Archaeology of Globalization: A Discourse of Neo-Imperialism

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Dedicated
To Time, That is but the only Eternal¹

¹ By the Fading Day [Time], Man is [deep] in Loss (Al Quran:103:1-2)
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Text Map

Abstract .................................................................................................................. 10
INTRODUCTION ........................................................................................................ 14
1. Scheme of Study .................................................................................................. 23
2. Chapter 1: Archaeology of Contemporary Political Reason .................................. 24
3. Chapter 2: Hegemonic Governmentality: A Nexus of Power/knowledge and Subjectivities ................................................................................................................ 25
4. Chapter 3: Emergence of New World Order and Post Colonial Structures of Rationality: Case of Nigeria and Pakistan ........................................................................ 27
5. Chapter 4: Myth of Globalization ........................................................................ 29
Chapter 1: Archaeology of Contemporary Political Reason .................................... 28
6. Archaeology Appraised ....................................................................................... 31
   Traditional, Total and General History ................................................................ 32
   Archaeology ............................................................................................................. 35
   Discourse as Component of Archaeology ............................................................. 37
7. World -System as Global Archaeological Structure ............................................. 44
   World System VS World-System ............................................................................ 45
8. Archaeological Approach to World System ........................................................ 48
9. Archaeological and Genealogical Framework to Study Globalization ................. 53
   • Globalization/Glocalization .............................................................................. 54
   • Time/Space........................................................................................................ 54
   • Homogeneity/Heterogeneity ............................................................................. 55
10. Prepositions ........................................................................................................... 55
11. Stages and Levels of Analysis ............................................................................. 56
Chapter 2 Hegemonic Governmentality: A Nexus of Power/Knowledge and Subjectivity ................................................................................................................ 58
Part I Making World in Order (Formation of Singularity) ........................................ 59
12. Age of Conquest and Discovery ........................................................................ 62
    Efforts to Discover All Sea Route to India and Discovery of Americas ................. 63
    Iberian Expansion in Heathen Lands and Mayan Inca Holocaust by Conquistadors .................................................................................................................. 64
    Emerging Class of European Sailors and further Discoveries ................................. 65
    Iberian Decline and Rise of Dutch, British and French ........................................... 65
    Completion of a Tri Continental Structure of Trade ................................................. 66
    Completion of World Map by Discovery of Australia .............................................. 67
    Age of Empire/ Age of Globality ............................................................................ 67
13. Origin of Globalization in Age of Empire ................................................................ 69
14. Factors responsible for Eurocentric World Order ................................................. 73
Part II Governmentality and Rise of Europe………………………………………..73
15. Disciplinary Power and Productive Subjects.................................................77
16. Political Subjection (From Species to Public)...............................................80
17. Discourse on Political Economy.................................................................82
18. Right Disposition of Things (Governmentality) and State as Embodiment of 
   Governmental Rationality...............................................................................84
19. Root of Colonialism in Westphalian State System.........................................86

Part III Hegemonic Governmentality and Changing Subjectivities in the Colonial 
World……………………………….91
21. Orientalist Construction of Non West..........................................................95
22. Europe Encounter with its Other..................................................................97
23. Where Sun Shines Ever (Creation of Port Towns).......................................99
24. Violent Destructive Function of True Discourses in India........................102
25. Functioning of True Discourses in Nigeria.................................................106
26. State (as Colonial Artifice India and Nigeria)..............................................108
27. Hegemonic Governmentality......................................................................111
28. Indirect Rule: Creation of Collaborators (Princes, Chiefs and Land Lords) ..112
29. Direct Rule: Army Civil Services Westernized Elites and Politicians .........114
   Internal Security Troops (Army)...................................................................114
   Civil Service as Intermediary between People and Empire........................115
   Westernized Elites, Mimic Subjects, Mimic Constitutions..........................116
30. Conclusion:..................................................................................................120

Chapter 3: Emergence of New World Order and Post Colonial Structures of 
Rationality (Cases of Pakistan and 
Nigeria).............................................................................................................121
Part I Emergence of New World Order...............................................................123
31. Waning British power..................................................................................126
32. Protectionism as Policy to Contend British Hegemony............................131
33. Change in British Alliance Strategy with Changing Geopolitical Interests ...135
34. First World War, an Oil War .......................................................................136
35. Start of “Revolution”, Eventualization towards a shift in Hegemony .........140
36. US involvement in European affairs: a Global Monroe Doctrine ...........144
37. Adoption of Keynesian Liberalism...............................................................145
38. Multilateralism and Pax-American World Order........................................147
39. Liberal World Order as Pax Americana.......................................................149
40. Conclusion ..................................................................................................153

Part II Post Colonial Structures of Rationality and Governmentality in Pakistan and 
Nigeria................................................................................................................153
41. Nationalist Discourses in British India and British Nigeria......................161
Nationalist Discourses in British India ................................................................. 161
Nehru and Indian Nationalism ............................................................................... 162
Iqbal’s Discourse on Muslim Nationalism ......................................................... 163
Nigerian Nationalism ............................................................................................ 166
42. Discourses on Nation-Building and State-Building in Post Colonial State .... 173
43. Bangladesh and Biafra: .................................................................................. 177
   Bangladesh (Sonar Bangla: the Golden Land): .............................................. 177
   Biafra (The Land of Rising Sun): ................................................................. 186
44. Flawed Governmentality ............................................................................... 192
   A: Sovereignty Failure; (Who will govern?) ................................................. 192
      Who will govern? (Pakistan) ................................................................... 193
      Who will govern (Nigeria) ...................................................................... 198
   B. Extended Role of Military and State as Instrument of External Interests .. 203
      Role of Military in Pakistan: (A History of Coups) ................................... 204
      Role of Military in Nigeria (A History of Coups and Counter Coups) ....... 206
45. Conclusion .................................................................................................... 214

Chapter 4 Myth of Globalization......................................................................... 215
Part I Globalization (From Bretton Woods to Washington Consensus).............. 216
46. Post War Boom and Constitution of Triad: ................................................. 220
47. Crisis and Third World Industrial Revolution .......................................... 221
48. Washington Consensus, Rise of “Anarcho-Capitalism” and Changing Role of
    Bretton Woods Institutions ............................................................................ 224
49. Ideological Reality Claims of Globalization: Start of New Era of War ......... 228

Part II European Regionalism: A New Stage in the History of Governmentality.. 231
50. Project Europe ............................................................................................... 236
51. Creation of a Supra-State Structure Europe ............................................... 237
52. Success of Project Europe .......................................................................... 240
53. Paradox of Inequality in Europe ................................................................. 241
54. Future of Project Europe ............................................................................ 243
55. Conclusion: .................................................................................................. 244

Part III Myth of Globalization ........................................................................... 243
56. Adoption of Anarcho-Liberal Strategies and Structural Adjustment Programs
    in Postcolonial States ..................................................................................... 247
    SAP in Pakistan ............................................................................................ 247
    Nigerian Version of SAP ............................................................................. 248
72. Muhammed Adnan: Zhob; Profession: Government Servant; Ethnic Group: Pushtoon Zhob; 15th July 2011 ................................................................. 376

73. Muhammed Hussain: Profession: Agriculture; Political Worker; Ethnic Group: Pushtoon; Quetta; 16th July 2011 ...................................................... 379

74. Malik Shahzeb Khan: Profession: Business; Ethnic Group: Pushtoon; Quetta; 16th July 2011 .............................................................................. 382

75. Questionnaire .................................................................................................. 385

76. Results of Survey (Balochs)............................................................................ 386

77. Results of Survey (Pashtoons living in Balochistan)........................................ 390

78. Bibliography ................................................................................................... 394
# Table of Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Structure of Rationality</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Relations of Power, Truth and Subjectivity</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Power / Knowledge and Structure of Rationality</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Power/Knowledge and System of Relations</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Map of World-System</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Wallerstein World System Model</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Series of Phenomenon leading to Present Age of Globalization</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Archaeological Frame Work</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Archaeological and Genealogical framework to study Globalization</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>A Global Milieu of Circulation (1880-1914)</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Science of State and Relations of Power leading to Rise of Europe</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ensemble of Causes and Network of Discursive and Non Discursive Relations leading to Rise of Europe</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Chakra of British Ports around the World</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Discourse on State Making and New Partners of Empire</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Discursive Non Discursive Elements and Ensemble of Causes leading to Hegemony of Europe</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Orientalism, Colonial Governmentality and Mechanisms of Subjugation in Non-West</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Economic Lebensraum and Knowledge/Power Relations in Pax-American World Order</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Urban and Rural HDI of Pakistani Provinces</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Postcolonial State and Working of True Discourses to Facilitate Extraction of Surplus and Surplus in New World Order</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abstract

Key Words: (Michel Foucault, Immanuel Wallerstein, Imperialism, Archaeology, Discourse, State, Capitalism, Governmentality, Europe, Nigeria, Pakistan, Niger Delta, Baluchistan, Ethnicity, Religious Revivalism, Globalization)

Imperialism extended the sovereignty of the European Nations and Europe originated “modernity” beyond European space. Trinity of Resources, State and Markets operated vertically to construct the identities and subjectivities of the people. The study will employ Foucault concepts of governmentality, Power/knowledge, and discourse to understand the Archaeology (History of Present) of Globalization. Foucault believes that objective of Archaeology is to study change and transformation (Foucault, [1969], 2004). Foucault treats ‘concepts’ as strategies\(^2\) of domination so his work drew attention of thinkers like Michel Watts working on repression of Post colonial state “development governmentality” (Watts M. , 2003), treating the state in third world as apparatus and instrument of control used indirectly by the ex (colonial)masters. One expression of “European Modernity” is its mode of political organization i.e. State and State system, which originated in Europe but that is now global in nature. Development of State or State system with its instrumental reason and processes that rationalize society, economy and polity was a unique feature of Europe. Twin doctrines of state and capitalism served as structures of rationality for modern world has their origin in Renaissance European state where they first devised their mechanisms of subjugation.

Foucault aims to do “without a theory of the state” and one claim of Globalization narrative is that Globalization has made state ineffective. Foucault objects two fundamentals of state theory.

- State is a universal entity

\(^2\) Strategy is defined by Deryfus and Rabinow (1983) as rationality involved in arriving at a solution or addressing a question or to attain the intended objective.
• State is an independent, autonomous source of power.

For him the “state is neither a universal nor in itself an autonomous source of power” (Foucault, 2008, p. 77). Foucault treats “Emergence of state as a fundamental political issue” is an episode in “general history” of Governmentality. (Foucault, 2004, p. 247) Foucault believes that state is nothing else but mobile effects of multiple governmentalities. Apex of state making for postcolonial world is European model of nation state. Nation state model of Europe is capitalist where state becomes a tool in construction of Bourgeoisie hegemony and capitalist accumulation. In Postcolonial world state serves the dual purpose of capitalist accumulation for the indigenous bourgeoisie and accumulation at world scale.

Present singular world has its origins in age of European imperialism; however despite claims of homogeneity today we encounter with the problem of time/ space in this singular Globalised world. People living in different spaces are living in different times (traditional, modern and postmodern world is present within the global space.

The prime preposition for this study is that hybrid, heterogeneous, local compositions in “global homogenous singular formation” termed as “Globalization” and people living in different time zones of modernity across different spaces in age of globalization are products of different “governmentalities” (conduct patterns) employed by states to facilitate the requirements of global capitalism.

We have further deconstructed this main preposition in components.

• The governmentality employed in Core states is essentially different from Peripheral states. OR The different patterns of conduct and rules of governance are employed in Eurocenter (West) and non Western others.
• The will to knowledge is not separate from will to power. Western knowledge produced and sustained the “structures of rationality” and different versions of same political organization i.e. state to sustain hegemonic orders.

• State and Capital are intrinsic to each other and state is still meaningful in this era of triumph of capitalism.

• State is not only the structures of dominance sustaining global and local hegemonies but also provide a conception of “just rule” for resistance movements fighting against global and local forms of subjugations.

Study is divided in four main chapters

1. Archaeology of Contemporary Political Reason

2. Hegemonic Governmentality: A Nexus of Power/knowledge and Subjectivities

3. Chapter 3: Emergence of New World Order and Post Colonial Structures of Rationality: Case of Nigeria and Pakistan

4. Myth of Globalization

The first chapter will provide an archaeological approach to World-System. Colonial Governmentality adopted in British India and Colonial Nigeria will be discussed as “Other” to European Governmentality in second Chapter. In third Chapter governmentality employed by Post colonial state of Pakistan and Nigeria that gave rise to ethno national movements of Biafra and Bangladesh will be discussed. Fourth Chapter will discuss along with a new concept of governmentality employed in Europe as well as impacts of anarcho-capitalism of neoliberal Washington Consensus on Postcolonial states. Religious Revivalism and Ethnicity are two responses to this development. Our finding is that despite its failure, state is still relevant in the age of Globalization and we suggest a state remedy for state failure.
ARCHAEOLOGY OF GLOBALIZATION
A DISCOURSE OF NEO-IMPERIALISM
Introduction

In the preface of Frantz Fanon seminal work Sartre refers to a bygone age when “earth numbered two thousand million inhabitants” out of which five hundred millions were men and rest one thousand and five hundred million were natives. Men had words and natives had the use of it and between the two groups there were “hired knights, overlords and bourgeoisie” that served as go betweens. (Fanon, 1963, p. 7) There, Sartre referred the bygone age of imperialism, the era that is over now. Imperialism extended the sovereignty of the European Nations and Europe originated “modernity” beyond European space. Europe parceled out almost all territories of planet earth and map of planet were ciphered in European colors i.e. The Blue for French, Green for Portuguese and most important the Red for the British. The narrators of imperialism then tell the tale of an epic struggle of these wretched of the earth that roused by the aspiration of self rule and hopes to commute the world, and a new world a postcolonial world took birth. But does the division really changed between the men and natives? Do the wretched of the earth have the ability to change the system to their advantage? Do they ever become masters of resource wealth, their land acquitted? Do they still have hope to “provincialize”, (Chakraburty, 2000) and marginalize Eurocenter, in likely manner. OR The reality revealed a different face.

Hired knights, overlords that served as go-between still exist. “Hegemonic governmentality” has reached at capillary level by making a silk alliance of ‘Big Business and Big Government’. And what about Resistance, the dreams of self rule, the desire to attain mastery over resources and control over destiny? Resistance is also
there in form of ethno-national movements, in form of religion with a promise of beyond and accompanied vision of “last empires”. Dialectic is ongoing.

Trinity of Resources, State and Markets operate vertically to construct the identities and subjectivities of the people. Resources continued to be the only motif but discursivities, and games of truth masking the real change with epochs along with knowledge discourses that sustains the power pyramid. In Colonial epoch discursivity was narrative of Civilization, replaced by ‘Development’- ‘Modernization’ paradigms of Post Colonial period and finally taken over with teleological, deterministic mythical reality claims of Globalization narratives. Resources provided the material environment that sustained all the above discourses and not only shaped the global space in colonial epoch but the internal and external ‘development geographies’ of post colonial world with inequality on global and local levels as the only resultant. Resistance also revolves around resources and move subjects to get rid of chains that exploitative state, whether colonial or postcolonial holds for them by obtaining states of their own, a “Utopia” to be constructed, where they will live happily ever away from exploiters, with modernity as their culture and capitalism as their economy.

This study without going into debates that Globalization is a new phenomena or continuum take as a priori, Hannah Ardent preposition that it is the logical outcome of the sin of primitive accumulation and process of expansion of world system, but at this stage of history slightly differ with Lenin that Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism and considers globalization as the final end and highest stage of capitalism. Rather it will take Hardt & Negri (2001) preposition that passage to highest stage “Empire” was made possible by granting de facto sovereignty to the “Wretched” mentioned earlier. The natives got independence but system worked to the advantage of old masters and today “Globalization”, has become the highest stage of
imperialism with creation of common world where capital and resources moves without any restriction. Perhaps we are living in the world that has no outside, where people have more things in common; where European modernity serves as priori giving rise to diverse shades of indigenous cultures and where every place is like every other place. Globalization, Empire, or Commonwealth whatever we name the present world; it is the creation of many discursive and non discursive elements broadly categorized in two inter connected, interwoven discourses i.e. State and Capitalism.

This study is an experiment to use Foucault Archaeological apparatus to unfold the underlying phenomena and extricate implicit web of rules that shaped the “history of the present”. The theoretical toolkit provided for the purpose is by philosopher of history, Michel Foucault (1926-1984) declared by Merquior (1985) as the “historian of present”. Foucault can be regarded as the most influential thinker, having imprints of inspiration on a range of disciplines like Geography, Psychoanalysis, Feminism, Politics, Anthropology and Literature. Foucault’s concepts of Power/Knowledge, Discourse, and Subjectivity provided aspiration to postcolonial thinkers like Edward Said (1993) ([1978], 1994), Homi K Bhabha (2004), Talal Asad (1993) (2003), Guattari &l Deleuze (1981)(1986), Gyatri Spivak (1993). Foucauldian concept of ‘Genealogy’ is the motivation behind the project of ‘history from below’ and renewal of “subaltern knowledge” by Subaltern Studies Group interested to record the subaltern resistance narratives. Foucault twin concepts of Bio-Politics and Bio-Power are essentials to perceive resistance against ‘regimes of truth’ imposed by imperial and neo imperial rule. Troika written by Hardt & Negri, Empire (2001), Multitude War and Democracy in Age of Empire (2004) and Common Wealth (2009), heavily draw upon employment of Foucauldian concepts of Bio Power and Bio Politics to
study the construction of Global Empire without a center and forces to alter modernity and anti-systematic movements and struggles in the age of Globalization. Concepts also helped them to construct the future scenario in form of global commonwealth.

Although Foucault negated to be a “Structuralist” but his work can be annexed to Marxist thought settings. Foucault believe that Archaeology is different from Structuralism in the sense that ‘Structuralist’ studies ‘Conditions of possibilities’ while ‘Archaeologist’ studies ‘Conditions of existence’. (Hubert L. Deryfus and Paul Rabinow, 1983, pp. 52-53)

Michel Foucault is very much an integral part of Western tradition of ‘Critique’ and ‘Critical’ theorizing and we can draw many parallels between him and the work of critical theorists like Adorno and Horkheimer (2002) and Habermas (1987). Foucault supposition is that modern technologies of power create docile utilitarian bodies. The purpose of modern power is both to attain “maximum intensity” at a minimal cost, both in economic and political spheres. His Intellectual adversary Jurgen Habermas (1987) also criticized the ‘instrumental rationality’ of the Enlightenment and its technological domination. But Habermas like Marx is not willing to denounce the accomplishments of the Enlightenment and Modernity. Instead he argued that Foucault’s genealogical method of writing history was constructed on major gaps and omissions of modernity. (Best, 1994, pp. 45-47) Foucault has an ambivalent relation with Marxist tradition. Hardt and Negri believe that “when Foucault insists that there is no transcendental locus of power but only myriads of micro powers that are exercised in capillary forms across the surface of bodies in their practices and disciplinary regimes he is betraying the Marxist Tradition” (Hardt and Negri, 2009, p. 31) Foucault conception of power as not hierarchical in form exercised towards down
but having a net like series of relation make it implicit that there is no single site of resistance also. (Barker, 1998, p. 28)

Foucault unlike Marxists has a highly critical stance on Modernity and Enlightenment. Foucault critique on discourses of Modernity and Enlightenment culminating in hegemony of Europe as center brought him close to Phenomenological tradition originating from Heidegger and extended to Husserl and Maurice Merleau-Ponty. Martin Heidegger’s criticism of technology and Modernity influenced Foucault’s work. Heidegger had tried to distance himself from both the metaphysical and the rational, scientific, and technological tradition of the West.

Heidegger takes “Modernity” as a form of “subjectivity”, a move away from the theoretic and traditional values that defined ethics and politics for centuries. In absence of tradition that had given meaning, structure, and certainty to the world, the modern subject relied on human perception, on feeling and on rationality. Mastery over nature became the sole objective of life. Means was science, technology and control of labor. Modern historical inquiries produced a notion of progress based on the acquisition of technology and control over nature. To Heidegger, this never ending urge to master objects and making them subject to reason will result in catastrophe. In the preface to “Madness and Civilization” Foucault also criticizes the notion of the East as the absolute “other” of the expansionist rational West. He believes that in Western ratio, a divide exists between the East and West. The East is considered as the origin, the dizzy point, the place of birth, nostalgia, and a promise of return. The East that offers itself to be colonized by “Reason”, the “Western Reason”, but remains inaccessible; East is boundary that formed the West but afterwards drew a dividing line. The East for Foucault is everything that West is not. Foucault considers it essential to do the history of this Great divide, a divide between East and West to seek
the originating truths of West. (Janet Afary and Kevin B., 2005, pp. 16-18) Deryfus & Rabinow (1983) accounts Michel Foucault as a Philosopher “Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics”.

For Foucault philosopher is someone who diagnose the “state of thought”, and he envisions, two kinds of philosophers: “the kind who opens up new thought vistas, such as Heidegger, and a kind who in a sense plays the role of an archaeologist, “designate the region in which relations seek to exist” (Foucault, 1966, 1989, p. 225)

Michel Foucault work reveals that he is both the Philosopher, and the Archaeologist who while unfolding the conditionality of power relations and mode of their constitution in given space opens new vista of possibility.

Foucault work deals with Endo-Colonialism (Geoff Damaher, Tony Schirato and John Webb, 2000, p. 106) because he takes normalization effects of discourse as strategy to subjection. Foucault treats ‘concepts’ as strategies of domination so his work drew attention of thinkers like Michel Watts working on repression of Post-colonial state “development governmentality” (Watts M., 2003), treating the state in third world as apparatus and instrument of control used indirectly by the ex (colonial)masters.

Foucault believe that objective of Archaeology is to study change and transformation (Foucault, [1969], 2004). Critics also estimates him as a ‘theorist of change’ (Mills, 2003) Charles Taylor is of the view that, most of Foucault's historical analyses, while they are original in content, seem to follow the already established lines of critical theorizing. Theses analysis offer a disclosure into what has happened, and into what we have become in the process of happening, as well as some conception of good gone covered up in history, providing a perceptive of how to Preserve that “good”, lost in history. But Foucault himself refrain this suggestion. He scares away the

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3 Strategy is defined by Deryfus and Rabinow (1983) as rationality involved in arriving at a solution or addressing a question or to attain the intended objective.
chance, if we had one, we can affirm some good, as a result of these analyses and by the same token, he seems to object the possibility of a “way out”. For Taylor, this is paradoxical, while Foucault's analyses seek to reveal evils but at the same time he wants to distance himself from the implicit idea, that negating and resisting these evils will promote any good by overcoming the evil. (Taylor C. , 1986, p. 69)

The dissertation aims to trace the ‘history of present’, and treat globalization as an ‘artifact’, a structure and treat it in manner of archaeology as description of monument. For Foucault “History, in its traditional form, undertook to `memorize' the monuments of the past, transform them into documents, and lend speech to those traces which, in themselves, are often not verbal, or which say in silence something other than what they actually say”. Foucauldian history reverses the phenomenon by transforming documents into monuments. Archaeology deploys a mass of elements that can be grouped and make relevance by linking them in a relation to form totality. Previously Archaeology as discipline was doing the same by devoting itself to study of silent monuments, traces and objects without context and things leftover by past. It aspired to conditions of history. By resituating historical discourses it attained meaning. Foucault believes that today History must aspire to conditions in manner of Archaeology by providing intrinsic description of monument, the structure, the totality. (Foucault, 2004,8)

1. **Scheme of Study**

We have divided the study as following.

- Introduction
- Archaeology of Contemporary Political Reason
- Hegemonic Governmentality : A Nexus of Power/knowledge and Subjectivities
Post Colonial Structures of Rationality: Case of Nigeria and Pakistan

Myth of Globalization

Conclusion

2. Chapter 1: Archaeology of Contemporary Political Reason

The first chapter is description of Foucauldian concept of “Archaeology” and will provide a conceptual framework of “Archaeology of Globalization”. Foucault’s Archaeology facilitate to draw connection between Micro and Macro levels, to establish series of series and table to account changes and transformations. (Foucault, 2004) So we intend to study the architecture of global mega structure, structure of World System that is complete now with no external zone left to be incorporated, with completion of Globalization process. On Macro level study will focus on transformations on Global level and on Micro level on struggles of people and places as diverse and far from each other as Baloch (Dera Bugti) and Ogoni (Oliobori). These areas are incorporated in system as resource providers. Employing the analysis of World system done by Wallerstein, Samir Amin and other World System analysts to construct the archeological edifice of Globalization will not bring us at odds with Foucault Archaeological history because for Foucault Archaeology “is nothing more than a rewriting: that is, in the preserved form of exteriority, a regulated transformation of what has already been written. It is not a return to the innermost secret of the origin; it is the systematic description of a discourse object”. (Foucault, [1969], 2004, p. 157)

Our analysis will account shifts on both micro and macro levels and try to establish verticle relation in constant flux and transformation.
3. Chapter 2: Hegemonic Governmentality: A Nexus of Power/knowledge and Subjectivities

Term hegemony⁴ is the concern of debate within Marxist paradigm; it can broadly be defined within the following terms: “a state within society whereby those who are dominated by others take on board the values and ideologies of those in power and accept them as their own” (Mills, 2003, p. 75), while Governmentality is rationality involved in state practices of governance. So the ‘Hegemonic Governmentality’ leads to an acceptance of subordinate position, a tacit consent by people for their position within hierarchy as natural and for their own good. Power of West in other places lied in production of knowledge about the alien, unknown people and places. Foucault use the power/knowledge as compound to emphasize the ways these elements depend upon each one another. Hence where there exists an imbalance between people, groups, communities, institutions, states etc. relations of power are sustained by knowledge discourses i.e through production of knowledge. (Mills, 2003, p. 69) So hegemonic governmentality is a product of power/ knowledge serving as structures of rationality. This type of governmental reason first appeared in Europe with governmentality as “conduct of conduct” along with disciplinary mechanisms to control human beings and convert them into “utalitarian beings”. (Foucault, 2004) Foucault considers these mechanisms that subjugated population as factor responsible for Europe’s rise to dominance and defining Europe’s relation with its “other”, the rest of humanity in next epochs of history.

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⁴ Term was coined by Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci in effort to find justification why democratic countries like Britain survived Socialist Revolution as predicted by Karl Marx. Gramsci identified that Marxist analysis only accounted the element of coercion in capitalist practices at the same time missing the other essential of capitalist system i.e. Consent. Gramsci believe that capitalism sustain by tacit consent of aggrieved class that consider its subjugated position as natural. Robert Cox applied the term to explain the inequality among nations and hierarchical structure of international system.
Sara Mills believe that the purpose of Foucault anthropology is to study those who are politically and economically marginal in relation to metropole. World System analysis establish a structural relation between dominant core and subjugated periphery. As modernity was the culture of center of World System, modern values were necessary to sustain the political and economic hegemonic governmental rationalities introduced by Europe to its other “rest of the world”. The center periphery model according to Hardt and Negri is the framework that capture the spatial dimension and “two-ness” of modernity as dominant core and subjugated subordinate peripheries exist only in a dominant/subjugated relation to each other. (Hardt and Negri, 2009, p. 70) Modernity also encounter its ‘other’, ‘the tradition’ in periphery. ‘People with history’, and those ‘without history’, object and subject intersect in colonial space and everything change hereafter.

The first recorded shift in life of ‘People without history’ came with their encounter with modernity and European imperial state rallying on its ‘individualizing techniques’ and ‘totalizing procedures’. Foucault believes that these techniques originated in 16th Century Europe with development of modern state. “Since the sixteenth century, a new political form of power has been continuously developing. This new political structure, as everyone knows, is the state. But most of the time state is envisioned as a kind of political power which ignores individuals, looking only at the interests of totality, or I should say, of a class or a group among citizens. That’s quite true. But I would like to underlie the fact state’s power (and that’s one of the reasons for its strength) is both individualizing and a totalizing form of power. Never I think in the history of human societies, even in the old Chinese society, has there been a tricky combination of the same political structures of individualization techniques and totalizing procedure” (Foucault quoted in Deryfus & Rabinow: 1984: 14).
The history of these people/places start with ‘history of West’ and colonial state formation “coincide with the establishment of capitalism” (Barker, 1998, p. 27) The “Orientalism” constructed the colonial subjects as child, in need of guidance and arrested the growth potential of these areas. System operated to the advantage of Europe and inequality at global level is the explicit outcome.

4. Chapter 3: Emergence of New World Order and Post Colonial Structures of Rationality: Case of Nigeria and Pakistan

Third chapter will focus on two “Revolutions”: The first that resulted in change of hegemony from Pax-Britannica to Pax Americana: and accompanied second Revolution the independence of Colonies. Second shift in lives of natives came with the myths generated by nationalism and independence and they were granted sovereign statehood. Pax American order was sustained by its own theoretical construct and an institutional order in form of Bretton Woods institutions and accompanied version of Regulated Capitalism. While structure of rationality imposed by Post Colonial state was not any different from its predecessors the colonial state as these states inherited and persisted on same individualizing techniques and totalizing procedures, generating true discourses in form of Development Modernization paradigms as mechanisms of subjugation for peripheral areas.
Figure 1: Structure of Rationality

These peripheral areas were incorporated in the world system to satisfy the needs generated by the imperial system. Independence resulted in no real change. Post colonial state in our view as to paraphrase Foucault is ‘a regulatory idea’. Dividends of resources and surplus are shared by National and Global hegemons. Exclusionary tactics deny the economic returns of resources to people who are by definition master of their destiny according to modernity narrative. Development Modernization paradigm added not only a mid tier to world system as semi periphery consisting on post colonial third world state, but also generated an unprecedented regional inequality both internationally and domestically. According to Escobar third world was a condition imposed on post colonial state. Development modernization\(^5\) rhetoric created the space to intervene in Postcolonial matters and manners and generated mechanisms of subjugation and establish relation of power between metropole satelites of world economy and metropole satelites of national economy. Ethno-national groups arised to resist the inequality within Postcolonial states. The new ethno-nations constructed their identity and nationalist discourses challenged the territorial integrity of states in third world.

\(^5\) The twin concepts development and modernization were introduced in post cold war era. Both concepts assume that immediate objective of nation is to material well being that can be achieved by adopting the policies already proved effective in industrially advanced countries. To create an environment conducive for growth these doctrines held the traditional practices responsible for underdevelopment and advocated a break with tradition
5. Chapter 4: Myth of Globalization

Present moment is the moment of emergence of singular Global Empire with a diffused center and no power claiming to be Pax. The transformation brought with it neo-liberal economic order and version of capitalism that tends to operate without state regulation. It generated the myth that state is no more an effective institution because capitalism at this stage can operate without state aid. The worst effectee of these new global formations are Post-colonial states. These states have to face the dual challenges i.e. of global capitalist forces and internal fissures like ethnicity.

To this point of our narration Archaeological toolkit of Foucault sufficed our purpose to build a three stage vertical relation culmination in planetary World System and record breaks, shifts and transformations leading to formations of subjectivities. But when our analysis will reach the mark where Globalization emerges as ‘singularity’ (Foucault) with multiple descendent effects and generate a hydra like figure to challenge Fukuyama assertion that voyage of humanity has reached its final destiny, to complete God’s theophonic will, the ‘end’. At this juncture of our study we will use Foucauldian concept of “Genealogy”.

We also have the intention to gather evidences for our preposition that Truth Discourses and Games of Truth played by Imperial and Post-Imperial states lead to the normalization of Western doctrine of progress to the extent that the forces determined to alter modernity in these states are incapable to think ‘otherwise’ and reformulate a system other than capitalism and state. As resistance figures prior to them who fought imperial subjugation the present generation of resistors is also the product of “Eurocenter” or “Europe”, whose relation to the rest of humanity is a relation of domination. West has become the integral, indispensable component of ‘Non West’ cognitive makeup. Today we live in dispositif of modernity and in words
of Deleuze (1992) we have to act with in it. Global Despostif has determined what we are but Negri and Hardt believe that there must be a reorientation in ethical horizon “from identity to becoming”, at issue “is not what we are but rather what we are in the process of becoming”. (Hardt & Negri, 2009, x)
Chapter 1

Archaeology of Contemporary Political Reason

In this chapter we intend to appraise ‘Archaeology’ as General history, differentiate it from “traditional” and “total”, “teleological”, and “deterministic”, historical narratives, at the same time establishing its love hate (ambivalent) relation with Structuralism. As Foucault believes that origins of ‘general history’ are also Marxist and Structuralist we take a liberty to connect Archaeology with World system to add a spatio-geographical dimension to our analysis. Taking discourse as the building bricks of Archaeology and as “violence we do to thing” and having the potential to bring in life new formations we will devise the frame work of this study. We also aim to create a series of series and generate a table as general framework to record various discursive and non discursive shifts till the emergence of singular entity ‘Globalization’.

6. Archaeology Appraised

Foucault is a “philosopher of change” and “historian of present”. His method of “Archaeology” dates back to time of writing the “Birth of Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception” (1963). The concept was extended to study social sciences in “Order of Things: An Archaeology of Human Sciences” (1966) to study of three human empiricities i.e. life, labor and language. (Merquior, 1985, p. 36) Foucault defined the “Archaeology” as concept in “Order of Things” as “an inquiry whose...”

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6 Deryfus and Rabinow believe that archaeology is also rooted in Marxist Paradigm like narratives of total history. Though Foucault deny, being a Structuralist, in “Archaeology of Knowledge” (1969).
aim is to rediscover on what basis knowledge and theory became possible; within
which space of order knowledge was constituted; on the basis of what historical a
priori …….ideas could appear, sciences be established, experiences be reflected in
philosophies, rationalities be framed” (Foucault, 1966, 1989, p. xxiii) The concept
matured in Foucault’s writing “Archaeology of Knowledge” (Foucault, [1969],
2004) before being abandoned and replaced by the concept of Genealogy7, due to its
Structuralist posture, that in Archaeology of Knowledge Foucault denied himself to
be. He wrote that “my aim is not to transfer to the field of history and more
particularly to the history of knowledge (connaissances), a structuralist method that
has proved valuable in other fields of analysis”. (Foucault, [1969], 2004, p. 7)
Foucault in Archaeology of Knowledge develops or aims to develop a new historical
method different from the “traditional” and “total” narrations of history.

**Traditional, Total and General History**

Foucault believes that his method has traces of Marxist and Nietzschean thoughts.
Foucault believes that traditional history was decentered by the twin figures of
anthropology and humanism; of Marx and Nietzsche. So the concept of “total history”
emerged against the decentring caused by Marx and Nietzsche. Foucault believe that
towards the end of 19th century history responded to decentring caused by Marxist
Historical Analysis, concepts of “relations of production”, “materialistic

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7 Foucault borrow notion of Genealogy from Nietzsche. While Archaeology focus on perceived; an
idea without reference to power, Genealogy refers to practice controlled by power and power relations.
Moreover Genealogy also focuses on resistance phenomena. Because, for Foucault power is exercised
on free subject capable of resisting effects of power as well as undergoing changes leading to subject
formation.

