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The  
Stanley  
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# China's Economy Carries Weight

INSIDE

China's Muslim Crackdown

"India Rising" on Public Radio

New Global Security Order

# An Eye on China's Rise

*“Americans should work to understand China, not fear it or condescend to it.”*



**China Calling.** A Chinese woman checks her mobile phone in Shanghai, China. Millions of Chinese have entered the middle class as growing exports supported new manufacturing jobs. While China remains the only one of the world's five biggest economies still growing, many jobs have been lost in the wake of the world economic crisis. (Photo by Amy Bakke/The Stanley Foundation)



*James Fallows*

Times have changed. Bicycles have given way to cars, subways, and high-speed trains. Cities are being built from scratch, complete with high-rises and five-lane flyovers—all before the bulk of residents or businesses even move in. The rural poor are entering the urban middle class in droves.

Fallows, national correspondent for *The Atlantic*, is back in Beijing, documenting contemporary China with regular blog posts, monthly articles, and a new book *Postcards from Tomorrow Square*.

The last time James Fallows spent any time in China was the 1980s, when gray Mao suits seemed the only fashion trend and most Chinese traveled by bicycle.

He'll wrap up his assignment later this year having witnessed a three-year slice of China's incredible pace of development, its first Olympic games, and the painful contractions the country now faces as the world economy slumps. He recommends people visit China to see it—and begin to understand it—firsthand.

“If Americans, psychologically, were to recognize what a diverse place this is, what a challenging path it has ahead of itself, it would be easier for them to recognize this is a country to deal with, but neither condescend to nor fear,” he said.

## A Bargain of “Implied Consent”

For Americans, getting to China is the most expensive part of the journey. China remains one of the few bargain destinations in the world due to the low value of its currency and the US-China trade imbalance.

While that means an American can enjoy the country's \$100-per-night luxury hotels and \$5 gourmet dinners, it has wider, more serious implications for both countries.

China holds roughly \$2 trillion in foreign assets around the world. Its people consume about half of what their country produces. The other half is exported for someone else to benefit from. The United States, in contrast, consumes more than it produces.

"So, essentially a poor country has been living artificially poorly so a rich country can live on an artificially rich scale," Fallows said.

It's a bargain of "implied consent" between the Chinese government and its people, Fallows said, a more dramatic version of a deal other Asian countries like Japan or South Korea have struck in the past.

By emphasizing manufacturing expansion, creating millions of new jobs, China has been able to bring more people out of rural poverty more successfully than any other country has done before.

"That's been a bargain that's been, on the whole, a plus for the Chinese government and most of the Chinese people," Fallows said. "There are questions about the sustainability of that in the long run, but that's been the social contract in China for the last generation."

That arrangement also leaves China more vulnerable to the "whipsawing" of changes in the world financial system than even the United States is.

### China as a Responsible Stakeholder

As the world economic crisis deepens, China is the only one of the world's five biggest economies still growing. But it's seen that annual growth decline from 13 percent in 2007 to 9 percent last year.

"Whether it intends to or not, the United States is simply going to reduce its consumption in the next year or two or even five years ahead," Fallows said. "That will mean substantially less consumption from China and significantly fewer jobs for people in China."

China's leaders now worry growth could reach only 6 percent this year, a growth rate the United States would love but one that raises the specter of social instability in the Communist state. The Chinese government is trying a proportionately larger stimulus plan than the United States, investing in new construction to save the very jobs that have helped people escape rural poverty.

"This is as significant of an economic and social challenge that the Chinese have faced in probably 20 years," Fallows said.

The sheer size of China's economy and influence also puts pressure on it to become a responsible stakeholder in the international system.

"Korea, for example, isn't responsible for managing the world economy. China now is," Fallows said. "China has been able to skate along with its twinned views that it's a small developing power so it can't really take responsibility for things, and it also believes in noninterference—not messing in other people's business.

"Its influence in the world is becoming great...that is not going to cut the mustard anymore. You can't wash your hands anymore of what is going on in Darfur. You can't plead no interest in what is happening in Burma.

"China will be under increasing pressure to use its influence in a more internationally responsible way."

