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## Robert D. Kaplan: Monsoon Study Guide

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# ROBERT D. KAPLAN: MONSOON STUDY GUIDE, 2016 Steven Alan Samson

## PREFACE: THE RIMLAND OF EURASIA

### Outline

- A. OVERVIEW (xi-xiv)
  - 1. The Map of Eurasia Defined the 20C
  - 2. Greater Indian Ocean
    - a. **Rimland** of Eurasia [Nicholas Spykman's term for the strategically sensitive Eurasian coastal regions, including the Indian Ocean/West Pacific Ocean littoral]
    - b. Asian Century
  - 3. Importance of Seas and Coastlines
    - a. **Littorals**
    - b. C. R. Boxer: Monsoon Asia
  - 4. **Vasco da Gama**
  - 5. India
  - 6. Gradual Power Shift
    - a. Arabian Sea
      - 1) Pakistan
    - b. Bay of Bengal
      - 1) Burma
  - 7. Charles Verlinden
  - 8. Indian Ocean Region as an Idea
  - 9. Topics
    - a. Strategic overview of the region
    - b. Oman
      - 1) Portugal
      - 2) Perennial relationship between the sea and the desert
    - c. Massive Chinese harbor projects
    - d. Islamic radicalization
    - e. Hindu extremism
    - f. Burma
    - g. Indonesia
    - h. Chinese naval expansion
  - 10. Monsoon

### Review

Rimland

littoral

Vasco da Gama

## CHAPTER ONE: CHINA EXPANDS VERTICALLY, INDIA HORIZONTALLY

### Outline

- A. INDIAN OCEAN (5-8)
  - 1. Al Bahr al Hindi

- a. Red Sea, Arabian Sea, Bay of Bengal, Java and South China Seas
- b. Geopolitical challenges
- c. Prospective Thai canal
- 2. East Africa
- 3. Indonesia
- 4. Sugata Bose: Symbol of Universal Humanity
  - a. Grand network
    - 1) Haj pilgrimage [to Mecca, from which Muhammad had been exiled in the *hijra*; he returned at the head of an army years later]
  - b. Rudyard Kipling
- 5. Arc of Crisis
  - a. Arctic
  - b. Greater Middle East
  - c. Specific cartographic images
- 6. American Bias Embedded in Mapping Conventions
  - a. Indian Ocean often split up on the edges of the map
  - b. Marco Polo
  - c. Indian Ocean littoral: networking map of al-Qaeda
  - d. Iranian supplies to Hamas
- 7. Principal Oil Shipping Lanes
  - a. **Strait of Hormuz**
  - b. **Strait of Malacca**
- 8. Important Sea Routes
  - a. Sea silk route
  - b. Proverbs
- 9. 90% of Global Commerce Travels by Sea
  - a. Rising energy needs
    - 1) India
    - 2) India's coal imports
    - 3) Liquefied natural gas
  - b. African poverty assuaged
- B. CHINA (8-12)
  - 1. Trade in Crude Oil
    - a. Strait of Malacca
  - 2. Most Nuclearized of the Seven Seas
    - a. Thomas P.M. Barnett
  - 3. Interlocking Rivalries
    - a. U.S. vs. China
    - b. China vs. India
    - c. **Diego Garcia**
    - d. Yemen
  - 4. U.S. Navy's New Maritime Strategy
    - a. U.S. Marine Corps "Vision and Strategy"
      - 1) South Asian power
    - b. Dominance of two choke points
  - 5. Questions over the Sustainability of American Primacy on the High Seas
  - 6. China's Vertical and India's Horizontal Influence
    - a. China's **Malacca dilemma**
    - b. Portuguese conquest, 1511
  - 7. **String-Of-Pearls Strategy**
    - a. Gwadar
    - b. Pasni
    - c. Hambantota
    - d. Chittagong
    - e. Burma
    - f. Road and rail links

8. Debate over Chinese Intentions
    - a. Gwadar
      - 1) Oil refinery shelved
    - b. China's desire for access to modern deepwater ports
    - c. Dual-use civilian-military facilities
  9. Commemoration of **Zheng He**
- C. INDIA (12-14)
1. Increase of Regional Influence
    - a. Adm. Sureesh Mehta
    - b. Iran as a partner
    - c. Energy pipeline
    - d. Chah Bahar
  2. Remittances to India
    - a. Impetus for India's maritime buildup
  3. Burma
  4. Competition with China Will Play out in a Naval Realm
    - a. Zhao Nanqi
  5. Cold War's Artificial Dichotomy
    - a. The map of Asia is reemerging as a single organic unit
  6. Artificial Regimes Are Dissolving
    - a. Future feeder roads and pipelines
    - b. India as an outlet to the sea for Afghanistan
    - c. Connections to Georgia and Kazakhstan
  7. Afghanistan
- D. INDIAN OCEAN POWERS (14-17)
1. Trade and Energy Routes Will Burgeon in All Directions
    - a. Multiplicity of organizations and alliances
    - b. Earlier Cold War map
      - 1) NATO
  2. Indian Ocean: Lack of a Single Focal Point
    - a. Different threats with different players in multiple arenas
    - b. Transnational threats
    - c. U.S. tsunami relief effort, 2004-05
  3. It Is More Productive to Think of a Multiplicity of Regional and Ideological Alliances
    - a. Deterrence of piracy
    - b. **Malabar Coast**
    - c. Horn of Africa
  4. Strategic System
    - a. Coalitions will appear where shipping lanes need to be protected
  5. No One Nation Dominates
    - a. U.S. Navy is still the reigning hegemon
  6. Scale Model of a Global System
    - a. U.S. military will still be indispensable
  7. Nationalism Will Still Flourish
  8. United Nations Is an Old Construct
    - a. Metternichean balance-of-power politics rather than Kantian post-nationalism  
[Count Metternich presided over the Concert of Europe after the Napoleonic wars; Immanuel Kant was a German Idealist philosopher who drafted a proposal for perpetual peace based on collective security through a federation]
    - b. World of interdependence and ferociously guarded sovereignty

## Review

Strait of Hormuz  
Malacca dilemma  
Malabar Coast

Strait of Malacca  
string-of-pearls strategy

Diego Garcia  
Zheng He

## CHAPTER TWO: OMAN IS EVERYWHERE

### Outline

- A. MONSOONAL SYSTEM (21-22)
  - 1. Southern Shore of the Arabian Peninsula
    - a. Predictability of the monsoon winds
    - b. Disastrous Failure of the Rains in 1630
  - 2. Northeast vs. the Southeast Monsoon
    - a. **Dhows**
  - 3. Liberating Effect of the Monsoonal System of Navigators
  - 4. **Art of Open-Water Sailing** May Have Developed Here
    - [a. The ancient Greek astrolabe, plus the more recent sextant and seagoing chronometer, helped advance this art]
  - 5. A World of Trade
- B. **DHOFAR [ZUFAR] (22-24)**
  - 1. **Frankincense** Tree
    - a. *Lubban*
    - b. Uses
  - 2. Incense Highway
    - a. Ivory and ostrich feathers from Africa
    - b. Diamonds, sapphires, lapis lazuli, and pepper from India
  - 3. *Khareef*
    - a. Urban civilization in antiquity
  - 4. Sumhuran
    - a. White frankincense
      - 1) Queen Hapshetsut
  - 5. Al-Baleed
    - a. Marco Polo
    - b. Ibn Battuta
    - c. Zheng He
    - d. Al-Muqaddasi
    - e. Aceh
- C. OMAN IS EVERYWHERE (24-26)
  - 1. Muscat
    - a. Seaborne national identity
    - b. Globalization at its best is built on **vigorous localisms**
  - 2. Journey from Dhofar to Muscat
    - a. **Sindbad** [These tales were late additions to *The Thousand and One Nights* and figure into Rimsky-Korsakov's *Scheherazade*]
  - 3. Omanis
    - a. **Ahmad ibn Majid**
    - b. Slave trade
    - c. Gwadar
    - d. Indonesia
  - 4. **Souks** of Muscat [Markets, like bazaars]
    - a. Cultural influences
- D. ARABS (26-31)
  - 1. A Desert People and a Great Seafaring Race
    - a. **André Wink**
  - 2. Arabian Peninsula
    - a. Sir **Halford Mackinder** on the Saracens
    - b. Trapezoidal geography

- 1) Bab el Mandeb
- 2) **Shatt el Arab** [river formed by the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates that forms part of the boundary between Iran and Iraq]
- c. Connection to China
3. Egypt, Persia, and India
  - a. Darius I
    - 1) Achaemenid and Mauryan dynasties
  - b. Sassanid dynasty and China
  - c. Abbasid Caliphate
4. Persian Gulf
  - a. South India
  - b. Sumatra
  - c. East Africa's **Swahili Coast**
5. Southern Arabian Towns: **Entrepots** [put-betweens] of All Intercourse [Places to which goods are brought for import and export, and for collection and distribution]
  - a. Sabaean (Yemeni) ports
  - b. Arab merchants
6. **Coming of Islam**
  - a. Its portability
  - b. Networking encouraged
  - c. Haj pilgrimage
  - d. **Hegemony** [leadership] of the mercantile community over much of the Arab-Eurasian land mass
7. Far-Flung Muslim Merchant Communities
  - a. Conversions to Islam
  - b. Burma and India
8. China
  - a. **Tang dynasty, 618**
    - 1) Reinvigorated the bureaucracy, restored strong central government, and aggressively developed maritime trading routes in the Indian Ocean]
  - b. Medieval Muslim dynasties and China
    - 1) Strong commercial relations developed
  - c. Muslim merchant power began to wane after China turned inward in the 15C
9. Luxury Items
10. Islam in China
  - a. Zheng He
11. Malays
  - a. Waqwaqs [one tradition has such a people attacking the African coast in AD 945]
  - b. Spread of Hinduism
    - 1) **Sanskrit cosmopolis**
12. Several Locally Hegemonic Powers
13. American Naval Hegemony

### Review

|                   |                           |               |
|-------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| dhow              | art of open-water sailing | Dhofar        |
| frankincense      | vigorous localisms        | Sindbad       |
| Ahmad ibn Majid   | souk                      | André Wink    |
| Halford Mackinder | Shatt el Arab             | Swahili Coast |
| <i>Entrepots</i>  | coming of Islam           | hegemony      |
| Tang dynasty      | Sanskrit cosmopolis       |               |

## CHAPTER THREE: CURZON'S FRONTIERS

## Outline

- A. WORLD OF THE WESTERN INDIAN OCEAN (33-34)
  - 1. Lord **George Nathaniel Curzon**
    - a. Frontiers
  - 2. Seas and Deserts
    - a. How they connect civilizations
    - b. Effect of deserts is more subtle
    - c. Arab and Persian migrations across deserts
  - 3. Oman as a Microcosm
- B. WEAK STATE (34-36)
  - 1. Oman as an Island
    - a. Isolated by land but not by sea
    - b. **Cosmopolitanism** vs. tribal conflict
    - c. Age-old cluster of civilization
    - d. Contrast with Gulf sheikhdoms
    - e. Al Bu Sa'ids
  - 2. Land of 500 Forts
    - a. *Qasr*
    - b. Each fort signified a separate, self-contained society
    - c. Landscape of anarchy
  - 3. Liberalizing Influence of the Ocean Never Penetrated into the Chaotic Hinterland
  - 4. **Basra** as Baghdad's Port
    - a. **Mongol invasion**
    - b. Baghdad sacked
    - c. Trade routes shifted from the Persian Gulf via Oman to the Red Sea via Yemen
  - 5. Oman's Emergence from Centuries of Instability
- C. POLITICAL BACKGROUND (36-40)
  - 1. Factors That Contributed to Oman's Cohesion as a State
    - a. Small population
    - b. Oil and natural gas reserves
    - c. Contrast with Yemen
    - d. Wadi Hadhramaut
  - 2. Sultan **Qabus bin Sa'id**
  - 3. Refuge for Dissidents
    - a. Ibadis
  - 4. **Kharijites**
    - a. Omayyad caliphs
    - b. Democratically elected imams
  - 5. Iran
    - a. **Falaj** irrigation system
    - b. Ahmad bin Sa'id Al Bu Sa'id
      - 1) Persians expelled
    - c. Zanzibar
    - d. British domination
  - 6. Other Problems
    - a. Abolition of the slave trade
    - b. Steam ships
    - c. Suez Canal
  - 7. Uprising against Muscat, 1913
    - a. 1920 peace treaty
    - b. New battles between the forces of the sultan and imam
    - c. Persistent divides
  - 8. Coup by Qabus, 1970
    - a. Old sultan exiled
    - b. Amnesty