8 Deryfus and Rabinow believe that elements of archaeology are constituted in a field of relations, but
its relation to holistic structuralism is much more complex. Structuralism identifies and individuates
elements in isolation and constructs a whole that is sum of its parts. While on the other hand
Archaeological holism identifies that hole determines what can be counted as possible element and
consider whole as more than sum of its parts. Foucault’s pragmatic holism is more radical than
structural holism. To them Archaeology is a kind of more subtle and refined form of Structuralism.
(Hubert L. Deryfus and Paul Rabinow, 1983, p. 54)
determinism”, and “class struggle” and gave place to concept of “total history”, that reduced all differences of society by constituting a “World-View”, and establishing a “system of values” that gave rise to concept of “Civilization”. History during the same period also opposed the Nietzschean ideals for “search of an original foundation”, and made “rationality the telos of mankind”. History linked itself to preservation of this rational telos”. (Foucault, [1969], 2004, p. 15)

Foucault believes that notion of discontinuity plays a significant role in historical discipline. He believes that discontinuity was perceived to be a “stigma of temporal dislocation” and it was considered as the basic task of historian to eliminate it to produce continuity and unities like epochs, periods, ages having a single origin. (Foucault, [1969], 2004, p. 10) Foucault believes that instead of vast unities like ‘periods’ or centuries9 his proposed history is concerned with phenomenon of Rupture; of Discontinuity. One of the essential features of the new history is to consider phenomenon of discontinuity and rupture as a “working concept” and therefore in new history discontinuity and phenomenon of rupture will not be considered as negative, its downside, and the failure but will constitute a “positive element that determines objectives and validates the analysis”. Hence new history will invert all those signs that consider breaks and rupture as flaws of historical accounts. (Foucault, [1969], 2004, p. 11) For Foucault the “Dialectical” and similar models of history are problematic due to their consideration and construction of “History”, according to a grand totalizing vision. That is, because they suggest we can establish relations between various events taking place over a long period and discover patterns because

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9 The concept of *long Duree* was introduced by Braudel () and Wallerstein and other theorists working on World System approach like Andre Gunder Frank and Samir Amin work is inspired by this concept.
events unfolds by following certain laws of “historical development”. (Clifford, 2001, p. 97)

For Foucault the “total history” project assays a reconstitution of an overall form of a civilization according to a unified principle, and suppose that between all the events of a demarcated spatio-temporal area and arena, it is possible to establish a system of homogeneous relations, connected and related in a network of causality that makes it possible to derive for each of them, “relations of analogy that show how they signify one another”, or “how they all express one and the same central core”. An implicit meaning of this central core principle for Foucault is that a singular “historicity” is applicable on all human organizations. This historicity operates social organization; economic institutions societal customs, cognitive attitudes, technological endeavors, political thought etc, and subjects them to undergo transformation at the same time. We can enunciate history into units like epochs, phases, stages according to their underlying principle of coherence. (Foucault, [1969], 2004, p. 11)

Foucault identifies a number of problems with dialectical vision of traditional history. He believes that traditional historical accounts attempts to provide justification for European colonial practice, legitimizing the clash of an advanced civilized West with a backward and barbaric rest of the world (both Hegel and Marx were supporters of colonial practice). Traditional history conceives the forces of history primarily in terms of the “great ideological belief systems” that emerged during the Enlightenment: liberalism, capitalism, socialism, communism and so forth. (Geoff Damaher, Tony Schirato and John Webb, 2000, p. 100)

But Foucault’s prime objection on “Total history” is about its conception and phenomenon of rupture and discontinuity and its effort to remove rupture from history by imposing false continuities. In Foucauldian Archeological enterprise the notion of
discontinuity assumes a major role in the historical disciplines rather than a “stigma of temporal dislocation”. The task of General historian is not to eradicate “rupture”, and “discontinuity”, from history. His new historical percept of “Archaeology” builds on discontinuity as the base elements of historical construct.

**Archaeology**

Foucault’s new history challenges the totalizing visions of history, by proposing “Archaeology”. Archaeology “speaks of series, divisions, limits, and differences of level, shifts, chronological specificities, and particular forms of re handling, possible types of relation”. (Foucault, [1969], 2004, pp. 10-11) Foucault calls his approach “Archaeology” because he believes that purpose of new history is to “transform documents into monuments” where meanings can be discovered by “resituating historical discourses” and “history aspires to the condition of Archaeology, as an intrinsic description of the monument”. Foucault is of the view that concern of traditional history was “to define relation series being known, it was simply a question of defining the position of each element in relation to the other elements in the series”, while Archaeologist treating history as an architectural construct has to

- Establish a relation series
- Distinguish elements and relations peculiar to this series
- Demarcate the boundary
- Discover laws that govern the series. (Foucault, [1969], 2004, p. 8)

These are commonalities between narratives of ‘total history’ and Foucauldian “general history”. But Foucault want to build an historical artifice more grand and multi layered than total history. So beyond the method described earlier, Archaeology has to further “describe the relations between different series, thus constituting series of series or ‘tables’”: Therefore “Archaeology employs different stratifications and
distinguishes on basis of their specific time and chronology. (Foucault, [1969], 2004, pp. 8-9)

Thus Archaeology as history has the capacity to establish multiple layers of levels between micro and macroscopic levels of analysis and establish a vertical non linear system of analysis penetrating deep down the horizontal linear deterministic surface changes and transformation. Foucault believes that such analyses will reveal that events and their effects are not similar and same event can produce different consequences on different levels. “Recurrent redistributions reveal several pasts, several form of connections, several hierarchies of importance, several net works of determination, several teleologies, as present undergoes change” (Foucault, [1969], 2004, p. 6) So Foucauldian Archaeology employ a mass of elements to be grouped, trace their relevancy and establish their relation to form the totalities. (Foucault, [1969], 2004, p. 9)

Philip Barker believe that “Archaeology” “attempts to untie all those knots that historians have patiently tied; it increases differences, blurs the line of communication and tries to make it more difficult to pass from one thing to another”. The effect of archaeology is to refuse to reduce difference to continuous form but rather elaborate them, analyze them and propose how they function in the production of knowledge in the differentiated space which knowledge allows to be deployed. (Barker, 1998, p. 96) Merquior quotes Michel Seres who defines Foucault archaeology a “heterology”, “ethnology of European knowledge”. It is a knowledge instituted as opposite to Enlightenment ideals, i.e.

- culture specific instead of universal,
- epoch relative instead of cumulative, and
erodes not as a result of conscious effort, but by the inhuman destructiveness of time. (Merquior: 1985:55)

While Foucault denounces the phenomenon of cohesion according to a principle core and continuous progress towards a determined end, Foucault Archaeological appraisal does not denounce the results obtained by previous historical appraisals. Foucault declares that “theory that I am about to outline has a dual relation with the previous studies. It is an attempt to formulate, in general terms (and not without a great deal of rectification and elaboration), the tools that these studies have used or forged for themselves in course of their work. But, on the other hand, it uses the results already obtained to define a method of analysis purged of all anthropologism”. (Foucault, [1969], 2004, p. 18) Foucault perceives history as “plurality of forces”, resulting in multiple numbers of outcomes. The forces are as much in conflict with each other as they can be held together. (Smart, 1985, 2002, p. 14)

Discourse as Component of Archaeology

Foucault Archaeological holism asserts that the whole determines the elements of a specific field of relation and what can be counted as a possible element. Thus whole is more fundamental than its elements and is more than sum of its constituting parts. Individual being an element of this “holistic” field of aggregate relations, constitute its subjectivity within the domain of this discursive and non discursive structure. Foucault believes that the individual is not a given entity in this particular field of relations, that is seized on by the exercise of power. The individual, with his identity and characteristics, is the product of these relation of power not only exercised over bodies, but also on multiplicities, movements, desires and forces. Foucault believes that since sixteen century structure of rationalities rely on ‘individualizing techniques” and “totalizing procedure”. These techniques and procedures play a pivotal role in
devising mechanisms of subjugation. (Foucault, Security Territory Population, Lectures at the College De France 1977-78, 2004)

**Figure 2: Relations of Power, Truth and Subjectivity**

In process of constituting the individual; embedded in relations of power, meanings and truth are also constituted. So aim of archaeology is to discover the relation between “discursive”, and “non-discursive” element; of (possible) field of relations; that determines and conditions the subject. “Structuralist” studies ‘Condition of Possibilities’, the “Archaeologist” studies ‘Conditions of Existence’. (Hubert L. Deryfus and Paul Rabinow, 1983, pp. 52-53)

A system of existence is the product of discourse, because the discourse establishes a ‘system of relations’ producing and sustaining the conditions of existence at any given time. Discourse can be made intelligible on its own terms. Discourse is the underlying core thread that unifies the practices going on in various dimensions of society. Discursive unity brings together economic, political, technological, and pedagogical factors and them come together to function in cohesive manner at any given moment in history. The archaeological analysis is for Mills is a “description of regular patterns within a discourse”. (Mills, 2003, p. 24)

Discourses make the building bricks of Archaeology that is defined “as a pure description of discursive events. Discourses are highly precarious ensembles; they are made up of statements which live in a provisional grouping as ‘a population of events in the space of discourse”. (Merquior, 1985, p. 77)
Foucault believe that a manifest discourse is secretly based on an 'already-said'; and that this 'already-said' is not simply a statement that has already been given, or a text that has already been in black and white, but “a 'never-said', an incorporeal discourse, a voice as silent as a breath, a writing that is merely the hollow of its own mark. It is supposed therefore that everything that is formulated in discourse was already articulated in semi silence that precedes it, which continues to run obstinately beneath it, but which it covers and silences. The manifest discourse, therefore, is really no more than the repressive presence of what it does not say; and this 'not-said' is a hollow that undermines from within all that is said”. (Foucault, Archaeology of Knowledge, [1969], 2004, pp. 28-29)

So discourse is a ‘violence we do to things’. For Foucault “discourse is the path from one contradiction to another: if it gives rise to those that can be seen, it is because it obeys that which it hides”. (Foucault, [1969], 2004, p. 169). Further discourses has a transformative effects, and bring to life a transformation and a formation that though articulated on already said bring to life that was not present prior to it. Discourse has both a negative and positive impacts at the same time silencing, repressing and producing something new.

Rules of discourse do establish a given system of relations, this does not preclude questions about the ways discourses and its rules are dependent upon the social and economic practices they unify. The current institutions and practices may somehow sustain the discourse. Every society is governed by a regime of truth, sustained by discourses and institutions. This regime is sustained by twin pillars.

1. **True Discourses:** The discourses that society accepts and make them function as truth
2. *Political structures* whose function is to articulate such discourses in concrete forms onto the social body.

Discourse, power and subjectivities are intrinsically in relation because economic, political, and social institutions cannot work effectively without truth effects and notions of truth. These institutions draw their legitimacy and authority from their capacity to produce true discourses acceptable as normal for the society. Foucault uses the concept “games of truth”, to describe the practices of public institutions who claim to be speaking truth. Truth claims are present in all institutional practices and procedures. Hence “game of truth”, is a set of related activities and procedures that conceives and produce an intended outcome. Foucault believes that truth is a thing of this world and is produced by institutional rules and procedures that determine the validity of any claim to be counted as “truth”. Hence “game of truth” is a set of related procedures that produce a conceived outcome or to put it simply is a set of related rules by which a society produce truth. “Games of truth” are important because our subjectivity is the product of these games and we are discursively positioned to see the truth about ourselves, our desires and our experiences by these “games of truth”. Foucault believes that there is no true state of existence since our conception about our “selves”, and life we and others live are filtered through the political structure and true discourses that constitute the societal “games of truth”. (Geoff Damaher, Tony Schirato and John Webb, 2000, p. 40)

Discourse generate and sustain relations of power but discourses are products of structure of rationality that sets rules for true and false, right and wrong, legitimate and illegitimate etc. On basis of these rules it also sets the patterns of inclusion and exclusions hence the mechanisms to subjugation. (Sheridan, 1980, pp. 121-124) Foucault is of the view that if you take a group of elements, connection between
mechanism of coercion and contents of knowledge can be identified. Foucault use term Power/Knowledge\(^\text{10}\) to identify power hidden in discursive formations. For Foucault reason itself is responsible for excess of power because meaning only exists through effects of coercion which are specific to structure. Structure of rationality articulates both the true discourse and the mechanism of subjugation. (Merquior, 1985, pp. 108-109) Foucault believes that historians are not usually concerned with questions of subject and notion of truth, so his method displaces the historical objects familiar to historians. (Foucault, What is Critique, 2002) The Archaeological field is concerned with the conditions of existence, condition that determine ‘procedure of exclusion’, hence making subjects, subjects of knowledge and subjects of power at the same time. Basis of exclusions is

- Prohibition;
- Division and rejections;
- Opposition between true and false

Foucault believe that will to truth remained most dominant and pervasive throughout the history of Western Civilization but true discourses does not seek truth but mask it. (Sheridan, 1980, p. 124)

Structure of rationality is knowledge based because Foucault cannot make distinction between will to knowledge from will to power and its implicit urge to mastery over subjects. Games of Truth played by state institutions heavily rely on science of state, “Statistics” (Foucault, 2002) (Wallerstein I., 1997)

\(^{10}\) Foucault borrows the compound usage of power / knowledge from Nietzsche. A Nietzschean perspective reveals that will to knowledge is in guise a will to power.
Discursive relations are not, “internal to discourse”, because they do not establish connection between concepts or words; nor they do produce a rhetorical structure of sentences or prepositions. But they are either not relations “exterior to discourse”. Discursive structures set rules and principles and impose limits to discourses. Discursive structures provide discourse the objects of which it can speak, “in order to deal with them, name them, analyze them, classify them, explain them, etc. These relations characterize not the language (langue) used by discourse, nor the circumstances in which it is deployed, but discourse itself as a practice” (Foucault, [1969], 2004, pp. 51-52).

According to Foucault when multiple causes rather ensemble of causes generate a network of discursive (conceptual, thematic, rhetoric) and non discursive environment whose resultant is a singular impact, the particular structure can be termed as Archaeology. Archaeology is sustained by relationship of interaction between individuals or groups and mechanism of subjugation and true discourses. These relationships involve subject, types of behavior, decisions and choices. Support for this network of intelligible relationships is in the logic inherent to the context of
interactions with its always variable margins of uncertainty. For Foucault, there is no closure because the relationship we are attempting to establish to account for a singularity as an effect. These relationships are in perpetual slippage from one another. (Foucault, 2002, p. 203)

Figure 4: Power/Knowledge and System of Relations

Foucault believe that Archaeology have to record events starting from the “empirical observability” of an ensemble to the point when it becomes historically acceptable and observable. The “Archaeologist” historian wants to capture reality hidden by truth masks and “route goes by analysis of knowledge-power nexus, supporting it, recouping it at the point where it is accepted, moving towards what make it acceptable, of course not in general, but only where it is accepted archaeological analysis bring a whole group of derived phenomena back to cause, not only in general but only where it is accepted.”. (Foucault, 2002, p. 201)

Archaeology for Foucault is not concerned with the “thoughts, representations, images, themes, preoccupations that are concealed or revealed in discourses; but those discourses themselves, are practices obeying certain rules. It does not treat discourse
as document, as a sign of something else, as an element that ought to be transparent, but whose unfortunate opacity must often be pierced if one has to reach at last the depth of the essential in the place in which it is held in reserve; it is concerned with discourse in its own volume, as a monument”. (Foucault, [1969], 2004, p. 156)

7. **World-System as Global Archaeological Structure**

Concept of world operating as a coherent, interdependent whole operating as system is the core theme of debates concerned with Globalization. The concept of Globalization as “time-space compression” (Harvey, 2005) and “intensification of worldwide social relations” (Mittleman) and “consciousness of the world as a whole” (Held) tacitly support the idea that this whole existed prior to theorizing about the buzz word Globalization. (Steger, 2003, p. 10) As we intend a Foucauldian “history of present”, Foucault believe that such an account is not concerned with a debate on structure, a structure opposed to genesis, history, development but problem of structure arises, because we have to specify the field where the questions of the subjectivity, consciousness, origin, truth and the subject materialize, traverse, overlap, mingle, and separate off. Analysis of World-System history reveals that it demarcates the field where subjectivities are constituted and reconstituted. The field continuously is in process of expansion and Globalization is a process of completion of World-System, where entire surface of globe is incorporated in the field. As modernity is the culture of core of World-System, associated with European enlightenment project, in global epoch the whole planet has embraced modernity and now ready to take off to enter in postmodern age of ‘globality’. In our study of globalization as present, the world system will be considered as an architectural structure, “comprising of

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11 Foucault calls archaeology as history of present and believe that Present becomes a mid point and facilitate to have a backward look towards the past and origin as well as provide a forward insight in future because ensemble of causes that can generate the future network of discursive and non discursive formation appears at the horizon of present.
architectonic unities of systems which cannot count as continuities but an internal coherence, axiom, deductive connections and compatibilities” (Foucault, [1969], 2004, p. 6) a field where a cobweb, relation of power; totalizing procedures; individualizing techniques; discursive formations; concepts and strategies appear to form both subject and resistance. Foucault believes that whole determines what can be counted as possible element but “the relationship we are attempting to establish to account for a singularity as an effect are in perpetual slippage from one another”. (Foucault, What is Critique, 2002, p. 203)
So Archaeology is implicit web of rules that make the world intelligible within a given epoch of history. Within a given epoch thinking involves implicit rules beyond the consciousness of those derived by these rules. These rules set limits to the thinking horizon of that era and restrict thought and action contrary to these rules. Foucault believes that if we uncover these laws we will be able to see how these constraints make sense of the world we live and act. (Gutting, 2005, pp. 32-33)

**World System VS World-System**
started some time before year 3000 B.C, it developed around Middle East. During Second there was almost equal development and no one region cannot be categorized as “Core”, and the “situation was one of ‘cultural balance’ in which ‘each of the four major civilizations developed more or less freely along its own lines”. (Modelski, 2000, pp. 20-21) During the third stage the phenomenon of dominance reemerged, but this time center of dominance was not “Middle East”, but “Europe”. The system can be categorized as one of “Western dominance”. According to Peter Taylor, the systems discussed above can be categorized as historical systems and based on general historical knowledge about human beings. (Taylor P., 1989, pp. 5-6)

World-System proposed by Wallerstein and other theorists of Braudel School like Amin believe that contrary to historical world system (without hyphen) the system emerged with rise of Europe is the only system that developed a three tier economic structure that is Global in scale, with functional specialization and presence of multiple variants of “core culture i.e. the modernity”, at various levels.

But both versions consider World as structure, a field where questions of power, dominance and subjectivity arise. Both believe that our present is characterized and specified by the culture of modernity and enlightenment and we live in the epoch of Europe whose relation with the “rest of the world is that of economic domination or colonization, and commercial utilization” (Foucault, 2004, p. 298) Both groups “humanocentric” and continuity approach to World System (Modelski, Frank and Gills) as well as “Eurocentric” (Amin, Wallerstein and Taylor), consider the 15th century as point of origin of European hegemony in world (World System).

Continuity approach consider 15th century as a shift and rupture in human history of 4500 years when Europe hegemonized, the inter-regional system of cultural, political and economic exchange. Europe that according to Dussel, “had never been the center,
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and during its best times, became only periphery” (Dussel, 1998) became the center of the World. On the other hand (World-System) discontinuity approach consider the 15th century as point of origin of World-System.

Continuity thesis consider European exceptionality and its rise to dominance as only a recent, and perhaps a passing event (Andre Gunder Frank and Barry K Gills, 2000, p. 2), while believers in discontinuity consider fifteenth and sixteenth century as point of origin. Wallerstein believe that “these centuries not only marked the discovery of faraway lands by the Portuguese, but by the discovery of a new social construct, of which these voyages, ocean routes, commercial networks were part”. (Wallerstein I. , 1974 a) Wallerstein referred Italian author, Gondhio, writing on transformation of 15th and 16th century that “map of the World was drawn and humankind learned to situate itself in space, the production of merchandise was growing. A world scale market became the dominant vector of economic development. A mercantilist, bureaucratic and centralized state was coming into existence”. (Wallerstein I. , 2005) Samir Amin believes that Renaissance is the moment of break with tributary ideology. It is also the point of rupture for the conquest of the world by capitalist Europe and it is not a coincidental that 1492 marks both the discovery of the New World and the beginning of the Renaissance. “If the period of the Renaissance marks a qualitative break in the history of humanity, it is precisely because, from this time on, Europe becomes conscious of the idea that conquest of the world by its civilization is henceforth a possible objective.....from this moment on Eurocentrism crystallizes”. (Amin, 1989, pp. 72-73) Henceforth the system became global and like a concert between European powers shaping and moving the historical forces as “active agents” while “other” people and places were the passive acceptors of the Western dominance. With no outside contender for hegemony, history became a purely European affair. Peter
Taylor describes phenomena of European hegemony like this “during the sixteen century, Portugal and Spain operated in a global system arranged by Pope Alexander VI and non European World was divided between them along the 47th parallel. In Seventeenth century Netherland were challenging Spain on both sides of the globe, in the East and West Indies. In Eighteenth century Britain and France were fighting on the battlefield as far apart as Canada an India, and in the nineteenth century several European powers were involved in the famous ‘Scramble of Africa’”. (Taylor P., 1989, p. 3)

8. Archaeological Approach to World System

Wallerstein is the key figure of Annals School working on the “mentalities” of an era with the object to arrange history in long periods and construct a face of that period by adopting a combination approach using tools of geography, ecology, economics, demography with cultural factors to paint a total picture of Past. Annals schools of French historians, perceives history as being driven by forces far more powerful than those of any individual. Main inspiration of this school of Historian is Bernard Braudel. Humanist tradition assigning central role to human conscious mind and free will is based on wrong premise. Foucault shares this preposition with other anti humanists of his time12. By the phrase “Death of Man” (Foucault, 1966, 1989), he mean the end of humanist concept of man as a creature ruled by reason and history as a phenomenon governed by powerful man (Merquior, 1985, pp. 51-53). Foucault and Annal theorists both consider a combination of history and structure important for historical analysis.

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12 Foucault as well as the anti humanists of Annals aims at a history without the individual subject. Rather they emphasize that the stage on which we enact our history is much like script and is established independent of our thoughts and action. However Foucault does not exclude subject centered accounts that treat history as a plot unified by the concerns of human beings and leading to humanly meaningful conclusions, derived out by the experiences and projects of the consciousness that live it. Archaeology introduces factors beyond human consciousness and control that may negate continuity that we read into our lives.
Many parallels can be drawn between Foucauldian Archaeological historiography and Wallerstein World-System approach as both thinkers have almost a consensus on reasons of European dominance. Both believe that, the coercive elements in European reason; the colonizing aspect of European historiography (Foucault criticizes Marx for its belief in the utility of Enlightenment ideal), as well as imposition of theory of progress on non-West, are the factors responsible for European dominance. Foucault criticizes Aufklaung (Enlightenment) for three reasons

- Positivist Science
- Development of State or State system with its instrumental reason and processes that rationalize society, economy and polity
- Stitching together of scientific positivism and development of State. A science of state, statism (statistics)and exercise of power through refined techniques (Foucault, 2002, p. 196)

At the same time Wallerstein (Wallerstein I., 1997) describes the reason of rise of Europe in knowledge, based on the conception of dichotomy between science and philosophy (Positivism). He believes that claims of value neutrality and assumption about universals were indeed parochial in character since the only Universalist propositions that have been acceptable are those which are Eurocentric. So Wallerstein while writing the history of European dominance criticizes and condemns its

- Historiography
- Parochialism of its universalism
- Assumptions about Western Civilization and
- Its attempts to impose theory of progress. (Wallerstein I., 1997)
Foucault considers historiography originated by Hegel responsible for colonization. To him modern forms of history writing have origins in early 19th Century and it was not coincidental that the period also witnessed a dramatic rise in Western Colonization activities. It is the prime objection that Foucault raises on traditional narratives of history. To him the dialectical view of history played an instrumental role in the colonizing process itself. As it was an integral component of Colonization, therefore history is unable to provide a critical perspective on colonization. Further, for Foucault, the traditional mode of historical narrations “regards history in terms of a single and steady progress unfolding over time”, legitimized the process leading to European “hegemony”, because this progressive conception of history (sometimes referred as the teleological view), with its determinism “tends to see the world gradually evolving into some ideal state, or a utopian society. From this perspective, rather than being considered as an act of violent aggression by the colonizing force, colonialism is regarded as a necessary phase in the evolutionary development of history into higher forms of society”. (Geoff Damaher, Tony Schirato and John Webb, 2000, pp. 99-100)

To provide an “Archaeological analysis” of Globalization we will employ Wallerstein (Eurocentric) World-System, as structure and an attempt on part of Europe to provide a rational, ordered structure to world space. As Foucault provides “Archaeology” as method of historiography to a “structured” ordered space that constitutes a “singular whole”. The objective of Wallerstein research is also similar that is to implant a structure on world space on basis of functionally specificity of different spatial zones i.e. the core, periphery, and semi-periphery making world appear as a “singularity”. After Foucauldian structure treatment, the structure of World-System will appear as a
whole but based on “architectonic compatibility” and deductive connection between its three tiers.

Foucauldian history of World-System will also help us to make composite relationship, a ‘series of series’ among the trio of spaces (core, semi-periphery and periphery) because this trio has variant political, economic and social traits as well as different versions and multiple shades of modernity that have become the culture of semi-periphery and periphery as well in process of making world as “singularity”.

One expression of “European Modernity” is its mode of political organization i.e. State and State system, which originated in Europe but that is now global in nature. The system reached its present stage by incorporating places, the places other to Europe. As these territories have to become the integral part of this Europe dominated system, norms, values, structures of European modernity were planted in colonial space. Colonial hegemons\textsuperscript{13} devised different strategies of rule to govern different colonial spaces. Unlike Europe the modern ethos was not a result of political trial and error and responsive transformations but the areas received modern ethos from colonial masters. Moreover different spaces entered in European system at different times, for different reasons\textsuperscript{14} to meet different hegemonic needs, the resultant effect is a heterogeneous periphery at various levels of development of modernity.

\textsuperscript{13} Hegemony rests on two pillars i.e. Coercion and consent. European rule was just not a simple form of imposition of European values on subject populace, rather colonial powers especially British created an element of trust and consent for their rule in areas included in British Empire

\textsuperscript{14} Reasons of incorporation were varied. Some areas were incorporated in system as sources of raw material, a market for excessive goods, as sources of active and reserve labor force, and as buffers to protect the markets and Raw material reservoirs from competitors, contenders and rivals
Giddens believe that World System theory is flawed and suffers from economic reductionism looking only on economic processes and neglecting the cultural and political aspects of social change. (Giddens A., 1985, pp. 167-8) Wallerstein also treats World System as ‘single society’ and three tiers core, semi-periphery and periphery as three stratifications of same society having a chance for upward mobility. Peter Taylor describes it as error of developmentalism and result of faith in Rostow theory of growth (Taylor P., 1989, pp. 8-9) providing a utopia to semi-periphery and periphery that they are capable to be included in core by quoting the precedents set by ex colonies i.e. USA and Canada.
Figure 6: Wallerstein World System Model

Although Wallerstein paint world map in three homogenous colors demarcating core, semi-peripheral and peripheral regions a Foucauldian Architect will paint world space with diffuse colors. Hardt and Negri believe that while spatial progression of Europe was linear covering entire global surface but in epoch of globalization we can find centers and peripheries within Europe, as well as within each subordinate country. (Hardt and Negri, 2009, p. 70) We can find surrogates of Eurocenter in peripheral capitals, as well as anti systematic retrogressive ethnic movements in capitals of core zone. Foucauldian narration of World system architecture and history would help us reveal several points of origins, and multiple networks of domination, multiple hierarchies of power and importance multiple teleologies hence multiple ends, while escalating between micro and mega levels, therefore a plurality of historical narrations within a given time zone.

9. Archaeological and Genealogical Framework to Study Globalization

Foucault takes power not as a property of the strong but rather as a force or set of forces (discursive and material), that influence people everyday living and influence
their behaviors. Therefore power is inherent feature of social relation. (Philip, 1985) Contra liberal conception of power as an obstacle, that impedes the development of knowledge by deploying multiple restraints and constraints; Foucault argues that power is an integral component in production of knowledge responsible and is responsible for production of true discourses. Foucault believes that existence of human sciences presupposes the existence of sets of “power relation” and sciences result from a conscious desire to master objects including fellow human species\textsuperscript{16}.

As we have already established in prior during course of our discussion that like Foucault Wallerstein consider Positivist science responsible for production of Eurocentric universals. Twin doctrines of state and capitalism served as structure of rationality for modern world has their origin in Renaissance European state where they first devised their mechanisms of subjugation. Economic changes that resulted in the accumulation of capital and political changes resulting in accumulation of power were not incongruent. (Hubert L. Deryfus and Paul Rabinow, 1983, p. 135)

With spatial expansion of Europe these techniques and procedures also covered the entire surface of globe. Globalization is the process that makes World System appear as a singular structure that leave on insignificant areas as external to world economy and even lesser people untouched by cultural and technological forces of globalization, but globalization theorists face the challenge to address contradictory themes like

- **Globalization/Glocalization** Relation of Global with local and establishment of relations of domination
- **Time/Space** People living in different spaces are living in different times (traditional, modern and postmodern world is present within the global space)

\textsuperscript{16} Foucault believe that led by Enlightenment belief in positivism sciences dealing with human subject matter treat human beings as species, a utilitarian being whose productive potential can be used in production of wealth. (Foucault, Security Territory Population, Lectures at the College De France 1977-78, 2004)
- **Homogeneity/Heterogeneity** A socio-political homogeneity imposed by forces of Eurocentric modernity resulting in heterogeneous hybrid formations

10. **Prepositions**

The prime preposition for this study is that hybrid, heterogeneous, local compositions in “global homogenous singular formation” termed as “Globalization” and people living in different time zones of modernity across different spaces in age of globalization are products of different “governmentalities” (conduct patterns) employed by states to facilitate the requirements of global capitalism.

We have further deconstructed this main preposition in components.

- The governmentality employed in Core states is essentially different from Peripheral states. OR The different patterns of conduct and rules of governance are employed in Eurocenter (West) and non-Western others.

- The will to knowledge is not separate from will to power. Western knowledge produced and sustained the “structures of rationality” and different versions of same political organization i.e. state to sustain hegemonic orders.

- State and Capital are intrinsic to each other and state is still meaningful in this era of triumph of capitalism.

- State is not only the structures of dominance sustaining global and local hegemonies but also provide a conception of “just rule” for resistance movements fighting against global and local forms of subjugations.

This study intends to use Foucauldian toolkits by defining different stages employing as “series” of World System taking Europe as center and indicating continuity in form of linear progression of history. But employing different levels while analyzing successive stage we aim to build a “series of series”, a table of vertical relations making world system as a multi-layered artifact.
Figure 7: Series of Phenomenon leading to Present Age of Globalization

11. Stages and Levels of Analysis

Each successive stage is in itself a field where the questions of the human being, consciousness, origin, and the subject emerge, intersect, mingle, and separate off. Identifying power/knowledge compound producing structure of rationality, mechanism of subjugation, true discourses producing regimes of truth as well as relation of power as discursive and non discursive elements in each successive stage, will help us uncover laws governing that particular age, discovering continuities at the same time not ignoring the phenomenon of rupture and discontinuity as working concept. The methodology described above will help us form a vertical ‘table’ that will help address paradox of Globalization theory.

First stage has roots in Renaissance episteme of Europe, when Power/knowledge compound produced Structure of Rationality with its mechanism of subjugation and true discourses, covering relations of power and games of truth that established Europe supremacy over other continents as base level of Archaeology of Globalization.

We will focus on governmental reason emerging and maturing in Europe, making European state an exemplar for governance practices.

At the same stage our analysis will focus on other strata, the rest of the world. This level of our history series corresponds the same time as above but in spaces ‘other’ to Europe. Description of this portion of our monument will treat ensemble of causes and net work of discursive and non discursive formation sustained by the above
mechanism in colonial area when places of our concern (Balochistan and Niger Delta) were incorporated in world-system as part of colonial states. We aim to have a preview of shifts, colonial governmentality brought in lives of people inhabiting these places, and modernity encounter with tradition in spaces governed by British.

Study of second stage and respective top layer of our edifice will reveal discursive and non-discursive formation leading to “revolution”, and transfer of hegemony from Pax Britannica to Pax Americana, accompanying shifts in games of truth, and mechanisms of subjugation, constructing the structure of rationality for post colonial age, the age of American empire (Pax Americana) i.e. the “Bretton Woods” systemxx and regulated capitalism. Along with Global changes our historical edifice will account evolution of governmentality in post colonial world, accounting postcolonial structures of rationality in Nigeria and Pakistan.

Third stage of Archaeological history will account transformations at global level leading to formation of singularity in this phase as “Globalization” and transformations in state “conduct” rules, accompanied with “Washington Consensus” leading to “anarcho-capitalism”. Conduct rules and exercise of governmentality in Europe leading to an integrated continental block. At other level of analysis during this phase of history we will account retrogressive anti systematic movements of alter modernity in form of “religious revivalism” and primordial ethnic nationalism in post colonial state. These three successive stages will be interpreted according to a model based on archaeological reading but we will append Foucault tool of Genealogy to cover an arena of resistance discourses of alter modernity and anti systemetic movement. The Places and People of our concern in Pakistan (Balochistan) and Nigeria (Niger Delta) are breeding grounds of two multiple resistance forces named ‘ethnicity and ‘religious revivalism’. In both of our cases mounting pressure on state
sovereignty in epoch of Globality is the direct result of “Development governmentality” leading to inequality and marginalization.
Figure 8: Archaeological Frame Work

- Singularity
- Network of Discursive formations & Non-Discursive Environment accounting for singularity
- Multiple Causes as Ensemble of Causes
- Power / Knowledge
- Structure of Rationality
- True Discourse
- Mechanism of Subjugation
- System of Relation
- Games of Truth
Figure 9: Archaeological and Genealogical framework to study Globalization

Genealogical & Level

Archaeological Level

Singularity as Principle Cause

Network accounting for singularity

Ensemble of Causes

System of Relation

Games of Truth

Power / Knowledge

Structure of Rationality

True Discourse

Mechanism of Subjugation
Chapter 2
Hegemonic Governmentality: A nexus of Power/Knowledge and Subjectivity

According to rules of Archaeological Analysis we aim to analyze transformations, ruptures, breaks and discontinuities in the historical epoch starting from 1492. As Archaeological method is determined to reveal vertical structures beneath the surface changes at the same time focusing on multiple units of analysis, we have divided the chapter in three main parts.

First part intends to give a historical purview of process starting in sixteen century Europe that culminated in a single world structure by 1904 when 95% surface of globe was demarcated in European colors and establishment of European World order and a global milieu, a pragmatic structure in which economic circulation can be carried out.

The second part is concerned to trace the mechanisms and strategies of power that gave Europe hegemonic position in world. We intend to account formations (discursive and non-discursive) and transformation, accounting for discourses on science & technology, economy and polity, identify the Power/Knowledge complex and structure of rationality in form of state with particular conduct of conduct (Governmentality) that originated and consolidated in Europe between early and late modern centuries (16th to 19th century), the epoch from Renaissance to Modernity culminating in a Eurocentric world order.

In last part we will discuss the flipside of same development in colonial spaces as colonies enter in time zone of history. We intend to reveal the violent power of
discourses in colonies and account the changes for whom the structure of rationality (hegemonic governmentality) imposed by colonial rule is responsible.

Part 1: Making World in Order (Formation of Singularity)

12. Age of Conquest and Discovery

Origin of present World order, are rooted in trade rivalry between Muslims and Europeans. Prior to voyage of discovery Italian city states especially Genoa and Venice grew in wealth due to their strategic position between Europe and Western signposts of Asian trade route. Due to competition for shares of Eurasian trade, War was a regular feature of their relations\textsuperscript{17}. But another bone to their commercial designs was Muslims, so they inhibited Muslim merchants from venturing into Christian territories. With Turk victory of Constantinople in 1453, Italian city state lost an important settlement and confirmed Ottoman as “the most powerful empire of the Europe”. (Brotton, 2006, p. 28) The loss was a new beginning, when an all water route became the first priority for European traders and European Sea powers (Iberian Powers). From the beginning of 15\textsuperscript{th} century Venetian, Genoese, Florentine and German merchants were providing finance to Portuguese voyages by offering a percentage of their profit to Portuguese monarch. (Brotton, 2006, p. 34)

\textsuperscript{17} From the 14\textsuperscript{th} century fought competitors like Genoa and Florence to establish its dominance on trade of luxury goods like spices, cotton, silk, satin, velvet, carpets, opium, tulips, and precious stones etc. Trade activity was carried on from Red Sea to Indian Ocean culminating at Alexandria. (Brotton, 2006, p. 23)
Portugal was the first European nation already unified in 11th Century, transformed the re-conquest against Muslims into a new beginning i.e. of Atlantic mercantile expansion.

The conquest of Ceuta in 1415 set the course of many future developments. Muslim prisoners revealed vital information concerning the profitable route across Sahara with Negro Kingdom Sudan, that was for centuries remained a source of ivory, slaves and gold in return of various manufactured goods and salt. (Stavrianos, 1975, p. 259) The discovery determined the future course of Mercantile “Tri-continental trade”. But it was not a new discovery in any sense but continuations of previous patterns of inter regional rivalries.