### Taking China Seriously

China has a long way to go in building its economy, but the "manufacturer to the world" has the potential to become much more.

In cities like Tianjin, a free-trade port connected to Beijing by a new high-speed train, the groundwork is being laid for an evolution in China's economy. The hope is Tianjin will become China's equivalent of "Silicon Valley," attracting high-tech job investments and fostering innovation.

But "it's not simply buildings and ports that make for innovative tech culture," Fallows said. Improving its educational institutions, allowing free expression, learning how to do business internationally, and having a better sense of how the world works is vital to making that leap from simple manufacturing to innovation.

The path ahead will not be easy for China, Fallows said. If it fails and becomes poorer, it could face social disorder. If it becomes richer, there are environmental consequences and a new social challenge that will hinge on whether the Chinese remain content with an authoritarian regime.

Regardless, Fallows says Americans have no reason to fear China, but should recognize it's "going to be a big part of America's life and the world's life forever."

"It's a quarter of all humanity. It's an increasing share of production. It's where all the big decisions about the planet's environmental future will be made. It's an important place that we have to pay attention to."

—Sean Harder  
Program Officer, The Stanley Foundation

# War on Terror or Misguided Muscle?

*China's underreported crackdown on Uighur Muslims could turn moderates into martyrs*



*China's Muslims. A Uighur man makes traditional noodles at his food stand in Kashgar, China's westernmost city that is home to a majority Muslim population. Like neighboring Tibetans, Uighurs have long faced religious oppression in China and many desire greater autonomy in the Communist state. (Photo by Sean Harder/The Stanley Foundation)*

**T**he Uighur Muslims of Xinjiang, China's westernmost, oil-rich province, have long endured religious oppression: from unexplained detentions to rules against facial hair.

This Turkic-speaking minority of about 8 million people were once the majority in Xinjiang, an expansive area of deserts and mountains that makes up one-sixth of China and serves as a frontier to central Asia.

Today, Uighurs struggle to maintain their cultural and traditional way of life in the face of a massive state-sponsored migration that has brought more than 1.2 million ethnic Chinese settlers to the area. As the region's energy resources are exploited, Xinjiang's cities, like its capital Urumqi, are becoming modern metropolises.

There is money to be made, but most opportunities fall to the Chinese settlers as native Uighurs are left behind.

While many Uighurs want greater autonomy—or even a separate state—they seem to have little desire, or leadership, for an organized violent rebellion. Yet, in the wake of the September 11 attacks in the United States, these moderate Sunni Muslims have borne the brunt of a little noticed Chinese religious crackdown.

“The worldwide campaign against terrorism has given Beijing the perfect excuse to crack down harder than ever in Xinjiang,” said Brad Adams, Asia director for Human Rights Watch. “Other Chinese enjoy a growing freedom to worship, but the Uighurs, like the Tibetans, find that their religion is being used as a tool of control.”

Prior to becoming part of China, Xinjiang was an independent Turkic state known as the East Turkestan Republic. In the 1930s and '40s, the East Turkestan Republic twice managed to liberate parts of its territory from the Republic of China before acceding to the People's Republican Army in 1949. The region was renamed the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region under Chairman Mao Zedong in 1955.

In 1945 Uighurs constituted 80 percent of Xinjiang's population. Today, incentives for Han Chinese to move into the province have reduced the Uighurs to only 43 percent of Xinjiang's population.

## **Terrorist Attack or Grudge?**

The most visible crackdown in Xinjiang occurred in the run-up to the 2008 Olympic Games after two Uighur men drove a dump truck into a group of mostly Han Chinese policeman in the westernmost city of Kashgar. The men reportedly tossed explosives and attacked officers with knives, killing 17.

The Chinese government later released a statement claiming the attacks were an attempt to sabotage the games by the East Turkestan Liberation Movement, a Uighur separatist group with alleged ties to Al Qaeda.