- c. Pacification
- 9. **Tribal Loyalties**
  - a. **Saint Augustine**
- 10. Neo-Medieval System
  - a. Regular consultations with tribal elders
  - b. *Dishdasha*
- D. SULTAN QABUS (40-44)
  - 1. Classical Music Aficionado
    - a. Accomplishments
    - b. Renaissance man
  - 2. Breadth of Strategic Thinking
    - a. **Lee Kuan Yew**
    - b. Cooperation with U.S.
    - c. Deep-draft ports of the Strait of Hormuz
      - 1) Oman's strategic interests
  - 3. No Cult of the Personality
    - a. Public appearances
    - b. Lack of visible military presence
    - c. Human rights respected
  - 4. Democracy
    - a. Critical importance of the monarchs of Oman, Jordan, and Morocco
    - b. Absolute monarchy can produce good results
  - 5. Justice in the Person of the Sultan
  - 6. **Ibadis**
    - a. Opposite of jihadism
    - b. National unity
  - 7. Moderate Amounts of Oil and Natural Gas
    - a. Absence of the excesses of other oil-rich Gulf states
  - 8. Sultan's Tact
  - 9. Westernization of Young People
    - a. Brash Dubai model of development
    - b. Mass tourism
  - 10. Succession Issue
    - a. Extreme centralization of authority works well only in the hands of a vigorous and enlightened leader
  - 11. Experiment in Melding the Ibadis Imamate of the Desert to the Coastal Sultanate
- E. SULTAN QABUS GRAND MOSQUE (44-45)
  - 1. Contrast with Mosque of Saddam Hussein and Ceaușescu's House of the Republic
  - 2. Its Elegant Monumentality
  - 3. Features
- F. INDIAN OCEAN AS A ZONE OF CONFLICT (45-46)
  - 1. Oman's Influence Is Recovering with Newly Enlarged Container Ports
    - a. Salalah
    - b. **A. P. Moller-Maersk**
    - c. Sohar
  - 2. Oil Hub of the World
    - a. Persian Gulf is increasingly crowded and dangerous
    - b. Lifeline to West and East
  - 3. Oman: Alternative Link to the Outer World
    - a. Aden
    - b. Dubai
    - c. Salalah
    - d. Railways and pipelines have conquered the anarchy of the desert

## Review



|                         |                  |                     |
|-------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| George Nathaniel Curzon | cosmopolitanism  | Basra               |
| Mongol invasion         | Qabus bin Sa'id  | Kharijites          |
| <i>falaj</i>            | tribal loyalties | Saint Augustine     |
| Lee Kuan Yew            | Ibadis           | A. P. Moller-Maersk |

## CHAPTER FOUR: “LANDS OF INDIA”

### Outline

- A. MUSCAT (47)
  - 1. Dubai
  - 2. Jalali and Mirani
    - a. Al Alam Palace
- B. PORTUGUESE IMPERIAL LAKE (49-57)
  - 1. Domination in the 16C
  - 2. Greeks
    - a. Rhapta
    - b. Claudius Ptolemy
    - c. Hippalus
  - 3. Romans in India
    - a. Malabar coast
    - b. Coromandel coast
  - 4. **Ottoman Turks**
    - a. **Seizure of Yemen**
    - b. Portuguese thwarted Ottoman ambitions
  - 5. Portuguese Outposts
    - a. Goa
    - b. Malacca
    - c. Hormuz
    - d. Colombo
    - e. Advantage of Portuguese carracks and galleons
  - 6. Seaborne World Empire
    - a. Bounty of obsessed adventurers
  - 7. Spirit of the Crusades
    - a. Islam regarded a close threat
    - b. **João de Barros**
    - c. Eighth Crusade
  - 8. Prince **Henry the Navigator**
    - a. Militant Christian mysticism
    - b. **Ceuta**
    - c. Myth of Infante Henrique [Henry was the third surviving son of the king and thus Infante rather than heir to the throne]
    - d. Cape of Sagres
  - 9. Goal: Horn of Africa
  - 10. School of Navigation
  - 11. Successors
    - a. Diego Cão
    - b. Bartolomeu Dias and the Cape of Good Hope
    - c. **Vasco da Gama**
  - 12. Malindi
    - a. **Ahmad ibn Majid**
  - 13. Voyage from Kenya to Calicut
    - a. 23 days on the winds of the southwest monsoon
  - 14. Arab and Jewish Bequest of Maps and **Astrolabes**

15. Step toward Ending the Isolation of the Different Branches of Humankind
    - a. **Silk Road**
    - b. Collapse of Mongol power and the insecurity of trans-Asian land routes
    - c. Establishment of a **maritime route** pulled the East into European rivalries
  16. Achievement of Character
  17. **Afonso d' Albuquerque**
    - a. Need to establish bases and an overseas civilization
      - 1) Principal egress points
    - b. **Goa** as the capital
    - c. Alliance with the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar
  18. Viceregal "Caesar of the East"
    - a. Capture of Hormuz and Malacca
    - b. Socotra fortress
    - c. Tenuous empire
    - d. America's loosely-led global maritime system
  19. Slow Pace of Change
    - a. Portuguese blocked Muslim shipping to the Red Sea
  20. Weakest and Most Medieval Modern Empire
    - a. Portugal's piratical onslaught on the East
    - b. Hostile isolation of China and Japan born of bitter experience with the Portuguese
  21. Fight for Control of Morocco
    - a., Worldview often represented the worst of the Inquisition
  22. Christians and Spices
    - a. Muscat sacked and burned
    - b. Freebooters occupied parts of Ceylon and Burma
      - 1) Slavery
      - 2) Narrow certainty of belief
    - c. Capture of Ceuta
  23. Religious Nationalism
    - a. Morale is still the key to military victory
  24. A Slaving and Military Empire
  25. Estado da India
    - a. Indies
- C. PORTUGUESE IMPACT (57-60)
1. State of Incoherence and Semi-Chaos
  2. Map of Cultural and Political Variety
    - a. Swahili city-states
    - b. **Mamluks**
    - c. Safavid dynasty
    - d. Muslim principalities and sultanates
    - e. Vijayanagar
    - f. Ceylon
  3. Southeast Asia
    - a. Malay Peninsula
    - b. Malacca
    - c. Indonesian archipelago
    - d. China's retreat due to pressure from Japanese pirates and Mongol nomads
      - 1) Zheng He
  4. Portuguese Filled a Vast Gap of Authority Left by the Retreating Chinese
  5. Intelligence Gathering
    - a. Inquisitiveness
    - b. Connoisseurs
    - c. Persistence of the Portuguese language
  6. Portugal: Antiquated and Crumbling Little Jewel
    - a. Counter-Reformation and the Rise of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) and the

- Inquisition
- b. Muslims outlasted the Portuguese
- D. **LUIZ VAZ DE CAMÕES** (60-64)
  1. Literary and Historical Unity
    - a. **Lusiads**
  2. Vasco da Gama
    - a. Regarded as more of a real man than a representational composite
      - 1) His resilience
    - b. "Fearing all he was prepared for all"
  3. Adventures More Extraordinary than the Greek and Roman "Shore-Hugging" Epics
  4. Vision Which Embraced Half the Globe
    - a. Adamastor
  5. Crossing the Equator
    - a. "Routes never charted"
  6. The Lands of India
    - a. Mozambique
    - b. Malinde
    - c. Dhofar
    - d. Bahrain
    - e. Palace in India
    - f. Maldiv Islands
    - g. Timor
    - h. Burma
  7. Biographical Sketch
    - a. Coimbra
    - b. Caterina de Ataide
    - c. Banishment
    - d. Ceuta
    - e. Pardon and exile to India
  8. Goa
    - a. Founded by D'Albuquerque
    - b. Combat missions as part of Portugal's policing effort against pirates
    - c. **Saudade**
  9. Imprisonment
    - a. Much of the manuscript was lost in the mouth of the Mekong River
    - b. Return to Lisbon
  10. Publication
    - a. Royal pension
    - b. Death in the plague
  11. **Don Quixote**
    - a. **Miguel de Cervantes**
- E. **LUSÍADS** (64-65)
  1. Superiority of the Portuguese to the Greeks and Romans
    - a. Tribute to the classics
  2. Camões Is Full of Contradictions
    - a. First of the moderns, last of the medievalists
    - b. Attack on the Reformation
      - 1) Division of Christianity in face of the Islamic threat
  3. Ambivalence toward the Imperial Enterprise
  4. Conquest Almost Always Leads to Heartbreak
    - a. Dynamism and imprudence to which empires are susceptible

### Review

Ottoman Turks  
Henry the Navigator

seizure of Yemen  
Ceuta

João de Barros  
Vasco da Gama

Ahmad ibn Majid  
maritime route  
Luiz Vaz de Camões  
*Don Quixote*

astrolabes  
Afonso d'Albuquerque  
*Lusfads*  
Miguel de Cervantes

Silk Road  
Mamluks  
*saudade*

## CHAPTER FIVE: BALUCHISTAN AND SINDH

### Outline

- A. MAKRAN COAST (67-68)
  - 1. Maps
    - a. **Makran Coast**
    - b. Transition zone
      - 1) Invaded by Arabs, A.D. 644, 22 years after Hegira [the forced exile of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina; Mohammed returned in 630 at the head of an army]
    - c. Frontier of al-Hind
    - d. **Alexander the Great**: westward retreat through this alkaline wasteland
  - 2. **Baluchistan**
    - a. **Punjabis** [northern Pakistan ethnic group and the largest]
    - b. *Arabian Pakistan*
  - 3. Closer to the Spirit of Arabia
  - 4. Major Air and Sea Bases
    - a. Dacoits
  - 5. Pakistani Oppression
- B. GWADAR (68-73)
  - 1. British East India Company Named Baluchistan
  - 2. Special Permit
  - 3. Oman Held **Gwadar** until 1958
    - a. Ayub Khan
    - b. Ultra-strategic location
  - 4. Russian Aspirations
    - a. Warm water port
    - b. Afghanistan was the graveyard of Soviet imperial visions
  - 5. Anarchy in Afghanistan in the 1990s
    - a. Pakistan prevented from establishing roads and pipelines to the new oil states of Central Asia
    - b. **Taliban** conceived by Naseerullah Babar
    - c. Unocal
  - 6. Coup by **Pervez Musharraf**
    - a. Chinese funding for developing a deepwater port
  - 7. Pipelines to Be Used to Develop China's Far West (Xinjiang)
    - a. Vision of Gwadar as a pulsing hub of a new silk route
  - 8. Majestic Frontier Town
  - 9. Persian Gulf Ports before Big Oil Changed Everything
  - 10. The Complex Stood Silent and Empty
    - a. Tiny airport
  - 11. Fisherman's Wharf
  - 12. Dhows
    - a. Teak wood
  - 13. As-Salem Musa on "Freer" Days
  - 14. Nostalgia about the Sultan of Oman
  - 15. Donkeys
- C. "GREAT LAND ROBBERY" (73-75)

1. Ineffective Regimes of Pakistan
    - a. Gulf sheikhdoms contrasted had to rule only **Dubai** and other city-states without hinterland
      - 1) Wise, efficient, legitimate government
  2. Gulf States Were a Product of Good Government under Ideal Conditions
  3. Pakistan's Struggle against Becoming a Failed State
    - a. Most dangerous country in the world
    - b. Gwadar as a litmus test
  4. Police Escort
  5. More Development Meant More Chinese and Other Outsiders
  6. One of the Biggest Land Scams in Pakistan's History
- D. **BALUCHISTAN (75-77)**
1. Baluch and Sindhis
    - a. Punjabi overlordship
    - b. Mughals as symbols of oppression
    - c. History of independence in Sindhu Desh
  2. Baluch Insurgencies
  3. Selig S. Harrison: Slow-Motion **Genocide**
    - a. Government-organized kidnappings
    - b. Displaced persons
    - c. Quetta
  4. Secular Nationalism of the Baluch
    - a. Military stirs up radical Islamist parties
  5. Natural Resources
    - a. Baluch poverty
    - b. Natural gas
  6. Fears of a Punjabi Takeover
- E. **BALUCH GRIEVANCES (77-79)**
1. Meeting at KFC
  2. Nisar Baluch
  3. **Falsification of Land Records** in Gwadar
    - a. Army operating as a mafia
  4. Resistance
    - a. Pipelines
  5. Nawab Khair Baksh Marri
  6. Proposed Guerrilla War
    - a. Example of Bangladesh
  7. **Benazir Bhutto**
    - a. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
  8. Punjabi Occupation
  9. Baluchistan Divided by Three Countries
  10. Need for a Grand Bargain
- F. **SINDH (79-83)**
1. Sindh as a Transition Zone
  2. Sindhu (*Hind*)
  3. **Karachi**
    - a. Horizontal city of the future
  4. Massive Building Projects
    - a. City of hidden wealth
  5. Two Dynamic Forces: Radical Islamic Orthodoxy and Soulless Materialism
    - a. **Mohajirs**
    - b. Contrast with Muscat
    - c. Mega-city
  6. *Katchiabaadis*
    - a. Load-shedding
    - b. Zoroastrians