Efforts to Discover All Sea Route to India and Discovery of Americas

Age of discovery started with efforts of Iberian explorers to discover an all sea route to heart of inter regional trade India. Columbus and Vasco de Gama voyages were efforts for the same “Utopia” of European dreams “India”. Columbus planned to reach east by traveling West, while Gama planned to travel south past the huge continent of Africa and then East via famous Cape route to India (Stavrianos, 1975, pp. 260-264). Both reached India, latter to South Western Coast of India (Joe Painter and Alex Jeffery, 2009, p. 172) on 22 May 1498 and former landed to one of the Bahamas Island, he named San Salvador on August 2, 1492, and considered the place very near to Japan and his next set destination was Japan (Stavrianos, 1975, p. 260). The Spanish monarch sponsored three additional expedition led by Columbus in 1493, 1498 and 1502 (Joe Painter and Alex Jeffery, 2009, p. 172) during which he discovered numerous islands, named them and explored the mainland coastal area of the region from Costa Rica to Honduras. Spaniards were benefitted by the illusion that they have reached India. “Had they realized that they had stumbled instead on a great
continental barrier between Europe and Asia, they might very well have turned away from what appeared to be an unprofitable wilderness”. (Stavrianos, 1975, p. 260)

**Iberian Expansion in Heathen Lands and Mayan Inca Holocaust by Conquistadors**

Before the discovery of Americas, Portuguese Empire consisted of tiny possession of trade posts in Africa and East. First extensive overseas European empires were established in New World by Spain18 and Portugal19. In Treaty of Tordesillas Pope Alexander VI defined a line of demarcation defining territorial claims of two European Powers on heathen lands. (Taylor P., 1989, p. 3)

The Iberian expansion proved a great source of Wealth for Spanish and Portuguese Crowns, which were united from 1580-1640. Precious metals, particularly Silver, were “stripped from America by the tonne and shipped back to Europe” (Joe Painter and Alex Jeffery, 2009, p. 174). Discovery of Bullion in New World also helped Portuguese to sustain their Spice trade with India in absence of any European exchangeable commodity.

Conquistadors, the soldier adventurers responsible for construction of overseas European Empire laid waste to great American civilizations of Mayans and Incas and Aztec. (Joe Painter and Alex Jeffery, 2009, p. 174) (Brotton, 2006, pp. 265-66)The population of each of these empires numbered tens of millions. (Diamond, 2010, pp. 85-86) By 1550, the conquistadors work was complete and it was possible for Iberians to settle in considerable numbers in the New World and to impose and practice their culture. First European outside settlement started with this first known holocaust in human history i.e. of indigenous populations.

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18 Spanish empire in particular expanded rapidly through the Caribbean, Central and South America, and north through Mexico into present day California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas and beyond.

19 The Portuguese were active in South America into present day Brazil.
Emerging Class of European Sailors and further Discoveries
One of the cause as well as effect of all these developments was rise of a professional class of European explorers mainly of Portuguese and Italian descent. They were men who gave their national allegiance but little importance, and ready to undertake explorations for any monarch willing to sponsor their voyages. One such person was John Cabot sent out by Henry VII of England in 1496, towards North Atlantic, which was beyond the limits of Iberian activity. Cabot was unable to discover bullions but his “Newfoundland” was teeming with fish, an important resource for the people of fifteen and sixteen century Europe suffering from acute food shortage in winter. The export of dry Cod fish solved the problem of food scarcity in Europe. (Stavrianos, 1975, p. 272)

Iberian Decline and Rise of Dutch, British and French
At this point “Spanish-Portuguese” hegemony to construct a worldwide colonial empire was challenged by Dutch (got independence from Spain in 1584) and British trade imperialism. Dutch challenged Portuguese hegemony by building their naval power and started acquiring information about Cape Route to India. Dutch Naval power gave it a hegemonic position in seventeenth century. But British and French who were neighbors in West Indies, North America and Africa, were also creeping for the hegemonic position and eighteen century is marked with Anglo-French rivalry for hegemony. In 1599, and 1602 British and Dutch East India Company were granted charters by their respective monarchs. It was the start of commercial affairs between East and West. Dutch destination was Spice Islands of South East Asia, while English started to establish links with Mughal Emperors of India. While Portuguese facilitators were local ruler of Southern India, British policy to get access to Mughal Emperor Akbar gave them more strength relative to Portuguese. In Mughal Empire British encountered a civilization much greater in magnificence and grandeur as
compared to one they have back home. But this mega imperial edifice started collapsing in first half of eighteenth century. Among many would be indigenous and European contenders to Mughal throne, it was British East India Company enjoying the patronage of British Government who emerged as successful in “securing their hold over what was later to be known as ‘the jewel in British Crown’”. (Stavrianos, 1975, pp. 279-282) Width of British Empire on Golden Jubilee of Empress Victoria can be measured in this simple phrase, an empire “where sun never sets” (Taylor P., 1989, p. 113).

Completion of a Tri Continental Structure of Trade
Final tide of imperialist expansion aimed towards Africa, a vital and bloody link in “triangular trade”20. “For centuries most valuable of African resource for Europeans were slaves”. (Joe Painter and Alex Jeffery, 2009, p. 175) The trade began in 1442, when two navigators of Prince Henry took twelve African slaves to Lisbon. Slavery was already an established institution in Africa. In 1510 first shiploads of African slaves was shipped to the New World satisfying the urgent need for labor in sugar, cotton, tobacco plantation, well underway after annexation and plantation of Colonies in America. Portugal dominated slave trade in sixteen century, Holland during seventeenth and British in eighteen century. Originally trade was an exchange of necessity and luxury with an external area of world-system. By seventeenth century this external area became an integral component of structuration of world and Africa was incorporated in World System as periphery and reserve of labor force. (Taylor P., 1989, p. 112) All around the coast of Africa, Europeans established small colonies serving as trading posts. In the early nineteenth century, the interior of continent was

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20 Slaves were exported from Africa in return of Rum and other finished items, these slaves worked on sugar, tobacco and cotton plantations. Raw material was exported metro pole of system and converted into finished goods. These goods were in turn exchanged for Raw material from America and slaves from Africa.
unknown to Europeans regarding it “Dark Continent” and terra nullius (empty space). However during a period of thirty five years between 1880 and 1914, the entire African space, its population, and resources, had been carved up between the European powers.

**Completion of World Map by Discovery of Australia**

Last continent to be discovered by European was the lost island of European mythology, Australia in 1801-2. Until 1851 it served the purpose of British penal colony. British denied the presence of (Ab) original population and declared it a terra nullius like Americas, and inland Africa. Discovery of Gold made it and New Zealand a focus of British settlers and area was transformed into major exporter of agricultural products. (Joe Painter and Alex Jeffery, 2009, p. 175)

**Age of Empire/ Age of Globality**

The process that started in year 1492 with the discovery of Americas, and most obvious result was the “configuration of globe as a whole determined and charted”. (Stavrianos, 1975, p. 293) By 1815 35% world mass was European property and in year 1904, 85% land surface of Globe was covered by Europe and in 1914, World was operating as a functional Economic totality and singularity. Total area of seven European Metro poles21 was, 707,116 square miles while the total satellite area covered by these powers was 20,453,831 Square miles. So a European population of 205,453,831 people were controlling the fate of European other 3.59 times22 more than the population of Europe. (Stavrianos, 1975, p. 333) Though Hegemony was transferred from Spain to Holland (Dutch) and finally to Great Britain, shifts in hegemony were purely a European affair in first phase of our analysis.

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21 Seven colonial powers referred were United Kingdom, France, Germany, Belgium, Portugal, Netherland and Italy.
22 Total number of Population residing in colonies was 530,493654 people
Peter Taylor drawing on Wallerstein delimits the initial European World-system as consisting of Western Europe, Eastern Europe and those parts of South and Middle America under Iberian control. The rest of the World was external arena. System also included the ring of Portuguese ports around Indian and Pacific oceans which were the traditional outposts’ facilitating trade of luxury goods. Bullion and raw material from newly incorporated spaces, slaves from Africa and finished goods from the European Core not only established the patterns of trade but ascribed functional roles to different spaces of the “whole” (the World-system). (Taylor P., 1989, p. 16)

Onwards, the world economy expanded by incorporation of Caribbean, North Americas, India, East Asia, Australia, Africa and finally the Pacific Islands.

The simplest form of incorporation was plunder, supplemented by settlement. Aboriginal systems were abolished and new societies, polities and economies were built in Americas and Australia. The societies that remained intact had to face the process of peripheralization and a subordinate position by a reorientation of their societal, political and economic structure to meet the need of the world economy. The objective of restructuring, reorienting, refashioning were achieved by core either by gaining political control (the case of India), or “opening up an area to market forces” (China).

Incorporation was a process of peripheralization for majority of world spaces and people under the dominance of core, the “Europe”. However Japan’s inclusion in World System was in many respects an exceptional process because Japan’ inclusion in world system was neither a result of imperial subjugation nor it was a planted settlement, rather its modernity was result of internal process of reform and transformation.
We can understand the process of incorporation by two examples given by Frank. Indian economy was organized to provide cotton to Lanka Shire and Australian pastures were a source of wool for York Shire. Both countries were serving the same functions but two cases of production of raw material were different in the sense because peripheral function was imposed by core on India while Australia was a transplantation of core with its white population. (Taylor P., 1989, p. 16)

13. **Origin of Globalization in Age of Empire**

We can find origins of intensification of worldwide social relation (Mittleman, Giddens), underdevelopment based on core-peripheral divide, Inequality between Core and Peripheries and regional economic disparities within the third world states that signify the era of Globalization (present) in the age we studied above.

Giddens characterizes present age of Globalization as the “intensification of World Wide Social relations, which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away or vice versa” (Giddens A., 1990). Geographers of the era we are presently discussing were the first who discovered the concept of “time-distance” and replaced physical distance with “time-distance”. For Taylor “the world was shrinking and in process of becoming a viable political unit”. It was a connected world in all respects, where the steamships and Imperial postal services were instrumental in forging empires together. Britain laid thousands of miles of submarine cables and with introduction of electric telegraphy “annihilation of space by time” became a reality and in 1897; Queen Victoria’s jubilee message was sent in seconds to all corners of empire by telegraph. (Taylor P., 1989, pp. 113-14) Empire’s power and magnificence was felt in East as well in West, North as well as South in real time. Entire Globe was in domain of Royal Navy. The greatest distance between its coaling station on islands and major ports were at the
interval of three thousand miles on all the shipping routes, and route to “Jewel of Crown” India was the main street of Empire. In that age Britain was in process of creating a World State. (Taylor P. , 1989, p. 116)

We can find another feature of present day globalization, the developed core and underdeveloped periphery in World System around 1880. Hobsbawm believes that “in 1880, we were therefore not dealing with a single world, as with two sectors combined together in to a global system: the developed and the lagging, the dominant and dependent, the rich and the poor….while the (smaller) first world, in spite of its considerable internal disparities, was united by history and as the common bearer of capitalist development, the (much larger) second world was united by nothing except its relation with, that is to say its potential or actual dependency on ,the first”. (Hobsbawm, 1987, 2003, p. 16)

Another phenomenon characteristic of present “Regional Disparities with in Semi peripheral states” also has roots in the epoch when small number of European powers, i.e. Spain, Portugal, Dutch, British and French, established the dominance of Europe as core and assigned functional roles to peripheral world and in process further restructured Periphery into core and peripheral zones. Wallerstein identifies Core Zones in periphery producing for the world market. Colonial administration ensured infrastructure, including ports and railways to facilitate and create “island of developments” in Peripheral countries to ensure circulation. Surrounding each ‘development island’, was a zone of production for local market producing food for the labor attracted to first zone development islands. Remainder became a zone of subsistence agriculture which is integrated into the world economy as source of labor to be exported to the first zone. (Taylor P. , 1989, pp. 112-113)
The time travel from fifteen to nineteen century, from renaissance episteme to modem episteme, generated a picture of “global ecumene” (Stavrianos, 1975, p. 293). The age broadened Western man’s horizon and made globe a “milieu” in Foucauldian terms. For Foucault milieu is a set of “natural givens” i.e. rivers, marshes and hills as well as “artificial givens” i.e. individuals and their habitats etc. So Milieu is for Foucault a “certain number of combined, overall effects bearing on all who live in it”, it is also an element (space) in which circular links can be produced between cause and effects. The age squared off Global space as an element of milieu and Western Imperial Powers assumed the role of “architects” and “regulators” of milieu, giving them sovereign powers. (Foucault, 2004) It was an age of global diffusion of man, animals, and plants of divergent planetary spaces separated by natural barriers. It was the inception of state system “with single capitalist global economy” (Stavrianos, 1975, pp. 293-295), an age was about to start where cultural particularities were giving way to universal cultural ethos of modernity, global polities were patternized on the pattern of European reforms. It was the formative phase of present age of globality, with modernity its culture and capitalism its economy.

23 Foucault borrowed the term from Lamarckian Biology. But Foucault believes that term was originally used by Newtonian mechanics. It is a medium that account for action at a distance of one body on other. It is therefore medium of action and element in which it circulates. The milieu then will be that in which circulation takes place. (Foucault, 2004, p. 21)
Figure 10: A Global Milieu of Circulation (1880-1914)
14. **Factors responsible for Eurocentric World Order**

A question that often haunts historians is, “why the history turned out the way” and a small number of European powers dominated the world milieu, and accrued its wealth. Great Civilization like Mayans and Incas were exterminated by Conquistadors. Remaining indigenous people of Americas and Australian Aboriginals became aliens in their ancestral land and today they live in European demarcated states under special rules. Although Africans and Indian sustained and survived the European bondage and were to an extent successful in breaking the shackles but their cultures and polities underwent transformation because the trammels of European rules produced hybrid cultures and polities.

As archaeologist we are concerned with the process of becoming. So we ask the same itching questions as asked by Diamond (2010) “why did the history turned out that way instead of the opposite. Why were not Native Americans, Africans, and Aboriginal Australians the ones who conquered or exterminated the Europeans”? He further adds “Was it possible for any Aztec or Incan to reach Europe before Cortes and Pizzaro”? The reply is simple no, because difference between, these civilizations and that of European was technology personified in the form of well staffed, well equipped oceangoing ships. Equally pivotal was the role of European writings and a quick flow of accurate detailed information, including maps, sailing directions, and explorer accounts to motivate successive generations of explorers.

Europe transformed the world but “European hegemony” is rooted in radical internal transformations (starting from Renaissance), that changed the entire face of “Europa” of 1400. (Brotton, 2006, p. 78) Social formations that developed in Europe were a radical break from past and emergence of a new episteme. This new mode of
economic and social organization exhibited conquest dynamism, greatly disproportionate to all earlier as well as the other societies.

Samir Amin believes that capitalist society was founded in this new era we now know as “Renaissance”. Renaissance humanist political treatises, conception of progress and scientific technological innovations like printing press, and their systematic use to develop the forces of production were both causes and effects. Renaissance world was free from the domination of metaphysics. He further ascertain that crystallization of capitalist society and European conquest of the world are two dimensions of the same development, but capitalism as potential world system did not existed until it became conscious of its conquest potential. Capitalist world system therefore structured around the Atlantic marginalizing in turn the old Mediterranean center. (Amin, 1989, p. 73)

The other related question is that ‘why other continents missed the Renaissance? What was special in Europe causing the emergence of Renaissance only on this particular continental mass? The ideological mythological construct attribute two unique traits of Europeanness, i.e. Greek ancestry and Christianity. Greek was considered “as mother of rationality” and Christianity as European religion was more favorable than any other religion to develop and produce rational individuals capable enough to conquer and dominate the most voracious aspects of nature. Samir Amin considers that the myth was sustained in European educational institute. (Amin, 1989, p. 77)

These myths sustained Eurocentrism by uncovering specific European traits. But another related outcome was racist European practices. We believe that Europeans race was as human as other races on other continents, not bearing any superhuman traits. Then what went right with Europeans and wrong with all the others? The
answer to all question raised in this section is that European ships brought conquistadores to America and that those ships were backed by “Centralized Political Organizations” i.e. the states of Europe. (Diamond, 2010) The period from Renaissance to modernity witnessed “a process of rationalization in art of governance”, prior to all the intellectual and scientific breakthroughs, and it was this “art of conduct”, of “governing human beings” that made Europe and Europeans exceptional.

Foucault and Tilly consider the process of state making responsible for dismantling the old feudal structures and establishing organized political setups in form of “territorial administrative states”. (Foucault, 2004, p. 88) Tilly [Tilly referred in (Taylor P. , 1989)], estimation is that in 1500 Europe was culturally homogenous but politically decentralized consisting of almost 1500 political units. By 1900 there were just 20 states in Europe and it had imposed its inter-state system. Next section is concerned with discourses and system of relations, relations of power, and mechanisms of subjugation specific to Europe which according to Foucault is a “geographical division, a plurality, is not cut off from the world but its relation with whole world marks the very specificity of Europe in relation to the world, its relation with rest of the world is a relation of economic domination or colonization or at any rate of commercial utilization” (Foucault, 2004, p. 298)
Part 2: Governmentality and Rise of Europe

This portion of our study is based on Foucauldian study of “practico-reflexive prism” (Foucault, 2004) “State” that emerged as an absolute category in Europe replacing the two Universals i.e. Church and Empire at the end of sixteen and beginning of seventeen century. Foucault lectures at College De France from 1977-1978, titled as Security, Territory, Population, show “some sides or edges of ….reflexive prism, in which problem of state appeared in sixteen century”. (Foucault, 2004) The prima facie of these lectures is to study, the set of processes at a given moment when state in effect entered and dominated the practices and everyday lives of people. State became a cornerstone of discussions for those “who governed, for those who advised the governors, and for those who reflected on governments, the actions of government and determinant factors in the development of state apparatuses”, and transformed from a symbol into “an active, concerted and reflective practice”. (Foucault, 2004, p. 276) Brotton also identify a number of political treatises reflecting on issue of governance in the same period. (Brotton, 2006)

Next concern of these lectures is “Population” because for Foucault population is the only essential explanation for the question “what is the end of State” in either case. Population is virtually present if the reply is that end is “state itself” as much as in the explanation that “state is meant for people who inhabit it”.

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24 Two concerns of political theorists since Platonic time is their concern and debate on the issue that whether state is an end in itself and population and humans inhabiting the state have to spend their life to achieve the purpose of state or state is organized to attain the progress prosperity and welfare of inhabitants.
During the span between Renaissance and modernity Europe was transforming its feudal structures into an organized administrative state. At crossroad of state centralization and religious dispersion and dissidence, the general problematic of governance aroused, “how to be governed, by whom, and to what extent”, population became the subject, subject to power and subjected by power and also the major determinant in construction of particular “regime of truth”. The power that produced the European Subject at that particular moment is signified by Foucault as the Bio-Power, a “set of mechanisms through which the biological features of human species became an object of a political strategy, of a general strategy of power”. (Foucault, 2004, p. 1) “Bio-Power brought life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations and made knowledge/power an agent for transforming humans ….."Threshold of modernity" has been reached when the life of the species is wagered on its own political strategies. For millennia, man remained what he was for Aristotle: a living animal with the additional capacity for a political existence; modern man is an animal whose politics places his existence as a living being in question”. (Foucault, 1978, p. 143) Foucault considers these mechanisms of power “intrinsic part of all relations”, political, social, and economic, and is therefore concerned with the valid investigation and identification of such power mechanics “at a given moment, for a given period, in a given field”, the moment of European dominance.

Target of bio power for Foucault was territory as well as bodies, because the concern of philosophy (politics of truth) in this era was Sovereignty, Discipline, and Security. To Foucault “Sovereignty is exercised on the multiplicity of subjects, i.e. multiplicity of people in a given territory”, “discipline is exercised over bodies of individuals and security is exercised over a whole population”. (Foucault, 2004, p. 11)

15. Disciplinary Power and Productive Subjects
Foucault asserts that for a “sovereign to be powerful” his rule must be established on a vast territory, but to calculate his power we must take into account his finances as well. So population become the “blazon of sovereign power” due to reason that population is a productive force that can convert the set of natural givens of milieu into a production zone. So the fundamental element of milieu is population of which the sovereign is a regulator and architect. Because Population is the force that “guarantees abundant harvests”, ensuring that grain will be provided to capable workforce engaged in manufacturing at low price, so that state can operate without import of essentials (the food stuff). A productive population saves gold and silver in return of imports. It also “ensure competition within possible workforce” of state, ensuring low wages as guarantee for exports and hence opening new vistas of state strength. So the population was the main focus of economic doctrines of 16th and 17th century, like, Mercantilism and Cameralism, but the population could only become the source of state’s wealth and power when it was framed and subjected to regulatory apparatuses of state. (Foucault, 2004, pp. 67-69)

Capitalism would not have been possible without the insertion of disciplined and orderly individuals into mechanisms of production. Foucault believes that it was “Disciplinary technology” that converted human being into “utilitarian beings” as “docile” bodies. For Foucault disciplinary power produced a being (human), who could be treated as “docile body”, the body that was the real force behind all kinds of production activities. (Hubert L. Deryfus and Paul Rabinow, 1983, p. 135) It was a source of wealth, a source of sovereign finances and his (ad) ventures to acquire new territories, hence broadening the width of the milieu under sovereign’s regulation.

For Foucault Capitalism and State are intrinsic to each other. Without one other could not have been possible. Economic changes which resulted in accumulation of capital
and political changes which resulted in accumulation of power were not entirely separate and independent of each other's influence. Concern of Sovereignty and discipline was multiplicity. Both mechanisms generated a field to intervene, and created a space for discourse to do its act of violence and use its productive potential to produce new formations. He adds that “discipline is a mode of individualization of multiplicities” (Foucault, 2004, p. 12), discipline generates codes of permitted and forbidden. Its techniques are based upon monastic model of life, that constant regulates monk’s life. Discipline determines “what one must do” and implicit meaning is that everything else outside the domain of “what one must do” is prohibited and forbidden. Foucault describes five essential functions of discipline.

- Disciplinary mechanism breaks down the individual simultaneously permitting the power to modify individual to conform to norms.
- Discipline classifies the components and identifies them according to their definitive objectives. i.e. what are the actions of achieving particular results: what workers are best suited for the particular task etc
- Discipline establishes optimal sequences and coordination: How can action are linked together? How can soldiers be deployed for a maneuver? Etc. etc.
- Discipline fixes the processes of progressive training and permanent control.
- Discipline establishes the division between those who are considered suitable and capable and others

Therefore, Discipline codifies a system of norms in terms of obligatory and forbidden, in terms that only obligatory is allowed, and everything else is forbidden. Discipline makes a sphere of obligations, in which specific norms are inculcated in population. Disciplinary mechanisms owe their method to monastic life so Foucault ascertains that there was a return to Stoicism during the period. “Discipline analyses and breaks
down; it breaks down individuals, places, time, movements, actions and operations”. Purpose is to observe and then modify them and bring conformity to a model. (Foucault, 2004, pp. 46-57)

He argues that Disciplinary technologies were underplaying the growth, spread and triumph of capitalism. A system of mass education was introduced to produce a docile and controllable workforce, a productive population. So it was disciplinary technologies, which underlie the triumph of capitalism on all the previous systems. Insertion of disciplined, orderly individuals into process of production made capitalist system capable of meeting new demands effectively. (Hubert L. Deryfus and Paul Rabinow, 1983, p. 135)

16. Political Subjection (From Species to Public)

Foucault identifies a similar phenomenon about population in Political domain also, and that is the entry of “nature” into political arena, into the field as a “technique of power”. “Nature” for Foucault was not the entity on or against which, a sovereign had to impose laws and command allegiance; rather sovereign in that age deployed “nature” in reflected procedures of government. Sovereign ruled over human nature “with help of it, and with regard to it”. Through these procedures human beings were immersed in a “general regime of living beings”. Foucault calls it the end of mankind and emergence of “human species” whose constants and regularities were there to be identified and modified for the benefit of all.

From economic aspect population was species having a utilitarian potential for capitalism. Almost at about same time notion of “Public” appeared in political doctrines and discourses of 18th century. Population emerged as public seen “under the aspect of its opinion, ways of doing things forms of behavior, customs, fears, prejudices and requirements”.
Sovereign has to engrave norms in human cognition to command habitual allegiance from the subjects and convert them into utilitarian beings, a productive source of material wealth for state. As human beings were a species whose behavior can be predicted within certain limits, the political technicians of era used the element of “Desire” in human psyche as strategy of power and governance. For Foucault “Desire” became the basis of human action. “Individuals can do nothing against desire” As it was not possible to change people against their desire. So this natural element of desire was given a free but not the fair play. “Desire is the pursuit of individual’s interest. In his desire the individual may well be deceived, by production of a collective interest favorable for population”. This interest will preserve the naturalness of population and provide an artificial means to sovereign to employ, modify, adapt, and manage the population. (Foucault, 2004, pp. 70-73)

Traditional conception of sovereignty for theorists of “Natural Law”, like Hobbes and Rousseau, Sovereign is the only person who can say “no” to individual’s desires. Foucault visualize the arena when sovereign had to say “no” to the desires and subject’ only concern was to convert this “no”, in affirmation. Foucault believes that theoretical instruments of Physiocrates Utilitarian doctrines were devised to bring conformity in Sovereign and Subject’ desires and base political rule on subject’ will by constructing collective interests. (Foucault, 2002, pp. 192-93)

The bio-power produced politico-economic subjects in an artificial, created space “Town”, that not only transformed the old feudal hierarchical structures, broke the traditional bond with land, and replaced the population’ right to live with only one right, “right to sell labor” (Chomsky, 2003, p. 252), in turn providing an impetus not only for Industrial Revolution but also laid foundation of “Welfare state”, that remain a dream to be politicized for majority of world population to this day.
17. Discourse on Political Economy

Foucault says that “A town is built where previously there was nothing”, perfect for the exercise of disciplinary techniques that can be worked out in an artificial space. It also provided an artificial habitat for human species where its “nature” can be observed and molded to attain the intended objectives. It was the site where humans underwent the process of “endo-colonialism”. Town was the perfect schema, for “disciplinary treatment of multiplicities”, and construction and organization of new “artificial multiplicities”, constructed and organized for hierarchical construction of society, communication of relations of power, and functional aspects specific to economic distribution, e.g. ensuring trade. Town was necessary for circulation so that goods from outside can be arrived and dispatched.

Towns were created to solve the scourge of food scarcity but these towns provided a market for food stuff where it can be sold for better prices all round the year. Corn Laws gave feudal Lords right to raise the price of corns as well as the right to hoard grain. Towns ensured a whole year supply of grains but food stuff were channelized to areas where it can bring profit rather than where it is most needed, causing famine and food shortage in peripheral areas like Ireland that produced food. It also provided a kind of first surplus capital to be invested in manufacturing. Town was also the site of industrialization. Phenomena of town building offer a possible explanation, why Great Britain was the first state to get a breakthrough in industrial revolution. (Flucher, 2004, pp. 19-23) In England from 1750 to 1860, Parliament Acts enclosed communal agriculture. So Earliest inhabitants of these towns were population forcibly driven off the land they had been farming for generations as well as the feudal turned traders. Karl Marx wrote in Communist Manifesto that “from the serfs of the Middle Ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burgesses the first
elements of the bourgeoisie were developed”. (Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels, 20th Jan 2003) Chomsky validate it as one of the main reason why England led the industrial revolution “because it was more violent in driving people off the land than other places” While in other places like France people resisted the phenomena and remained on the land. (Chomsky, 2003, pp. 252-253)

So town was the place where new elements emerged and incorporated in everyday practices of the people and with passage of time became an integral part of normal behavior of humans. These new formations that appeared in that age can be broadly categorized as the Production psychology and behavior of producers and consumers; a class of importers and exporters; and a market having links with World market.

It was also the background against which according to Foucault discipline of Political economy emerged “quantifying wealth, measuring its circulation” and determining the role of currency. It was also the introduction of population in the field of “economic theory and practice”, when Marx and Malthus analyzed wealth on “Ricardian basis” and “subject-object” frame defining “specific role of producers and consumers, owners and non owners, those who create profit and those who take it, economic relations and disruptive effects of these economic effects and practices. Both Bio-Economic analysis of Malthus and Historical-Political formation of Class and Class Struggle by Karl Marx were associated to the address the problem of population, and its governance according to its “nature”, and “conformation of subject’s object will” according to the desire based collective interests. (Foucault, 2004, pp. 76-77)

Chomsky also contends that under feudal system, people had certain rights according to their place in system, and they all had one basic right i.e. the right to live, but under classical economics population has only the right to what they can gain of themselves
on the labor market. During the period England drove millions of peasants out of their land but maintained a minimum “Right to live” by “Poor Laws providing a limited subsidy on food. This initial form of Welfare legislation was intrinsically related to economic governance of population as well as to avoid the turmoil of population revolt. (Chomsky, 2003, p. 252)

18. Right Disposition of Things (Governmentality) and State as Embodiment of Governmental Rationality

So far our analysis has focused on process of political and economic Subjectification and relation of powers originating from mechanism of subjugation and process of endo-colonization by interfering with human nature through disciplinary strategies in artificially constructed spaces. But the object of state was more comprehensive and total than that. The whole apparatus of governance had to fabricate, organize and plan a milieu, a set of natural and artificial givens, having a comprehensive bearing and impact on the life of all those who live in it. During the period treatises on art of governance emerged like Machiavelli Prince, Thomas Moore’s Utopia etc. Foucault read Prince as strategy of power whose immediate target was territory and its inhabitants. Foucault quoting La Perrier deliver that it is not just territory and its inhabitants but a sort of complex of men and other things that are present in territory, and government is the “right disposition of things”. “Things government must be concerned about are men in their relationships, bonds, and complex involvement with things like wealth, resources, means of subsistence, the territory with its borders, qualities, climate, dryness and fertility, and so on. Things are men in their relationship with things like customs, habits, ways of acting and thinking, and finally men in their relationship with things like accidents, misfortunes, famine, epidemics, and death” So end of sovereignty and governance was internal to things it directs.
For perfection, maximization and intensification territorial monarchies devised administrative apparatuses based on sovereign wisdom that was precisely “sovereign’s knowledge of things”. So a new form of knowledge for sake of exercise of power began to develop at the end of sixteen century and evolved into a fully fledged and equipped discipline in seventeenth century, i.e. the “knowledge of state”. Its subject matter was state, its elements, and factors contributing to states strength, hence a “science of state” was developed and named as Statistics.

Mercantilism and Cameralism rationalized the exercise of power in terms of knowledge acquired through statistics, as principles to increase the wealth of state. So monarchy assumed the role of administrator. With this came a shift with respect to population and instead of “blazon of sovereign power” it became an end in itself, the end of government, an instrument to address its need and aspirations. Foucault calls the process Governmentality, by which state of justice of Middle Ages became administrative state and “governmentalized”. So an ensemble of institutions, procedures, calculations and tactics that “allow the exercise of complex power as population its target”, appeared as rationality involved in practice of governance. Foucault considers this shift as the beginning of “modernity”, and our present. To him modernity is not the “state’s takeover of society, so much as the “governmentalization” of state”. (Foucault, 2004, pp. 96-110)

For Foucault modern state was born when Governmentality was crystallized and became a calculated and reflected practice. For Foucault Christian pastorate was the background of this “art of governing men”, because Christian societies used the pastoral methods and techniques to make men subject to law and sovereign. The Christian pastor and his sheep are bound together in an extremely complex and subtle relation of responsibility. Foucault break another myth that religion was displaced in
modernity, rather he says that “it was not the interplay between church and state, but between the pastorate and government”. So Religion was incorporated in governmental reasoning. Pastoral functions were taken up in the exercise of Governmentality. All modern functions of states from waging war, to health services and formation of political parties have their origins in Christianity and pastoral practices. (Foucault, 2004, pp. 135-40)

Foucault believes that modern state, as milieu, as set of laws, rules, and customs emerged after all these processes as a domain and as a condition of life. State is for Foucault a “principle of intelligibility and strategic schema, a regulatory idea of governmental reason”. Modern state established a connection and relation of certain already given elements like population, territory, government and sovereign to establish an administrative set up. The state is “what must exist at the end of the process of rationalization of the art of government”. State emerged as an absolute category displacing two institutions “Empire”, and “Church” having claim on universality and a final destiny i.e. the incorporation of all areas of earth in a world system. (Foucault, 2004, pp. 285-290)

19. Root of Colonialism in Westphalian State System

Modern state system emerged after the “treaty of Westphalia”, “when two great forms of universality, became a sort of empty envelope, an empty shell and lost their meaning and vocation”. Absolute units (states) emerged with “no subordination and dependence between them”. Foucault see the process of colonization and imperialism as natural outcome of the environment where these absolute units has to assert themselves in a space of “increased, extended and intensified economic exchange”, they have to compete for dominance, not over each other but West’s Other, rest of the world. So a small number of European states competed in an arena of colonial
conquest, control of seas, control of markets, and control of resources etc etc. State expansion was the *raison d'état* of state because it was established that state can only be preserved by increasing its force.

Foucault also considers that this principle found its embodiment in Spain “which through the dynastic channels of the Empire and the family in command of it” considered itself the legitimate heir to “universal monarchy”. After absorption of Portugal it embraced the leadership of the European voyage to build the first maritime empire. European States were no more rivals but competitors. Foucault identifies two processes necessary to establish hegemony and its decline originating in Post-Westphalian environment that remains valid till today.

- “Any state, provided it has the means, the extent, and can really define its claim, will seek like Spain” and can occupy a dominant position *Vis a Vis* other states.
- Spain became enriched and then became impoverished, even more quickly. So a state can become impoverished by the excess of power. (Foucault, 2004, pp. 292-93)

Phenomenon is observable in hegemonic states and their decline like, Spain, Portuguese, Dutch, British and future holds the answer that phenomenon will remain true for USA also or not.

### 20. Colonies as Means to Save European States from Internal Collapse

The period from Renaissance to Modernity witnessed the emergence of state system and capitalism, a spectacular rise in material wealth of European state’ dominance over rest of the world, but it was also the backdrop against which the theories of Karl Marx matured. The period also witnessed poverty, ever deteriorating living conditions,
unrest among downtrodden classes and regions of Europe, class antagonism, and famine in European peripheral regions like Ireland etc. It was Europe that was also haunted by the “specter of communism” (Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels, 20th Jan 2003), in face “Of Sedition and Troubles”. (Bacon) Coup d’état, or sedition, was knocking European industrial cities. Foucault quoting Bacon enumerates two types of material causes of sedition, “arising from belly” and “arising from head”. Sedition may be caused by extreme unbearable poverty, and discontent about some group position in system. (Foucault, 2004, pp. 267-69) Europe in that era was the breeding ground of both causes of sedition. At one side there were an ever increasing number of work forces facing the traumas of extreme, unbearable poverty, and also there were internal colonies like Ireland facing the problem of poverty and prestige both. There are many possible explanations of how industrialized states of Europe survived themselves from the wraths of revolution and sedition. We believe that *raison d’état* saved the European states like Britain on the verge of violent civil war by establishing external colonies.

Michael Hector considers that “the notion of acquisition of new territory accompanied by subsequent increase in state wealth is a means of mediating internal conflicts”. Hechter too refers Bacon for his argument that colonization of Ireland relieved English overpopulation, reduced the risk of internal revolt due to food shortage, and simultaneously strengthened the “Crown”. (Hechter, 1978, p. 236) Hechter also quotes Cecil Rhodes remarks of 1895, “I listened wild speeches, which were just a cry for “bread”, and my cherished idea …to save 40,000,000, inhabitants of United Kingdom from bloody civil war... is to acquire new lands to settle surplus population, and to provide new markets for goods produced by them. The Empire is a bread and butter question”. (Hechter, 1978, p. 239)
Utilitarian thinkers like Bentham who considered colonies a financial burden on the mother country also saw in colonies an exit for unemployed population. He considered colonies as a means to prevent excessive population, “by providing a vent for those who find themselves over-burdened upon their native soil, colonization offers an advantageous resource”. (Knorr, 1944, p. 265)

The background for such utilitarian conception on population was provided by Malthus, belief of disproportionate growth of food in relation to population, but modern critical theorizing provides an entirely different explanation for food scarcity. Chomsky description of Irish phenomenon gives an insight into the working of European Governmentality. He believes that cause of Irish famine (1846-51) was not the scarcity or absence of grain, rather it was market mechanism and rationality involved in governmental practices that channelized the grain to areas where it brought favorable price rather than to the areas where it was needed most. This tactic brought a double benefit; there was no shortage of food stuff in cities, the site of industries; at the same time channelizing the surplus hunger stricken Irish Population to settle in New World America. (Chomsky, 2003, p. 248) As colonies resulted in increase in material wealth of state’ overall standard of living as well as the standard of living of the most disadvantaged groups in core was raised. Lenin identified that “English proletariat is becoming more and more Bourgeoisie”.(Lenin quoted in (Hechter, 1978, p. 238)) Hence process of bourgeoising the proletariats as well as provision of new land of opportunity to people of impoverished parts of Europe addressed the sedition causes emanating from belly.

