early 1971 led to a brutal military crackdown in the eastern wing that would spell the end of a united Pakistan before the year was out.

- On December 20, 1971, he returned home from New York, where he had been delegated to represent Pakistan at the United Nations, to assume the post of president and chief martial law administrator; he would be named prime minister in 1973. It is somewhat ironic that among the first tasks facing Bhutto, who had come to be known for his famous threat to wage "a thousand years' war against India," was to make peace. In July 1972 he flew to Shimla to meet the Indian prime minister, Indira Gandhi, and to sign an agreement that committed both sides to settle their differences through "bilateral negotiations" and to respect the 1971 cease- fire line in Kashmir as a new "line of control" (LOC).
- Bhutto's quest for a clearly defined "Asian Pakistan" has proved to be more difficult to realize. Ultimately, he was defeated by the contestation over Pakistan's identity and the still-unresolved conflict between Pakistan's "native" roots in Asia and its "ideational" sources in "Islam." Bhutto's attempt to project Pakistan as a territorial entity grounded in local regional histories and cultures rather than as an ideological construct informed by Islam represented a bold move to privilege his country's Asian identity. Yet, he was unable to forge a viable political consensus in support of his vision. And while the discourse of underdevelopment and Third World solidarity may have helped him to gloss over this incipient tension, the ever- present appeal of Islam as a key component of Pakistan's ideology meant that Bhutto was forced to moderate his call for pan- Asian unity with a plea to deepen his country's ties to a global Muslim community.