Kashgar residents, however, have reported a different story to journalists, human rights workers, and two Stanley Foundation staffers who visited the city in November. The attack, they said, was organized by a



Oppression. Uighur woman walks past the Id Kah Mosque in Kashgar, the largest mosque in China where limits are placed on how the local Muslim population can worship. Moderate Central Asian Muslims like the Uighurs could play a cooperative role in the fight against terrorism but China's repressive policies threaten to inspire new extremists. (Photo by Sean Harder/The Stanley Foundation)

vegetable salesman after police brutally beat his brother, who was attempting to collect back payments for vegetable deliveries to the local police station. The salesman and his accomplice have since been sentenced to death.

Understanding the truth behind such attacks, and the extent of the Uighur separatist movement, is important. Moderate Central Asian Muslims like the Uighurs could play a cooperative role in the global fight against terrorism. Yet repressive Chinese policies, and a lack of international concern, holds the potential of inspiring new extremists.

### Little Attention Paid

While US-based human rights groups have called attention to recent crackdowns in Xinjiang, it rarely gets media or diplomatic attention.

In her first official visit to China earlier this year, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton chose to put aside the issue of human rights to discuss what she described as more pressing political and economic issues.

Uighur dissidents held by the United States at the Guantanamo Bay detention center have also become a troubling issue for the new Obama administration.

A federal appeals court has ruled the US government may continue to imprison the 17 Muslims even though it no longer considers them enemy combatants. The ruling comes after a lower court found no reason to hold them and ordered them released into the United States.

China is demanding the repatriation of the Uighurs, but human rights groups warn against the dangers of returning the detainees to the Chinese government.

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The issue highlights just one of the complications the US war on terror has caused, said *Atlantic* writer James Fallows, who will end a three-year assignment reporting from China this year.

“This is one of the main areas the American 9/11 response had an effect on US-China relations,” Fallows said. “The US government was willing to define any Muslim group presumptively as part of the terrorist threat in the world, so it acquiesced to China’s view...of Xinjiang.”

Reports of Chinese efforts to suppress Uighur religion and culture are numerous. The US State Department, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch have recently condemned the treatment as a violation of international human rights standards.

A 2008 report by the State Department criticizes China’s use of “regulations restricting Muslims’ religious activity, teaching, and places of worship.” According to the report, religious institutions are strictly monitored, children are prohibited from religious education, Imams are regularly vetted to ensure their teachings support Chinese government authority, and passports are strictly controlled to prevent Muslims from pilgrimage travel.

Human rights groups have also documented cases of brutal beatings, detentions, and executions of Uighurs suspected of separatist activities.

While reports of religious repression might be similar to those that occur in Tibet, just south of Xinjiang, it rarely gets equal attention.

“Westerners have a sort of romantic view of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism that they don’t have about Xinjiang Islam,” Fallows said. “I think that says more about the West than it does the differences between Xinjiang and Tibet.”

—Christina MacGillivray, Program Associate,  
and Sean Harder, Program Officer,  
The Stanley Foundation

*Editors Note: Christina MacGillivray and Sean Harder visited the Xinjiang cities of Kashgar, Turpan, and Urumqi in November of 2008 to explore the Uighur Muslim issue in China.*

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		Margo Schneider COPYEDITOR
		Amy Bakke CREATIVE DIRECTOR



*Young Dynamism. An Indian man prepares fabrics for sale on the back of his motorcycle in Mumbai, India, where gunmen launched attacks against popular hotel and tourist destinations in November 2008. The attacks have served as a wake-up call for Indians across all sectors of society, Shashi Tharoor said, adding that India's young and dynamic society will continue to drive change on the subcontinent. (Photo by Kristin McHugh/The Stanley Foundation)*

# India's Awakening

*Attacks may spark change as India's youth continue to drive growth, Tharoor says*

**S**hashi Tharoor, former United Nations under-secretary-general is a respected Indian author and commentator. His most recent book is titled *The Elephant, The Tiger, and the Cell Phone: Reflections on India, the Emerging 21st-Century Power. Just eight days after the November 2008 terrorist attacks in Mumbai, Tharoor spoke with Simon Marks, coproducer of the Stanley Foundation radio documentary "India Rising."*

**Shashi Tharoor:** India has been enduring terrorist attack after terrorist attack, but there was something about this, the prolonged nature of the siege, the 60 hours of nonstop seizing of the imagination of the Indian people, that I think has really been the last straw.