Colonies also provided the means to counter sedition problems emanating from head and matter of prestige by creating an “aristocracy of labor” (Marx quoted in (Hechter, 1978, p. 238)) and making them “partner in great idea”(Curzon quoted in (Bettes,
The white wretched of mother country became masters and commander of black. Hechter believe that patriotism of the working class and disadvantaged groups can be ensured through proper political education and propaganda. Lugard effectively used the strategy by advocating a case against slavery, and establishment of Nigeria providing for a moral cause as well as an incentive to English middle class in form of “Dual Mandate”, and right of British people to use tropical wealth wasted by ignorant locals living on Eastern and Western Banks of river Niger; when he was denied support from British Government for his imperial endeavor.

The issue of solidarity among working class was addressed once and for all during the period, when whole globe became the horizon of European workers and his focus was shifted from local to international level and he started comparing his position with the individuals in localities to which he has never been” (Hechter, 1978, pp. 240-243)These groups became integral component of Metro pole’s task of Civilizing the barbarians of the world. Individuals in periphery of core countries also considered them a component of their greater nations, so it was the first step towards formation of civic nations which Western nations often boast of as sign of their civility.

Our Archaeological description in this chapter has so far focused the process of progression of Europe, incorporation of entire globe into world-system, construction of a global milieu embedded in cause and effect relations as well as the description of phenomena specific to Europe that gave European civilization a cutting edge over all the rest civilizations. Next phase of our monumental description will focus on penetration of Europe, shifts accompanying European rule in the lives of “people without history”, and construction of a “Hegemonic Governmentality” imposing the
conditions of existence at the same time engraving a sense of gratitude towards the masters who encrypted codes of modernity in colonized minds.
Figure 11: Science of State and Relations of Power leading to Rise of Europe

**Bio-Power/Science of State**

- Population as Species/
- Population as Public

**State as Regulatory Idea of Governmentality**

- Discourses on Governance
- Discourse on Political Economy
- Discourses on need of Colonies
- Lassies Fair, Malthus Population theory
- Food Scarcity, Famine in European Periphery
- Discipline as technique of Individuation

**Relations of Power**

- Bourgeoisie/Proletariat
- Aristocracy of Labor
- Emigrant Settler of Colonies

**Mechanisms of Subjugation**

- King as Shepherd Sovereign
- Mechanism of Subjugation adopted by Colonial State

**Relations of Power in Colonies**

- Colonizers/Colonized
- Civilized/Barbarian
Figure 12: Ensemble of Causes and Network of Discursive and Non-Discursive Relations leading to Rise of Europe

Singularity

World Hegemonized by Europe

Network Accounting for Singularity

Governmentality, Disciplinary power, Science of State, European Historiography, Rise of Spain, Mercantilism, Civilization Mission

Ensemble of Causes

Renaissance, Capitalism, Westphalian State System, Modernity, Enlightenment
Part 3: Hegemonic Governmentality and Changing Subjectivities in the Colonial World

“Unfolding the history of capitalist conquest reveal that end of this conquest was not going to bring about a homogenization of planet” on the basis of European model. The conquest created a growing polarization” (Samir Amin)

This part of our study is intended to record shifts and ruptures in lives of the people without history, violent and destructive function of discourse transforming non-western societies, and working of colonial rationality in governmental practices aimed to conduct the behaviors of different people. The colonial Governmentality was hegemonic in character because its main purpose was to establish a rule not on the basis of desires of the subjects (as it was in case of Europe), but to produce a feeling of acceptance about their inferior position and a sort of ambivalent attitude towards the European rule. Focus of our attention will be on British penetration in non-west as hegemons focusing on two divergent areas subjected to this British conduct i.e. British India and Nigeria under British control.

Working of governmentality through disciplinary power produced utilitarian beings that met the requirements of capitalism and such states were created in Europe that competed with each other for world dominance. In non west Governmentality was charged with a different responsibility. It aimed at creation of such states that work in global system as subjugated, subordinate, peripheral areas sustaining the needs of free, sovereign, core areas. However “games of truth” played by colonial powers produced a “regime of truth” that colonial government brought rule of law, peace, and
prosperity to these areas. European powers (British) with the help of hegemonic rationality involved in governance created a “regime of truth” that not only discarded, prohibited and excluded previous practices but also inculcated discourse that arrested the normal course of evolution and progress in these societies.

Here we aim to describe phenomena in Foucauldian manner with an interest in contingent process of emergence, in which a complex range of traceable and untraceable forces intersect to produce different forms of subjectivities at a specific time. For Foucault subjectivity is something that emerges from the flow of power that is “employed and exercised in a net like organization”. Wilson provide a Foucauldian view of imperialism, where “imperialism should not be understood as an encounter between an external power and an indigenous population, in which rival set of forces struggle to assert their autonomy and dominance over each other. It makes more sense to see it as a process of interaction within a given geographical space that produced the subjects we perceive as indigenous and external”. (Wilson, 2006, p. 196)

21. **Orientalist Construction of Non West**

The Productions of knowledge construct about “subject races”, and “oriental” places, was at base of colonial project of assigning roles and hierarchies world spaces in construction and operation of global milieu. Knowledge in such cases Said believe, means “rising above immediacy, beyond self, into the foreign and distant”. The purpose of this knowledge for Said “is to dominate and to have authority”. Said is of the view that “Western imperialist plot to hold down the Oriental World” was rather a distribution of a geopolitical vision, about a world made up of two unequal halves Orient and Occident, for sake of control, manipulation and incorporation “what is manifestly different”, the Europe’s other. The knowledge produced a conception of self (West) and other (Rest). Even the most radical critics of Western reason and the
greatest humanist of time Karl Marx was also not independent of this oriental tradition of knowledge. He differed from the imperialist of his day only in that he and other critics of West did not expect the love and gratitude of the colonized for introducing them to modernity, while Imperialist believed that such changes will produce a sense of gratitude and appreciation of the ruled and create a fertile ground for future collaboration. (Said, [1978], 1994, pp. 1-13) Karl Marx was convinced that colonialism was a necessary stage in evolution to a mature level for some societies. For example India for Marx always remained a country of semi barbarian, semi civilized small communities that made “human mind an unrestricting tool of superstition”. (Nandy A., 1983, p. 13) Although Marx identified an Asiatic Economic system in subsistence village communities but with a forked tone considered them a tool of Asiatic despotism, “we must not forget that these idyllic village communities, inoffensive though they may appear, had always been solid foundation of oriental despotism”. He further engage himself in oriental project by assigning a missionary duty to England, “England has to fulfill a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating-the annihilation of Asiatic society and laying the material foundation of Western society” (Said, Orientalism, [1978], 1994, p. 153)

Bhabha identifies a “form of governmentality that in marking out a ’subject nation’, appropriates, directs and dominates its various sphere of activity. Therefore despite the play in the colonial system which is crucial to exercise of power, colonial discourse produces the colonized as a social reality which is at once ‘other’ and yet entirely knowable and visible”. Bhabha considers this Governmentality as a discursive structure, resembling a form of “narrative whereby the productivity and circulation of subjects and signs are bound in a reformed and recognizable totality”. (Bhabha, 2004, p. 101) The colonial governmentality employs a “system of
representation” and signs, constructing a regime of truth. Hence we cannot understand “Europe”, merely as a geographical space but as a strategy, a tool, an apparatus of dominant power-effects, devising a colonial political rationality and means to exercise its colonial power, designed to produce effects of rule. The object of this colonial Governmentality was to identify the ends of colonial power, and the points where power can be applied. For Scott such rationality consists on the object or objects it aims at; and the means and instrumentalities it deploys in search of these targets, points, and objectives as well as the field of its operation (the zone that it actively constructs for its functionality). (Scott, 1999, p. 25)

22. Europe Encounter with its Other

During eighteen century, a class of gentleman capitalist was at the helm of affairs in Great Britain. These gentleman capitalist, bourgeoisie of Karl Marx were “risk-taking merchant princes, investors, ship owners, insurers, lenders, bankers, land speculators, projectors and adventurers” (Bowen, 2002, p. 21), as well as the people forced by created circumstances of lassies fair to abandon their soil and be planted in unknown territories. Urge to seek profit and need to take refuges made these British classes in clash (Bourgeoisie and Proletariat), partners of a great idea “Empire” and its mode of production (capitalism) and took them to far off places and distant peripheries. These imperial missionaries were also charged with the responsibility to include people inhabiting these far flung peripheries in forward march of history as passive movers of history. Lord Curzon deemed Empire as an “inspiration” and asserted that it will provided the “people of circumference……what they cannot otherwise or elsewhere enjoy, not merely, justice, or order, or mental prosperity, but a sense of partnership in great idea; the idea of European rule”. (Bettes, 2004, p. 7) Marx described the
phenomena as; “the need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, and establish connections everywhere”. (Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels, 20th Jan 2003) Marx further description reveals the whole process where a capitalist revolution that by means of its instruments of production, communication, transformed, “even the most barbarian, nations”. Marx focuses on the soft power of capitalism and considers the provision of commodities at cheap prices as the “heavy artillery” that clobbered down all Chinese walls, and forced the ‘barbarians' to kneel down before its commands for their own salvation. Imperial missionaries recreated a world of its own image. From the European core radiated the ethos and attributes of rationality and modernity that penetrated in outer peripheral circles. Marx refers to socio-economic mutations, brought by these “unconscious tools of history” as

- rule of the towns to the country
- Creation of enormous cities,
- Increase in urban population as compared to rural, thus rescuing a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life.
- Dependency of barbarian and semi-barbarian countries on the civilized ones, and nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West. (Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels, 20th Jan 2003)

Nandy asserts that colonialism is all about production of a “shared culture, a psychological state rooted in earlier form of social consciousness “. This shared culture generate codes which both colonizers and colonized share. (Nandy A. , 1983, p. 2) Bentham supported the idea of colonies on the basis that settlement will create a shared culture as a means of communication between mother country and satellite. He asserts that it is will be for “those who find themselves over-burdened upon their
native soil, colonization offers an advantageous resource; and when it is well conducted, free from any regulations which may hinder its prosperity, there may result from it a new people, with whom we shall possess all the connections of language, of social habits, and of natural and political ties”. (Knorr, 1944, p. 265)

It was the case of settler colonies but in case of Indian subcontinent and Africa imperial power has to deal with people coming off from and living a different tradition. Imperialist were charged with the responsibility to create space as well as the subjects who will populate that space with shared codes. Disciplinary mechanisms of control were deployed to analyze and breakdown colonial subjects to bring them in conform to obligatory mechanisms of colonial state as arm of capitalism. As discipline functions in artificially constructed spaces the port towns were constructed all over the global surface not only to ensure circulation of goods in global milieu but also as point where power can be applied on human species to convert them into progressive colonial subjects. Towns became the points of emergence of ‘effects of power’ in form of new subjectivities in colonial world.

23. Where Sun Shines Ever (Creation of Port Towns)

“Among history's imperialists the British were certainly not the greatest builders, but they were the greatest creators of towns”, British legacies can be found everywhere is English language, urbanization and port cities covering entire global circumference. [Morris quoted in (Home, 1997, p. 2)]
Braudel, in his great study of world history from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, has shown how, by the late eighteenth century, the 'octopus grip of European trade had extended to cover the whole world'. British established a worldwide network of port towns where sun shone ever. British network of Ports was complete in second half of twentieth century. Port Harcourt was created in 1915 to open up the Eastern Nigerian coal deposits and Haifa was reconstructed after First World War mandate to bring Iraqi Oil to World market. These port towns attracted migrant labor force. The vast populations of the Indian and Chinese subcontinents as well as Africa were reservoirs of docile work force, meeting the requirement of these new colonial port cities. Cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Lagos, and Johannesburg, were

Figure 13: Chakra of British Ports around the World

http://www.originofnations.org/British_Empire/The%20Sun%20Never%20Set%20on%20the%20British%20Empire.htm
attractive for internal migrants. Smaller, less populated colonies, such as the geographically remote islands of Mauritius, Fiji and the West Indies, had to organize the mass importation of labor from India, Africa and China. (Home, 1997, p. 64)

Planning of Indian presidency towns of Calcutta and Bombay reflect that these towns like European towns served the “triple principle of hierarchy, precise communication of relations of power, and functional effects specific to distribution” and construction of artificial multiplicity. (Foucault, 2004, p. 17) “The Indian presidency Port towns were not a single space but divided among the “White” and “black” towns, where the white traders and the wealthier Indians lived respectively. White town was an ordered space while in black town natives were allowed to lay out their own grid of streets, “surrounding which was an unplanned and largely unmanaged periphery of villages for the common people”. (Home, 1997, p. 65) These port towns were linked with inland through Railways and road linkage.

Towns also served the destructive function of breaking men’s traditional bond with the subsistence village communities. As whole world was engaged in economic activities, and Great Britain was the greatest “workshop of the World”, workforce was needed to do work in ports, mines and huge mechanical and engineering projects. As majority of population in Africa and India were engaged in subsistence communally owned economies where money was relatively unimportant and in some cases according to Wallerstein, “inexistent”; “Head taxes” imposed in Africa and Land revenue in India generated a need of money, as strategy of discourse; hence producing a wave of internal migrants to work in towns and mining compounds.

Wallerstein believes that after sometime administrative coercion was replaced by villagers consent as these towns lured the villagers by an alternative life style, a life of freedom “away from the pressure of one’s neighbors”, and village elders. The
subsistence communities and communal economies these villagers were coming of
were only capable enough to fulfill their “new needs” because cities and towns
created wants that can be satisfied only through money. These new wants were the
core thread combining modernity with capitalism and establish their inbuilt relation
with colonial state. So the colonial state exposed the villagers to both modernity and
capitalism. They began to want things that city offered i.e. relative freedom, social
advancement, and things which one can buy with money. Towns also offered these
villagers a space to resist and defy the authority of village elders and chiefs. As these
towns were linked with railroad to inland, permanent residents of towns can visit their
natal villages more frequently, and ever more villagers were exposed to modern style
of living. (Wallerstein I., 2005, pp. 30-39) Though the pace of economic and political
transformation of colonies according to European model was slow but societies
modernized more rapidly.

24. Violent Destructive Function of True Discourses in
India

“Games of truth” played by colonial government and “true discourses” serving as
normalizing agents of colonial rule created new forms of existence in colonial world
making the colonial subject an integral part of a world functioning as a whole
according to capitalist dictum. But these true discourses also indicate some presences
“as silent as breathe”, “something never said, and this 'not-said' is a hollow that
undermines from within all that is said”. (Foucault, [1969], 2004, p. 28)

British regime all over the world was sustained by such discourses as practices
imposed upon previous formations. Jawahirlal Nehru (JN) indicate such repressive
discourses under the guise of British benevolence and trusteeship by proposing that
“under the industrial capitalist regime of England” reverse shifts took place in Indian economy. From an exporter, manufacturer economy of pre-colonial period it became an “agriculture appendage” of Britain. When European traders first sailed to India, there was no market for European goods (inferior in quality to Indian goods). These traders had to exchange Bullion extracted from Americas for Indian spices. When Clive first reached Dacca he described it as a city like London and declared it as “Manchester of India”. (Chomsky, 2003)

JN is of the view that British rule “arrested progress” of India, as a manufacturing economy that was as advanced as any core country before industrial revolution at eve of colonization. Initially Indian goods were excluded from Britain by legislation, and this exclusion affected other foreign markets also. Vigorous attempts were made to restrict and press Indian manufactures by imposing internal duties that prevented the flow of Indian goods within India itself. British goods were given free access to India’s market.

The Indian textile industry lead by city of Dacca collapsed, affecting vast numbers of weavers and artisans. The process was rapid in Bengal and Bihar; elsewhere it spread gradually with the expansion of British rule and with construction of railways. These weavers and artisan were not partners of great idea “empire”, like British Proletariats of their time and there was no new world waiting for these people except their ancestral village lands. Nehru depicts the plight of these artisans as “they drifted to the land, for the land was still there. But the land was fully occupied and could not possibly absorb them profitably. So they became a burden on the land and the burden grew, and with it grew the poverty of the country, and the standard of living fell to incredibly low levels. This compulsory back- to-the-land movement of artisans and craftsmen led to an ever-growing disproportion between agriculture and industry”.
Nehru is of the view that “Bengal can take pride, in the fact that she helped greatly to boot the Industrial Revolution in England”. (Nehru, 1962, pp. 17-24)

Barbara Wards (Ward, 1962) and Noam Chomsky (Chomsky, 2003, p. 257) both adopt the Nehruian views on Industrial Revolution and believe that countries with cotton resource and weaving industries like India and Egypt were capable of getting a breakthrough for industrial revolution. But in both cases British forcefully stopped the natural course of progress and countries like Egypt and India missed Industrial Revolution.

But true discourses repress the facts and only valorize the British technological advancement that had no match at that time. Barbra Ward declares British as modernization agents, transforming a rural society into an industrialized one, but on the contrary Chomsky is of the view that “British just proceeded to de-industrialize the country by force and turn it into an impoverished rural society”. (Chomsky, 2003)

Nehru believes that Indian society was not only a manufacturing society but a trading one also, with a well established Banking system that also contributed in economic lives of people. Hundis or Bills of exchange issued by Private Business houses were honored in cities like, Heart, Kabul, Tashkent and many other places in central Asia. (Nehru, 1962, p. 14) Arabian Sea ports were connected to the hinterland by Caravan routes. When British developed Port and Railway system in India they were facing mounting pressure from their European adversaries, French and Russia. They created buffer states and regions and Railway was established as defense strategy in far off areas of India like Baluchistan and NWFP. Establishment of Railway and Port cities of Karachi and Bombay reoriented the steam of traffic in these areas from North South to a West East direction. Old ports and trade with Afghanistan and Central Asia
lost importance and with it many ports of old trade route became wastes of time. (Axmann, 2008, pp. 35-36)

SIR REGINALD COUPLAND boisterously narrates the fact that the prices of the Indian farm products rose from poor local level to those prevailing in India and even in some cases to overseas level of world market. Opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 reduced the length of the passage to Europe to almost one-quarter of what it had been on previous route the famous “round the Cape” route; Indian wheat could be sold in the world-market at a competitive world-price. New developments in primary production became not only possible but also profitable. Plantations, that were previously limited to indigo, were extended to coffee and tea. The growth of jute was in pace with its growing manufacturing sector. British were financing and managing these new ventures in accorded with 19th century notions of free trade and laissez faire. (Coupland, 1962, p. 31) But this laissez faire policy in India was reminiscent of British Policy on Ireland where food was channelized to industrial towns leaving thousands and thousands to starve in Irish periphery.

In India history also repeated itself but on a magnified level when famine in Bengal became a recurring pattern. A British officer of the period hold, rigid and revolutionary methods of exacting the land revenue responsible for famine. It “has reduced the peasantry to the lowest extreme of poverty and wretchedness”. He considers the procedure of British settlement courts responsible of laying upon peasants financial burdens heavier than any they endured in past. Famine is now more frequent and more severe, than it used to be in Past, and it is “the irony of fate that our statute book is swollen with measures of relief in favor of the victims whom our administrative system has impoverished”. (Lewis, 1962, p. x) Nehru traces a direct
relation between length of British rule and magnitude of poverty in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Madras presidency, where British ruled for almost 187 years.

25. Functioning of True Discourses in Nigeria

British India was the laboratory where British invented and tested its hegemonic “regime of truth” and mechanism to subjugate indigenous populace, economies, societies and polities its pattern of rule all over the world remained constant. As Archaeological history permits to draw parallels among varied and diverse units of analysis, we will consider case of Nigeria in likely manner. Here Lugard used the doctrine of “Dual mandate” and started his intervention on humanitarian grounds to abolish slavery and slave trade. He used the power of British public opinion to get his (ad) venture sponsored and supported by British Crown. Lugard assertion for European rule was articulated in more realistic way. “Let it be admitted at the outset that European brains, capital, and energy have not been, and never will be, expended in developing the resources of Africa from motives of pure philanthropy; that Europe is in Africa for the mutual benefit of her own industrial classes, and of the native races in their progress to a higher plane; that the benefit can be made reciprocal, and that it is the aim and desire of civilized administration to fulfill this dual mandate” (Lugard, 1922, p. 215).

Lugard striked the care instinct of British shepherd monarch by saying that millions of tons of Peanuts, grew wild without human labor, to be laid putrid in the forests. Who can deny the right of the hungry European masses to utilize the wasted bounties of nature (Lugard, 1922, p. 616) in “trust for civilization “and for the benefit of mankind? Europe can benefit by the wonderful increase in the amenities of life for the mass of her people following the opening of Africa and Africa will be benefited by the influx of manufactured goods, and the substitution of law with the methods of barbarism.
Lugard enumerated the benefits incurred to Africa by British as “by Railways and roads, by recuperation of swamps and irrigation of deserts, and by a system of fair trade and competition, we have added to the prosperity and wealth of these lands, and checked famine and disease”. He boasts that British had put an end to the dreadful sorrows of the slave-trade, inter-tribal warfare, human sacrifice, and the ordeals of the witch craft. However such things still survive but they are severely suppressed. The greatest revolution brought by British is their endeavor to edify the natives to “conduct their own affairs with justice and humanity and to educate them alike in letters and in industry”. (Lugard, 1922, p. 617)

British imposed a system of “Warrant Chiefs”, to facilitate Revenue collection in area comprising today’s Niger Delta, South (East) Nigeria. These warrant chiefs consolidated primordial ethnicities in region, forging identities on tribal lines. The colonial tax regime banned the use of Manilas26, the traditional medium of exchange in Niger Delta and its hinterland for centuries, introducing Direct Taxes in new currency. The means not only procured revenue for the colonial administration but also induced them to participate in colonial economic system to satisfy the new need of money to meet their tax obligation. (Okonta, 2008, p. 60) Taxation eroded the previous structure of subsistence economies, having severe impacts on African families who were forced to send their young males to towns. Harsh means opted by warrant Chiefs for revenue collection forced village women folk to protest against colonial regime, popularly known as “women riots”, “Aba riots” in 1929.

The area was the producer of Palm Oil. The trade in palm produce was dominated by Lever’s United African Company. The company used all the practices to underpay local producers and merchants. Company opted advertisement as means to reach local

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26 Manilla was a sort of paper money used across Africa for traditional exchange. It reflects that African economies were not just Barter economies but following sophisticated means of exchange.
farmers, traders and general populace alike, who acquired a taste for imported goods, making them dependent on cash. United African company also fulfilled the need of additional cash to satisfy the aesthetic taste of Africans by lending money. Taxation and the acquired taste for luxury consumer articles bonded the people of these areas in global exchange relation. The system was usefully employed by British companies during the period of great depression in 1929-30.

Along with the Global capitalist class extracting surplus the system produced local warrant Chiefs and village heads, who earned “tidy income as custodian of lands, receiving gifts in cash and kind from members of the community who could only access land through them”, as a class having surplus. (Okonta, 2008, p. 61)

26. **State (as Colonial Artifice India and Nigeria)**

Tilly identified 1500 political units in a culturally homogenous Renaissance Europe consolidated into 20 modern administrative states in year 1900. But between early and late modern centuries there was a myriad of traditional monarchies, chiefdoms and village organization in Africa and Indian subcontinent. In scramble of Africa, some 10000 African polities had been amalgamated into 40 European colonies and protectorates cutting almost 190 cultural groups by geometric straight lines and arcs. (Meredith, 2005, p. 2) There were almost 250 ethno linguistic groups, at least two major religions, Islam and Christianity and numerous pagan societies in three diverse regions of Nigeria. While in British India, Raj recognized the claim of 675 (175 Suzerainty States\(^{27}\) and 500 Princely States) rulers over their ancestral jurisdictions by giving them appointments and subjecting them to British Crown as well as obtaining direct control of areas previously united under Mughal Empire. Indian subcontinent

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\(^{27}\) State of Kalat was a suzerainty state and British acknowledged its status at par of Afghanistan. Kalat ruler Khan was a part of Victorian Great Game between Tsarist Russia and Great Britain during the time of Great Victoria
under British authority was a mosaic of more than 2000 ethno-linguistic cultures as well as the home of at least two major religious communities\(^{28}\).

British progression in the regions that were not regarded as *terra nullius*, lands with people were not a result of all out war and conquest, rather British penetrated slowly in these places, making many compromises with local powers as well as establishing a “net like” entanglement with various nodes of power and importance. East India Company created three presidencies in Madras (1640), Bombay (1687), and Bengal (1690). It was a kind of parallel rule, states with in state because Company ruled the area by maintaining the rule of puppet Nawabs, as well as honoring the Mughal Emperors as De facto sovereign of land. After, War of Plessey Company got criminal jurisdiction and complete sovereignty over Bengal, and its plunder activities started. After an incomplete attempt to oust British from India (1857), in 1858 India became a component of Empire, the “Raj”. British penetrated slowly covering the entire land mass comprising present day India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Burma.

First place of our study’s Concern Baluchistan was the last province to be incorporated in British India in 1887. Baluchistan was strategically important in face of “French intrigues” in Persia, followed by fears of an invasion of British India by Tsarist Russia”, at beginning of nineteenth century. For maintenance of British rules officials serving in India identified a need to create buffer states at extreme Northwest of India, to fight a Victorian Cold War in a zone extending from through Iran and Afghanistan, and the Northwest frontier of India. It was the Great Game which USA, inherited from Pax Britannica in real Cold War and containment. The arrangement was necessary to defend and maintain the local and international economic linkages of Global milieu.

\(^{28}\) Two dominant religious groups struggling for benefits of Political modernization and their respective role in modern polity were Muslims and Hindus, while there were other religious communities like Sikhs, Parsis, Budhs etc.
British experiments in India to maintain large territorial spaces with mix ethno, religious and cultural makeup helped them establish their rule in other spaces like Nigeria. An Indian Born British Lord Lugard with experience of First Afghan War established the state of Nigeria with the help of only nine European administrators. (Meredith, 2005, p. 5) British rule in the area comprising present Nigeria dates back to mercantilist tri continental trade structure when the area was a supply line of active work force in sugar plantations of America. In 1807, after the abolition of slavery act, British continued to trade with same people but commodities were now palm oil and ivory. After 1885, Berlin conference Royal Niger Company was granted charter by British Crown to “administer, make treaties, levy customs and trade in all territories of Niger Basin”. Second place of our study concern, Niger Delta on East of Niger river was the first place in the region to be incorporated in Empire system of rule and declared “The Oil River Protectorate” later amalgamated with Lagos in 1906, making Southern Nigeria. Finally the state of Nigeria was constructed by adjoining it with North Nigeria in 1914 by Lugard. (Lackner, 1973, p. 124)

British brought these diverse people under the administrative unity constructed by Colonial States in both cases of our study. With a thin line of control and support base in society, colonial Governmentality relied on the strategy of broadening the chasm between varied interests and deploying them against each other at all level of society and polity. Power became a continued “unspoken warfare”, omnipresent, because it enclosed everything and came from everywhere (Merquior, 1985, p. 111)among subject groups. While British depicted a benevolent self portrayal, they repressed each and every community and group to protect the interests of Raj. In their efforts British went to the extent that they created different identity groups unknown before the advent of Raj.
27. Hegemonic Governmentality

Gramsci identifies two arms i.e. “consent and Coercion” upon which a hegemonic rule can rest but Foucault’s concept of power is more comprehensive than Gramsci Hegemony. For Foucault “exercise of power being neither violence, nor consent (Merquior, 1985, p. 109), but “exercise of power can never do without one or the other, often both at the same time, but even though, consensus and violence are the instruments or the results, they constitute the basic nature of power”, (Hubert L. Deryfus and Paul Rabinow, 1983, p. 220) that is a “total structure of action brought to bear upon possible actions”, inciting, seducing, or in the extreme constraining and forbidding” (Merquior, 1985, pp. 109-110) Specificity of Power relations and total structure that generate these power relations can be understood for Foucault, in term “Conduct”. Deryfus believes that “Conduct”, is a behavior that leads others to behave in a specified manner, “within more or less open field of possibilities to condition the “conditions of existence”. (Deryfus &Rabinow, 221) Thus power (Conduct) means to govern and structure the possible field of action for the “others”. Foucault establishes certain points to analyze the power relations in particular regime of truth i.e.

- System of Differentiation, that permits to act upon the action of others. These differentiations are determined by law, traditions, status, privileges, and economic differences. The differentiations are both cause and effect of shifts in the processes of production, linguistic and cultural differences as well as knowhow and competence etc

- The objective pursued by those who act upon the act and behavior of others can be, to maintain privilege, accumulate profit, and build a statutory authority.

- Power is exercised on conduct of other by means of threat of arms, by affects of words, or by means of economic disparities, by a complex system of control.
Foucault believes that exercise of power rely on institutionalization and a degree of rationalization. (Hubert L. Deryfus and Paul Rabinow, 1983, p. 223) To rule the terra incognita, colonial power has to depend not merely upon “inserting English ideas here and there, but upon the systematic redefinition and transformation of the terrain on which the life of the colonized was lived”. (Scott, 1999, p. 41) So a kind of rational conscious effort was made on part of Marxian “unconscious tools of history”, to establish a system of differential privileges struggling against each other to gain prestige by their benevolent trustee.

28. **Indirect Rule: Creation of Collaborators (Princes, Chiefs and Land Lords)**

Origin of British system of indirect rule in both cases of our study, British India and Nigeria lie in rule of trading companies, i.e. British East India Company and Royal Niger Company. Lackner (Lackner, 1973, pp. 129-131) believe that British were faced with the problem of administering vast expanses of conquered territories throughout the planet with little money and few men. British proclaimed the establishment of a decentralized system but the conscious effort of decentralization resulted in centralization and crystallization of powers of Princes in India as well as in Nigeria, where Emirs in Northern Nigeria were given “letter of Appointments”, which means that they were not regarded as sovereign powers but subservient to British authority. British only seized their external sovereignty and prohibited them to enter in relation with any other foreign power autonomously.

Lugard, the author of indirect rule in Nigeria, got his inspiration from Sir Robert Sandeman who adopted same policies in British Baluchistan. In his book the “Dual mandate referring to Sandeman he wrote that system of indirect rule can best serve the purpose due to reality that people are not prepared for self rule. For him it was a kind
of democratic arrangement to rule people according to their tradition without interfering much in their system of governance. But his critics call the idea of rule as “simple autocratic rule for himself from downwards”. Lackner refers Nicholson who consider indirect rule as dictatorial ambitions of a man primarily concerned with his own “political advancement, with little interest in welfare of those whom he administered”. (Lackner, 1973, p. 128)

While Northern part of Nigeria continued with its previous system of Caliphate now appointed by British and rule according to Islamic law, the system of small decentralized trading states and village communities in East of Niger (Niger Delta) was destroyed by Lugard. With advent of Chiefdoms working on pattern of European feudalities facilitating the revenue collection in form of new taxes, creating a need for money and inducing internal migration to port cities. Slavery was replaced but a new work force was created under compulsion of circumstances.

Another career for those who want to defy the authority of Emir and Village Chief was Army. As it is already accounted, that Lugard got the inspiration of his system of conduct from Sandeman, who constructed a fragmented administrative monument in Baluchistan. Quetta was developed as strategic and defensive strong hold as a military base with a special status in country’s major political, administrative, economic and cultural life with arteries of communication in form of Railways and passes along Baluch-Afghan and Baluch-Iran borders, connecting region internally and externally. Sandeman produced a politically fragmented Baluchistan with many “centers of Power”, and the Khan of Kalat one in many. British strategy of Divide and Rule is the best example to create the system of differentiation. British attempted to isolate the Khan by “fomenting resistance against him” and “protecting him against the tribes”.

(Axmann, 2008, p. 28) Sandeman supported Sardars financially, entrusting
administrative function with them, granting them with “fine sounding” titles. Sandeman also introduced inter tribal council or “Jirga” as well as introducing Police and administrative machinery (levy system), consisting of warriors from tribe.

The introduction of the landlord system, in other areas of British India changed the whole conception of ownership of land. This conception had been one of communal ownership. British appointed Revenue Framers that eventually became landlords. A rupture in Economic life took place with shift in communal ownership to Private property. British established a system of differentiation where power was not for rational governance by forming new classes that identified itself with British rule.

29. **Direct Rule: Army Civil Services Westernized Elites and Politicians**

Foucault believes that, all educational systems have political functioning by “maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses with knowledge and power they bring with them”. (Foucault, 1966, 1989, p. 46) British introduced a system of educational reforms proposed by Macaulay in colonies. JN criticize the educational system as a means to mould the behavior of “other”, the subject races because “new education did not fit anymore for trade or industry”. Few could become Lawyers, Doctors and other professionals. The system was devised with the sole concern to prepare men for governmental service. The British government in India became the biggest employer, employing locals in Railways, Canal works, Lower administrative bureaucracy, as well as in Army.

**Internal Security Troops (Army)**

British Indian Army organizationally linked to British Army originated from the Army of East India Company. JN calls British Indian Army as “internal security troops”, and lament the fact that “India had to bear the cost of her own conquest, and
then to her transfer (or sale), from East India Company to British Crown, and for the extension of British empire in Burma and elsewhere, expeditions to Africa and Persia and for her defense against Indians themselves”. (Nehru, 1962, p. 20) The pattern of internal security was similar in Nigeria too where, the Glover’s Hausas were recruited mainly from the north to protect Royal Niger’s company interests in south. Hence an internal security role was imparted on Northern Nigeria. In World War II, the Nigerian Army expanded to 28 battalions that served outside Nigeria as part of the Allied’ War effort. In the 1950s, following the end of World War II, the Army in Nigeria resumed its primary functions of internal security, police actions, and punitive expeditions to break strikes, control local disturbances, and enforcing tax collection. (Dummar, 2012)

Civil Service as Intermediary between People and Empire

Another class more inclined to British interests was “Indian civil services”, serving normally in subordinate positions under British officers. By 1887 of 21,000 midlevel civil service appointments, 45% were held by Hindus, 7% by Muslims, 19% by Eurasians (European father and Indian mother), and 29% by Europeans. Of the 1000 top level positions, almost all were held by Britons, typically with an Oxbridge degree. Governance Experience ensured that “Indian so employed were so dependent on British that they could be relied upon and treated as agents of rule”. (Nehru, 1962, pp. 17-19) Foucault believes that an ascending power, producing local effects and forms of mechanism, congeal into form of global domination. Hence hegemonic power relied on an “Indianized civil Army” providing consensual support, as new partner of idea to “Empire” and served as intermediary between British authorities and Natives, as “arrogant tools of Imperial power”, to transform people at large into colonial
subjects. Lugard followed Indian footprints in Nigeria by creating an army of lower bureaucracy as instruments to control Africans at large. He says that, in “Nigeria it is roughly estimated that not less than 4500 posts in the clerical and 2500 in the technical departments are so held, with an aggregate of not less than £500,000 per annum in salaries” (Lugard, 1922, p. 87). This lower bureaucracy in Nigeria was mainly recruited from Christian South where missionary influence promoted Western education.

Foucault also believes that power circulates between bodies making them subject and agents of power. Individual is for Foucault the point of articulation of power and from where the power is dispersed. The political objective of the subject that emanates from power is to seize state apparatus where power is invested, such as Army and Police. As Empire was the Bread and Butter question for the new educated class of Indians; on the issue of constitutional reforms, the “how to be governed”, religious communities in India on various levels of educational hierarchy were divided and were competing to secure jobs in administrative and judicial setups of colonial state.