7. Manora Headland
  8. Beach Scene at Mukalla, Yemen
  9. Loss of Karachi's Organic Connection with India's Urban Centers
  10. Syed Mustafa Kamal
  11. Sindh's Loss of Autonomy
  12. Extreme Centralization of Political Life
- G. MIGRATION AND THE LOSS OF IDENTITY (83-84)
1. Ali Hassan Chandio
    - a. Sindh Progressive Party
    - b. **Mohammed Ali Jinnah**
    - c. India as a role model for South Asia
    - d. Need for an open border with Gujarat
  2. Bashir Khan Qureshi
    - a. Sindhi Lives Progressive Front
    - b. "Pakistan is a breach of contract"
  3. Sindhis Are a Minority in Karachi
    - a. *Mohajirs*
    - b. Violence
- H. MOHAMMED ALI JINNAH (84-86)
1. Quaid-i-Azam
    - a. Mausoleum
  2. Three Schools of Thought about Jinnah
    - a. Hero of Muslim rights
    - b. Vain man and failure
    - c. Subversive view: Vision of a state with a secular spirit and a high degree of provincial autonomy
  3. London-Bombay Intellectual
    - a. Product of Greater India and a secularist
    - b. Vision of a secular Muslim state
    - c. Provincial autonomy
  4. Challenge to Today's Ruling Class
    - a. Pakistan's suffocating Islamic milieu in which extremism is rewarded
  5. Jinnah's Tomb as a Stage Prop
    - a. Mughal-cum-Stalinist public buildings in Islamabad
    - b. Lack of political legitimacy
- I. MILITARY RULE (86-88)
1. Sindhi Nationalism
  2. Rasool Baksh Paleejo
    - a. Works of Marxism
  3. Golden Age of Mughal Rule
  4. Military Rule Had Allowed Too Little Breathing Space for the Exchange of Ideas
  5. Pakistan Covers the Desert Frontier of the Subcontinent
    - a. Rugged border regions
    - b. Role of the military in settling Muslim refugees in the frontier state
    - c. Bartering
    - d. Military became a corrupt state-within-a-state
  6. Pakistan Holds the Key to Stability in the Arabian Sea Region
    - a. Need for civilian rule
- J. MUGHAL EMPIRE (88-92)
1. Northward up the Indus
  2. Thatta
  3. Migration Routes Moved up and down the Indus
    - a. Freya Stark
    - b. Susceptibility to invasions
    - c. Feebleness of borders
  4. **Akbar the Great**

- a. Defeat of Jani Bek
- b. Eclectic nature of the empire
- c. Shah Jahan mosque
- d. Persian and Turkic influence
- e. Cauldron of the Greater Middle East
- 5. Necropolis on **Makli Hill**
  - a. Dynasties with both Turkic and Mongol blood
  - b. Nothing but marauders
- 6. Antique Riverine Civilization
  - a. Gypsies
  - b. Date palm harvest
- 7. Heat
  - a. Photographs of Benazir and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
  - b. Insurance against rioters
- 8. Khairpur
  - a. Tribal and clan feuds
  - b. Absence of development
- 9. William Dalrymple
  - a. Moderate Sufi [Islamic mystics] culture
  - b. André Wink: Sindh as a refuge for dissidents
- 10. Pakistan: Neglect and the Threat of State Failure
  - a. Indictment of the Bush foreign policy strategy
- 11. Limits on American Power
  - a. Engagement following 9/11
  - b. Energy pipelines may benefit China more than the U.S.
- K. MOENJODARO (92-94)
  - 1. Ruins Highlight the Very Agelessness of This Valley
    - a. Harappan civilization
      - 1) Joseph A. Tainter
      - 2) Burton Stein
    - b. United region
  - 2. Largest City c. 2500 BC
    - a. Sumerian migration
  - 3. Buddhist Stupa from the **Kushan Empire**
    - a. Easternmost of the Indo-European peoples
    - b. Force for toleration and syncretism
  - 4. Larkana and Garhi Khuda Baksh
    - a. Mausoleum of the Bhuttos
  - 5. Benazir Bhutto
  - 6. Civilizations Are Fragile, Impermanent Things
    - a. Makran Coast
    - b. Richard Francis Burton

### Review

|                  |                               |                      |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| Makran Coast     | Alexander the Great           | Baluchistan          |
| Punjabis         | Gwadar                        | Taliban              |
| Pervez Musharraf | falsification of land records | Benazir Bhutto       |
| <i>Mohajirs</i>  | Karachi                       | Mohammed Ali Jiinnah |
| Akbar the Great  | Makli Hill                    | Kushan Empire        |

## CHAPTER SIX: THE TROUBLED RISE OF GUJARAT

### Outline

- A. SPIRIT OF MODERN INDIA (95-100)
1. **Mohandas Gandhi**
    - a. Salt March
  2. Opposition to the [Utilitarian] Doctrine of the Greatest Good of the Greatest Number
    - a. **Greatest good of all**
  3. India's Adoption of Socialism
    - a. **Congress Party** [the original ruling party]
  4. Indian Democracy as a Moderating Force
    - a. Birthplace of several religions
  5. Hindu-Muslim Inter-Communal Relations
    - a. Gujarat segregation
  6. Source of Gujarat's Religious Tensions
    - a. 2002
  7. Pogrom Had Its Origin in the Incineration of 58 Hindu Train Passengers, February 27
    - a. Godhra
    - b. En route to Ayodhya, site of a demolished Mughal-era mosque
    - c. **Narendra Modi**
      - 1) Edward Luce
      - 2) Newton's third law
    - d. Mob violence
  8. **RSS**: Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
    - a. State-sponsored genocide
  9. Resulting Homelessness
    - a. Muslim relief camps
  10. Modi as a Hero to the Hindu Nationalist Movement
    - a. Gujarat's success
  11. Modi's Charisma
  12. Evolution in Leadership Styles Due to Developments in Mass Communications
- B. RISE OF HINDU NATIONALISM (101-06)
1. Locational Advantage
    - a. Camões
  2. Gulf of Cambay
    - a. Gujarat was at the confluence of several trading systems
    - b. Overseas Gujarati communities of Shiite Ismailis
    - c. Gandhi
    - d. **Patels** [professional name that is prominent among American hotel owners]
  3. Faith as a Tool of **Business Networking**
    - a. Strict **dietary restrictions**
    - b. Vegetarianism partly influenced by the **Jains** [Jainism is an ancient religion that prescribes the path of *ahimsā* (Non-violence) towards all living beings]
  4. Repeated Muslim Invasions from the North
    - a. **Mahmud of Ghazna**
      - 1) Destroyed seaside temple of Somnath [Lord of the Soma, an epithet of Shiva; it is believed that Krishna departed for heaven]
  5. Revision of History
    - a. Islamic migrations repudiated
    - b. **Akbar the Great**
  6. Gone Is the All-Inclusive Secular Indian View of History
    - a. Gandhi's humanistic vision
    - b. Aura of legitimacy shattered by Indira Gandhi's emergency decrees
    - c. A new logic was required to mobilize the Indian masses
  7. Role of Information Technology and Education
    - a. Mass communications united Hinduism
    - b. Education supplied people with historical grievances
    - c. Hindu nationalism is strongest among the professional classes



- 1) Resemblance to Islamic extremists
- 8. Search for a Reinvented National Greatness
  - a. Intoxication with nuclear weapons
- 9. Economic Reforms of the 1990s
  - a. Search for strengthened communal identity inside an insipid world civilization
  - b. Search for roots
- 10. **Hindutva**
  - a. Opening up of the Indian economy have allowed the *Sangh* to flourish
    - 1) RSS, founded in 1925
- 11. Resurgence of RSS in the 1960s
  - a. Banned after the Gandhi assassination
  - b. Humanitarian effects
  - c. BJP founded
- 12. **Pracharaks**
  - a. Missionaries
  - b. Narendra Modi as a *pracharak*
- 13. CEO of Company Gujarat
  - a. Modi's honesty
- C. NARENDRA MODI (106-10)
  - 1. His Office
    - a. Gandhinagar
  - 2. Stack of Documents
    - a. 10.2% annual GDP growth since 2002
  - 3. Comparison with Chile and China
    - a. Their use of planned atrocities created an atmosphere of shock and fear
    - b. The reforms push through without opposition
  - 4. There Can Be Many Singapores and Dubais in Gujarat
    - a. Kutch
    - b. **GIFT**
    - c. Global commerce is in its blood
  - 5. Comparison with South Korea
    - a. Park Chung-hee [His daughter, Park Geun-hye, was elected president in 2013]
    - b. Modi's anti-democratic governing style
  - 6. GIFT
    - a. Financial services hub founded in 2007
  - 7. Cosmopolitan Trading History
  - 8. No Remorse Expressed
  - 9. King **Ashoka** [Aṣoka]
    - a. Kalinga
  - 10. "Less Government, More Governance"
  - 11. Question of Machiavellianism
  - 12. Modi's Hindu Philosophy
    - a. Economic development converted into a mass movement psychology
  - 13. His Accomplishments
  - 14. Tata Motors
    - a. Cult of the personality
  - 15. Driven Man
- D. CHALLENGES (110-12)
  - 1. Question of Fascism
    - a. **Walter Laqueur**
    - b. **Attributes of Fascism**
      - 1) Hyper-nationalistic hatred of the elite and cosmopolitans
      - 2) Cultic obsession with brutality and virility
      - 3) Almost orgiastic love of the collective
    - c. Terrifying results
  - 2. Modi Knows That *Hindutva* Is Only a Phase

- a. Arrest of members of the VHP
- 3. General Atmosphere of Civilizational Tension
- 4. Fear of Pakistani Collapse
  - a. Inter-communal tensions
- 5. Yearning for Order
  - a. Development occurs in spite of the government
  - b. Nightmarish chaos of the cities
- E. AHMEDABAD (112-14)
  - 1. Modi's Record
    - a. Denial of a visa to the United States
    - b. Malnutrition, anemia, illiteracy
    - c. GIFT
  - 2. Ball-and-Chain Reality of the Indian Landscape
    - a. Gandhinagar
  - 3. **Ahmedabad**
    - a. Once a playground for internationally renowned architects
      - 1) Le Corbusier
      - 2) Louis Kahn
      - 3) Buckminster Fuller
    - b. No colonial architecture
    - c. Soviet-style modernism
  - 4. Bimal Patel
    - a. Park and waterfront project
    - b. Little effort to clean up the urban mess
  - 5. Informal Communal Cantons
    - a. Sarkhej Roza
    - b. Indo-Saracenic style
- F. DIU (114-17)
  - 1. Portuguese Monuments
  - 2. Dreariness of Rural India
  - 3. **Francisco de Almeida**
    - a. Conquest of **Diu**
  - 4. Portuguese Citadel
    - a. Massive Portuguese churches
  - 5. Portuguese vs. British Impact
    - a. Catholic religion
    - b. British brought the basis for a modern state
    - c. Framework for parliamentary democracy
  - 6. Gravely Troubled Developing Nation
    - a. Forces of Indian democracy have survived 60 years of turmoil
    - b. Modi's role
  - 7. Congress-Led Coalition
- G. SOMNATH (117-18)
  - 1. Peace Will Not Come Easily
  - 2. Somnath
  - 3. Single Organism of the Crowd
    - a. Vatican
    - b. Kali temple in Kolkata
  - 4. Jyotirlingas

## Review

Mohandas Gandhi  
 Narendra Modi  
 dietary restrictions  
*Hindutva*

greatest good of all  
 Patels  
 Mahmud of Ghazna  
*pracharaks*

Congress Party  
 business networking  
 Akbar the Great  
 GIFT

## CHAPTER SEVEN: THE VIEW FROM DELHI

### Outline

- A. MUGHAL EMPIRE (119-123)
  - 1. **Akbar the Great**
    - a. Maritime kingdom with agricultural lands
    - b. Bengal
  - 2. Artistic, Religious, and Cultural Eclecticism
    - a. Central Asia
    - b. **Shah Jahan**
      - 1) **Taj Mahal**
  - 3. **Mughal**: Mongol
    - a. Zahir-ud-din-Muhammad **Babur**
      - 1) Fergana valley
      - 2) Tamerlane's capital of Samarkand
    - b. Defeat by Muhammad Shaybani Khan
    - c. Nobility
    - d. Akbar's reign
    - e. Syncretistic style of politics [syncretism is a mixing of religious traditions]
  - 4. Tensions with Safavid Persia
    - a. Shia/Sunni conflict
    - b. Cultural similarity
  - 5. Indian Subcontinent
    - a. Rule over Pakistan and Afghanistan
    - b. Trouble subduing the Deccan plateau
  - 6. Mughals United Central Asia with the Indian Ocean
    - a. Islam as the adhesive
  - 7. **Aurangzeb** [world-conqueror]
    - a. Kabul and Kandahar
    - b. Bangalore
    - c. Fight against **Maratha** insurgents
    - d. Dutch, French, and British East India companies
  - 8. British United the Subcontinent through a Railway System and Other Tools of Modernity
    - a. **North-West Frontier Province** (NWFP)
      - 1) Sugata Bose
      - 2) Indo-Persian, Indo-Islamic continuum
    - b. Need to stabilize the region
    - c. Potential for a new unity
- B. DELHI AND NEW DELHI (123-124)
  - 1. Dissolution of the Old Divisions of the Cold War Era
    - a. Centrality of Delhi
    - b. Erection of New Delhi
    - c. Shah Jahan's **Red Fort**
  - 2. British Building Spree
    - a. Vague evocations of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy
    - b. **Viceregal Lodge**
  - 3. Lesson of the Fragility of Central Authority
- C. GEOGRAPHIC SITUATION (124-126)
  - 1. India: Key Swing State
    - a. Lord Curzon