There's now a very, very large consensus across the political class, yes, but also across the middle class, across ordinary people, voters, north, south, east, and west, that there has to be real change in this country, as well as real accountability, both here and abroad.

That is, those who instigated this attack have to be brought to book, and those who run the country have to mend their ways.

**Simon Marks:** But it doesn't really also fit in with the concept of an India developing rapidly, bearing down in the United States' rearview mirror as an economic and potentially geopolitical power.

**Tharoor:** Well, the curious paradox about India is that it is indeed a land of paradoxes, and that both were happening simultaneously. That we were having people struggling along in carts while shooting space probes to the moon. I mean, this is something that has always been true about India.

But the broad approach has been fairly relaxed and lackadaisical, and that's where the areas of Indian excellence, IT, medical research, and of course many aspects of our military, those areas of excellence stood out precisely because they used a level of energy, of creativity, of dynamism, of determination, discipline, hard work, that is not typical of the rest of Indian society.

It's not that Indians are not capable of it. It's that the system didn't require it of them. The system therefore has to change.

We have a very strong domestic market of Indians producing things for Indians, Indians consuming things made by Indians. And that is going to remain. That's going to actually grow. It has to, because people are coming in. We have a young and dynamic society. I mean, we have 540 million people in our country under the age of 25. Many of these people are impatient with the old way of doing things, and they're determined to see change happen as well.

So no, I think the auguries are good for India. This has been a bad period certainly, and this setback is as much a psychological wake-up call as anything else. But people are waking up, and that's readily apparent here in Mumbai.

—excerpted by Keith Porter  
Director of Policy and Outreach, The Stanley Foundation

## "India Rising" to Debut on Public Radio

**M**ark Twain called India a place of "splendor and rags...palaces and hovels...famine and pestilence." A century later, David Brown and an award-winning team of reporters follow in Twain's footsteps.

They find Twain's land of "fabulous wealth and fabulous poverty" now faces enormous challenges in its quest for superpower status. Nuclear-armed and IT-driven, India is battling vast social inequalities as well as the consequences of the global financial crisis, and the November 2008 terror attacks in Mumbai.

What does this mean for India? For the United States? For the world?

Join David Brown for a one-hour public radio special that will take you on a journey around the world's most populous democracy: "India Rising." Coming soon to your local public radio station.

"India Rising"—produced by Simon Marks, Kristin McHugh, and Keith Porter—is a Stanley Foundation production in association with KQED Public Radio and KUT Austin.

Visit [radio.stanleyfoundation.org](http://radio.stanleyfoundation.org).





Rising Powers

# US Must Work With World's Rising Powers *Cooperation will replace competition in this new global order*

The new US administration has a truly daunting agenda on its hands: strife in the Middle East, transnational terrorism, nuclear proliferation, the continuing financial crisis, and global warming to name a few.

To succeed the United States needs a renewed global security order. To see how that new order might work you could look at the practices of middle-to-rising powers, which have diverse characteristics and unique interests, but nevertheless share an interest in a global security order that works for everyone. This is reflected in the fact that the G-20—the group that informally manages the global economy through regular meetings of central bank managers and finance ministers—is constituted by the G-8 plus such diverse nations as South Africa, South Korea, China, Australia, Turkey, Argentina, Brazil, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Mexico, and the European Union (EU).

The practices of these seemingly disparate nations signal an end to global security order that is based on clear divisions between state-level allies and enemies.

## Cold War Strategy Won't Work

In short: we are entering an age of diverse forms of opportunistic cooperation between states and regimes of all types, rather than a system of competing, well-defined blocs based upon hostile ideological world-views. A Cold War legacy strategy does not work well in this system because it does not reflect the actual foreign policy practices of those nations who are receiving increasing benefits from the new global order.

Turkey, for example, strives to maintain good relations with all of its neighbors, no matter their cultural or ideological composition. Israel, Iran, the EU, and Arab states all enjoy good relations with Ankara.



India has been competing with China for oil contracts. China has received all the bum press for making deals with unsavory regimes, but India was in bitter competition for Burma, Nigeria, and the Sudan as well. Further, India has constructed a major Iranian port facility in the southern Gulf and is helping Iran build oil and gas transportation networks, even as India maintains strong antiterrorism and conventional defense ties with Israel and the United States.