**Westernized Elites, Mimic Subjects, Mimic Constitutions**

British “games of truth” relied on a theory of progress, advocating a stage of maturity for childlike colonial subject having amiable behavior towards reforms and education as means to produce power sustained by a new form of difference in social stratification, i.e. in form of westernized elites, often trained in British law, ready to become partners in liberal idea, “Empire”. Summarization of theory of progress and working of hegemonic Governmentality, a mix of consensus and violence is depicted by Nandy (Nandy A. , 1983, p. 16) in following chart. Child in colonial discourses

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29 Nehru Report and Jinnah Fourteen points on issue of reform are examples that how communities competed with each other over issue of job as well as representation in federal and provincial assemblies
became a symbol of immaturity, irrationality, and primitiveness likely to become a mature, rational, progressive subject through application of Colonial power.

**Figure 14: Discourse on State Making and New Partners of Empire**

- **The childlike Indian, African, Indigenous:**
  - Innocent, ignorant but willing to learn, masculine, loyal and thus corrigeble
  - Reforming the childlike through westernization, modernization or Christianization

- **The childish Indian, African, Indigenous:**
  - Ignorant but unwilling to learn, ungrateful, sinful, savage, unpredictably violent, disloyal and thus “incorrigeble”
  - Repressing the childish by controlling rebellion, ensuring internal peace and providing tough administration and rule of law

- Partnership in the liberal utilitarian within one fully homogenized cultural, political and economic world
Lugard also referred to childlike characteristic of African “the typical African ... is a happy, thriftless, excitable person, lacking in self control, discipline and foresight, naturally courageous, and naturally courteous and polite, full of personal vanity, with little sense of veracity ...in brief , the virtues and defects of this race-type are those of attractive children." (Lugard, 1922, p. 70), but after entering in educational hierarchy this child was converted into a mimic European subject, referred by Lugard as “Europeanized Africans” who represented no tribe, community, or ethnicity but a different class in all respects living like Europeans apart in the principal cities amid illiterate surroundings. They may belong to one of the neighboring tribes and share their language, or they may be the descendants of liberated slaves, ignorant of any African language. Lugard paints the mimicry of Educated European African subject as “educated African imitates European dress and customs closely, however it adapted to his conditions of life, and may be heard to speak of going “home to England”. He has, as a rule, little or nothing in common with the indigenous tribes of Africa”.

Lugard Quotes an African Journalist Du Bios condemning the attitude of educated Africans, as “there is no class, which is less welcome to the lay Englishman than the "black white man" who has abandoned his racial integrity and is quick to learn European vices”, and but Lugard takes it as one more feather in the Hat of British rule saying that teaching a “child” contrary to his natural bent has produced affectation for European rule. (Lugard, 1922, p. 82)

British used education as strategy to establish new form of hierarchy and a tactic for its power play. The mimic enlightened subjects of British colonial rule also have to rely on the support of their respective communities to gain privileged position in administrative structure. The liberal westernized elites became unconscious tools and agents of British divide and rule tactics by giving political realm a religious coloring.
On 28 December 1885, seventy professionals and intellectuals from middle class educated at the new founded British universities in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, familiar with the ideas of British political philosophers, especially the utilitarian liberals assembled in Bombay to found the Indian National Congress. The membership comprised westernized elite, and no effort was made to broaden its membership base at that time. In coming years the congress became the representative of Hindu interests. In response the Muslim League was established in Dacca in Dec 1906, by Aligarh intelligentsia trained in utilitarian liberal tradition of Europe to protect Muslim interests.

The effect of colonial power is evident in behavior of hybrid Hindu and Muslim Western elites, competing not with colonialisist authorities to overthrow colonial rule but competing with each other in governance system imparted by Colonial power. Both Great leaders Quaid e Azam\(^{30}\) and Mahatma\(^{31}\) were the products of Western doctrine of progress having almost same mental makeup, sharing the same culture linguistic codes generated by empire, speaking in the same language of British Law, and articulating the demands for same modern political structure i.e. the State, but with different outlooks (Westernized and traditional). There was a consensus between them on the problematic of governance “how state will be governed”\(^{32}\), but they had contradictory views about “who will govern”. Bhabha believes that this ambivalence was at the source of traditional discourses of authority enabling a form of subversion, founded on the undecided ability that turns the discursive conditions of dominance into the grounds of intervention. (Bhabha, 2004, p. 160)

\(^{30}\) Quaid E Azam is the title of Mr. Muhammed Ali Jinnah and its meaning is the Great leader of all the times.

\(^{31}\) Mahatma is the title of Mohan Das Karam Chand Gandhi and it means simply the Great.

\(^{32}\) On issue of state governance Muslims and Hindu representatives had almost identical visions. Both representatives of Hindu and Muslim interests demanded Self Rule and representative assemblies according to Westminster model but they competed with each other on issue of representation of their respective communities in institutions of self rule, i.e. in Assemblies and cabinets.
In Nigeria too discourse of education and related power play for economic survival led to tension between North, West and East on religious grounds. Muslim North backward in education, treated Southern coming to North to occupy lower bureaucratic position in discriminatory ways by segregating their housings and schools, treating them as infidels and pagans. Yoruba West progressed in education, commerce and absorbed in administration in relatively higher numbers. But the poorest community Igbo living in East outnumbered the first two groups in economic field. They formed the bulk of Nigerian workforce, and internal migrants across country to occupy economic roles as clerks, artisans, traders and laborers in port cities of Nigeria.

In circular power play, divided groups in both colonies were agreed upon to demand self rule and Westminster model of democracy, and there was no demand for going back to their pre-colonial rule formations. The resultant impact of discourse on “how to be governed”, “by whom”, “according to what principles”, British conferred a mimic representation of British constitution in almost all colonies of Empire. However true reason to confer such system in colonies is unknown but we believe that it was an effort to homogenize polities on European patterns and encrypting modern political codes in administration that can work as medium of translation, to bring conformity between desires of colonizers and colonized and generate codes that can work with equal efficiency with or without physical presence of colonizers.

30. Conclusion:

Scott believes that between the early modern sixteenth and the late modern nineteenth centuries, arena of the political went through profound alterations in the concepts that it depended upon, the technologies that enabled it, the institutional sites through which it operated, the structures that guaranteed it, and the kind of subjectivities it
required”. One thing common in West and Rest was that *Modern power that* tuned itself into “politico-ethical” project of producing subjects and governing their conduct by production of true discourses, humanist in nature. In Europe these discourses produced subject conducive to promote capitalism, but these discourses transformed and redefined the whole world of the colonized. Modernity that led to religious dispersion from arena of the political and formation of absolute secular units state resulted in contrary processes of religiocizing the polities and societies as well as establishing hierarchical formation where ethnicity and identity and creation of people were promoted as project of empire. In colonies modernity was sustained by a “regime of truth” based on orthodox elements. Scott believes that “the political problem of modern colonial power was therefore not merely to contain resistance and encourage accommodation but to seek and ensure that both could only be defined and articulated in relation to the categories and structures of modern political rationalities”. (Scott, 1999, p. 52)
Figure 15: Discursive Non Discursive Elements and Ensemble of Causes leading to Hegemony of Europe

Singularity

World System Pax Britannica
Capitalist World Economy

Net work Accounting
For Singularity

Europe as center, Incorporation of External Areas in System based on Hegemony of Europe, Social Political and Economic reforms and Hybrid subjectivities in Colonial World

Ensemble of Causes

Enlightenment/Modernity as culture of center of World System,
Figure 16: Orientalism, Colonial Governmentality and Mechanisms of Subjugation in Non-West

- Power/Knowledge about Subject Races, Orientalism
- Colonial State as “Total Structure” (Cause and Effect of Power)
- True Discourses, Civilization Mission and Dual Mandate
- Mechanisms of Subjugation, Peripheralization of manufacturing society, and International Capitalist Linkages (Port cities, Railways), Education System, Reforms, Mimic Constitution
- Relations of power
  - Benevolent Trustee/New partners of Empire
  - Progress, Partnership in utilitarian Liberal Idea
- Westernized Elites, Army and Civil Bureaucracy
- Colonial Subjects (People in colonies)
Chapter 3: Emergence of New World Order and Post-Colonial Structures of Rationality: The Cases of Pakistan and Nigeria

“Humanity does not gradually progress from combat to combat until it arrives at universal reciprocity, where the rule of law finally replaces warfare; humanity installs each of its violences in a system of rules and thus proceed from domination to domination” (Foucault)

Using Archaeological method to delineate “global” monument we have so far traced the structures of rationality and techniques of governance peculiar to Europe and its other (Colonial spaces). Both system of rule and their respective mechanism of power to subjugate human species are essentially different. In European case the absolutist power take the form of Pastor and kings and rulers assumed the role of shepherd responsible to care their flock. Interests were articulated on the basis of desire and relations of power depended on proximity of interest between sovereign and subject will. Art of Governance and “conduct of conduct” produced a tacit acceptance for their subordinate position among colonial subjects Vis a Vis rulers responsible for their welfare and progress. Imperial rule was an “intimate enemy” (Nandy A., 1983) that created ambivalent elite who were able to differentiate between European governmentality and its colonial hegemonic brand. Whole discourses of colonial struggle for “Self Rule”, revolve around the dream of the “wretched of earth”, to be conducted in European ways. Independence saw a new brand of governance reasoning,

The chapter is divided in two parts. First part will focus on transfer of hegemony from GB to an amalgamation of previous British colonies USA to test the truism of Foucault dictum that a state can become impoverished by excess of power. Underplays of power discourses that led from Pax Britannica to Pax Americana, will provide a reflection on “how” of the whole process that led to power decay of the most powerful state of the time.

The second part will provide a description of same regime of truth and true discourses in postcolonial world where structures of rationality in form of state was imposed over previous colonial subjects to promote Liberal idea of progress and complete the unfinished project of modernity and enlightenment. Both cases of our concern Pakistan and Nigeria are colonial artifacts. In new regime of truth tailored by USA, both states were pivotal due to one non discursive element oil. One due to its geopolitical significance was imparted with a surrogate role to protect Pax imperial interests in a region where “empires meet”. The country served as boundary between communism and capitalism. Other state Nigeria is significant for the continued and safe supply of oil. Although both countries are located far from each other but as participants of World American order, inheriting the colonial hegemonic conduct patterns, these states are embodiments of total structure that power constitute and rely on almost similar ways of differentiations to sustain the total structure of power. Elites in both countries consider themselves as contenders for the bid of regional hegemony, while at home masses are victims of state failure as service provider and oft pose a serious challenge to state authority by challenging states legitimacy and demands to re-territorialize the state space. Subjected to almost identical patterns of rule, and state
making practices, masses also take refuge in similar patterns to express the resistance i.e. the Ethnicity and Religious revivalism.

# Part I: Emergence of New World Order

## 31. Waning British power

Foucault believes that treaty of Westphalia marked a shift in interstate relations; previously what was rivalry between princes onwards became the competition between states, where they have to assert themselves in a “space of commercial competition….monetary circulation, colonial conquest, control of seas” etc. Foucault identifies three means the states of Europe resorted to participate in completion i.e. adoption of mercantilist strategies to accumulate and strengthen their wealth, policing as method of unlimited regulation of population and internal management, and development of permanent warfare machinery in form of regular military as well as military diplomatic apparatuses.

Foucault provides reasons of state’s competition, in his lectures delivered at College de France during two successive years.

In “Security, Territory and Population”(1977-78) he considers that competition was in fact a struggle for and against the de facto domination by a powerful state over other states. The idea was further sustained in “Birth of Bio Politics”(1978-79) that state have to exist in plural, and have to resist any effort on part of powerful state to constitute an empire, that is to say, “there is nothing like an imperial structure which it has to merge with or submit to at a more or less distant point on the historical horizon and which would in some way represent God’s theophany in the world, leading men to a finally united humanity on the threshold of the end of the world. So there is no
integration of the state in the Empire”. (Foucault, 2008, p. 5) Resultant impact of the contradictory forces fighting for and against the domination was a competition between European power players. Apart from external pressure, Foucault also identifies another factor responsible for collapse of any dominant power. Foucault renders that this dominant position remain always under a constant threat by “which made it possible and kept it going. That is to say, a state may become impoverished by becoming rich; it may exhausted by excess of power”. Foucault calls the situation “revolution”, but in a different sense of word, where the “very thing that assured the state’s strength and domination will in turn produce the loss or, at any rate the diminution of its strength.” (Foucault, 2004, p. 293) Great Britain during the last quarter of nineteenth century is the manifest example of the whole process, when sources of British power eventually caused its decline.

At time of Congress of Vienna 1815, British hegemony with its military, political and economic might was well established and rested over three pillars.

1. Pound Sterling backed by Gold reserves served as source of world credit financing the infrastructure in diverse places as Argentine and India, bonding these places in financial dependence with the city of gold, London.

2. British naval superiority granted Britain the right to dominate Seas, and Britain used its naval might as instrument of control to keep continental Europe divided, by granting special concessions to certain continental powers to check the power of other states of continent, like Habsburg Austria that was granted concessions, however ships from other continental countries were provided solace by British through Lloyd’s shipping insurance London.
3. World’s major raw materials, cotton, metals including Gold of Transvaal, coal and at beginning of new century “Black Gold” and most important food stuff were also in British control.

But British real strength laid in advocating the benefits of free trade and concepts of “Absolute and Comparative Advantages” and liberal idea of progress, a “European Progress”. Foucault believe that liberal theories of progress advocated by Adam Smith as well as Physiocrates were a fundamental break from mercantilist thought considering economic progress to be a zero sum activity, leading to enrichment of one at the cost of impoverishment of other. According to this liberal shift “market must ensure the reciprocal, correlative, and more or less simultaneous enrichment of all the countries of Europe”. For Foucault a mutual European progress and a world centered round Europe was the essential for classic liberal doctrine. Foucault adds political dimension to knowledge contents of Kant’s idea of perpetual peace, revisiting it to be an economic idea. But Foucault is encountered with the historical evidence that during the modern episteme, where liberal doctrine emerged with objective of Europe’s mutual enrichment, Europe was entangled in not only wars but most furious wars ever experienced by mankind. Foucault provides the possible explanation of this unwanted outcome of liberal doctrine. Foucault believe that Liberalism as the art of governance has a “productive-destructive relation with freedom”. Liberalism must produce freedom, in order to be an effective regime of truth but the very act of freedom production entails with it the “establishment of limitations, controls, forms of coercion, and obligations relying on threats, etcetera”. Foucault believes that free trade regime is backbone of liberal practices of truth but in effect it cannot be established without organization of “a series of preventive measures to avoid the effects of one country’s hegemony over others, which would be precisely the
limitation and restriction of free trade?” Foucault find European powers thirst for commercial freedom as the main explanation of their rising against British hegemonic tide. Both sides were involved in a constant struggle to preserve and overthrow British preponderance. So for Foucault the ideas of progress of Europe are not contradictory to the idea of balance of Europe. Both are rooted in liberal rationale and raison d’état of governance. In other words process involves suppression of freedom to ensure freedom. (Foucault, 2008, pp. 53-57)

Policies of GB and its hegemonic contenders were devised in accord with the rules set by liberal regime of truth with prime idea of an enriched progressive Europe, emerging in nineteenth century Europe as well as in accord with treaty of Westphalia, and accompanying doctrine of Balance of Europe. Balance of Europe, according to Foucault was the prime objective of diplomats and ambassadors who negotiated the peace of Westphalia. Foucault furnishes that primary objective of Balance of Europe was to create an impossible atmosphere for the strongest to lay down its laws on any other state and balance of Europe had to maintain itself by an assurance that difference between strongest and those behind it, is not so, that it can impose its principles upon others. The security of European system rallied on creation of “Egalitarian aristocracy” of states, each of them capable of preventing other from taking the lead. Hence a combination of several small powers can counterbalance the force of a superior power that might threaten one of them by creating a coalition that can counterbalance any established preponderance.

Foucault gives three possible equators for the strongest.

1. The absolute limitation of the force of the strongest.
2. The equalization of the strongest.
3. The possibility of a combination of weaker against the strongest.
Foucault identify three means on which European powers resort in case of any disruption in European balance i.e. War, Politics and establishment of military diplomatic apparatus. Foucault believes that “function of politics at any given moment was to preserve and assure balance in European framework, by creating a system of alliances and counter alliances. When politics fail to restore balance, war became the continuation of politics by other means”. (Foucault, 2004, pp. 297-303) British at time were clambering with its European rivals to maintain the status quo as well as a plethora of internal fissures in its formal and informal empire. British strategy during the period was to create formal empire as well as to create spheres of influence in spaces other than Europe, at the same time maintaining and ensuring its position in European balance, by creating or financing coalition against nations like France and Russia and later against Germany and Ottoman Empire, which seemed to dominate European, land mass at any given time.

After 1815, British foreign policy skillfully shifted its alliance partners, with changes in her perception about power of other states in Europe. British diplomacy according to Engdhal “cultivated this cynical doctrine, which dictated that Britain should never hold sentimental or moral relations with other nations as sovereign respected partners, but rather, should develop her own ‘interests.’ British alliance strategies were dictated strictly by what she determined at any given period might best serve her own ‘interest’”.

British were successful to create a perception about their power till second world war but according to Engdahl after the onset of Great Depression in 1873, “the sun began to set on British empire”, with a great intensity. Foucault preposition that “source of power” can eventually cause loss, and diminution of power, hold true in British case. (Engdahl, [1992], 2004, pp. 1-10)
One pillar of British hegemony was its credit system backed by the banks of London. British at one hand were investing their finances in Argentine, USA, and India, in railroad and building ports with intention to destroy the manufacturing potential of these economies and converting them into bread baskets of Europe. Farmers belonging to Argentine and India were competing with British and Irish farmers and food became a sale commodity, leaving food growers of these areas as famine victim. On the other hand British industrial power declined. Britain according to Gilpin was investing abroad far more than at home. However British trade was in chronic deficit, repatriated earnings served as shock absorber for British economy. Britain became a reinter economy as its foreign holdings increased five times from 1870 to 1914. With massive outflow of industrial capital British power started waning. As GB was the site of first industrial revolution it missed second industrial revolution when a continental power Germany and a previous colony USA took lead, in Petroleum, Steel, Electrical, Chemical and Motor vehicle industries. (Gilpin, 1987, pp. 308-309) During the period German Reich was the power that eclipsed the British Sun with prime focus to shift European balance in her favor. (Engdahl, [1992], 2004)

**32. Protectionism as Policy to Contend British Hegemony**

British hegemony during the period rested on the power of free trade doctrines advocated by liberal economists, Adam Smith and later David Ricardo. If British had to sustain their preponderant power position in Europe and World and desired to get maximum returns of their foreign holdings best course available to GB was either to sustain food dependence of other European powers on its Grain trading houses, or converting them into bread baskets of Europe by curtailing their manufacturing potential. British adopted both courses.
As British were at the zenith of its power in last quarter of 19th century, other powers were in search of alternatives, to pose resistance to British tendencies to build a global empire. Some economic historians and critics of liberalism believe that on theoretical front the orthodoxy of liberalism was challenged by protectionist Economic nationalism. They take refuge in historical facts that any power who either challenged or overthrown hegemony were only those powers that were capable to break the bondage of free trade. Examples of British, Germans and USA serve their purpose because before implanting free trade constraints on other countries these powers were practitioners of protectionism and protectionism invested them with the capability to shift hegemonic balance in their favor.

The efforts started with Alexander Hamilton Report on the subject of manufacturers (1791), as import substitution strategy for economic development. Report was a cry from a previous colony, itself a victim of British trade policies, to ensure the fruits of independence. Friedrich List, after spending a number of years in US brought the doctrine of economic nationalism to Europe. List was perhaps the first person who indentified an element of power bias in advocating particular knowledge content to protect and promote the hegemonic interest. List proclaimed that, was he belonged to English academia, he would not have questioned the liberal doctrine of Smith-Ricardo Liberal School. (Gilpin, 1987, p. 181) For List British Liberalism was Protectionism in guise. List argument was that British used state military apparatus to weaken its opponents to protect its infant industries at the same time destroying the manufacturing potential of their power contenders. GB only became champion of free trade doctrine, after achieving a certain level of technological and industrial domination. Before List Germans were under the economic tutelage of British Liberal economists, but with List Zollverein German Reich adopted quite divergent
governance rationality, a course away from policy of trade interdependence and in few decades it was well on its way to economic sufficiency, posing a real challenge to GB.

Germany emphasized on technical education to increase the technological competence of German populace. With investment in human resource German steel, electric and chemical industries grew enormously after 1870, and Germany became the home of second industrial revolution.

British trade doctrines emphasize on food import strategy, and Germans under the spell of British were importing food from Argentine and Russia via British food merchants, since 1800 due to famine and harvest failure. There was a major shift in German policy after unification into a modern state in 1871 under ambitious Prussian leadership and it imposed a protective tariff, blocking the import of food. In 1890 Germany became an exception to Malthus rule and attained 95% self sufficiency with double per capita consumptions. Mechanized farming and German breakthrough in chemical industry was the reason behind this miracle. Another exception to Malthus rule was growth of German population that increased 75 % during 1870 to 1914 with fivefold increase in GDP and 250 % increase in per capita as industrial wages doubled during the period. (Engdahl, [1992], 2004, pp. 5,13)

Foucault provides his readers another explanation of the protectionist policies opted by Germans before First World War as well as between War period. Foucault attributes these policies to be a protectionist expression of German liberalism. As consumers of freedom Germans have to organize preventive measures and system of controls to avoid the nasty impacts of unrestrained British freedom. For Foucault “coercive intervention in domain of economics” is a liberal means to avoid reduction of freedom. (Foucault, 2008, p. 69)
The progress of German Reich might have been acceptable to GB under the competition clause of Westphalia treaty, as well as under liberal assumption of progress and a correlated European “enrichment bloc” but Germans were going to challenge British supremacy not only on land but also on seas as Seas according to Foucault was “space of free competition, free circulation, and consequently as one of the condition of creation of world market”. (Foucault, 2008, p. 56) German merchant fleet was fifth largest at start of 1870’s but it was second only to British in 1914, in number. As far as the quality of German ships was concerned young German Nassus were posing a real challenge to old British Dreadnoughts. German ports were linked with rail infrastructure to Central Europe. (Engdahl, [1992], 2004, p. 17)

British were well aware of the fact that German Deutsch Bank was working on Railway projects since 1889 in Ottoman Empire and its next stage was Berlin Baghdad Railways line. If that project would have seen the light of day it would be a disaster to British rule over the world. It would have given Germany a land access to resources of a territory stretching through ancient valley of Tigris and Euphrates to Persia at borders of British India, beyond the reach of any sea power of the time.

Germany was not the only challenger to British power. During the period another threat to British European and World supremacy was Russia that previously consolidated its empire in central Asia and hampered British not only to enter that vast resource zone but also posed a threat to British Jewel India. Its policy to get hold of Hot Water ports of India led to great game in the region. British liberal trade doctrines imposed a role of grain basket on Russia for British Grain trading houses, but after 1870’s there was a shift in Russian policy. On List Zollverein pattern Russia was building a Trans Siberian Railways line. With completion of this project Russia
would be a consolidated economy with strong potential for industrialization. British alliance strategy used Ottoman Turkey to block a strong and industrialized Russia. Tsarist Russia was also the power occupying Geographical pivot region of World according to Mackinder thesis. Concern of British strategists during the period was to prevent Germany and Russia from making an alliance to counterweight British predominant position. Russia facing a security threat from Japan acknowledged British hegemony in Afghanistan and Persia, in first decade of twentieth century, after Russo Japanese War of 1905.

France was also a strong European contender to British. British successfully ousted France from India, kept it away from forging an alliance with Persian rulers on Indian Border, at the same time snatching the most prized colony Egypt from its clutches. British awe was engraved in French memoirs although with bitterness.

33. Change in British Alliance Strategy with Changing Geopolitical Interests

As links between Germany and Turkey grew, British changed its alliance partner. British hegemonic interests built a triple Entente British, French and Russia by 1907 to encircle Germany.

Previously Austro Hungarian Empire was enjoying concession by British but as Empire was a vital part of Berlin Baghdad railways, British secret diplomacy used Serbia to breach the project and started destabilizing both Turkish and Austro Hungarian empires. Germans were well aware of the fact that they are not able to complete the dream of Europe Asia Rail connectivity without British diplomatic and moral support, but they were seeking this support in Middle East, to build the last 2500 km Railways in Mesopotamia, the territory comprising today’s Kuwait. Kaiser visited Windsor in 1899 and asked British to use their ties with Anza Tribe Sheikh
Mubarak in favor of German project but instead it was the skill of British secret services and diplomacy that Kuwait was declared a British protectorate by Sheikh in 1901, successfully blocking the Berlin Baghdad Railways to get an access to Persian Gulf. (Engdahl, [1992], 2004, p. 24)

34. First World War, an Oil War

The question arises here that why British were struggling on diplomatic front to build alliances against European powers having ties with Germans and setting a theatre of war against Germany. British were lords of all kinds of resources that earth terrestrial mass can produce, including Gold, Diamonds, cotton, food stuffs and etcetera, lacking only one vital resource, that already became the concern of strategy devisers in GB since 1886 and that was Oil. In 1886 Captain Fisher later Lord Fisher advised British Admiralty to switch their fleets from heavy fuel Coal to Oil. Although at that time there were little known petroleum resources like Baku in Russia and Pennsylvania in USA. Germans also lacked this critical source able to insert vitality in slow moving coal fuelled heavy ships. But till 1901-02, Geologists discoveries made it sure that Mesopotamian region of Turkish Empire, including today’s states of Kuwait and Iraq are rich in Petroleum resources. Last portion of Berlin Baghdad Railways line had to pass through this region and German Deutsch Bank secured a concession from Ottoman Caliph that granted the Baghdad Rail Co. full ‘right-of-way’ and extraction rights to all oil and minerals on a parallel 20 kilometers either side of the rail line. The line had reached as far as Mosul in today Iraq. As there were no known Oil reserves in British Empire till that time, it seemed that balance has been shifted in German favor once and for all.

If GB had to win this War for Oil it was only possible by means of Oil and Oil only. Oil became the focus of British policy onwards. As Geologists discovered that sea
pages can have rich resources of oil. So British focused their whole attention towards sea pages in its empire. The availability of sea pages in Nigeria raised British hopes that there might be commercially exploitable deposits here. Based on this anticipation, the policy of the British colonial government on land and minerals was, by 1900, that of total control. So all unexplored minerals and land containing them became the property of the crown. All such lands bearing minerals were quickly taken and owned by the British colonial government which administered mining rights on them. (Abdussalam, 2012) The policy also led to cancellation of the charter of the Royal Niger Company in 1900 by the parliament. Mineral Surveys of Southern and Northern Nigeria were carried on in 1903 and 1904 respectively. Nigerian Bitumen Corporation Limited (a German company), which was the first company to explore crude oil in the Nigerian soil. Reason to grant a German company rights of exploration at heart of British colony is unknown, but it can be argued that perhaps Germans have better knowledge related to petroleum, as they have already explored oil in Mesopotamian region of Turkish empire. German Company carried on its operations till 1912. They were denied permission by GB in wake of War. Some oil experts are of the opinion that in 1912 British were sure of large oil reserves presence in sea pages of Niger Delta, the reason to substitute German company’s activities by D’Arcy exploration Co. and Whittal Petroleum Company in 1919 after the end of War. (Abdussalam, 2012) The situation further led Lord Lugard’s act to merge Southern Nigeria with Northern Nigeria in 1914. Lugard introduced the Colonial Mineral Ordinance, making the exploitation of oil and minerals in colony as exclusive preserve for the British. (Lackner, 1973) D’Arcy Exploration Company has already served British oil interest during First World War. British secret services focused on D’Arcy, a devotee Christian engineer
who was authorized by Persian ruler Shah Muzaffar over subsoil products of Persia in 1902, in return of 20000 $ cash and 16 % Royalty from Sales till 1961. In 1909 D’Arcy signed over these exclusive rights to Persian Oil to Anglo Persian Oil Company with 51 % secret shares of British Government. (Engdahl, [1992], 2004, pp. 87-93)

Colonial Baluchistan becoming part of Indian empire after Second Afghan war, with city of Quetta that was important for security of vital British oil assets in Persia. During the period British protected the rights to extraction of sub soil resources in Baluchistan by doing agreements with various Baloch Sardars along with the purchase of Quetta from Khan of Kalat. British imparted military significance on Quetta and established Cantonment connected with Railways not only with British India but also across Iranian Border. (Axmann, 2008, p. 34)

Significance of Peripheral Balochistan can be estimated from the fact that place was also important for German strategy of “Global Jihad” devised to counter British designs by using “Islamic ideologues”, in British India, Caucasus, and North Africa by fomenting uprisings in Muslim occupied areas of its rivals, GB, Russia and France. Axmann provide evidences that during the period Germans started with a rumor that “Germans had been converted to Islam”, and German agents supported marauding bands with money, arms and ammunition to help enhance their activities along with Persian border. However British managed to counter these German activities and in 1916 all defiant tribes surrendered in a tribal assembly. On the occasion several bags of money were distributed among the tribal chiefs to ensure their loyalty with British Government in India as well as to support wide scale recruitment of Balochi and Brahui population in Royal army. (Axmann, 2008, pp. 42-60)

After securing the vital source of energy in Iran, British Government decided in 1912 to convert their fleets on light Oil fuel as advised by Lord Fisher and Winston
Churchill. The decision gave Royal Navy a cutting edge over Germany, and allied powers sailed to victory on “blood and Oil”.

British protected the lifeline for its naval fleet but as they lacked the sources of finance, so they have to arrange for financers too to aid them in their war enterprise. Perhaps the real winner of the War was not a state and its allies, but the power of finance capital.

As events were approaching towards start of First World War when A Serb assassin murdered Austrian heir to Crown along with his Spouse in Capital of Bosnia Sarajevo, British were on the verge of financial collapse. As it is previously accounted that power of British power lied in British Finance and a free trade regime backed by Pond Gold Standard, but these two pillars eventually became the sources of British fragility. GB managed the war activity with the help of a private US Bank Morgan that not only financed War for Britain and its allies but also the sole agent for all the War time deals on behalf of Entente Powers. (Engdahl, [1992], 2004, pp. 50-55) War has always been a profitable activity throughout human history giving access to enormous amount of resources, bullions and territory to the victors. First World War was a unique affair in history of mankind in the sense that a Bank emerged as victor. At the end of War both winners and losers were on the same page, as their economies were suffocating under huge debt burden. Representative of House of Morgan was present at Versailles and according to Endghal it was Morgans who calculated the reparations for Germany and its allies. Endghal believe that seeds of Second World War and Great Depression were sown at Versailles. Morgan earned enormous profits as deal shares of War Supplies during War. After Versailles they transferred their debts on US treasury and public taxes.
35. **Start of “Revolution”, Eventualization towards a shift in Hegemony**

Neil Smith observes that since 1890, US ruling classes were concerned for profitable disposition of surplus capital resulted by their enormous economic growth behind protectionist curtain and War provided them with the opportunity. While the official First World War victors were primarily concerned with territorial boundaries and resources at Paris Peace talks concern of Woodrow Wilson global Monroe doctrine was to gain access to world markets in a world already painted by European colors. (Smith N., 2005, p. 69) While European Powers at Versailles were making geographical arrangements to suppress Germany by granting right to self determination to nations whose areas were previously occupied by Hapsburg and German Empires. Real aim was to create Buffer states between Germany and Russia to avoid a forging alliance between occupants of heartland area that would threaten British Control over inner crescent comprising South Asia and Middle East, life artery for British power. In this environment US strength laid in the fact that Victorious European powers were now indebted to USA, and first time it seemed that World hegemonic position is going out of Europe. Wilson with all his repressive measures at home was unable to convince public at home the benefits of World Leadership and US public and Senate rejected the global version of Monroe doctrine and decided to maintain its isolationist posture. (Smith N., 2005, p. 65) US was reluctant to assume a global role but Morgan’s were ready to finance Germany to pay their reparations that in turn channelized back to US in form of debt services from Entente powers.

Only soothing outcome of War for debt ridden waning British power was that its de facto hegemony was intact although under constraints and real prize of the War was resource rich Middle East was now a part of global economic milieu regulated by
them. As 95% of land mass was under European feet, Foucault don’t view the process in terms of victory and defeat but explains the phenomenon in as zenith of liberalism as whole world was “summoned around Europe to exchange its own and European products” in market governed by European rules. “That is to say, there will be Europe on one side, with Europeans as the players, and then the world on the other, which will be the stake. The game is in Europe, but the stake is the world”. (Foucault, 2008, pp. 55-56)

Foucault ascertain that however it was not the start of colonization, because the process started much earlier, and now there was no cake left to be divided, so he instead consider it start of new type of global calculation in European governmental practice..... appearance of a new form of global rationality, of a new calculation on the scale of the world”. For Foucault new liberal Europe was no longer merely covetous of all the world’s “riches” that sparkle in its dreams or perceptions. Europe is now in a state of permanent and collective enrichment through its own competition, on condition that the entire world becomes its market. (Foucault, 2008, p. 55)

British War time genius made it possible during War, that greatest share of world riches is accrued by her. While France was engaging Germany in Europe; British forces practically taken over the control of resource rich Middle East. British gained control of Mesopotamia, today’s Iraq and Kuwait. Royal Dutch Shell was given control over Petroleum resources of Mesopotamia, and shares recovered from German Deutsche Bank Turkish Petroleum were given to France. It was also the beginning of neo colonial practices and creation of informal European empires in Middle East region. Britain and France envisaged a division of the Ottoman Middle East under Sykes-Picot agreement: the proposed division was that, French would take much of present-day Syria, while the British were claimant of prerogative mandate over an
independent Palestine and control of the Transjordan, along with the three provinces that later comprised Iraq (including latter day Kuwait). British imperial state apparatuses controlled these new entries in British Empire from Delhi as well as from London. (Smith N., 2005, p. 4) As Allied powers already demarcated their respective spheres of influences under Sykes–Picot agreement; on the other hand British ensured de jure sovereignty rights to many local Arab Power seekers, helping British against Turks. One such example is Mesopotamia (re)named Iraq by British and granted to King Faisal bin Husain of Mecca. According to Engdahl, the greatest mistake made by British in their post WWI Middle East arrangement was ignoring the potential resources of huge desert area given to House of Saud named as kingdom of Saudi Arabia. (Engdahl, [1992], 2004, p. 42)

Between War period witnessed many crisis that economic historians like Gilpin believe were caused by mixed traits of “cooperation and rivalry”, between old (London) and new (New York) centers of international finance. The voyage of power that started in Mediterranean was about to reach North Atlantic. Power nested itself in Florence in sixteenth century, moved to Amsterdam and eventually moved on to city of London and according to Gilpin in 1920’s it was forwarding towards New York. (Gilpin, 1987, p. 310)

By the beginning of 1920’s the three pillars of British Imperial strength were under threat from US. In 1924 South Africa the major reserve of World Gold established financial bonds with New York breaking its financial dependence with London. US politically maneuvered World Gold supply hence giving it a maneuvering power over World Credit. (Engdahl, [1992], 2004, p. 49)

But prime cause of conflict between US and its “Old Master” was not gold but Black Gold. As we have already noted that British were struggling for Oil Suzerainty in
first decade of 20th century with no known oil resource in its vast kingdom. First recorded instance of US British oil rivalry was Mexico. In 1910 Oil was discovered in Mexico. In 1912, using as pretext a minor incident in which U.S. Marines were detained while in the Tampico port, President Wilson ordered the U.S. naval fleet to take Vera Cruz. Their objective was to oust the regime of General Victoriano Huerta, which had been positioned to power and was financially backed by the Mexican Eagle Petroleum Company. The Mexican Eagle president, Weetman Pearson, later Lord Cowdray, was an English oil promoter. With clear expectations of a coming War with Germany, Britain decided tactfully to back away from Huerta’s regime, and General Venustiano Carranza’s government was immediately recognized as the legitimate one by President Wilson. Rockefeller’s Standard Oil ran guns and money to Carranza including $100,000 in cash and large fuel credits. U.S. oil had taken Mexico from British oil. With clear expectations of a coming war with Germany, and relying on US oil support (US was producing 65% of World Oil produce in 1912 with its Pennsylvania oil reserves) decided tactfully to back away from Mexico Huerta’s regime, and his successor General Venustiano Carranza’s government was immediately recognized as the legitimate one by GB also.