2. Continuity of National Interest Due to Geographical Position
  3. Mughal's Land-Based and the British Sea-Based Empires
    - a. Story of a rising India is a story of its navy
    - b. India's role as the chief balancer vis-à-vis China
  4. China's Worries
    - a. Zhang Ming
  5. Subtlety of the Game
    - a. India will never officially join the U.S. in any anti-Chinese alliance
- D. STRATEGIC SITUATION (126-134)
1. Admiral Sureesh Mehta
  2. Growth of India's Economy
    - a. Middle class and economy
    - b. Defense budget
    - c. Aircraft carrier strike groups
    - d. Aegis integrated combat system
    - e. Indian Ocean naval symposium, 2008
  3. Shipping through the Straits
    - a. China's string-of-pearls naval strategy
    - b. The Humiliation
    - c. Aksai Chin
    - d. Encirclement strategy
    - e. Nepal's King Gyanendra [He succeeded his brother after his nephew murdered much of the royal family in 2001, although he had been briefly king fifty years earlier as a child]
  4. Response to China
    - a. Karwar
    - b. Deflecting a Hormuz dilemma
  5. Madagascar, Mauritius, and the Seychelles
  6. Naval Cooperation with Indonesia and Vietnam
  7. Naval Exercise of 2007
    - a. Concert of democracies
  8. Balancing against China
  9. India and the United States Driven Closer Together
  10. Economic Complementarity with China
  11. Most of India's Problems Are on Land, Not at Sea
    - a. Three airfields in Tibet
  12. Threat of Pakistan's **Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI)**
    - a. Regarded as almost a terrorist outfit
    - b. Key supporter of the Taliban and al-Qaeda
    - c. Infiltration of jihadis into India
  13. Pakistani Army
    - a. Redeployment to Baluchistan and NWFP
    - b. Indian derision toward the Pakistani army
    - c. Mumbai attack
  14. Afghanistan War
    - a. **Hamid Karzai** regime
    - b. Its strategic importance
  15. India Backed the Pro-Soviet **Mohammed Najibullah** Regime
    - a. US encouraged ISI to support the insurgents
    - b. Post-9/11
  16. **Jammu and Kashmir**
    - a. Tinderbox
    - b. Maoist-inspired instability in Nepal
    - c. **Naxalites**
  17. Insurgent Border Threats
    - a. Maldives: Sunni-Islamic fundamentalism

- b. Burma
- c. Bangladesh
- d. Sri Lanka: civil war [Sinhalese vs. Tamils]
- 18. Future Energy Pipelines
  - a. Military base in Tajikistan
- 19. Fragility in the North, East, and West
  - a. India cannot tolerate a vacuum
  - b. No black-and-white moral pronouncements
- 20. Concern with Islamic Fundamentalism
  - a. Danger of al-Qaeda as a mindset
  - b. High rate of terrorist incidents
  - c. No adequate sharing of intelligence
  - d. Natural ally of the United States
- 21. India as a Bridging Power
  - a. Ambivalence in asserting its power
- 22. India: The Ultimate Paradox
  - a. Pakistan and Bangladesh: artificial constructs
  - b. Nepal
  - c. Sri Lanka
  - d. Burma
  - e. India's geographic logic
- 23. Modesty
  - a. Real **art of statesmanship**: think tragically
- E. COMMANDING CENTER OF THE INDIAN OCEAN (134)
  - 1. America is evolving a new kind of two-ocean navy
    - a. China
    - b. Strategic heart of the world

### Review

|                                   |              |                      |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| Akbar the Great                   | Shah Jahan   | Taj Mahal            |
| Mughal                            | Aurangzeb    | Maratha              |
| North-West Frontier Province      | Red Fort     | Vice-Regal Lodge     |
| Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) | Hamid Karzai | Mohammed Najibullah  |
| Jammu and Kashmir                 | Naxalites    | art of statesmanship |

## CHAPTER EIGHT: BANGLADESH: THE EXISTENTIAL CHALLENGE

### Outline

- A. EMBAYED OCEAN (135-137)
  - 1. Arabian Sea and Bay of Bengal
    - a. Monsoon unites them
  - 2. Southwest Monsoon
    - a. Tropical cyclones
  - 3. **Monsoon** (*Mausim*): One of Earth's greatest weather systems
    - a. Dependability
- B. SOUTHWEST MONSOON (137-139)
  - 1. *Char*
  - 2. Series of Dam Collapses
    - a. Checkerwork of paddy fields and embankments
  - 3. Human Beings Were Everywhere on This Dirty Wet Sponge of a Landscape

4. Towns and Roads
5. Soil
  - a. Slurry pipes
6. Tigers in the Mangrove Swamps
  - a. Sharp reduction of the deer population
- C. INSTABILITY OF THE EARTH (139-140)
  1. Crowding in the Planets Most Environmentally Frail Areas
    - a. Casualties
    - b. Tsunami of December 2004
  2. Environmental Emergencies
  3. Impact of Even the Slightest Climate Variation
    - a. Sea level rise
    - b. Potential for a humanitarian catastrophe
  4. Challenges to Bangladesh
- D. RURAL NGOS FILL A VOID (140-143)
  1. Largest Estuarial Delta
    - a. Floods
    - b. Veritable aquatic culture
  2. Sources of Calamity
    - a. Snowmelt
    - b. Monsoon
    - c. **Deforestation**
      - 1) Silt causes waterlogging
    - d. **Drought** caused by irrigation schemes
    - e. Rising sea-level
    - f. Salinity
  3. Political Culture Is More Communal than Hierarchical
  4. Northwest Village
    - a. Basket and textile profits invested in new wells and latrines
  5. Southwest Village
    - a. Rainwater catchments
  6. Population Growth Rate Slashed Voluntarily
    - a. Eradication of Polio
  7. Role of Non-Governmental Organization (**NGOs**)
  8. Ethical Questions about Bangladeshi NGOs
    - a. **Grameen Bank of Muhammad Yunus**: micro-credit
    - b. **BRAC**
  9. Mushtaque Chowdhury
  10. International Norms
  11. Environmental Plight
    - a. Pro-American sentiments of Muslim Bangladeshis
  12. Need for the U.S. To Take the Lead in the Struggle against Global Warming
- E. ISLAMIC EXTREMISM (143-144)
  1. Moderate, Syncretic Form of Islam
    - a. Rich, heavily Hinduized cultural stew
    - b. *Matbors*
  2. More Assertive **Wahabist** [the official Saudi] Strain
    - a. A poor country can't say no to money
    - b. **Al-Qaeda** [started by Saudis] affiliates
    - c. Saudi donations
  3. Infiltration of Saudi Ideas and Texts
    - a. Ibn Battuta
  4. Women Adopting Burkhas and *Shalwar Kameezes*
    - a. **Madrassas** outnumber secondary schools
    - b. New globally Islamic class emerging
  5. Anarchy in the Ever-Enlarging Urban Areas

- F. **BANGLADESH: MICROCOSM OF THE PERILS OF DEMOCRACY (144-146)**
1. Microcosm of the Perils of Democracy
    - a. Dread of elections
  2. Military-Backed Caretaker Civilian Government
    - a. Two feudal, dynastic parties
      - 1) Awami League of Sheikh **Hasina Wajid**
      - 2) BNP of Khaleda Zia
    - b. Personal vendetta
  3. These Weak Parties Require Alliances
    - a. Blind eye turned to al-Qaeda affiliates
    - b. Hanging of six militants under the caretaker government
    - c. Subsequent election of Sheikh Hasina
  4. **Military Intervention** Is, Ultimately, a Response to the Lack of Capable Institutions
    - a. A democracy that cannot control its own population may be worse for human rights
  5. Fear of Radical Islam Taking Advantage of the Political Void
    - a. Jama'atul Mujahideen
    - b. Porous borders
  6. Old-Fashioned Turkish-Style National Security Regime Is a Possible Outcome
    - a. Hostages of democracy
    - b. How democracy works in India
    - c. Why power is hoarded in Dhaka
    - d. Struggle to fill in the vast middle ground
- G. **CITY LIFE (146-147)**
1. Barisal
    - a. Absent of treatment plants and drying up of canals
    - b. No enforcement of laws
  2. Uncontrolled Growth Makes It Difficult for Government to Cope
  3. Rickshaw Economy
    - a. Rickshaw **mustans**
    - b. Miracle that the third world remains as moderate as it does
  4. What Social Cohesion as Exists on the National Level Results from Linguistic Nationalism
    - a. Land of the Bengali replaced Land of the Pure
- H. **CHITTAGONG (147-151)**
1. Bangladesh's Lack of Geographic Logic
    - a. Neglect by Dhaka
    - b. Chittagongian dialect
  2. Organic Connection with the Story of Burma
  3. **Hill Tracts**
  4. Port for Muslim Pilgrims Bound to and from Mecca
  5. Twelve Sufi Saints
    - a. **Pir Badr Shah**
    - b. Earthen lamp
  6. Badr Shah's Tomb
  7. Slapdash Construction
  8. **Change Makers**
    - a. Tanbir ul Islam Siddiqui
  9. The Port Lies Nine Miles Up-River
    - a. Building up of sediments
  10. History Could Move Southeast to Burma
  11. Need to Dredge and Upgrade the Port
    - a. South Korea firm
    - b. Ceding of responsibility to the private sector
- I. **CHINA-INDIA RIVALRY (151)**
1. Bangladesh Holds the Key to Reestablishing Historical Trade Route

- 2. Stability in Dhaka Is Necessary
- J. ROHINGYAS (151-152)
  - 1. Burmese Refugees
    - a. Oppressive military state beset with ethnic problems
  - 2. Landscape
  - 3. Border Town of Teknaf
    - a. **Rohingyas**
  - 4. Refugee Camps and Local Hatred
  - 5. Arakan: Hybrid Buddhist-Hindu-Muslim Civilization
    - a. Sanskrit and Islamic learning
  - 6. Terrible Conditions in the Refugee Camp
- K. BEGINNING OF THE MONSOON (153)
  - 1. Flooding and Casualties
  - 2. Early-warning system

### Review

|                        |                       |                |
|------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| monsoon                | deforestation         | drought        |
| NGOs                   | Grameen Bank          | Muhammad Yunus |
| Wahabists (Wahhabists) | madrassas             | Bangladesh     |
| Hasina Wajid           | military intervention | <i>mustans</i> |
| Hill Tracts            | Pir Badr Shah         | Change Makers  |
| Rohingyas              |                       |                |

## CHAPTER NINE: KOLKATA: THE NEXT GLOBAL CITY

### Outline

- A. BENGAL (155-156)
  - 1. Economy of Subsistence Agriculture
    - a. Basis of capital for the **British East India Company**
      - 1) Wealth of the Bengal accounted for 50% of its total trade
    - b. Textiles
    - c. Overlapping trading networks
    - d. Ideological intensification of religiosity
    - e. Brick mosques
  - 2. Benapole
    - a. Border crossing
  - 3. Land Borders Expose the Naked Truth about a Country
    - a. Sameness of both sides of the land in Bangladesh border
  - 4. Dramatic Change in the Countryside
- B. KIPLING'S CITY OF DREADFUL NIGHT (157-159)
  - 1. Scale of Beggary
    - a. Kali
    - b. **Robert Clive**: Most wicked place in the Universe
    - c. *The City of Joy*
    - d. **Mother Teresa**
  - 2. Differences from Dhaka
  - 3. Man-Powered Rickshaws
  - 4. Indigent Documentary Film Producer
  - 5. Dull, Numb Poverty
  - 6. **Caste System**
    - a. Madeleine Biardeau
      - 1) **Fear of being alone**