Meanwhile, the so-called Northern middle powers of Canada, Norway, Sweden, and Finland have both overlapping and competing memberships in NATO and the EU. They are part of the “First World,” but not major powers like those in the G-8 or the UN Security Council. They often have their own brand of behavior in international institutions and negotiating forums. Sometimes they side with the United States, the EU, and the G-8 as on counterterrorism and free trade, but other times they side with developing world middle powers as in trade negotiations, small arms control, or nuclear disarmament. These countries tend to see security in broader terms than the United States, focusing on the need to cooperate more and compete less to solve global problems.

## Jettison Old Approaches

To meet diverse threats to US national security and strengthen tattered US leadership in a changing world, the United States must jettison old approaches and work with all of these middle-to-rising powers on a principled and multilateral basis, slowly turning the current ad hoc dynamic of opportunistic interactions into a more durable and sustainable global security order.

If the United States instead continues the forceful transformation of developing societies, such as regime change in rogue states such as Syria or Iran, or cowing other great powers such as China through the tools of military primacy, it will succeed only in isolating itself from this new global system.

—Michael Kraig  
Senior Fellow, The Stanley Foundation

**Resource.** Visit [www.risingpowers.org](http://www.risingpowers.org) for our complete “Rising Powers” feature. Explore the big issues that play a cross-cutting role in the politics, economics, culture, and military strength of a new group of countries with growing influence on the future of the world, and implications for the United States.

**Exclusive Club.** World leaders from Group of Eight member countries gather (below) during their 2008 annual summit. In the wake of the world financial crisis, there is a growing consensus that forums with broader membership of emerging countries, such as the G-20 (left), serve as a more effective forum to solve common challenges.



AP Photo/The Canadian Press, Tom Hanson

Now Available

## Stanley Foundation Resources

*These reports and a wealth of other information are available at [reports.stanleyfoundation.org](http://reports.stanleyfoundation.org).*



### **The Next 100 Project:**

#### **Leveraging National Security Assistance to Meet Developing World Needs**

A collaborative effort between the Cooperative Nonproliferation Program at the Henry L. Stimson Center and the Stanley Foundation targeted sustainable implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1540. The focus of the project was to identify new sources of assistance for addressing endemic threats in the developing world, including poverty, corruption, infectious disease, and economic underdevelopment by tapping national security resources and addressing mutual concerns. February 2009 executive summary and online conference report.

## PUBLICATIONS

### **Realizing Nuclear Disarmament**

The Stanley Foundation convened a mix of UN diplomats and other officials to examine the first steps toward a world free of nuclear weapons. This Policy Memo outlines the key points from the conference discussions, specifically noting that the world has an historic opportunity to make great progress on nuclear arms reductions. The window for progress may last no more than two years. March 2009 online policy memo.

### **On Reforming the International Order**

For all the discussion of the need to reform the world's multilateral architecture, there has been a notable dearth of analysis of how such reform would work. Author Thomas Wright argues that a consensus has emerged that international cooperation should take a variety of forms, but key questions remain. The primary objective should instead be to bring about more effective international cooperation on critical challenges in a way that does not inadvertently worsen tensions with other states. February 2009 online analysis brief.

### **The Responsibility to Protect and Foreign Policy in the Next Administration**

The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) framework offers conceptual, legal, and practical answers to the prevention and mitigation of mass atrocities. In an effort to contribute to the continuing debates around prevention of mass atrocities such as genocide, the Stanley Foundation convened a dialogue among leading US, intergovernmental organization, and civil society experts and officials to explore R2P-related issues, including new civilian and military capabilities required to implement the overall framework. January 2009 dialogue brief.