In face of emerging threat in Europe from German USSR alliance, the Anglo-American power struggle for primacy over world finance and economic affairs resolved amicably. The oil wars, between GB and US finally resolved in a ‘ceasefire,’ resulting in creation of a gigantic Anglo-American oil cartel, later labeled as ‘Seven Sisters.’ The peace agreement between World Great Oil Interests was finalized in 1927, at Achnacarry, the Scottish castle of Shell’s Sir Henri Deterdingt named as Achnacarry agreement of 1928. British and American (private) oil majors agreed to an accepted market shares division, secret world cartel price, to end destructive
competition over price. The respective governments were just official signatories of this private accord what officially became the Red Line agreement. Britain and France agreed in 1927 to let the Americans into the Middle East. A Red Line was drawn from the Dardanelles down through Palestine, to Yemen and up through the Persian Gulf; it encompassed Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iraq and Kuwait. Inside the line, the oil interests of the three countries worked out. This territorial division exists to this day. Inside Iraq, Anglo-Persian, the Royal Dutch Shell group, and the French Compagnie Française des Pétroles, which had been ‘given’ the German Deutsche Bank share of the Turkish Petroleum Gesellschaft from 1914, along with the Rockefeller group, gained ‘concessions’ from Iraq for exclusive exploitation for 75 years of Iraq’s oil. Kuwait was given to Anglo-Persian and the American Mellon family’s Gulf Oil. (Engdahl, [1992], 2004, pp. 74-86)

36. **US involvement in European affairs: a Global Monroe Doctrine**

Foucault argues that liberalism count on mutual, correlative enrichment of “elite states”. We can find first evidences of this mutual enrichment progressive Europe in immediate Post WWI environment, when US with Dawes Plan influenced the relations between Germany and its war contenders. Immediate objective of Dawes Plan was to end French occupation of the Ruhr valley, and make guarantee for reparation services. But with short term loans to Germany, US attained the long term objective to interlock all Western World economies into that of its own. Foucault however believes that state external objectives are limited, but US state with Dawes Plan extended the horizon of its external objective. A decade prior to Second WW in
1939, US suzerainty was almost established in Europe. USA was creeping in hegemonic arena, and politically securing the hard earned British War rewards\(^{33}\).

### 37. Adoption of Keynesian Liberalism

Foucault records another shift in economic governance of the era i.e. adoption of Keynesian economic policies all over Europe and USA, to deal with the crisis of 1929 depression. With this shift State had to preserve unlimited objectives within the state. Foucault believes that interventionism to produce extra freedoms like full employment, workers rights etc are necessary to deal with the crises. Foucault believes that as liberalism consumes freedom, level of consumption becomes higher in days when crisis becomes the rule. So he accounts the environment of depression years like “in the 1930s say, when not only the economic but also the political consequences of the developing economic crisis were immediately detected and seen to represent a danger to a number of what were thought to be basic freedoms. Roosevelt’s welfare policy, for example, starting from 1932, was a way of guaranteeing and producing more freedom in a dangerous situation of unemployment: freedom to work, freedom of consumption, political freedom, and so on. What was the price of this? The price was precisely a series of artificial, voluntary interventions, of direct economic interventions in the market represented by the basic Welfare measures”. (Foucault, 2008, pp. 67-68)

In war devastated Germany urge to consume extra basic freedoms were even higher. Nazis came to power in midst of Great Depression in 1934 and Hitler appointed Hjalmer Schacht as his economic minister. Schacht according to Foucault was a follower of Keynes. With the help of short term US loans large public work programs were initiated. At time of Nazis assuming power unemployment rate was 30 %. The

\(^{33}\text{http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dawes_Plan}\)
aftermath followed quickly, with rapid decline of unemployment, rearmament and ever increased military spending. Germany was opting for “military Keynesianism”, where military investments outpaced the civilian investments. As Hitler was follower of Autarky and wanted to fight a self sufficient war with in the span of four years, he aimed at building his natural sphere of influence in Southern Europe as Balkans heavily depended on Germany and countries like Yugoslavia, Hungry, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece were in German trade zone as 50 % of these countries exports counted on German goods. As the region was also considered a natural sphere of influence of USSR, German power was threatening not only to Britain and France but also their ideological adversary USSR.

Anyway Germans guided by influence of Haushofer set their path for geopolitical Lebensraum. However across Atlantic another visionary was conceiving a novel idea involving economic calculation on planetary scale. The idea of economic lebensraum perceived by Isaiah Bowman, according to Neil smith not only included the spatial calculations but also the temporal ones. It was the beautiful vision of US economic and political power applied to winning the War and negotiating peace afterwards. End of War witnessed realization of another political ideal of Perpetual Peace and international organization to become a reality. However World has experienced its initial version in form of League of Nations, but prime cause of League failure was lack of support from the state backing the liberal ideal and idea USA. Present version UN was necessary for US haunt of its living space not in geographical sense but in economic terms. (Smith N., 2005) Foucault believes that since, 18th century, “the idea of perpetual peace and the idea of international organization are, I think, articulated completely differently. It is no longer so much the limitation of internal forces that is called upon to guarantee and found a perpetual peace, but rather the unlimited nature
of the external market. The larger the external market, the fewer its borders and limits, the more you will have a guarantee of perpetual peace”. (Foucault, 2008, pp. 56-57) We can draw conclusion from the above discussion that economic lebensraum was the prime inspiration behind the UN as well as Bretton Woods and European Recovery program (ERP).

38. **Multilateralism and Pax-American World Order**

Nayer describe the implementation of American Liberal ideal as “the new order were put in place by bending Britain—which with its Commonwealth sterling bloc, the chief barrier to the expansion of American power abroad ---to American will”. He further adds that grand American Architecture was not possible without the central theme, ‘multilateralism’. The order according to Nayer required the removal of all trade barriers, currency exchange control. The idea was based on liberal presumption of “prosperous” interdependent world. However British at the time were in great need of Keynesian, policies and broadening the horizon of human freedom by generating extra freedom by adopting interventionist policy measures. But US state in pursuit of Economic lebensraum and determined for an extended external role set its objective as ‘self sufficient expansionism’. United States manufacturer, with huge surplus to invest, according to British Secretary of State for India, was sure that ‘they could dominate any market of the world given an equal chance”. Multilateralism Churchill feared was a “mask for American nationalism”. Fatigued hegemon was bended by tough minded US in favor of multilateralism. Under heavy war time debts GB was not able to preserve its overseas investments, markets and military outposts, and finally two centuries of British supremacy in world came to end. In colonies it was the beginning of new hope, and start of postcolonial era. (Nayar, 2005, pp. 64-72)
As US not the GB was the leader of post war free world, Dollar replaced Pond Sterling as leading currency. Author of American order Henry Morgenthau suggested role of a satellite for Britain in new world order. Bretton Woods agreement arrived at in 1944, led to the establishment of institutions like IMF (International Monetary Fund), IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development), essential to sustain American designs and US monopoly of world’s Gold dollar. System depended on continuous Dollar supply. However agreement was mutually reached between old and new leaders of World order, but US invited delegates from forty four nations of the world at Bretton Woods. US desire was hidden behind Keynes General theory. After War was over, American vision of trade was institutionalized in General Agreement of Trade and Tariff (GATT) in 1947.

GATT essentially was a rich man’s club, aimed to ensure the liberal conception of a mutual enrichment of Europe under the leadership of descendents of European immigrants to new world America. However it seems that Europe was only regime taker in a regime made in USA. (Nayar, 2005) Noam Chomsky visits the situation as “the first order of business for global planners in 1945, was the reconstruction of European societies”. Chomsky believe that Germany was not converted into an agrarian economy, as it was thought earlier, but under new economic disposition of ERP Germany and Japan was recognized as “great workshops” and their core status were kept intact. (Chomsky, [1994], 1996, p. 120)

However continued supply of Dollar was necessary for conduct of new economic reasoning, system would not be able to work without continued supply of oil. During War US was able to secure the largest untapped resources of oil in kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1933. Roosevelt visit to desert kingdom after Yalta conference reflects the importance of oil for American World order. Future of American leadership was
dependent on the desert kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Engdahl finds evidences that major conditionality imposed by European loan seekers under ERP (Economic Recovery Program) was purchase of oil from US oil companies on differential rates. Oil created the bond of reliance and dependence of European economies with that of USA. With condition to purchase oil at US assigned prices, aid Dollars were routed back to US. (Engdahl, [1992], 2004, p. 88)

39. **Liberal World Order as Pax Americana**

End of War was a signpost that marked the end of “Thirty Year War” (1914-1944) between two contenders of British throne i.e. Germany and USA. However, end of War and collapse of Germany as threat brought to surface the ideological contradiction of war time allies, USA and USSR. With its particular economic governmentality with special emphasis of state control on economy, Socialism embodied in USSR was a new threat to US liberal lebensraum. But a question that haunts the historian of the epoch is that does USSR conception of governmental reason was an ideologically contrast to US, as both Capitalism and Socialism believe in Industrialization as the only means to achieve progress as well as mirage of human dignity. Lyotard viewed Soviet brand Socialism as nothing more than state capitalism, with common conception of ‘modernity’, and a meta-narrative of human emancipation, freeing mankind from the wraths of poverty by technological breakthroughs. (Reading, 1992, p. 169) Wallerstein believe that real challenge for US was not USSR but a need to promote effective demand. “It needed a stable world order” to profit from economic lebensraum, and for an effective economic lebensraum it “needed effective demand and customers”, for its production enterprise. Wallerstein argue that a de facto line partitioned world dividing it into US and USSR spheres of influences, giving USSR a free hand to pursue mercantilist policy within
that zone to strengthen its economic capabilities. US freed itself from the responsibility to reconstruct that zone. He further adds that both sides engaged in a vigorous ideological rhetoric. (Wallerstein I., June 2000) In a world with fresh scars and memories of Nazism, USSR Red flag was the signifier of a new emerging threat and served as “truth game”, making reality. Nayer (2005, pp. 89-90) makes the case that a region adjacent to Mackinder’s Heartland was within the orbit of US, either through military alliance or economic dependence. The whole Security doctrine and accompanying arrangement in form of treaty organizations like NATO, CENTO and SEATO, were reflection to contain the emergent threat. A byproduct of alliance security system was the realist narrative of security dilemma and state caught in an environment where they have to rely on Self help. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles formally declared War with the statement that “those states that were not being with US are in essence against it”. (Nayar, 2005, p. 90) As states according to Foster Dulles, lack means for “Self help”, hence Dulles devise the means to obtain security also. “Security for the free world depends, therefore upon the development of collective security and community power rather than upon purely national potentials. Each nation which shares the security should contribute in accordance with its capabilities and facilities”. (Dulles, 1977)

Foucault considers that danger is one of the pre requisite of Liberalism. Liberalism requires its followers to lead a life always in danger. Danger to liberal way of life was officially declared in 1947, with Truman Doctrine. Truman defined liberal way of life as “free institutions, representative government, and free election, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression”. The other posing threat to Liberal conception of collective life guaranteeing individual freedom was defined by Truman as reliance “upon terror and
oppression, controlled press and radio and suppression of political freedom”, and policy of United States as protector and promoter of liberal way was thus to “support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by the armed minorities”. It was the declaration of new war, a war between two alternative conceptions of life. (Truman, 1977)

Second “other”, a threat to liberal way of life was emanating from third world “underdevelopment”. Underdeveloped other, providing images of misery, poverty, illiteracy, backwardness; these representations implicitly assume Western standards as the benchmark against which to measure the situation in the third world; perhaps indicating towards a threat for prosperous nations of the World. Inaugural address to Congress in 1949, by Truman, according to Sachs was a definitive moment, a curtain raiser, for “development” epoch. (Sachs, 1996, p. 239) “Suddenly, a seemingly, indelible concept was established, cramming the immeasurable diversity of South into one category: the “underdeveloped”. Truman conceived, “development” episteme as a part of Universalist, deterministic, Eurocentric view about world. Sachs interprets that for Truman all the people were moving along the same track, in same direction with different momentum. North especially USA is leading the voyage of humanity, while the rest of the world with its low per capita income is far behind but in a position to catch up. Development was part of a US conception of world, world as an economic arena, where nation compete for a better position on a scale with GNP as measure. Accompanying conception to sustain development narrative about the South was the narrative of Tradition vs. Modernity. Modernization provided the rational for a big gap between North and South. “Old Ways” of living were considered as obstacles to development. Tradition with its particular ideals, habits, work patterns, eastern mode of knowledge, bond of loyalty, and governance patterns of East, according to
modernization paradigm was at “odds with ethos of economic society”. Modernization was considered a means as well as an end of development. Description provided by narratives of development was not different in any respect from Marxist description of idyllic Indian village societies. Tradition was constructed by modernization discourse in likely manner as part of “Orientalism” discourse already discussed in prior chapter.

Post modern narratives consider development as continuation of the nineteenth-century resolution of the development problem that invoked the concept of trusteeship. Those who took themselves to be developed could act to determine the process of development for those who were deemed to be less-developed. As doctrine, of trusteeship and civilization stands condemned as Eurocentrism, bearing an imperial connotation so the post-1945 order, organized different means to achieve the same objective, “attempt to improve living standards of poor colonies and poor nations via through state administration”, and creation of indigenous states. It was considered the responsibility of rich states to reserve 1% of its GDP for purpose of economic aid to those who are left behind. The main objective for the proposal was to create a “level playfield” where trade can flourish. (Goldsmith, 1996) The real aim was to incorporate these reservoirs of Raw materials as periphery of the World system so that the system keeps on working uninterrupted by the whirlwind of independence. Dependent development in peripheral societies led to alliances with the two superpowers. Narrative of Development was told and retold in Post World War II Scenario. It served as language game whose rules legitimized a space in which Poor Countries are known specified and intervened upon. Imperial interventions in economic, military, political and cultural arenas are woven together by Development Meta narrative.
Development practices can, in this framework, productively be construed as forms of what Michel Foucault called government. To understand development is to grasp how “the possible field of action of others” is structured through a variety of technicalities and micro management and politics of power. From map drawing, to the national census and official statistics, and all forms of surveillance are actually techniques to ensure servitude, an attempt to realize secure rule through sorting of governable objects converting them into objects and subjects of power, making conduct possible. Narratives of Development and Security was a product of Post WWII episteme, and provided the anthropological structure as well as modes of intervention for power, necessary to sustain the global order, when Western liberal societies undertook the project of decolonization under their protection. Security and development become vital pillars in construction and sustenance of hegemony that operated below the surface relations between core and peripheral states as binding mechanism for civil societies of west and aspiring allies.

40. Conclusion

In the above section of our study, we endeavored to locate some of the reason for power decline of hegemon as well as the process of shift in hegemony that took place in the first half of 20th century, as well as identifying the new truth regime in form of new world order. Foucault is a firm believer that “power needs to produce truth in order to function. Power institutionalizes the search for truth. We have to produce truth in order to produce wealth”. Along with the institutionalization of World order, UN IMF, IBRD, GATT, we can identify two true discourses Security and Development in Truman doctrine. These discourses served their violent function in the Cold War environment. Regime of truth constituted by US leadership articulated the discourses of development and security as set practices and bonded both in a set of
intelligible relation as two pillars to sustain US hegemony. Foucault believes that true discourses provide a medium, like air and water where human species have to adjust its life accordingly as “we are judged, condemned, forced to perform tasks and destined to live and die in certain ways” (Foucault, 2003, p. 25) Both discourses fixed the limits of true and false, right and wrong and new means after civilization mission to sustain hegemonic governmentality in new order. Twin discourses of Security and development also provided the means of intervention necessary to sustain US led trade regime

Next part of this chapter will provide insight into working of Development Governmentality in two Ex British colonies as subjects and participant of American order.
Figure 17: Economic Lebensraum and Knowledge/Power Relations in Pax-American World Order

Pax American World Order
Economic Lebensraum
Doctrines of Development/ Hegemonic intervention

True Discourses, Reconstruction of Europe & Japan
Free Trade, Truman Doctrine

Mechanisms of Subjugation, IMF, IBRD, GATT,
Control over World oil Resources, US surrogate States
In Post Colonial World

Relations of power
USA as Regime Maker/ European Powers and Japan as Regime Taker

Games of Truth
Construction of Soviet Threat, Cold War,
Alliance System Development and National Security paradigm

Great Seven (G7) / Less Developed Countries
Collaborator Elites/ Ethnicized Masses
Part II: Post Colonial Structures of Rationality: Governmentality in Nigeria and Pakistan

This section of our study will deal with Discourses on state and state making, regime of truth, and games of truth played by state institution in Postcolonial world. Human beings living in spaces of ex colonial world witnessed the second shift in their lives with independence. As first shift was included introduction of modernity and inclusion in capitalist world system as subordinate periphery and incorporation in a two tier World-System as identified by Lenin in his seminal work “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism”? First shift made inhabitants living in these territories subject to modern forms of power and converted them into subjects. Second shift in lives of human species entered when according to Foucauldian conception they struggled to become public, demanding self rule and finally independence from colonial rule so that they can evolve a raison d’état, a governance structure based on the concept of citizen participation. The second shift accompanied with it the concept of “Neo Colonialism”, a three tier “World-System”, identified by Wallerstein and imposition of a status of “Third World” on colonial World.

Resistance in Colonial World dreamed a Postcolonial world free from exploitation of core meant to deliver its citizen progress, and a prosperous world. Makers of postcolonial world were not experimenting with something unique, novel, and nonexistent prior to it. A model of state already established in Europe, with its internal and external modalities of control was well engraved in their mind. A state that conduct the conduct of its human species in pursuit of their desire, aimed to material progress and well being. A conception of “how to be governed”, along with the
narratives of nationalism was part of freedom resistance struggle. But dream of a post
colonial world free from institutional oppression went sore.

This part of our study is dedicated to post colonial conception of state as well as the
“realization” of that ideal state in two post colonial geographies i.e. Nigeria and
British India. We call them post colonial geographies for two reasons.

1. They were mere colonial geographical expressions as British never took over
control of these areas as states, ruled by a single legitimate sovereign authority,
rather areas comprising these geographical expressions were incorporated in
these colonial states at different time for different reasons, overthrowing and
sometimes compromising different forms of rules as well as rulers.

2. British never in their ruling span reined these areas according to a single
governmental reason. British governmentality in various parts of these
geographical expressions was not devised against a unified principle; rather it
devised different instruments of control, employed in different parts of these
geographical expressions to suit British needs and attain only one objective, i.e.
to ensure the longevity of Imperial rule in these areas.

So a Foucauldian analysis entails that exercise of power in these areas were not rule
governed, with a single center, center of colonial authority, but power in these
geographical expression had multiple centers of authority, i.e. princes, chiefs,
landlords cum politicians, Government officials, Army containing diverse ethnic
groups employed to control the alien people and land within a given state as internal
security troops. So there existed no simple binary of Self/Other, Colonizer/Colonized,

British India is our point of concern till independence in August 1947. Analyses till 1971 will also
provide a reference to areas of today Bangladesh being part of Pakistan as East Pakistan.
rather multiple conception of self and other. With this complex setting there arrived
the moment of second shift in the lives of colonial subject, demanding statehood on
the basis of Nationalist discourses. British as masters were not the only alien to be
excluded out of “motherland”.

A Foucauldian approach would look at the emergence of certain discourses related to
ethnicity, national identity, religious affiliation and militarism in this period, showing
how these discourses positioned people in respect of other colonized of the area. A
Foucauldian approach would also focus on the emergence of non-discursive forces
leading to discursive formations in form of nationalist ideologies that affected the way
people saw others not as they once had (as neighbors sharing a common territory), but
as aliens encroaching on ‘our’ territory. A Foucauldian approach would seek to
unravel these different and unpredictable factors, and demonstrate how they affected
the way in which people spoke to and of, saw and acted towards one another.

In Foucauldian sense colonial rule was “a tricky combination of the same political
structures of individualization techniques and totalizing procedure” (Foucault quoted
in (Hubert L. Deryfus and Paul Rabinow, 1983, p. 14)) Colonial rule introduced
“Individualization techniques” that were in relation to objectification of subject.
Foucault calls it “Dividing Practices”. In different fashions, using diverse procedures,
and with a highly variable efficiency in each case, “the subject is objectified by a
process of division either within himself or from others”. In this process of social
objectification and categorization, human beings are given both a social and personal
identity. Identity in colonial spaces is main ingredient of discourse on governance that
rest on practices of exclusion, usually in spatial sense, but always in social ones.
(Hubert L. Deryfus and Paul Rabinow, 1983, pp. 7-8)
Foucault aims to study power by looking at its external face, at the point where it meets directly to its object, its target, field of its application, or places where it implements itself and produces real effects. (Foucault, 2003, p. 28) Foucault also identify that discipline as subject making power exercise itself only in controlled artificial spaces, and town is one such place where normalizing act of discourse takes place. Towns as we have already discussed were the places in the colonial world where modernity encountered tradition. From towns of the colonial world modernity reached to the remotest part of the colonies, in form of Railways, telegraph and radio waves. Towns were the places where individualizing techniques were used by power to break multiplicities, and forge them in a new whole, leading to endo colonialism.

Towns in colonial Africa became the centers of resistance, as War time activity brought more and more people to towns from the country. Moreover towns became the home of veteran soldiers fought on different fronts, exposed to different colonies and aware of resistance against colonial rule going on in different parts of the world including India. Town’s new inhabitants along with the old dwellers of African town, the liberated slaves and their families, formed a politically aware groupings. British promise of a broad inclusionary political system as reward of War participation, added fuel to fire of change. Meredith describes the phenomenon in African towns like this “In the war time boom the town had swollen. …In many African towns there was an air of tension…the spread of primary school education, particularly in West Africa created new expectations. A new generation was in the making, ambitious and disgruntled. Youth movements and African newspapers blamed every social ill on the government”. (Meredith, 2005, p. 10) British introduced University education in colonial world to prepare natives for self rule as well as to fill administrative position with people sharing codes of rule with colonial rulers.
The nationalism in Colonial world was not simply a “no” to a structure of exploitation, “no” to a system one critiques. It was according to Asad an impossible “no” to a system which one inhabits intimately. Rebels considered themselves as interlocutors and critics of an authority, to which they were already a subject, but which they have the ability to reform. (Wilson, 2006, p. 182)

Moreover resistance in colonial geographies was not an “event played between two groups of people, who had a clear and coherent sense of their autonomous identity”. Often resistors had a sense of coherent identity of their self and Colonizer self but they were quite alien from the other partners involved with whom they have to share their future independent polities. A reflection of this alien feeling can be founded in a statement of principle Northern Nigerian leader, the Sardauna of Sokoto, “the whole place was alien to our ideas and we found members of other regions might well belong to another world as far as we are concerned’. (Meredith, 2005, p. 75) Level and intensity of rejection to colonial rule was also not the same in all groups fighting against colonial subjugation. First Nigerian prime minister stated that British assumed different roles, “as masters, then as leaders and finally as partners”, but in every role they always remained friends. (Okonta, 2008)

The alien groups involved in resistance has to evolve themselves into a nation or at least invent a rhetoric describing them as nation due to reason they were demanding states independent from colonial masters, and state is considered to be the home of a cohesive social group sharing the lingo-cultural bonds, having a shared history, and history according to Foucault in modern times is “no longer the state talking about itself; it is something else talking about itself; and takes itself as the object of its own historical narrative, a sort of new entity known as the nation”. (Foucault, 2003, p. 142)So Chattergee proclaim that “story of liberty” is incomplete without nationalism.
Nationalist discourses have an explicit vision of future, as these groups were going to experience a unique and novel arrangement they never did in history. Paradox faced by these new nations is manifest in Chattergee expressions that Eastern Nationalism involved an effort to “re-equip”, the nation culturally, for purpose of transformation. It has to imitate two contradictory cultures, first the pre-colonial to invent its peculiar tradition, as well as a vision of future modeled on the pattern of West. Chattergee views that process of defining nation involves “two rejections”, “ambivalent rejections”, i.e. not only the “rejection of the alien intruder and dominator” but at the same time “the rejection of ancestral ways”, considered as obstacles to progress but “cherished as masks of identity”. (Chattergee, 1986, p. 2)

The next sub section of study will deal with nationalist discourses in Nigeria and British India to attain postcolonial geographical expressions in form of state of Pakistan and Nigeria, having no pre-colonial history as state as well as nation.

41. Nationalist Discourses in British India and British Nigeria

Nationalist Discourses in British India
Renan definition of nation remains an inspiration for people fighting imperial subjugation. “A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Only two things actually constitute this soul, this spiritual principle. One is the past, the other is the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of remembrance; the other is the actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to continue to value the heritage which all holds in common”. Invention of tradition is therefore a necessary prerequisite for a vision of “progressive future”. Chattergee considers nationalist historiography as an “integral part of theory of liberty”. Story of liberty was incomplete without the invention of past to fight imperial subjugation but at the same
time nationalist historiography had an ambivalent relation with modernity. Nationalist discourses accepted modern forms of state and capitalism as well the inherent conception of progress. Nationalist historiography involving the dual ambivalent rejection of Western civilization was part of nationalist vision of both Nehru and Iqbal in British India.

**Nehru and Indian Nationalism**
Nehru while drawing parallels to West and India finds industrialization as the only difference between India and West. As West owes industrialization and material progress accompanied with it to their Greek ancestry and consider Hellenic civilization as father and mother of modern Europe; Nehru believe that “industrialization is something new in world history….there is no organic connection between Hellenic civilization and modern European and American civilization”. Drawing parallels he finds ancient Greece more near to ancient India than the nations of modern Europe, “They all had the same broad, tolerant, pagan outlook, joy in life and in the surprising beauty and infinite variety of nature, love of art, and wisdom that come from the accumulated experience of an old race”. But Nehru finds Indian civilization as a victim of internal decay, rigidity of caste system. He finds out this decay in all walks of life, i.e. “intellectual, philosophical, political, in techniques and methods of warfare, in knowledge of and contacts with the outside world, in shrinking economy” etc. Nehru finds a growth of local sentiments and feudal and small group feelings at the expense of larger Indian conception. Nehru laments that in period of World history that witnessed revolutionary changes in Europe, Asia remained static. We have already discussed in chapter two that Nehru finds violent discourses Europe responsible for the arrested growth of Indian sub continent. A holistic archaeological analysis of nationalist thought of Nehru reveals that Nehru is weighing Indian
“conditions of existence”, with that of Europe and in Chatterjee terms ambivalently rejecting both Indian tradition as well as European rule to build a new India, independent of both Tradition as well as the influence of Europe. (Chatterjee, 1986, pp. 133-35)

**Iqbal’s Discourse on Muslim Nationalism**

Years that produced the discursive structure for Nehruian Nationalism also produced Iqbal’s unique ideology of Muslim Nationalism. In his 1930’s address to Muslim League in Allahabad Iqbal demanded “a Muslim India within India”. We find three rejections in Iqbal’s nationalist discourse.

Iqbal was a bitter critic of West and Western civilization, considering capitalism responsible for colonialism as well as miserable plight of millions of human beings. Iqbal like Kedouri criticizes nationalism as a dividing force. According to Iqbal “Its divisive facet generates pride in one’s own group’s imperialistic control and exploitation of another”. Iqbal criticizes West’s secularism and “reduction of religion to a private affair”. Iqbal constructs his nationalist ideal against western ideal and sees Islam as a people building force in India. “Islam as an ethical ideal, as a politico-legal value system, had provided generations of Indian Muslims with those basic emotions and loyalties, which gradually unify scattered individuals and groups and finally transform them into a well defined people”.

Iqbal’s rejection of West like Nehru was also ambivalent, because Alqama Khwaja finds elements fusing Islam with modernity, in Iqbal’s nationalist doctrine. He is of the view that “Iqbal’s importance lies in his ability to fuse democratic socialism with Islamic doctrine”. (Alqama, 1997, p. 69) Iqbal demand for separate Muslim State involved another ambivalent rejection. The rejection of tradition of theocratic Islam, religious tyranny as well as rejection of models of authoritarian rule, “Malokiat”, that

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The Muslim World experienced for centuries. Iqbal’s concept of governance involved democratic social ideals. Iqbal vision for state was a combination of tradition and modernity not only for Muslims but also for Islam. “I therefore demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interests of India and Islam. For India, it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam, an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its law, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times”.

The question arises here that both Iqbal and Nehru shares the feeling of sheer hatred for colonial rule, but in same non discursive environment of exploitation why Iqbal twisted his path away from his fellow countrymen (Nehru) fighting colonial subjugation and visualizing a progressive future for India. Alqama study provides an insight for the above question, where he draws parallel between Iqbal Nationalism and Gellner nationalist doctrine. Gellner according to him is convinced that uneven development is the byproduct of Industrialization and modernization. Different language groups are impacted differently by waves of progress and modernization. This feeling is exploited by heir intelligentsia to forge them into nationalities. Hence according to Alqama in environment of Indian subcontinent waves of modernization impacted two important religious groupings in uneven manner producing economic inequality among Hindus and Muslims. Language issue became secondary as Muslim Elites shared love for Urdu and considered it as representative language. Iqbal as a visionary foresighted that combining two religious communities living in colonial geographies having unequal economic stratification in British colonial disposition; in a polity without British role will lead to a super ordinate Hindu political order. So for
a progressive Muslim future Iqbal conceived a Muslim state free from British as well as Hindu domination. (Alqama, 1997, pp. 66-79)

Mr. Jinnah pleaded Muslim case for a separate state by constructing Hindu as other highlighting the stark contrasts of Hindu Muslim historiography and presenting Islam and Hinduism as two in-convertible, mutually hostile civilizations. Mr. Jinnah’s presentation of Islamic historiography not only won him the title of Quaid-E-Azam (the Great Leader), but also forged the diverse Muslim classes further divided on ethno-linguistic line into a Muslim Nation motivated for the cause of a separate state for Muslims, Pakistan.

Alqama Khwaja analyze that, “most passionate supporters” of Jinnah idea of Pakistan were the Muslim salaried classes, unevenly distributed in “size and influence” allover India (Alqama, 1997, pp. 86-87) but predominantly in Muslim minority provinces of India and Bengal. However Jinnah’s support base in urban Muslim middle class was secure, real power in Muslim provinces lied with regional landed aristocracy. To make Pakistan a reality, Jinnah has to win the consent of regional power players in favor of his idea. Jinnah secured the support of these active agents of power in Bengal (Fazel e Haq), Punjab (Sir Sikandar Hayat), and Sind (G.M Syed).The landed elite in British India were instrument of control as well as support bases on which edifice of British hegemony erected. Jinnah rallied on fear of these Feudal political elites. These classes were suspicious about Nehru’s conception of Socialism and their role in postcolonial polity dominated by Congress. (Alqama, 1997, p. 86) Jinnah rallied on fear of these elite and ensured their “survival” as strong and coherent class in independent Pakistan. On the other hand Jinnah secured the support of Muslim rural peasantry, by ensuring them freedom from the “yoke of cruel Hindu Zamindar”. Fear of economic domination in two contradictory Muslim classes has only one signifier
“Hindu” with a synonym Congress. Khalid bin Sayeed notes that as member of Khoja trading family of Guajarati Muslims migrated to Karachi and professional links as lawyer with business houses like the Adamgees, Ispahanis and Habibs. (Sayeed K. B., 1980, p. 25) Jinnah had a clear vision of “economic development”, and liberal conception of modernization. Pakistan became a signifier of prosperous future for diverse Muslim ethnic groups, different regions, multiple social strata, and divergent class interests, and they forged themselves into a movement.

**Nigerian Nationalism**

Nigerian independence struggle lacked such ideological rhetoric at its heart, Nigeria share with other African states a “narrative of activities of foreigners”, as the sole factor responsible for Nigeria’s distorted development, leaving it in tears, sorrows and blood. (Okonta, 2008; Onuoha, 2005, p. 62) Nigerian nationalism vision a progressive future where people will become the masters of their destiny. “Other” in this rhetoric is of course “white”, dominant power, but with no clear idea of “Self” identity, and a sort of “multitude” instead of single self posing real challenge to “other”, as the “geographical expression”, covering about 336,669 Square miles was the home of about 250 ethnic groups. (Onuoha, 2005, p. 61) The geographical expression was named Nigeria in 1897, by Flora Shaw, a correspondent of Times who later married to Lord Lugard. Name was formally adopted by British in 1900. Lady Lugard puts it “In the first place the title Royal Niger Company territories is not only inconvenient to use but to some extent also misleading, It may be permissible to coin a shorter title for the agglomeration of pagan and Mohammeden States which have been brought by the exertion of Royal Niger Company within the confines of a British protectorate and thus need for the first time in history to be described as an entity by some general name”. She named the area of British protectorates on Northern and Southern Banks
But up till 1914, Northern Nigeria and Southern Nigeria were separate entities, when Lord Frederick Lugard amalgamated the Northern and Southern protectorates, but introduced multiple versions of governmentality, and subjected people to different forms of conduct in amalgamated Nigeria. Northern and Southern protectorates were under command of different Lieutenent Governors. North, the home of Hausa Fulani’s was administered by indirect rule through the emirs, British salaried officials and “Shariah Court” system of Justice. In the South British system of justice, institutions of local administration, District Officers and Warrant Chiefs were administering the conduct. But South also was not a cohesive cultural Unit. South East was Land of Ibo and South West the land of Yoruba. In South East the land of Ibo’s indirect rule theory and warrant chiefs were failed, after Aba riots of 1929. People refused the authority of “Warrant Chiefs” appointed by British to facilitate administration especially revenue collection, but in South West Chief continued their working as collaborator of British imperialism. In 1939, British divided South in Eastern and Western region.

As North was under the influence of Muslims, South and especially South East was exposed to missionary activities and people were exposed to western education. Amalgamation according to Onuoha did not mean “unification of Nigeria”, because regions continued to pursue separate development patterns. North under the influence of Islamic Middle East established a system of centralized bureaucracies and Northern according to Forsyth “were content to import British officials” (Forsyth, 2007, p. 9), to fill administrative position As missionary were not allowed by British to enter in Islamic North, they were given a free chance in Pagan South. Austin Onuha establishes a relation between “availability of raw material”, “Proximity to coast” and influence of Christian mission on ethnic communities in South. If an ethnic group was
located close to the Atlantic (Eastern Region of South), then it was bound to have more contacts with Europeans, compared to places far off from Atlantic (Western region of south). (Onuoha, 2005, p. 66) South East invaded by the missionaries developed an avid thirst for education and accompanied modernization. South Eastern Doctors, Engineers, Lawyers outnumbered not only the other regions in Nigeria but also any other country in Negro Africa.

Forsyth (2007) and Onuoha (2005) both are of the view that British as rulers has soft corner for Northerners, “accustomed to implicit obedience”. While Easterners were referred in British Governance discourses as “Uppity”, due to their insistence on being consulted in everything that concerns them. (Forsyth, 2007, p. 9) British made every arrangement to protect North from the “contamination” of South. As British were making efforts to protect North from Southern influence, they had some practical limitations. The gaps in education caused by Northern apathy towards modernization could not be filled by British alone. There were Lower Bureaucratic positions, as well as technical posts like engineers, train drivers, Bank tellers, which Northerners cannot fill. Western region was also in severe shortage of this technical human stuff. So the gap filled by the People coming from the East. The Ibos occupied filled 1,300,000, salaried position in North and almost 500,000, in West. In the West Eastern assimilation was total, as they shared same streets and schools. (Forsyth, 2007, p. 9) While in North British “at the behest of local rulers”, herded all Southerners, belonging from East and West both, in “Sabon Garis”, the Stranger Quarters. (Forsyth, 2007, p. 10) The Hausa, concentrated in the far north were more near to the same ethnic group living across border in the Republic of Niger. However Hausa comprised ethnic group of Nigeria. Hausa Muslims engaged in agriculture, commerce, and small-scale industry. British considered Hausa as Martial race having the natural tilt
for fighting and armed services. Hausa dominated Nigerian armed forces in British period; however they were in minority in Officer’s ranks, where Igbo dominated the commanding position along with British. The dominant recruitment of northerners in Army led to the use of Hausa as the command language of the Nigerian army until the 1950s. The first Nigerian military unit, Glover’s Hausas, was established in 1862 by Captain John Glover during the rule of Royal Niger Company, to defend Lagos. In 1888, Royal Niger Company Constabulary comprised on Yoruba’s of South was also raised. While Hausas were trained to protect interest of British traders in South trading Palm Oil and Cocoa protect the Port establishments (Lagos, Port Harcourt), Royal Niger Company Constabulary served as “internal security troop” protecting interests of British trader, investors in North exporting Cotton and Groundnuts. This constabulary formed the core of the Northern Nigeria Regiment of the West African Frontier Force (WAFF). The third unit, the Oil Rivers Irregulars, was created predominantly of Igbo’s in 1891. This unit was later designated the Niger Coast Constabulary, and formed the Southern Regiment of the WAFF. The two regiments became the Nigeria Regiment of the WAFF on January 1, 1914 along with the consolidation of the Nigerian Protectorates. (Dummar, 2012, pp. 18-29) These troops served to protect British interests against France and Germany occupying the neighboring West African colonies.