- b. The system's dilution in urban areas
  - c. Decades of tumult as more radical forms of group identity help fill the gap
- 7. **Hippie Trail** [Searchers for Enlightenment] Bypassed Kolkata
- 8. Mumbai Slums Are More Segregated from the Wealthier Areas
- 9. First Days of the Monsoon in June
  - a. Worlds with and without air-conditioning
  - b. Social borders
- 10. Tarpaulin and Burlap Lean-Tos of the Street People
- 11. Maze of Beautiful and Derelict Mansions
  - a. Marble Palace
- C. TRANSFORMATION INTO A GLOBAL CITY (159-161)
  - 1. Return of Expatriates
    - a. Malls
    - b. Multiplex cinemas
    - c. Luxury condos
  - 2. Christmas
    - a. Saint Paul's
  - 3. Middle Class
    - a. Consumerist buying sprees
    - b. Traffic jams
  - 4. Low-End Centers
    - a. Soup kitchens
    - b. Rise of a lower middle class
- D. MIGRATION FROM THE VILLAGES (161-164)
  - 1. **Sealdah**
  - 2. The Kolkata Street as a Way Station to the Working Class
    - a. Shantytowns in Turkey
    - b. Opportunity creates **slums**
    - c. Transition from *kutchra* to *jhupri* to *pucca*
  - 3. Author's Discomfort
    - a. Troubled nation harboring stores of misery
  - 4. Place of Harsh, Unsentimental Social Interaction
    - a. Urban balkanization
    - b. **Gated communities**
    - c. Private security guards
  - 5. Fear of Seeing Ugliness
  - 6. Kolkata Street: A Rendering of Rural Life
  - 7. Possibility of Upward Mobility Will Still Lure Villagers
  - 8. Longest-Serving Democratically Elected Communist Government
    - a. Chinese path of privatization
  - 9. **Calcutta** Founded by the British in a Tropical Swamp
    - a. West Bengal became the Ruhr of India
    - b. Trade unionism
    - c. Continued exclusion of the poor
    - d. Attempt to ban rickshaws
- E. NEW BENGALI ENTREPÔT FOR EASTERN INDIA (164-165)
  - 1. Regaining Hinterland Lost After the 1947 Partition
    - a. Southwestern China has no access to the Pacific Ocean
      - 1) Its closest outlet (by land) is the Bay of Bengal
  - 2. Kolkata's Chinatown
  - 3. Education
- F. CRUISE ON THE HOOGLY RIVER (165-168)
  - 1. Sufficient Stores of Fresh Water
    - a. Arrival by boat on another occasion
    - b. **Hooghly River**
  - 2. Chartering a 47 Ft. Wooden Boat

- a. Trip back in time
  - b. Once the world's greatest silk-producing area
  - c. 18-19C **opium clippers** [opium was forced on the Chinese to open up markets]
3. **European Traders**
- a. Portuguese settlements
  - b. Dutch, Danes, Flemish, and French
  - c. English
    - 1) **Job Charnock**
4. Young Start-Up City
- a. Lack of the fortifying medieval centuries
  - b. Raw, New World edge
5. Hooghly Shores
- a. **Surinam Dock**
    - 1) Indentured laborers shipped to the Guianas
    - 2) Indian diaspora
  - b. Garden Reach jetty
    - 1) Jute industry
  - c. Navigation difficulties
6. Multi-Draft Port
- a. Feeder vessels
  - b. Downtown port
  - c. Haldia
  - d. Diamond Harbor
7. Vast Inland Sea
- a. Fishing villages
  - b. Brick-making kilns
  - c. Threat of coastal flooding
    - 1) Bali climate conference
8. Robert Clive
- G. ROBERT CLIVE (168-178)
1. Geography Matters
- a. Lesson in geographic and demographic determinism
  - b. Individual man theory
2. Seeming Inevitability of Great Britain's Domination of India
- a. Robert Clive's magnetic personality
3. **Thomas Babington Macaulay**
4. East India Company, 1743
- a. India in a state of political confusion
  - b. Moghul dynasty in disarray
    - 1) Marathas
  - c. Highly civilized population
5. Clive as a "Writer"
- a. The Carnatic
  - b. Joseph-François Dupleix
  - c. Superiority of European arms
  - d. War as science vs. sport
6. Fortress of **Trichinopoly**
- a. Mohammed Ali
  - b. Chunda Sahib
7. Clive's Stratagem
- a. Arcot
  - b. French siege
8. Essence of Soldiering Is Leadership
- a. Tide turned
9. Clive's Triumphant Return to England
10. Fort St. David at Madras

- a. Affairs of Bengal
  - 1) Natural wealth of the Ganges delta
- 11. Death of the **Nawab** [origin of Nabob] in 1756
  - a. Succeeded by **Surajah Dowlah**
- 12. Fall of Fort William
- 13. **Black Hole of Calcutta**, 1756
- 14. Clive Leads an Expedition to Calcutta
  - a. Nawab sued for peace
  - b. Negotiation
- 15. Indian Intrigue
- 16. Two-Faced Nawab
  - a. Conspiracy with the French
  - b. French undermined at Pondicherry and Mauritius
- 17. Clive Supports a Coup
  - a. His duplicity
- 18. **Meer Jaffier's** [Mir Jafar] Fears
- 19. War Council
- 20. **Battle of Plassey**, 1757
- 21. Overthrow and Murder of Surajah Dowlah
- 22. Clive's Bounty
- 23. Opprobrium That Greeted Him Back in England
- 24. Attack on Seven Dutch Ships
- 25. **Comprehensive Reform** of the British East India Company, 1765
  - a. Salaries raised
    - 1) Share in the revenue of the salt trade
- 26. Clive Gave Britain India but Britain Was Not Altogether Grateful
- 27. Military Autodidact
- 28. What Might Have Been
- H. CANTILEVER HOWRAH BRIDGE (178)
  - 1. WWII
  - 2. Traffic

### Review

|                     |                           |               |
|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| Robert Clive        | Mother Teresa             | caste system  |
| fear of being alone | Hippie Trail              | Sealdah       |
| gated communities   | Calcutta                  | Hooghly River |
| opium clippers      | European traders          | Job Charnock  |
| Surinam Dock        | Thomas Babington Macaulay | Trichonopoly  |
| Nawab               | Surajah Dowlah            | Meer Jaffier  |
| Battle of Plassey   | comprehensive reform      |               |

## CHAPTER TEN: OF STRATEGY AND BEAUTY

### Outline

- A. TWO LANDMARKS IN KOLKATA (179)
  - 1. Each Is Associated with a Great Figure from the City's Past
  - 2. Government House (**Raj Bhavan**)
- B. CURZON: GUIDING SPIRIT TO INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY (179-186)
  - 1. India-Centric Imperialism
    - a. Lord **George Curzon**
    - b. Government House based on the plan of Kedleston Hall
  - 2. Curzon's **Restoration Efforts**

3. Curzon as Among the Greatest of Indian Nationalists
    - a. J. N. Dixit
    - b. C. Raja Mohan: source of strategic inspiration
  4. Greater India
    - a. **Buffer states** to the west and north
      - 1) NWFP as a means of pressuring Afghanistan
  5. Compliant Persia Sought
    - a. British India was the principal power in the Arabian Gulf
    - b. Trucial States
    - c. Burma
      - 1) Shan States of Burma a buffer against French Indochina
  6. Influence of the Viceroy in Calcutta
  7. **Neo-Curzonianism**
    - a. Difference from American neoconservatism
  8. Less Crude in Spirit than the Greater India of the Hindu Nationalists
    - a. Neo-Curzonists look westward
  9. India's Foreign Policy during the Cold War
    - a. **Jawaharlal Nehru** [founding prime minister of India]: Preoccupation with nonalignment
  10. **Realpolitik** of the **Viceroy**s
    - a. Nehru's foreign policy was more appropriate for a liberation movement than a state
    - b. Viceroy's projected soft power throughout Asia
  11. Revival of Commercial Cooperation
    - a. Burma
  12. **Manmohan Singh's** Call for Greater Connectivity
    - a. Soft hegemony
  13. The Eight **Northeastern States** Are Home to at Least Fifteen Insurgencies
    - a. Lack of internal stability to open India's borders
  14. Relations with Muslim Bangladesh
    - a. Fear of radical mullahs
    - b. More than 10,000,000 Bangladesh economic refugees
    - c. India is struggling with the doors of partition
  15. Need for Stores of Courage and Broad-Mindedness
  16. Larger Indian Ocean Littoral
    - a. Curzon took British control of the seas for granted
    - b. Africa now viewed in terms of strategy and raw materials
  17. De Facto Military Alliance with the United States
  18. India's **Mass Democracy** Will Align with the United States
  19. Curzon as the Guiding Spirit
- C. RABINDRANATH TAGORE (186-190)
1. Nationalism Is a False God
    - a. Exhibits at the Tagore mansion
  2. **Rabindranath Tagore's** Studied yet Natural Universalism
  3. Comparison with **Isaiah Berlin** [exemplifies liberal secularism]
    - a. Berlin: Free and sanctified individual as the sovereign force in history
    - a. Tagore's works are the artistic equivalent of Berlin's humanistic philosophy
  4. Intimacy of His Writings
  5. Leo Tolstoy
  6. Multicultural Sensibility
  7. Opposition to Close-Minded Nationalism
  8. Beauty Is Moral and Universal
  9. Patriotism Is Not the Highest Good
    - a. St. Augustine
  10. The Ultimate **Syncretist**
    - a. Inveterate traveler and pilgrim

- b. Interwoven cultural vision
- c. No borders in Tagore's worldview
- d. Blood relationships
- 11. Tagore Was Not a Globalist
  - a. Need to be strongly rooted in one's own culture
- 12. Politics Must Follow Geography and Culture
  - a. Kolkata: Lhasa's [Tibet's] closest outlet to the sea
  - b. Realpolitik with a conscience

### Review

Raj Bhavan  
buffer states  
*Realpolitik*  
northeastern states  
Isaiah Berlin

George Curzon  
neo-Curzonianism  
viceroys  
mass democracy  
syncretism

restoration efforts  
Jawaharlal Nehru  
Manmohan Singh  
Rabindranath Tagore

## CHAPTER ELEVEN: SRI LANKA

### Outline

- A. HAMBANTOTA (191-94)
  - 1. Massive Dredging Project
    - a. Inner harbor of **Hambantota** seaport
  - 2. Facilities
  - 3. Chinese Building and Financing
  - 4. Hambantota Region
    - a. Kingdom of Ruhuna
    - b. Hambantota = Sampan harbor
  - 5. Reconstructed Hotel
    - a. 2004 tsunami
  - 6. **Leonard Woolf**
    - a. Hogarth Press
    - b. The Village in the Jungle
  - 7. Azmi Thassim
    - a. Ideal place for a new port
  - 8. Chinese subtle grand strategy
    - a. Its need for a state-of-the-art port and bunkering facility for its merchant fleet
    - b. Empire built on soft power
- B. CEYLON (194-96)
  - 1. Trade
    - a. Chinese, Persians, and Axumites
    - b. Zheng He
    - c. Buddhist hill capital of Kandy
  - 2. Chinese Occupation
    - a. Subsequent European occupation
  - 3. Billion-dollar Development Zone in Hambantota
    - a. India's constraints against the Buddhist Sinhalese government
      - 1) India's Tamil population
    - b. Chinese military aid
    - c. U.S. aid suspended over human rights abuses
  - 4. Chinese Role in Ending the Military Stalemate
    - a. U.S. has relatively ignored Sri Lanka
      - 1) Focus on Afghanistan

- b. Chinese port construction
- 5. The Real Lesson: Nuanced Relationships
- C. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CIVIL WAR (196-203)
  - 1. New Geopolitical Calculations
    - a. Moral Quandary for Western Strategists
    - b. Human rights catastrophe
  - 2. Ceylon
    - a. Landscape
    - b. **Serendip**
    - c. Sri Lanka
  - 3. Isolation Imposed by an Island Geography
    - a. Perversity of the local history
      - 1) Beauty and paranoia
  - 4. Majority Buddhist **Sinhalese**
    - a. Fear of Hindu **Tamils**
    - b. History of Tamil invasions
    - c. Ethnic distinctiveness is identified through **Theravada Buddhism** [considered to be a form of Hinayana Buddhism in contrast to Mahayana Buddhism]
  - 5. Hindu Revivalist Assault
    - a. Last Bastion of the Sinhalese
  - 6. Dangerous Minority **Persecution Complex**
    - a. Analogy with Serbs and Iranian Shiite
    - b. Missionary activists of Ashoka
    - c. Religion-inspired violence
    - d. Terrorists and suicide bombers
  - 7. Hindu Tamils: A Minority with a Majority Complex
    - a. Triumphalism
    - b. 13C Tamil kingdom
  - 8. Misuse of Democracy by an Aggressive Ethnic Majority
    - a. Tamil guerrilla insurgency
  - 9. Communal Violence in the 1950s
    - a. Rise of Sinhalese nationalism in the security forces
    - b. Scapegoating of Tamils
    - c. Preferential treatment
  - 10. Model of a Secular, Multi-Ethnic State abandoned in the 1950s
    - a. Buddhism raised to the status of a state religion
    - b. **Sirimavo Bandaranaike**
    - c. Politicized Buddhist monks
  - 11. Marxist-Nationalist Insurrections in 1971 and 1989
    - a. Comparison with Peru's Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*) insurgency
  - 12. Security Force as a Criminal Organization
    - a. Premawathi Menamperi
    - b. Government's drift toward Titoism [Communist Yugoslav leader's third way alternative to Stalin and Mao]
  - 13. Tamil New Tigers (**LTTE**)
    - a. **Vellupilai Prabhakaran**
    - b. **Subash Chandra Bose** [rival of Mahatma Gandhi and leader of the Indian National Army who collaborated with Japan and Germany]
  - 14. Prabhakaran's Character
    - a. Robberies
    - b. Police reprisals
  - 15. Beginning of the Civil War in 1983
    - a. Attack on an army patrol
    - b. Rioting in Colombo
    - c. Use of voting rolls to target Tamil Families
  - 16. Indira Gandhi's Mediation