### **Toward an Integrated US Nuclear Weapons Policy: Address US Security in an Interconnected World**

Reducing American dependency on nuclear weapons will lead to greater security for the United States and its allies and should be the driving force behind US nuclear weapons policy. The ultimate American goal should be multilateral, verifiable nuclear disarmament, according to a new report by the Stanley Foundation. To achieve this, the US will need to take several steps, including adoption of a no-first-use policy, pursuing the removal of all remaining US nuclear weapons from Europe, negotiating an extension of the START verification protocol with Russia, and engaging China in ways that build a secure nuclear future. With the incoming presidential administration, the US will undertake a formal review of its nuclear weapons policy. With this in mind, the Stanley Foundation launched a US Nuclear Policy Review project to produce recommendations for changing US nuclear weapons policy. January 2009 project report.

### **Challenges to Effective Multilateralism: Comparing Asian and European Experiences**

A key component of successful US foreign policy in the 21st century will be its ability to interact with the growing economic and security agendas and geopolitical weight of key regions throughout the world, especially Europe and East Asia. To date, little serious comparison of these two regions' dynamics has occurred. To fill this gap, the foundation and several cosponsors hosted a conference on this topic. November 2008 conference report.

## RADIO DOCUMENTARIES



### India Rising

Mark Twain called India a place of “splendor and rags...palaces and hovels...famine and pestilence.” A century later, David Brown and an award-winning team of reporters follow in Twain’s footsteps.

They find Twain’s land of “fabulous wealth and fabulous poverty” now faces enormous challenges in its quest for superpower status. Nuclear-armed and IT-driven, India is battling vast social inequalities as well as the consequences of the global financial crisis, and the November 2008 terror attacks in Mumbai.

What does this mean for India? For the United States? For the world?

### Brazil Rising

Hosted by David Brown, this radio documentary explores Brazil’s emergence as one of the fastest growing players in the global economy. Can Brazil successfully chart a path that overcomes grinding poverty and violent crime while still preserving the country’s unique environment?



Visit [www.stanleyfoundation.org/radio](http://www.stanleyfoundation.org/radio) for our complete Rising Powers feature and to explore the countries responsible for the changing global order, the big issues that play a cross-cutting role, and the implications for the United States.

## GROUP RESOURCES

The Stanley Foundation offers Now Showing toolkits to community and student groups to hold an easy-to-plan, successful event in their community or on their campus.

The toolkits are designed to encourage discussion about the most urgent global issues today. The following toolkits are available FREE to interested groups:

### Rising Powers:

#### The New Global Reality

This toolkit features a DVD that helps viewers explore the idea of the changing global order as well as Brazil’s rise in a new global reality.



### Beyond Fear: Securing a More Peaceful World

This toolkit features a DVD with two segments that explore US leadership in today’s uncertain world.



### How to Get a Toolkit

Call Linda Hardin at 563-264-1500 or order online at [www.stanleyfoundation.org/nowshowing](http://www.stanleyfoundation.org/nowshowing).

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## Examining India's Rise *New radio documentary explores India's challenging path to global power*



*Editor's Note: "India Rising"—produced by Simon Marks, Kristin McHugh, and Keith Porter—is a Stanley Foundation production in association with KQED Public Radio and KUT Austin. The documentary will begin airing this spring on stations across the country. The following is adapted from host David Brown's closing essay in the broadcast.*

**W**hen we put the words together—India rising—there's the risk that we have in mind a mythical India. A single people.

But what does one make of hammers and sickles on posters adjacent to sparkling new shopping malls? If this is the India of the future, what then for the crowded alleys that wind their way to the sacred temples? What will this modern India look like?

You try to imagine it by walking the streets of India's great cities, riding the buses and trains, visiting its

villages. Yet the more you see, the less it seems to make sense—until you begin to allow for the idea of more than one India, something a lot more like the slums of Dharavi. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians—a society of coalitions—a society that works because of mutual accommodation and for the same reason, seems to be something of a shambles...in a state of constant chaos and disrepair.

When we in the West talk glibly about India's promise and potential as the largest democracy in the world, our experience and imagination fail us. India is a much messier business than much of the West perceives.

Globalization—that seemingly irresistible force—is changing India in ways that both exacerbate existing tensions and yet galvanize and polarize interests in India in such a way that for the first time it is possible to conceive of one Indian nation—unified—on the ascent, growing at a pace that grabs global headlines. Yet, at precisely the same time, it's more sharply divided than ever before and, at its center, growing desperate and lean.