Nigerian culture is a construct influenced by triple heritage, i.e. African, Islamic and European. As Alqama Khwaja reading of Iqbal suggests that “modernization impacts different religious groups” in different manners and promote economic inequality between different religious communities hold true in Nigerian case also. Forsyth believe that in Sixty year of British rule, from Lugard to independence, “difference in religious, social, historical and moral attitudes and values between North and South,
and educational and technical gap, and became not steadily narrower but wider”. (Forsyth, 2007, p. 8)

But Nigeria lacked an ideological mentor like Iqbal to visualize a future for these divergent communities safe from each other’s domination. A possible explanation for lack of ideological rhetoric can lie in the logic that time of entry of British India and Nigeria in empire is not the same. Nigeria is late by a hundred year, and shares its time of entry in British Empire with the last entrants of British India like Balochistan. Robert Macaulay is considered the founder of “Nigerian Nationalism”, founding the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), in 1920, the first political party of Nigeria, in order to compete for the three out of 46 legislative seats when limited franchise was opened in Lagos. When Nigerians was competing for limited representation (113, 19 July 2006), almost a year earlier British introduced Montague Chelmsford Reforms in British India and introduced a system of Diarchy in provinces of British India as well as transforming role of elected assemblies in British India from Advisory bodies to representative institutions.

As Nigeria was in the formative phases of its Political development, its history in many ways seems to replicate the processes that took place in India almost a half century earlier. The formation of a party led by an ethnic group, considering itself to be a National Movement; representative of all communities create a feeling of anxiety in other groups as an effort to dominate political structure, therefore leading to formation of another party representing the communal interest of other group36. In

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36 Formation of Political Parties and the politics of communal interest in Nigeria resembles in many ways with Party politics of Indian subcontinent where formation of Indian National Congress in 1886 was considered by Muslims of India as an effort on part of Hindus to dominate polity due to its predominant Hindu membership and they formed their own party in 1906 Muslim League.
Nigeria the formation of National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons\(^{37}\) (NCNC), in 1944 as first modern political organization in West Africa, created a feeling in other ethnic groups of Nigeria as an effort of Igbo domination. Yoruba constituted Action Group and although Hausa-Fulani of North disdained the nationalist cause of Southern formed Northern People Congress in 1949. (Meredith, 2005, p. 156)

Historians found the roots of present day inequality among different ethnic groups in colonial constitutions, 1946 Richard’s constitution, 1952 Macpherson constitution and 1954 Louis Chick (Federal Constitution). Since amalgamation with South in 1914, North agreed on any constitutional arrangement on condition of its separate development and non interference at the same time gaining 50% participation in representative legislative bodies. Onuha (2005, p. 64) consider the larger size of North responsible for lopsided Nigerian federalism, as British divided South in two regions but North was kept intact. It was greater in size than other two regions combined. British eventually handed over political power to North at independence due to its preponderant position in Armed forces. Other possible explanation provided for North domination of Nigeria and keeping Nigeria intact despite its regional differences can be found in discovery of oil in Oloibori (1956) south East of Nigeria to be shipped (1958) to Shell haven and at BP’s complex on the southern shore of Thames estuary, the Kent refinery in UK. It can be a coincidence that same year 1958, witnessed the opening of first Motorway in UK, the M6, near Preston. (Andy Rowell, James Marriott & Lorne Stockman, 2005, p. 66) Niger Delta activist argue that North was given the dominant role in postcolonial Nigerian state to look after British oil interests in South East the Igbo region as well as to serve British interests in West Africa. Despite the clear religious ethnic and economic difference among Nigerian dominant

\(^{37}\) Cameroon was previously a German colony, but declared British protectorate after German defeat in WWII. British Cameroon joined the French Cameroon after a plebiscite on the issue and party was renamed National Council of Nigerian Citizens.
groups British kept its Colonial formation Nigeria intact, due to collaboration of British and Northern interests. North initially demanded a separate state but administered by British bureaucrats, also cultivated interest in assuming hegemonic position as successor of British in postcolonial state. Economic compulsions, and administrative expenditures also induced North decision, because since amalgamation in 1914, revenue surplus from Southern Nigeria balanced the deficit of North and bore the expenses of a Hausa dominated army, as North has no surplus to share in federal pool.38

Stephen Cohn finds a similar reason leading to a different outcome, “division of Subcontinent” and creation of Pakistan. The region’s geographical importance had been recognized by British well before partition. As Indian National Congress opposed Indian role in WWII, British “thought it critical to maintain the remnants of their Far Eastern possession”. America also needed Pakistan location as “possible bomber base on the Soviet Union’s Southern flank”. (Cohen S. P., 2005, p. 35)

Period 1947-1960, witnessed the emergence of two postcolonial states on two different Continents but sharing the same heritage of British colonial governmentality. The states had almost similar internal structure. Evolving a federal polity was the basic essential for postcolonial period as these state bore diverse ethno national groups in their territorial boundaries, having disparities not only in their number and size of territory they occupy, but also the natural resources of their respective territories within given states. Both states (Nigeria and Pakistan) came into being with a post colonial dream of a life without any oppressor.

38 Onuha (Onuoha, 2005, p. 64), finds that in 1912 Southern Nigeria had a revenue of 2.25 million pound Sterling and a surplus of 1 million Pound sterling, while North had a half million Pound sterling internally generated revenue,
Discourses on Nation-Building and State-Building in Post Colonial State

Historians of state believe that state is a reality that precedes nation. Ayoob providing evidences from European history establishes that whether states were grown organically like Britain and France or they were, unified from above like Germany and Italy, state precedes the nation. He make a chronological relation where national state precedes nation state and nation state predates the “development of every significant component of modernization”, employing the history of Western Europe. The Third World according to Ayoob follows same “chronological sequence”, with the state taking clear historical precedence over the nation. (Ayoob, 1995, pp. 25-26)

In postcolonial world, the phenomenon of establishment of the national state and the evolution of nationalism bears very close similitude to that of early modern Europe. Hardt and Negri believe that “nation”, is the bourgeoisie hegemonic solution for the problems of sovereignty in early modern centuries. Nation is “totalizing representation” of capitalist hegemony in Europe. In “Empire”, they consider “Nation”, as a political weapon. Concept of Nation and People was employed in French Revolution to fight apparatus of “subjugation and domination”, inherent in apparatus of sovereignty but Bourgeoisie hegemony in Europe used this political weapon to revert back “sovereignty”, its humanitarian aspect, with the people as “its solid and natural foundation; and national sovereignty as the apex of history”. (Hardt & Negri M. A., 2001, p. 102)

State became a territory embedded with cultural meanings, a shared history, and home of the people having their collective identity as nation. Progress is inherent to concept of Nation-state, ensuring a stable market, the potential for economic expansion, and new spaces to invest and civilize. (Hardt & Negri M. A., 2001, p. 105) Birth timing of
the concept of nation is same when Europe was in process of building its dominance all over the world, in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The idea of nation and people has an intrinsic relation with mechanisms colonial games of truth, justifying colonial racism constructing the identity of European peoples in a dialectical play of oppositions with their native “Others”. In colonial world it became a “weapon for change and revolution” in the hands of the Subaltern. Hardt and Negri (2001, p. 106) identify the progressive nature of subaltern nationalism in two functions.

- The nation appears as progressive force, as it provides defense against the “domination of more powerful nations, and external economic, political, and ideological forces”. The right to self determination of subjugated nations is right to secession from colonial oppression, and control of dominant powers.

- The concept serves as an ideological weapon, a strategy in Foucauldian sense to obviate the discourses of dominance that projected the subaltern culture as inferior.

The claim to nationhood involving “ambivalent rejections” avowed the dignity of subaltern people and legitimated the demand for independence and equality, but these groups have to enter in Westphalian state system as according to Anderson no nation system exists. With independence, People of Africa and Asia became the subjects of national states. Hardt and Negri (2001) believe that concept of nation has an organic connotation with capitalism and modernity, and progress and development associated with it. “When in the nineteenth and twentieth century the concept of nation was taken up in very different ideological contexts and led popular mobilizations in regions and countries within and outside Europe that had experienced neither the liberal revolution nor the same level of primitive accumulation, it still always was presented as a concept of capitalist modernization, which claimed to bring together
the interclass demands for political unity and the needs of economic development. In other words, the nation was posed as the one and only active vehicle that could deliver modernity and development”. (Hardt & Negri M. A., 2001, p. 95) Third World elite according to Ayoob (1995)set their objectives to build national states, and its raison d’état, “along the lines of the states of Western Europe of the 17th to the 19th centuries. In postcolonial environment “modernity”, provided the link between dominant and subordinated. Modern solutions adopted for postcolonial state building process not only guaranteed the liberal idea of “mutual enrichment”, of Eurocenter, but also these states tacitly consented for their role in Governmental rationality, and calculation on world scale done by the Eurocenter. Post colonial states emerged as the third tier, semi periphery combining modernity and tradition. Will and urge to be modern, be like core reflected in all measure to build states. Postcolonial state and governmentality in many ways replicated the violent discourses of colonial governmentality, arresting the progress and growth of peripheral zones with in semi-periphery. Semi-peripheral core protected the interests of core states of Eurocenter and global capitalism, as facilitators to extract surplus. These states even employed coercive measure, and violent means to exploit the peripheral zones within their territorial spaces, serving as internal colony and subjected to twofold domination. Two of our case studies provide ample evidences that postcolonial state policies were a continuation of colonial governmentality with same instruments of control. Foucault contends that in evolution of raison d’état’, and process of étatisation (state making), particular type of reasoning and governmental practices are involved. State according to Foucault assumes a dual role.

- State as given object because state provides the territory, a space, as well as human species to be converted into Public, the subjects and subject of laws, as
target of multiple governance techniques (governmentality). “Since one only governs a state that is already there. State as given provides the spatial and structural environment for governance.

- The state provides an object to be constructed, according to a conceived objective. (Foucault, 2008, p. 52)

The state according to Foucault is a reality that exists but does not exist enough and yet to be constructed. State therefore combines the conditions of existence as well as “condition of possible”, a dream to be realized. Raison d’état for Foucault is “precisely a practice, or rather rationalization of a practice, which places itself between a state presented as given and a state presented as having to be constructed and built. The art of government must fix its rules and rationalize its practices by bringing into being what a state should be”. (Foucault, 2008, p. 4)

How to govern was, Foucault believe was the fundamental question which was answered by the multiplication of all the arts of governing i.e. the art of pedagogy, the art of politics, the art of economics, all institutions of government in the wider sense, the term government. A conception of how to be governed was integral component of subaltern struggles discourses bringing to life postcolonial states but the flip side of the structure that resists foreign powers is that, in postcolonial it, itself became a subjugating power evolving postcolonial mechanisms of subjugation, exerting internal oppression, repressing internal difference and opposition by institutional games of truth, in the name of national identity, unity, and security. Bangladesh and Biafra, states were the direct outcome of postcolonial mechanism of subjugation and Bio-political resistance on part of free subject of these areas resisting repressive power of postcolonial state. The territories seceded from the postcolonial states of Pakistan and Nigeria and provided an insight in paradox of postcolonial state making i.e. a
dialectical struggle to construct legitimate sovereign states merging multitude into nation totality as well as colonial dividing practices and subject making exercises of power. Narratives of postcolonial discourses on state making tell the tale of heroic effort on part of subjects resisting objectified subjugation and recourse to nationalism.

43. **Bangladesh and Biafra:**

**Bangladesh (Sonar Bangla: the Golden Land):**

State and nation builders in third world were replicating the process of European state making ignoring the fact that European followed a long way to build “popular consensus” and “one that could initially exacerbate divisions in horizontally and vertically divided societies” and Ayoob holds that “state makers in a hurry have neither the time and patience, nor the inclination to sort out the complexities of the process and to wait for its culmination”. (Ayoob, 1995, p. 26)

Early efforts of Quaid e Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah the first Governor General of Pakistan reflects these state development practices without accounting the complexities of Pakistani state. Jinnah assumed the heroic task to construct a state (given) whose two physical territories were separated from each other by a thousand miles of Indian Territory. During independence struggled Jinnah built a loose knitted alliance of different regional and class interests by devising a Muslim Self against Hindu “Other”. But Muslims of India was not a single self. Under the umbrella of Islam there were Bengali, Punjabi, Pakhtoon, Baluchs and many other micro lingual groups. Further in this gathering there were Muslim Land Lords and Muslim Industrialists. On the outer franks of this umbrella were a large majority of Muslim Peasants and a comparatively small number of Industrial Laborers.

Jinnah has to devise governmentality, a state apparatus and rules of conduct to conduct a population divided on lines of regions, castes, communities and classes and
build them into a People, Public and ultimately into a civic nation. Khalid bin Sayeed (Sayeed K. B., 1980, p. 26) believes that Mr. Jinnah was optimistic enough that all the cleavages of Pakistani People would be removed if “certain form of state apparatus were built rapidly and methodologically”. It was a dream of a seventy year old young leader to actualize the dream of a prosperous Muslim state well on path of development within his life span. British Governors along with the partners of liberal idea Civil Bureaucrats and a military sharing the pride of WWII victory with their masters was also there to actualize Jinnah’s dream of prosperous homeland for Muslims.

As economy is a “means to secure legitimacy” in a given state according to Foucault, Khalid bin Sayeed provides evidences that Jinnah imparted utmost significance to “economic development and economic power”. He used his personal contacts with Muslim business houses in Bombay and induced them to bring their capital to Karachi. Khalid Bin Sayeed refers that central philosophy behind Jinnah’s economic policy was essentially capitalism and private enterprise. Along with economy Jinnah also laid the foundations of Pakistan polity, making decision for the new born state. Under Jinnah three of the four provincial governors i.e. West Punjab, The Frontier, and East Bengal were British. Political machinery was put under the tutelage governors and civil bureaucrats, and Jinnah himself relied on information and advice of British governors for making policy decisions. Jinnah’s postcolonial version of governmentality was not different from colonial conduct patterns and Jinnah’s bureaucracy was even more centralized than its predecessor Indian Civil Services. (Sayeed K. B., 1980, pp. 26-28) Some historians like Aysha Jalal believe that Jinnah himself was a follower of Viceregal traditions of British rule with exception that he was not accountable to British Monarch. Jinnah laid the foundation of state making
activities in Pakistan but Jinnah’s “prudent measures” to build economy and polity brought to surface ethno-lingual tensions, subdued under the hue of Muslim Nationalism.

First instance was language controversy triggered during a debate on procedures of national Assembly where Mr. Dutta a non Muslim MP from Bengal objected the rule that “a member can address either in English or in Urdu”, and demanded Bengali as lingua franca of state of Pakistan. The objection was vehemently overruled by the Prime Minister on plead that Pakistan is “created on the demand of a hundred million Muslims of subcontinent and language of hundred million Muslims is Urdu”. (Alqama, 1997, p. 125) It roused the reaction among Bengali civil society and activists. A student movement rose to demand national status for Bengali. Police fire to break up a demonstration caused fifty causalities. Alqama Khwaja reading of Bengali history reveals that Bengali agitation on language issue was rooted in social and economic discourses taken place in immediate aftermath of independence.

Although Bengal constituted the 52 % population of Pakistan, Bengali was not inscribed on coins and stamps of Pakistan. Entrance exams for recruitment of sailors of Pakistan Navy were held in immediate post independence years were held in Urdu. Same policy to exclude Bengalis from state service was opted to fill the left over vacancies of Hindu migrants, and vacuum was filled by Urdu speaking migrant Muslims of Bihar. (Alqama, 1997, p. 128) Jinnah in an effort to settle language controversy declared on convocation of Dacca University “there can however be only one lingua franca, that is State and that language should be Urdu and cannot be other”. Three days prior to this declaration on 24th March 1948, Jinnah owed the language controversy a direct result of Indian efforts to “reabsorb the province into the Indian dominion”. Alqama (1997, p. 131) finds evidences that Jinnah’s deliberation was the
result of bureaucrats’ information that language issue “was being supported from across border”.

Jinnah’s emphasis on Karachi made Karachi core attraction for investment for industrial houses previously doing business in Bombay, Delhi, Madras Rangoon and East Africa. (Hussain A., 1979, p. 95) Reason for development of Karachi also lies in the fact that it was a port city linked with other ports of British milieu, hence facilitating exchange linkage with World Core. Karachi was a node providing Core-Core linkage between developed and under developed world. Another reason for establishing Karachi as core lie in fear of industrial houses that communist aspirations have deeper roots in East Pakistan. (Ali, 1970) Bengal also lacked infra structure needed for industrialization. Raison d’état’ and conduct rules of initial years (1947-1958) consolidated the in equal exchange patterns characteristic of global exchange between world core and periphery within Pakistan Polity hence putting people of eastern region under dual economic subjugation i.e. Subjugation of State Core areas as well as subjugation of World core. The economic exploitation of East Pakistan according to Tariq Ali started immediately after partition. By 1956, it was well established that Pakistani Core, West Pakistan was extracting a “surplus of 300 million rupees annually”. Balance of trade worked to the disadvantage of East Pakistan as “exports from West Pakistan, exceeded imports from West Pakistan”, hence tuning a surplus amount of 909 million rupees during 1948-1953. (Ali, 1970, p. 60)

Inequality among the two regions was further multiplied when central government allocated a sum of, 1130 million for development projects during 1948-51 with only a 22.1 % share accounting a meager sum of Rs. 250 million allocated for East Pakistan (Ali, 1970, p. 60)
Alqama identify that all “the important headquarters of so called modern state institutions were located in West Pakistan”, i.e. Capital in Karachi and then in Islamabad, Army headquarter (GHQ) in Rawalpindi, Air force base in Peshawar, and naval headquarters in Karachi but as Bengalis were in numerical majority, “they pinned all their hopes on the political process of a working parliamentary democracy”. (Alqama, 1997, pp. 98-99) At provincial level Bengal democratically gave the verdict against central government policies in provincial election of 1954, when Muslim League was defeated by United Front with a clear margin of 299. As Communist Party of Pakistan was an alliance partner of United Front, Muslim League once again reverted itself to discourses of Muslim ideology and “Hindu” as “Other”. As Pakistan was an integral part of American order, this time Godless “Communists”, were also included in “Other”, sharing a place with “India”. United Front was declared by Mullahs on pay role of ML, a forum controlled by Hindus and Communists. (Ali, 1970, p. 62)

As economic situation in the country, with food shortage and scarcity of essential commodities at that particular moment was ripe for revolution and at least a reform in economic structure. In political rhetoric of Pakistan the situation is declared as East West controversy but West Pakistan was actually the name interests of few classes i.e. Punjabi elite comprising Landlords, migrated industrialists of Karachi, Urdu speaking bureaucrats along with their Punjabi counterparts. The ruling junta of West was haunted by the fear that Bengal led by the united Front, making alliance with small provinces of Pakistan will be in decisive power to transform the political and economic structure of the country to the advantage of the wretched. A scheme of re-territorialization was initiated merging all the provinces of Western region along with

39 Muslim League was able to secure only 10 seats in a house of 309
previously independent states like Kalat, Swat, Bahawalpur etc in an artificial unity “One Unit”, to create parity of representation, as well denying Bengal any decision making prerogative due to its numerical majority. After several years of constitutional deadlock Pakistan got its first constitution. (Sayeed K. B., 1980)

Tariq Ali brings to notice that tension between East and West Pakistan also reflects the tension between norms of new and old hegemons, between “American and British monopolies”. The representative of East Pakistan in the Muslim League had a tilt towards Britain due to old imperial connections, however Punjab civil military bureaucracy considered “rapprochement”, towards USA more fruitful (Ali, 1970, p. 66) for a development oriented future.

Denied an “Open military alliance”, in an anti imperial postcolonial environment by Nehru Congress Pakistan was the natural choice for US to meet the cold war compulsions. When Liaqat Ali Khan visited USA in 1950, US were in a process to forge a Cold War order in region. USA has to continue French imperial war in Vietnam, sustain British troops in Middle East, protect his Chinese client Chiang Kai Shek exiled in Formosa, implement Truman doctrine in Japan, Korea, Turkey and Iran to help them fight communist aggression, and make a world based on American visuals of freedom and democracy. Visit ensured American economic assistance. With Aid came “experts and advisers”, to supervise its use and American intervention in political and economic matters of sovereign state of Pakistan. American military assistance officially started with Pakistan Turkey military alliance signed in Karachi in 1954. Alliance ordained that the two countries would help US to contain the “near and Middle East”. Alliance according to Tariq “widened US sphere of influence to the Southern borders of USSR” at the same time “weakening Britain’s position in the oil
lands of middle East”. Alliance was considered by Pakistani elites as a victory against India as they won the support of mightiest power on earth USA. (Ali, 1970, p. 74)

In September 1954, Pakistan became an integral component of Foster Dulles alliance security system to support its “self help” mechanism against India as signatory of South East Asia Defense treaty, (SEATO), along with Thailand and Philippine. A year later in Sep 1955, Pakistan signed Baghdad pact assuming the role of American surrogate to defend free world along with Iran, Turkey, Iraq and Britain. Pact was renamed, as “Central treaty Organization” (CENTO), after withdrawal of Iraq from Baghdad pact. Alliances were justified by Pakistan officials as necessary defense pre requisite against Indian aggression, despite repeated US clarifications that “alliances would not be operative” in case of Indo Pak conflict. (Ali, 1970, pp. 74-75)

In wake of Cold War Pakistan turned into an enduring US ally supporting its policy in Korea, recognizing US supported puppet regime in South Vietnam, supporting Western aggression in Egypt over Suez Canal Nationalization issue. Besides State converted itself into first line of US defense against USSR and China. But alliances also led to interventions in internal matters of Pakistan. One reason for delay of Political processes and delay of election in first phase of Pakistan development was CIA fear of a communist party attaining victory in forthcoming election with promises of reform and structural change and Pakistan’s withdrawal from military alliances. Fear of communism was common between Global hegemons and their state counterparts. A coup d’état in Pakistan brought direct military rule in Pakistan on October 1958. Coup curtailed all the prospects of forthcoming elections in 1959. (Ali,

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40 Alqama Khwaja provides that Khwaja Nazimuddin Government was dismantled by a CIA induced campaign in the country creating an impression of food shortage and famine. US food aid was announced but country survived a whole year. When Nazimuddin Government was toppled, the aid was released but by then next wheat crop was also in the market.
Thus a fear of communist victory in election obstructed all the ways for Bengali majority to assume power and make decisions.

Ayub regime introduced a governmentality a raison d’état, in form of civil military bureaucratic oligarchy having the power to decide the lot of Pakistani subjects by deciding, “What governance is” in collaboration of US technical advisers. As Ayub military regime was successful to attract economic and military assistance from US that contributed almost 1.7 billion $ in form of loan, grants, and other assistance during second five year plan period. Pakistan course to development was designed by the Planning Commission of Pakistan determining country’s economic goals in collaboration with Harvard Advisory Group (HAG). HAG was effective from 1954-70, in Pakistan planning. HAG used commodity aid as leverage, to “dismantle detailed import control”, “liberalization of imports”, and growth of private sector. (Sayeed K. B., 1968, 2007, p. 51)

Sayeed (1980), Hussain (1979), Alqama (1997), Ali (1970) consider underrepresentation of Bengali in Pakistan centralized bureaucratic governance structure an integral factor responsible for underdevelopment of Eastern region of Pakistan. But real damage was caused by the state policy of uneven economic development. Dr. Mehbub ul Haq justified the policy of uneven regional development, as “the road to eventual equalities may inevitably lie through initial inequalities”. (Haq quoted in (Alqama, 1997, p. 179)) Although Pakistan grew at rate of 6.63 % during 1960-70 (Nayar, 2005, p. 240), disparity of per capita income between East and West Pakistan rose from 32 % in 1959-60, to 45 % in 1964-65 and then 61% at end of 1969-70. (Alqama, 1997, p. 180)

Foucault while explaining the process of state building in War devastated Germany in 1948, suggests that, “the economy, economic development and economic growth,
produces sovereignty; it produces political sovereignty through the institution and institutional game that, precisely, makes this economy work. The economy produces legitimacy for the state that is its guarantor”. (Foucault, 2008, p. 84) Hardt and Negri adds to Foucault economic conception of sovereignty and believe that with synthesis of sovereignty and capital, sovereignty becomes a “political machine”, that rules across the entire society. With exercise of power through sovereign machine, “Multitude is transformed into an “ordered totality””. (Hardt & Negri M. A., 2001, p. 87)

Exercise of Sovereign machine in third world with its totalizing procedure produced subject, says Foucault, subject in dual sense of the world “subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge.”Pakistan sovereign machine having intrinsic relation with capital was unable to convert the multitude in ordered Pakistani totality rather subject making exercise of power through working of sovereignty machine in first twenty four years of Pakistan created Bengali subjects bonded in dual dependence and control.

Bengali Language controversy, accompanied with economic disparity among regions, and lack of representation of East Pakistan led to an “internal colony” thesis. This subject making total procedure gave Bengali subjects a self identity expressed in Bengali linguistic nationalism. Situation worsened to the extent that restoration of democratic process in 1970 ended in deadlock to evolve a polity. A military operation to keep the state intact was considered. Thousands of refugees crossed border to take refuge in India giving India a pretext to attack Pakistan in 1971. Pakistan alliance membership could not help it survive an Indian attack on its Eastern region coming as support to Bengali nationalist movement. 16th December 1971 was the end of state that came into being as “given” on August 1947. The efforts to construct the given
state on under tutelage of development modernity doctrines led to its destruction finally. In nutshell a flawed governmentality and conduct of conduct incapable to evolve raison d’état and mechanism to express citizen desires in postcolonial state of Pakistan gave birth to a secessionist movement and ultimately the new state Bangladesh homeland for a language community was formed.

**Biafra (The Land of Rising Sun):**

State of Biafra was also a result of failure to evolve a political compromise between three regions and the respective dominant ethnic groups. Nigeria came into being as a loose integration of three regions of Colonial period i.e. North, West and East each with predominant ethnic group and bulk of “micro” ethnic minorities as Nigerian space is home of about 250 ethno linguistic groups, 250 “imagined communities”. Nigerian state was an embodiment of hopes, aspiration, and ambitions of three divergent regions. Later events were testimonial that the state structure devised to converge the divergent regions and groups into a state and nation respectively was unable to stand the stresses. The federal state of Nigeria has to face the challenges of dismemberment within five years of independence. The short history of five years of shaky independence to Biafra is marked with chaos, collapse and ethnocide.

At dawn of independence October 1, 1960, Nigeria inherited a mimic Westminster democracy and a federal trinity of three regions. At dawn of independence British handed over the state to a democratic alliance between North Hausa Fulani represented by NPC and East Ibo dominated NCNC, assuming power in pre-independence elections 1959. Together these groups commanded the majority of Federal legislative Chamber (NPC 148 and NCNC 89) putting the Action Group (75 Seats) in opposition. In 1963 after Nigeria was made Republic, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe of Eastern NCNC became the President of Republic and NPC’s Tafawa Balewa
assumed the role of Federal premier of the republic. At regional level these three groups were in command of their respective regions. Political chaos at all levels of polity was the rule of the era.

Within twelve months of independence, in Feb 1962, an internal rift erupted in Federal opposition, the Action group, when party convention and parliamentary party declared its leader Chief Akintola, guilty of maladministration and corruption and removed him from regional premiership of Western Region hence transferring power to Obafemi Awolowe. Crocker commission was established to investigate corruption who founded Chief Akintola guilty of treason and sentenced him ten years imprisonment.

In 1963, the Federal Trinity was broken as Federal Government created a new Mid Western region was created from Western region to grant the minorities of Western region the right to “self determination”. Austin Onuoha proclaims that the real intention was to politically weaken the Western region and influence of new regional premier Awolowo, who was the new opposition leader at Federal legislative chamber. Awolowo was alleged to support and finance minority movements in North and East. (Onuoha, 2005, p. 70)

However East an alliance partner of North but still it was was considered a flange of South by Northern Nigeria. The inherent tensions were revealed in census dramas of 1962 and 1963. As regions were granted representation in Federal Chamber on basis of their population estimates, census became an important event. In 1962 a census was conducted in new born state. It was widely assumed that census will determine the political representation at all levels of federal polity, so the population estimates were enlarged in all regions. North had gone up 33% to previous census 1953-4 while South population roused by 70% of previous one making Nigeria the state with 45.5
million population. British census commissioner J.J. Warren declared Southern figure as “false and inflated”. 1962 census results were never published; instead a fresh census was launched to resolve the issue of representation in new polity. 1963 census generated more inflated figures in both North and South. This time North estimated population was 30 million and South figure touched 25.8 million (Forsyth, 2007, pp. 19-20).

The 1964 elections brought to surface the internal fragmentations of ruling alliance. As coalition fell apart, the NCNC made election alliance with Western region new ruling elite Chief Obefemi Awolowo and populist Northern Progressive Union making a United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA). While NPC entered in alliance with Chief Akintola, making Nigerian National Alliance. As a result of campaign violence opposition parties boycotted the election. NPC claimed a landslide victory in Northern region maneuvering the formation of new federal government. To avoid further chaos and avert crisis Dr. Azikiwe and Premier Tafawa Ahmedu Bello made a compromise, with NPC coalition taking office while rescheduling elections in other regions affected by the boycott. West witnessed the worst expressions of violence as previous Action Group’s faction engaged each other, murdering political opponents by dousing them with fuel and setting them alight. Federal Government asked Military to intervene and control the chaotic polity in Jan 1966. In Nigeria democracy fell to “political opportunism, ethnic demagoguery and military intrusion”. (113, 19 July 2006, pp. 4-6)

Army was unable to restore order. As the mainland of Chaos was middle belt region especially Tiv area, the majority of the ordinary infantrymen at that were coming from that particular region especially Tives, reluctant to turn their guns on their fellows. Moreover the army men coming from the region also shared the feelings with theirs
civilian fellows that Akintola is “ally and Vessel” of Northern Saraduna of Sokoto and persecutor of their homeland. So the army turned as sympathizer of rioters. The background provided Major-General Johnson Ironsi to withdraw troops. It also provided reasons for January 1966 Coup, that murdered Sokoto, Akintola and Balewa, as well as First Nigerian Republic. (Forsyth, 2007, pp. 23-25) January coup was an Ibo affair managed by six majors and a captain bringing General Ironsi, also an Ibo in power. The new head of state imprisoned “January Boys”, but spared their lives. In his Radio address to Nation (Forsyth, 2007, p. 35) he leveled charges of “Corruption, fraud and arrogance”, against Civilian rulers and promised to restore democratic process and elected government in “due time”. Military Government declared Nigeria a unitary state, a move perceived as an attempt to consolidate Igbo domination. (113, 19 July 2006, pp. 6-7)

The Coup led to a counter Coup “Operation Araba”, in July 1966 by officers coming from Northern and Mid Western region bringing Colonel Yakuba Gowon, A Hausa Speaking Christian officer from the middle belt to power. The structural reform by new military regime reinstated the federal structure, reconfiguring the previous four region federation into twelve states, six each in North and South. (113, 19 July 2006, p. 7)

Worst outcome of the coup was ethnocide and mass murder of Igbos in North. People living in segregated Igbo housings called “Sabon Gari” (Stranger Quarters) were either murdered or forced to migrate. Military personnel from the East was first disarmed and then massacred in military barracks of North and Western Nigeria. A large number of civilians as well as military personals of Igbo origin started crossing Niger to their ancestral lands in Eastern region. There was an ever roused feeling among Eastern populace that Nigerian state could not guarantee their inalienable
rights to life and property. On 26th May 1967, three days after Gowon announcement of Gowon restructuring Plan, a 335 member Consultative Assembly of Chiefs and Elders gave Lieutenant Colnel Ojukwu a unanimous mandate to pull the East out of defunct Nigerian Federation, by “declaring the Eastern Region a free sovereign and independent state by title of Republic of Biafra”. (Forsyth, 2007, p. 93) Biafra was “Half of the Yellow Sun”, a territory as bright as new sun. The Biafra like many other new states was the land of hope and dream of prosperity. In an interview with Forsyth, Colonel Ojukwu declared it would be the most developed country of Africa, with more industry, highest per capita income and highest purchasing power. He compared the state with Japan, Israel, Manchester, and Kuwait of the region. He further added that he used the reference of Japan to compare the work potential of its population, and their avid thrust for education especially technical education. The reference to Manchester was used to reflect the “flair of trade”, and reference to Kuwait draws attention to great subsoil oil wealth beneath Biafra. He explained that Biafrans “would prefer to die in their homeland than give in and live like the wandering Jews”. (Forsyth, 2007, pp. 103-106) After thirty months of severe fighting the same Ojukwu who dreamt a modern developed state of Biafra fled to cote d’Ivory and spent his rest of life as a “wandering Jew” in exile failing to defend his utopia in civil war on 15th January 1970. Nigeria survived. God was on the side of power and so were the powers on the earth, despite their ideological differences, i.e. “Social Democrat” British, Fascist Spain and Communist Russians provided military assistance to keep Nigeria intact.

Why Nigeria survived? Question is subject to multiple interpretations. One possible explanation is provided by Forsyth. He provides that in pre civil war Nigeria British were major investors. The total estimate of British investment was 600 million Pound
Sterling. About 200 million Pounds were invested in Oil and concentrated in Eastern region while the rest of commercial and economic interest was concentrated in North. As far as other business interests were concerned two independent neighboring states made no difference to trade and profit making activities. For Oil interests it was particularly important to keep Nigeria intact. Major effected of Biafra independence was Shell-BP, an Anglo Dutch consortium that held majority of concessions in Eastern as well as Mid Western Region. Creation of Biafra cut the lifeline of oil export. The Oil from the Mid West was not exported from Mid Western coasts rather piped across the Niger Delta, to Port Harcourt. Port Harcourt was the hub where oil coming from Eastern (Biafra) wells and then proceed together through other pipeline to tanker loading terminal on Bonny island (Forsyth, 2007, p. 183) before reaching to its final destination in Kent refinery Great Britain. With Biafran secession and blockade in civil war oil supply was cut off. Biafra was a big alternative source to Middle Eastern oil. British would have opted for a policy of independent Biafra but they backed a One Nigeria policy to protect their oil and commercial interests.

Soviet Union was directly involved in Nigerian Civil War. Shipment of Russian MIG fighters and Ilyushin bombers arrived in Northern Nigeria in August 1967, two months after the Biafran declaration of independence. In November 1968 Soviet Nigerian pact was signed easing infiltration of Russians. Equipped with Soviet infantry weapons Nigerian military got a clear edge to its contender. However aided by super powers ‘One Nigeria’ was kept intact by institutional games of truth played by state institutions dominated by Northern Wing. According to Foucault institutions drive their authority by their truth claims. So tale of oppression inflicted by Ibos against the minorities served the job. The Biafran cause became meaningless in the eyes of Ibo dominated minorities inhabiting the peripheral zones of
Biafra, i.e. Ijaw, Itsekiri, Etches, Ibibios, Ikwerres, Urhobo and Ogoni by creation of two new states, Rivers and South East. (113, 19 July 2006, p. 7) The minority regions fell to the advancing Federal Army, being the peripheral areas of Biafra. Leaders who initially gave their allegiance to Biafra shifted the side to save themselves from persecution. Good jobs, houses, offices secured collaborators among the minority groups. (Forsyth, 2007, pp. 108-110)

44. Flawed Governmentality

Bangladesh and Biafra emerged out of post colonial states. Although Nigeria was kept intact by major powers and institutional games of truth but both indicate a failure to evolve a governmental rationality, flawed conduct of conduct and in all a crisis of governmentality common to both postcolonial structures of rationality. The crisis lasts to this day. Following lines will trace more parameters of flawed exercise of governmentality in postcolonial states of Pakistan and Nigeria i.e.