- a. **Research and Analysis Wing (RAW)** of the Indian security bureaucracy
- b. Indian military clashed with the Tigers
- c. Withdrawal
- 17. Casualties
- 18. Tigers Turned into a Quasi-cult Terrorist Group
  - a. Michael Radu
  - b. It had its own army and navy
  - c. Blood tax
  - d. Suicide bombing
- 19. Permanent Insurgency and the Power of Statelessness
  - a. Subsistence on moral abstractions and absolutes
- D. **METHODICAL OFFENSIVE, 2008-2009 (203-04)**
  - a. Hiding among non-combatants
  - b. Coarsening of politics
- 2. Murder Has Become the Primary Tool Whereby the State Seeks to Control the Organs of Liberty
  - a. Lasantha Wickramatunga
  - b. Extreme self-censorship
- 3. Tens of Thousands of Hostages
  - a. Human rights abuses tolerated
- E. **BLAST FROM THE PAST (204-06)**
  - 1. Rajapaksas Brothers
  - 2. Extra-judicial Killings and Disappearances
    - a. Military intelligence
  - 3. Democracy Yielded Up a Family Business
  - 4. Kandyan Kingdom
    - a. **Nayakkars**
    - b. British set the stage for ethnic polarization of politics
    - c. Syncretistic mingling of religions
  - 5. Temple of Embeka
- F. **BLEAKEST FORM OF REALISM (206-08)**
  - 1. Call to Ostracize the Regime
    - a. Dismissiveness toward the West
  - 2. Withdrawal from a Meaningless Ceasefire in 2006
    - a. Defection of Col. Karuna Amman
    - b. End of American military assistance
      - 1) Push for final military victory
  - 3. Chinese Fill the Void
  - 4. New Sources of Aid
    - a. Accelerated progress against the Tigers, 2008
    - b. Sinking of Tamil Tiger mother ship
  - 5. Troubling Repercussions of the Rise of China
    - a. Decline of the West in maritime Asia is not altogether beneficial
    - b. Chinese Foreign Policy
      - 1) Bleakest form of realism
- G. **SHADOW OF INDIA (208-09)**
  - 1. Disastrous 1987 Intervention
    - a. Better relations today with Sri Lanka than Pakistan or Bangladesh
    - b. 1998 free trade agreement
    - c. India bedeviled by **semi-failed states** on its borders
    - d. Their geopolitical calculations against India
      - 1) Pakistan's desire to erect an Islamistan with which to confront India
  - 2. True Ethnic Reconciliation Is an Indian More Than a Chinese Goal
    - a. Political pressure from Tamilnadu
    - b. Competition for friendship with the Sinhalese authorities
- H. **METHODICAL GOVERNMENT OFFENSIVE (209-11)**

1. End of the War
    - a. Prabhakaran's body displayed on television
    - b. Parades
  2. Clear-Cut Demonstrable Victory
  3. Rajapaksa's Victory Speech
    - a. Appeal for national reconciliation
  4. Democracy Has a Way of Working Wonders
- H. DEVELOPMENT MODELS OF AMERICANS AND CHINESE (211-12)
1. Logic of the Chinese Model
    - a. **Samuel P. Huntington**
      - 1) Brutal authority is preferable to none
    - b. West looks for moral purity
    - c. Chinese are content with stability
  2. America's Goals Have Been Determined by Its Own Unique Historical Experience
    - a. Limiting the power of authority
    - b. Aftermath of dismantling European empires
  3. Burma is Akin to Early 20C Belgium
    - a. Tendency to be overrun by great contiguous powers

### Review

Hambantota  
Sinhalese  
persecution complex  
Vellupilai Prabhakaran  
Nyakkars

Leonard Woolf  
Tamils  
Sirimavo Bandaranaike  
Subash Chandra Bose  
semi-failed states

Serendip  
Theravada Buddhism  
LTTE  
Research and Analysis Wing (RAW)  
Samuel P. Huntington

## CHAPTER TWELVE: BURMA

### Outline

- A. MINI-EMPIRE OF NATIONALITIES (213-17)
  1. Karen Soldier/Guide
    - a. Thai Military
  2. Anti-personnel Mines
    - a. Hill tracts of Burma
    - b. Outpost just inside Burma
    - c. Strategic junction
  3. **Karen State**
    - a. Slow-motion Darfur
    - b. SPDC
  4. Major **Kea Htoo**
    - a. SLORC
    - b. Fight for independence
  5. Corrupt and Desertion-plagued Military
  6. Burma's Aura of Romance
    - a. Norman Lewis
    - b. Kachin region
  7. Ethnic Minorities
    - a. Hill tribes are part of a new and larger canvas of geopolitics
    - b. Abundant resources
    - c. China desires Burma as a vassal state
  8. Burma is a Prize to be Fought Over
- B. GEOPOLITICAL STAKES IN BURMA



1. A Place that Tends to Consume People
  2. Greatest Area Experts Have Been **Christian Missionaries**
    - a. Arab hands
      - 1) American University in Beirut
      - 2) State Department Arabists
    - b. Asian Hands
    - c. American missionary background
      - 1) Blue-eyed Shan
  3. First Conversation
  4. Chinese Intelligence Beginning to Operate with the Anti-Regime Hill Tribes
  5. Thai Royal Family and Military
  6. Chinese Are Courting All Sides
    - a. Possible new bamboo curtain
    - b. Relative American neglect
      - 1) Missed ASEAN summits
  7. Need for Thai Help to Topple the Regime
  8. Shans and Kachins Feel Squeezed
  9. War Fatigue
  10. **Lee Kuan Yew**: The U.S. Must Stay Engaged
    - a. Counterbalance to the Chinese giant
  11. Burma Is Destined to Be an Energy Conduit for China
- C. FATHER OF THE WHITE MONKEY (220-24)
1. Son of Christian Missionaries
  2. **Aung San Suu Kyi**
    - a. Day of prayer for Burma
    - b. 1997 Burmese army offensive
      - 1) Atrocities
  3. Free Burma Rangers
    - a. Small medical teams
  4. Intelligence Work
  5. **NGOs**
    - a. Taking sides
    - b. Helping the Afghan mujahidin
    - c. Underground railway for guns
  6. Operations behind Enemy Lines
  7. The Wa
  8. Hand to Mouth Funding
  9. Regime's Relentless Consolidation of Power
  10. Pentagon Inquiry
- D. COL. TIMOTHY HEINEMANN (224-25)
1. Worldwide Impact
    - a. Indirect approach to conflict
    - b. Opposition to the dictatorship has no strategic or operational planning
  2. Potential North Korea
    - a. Perfect psychological operations target
    - b. Craving for WMD capability
  3. Burmese Army
    - a. Prone to mutiny
    - b. Must secure social welfare system
    - c. **Than Shwe**
    - d. **Ne Win**
  4. Capital Moved to **Naypyidaw**
    - a. Rangoon abandoned
    - b. Underground bunkers
  5. Heinemann's Job Planning for the Iraqi Occupation
    - a. Burma regarded as the inverse of Iraq

- E. THE BULL THAT SWIMS (225-31)
1. Special Forces Staff Sergeant
    - a. CNOOC map
  2. Ogaden Basin
    - a. Hobyo
    - b. New port at Kyauk Phru
    - c. Chinese needs to acquire Burma and keep it stable
  3. China and India Collide in Burma
  4. India's Comprehensive Engagement with the Regime
    - a. Sympathy for Aung San Suu Kyi
    - b. Chinese signals intelligence stations
    - c. Military aid
  5. Indian Energy Pipeline Network
    - a. Deepwater exploration deal
    - b. Shwe gas fields
    - c. China's system at Kyauk Phru
    - d. India's at Sittwe
  6. China's Attitude to Burma
  7. The Moral Problem
    - a. Confiscations and conscriptions
    - b. Destruction of forests
    - c. Ecosystems and cultural sites under attack
  8. Arakan
    - a. Sufferings of the indigenous peoples
  9. U.S. Has to Build Unconventional War Capability
  10. Need to Build and Manage Networks among the Hill Tribes
  11. America's Overwhelming **Obsession with al-Qaeda** Has Warped Its Larger Strategic Vision
    - a. Burma lacks an Islamic terrorist theme except among the Rohingyas
  12. The **Shans**
    - a. Cross-border humanitarian aid
    - b. Mechanism to curtail the flow of drugs
  13. Roger Donlon's *Outpost of Freedom*
    - a. Son Tay raiders
  14. Devastation of the Clandestine Service
    - a. **Stansfield Turner**
    - b. Self-supporting networks maintained
    - c. Drug smuggling used to sustain them
    - d. Bull's imprisonment
  15. U.S.-China Relationship
  16. Call for National Elections
- F. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND (231-36)
1. A Historical Nature of the Burma Debate Today
    - a. Thant Myint-U
  2. Geographical Fluidity and Religious-Cultural Isolation
    - a. Trade routes
    - b. Theravada Buddhism
  3. Three Principal Kingdoms
    - a. Arakan, Mon, and Myanmar
    - b. Yangon: Rangoon
    - c. Hill kingdoms
    - d. Shan States
    - e. River valleys
    - f. Historic ethnic migrations
    - g. Arakanese
    - h. Karen

4. Annexation to British India, 1886
  - a. Center of power moved from the royal courts at Ava and Mandalay
5. Destruction of the Monarchy
  - a. Country stripped of centuries of tradition
  - b. Divide and rule
  - c. Defeat of Winston Churchill
6. **Aung San**
  - a. Negotiations with Clement Attlee
7. **Panglong Agreement** with the Feudal Leaders
8. Assassination of Aung San
  - a. Independence
  - b. Karen revolt
  - c. Legacy of Japanese occupation and battles with the British
9. Jungle Warfare between the British and the Japanese
  - a. Maj. Gen. **Orde Wingate** [Churchill called him “one of the most brilliant and courageous figures of the second world war ... a man of genius who might well have become also a man of destiny”]
    - 1) Chindits
10. Cold War
  - a. **U Nu**
  - b. Retreating Kuomintang forces
  - c. Maoist insurgency
  - d. Ne Win
11. Meeting at Taungya
  - a. Debate in parliament
  - b. Ne Win’s coup
12. Aung San Suu Kyi
  - a. SLORC
    - 1) Myanmar
  - b. Freedom movement crushed
13. 1990 Elections
  - a. **National League for Democracy**
  - b. End of covert Thai military support
  - c. Chinese aid
  - d. Golden Triangle
  - e. Than Shwe
14. Saffron Revolution, 2007
  - a. Lack of support in the hill tracts
15. One of the Largest Standing Armies in the World
  - a. Plundering the populace
  - b. Destruction of villages
  - c. Disease
  - d. Energy shortages
- G. U.S. POLICY (237-39)
  1. Moralistic Rather than Moral
  2. Sanctions
    - a. Pipeline construction by Chevron
  3. Jack Dunford
  4. Regime’s Prospects
    - a. Indispensability of the military
  5. Need to Return to the Spirit of the Panglong Agreement
  6. Cyclone Nargis
- H. JUNTA MAY BE THE LAST TRULY CENTRALIZED BURMESE REGIME (239)
  1. Question of Who Deals Most Adroitly with the Hill Tribes

## Review

|                               |                   |                        |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| Karen State                   | Kea Htoo          | Christian missionaries |
| Lee Kuan Yew                  | Aung San Suu Kyi  | NGOs                   |
| Than Shwe                     | Ne Win            | Naypidaw               |
| obsession with al-Qaeda       | Stansfield Turner | Aung San               |
| Panglong Agreement            | Orde Wingate      | U Nu                   |
| National League for Democracy |                   |                        |

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN: INDONESIA'S TROPICAL ISLAM

### Outline

- A. 2004 TSUNAMI (241-243)
  - 1. Banda Aceh
    - a. Floating cemetery
    - b. Iraq had been an abstraction for the sailors
  - 2. Limited Influence of the United States
  - 3. Earthquake: 9.3 on the Richter scale
    - a. Speed and heights of the tsunami
    - b. Death toll
    - c. Radius of damage
    - d. Fragility of our planet
  - 4. Return to Banda Aceh
    - a. Ships stranded inland
  - 5. Mosque with Buckled Pillars
    - a. Northern Sumatra's contentious relationship with the central government in Java
  - 6. Future of Islam
    - a. Competition for people's hearts and minds
    - b. **Ring of fire**
  - 7. **Eruption of Krakatoa** In 1883
    - a. Simon Winchester
      - 1) Outbreaks of anti-Western Muslim Militancy
- B. ACEH AND JAVA
  - 1. **Aceh**
    - a. Independent sultanate
      - 1) Pepper trade and religious pilgrims to Mecca
    - b. Sharia law
      - 1) Modesty stops at the neck
  - 2. **Jilbab**
    - a. Women's dress codes
    - b. Religious diversity
  - 3. One of Islam's Greatest Proselytizing Success Stories
    - a. Through seaborne commerce
      - 1) Merchants
    - b. Nine saints
  - 4. Deepest Roots Established Closest to the International Trade Routes
    - a. Doctrinal open-mindedness
  - 5. **Clifford Geertz: Islam Appropriated a Civilization**
    - a. Islam became the top layer of a richly intricate culture
    - b. Hindu-Buddhist Javanese state
    - c. Indic tradition left intact with its inward temper
      - 1) Indic-Malay substratum of local spirits
      - 2) Syncretistic
  - 6. **Borobudur**

- a. Buddhist temple complex
  - b. Hindu temples of Prambanan
  - 7. Little Sense of Mass Resentment against the West
    - a. Javanese imperialism: Protective armor against the European variety
  - 8. Hijacking Post-Tsunami Aceh
  - 9. Historical Conflict between Aceh and Jakarta
    - a. Former Indian Ocean sultanate
  - 10. Abrupt End to the Seemingly Age-Old Struggle
    - a. End of piracy
  - 11. Helsinki Peace Deal
    - a. GAM
  - 12. Self-Government within Jakarta's Imperial Domain
  - 13. NGO Economic Bubble
    - a. Construction boom
    - b. Inflation
    - c. Not enough done in the way of infrastructure development
    - d. Downsizing of NGOs
  - 14. **Suadi Sulaiman**
    - a. Suicide bombings are *haram*
    - b. Lack of capital
  - 15. Poverty Provides the Window for Radicalism
    - a. Purists
  - 16. Middle Eastern vs. Southeast Asian experience
    - a. Western democracy is beyond reproach in South and Southeast Asia
  - 17. Muslim Scholars Champion a Liberal Vision
    - a. Narrow focus of the *pesantren* [madrassas]
    - b. V.S. Naipaul
  - 18. Role of Women
  - 19. **Abdurrahman Wahid**
    - a. Gus Dur
  - 20. Only in the Middle East Has the Religion Been Politicized
    - a. Last breath of radicalism will be eradicated
    - b. Formal Islam is not in demand
    - c. In Pakistan, Islam works against nationalism
    - d. Secular nationalism in Indonesia
      - 1) We are like Turkey
    - e. Islam is not yet finished; it is still in dialogue with itself and other religions
  - 21. Need for Good Relations with Other Religious Groups
    - a. Bali bombing
- C. COMPLEXITIES OF INDONESIAN ISLAM
- 1. Grand Mosque of Banda Aceh
    - a. Contrast with severe fortress-like mosques in North Africa
    - b. Rehabilitation through Saudi money
  - 2. **Al Jazeera**
    - a. It helped crystallize Indonesians' intense dislike of Bush
    - b. Israel lost the war of words over Gaza
  - 3. Mass Disinterest over the Plight of the Rohingyas
    - a. Effect of Persian Gulf-based global media
  - 4. Effect of commercial air travel
    - a. Pilgrims
    - b. Historic links between Hadhramaut and Java
    - c. Wahabi money used to translate *Mein Kampf*: hateful influence from the Arabian peninsula
    - d. Homogenization of various strains of thought by the mass media
  - 5. **Radicalization**
    - a. Susceptibility of the first generation of professionals, newly liberated from the

- village
- 1) Their credibility
- D. MUHAMMADIYAH
1. Sizable minorities of Chinese Christians and Hindus
    - a. Secular state that accommodates a vibrant religious life
  2. Powerful Muslim Organizations
  3. **Nahdlatul Ulama** (NU)
    - a. Concern about austere Wahabist influences
    - b. Deep emphasis on Muslim tradition protects it against contemporary Islamic ideology
      - 1) Which seeks to defend Islam from Hinduism and Buddhism
    - c. Killing spree against Communists in 1965
  4. **Muhammadiyah**, 1912
    - a. Conducive to radicalism
    - b. Its' popularity among young professionals
    - c. Religious currents from the Arab world
  5. Encounter with Dutch Colonialism Strengthened Sense of Islamic Identity
    - a. Geertz's oppositional Muslims
    - b. **Acehnese war** against the Dutch
      - 1) Ended with sultan's surrender in 1903
    - c. Pan-Islamic ideas imported
  6. Isolation from the British Colonies
    - a. More influenced by purer ideas of Arabia than by syncreticism
  7. Immigrants from the Hadhramaut [western Oman]
  8. New Currents of Thought in the Middle East
  9. **Muhammad Abduh**: Late 19C Egyptian and Reformer
    - a. Inspired both secular moderation and fundamentalist radicalism
    - b. He helped make Middle Eastern Islam a standardized goal religion
  10. Muhammadiyah Propagates Abduh's Thinking
    - a. Ikhwan al-Muslimin (Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood)
  11. Issues
    - a. Pornography
    - b. Certification of *halal* food
    - c. Westernization
  12. Self-Doubt and the Conversion of Religion into Radical Ideology
    - a. Fear of modernization
  13. Democracy-Affirming **Principles of Pancasila**
  14. Archipelagic Geography Has Led to Democracy
    - a. **Sukarno's** leftist theater state
    - b. Suharto's right-wing military state
    - c. Muhammadiyah's pro-democracy struggle
- E. ISLAM'S FUTURE (257-59)
1. Religious Vibrancy of a Multi-Confessional State
    - a. Independent media
    - b. People lifted out of poverty
    - c. Common Malay language: Bahasa Indonesia
    - d. Decentralization
  2. **Suharto**
    - a. Established the basis of a strong modern state
      - 1) Promotion of an educated middle class
    - b. Comparison with Kemal Ataturk and Park Chung-hee
    - c. Weakness of al-Qaeda affiliated groups like Jemaah Islamiyah
  3. Greater Jakarta
    - a. Comparison with Sao Paulo and Manila
  4. New Malls
    - a. Chinese dominate the economy

- b. Clash between Islam and rampant materialism
- 5. Reaction to the Tsunami
- 6. An Era of Natural Disasters Will Strengthen Islam
  - a. Continued evolution of the faith
  - b. Islamic Law applied sparingly
  - c. Indonesia emerging as a vibrant democratic powerhouse

### Review

|                |                         |              |
|----------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| ring of fire   | eruption of Krakatoa    | Aceh         |
| <i>jilbab</i>  | Clifford Geertz         | Borobudur    |
| Suadi Sulaiman | Adburrahman Wahid       | Al Jazeera   |
| radicalization | Nahdlatul Ulema         | Muhammadiyah |
| Muhammas Abduh | principles of Pancasila | Sukarno      |
| Suharto        |                         |              |

## CHAPTER FOURTEEN: THE HEART OF MARITIME ASIA

### Outline

- A. MALACCA (261-63)
  - 1. **Strait of Malacca**
    - a. Heart of maritime Asia
    - b. Comparison with the Fulda Gap
  - 2. East Asia's Primary Supplier of Natural Gas
    - a. Critical hub of world politics
    - b. Suharto secured sea-lanes for the United States
  - 3. Southern Entrance near Singapore
    - a. Dependence on Middle Eastern oil
    - b. Indian Ocean is semi-enclosed
  - 4. Malacca
    - a. Reversible monsoonal winds
    - b. Islamic maritime city-state
      - 1) Dependent on Gujarati traders and Chinese protection
    - c. Portuguese tax on merchants
    - d. Gujaratis shifted their business from Malacca to Aceh
  - 5. Pepper
    - a. **Black pepper**
    - b. Alternative supply network
    - c. Aceh was the most powerful Malay kingdom
  - 6. Portuguese Ousted by the Dutch
    - a. Comprehensive Dutch trading system
    - b. 1824 Treaty of London
- B. **DUTCH EMPIRE** (263-70)
  - 1. Most Utilitarian of Imperialists
    - a. Constant struggle against nature
    - b. Need for precise coordination and cooperation—the engineer's mentality
    - c. Discipline was everything
  - 2. Supreme Need for Tolerance within Their Own Community
    - a. **Culture of consensus**
  - 3. Comparison of Bengal with the Netherlands
    - a. Bengali character
    - b. Only after the English introduced land ownership did local lords protect it [cf. Garrett Hardin's The Tragedy of the Commons]

4. Imperial Discipline
    - a. Colonial losses
    - b. Ocean trade was a gamble
    - c. 700 ships at sea
    - d. **Greatest trading nation** in the world by 1648
    - e. Presaged the economical business empires of major corporations
  5. Dutch Masters
    - a. National character
    - b. *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC)*
  6. VOC: State within a State
    - a. Merchant-Oligarchs of Holland and Zeeland
  7. 1579 **Union of Utrecht**
    - a. States-General at The Hague
    - b. Amsterdam is thriving hub of an international maritime network
  8. Goods Traded
  9. Abominable Behavior
    - a. **Jan Pieterszoon Coen**
    - b. Batavia (Jakarta)
      - 1) Ruthless monopolization of cloves, nutmeg and mace [e.g., cloves were restricted to Amboina]
    - c. Extermination of the indigenous population of the Banda Islands [massacre of 40 leaders and enslavement of a remnant]
  10. Dregs of the Dutch Nation
  11. **Zielverkopers** (Soul Merchants)
    - a. Deaths at sea
  12. Indiamen
    - a. Diseases spread fast
  13. Cape of Good Hope
  14. Dutch and Portuguese Sent Their Worst out to the Colonies
    - a. British sent their mediocrities
    - b. American troops
    - c. British and American imperialism generally more benign
    - d. Dutch in Japan, Formosa, and Persia
  15. Portuguese Left a Greater Cultural Mark than the Dutch
    - a. Roman Catholicism
    - b. Dutch Calvinism
  16. **Imperial Overstretch**
    - a. **Paul Kennedy**
    - b. Dutch navy could not keep up with global policing
  17. Superficial Resemblance to the United States
- C. FEAR OF CHINA (270-74)
1. Jakarta's Urban Jumble
    - a. Sunda Kelapa
  2. Large Concentration of Chinese
    - a. Middleman trade
    - b. **Anti-Chinese pogroms** [the word originally referred to slaughters of East European Jews]
  3. Chinese New Year
  4. Chinese Effectively Barred from the Army, Judiciary, and Other Professions
  5. Strategic Partnership with China, 2005
  6. Resisting China Is Proving Impossible
  7. Vulnerability to Chinese Great Power Intrusion
    - a. Army is somewhat discredited
  8. Democratization Ultimately Means Decentralization
    - a. Spheres of outside influence
  9. Military Strategy: Patience



10. Southeast Asia Falling under Chinese Mercantile Domination
  - a. Electoral Polarization of **Thailand**
  - b. Malaysia and Singapore
11. **Malaysia**
  - a. The inverse of Indonesia
    - 1) Hard-edged "Islamic state"
    - 2) Creeping Islamization
    - 3) Indian protests
  - b. U.S. Naval presence
12. **Singapore**
  - a. Quiet Fear of China
    - 1) Fear of becoming a vassal state of China
  - b. **Lee Kuan Yew**
  - c. People's Action Party
    - 1) Its legitimacy has rested on its economic performance

### Review

Strait of Malacca  
 culture of consensus  
*zielverkopers*  
 Thailand  
 Lee Kuan Yew

black pepper  
 greatest trading nation  
 imperial overstretch  
 Malaysia

Dutch empire  
 Jan Pieterszoon Coen  
 Paul Kennedy  
 Singapore

## CHAPTER FIFTEEN: CHINA'S TWO-OCEAN STRATEGY?

### Outline

- A. INDIAN OCEAN AND THE WESTERN PACIFIC (277-78)
  1. Stage Set For Western Conquest
    - a. **William H. McNeill**
      - 1) Portuguese led the way
    - b. Diego Garcia
  2. Maritime Power
- B. SEA POWER: AMERICAN VS. CHINESE (278-83)
  1. **Tsunami Relief Effort 2004-05**
    - a. Aura of dominance and virtue
    - b. Operation Unified Assistance
  2. Chinese Ship Building and Acquisition Craze
  3. **Shrinking of the U.S. Navy**
    - a. 1945: 6700 ships
    - b. Cold War: 600 ships
    - c. Fewer than 280
  4. These Slow Moving Trends Are Subject To Reversal
    - a. Indigenous powers
    - b. Pirates
    - c. America's unipolar movement is starting to fade
  5. Rise of the Chinese Military
    - a. Comparison with post-Civil War America
    - b. Growth of the American economy
    - c. Development of complex economic and strategic interests
  6. **Alfred Thayer Mahan**
    - a. *The Influence of Sea Power upon History 1660-1783*
    - b. Empires are often not sought consciously

- 1) New needs and insecurities
7. China's Diplomatic and Economic Relationship with the United States
  - a. Global recession
    - 1) Co-dependency
8. Possible Delays in China's March to Great Power Status
9. Competition and Cooperation
10. America's Broken Ship Procurement Process vs. China's Increasing Defense Budget
  - a. China's undersea arsenal
11. U.S. Submarines and Aircraft Carriers
12. Subtle, High-Tech End of Asymmetry
  - a. Art of dissuasion and **access-denial**
  - b. Chinese geographical centrality to Asia
13. Why China Goes to the Sea
14. China's Historical Preoccupation with Land Invasions
  - a. Great Wall
  - b. Sino-Soviet split
  - c. Worries dissipated following the collapse of the Soviet Union
  - d. Reverse invasion
  - e. Pursuit of sea power in a time of greater land security
15. A Dramatic Boom in the Economy
  - a. Port facilities at **Shanghai**
  - b. Most prolific shipbuilder
16. Demand for Energy
  - a. World's second largest consumer of oil
    - 1) Need to diversify its' energy reserves
    - 2) Sudan
  - b. Domestic oil production stagnant since 1993
  - c. SLOCS must be protected
  - d. Credible navy needed to protect merchant fleet
17. Free Ridership on the U.S. Navy
18. Malacca, Lombok, and Sunda Straits
- C. GEOGRAPHY OF MARITIME ASIA (283-90)
  1. Two Worlds Separated By the Strait Of Malacca
  2. Western Pacific
    - a. First Island China
      - 1) Potential flashpoints
    - b. Territorial disputes in the East and South China Seas
      - 1) **Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands**
      - 2) Spratly Islands
      - 3) "Great Wall in reverse"
  3. The Two Koreas
    - a. Bohai Sea
    - b. Unified Korea would likely be nationalistic
  4. Taiwan
    - a. Discussed in moral terms
    - b. Geopolitical consequences
    - c. Douglas MacArthur's unsinkable aircraft carrier
    - d. De facto Taiwanese independence
  5. Yearning for a Blue Water Navy
    - a. Consolidation of Taiwan liberates China to pursue a naval grand strategy
  6. Re-emergence of a Multipolar World
    - a. Wounded Knee Massacre
    - b. America turned its focus sea-ward
  7. Challenging the Dynamic of the American Dominated **First Island Chain**
    - a. Philippines
    - b. Future scenario

8. Second Island Chain: Guam, Marianas
9. China's Naval Interests are Most Pronounced in the South
  - a. SLOCS to the Middle East and Africa
    - 1) Radical Islam
  - b. South China Sea as a second Persian Gulf
  - c. Malacca Strait outlets to the wider world like the Panama Canal
10. **Nicholas J. Spykman**
  - a. Circumferential and transmarine expansion
    - 1) Greece and Aegean, Rome and the Mediterranean, U.S. and the Caribbean
11. Debate in Chinese Power Circles about Acquiring Carriers
12. Danger of Radical Islam in the Partly Ungovernable SE Asia Archipelago
  - a. Hunt for terrorists brings the U.S. military closer
    - 1) Abu Sayyaf
13. Piracy
14. Speculation about a Canal across the **Isthmus of Kra**
  - a. Grand Canal of late antiquity
  - b. Hainan Island
15. Dubai Ports World Feasibility Study
  - a. Proposed east-west pipeline network
  - b. Economically rising Asia and politically crumbling Middle East
16. Advantage of a Two-Ocean Navy
17. Two Long-Range Solutions for China's **Malacca Challenge**
  - a. Alternative sea routes
  - b. Get more energy supplies overland
18. Era of Great Chinese Sea Power
  - a. Late 10C to early 15C
  - b. Zheng He's voyages
  - c. Building alliances in the form of a tribute system
  - d. Pakistan as a case in point
  - e. Access is the key word, not bases
19. Progress In Stabilizing China's Land Frontiers
20. Indian Ocean Is a Secondary Concern
- D. AMERICAN GRAND STRATEGY (290-92)
  1. Multipolar Maritime System
  2. Shrinking a Gap between United States and the Asian Giants
  3. Postwar United States Dominance
    - a. How Does It Now Respond Responsibly to Multipolarity
  4. China's Naval Rise Can Present the U.S. with Great Opportunities
    - a. Intersection of points of cooperation
  5. Leveraging Allies
  6. Admiral Michael Mullen
  7. U.S. Need to Rely on Coalitions
- E. BALANCING ACT (292-93)
  1. U.S. Military as a Naval- and Air-Centric Balancer
    - a. **Indispensability**, Not Dominance, Should Be Its Goal
  2. 500 Years of Western Penetration
    - a. Peaceful transition to a new **condominium** [co-ownership: Vanuatu was formerly the New Hebrides, controlled by Britain and France; Nauru was a tripartite condominium until independence]

## Review

William H. McNeill  
 Alfred Thayer Mahan  
 Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands

tsunami relief  
 access denial  
 First Island Chain

shrinking of the U.S. Navy  
 Shanghai  
 Nicholas J. Spykman

Isthmus of Kra  
condominium

Malacca challenge

indispensability

## CHAPTER SIXTEEN: UNITY AND ANARCHY

### Outline

- A. AFRICA (295-98)
  - 1. Indian Ocean World Is Hurtling Toward Unity
    - a. Rise of China's economy is an accelerant for the Arab world
    - b. Nicholas Spykman
  - 2. Africa's Renewal
    - a. Investment from the Middle East and Asia
  - 3. Globalization
  - 4. China's Focus on Africa
    - a. Hunt for oil
      - 1) Hu Jintao
    - b. Technical assistance
    - c. Africa's natural resources
  - 5. India's Engagement with Africa
  - 6. Gulf Petrodollars
    - a. Hunt for African resources
    - b. Africa still awaits a green revolution
      - 1) Final battle-ground for food resources
    - c. Focus on **staple food items** the investors may lack
  - 7. Africa's Steady and Progressive Growth
    - a. Momentous change from the early 1990s
    - b. Freedom House
    - c. Mobile phone networks leapfrog over lack of hard-wired infrastructure
  - 8. Africa Escaping from Its Geographic Isolation
    - a. Coastline
    - b. Lack of good natural harbors
    - c. Lack of navigable rivers
    - d. **Sahara Desert**
  - 9. West Africa, 1993
    - a. Bloody wars and separatist rebellions
    - b. Sub-Saharan Africa's postcolonial saga might be integration into the Indian Ocean system
  - 10. Daunting Challenge
    - a. Kenya
    - b. Ethiopia
    - c. **Somalia**: Failed State at the Horn of Africa
- B. PIRACY (298-304)
  - 1. The Profession Is as Old as Seafaring
    - a. Ibn Battuta
      - 1) Armed convoys
    - b. **Ming China's Withdrawal**
    - c. Marco Polo on Gujarat pirates
  - 2. Fernand Braudel: Secondary Form of War
    - a. **Feral cities**: Pirate bases
  - 3. Sea Gypsies
    - a. Parasites
    - b. Emperor Trajan
    - c. **Sulu Sultanate**

NOTE: The sultanate stretched from northern Borneo to southern Mindanao, 1405-1915, and adopted a radical form of Islam. "The Sulu, or Moro, as the Spaniards called him, . . . believed in the most sanguinary teachings of Islam and took a pleasure in dying in an attack upon infidels. It was among the Moros that the juramentados, or oath-bound assassins, were found. They were usually young men of a high morality, measured by Moslem standards, who deliberately dedicated themselves to destruction. They went into training — religious, athletic and military — to prepare themselves for the culminating exploit of life, and when ready for the ordeal oiled their bodies, discarding all clothing, and with a weapon in either hand plunged into a Christian community, killing or wounding until they are dispatched by their foes."

<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/philippines/history-sulu-sultanate.htm>

- d. Pirate Coast
- e. Coast of East Africa
- f. Anti-piracy patrols
- g. Chaos of petty chieftaincies centered around natural harbors
- 4. 19C Malay Pirate Navies
  - a. Praus [prahus]
  - b. Pirate flotillas
  - c. Opium clippers
  - d. Steam propulsion
- 5. Resurgence of Piracy
  - a. New international coalitions
- 6. Romantic Image of Pirate
  - a. Caribbean
- 7. Experiences of Rory Berke
  - a. Expeditionary strike group
  - b. Suez Canal
- 8. Red Sea and Persian Gulf
  - a. Iranian corvettes
  - b. Republican Guard Corp Navy
- 9. Fifth Fleet Headquarters at Bahrain
  - a. Somali coast
- 10. Piracy: The Maritime Ripple Effect of Anarchy on Land
  - a. "Suppress through presence"
- 11. Distress Call from the Delta Ranger
  - a. High freeboard
- 12. P-3 Surveillance Plane
  - a. Pirate confederation broken into cells or ten men skiff
- 13. Take Over of a Dhow
- 14. USS Winston Churchill Alerted
  - a. Twelve-mile limit
  - b. Pirates surrounded
- 15. Captured Indian Crew Had Been Mistreated
- 16. Processing the Pirates
  - a. The concept of the police
  - b. Lack of family [cf. Edward Banfield's lower-class personality]
  - c. They saw themselves as a rudimentary coast guard
  - d. The gun is our government
- 17. Organized Crime
- C. **PUNTLAND** (304-06)
  - 1. Rise of **Sub-State Actors**
    - a. Hezbollah and al-Qaeda
  - 2. Somalia Three Separate Entities
    - a. Somaliland

- b. Puntland
- c. Weak Somali government vs. *al-Shabab*
- 3. Declaration of Limited Autonomy
  - a. Majerteyn clan
  - b. Government
- 4. Nature of Clan Politics
  - a. Eyl: Hub of piracy
  - b. International aid requested for an anti-piracy task force
- 5. Piracy Is Popularly Seen as Lucrative and Legitimate
- 6. De Facto Pirate State
  - a. International community
  - b. Conflict with the *al-Shabab* extremists
  - c. Slow breakdown of European-drawn states
- 7. Scourge of piracy provides opportunities for cooperation

### Review

staple food items  
 piracy  
 Sulu sultanate

Sahara Desert  
 Ming China's withdrawal  
 Puntland

Somalia  
 feral cities  
 sub-state actors

## CHAPTER SEVENTEEN: ZANZIBAR

### Outline

- A. EAST AFRICAN FRONTIER (307-16)
  - 1. **Zanzibar**
    - a. Melting pot of Islamic and Hindu civilizations
      - 1) Cargo in the dhows
    - b. Hub of a vast trading empire
  - 2. Stone Town
    - a. Cassava souk
    - b. House of Wonders
  - 3. Ethnic Groups
    - a. Swahili
  - 4. **Shirazis**
  - 5. Slave Trade
    - a. Ryszard Kapuscinski
  - 6. Elaborate Doors
    - a. Omani mango wood door
    - b. Gujarati teakwood doors
    - c. Arabic doors
    - d. Persian and Baluch doors
    - e. Swahili doors
  - 7. Barazas
  - 8. Jain Temple and Persian Bath
  - 9. Loss of Vitality
  - 10. Arab House
    - a. Leftovers of a more cosmopolitan world
  - 11. Post-Colonial History
    - a. Revolution
  - 12. Ethnic and Racial Tensions
    - a. Cultural divide
      - 1) British, Omanis, Arabs, Indians

- 2) Africans and Shirazis
13. Empires Submerge Communal Politics
14. British Departure in 1963
  - a. Omani sultan sent packing
  - b. **Politics of race**
  - c. Afro-Shirazi mobs
  - d. Genocide
  - e. **Abdulrazak Gurnah**
15. Anarchy as Afro-Shirazis Grabbed Power
  - a. **Julius Nyerere**
  - b. Ali Sultan Issa
  - c. Marxist revolution
16. Creation of **Tanzania**
  - a. Abeid Karume
  - b. Hard-line socialist regime
  - c. Stone Town's dilapidation
17. Nationalizations and Recriminations
18. Karume's assassination
19. Elections
  - a. Power maintained by doling out government jobs and subsidies
20. Zanzibar: An Embarrassment to the Mainland
  - a. One-party rule
21. No Democracy at All
22. Arabs Trickling Back
23. Need for Incorporation into the Indian Ocean Trading System
- B. **ABDULRAZAK GURNAH (316-18)**
  1. Zanzibar: Tumble-Down Raft
    - a. Islam is a commonality
    - b. Commerce
    - c. Trade is the great equalizer
  2. Novelist's Elegiac Vision
  3. Experience of Colonialism
  4. Post-Colonial Failure
  5. Incompetence
  6. Post-Colonial Condition
  7. Imagination
- C. **MAKUNDUCHI (318-19)**
  1. Shirazi Festival of Mwaka Kogwa
    - a. Zoroastrian new year
  2. Chanting Fighters
    - a. Melee
  3. Picnic
- D. **HABIB KHALILI (319-21)**
  1. Tea Merchant in Kolkata
  2. Magnetism of the Iranian Culture and Language
  3. 50% of Bengali Used to Be Persian Loanwords
  4. Farsi [Persian] Was the Official **Lingua Franca** [Trade or Bridge Language] in India until 1835
    - a. Shias in Dhaka
    - b. European interference in Iran
  5. Family's Roots in Hebron
  6. Tea Trade
  7. Omayyad Mosque in Damascus
- E. **EMERGENCE OF A BOURGEOISIE (321-23)**
  1. Emergence of a Middle Class
  2. **Al Jazeera**

3.
  - a. DohaChallenge to America
  - a. Questions of legitimacy
  - b. American-Chinese bi-lateral relations
4. Great-Power Politics
  - a. Framed by a global civilization
5. Helping Protect the Global Commons

**Review**

Zanzibar  
Abdulrazak Gurnah  
lingua franca

Shirazis  
Julius Nyerere  
Al Jazeera

politics of race  
Tanzania