A. Sovereignty Failure (Who Will Govern)

B. Extended Role of Military and State as an Instrument of External Interests

C. Re-Territorialization of State Internal Boundaries

A: Sovereignty Failure; (Who will govern?)

State for Foucault is a schema based on “principles of intelligibility”, an entire set of established institutions, defining the nature and relation of already given elements and a set of given realities. (Foucault, 2004, p. 286) Raison d’état according to Foucault is what at time of treaty of Westphalia, allowed the establishment, preservation and expansion of republic. Raison d’état makes possible to preserve and maintain the state. (Foucault, 2004, p. 288) The relation of already given elements serves as priori, “the state as given”, for the state to be constructed. At time of independence the structure
was provided to post colonial states by colonial masters to transform it into an effective governmental schema of intelligibility. However the Postcolonial States experiences reflect that the given constitutional structures collapsed in post-independence and these states are struggling to devise workable relations between different elements of polity. Foucault explains three stages in development of raison d’état, addressing three issue of governance. “Who will govern”, “How will govern”, and “What Governance is”. Europe as model for Governmental conduct has addressed the issue of “governance”, during 17th century when Political treatises invented the notion of “Public”, bringing conformity in Sovereign’s will and subject’s desires. European governance discourses made Sovereign will subservient to subject desires. But Postcolonial states has yet to address the first issue of governance, “who will govern”. After several years of Independence, States of Pakistan and Nigeria are still involved in constant struggle to establish institutional framework and define nature and relation of given elements. Both states have a history to oscillate between Military to Civilian and further between Parliamentary and Presidential forms of Government.

**Who will govern? (Pakistan)**

Pakistan’s first era of Parliamentary Rule can be divided in two phases, i.e. Dominion period and Republic Period. Immediately after independence Pakistan opted for Parliamentary democracy and Westminster model by adopting an amended version of 1935 India Act. Till 1956, its politics reflect a struggle between different ethnic groups to get their due share and place themselves in position of control in future Republic of Pakistan. In course of events Pakistan First constitution Assembly was dissolved by governor General on 24th October 1954. The event was also significant in this regard that by upholding the decision of Governor General the Federal Court adverted the “doctrine of necessity”, hence determining the future course of Pakistan
history. Second Constitutional Assembly took oath on 28th May 1955. Pakistan first constitution was promulgated on 23rd March 1956, uplifting country’s status from a dominion to Republic. Republic lasted till 8th October 1958, with Pakistan first Coup d’état. It was a unique kind of Coup whose mastermind was Pakistan’s serving President Sikandar Mirza, an ex ICS officer trained by British. Coup according to Tariq Ali was a result of Bureaucracy’s “overriding urge to prevent Pakistan’s first ever general elections from taking place in 1959”. (Ali, 1970, p. 87) However only after ten days on 18th October 1958, Mirza was sent to exile and country was taken in control by Commander in Chief of Pakistan Armed Forces Gen. Ayub Khan.

Ayub held politicians and Parliamentary form responsible, for country’s failure to evolve a scheme of rule. In 1962 Ayub gave Pakistan its Second Constitution. The Constitution was a poor mimicry of US Presidential setup. The system was one of a “controlled Democracy”, introducing a system of “Basic democracies”, for local government. These Basic Democrats41 were in turn served as Electoral College for the elections of Provincial Assembles, Unicameral legislature42 and President. Ayub was elected President for two terms of office. The Ayub era lasted for more than ten years. The rule ended as a result of popular protest movement (Nov 1968-March 1969). Ayub handed over Powers to Gen Yahya Khan Commander in Chief of Armed Forces on 26th March 1969 and left office of President by promulgating yet another Martial Law.

Yahya Khan promised nation the revival of Parliamentary Democracy. Pakistan’s first general elections were held in 1970 after twenty three years of independence.

41 The country was territorially divided in 80000, Basic Democracies. As country was a federation comprising of only two units, the province of East and West Pakistan, each unit was further subdivided into 40000 Basic Democracies, serving as the third tier of governance and performing the local government functions.

42 However country was a federation but constitution of 1962 provided for a unicameral legislature. As there were only two Federal units East and West Pakistan hence they were equally represented in the National Assembly the only house of legislature.
Most unfavorable outcome of Elections 1970 was the deadlock between the political forces of East and West Pakistan led by Shiekh Mujib ur Rehman and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Mujib and Bhutto considered themselves representative of their respective regions and ethnic groups they were representing for. Both had concepts and visions of modernity about the future of polity controlled by them. At the same time both were fearful of “other” ethnic group’s domination and sacrificed state for their purge to power. Failure to evolve a compromise and power sharing formula between the two poles of Pakistan’s Political power ended in disintegration of the state that emerged on World’s political map in 1947.

However Pakistan was survived retaining its Western territories. New State of Pakistan born on 16th Dec 1971 with same old challenge to establish a relation between its different institutions and build a modern state. Yahya Khan handed over the state of Pakistan to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto the leader of Democratic Forces in previous Western Wing on 20th Dec 1971. Bhutto declared himself the Civil Martial Law administrator of the Country in absence of any Constitution. However Country managed to revive a Parliamentary Democratic setup by adopting its Third Constitution on 14th August 1973.

Pakistan has to experience a coup d’etat again when on 4th of July 1977, the “Dark Day” of Pakistan history, Zia Ul Haq took control on a pretext of Election rigging in 1977 General Elections. He constituted a Majlis e Shura (A sort of legislative cum advisory body) of nominated selected members by the end of 1981. He restored democratic process by allowing non party elections in Feb 1985. His nominated candidate for Premiership Muhammed Khan Junejo was ratified by the National Assembly. 1973 constitution that was held in abeyance after 1977 Coup went through

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43 National Awami Party led by Shiekh Mujib emerged as victorious in Eastern Wing of Pakistan, while Z. A. Bhutto’s Pakistan People’s Party was the leading Party in Western Wing of Pakistan having a clear majority in Punjab and Sind.
a drastic constitution amendment in form of 8th Amendment. The amendment was aimed to create a balance between offices of President and Prime Minister, transforming the figure head of Westminster model into a real sovereign and making Prime Minister and Parliament subservient to Presidential commands. Real aim was to save Zia from becoming a figurative head of state. Zia dissolved Assemblies in 1988 and announced other non party elections. After Zia’s death in a Plane Crash in 1988, Supreme Court decided that the elections will be held on party basis.

Elections brought to rule Mrs. Benazir Bhutto the daughter of former premier Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto who was hanged by Martial Law regime in 1979. The rule of Mrs. Benazir Bhutto spanned for twenty months when assemblies fell prey to notorious 8th Amendment on 6th Aug 1990. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan44 who sworn in as President of Republic after death of Zia exercised the power guaranteed by the 8th Amendment to dissolve National Assembly, implicitly ousting Premier along with Cabinet from office45. As a result of new general Elections Mian Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan Muslim League got a clear mandate in Parliamentary Elections and he took oath of office as Prime Minister of Pakistan. He was also ousted by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan’s exercise of powers as President in April 1993. However Supreme Court restored National Assembly but Assembly was again dissolved on advice of Prime Minister, and President has to resign from his post. The decision was a result of informal intervention on part of Commander in Chief of Armed Forces, Gen. Abdul-Wahid Kakur.

New elections brought to office Mrs. Benazir Bhutto on 19th October 1993. Mrs. Benazir Bhutto was unable to get rid of the 8th amendment having just enough

44 Ghulam Ishaq Khan was Chairman Senate at time of Zia’s death and he took oath after the accident.
45 In Parliamentary form of rule Premier is required to take the vote of confidence from National Assembly. Premier selects his Cabinet from the members of his Parliamentary party.
representation to gain vote of Confidence from National Assembly\(^{46}\), hence she opted to nominate his trusted Party member Mr. Farooq Leghari for President. But Leghari was not different from his predecessors Zia and Ishaq Khan. He used 8\(^{th}\) amendment once again to remove Benazir Bhutto from Premiership on pretexts of corruption and incapability on 5\(^{th}\) Nov 1996.

New Elections brought Mian Nawaz Sharif once again to office. Mr. Sharif managed to get rid of 8\(^{th}\) amendment and its notorious 58 2(B) clause by proposing 13\(^{th}\) amendment in Constitution. Justice Rafiq Tarar took oath of office as President and served as a figurehead of Westminster model. Mr. Sharif was well on his way to restrict Army’s role in Republic’s polity when he was finally ousted from power by Gen. Musharaf on 12\(^{th}\) October 1999.

Musharaf established an advisory body National Security Council under his Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO). Under PCO working of Constitution and Constitutional bodies like National Assembly, Senate, and Provincial Assemblies were held in abeyance. Musharaf proclaimed himself the Chief Executive of the Country keeping the President Tarar in office of President. Judges of Higher Judiciary took oath of office under PCO. Musharaf rule was legitimized once again provoking the “Doctrine of Necessity”. After Supreme Court orders of 20\(^{th}\) June 2001 Assemblies were dissolved. Elections for new Assemblies were held on 10\(^{th}\) October 2002 after almost two years of Musharaf taking control of polity. Musharaf Patronized Party Muslim League Quaid e Azam attained clear majority. Mir Zafrullah Khan Jamali took oath of office on 21\(^{st}\) Nov 2002. However in house changes were waiting. Mr. Jamali resigned from the office. Mr. Shaukat Aziz who was not member of National Assembly elected for as member of the House and took oath of office on

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\(^{46}\) An amendment in constitution requires the consent of 2/3\(^{rd}\) members of National Assembly and Senate.
28th August 2004. During interim period Ch. Shujat Hussain served as Prime Minister. Musharraf after almost eight years of rule managed to take oath as President of Pakistan on 29th November 2007, when he finally resigned from the Post of Commander in Chief of Country. With this date of next general elections was also announced. Due to assassination of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto elections were postponed. Feb 2008 General elections once again brought PPP to rule. Yousaf Raza Gillani took oath of office as Prime Minister on 24th March 2008. Musharaf rule finally ended with his resignation and Mr. Asif Ali Zardari the husband of Benazir Bhutto managed to be elected as President of country.

**Who will govern (Nigeria)**

Nigeria gained independence from Britain on October 1, 1960, and three years later on October 1, 1963, declared a republic with its first constitution. Legally country became the mimic of Westminster system of government it inherited from the British Masters. It was a short lived experience that lasted till 16th January 1966 with first military coup. As we have already discussed that Coup was considered an Eastern affair and an effort on part of Igbo dominated East to control the polity. Coup government also lasted for only six months giving rise to a Second coup that brought highest ranking Northern officer in Military Lieutenant Colonel Yakubu Gowon, to power. Gowon rule survived civil War but in 1975 he was overthrown by Brigadier Murtala Rehmat Mohammed a Muslim officer, coming from, Kano, Northern region. In 1976 Murtala was also assassinated in a failed coup attempt. He was succeeded by his chief of staff Olusegun Obasanjo, the hero of Biafran War and a Yoruba from Western region. Following the assassination of General Mohammed in 1976, his successor General Olusegun Obasanjo initiated the transition process leading towards a democratic
constitutional polity. The new constitution abandoned the Westminster style parliamentary government in favor of a mimic version of US Presidential system. As country was a federation so the 1979 constitution conditioned that political parties to be registered in two third of states and to further promote the representative character of federation every state of federation was guaranteed at least one representative in cabinet. Second Republic lasted for four years and elected Shagari administration was evicted from power on 1st Jan 1983 on charges of corruption and administrative inability by General Muhammadu Buhari, the leader of the rebellion.

1989 witnessed the constitution of the Third Republic, when General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, the military Head of State, promised to end military rule by 1990, a deadline extended till 1993, but in effect military rule extended in one way or other till 1999. The Babangida, however lifted the ban on political activity in 1989, spring season, and two political parties: the center-right National Republican Convention (NRC) and the center-left Social Democratic Party (SDP) were established under military patronage. The Elections of Gubernatorial and state legislative were conducted in December 1991, but the presidential election was postponed till 12 June 1993 making a pretext of political unrest in country. Election brought to throne of presidency the MKO Abiola, a wealthy Yoruba businessman, contesting for President from the SDP platform. But Babangida annulled election results on 23 June 1993, making the country victim of chaos and anarchy. On internal pressure rooted in his parent organization Army, Babngida resigned from office in August 1993. Caretaker set up was introduced and Ernest Shonekan, a Yoruba business man, assumed the office of presidency for interim setup but he was incapable to manage the political chaos in Post Babngida Nigeria. Ministry of Defense came in

47 However this is a contradictory clause because constitutionally number of cabinet member is fixed to 19, and there are 36 states in Nigerian Federation, so half of states remain unrepresented in cabinet.
action removed interim set up to permanently replace it by the rule of General Sani Abacha in November 1993. Abacha like other military rulers established a Provisional Ruling council and declared himself as its head. Abacha remained a self declared President till his death on June 1998 in Presidential Villa. State was again controlled by an interim set up led by Maj. Gen Abdussalami Abubakar, the new president and head of provisional ruling Council.

However Nigeria regained its republic status on May 1999, with a fourth constitution. First elections under Fourth Republic brought the former military head of state and Civil War hero Olusegun Obasanjo to Presidential throne of Nigeria. Obasanjo is so far the most successful ruler of Nigeria, with a record of giving country two constitutions, constitutions of Second and Fourth Republic. He served as President for two terms under Fourth Republic. In May 2007, Alhaji Umrua, Yar Adua elected as 13th head of Nigerian state in third elections under 1999 Constitution. He was also died on 5th May 2010 in suspicious circumstances in President House. Nigeria is now under the command of President Goodluck Jonathen who swore in oath of office as 14th President of Nigeria on 6th May 2010.

The above lines reflect that both countries have a cyclical recurrence of events repeating after regular intervals. In Case of Pakistan, history unfolds in form of civil-military cycle where as military ruled in protective legitimate shield “doctrine of necessity”, a kind of raison d’état provided by the judicial organ of state. In Nigeria the history is more checkered, as there are repetition of military-military civil cycle of regimes that repeats itself after almost regular intervals.

Foucault believe that in times when raison d’état is unable to make use of laws in case of a “pressing and urgent event”, state must of necessity free itself from laws, for sake

48 In Nigeria every military coup is followed by a counter coup and often takes a violent turn, in form of assassinations, while in Pakistan military takeovers peacefully.
of state’s salvation. The coup d’état is for Foucault “a state acting of itself on itself …without rule, with urgency and necessity”. The coup in this case is not a takeover of state but the “self manifestation of the state”. It is the self assertion of the state with the sole objective to save the state, by employing whatever form to enable it to save state. (Foucault, 2004, p. 262) It is an effort on part of raison d’état to avoid revolution. And Revolution for Foucault is the “historical phenomenon” that causes states to “disappear and die”. (Foucault, 2004, p. 289)

As the coup is the regular feature of polity of both postcolonial states of our concern, these states cannot be regarded as “schema of intelligibility”, to organize a set of already given institutions in a relation according to pre defined established rules and evolve political norms. Many possible explanations have already been provided for this governmental failure, the crisis of “governmentality”, from military adventurism to incompetence of politicians. From military- bureaucratic urge to make untrained politicians subservient to their technocratic authority, to insistence of dominant ethnic majorities to control polities to build mono-ethnic states more representative of empires of bygone ages. However all these explanations do not shed light on the fact that Postcolonial states emerged with a dream of progress, good governance and development, and an everlasting insistence to construct modern state. The ruling elites whether they are politicians, bureaucrats, or Army Personnel all have an idea of country’s power potential. Politicians, Bureaucracy, Military, and elites representing the ethnic groups both dominant and marginalized have their own conceptions of state to be constructed according to the image provided by the dominant powerful states of the West. The elites in these states have a consensus on modernity and accompanied vision of progress. They all want to implement modern strategies in polity and
construct state according a progressive vision. At the same time an element of mistrust against other ruling groups is also a motivating force to guide their actions.

One possible reason for coups whether civil or military is to correct polity in the hands of “other” decision making group that appears to them an uncontrolled, ill planned, ill managed republic prone to corruption and all kinds of ill designs of groups holding power. The evidence of this corrective mission can be found in explanatory words of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan while providing justification of Benazir Bhutto’s dismantling from power. He stated that “Innumerable stories were circulating among the people of the misuse of power to accumulate and multiply personal fortunes and dole out favors. Bribery, dishonesty, and corruption were burning topics…..the word corruption became the trademark of policies in Pakistan”. (Khan R. , 1997, p. 142) The same desire to correct polity with aim to fulfill the aspirations of people is reflective in words of General Murtala Muhammad when he ousted the military regime of Gen. Yakuba Gowon in July 1975. He enumerated the reasons for termination of Gowon rule like this “events of the past few years have indicated that despite our great human and material resources, the government has not been able to fulfill the legitimate expectations of our people. Nigeria has been left to drift. This situation, if not arrested, would inevitably have resulted in chaos and even bloodshed”. (Agbese, 2004, p. 63) In absence of power sharing norms, mechanisms of accountability and transfer of power these groups assert themselves by taking control of polity by means of coup whether civil or military.

The only passive victims for this power play and all sort of blame game are ordinary citizen, the masses who are denied of any active role in decisions relating to state. Devoid of their voice in the republic, and having no clear idea about the working of system, they witness all these changes with excitement and optimism. Situation can be
summed up in Saro Wiva’s following words, “Nigerians do not normally ask question about anything. Things just happen. It is taken for granted that things will happen. So a bloke just strolls to the Radio Station and says ‘Hello Brothers, I’m now your new head of state’. And the Nigerians take to the street dancing. They love excitement. They hate to question.” (Ahunuwangbo, 2000, p. 65)

**B. Extended Role of Military and State as Instrument of External Interests**

Both countries have a history of military coups and repetition of history after some short and long intervals of civilian rule. Several explanations have been provided for military taking active participant role in Postcolonial polities. There is a consensus among analysts like Huntington (Huntington, 1957) (Huntington, 1968), Finer (Finer, 1975), and Cohen (Cohen S. P., 1998) (Cohen S. P., 2005), that military considers itself to be a modernization agent. Having a clear idea of its superiority with respect to civilian “others”, military considers itself the only organized institution of the country. Moreover having a Middle Class background the Officer Corp in these countries regards themselves to be the real representative of people in opposition to politicians having a feudal background. Military in postcolonial states and societies has constructed a superior self image in relation to larger society, and this image contributes a lot in coup d’états when state acts on itself. But the question remains to be addressed is that whether this self conception of military about itself is independent of foreign influence or direct outcome of military’s capability to get support from great powers. Onwudiwe provides three competing prepositions about influence of foreign powers on military coups.

a) Coups are result of internal forces

b) Coups are result of a combination of internal and external forces.

c) Coups are direct outcomes of foreign influence (Onwudiwe, 2004, p. 22)
Role of Military in Pakistan: (A History of Coups)

Tariq Ali believes that Pakistan first coup in 1958 was a direct result of a consensus between Pakistan Civil Services, Army and CIA that “Pakistan could do without elected government at this particular stage”. Ali provides that CIA and U.S. state Department involvement in Pakistan internal matters was to protect Capitalism. As Pakistan was admitted in “Free World”, to be subservient to US and make its domestic and foreign policies compatible to US interests were state’s main objective. (Ali, 1970, pp. 87-94) Sayeed also holds that U.S. President’s committee had approved military intervention in developing countries during political crises and turmoil and considered military officer’s corps as lines of defense against Communism. During negotiations for U.S. led Security treaties, i.e. SEATO and CENTO Ayub Khan developed close association with Pentagon. (Sayeed K. B., 1980, p. 49) Pakistan strategic location was lucrative for U.S. global designs. Well before Nixon who devised the doctrine of “Surrogate States”49 to protect U.S. interests it was Ayub Khan who made it clear in 1958 that Pakistanis were prepared to fight for Western cause and gave the idea of “Lend-Lease” that he defined that “we provide you with man power and you will provide us means to do fighting”. (Sayeed K. B., 1980, p. 50) Common man in Pakistan has a feeling that Coup in Pakistan is always followed by a major international event. 1977 Coup was followed by USSR direct intervention in Afghanistan. Pakistanis had to keep the ex President Ayub Khan 1961 promises to US, that “only people who will stand by you are people of Pakistan”. (Sayeed K. B., 1980, p. 50) Pakistan gave new zeal to tradition of Jihad and used it to protect hegemonic interests of US. 1999, Musharaf Coup was succeeded by a Terror attack on World Trade Centre and US reaction in Afghanistan. By taking a paradigm

49 US strategy by the mid 1960s popularly known as Nixon doctrine rallied on building Surrogate States to execute US policy and guard US oil interests in the region. In Middle East US Surrogate states were Saudi Arabia, Iran and Israel
shift in its old policy towards Afghanistan, Pakistan again became integral part of US strategy of imposing a global world order. Some critics are of the view that Pakistan Policy is consistent and compatible only to hegemonic needs of US. Foreign policy paradigms and strategies shift in Pakistan only to meet US hegemonic requirements. Another explanation Military takeover lends for covert foreign influence not coming from State actors but capitalist interests. Some Marxist thinkers like Frank, believe that state serves the role of facilitators between Local and Foreign Capitalistic interests and a tool to ease out the extraction of surplus as well as resources. But during the years when military itself became the “state”, military formed itself into capitalist class and economic interest having persistent presence in country’s economic life either itself running large corporate economic enterprises or developing huge Public Sector enterprises for Post War development doctrines.

Military role in Pakistan’s economy dates back to Colonial Period when British Indian Army owned the farms and agricultural lands. The legacy continues to this day. According to Ayesha Siddiqa, Pakistan military is the baron master of almost 11.58 million acres that constitute almost 12% of 93.67 million acres state owned land. Siddiqa hold that during military regimes expansion of landed interests of Armed forces took place. She adds that purpose of land acquisition is not just accumulation of Capital but it also “exhibit the military authority and power in relation to other stakeholders such as landed feudal class and the masses”. (Siddiqa, 2007, p. 174) Siddiqa provides the concept of “Milbus”, to treat the economies of countries like USA, China, Canada, Turkey, Indonesia, Pakistan, Post Soviet Russia, where “soldiers are in business”, and military is an economic actor. (Siddiqa, 2007, pp. 8-9) Pakistan military according to Siddiqa runs diverse businesses ranging from small scale enterprises like Bakeries, farms, schools, and Private Security Firms to corporate
enterprises like Commercial Banks, Insurance Companies, Radio and Television Channels, Fertilizers, Cements and also involved in Construction Business etc. under four Welfare Foundations, the Fuji Foundation, Army Welfare Trust, Shaheen Foundation and Behria Foundation employing serving and retired Army personnel as well as civilians. (Siddiqa, 2007, p. 18)

Role of Military in Nigeria (A History of Coups and Counter Coups)
Nigerian Army also served as regulator of country’s economy. Few years after Nigerian Civil War due, to OPEC embargo, in 1973, there came a steep rise in Oil revenues of Nigeria. Oil revenues that accounted only 250 million dollars in 1970, roused to a level of 11.2 Billion dollars in 1974 when Country flooded with influx of Petrodollars. The negative impact on economy was a decline in agricultural exports making country a single commodity export economy. During last decade of imperial rule each Nigerian region had a set of cash crops to be exported. Traders used to export Cotton and Groundnuts from North, Cocoa from West and Palm Oil from the Eastern region. Share of agriculture was almost 2/3rd (64.4%) of GDP in 1950. Oil Boom became a curse for country’s agriculture once considered a thriving economic activity. Area of land under cultivation fell from 18.8 million hectares in 1975 to 11.05 hectares in 1978, resulting in drop of agriculture output about 50% in volume and value. Not only traditional export of Palm Oil from Eastern region where oil was discovered went under decline Cocoa and Groundnut exports of Northern region also followed the suit where no oil was discovered. The country that was once a food exporter is now the second largest staple market to meet about 1/3 rd of its rice consumption at home. One reason for decline of Agricultural production was rapid development of urban centers and internal migration towards these centers due to a steep rise of demand for workers in construction industry under centralized planning
and adoption of Keynesian policies to ensure full employment (113, 19 July 2006)

There was a rapid growth in state sector, as well as state bureaucracy. Numerous federally administered Para-statals were launched in 1970s and Government sector grown to its peak in 1970s during peak of Gowon rule. Military Governors ran twelve states of Nigerian Federation like private estates. State intervened in economic activity by awarding import licenses to favored firms. The major spending of Oil Revenues was in sector of Food import. Saro Wiva reflects on the oil curse of 10th largest Oil exporter like this, “Of all the countries who hold black Gold, Nigeria was the only one that had succeeded in doing nothing with it. The Arabs used their oil very well indeed; not only they had given their people education and a lot else that conducted in good living, they also had invested their money in Europe and America. But the Nigerian had invested nothing; they had spent their money in buying foreign food which they had consumed or even threw away; in paying for ships waiting on the high seas to deliver food”. (Ejeke, 2000, p. 21)

In section of our study dealing with Bangladesh our finding was that Pakistan was a model pupil of Development Doctrine conceived by Post War Global planners to intervene in Post-Colonial states. Nigeria too was heralded by U.S. as a success story making real growth in GDP. UN Center for Development Planning estimated GDP growth during 1970-74 as 12.3 % per year exceeding well beyond the target 6.2 %. But estimate is not realist because growth was not the result of any development in production potential of state rather the result of steep rise in “Oil” prices. The Plan 1975-80, envisioned a twelvefold increase in Public expenditure. However the increase was not meant for provision of services to Public but a huge sum was allocated for Festival of African Culture in Lagos. Other heads of Public expense was inflationary wages to public officials running para-statal organizations. One reason of
July 1975 Coup was Government’s inability to pay June salaries to public administration.

C: Re-territorialization of State Internal Geographies
Raison d’état according to Foucault involves construction as well as regulation of state milieu. For purpose of regulation sovereign divides, distributes, and arrange state space into a hierarchical spatial order according to their functional importance. Territorialization involves hierarchical arrangement of spaces in milieu and imparts them with their political and economic role in milieu. According to Foucault In Federation territorialization also addresses the governance problematic of diverse ethnic groups of multiethnic states. Territorial divisions of polity not only save diverse ethnic groups from each other’s domination but also provide them to regulate their respective areas according to their own conception of governance. Territorialization is main concern of sovereign in Federation to address causes of sedition and centrifugal push of multiple ethnicities. Federal states often go through re-territorialization process, redefining state internal boundaries. The re-territorialization in postcolonial Federal states serves as mechanism of subjugation to build mono-ethnic states by dominant ethnicities as well as means of bio-political resistance for the subject groups facing political and economic marginalization.

Politics of Re-territorialization in Pakistan
History of Pakistan initial years shed light on State mechanisms to subjugate Bengal majority population of East by Western dominant group Punjabis and migrant Urdu Speaking population. In absence of Political frameworks of rule the non elected Military Bureaucratic alliance having representation of Punjabis and Urdu speaking migrants from India were in a position to define and express state will. The Other ethnicities in West Pakistan became the first victim of their urge to dominate polity by equalizing Bengal’s majority. The Province of Punjab, Sind, NWFP, Baluchistan and
independent states like Bahawalpur, Kalat, Khairpur, Swat, Dir, and Chitral etc. were unified in an artificially constructed “One Unit” of West Pakistan in 1950s. One Unit was not territorialized to meet any ethno-linguistic demand, rather it suppressed many ethno-linguistic groups in name of unity and nation-building denying them their due share and representation in polity. However it served the purpose of ruling elites of State, the military-bureaucratic alliance to maintain their power position. Bengalis on the other hand were denied the prerogatives of majority in Westminster Parliamentary democracy in first Republic of Pakistan 1956.

1970 witnessed the reverse shift when the provinces were restored but the old independent status of states was not reverted. States were made part of Provincial territories of Punjab, Sind, NWFP and newly emerged Province of Baluchistan. The political elites and public of these states like Bahawalpur, Kalat and Swat etc lament their loss of independence and old era of state administration to this day when they receive a minimum share from Public exchequer. The comparison of their old and new civic conditions is beyond the limits of this study.

The dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971 was not an end of separatist tendencies in Pakistan rather the beginning of a new wave of ethno-linguistic nationalist movements constructing identities on basis of linguistics ethnicities. In 2012, separatist ethnic movements are present in all constituent units of Pakistan federation demanding at least the re-territorialization of provincial boundaries. As

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50 In Punjab province there is tension among Saraiki speaking South and North Punjab. Re-territorialization demands have no consensus on Provincial Boundaries. Some ask Multan for Saraiki Province, other demand still more Provinces like Multan Province and movement to revive old status of Bahawalpur State as constituent unit of Federation. More over in Punjab Central region, Rawalpindi, Jhelum etc some elements defines their identity separate from dominant Punjabi identity. All these movements have a consensus that in Lahore led Punjabi administration they are denied their due economic share. In province of Sind two cities Karachi and Hyderabad have dominant Urdu Speaking population. Karachi is the backbone of Pakistani economy. But according to Dr. Abdul Hayee the original citizens of Sind has no right over this center of Development. Province of Sind has re-territorialization demands
there is disparity of living conditions among core regions and peripheral areas and furthermore between Core and peripheral regions of Periphery i.e. the Capital cities of Provinces and rest of provinces the crisis of governmentality and issue of proper rules of conduct ensuring a meaningful life for citizens are at root of all demands of re-territorialization. Table below represents the difference between core and periphery of Pakistani provinces

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No</th>
<th>Province</th>
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<th>HDI (Rural)</th>
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<td>Urban</td>
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<td>0.591</td>
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on basis of Mohajir and Sindhi identity. Movement of Sindodesh aims to get a separate independent state and is a member of UNPO.

Old province of NWFP was renamed Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, but there also exists linguistic divide of Pakhtoon and non Pakhtoon (sharing their language with People of Central Punjab). There also exists an Islamic militant movement Taliban that deny all kind of border obstructions among Muslim States, especially Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Baluchistan has two major ethnic groups, Baluch and Pakhtoon. Further Balochi are divided on Linguistic (Brahui, Balochi, and Saraiki), Tribal and Sectarian lines.

**Figure 18: Urban and Rural HDI of Pakistani Provinces**

The above table represents that difference exists among the core/peripheral regions of all provinces. The greatest difference between urban rural divide is in Province of Sind, i.e. 1:8. The other major Core-Core difference exists between Sind and Baluchistan i.e. 1:4, while distance of Periphery-Periphery ranking is lowest in Baluchistan and Sind, i.e. 7:8.

**Re-Territorialization and Creation of New States in Nigeria**

Re-territorialization of State internal boundaries in Nigeria also reflects the mechanism to subjugate and dominate as well as means of resistance to empire building designs on part of ruling junta. Nigeria at independence was a three region state, i.e. Northern, Western, Southern. In 1963, Mid Western region was created out of Western region by North-East ruling alliance to curtail powers of Western region. In 1966, during civil war the Gowon led military government divided the country into twelve states to secure support of non-Igbo minorities in the Previous Eastern region, the territory of Biafra. The government strategy was successful to end Civil War and saved state of Nigeria. In 1976, the number of states once again increased to nineteen. Military rulers again went through re-territorialization process in 1987, adding two more states and in 1991, increasing the number to thirty. Three Muslim states Kano, Sokoto and Borno were also subdivided into six states Jigawa, Kano, Kebbi, Sokoto, Borno and Yobe to meet out the fears of South.

The final increase was made by Abacha regime when he added six more states giving country 36 constituent Units as well as Six Region. In September 2012 there was news in Nigerian media with reference to President of Nigerian Senate David Mark
that state creations\textsuperscript{52} is an ongoing process in Nigeria and Senate has received 56 more requests for new states.

Reasons for demands of new states are almost similar in both countries. It is perceived that new territorial divisions will bring government nearer to people and address the issues related to bad governance, providing not only the basic necessities to people but also provide them with employment opportunities. Capital cities of these new territorial divisions will increase urban centers and bring the comforts associated with urban living to more and more people. We can draw inference that re-territorialization demands are modern in nature associated with Public’s desire to live a modern life. However as mechanisms to subjugate citizenry the state machinery serves re-territorialization as means and strategy to buyoff political dissent.

In both countries Federal government allocates resources to different tiers of State, hence the state creation is more than a means of identity expression. Group intends to secure their shares of revenue by means of a territorial division of their own. In Nigeria the situation compounds due to Oil Revenues, where oil producing communities compare their objective situation with other OPEC countries and finds themselves victim of “Resource Curse”. The situation leads to demand for a new state controlled and owned by them. We believe that demands for new territorial division within federal polity are modern in nature with a consensus over state’s role within citizen’s life rather than primordial expressions of one’s identity.

\textsuperscript{52} http://www.punchng.com/news/senate-gets-requests-for-57-new-states/
Figure 19: Postcolonial State and Working of True Discourses to Facilitate Extraction of Surplus and Surplus in New World Order


45. **Conclusion**

Foucault believes that state is nothing else but mobile effects of multiple governmentalities. Apex of state making is European model of nation state. Nation state model of Europe is capitalist where state becomes a tool in construction of Bourgeoisie hegemony and capitalist accumulation. Third world state although come into existence with a promise of sovereignty to wretched of the earth, and a life free from exploitation, it becomes a tool of capitalist accumulation on World scale and dependent accumulation on state scale. Territorial or national unit in third world as Wallerstein perceives them provide the mid layer of three tier system and serve as subsystem of global system, the world-system, facilitating transfer of surplus value from periphery to core. Wallerstein identify sources of exploitation external as well as internal. To oversimplify, capitalism is a system in which the surplus value of the proletariat is appropriated by the bourgeoisie. When this proletariat is located in a different country from this bourgeoisie, one of the mechanisms that have affected the process of appropriation is the manipulation of controlling flows over state boundaries. But capitalist system does not simply involve appropriation of surplus produced by the proletariat of third world to Bourgeoisie of First world via Third world collaborator Bourgeoisie. System involves plunder of resources located in third world periphery, simply to keep the system moving. Third World state facilitates the extraction of resources, while retaining its share of surplus and providing core like facilities to an insignificant proportion of its population. Frank (believes that foreign and local business and state officials form a triangular relation involved in exploitation. (Frank, Crisis: In the Third World, 1981, p. 233)

The net result of this violent discourse is ‘uneven development’ on world scale as well as on state level. Capitalism as global system of appropriation encompasses its
national variants of class oppression. Surplus value generated by proletariat at national level is channelized towards national bourgeoisie and also to foreign bourgeoisie claiming their share in appropriation as interest of finance capital and debt servicing.

Capitalism operating as World system comprising of three layers, core, semi-periphery, and periphery is necessarily a system in which not only the surplus wealth is appropriated to Bourgeoisie but also the resources, the free bounties of nature are appropriated to national and global bourgeoisie denying the people living in resource rich zones of nature the progress. The groups in turn record their protests in form of ethnic challenges to existence and survival of postcolonial state. Class conflict in global system is not a simple direct relation between oppressor and oppressed, therefore, Wallerstein “broadens the concept of class struggle to include not only conventional social class structured around the mode of production, but territorial units, and especially ones in which people have a shared identity—what he calls ‘ethno-nations’” (McCrone, 1998, p. 105). “Class” and “ethno-nation” both are expressions of protest to economic oppression. Ethno-nations, just like social classes, are formed, consolidate themselves, disintegrate or disaggregate, and are constantly re-formed’. (Wallerstein I. , 1979 , pp. 224-25)
Figure 20: Ensemble of Causes leading to Pax-American World Order after Second World War
Globalization

Globality

IBRD IMF

MNCs

Migration Diaspora

Consumer Culture

Neo Liberal State Policies

Resources Control

Time Space Compression, Information Revolution, Global Media

Figure 21: Globalization
“*When one adopts the perspective of the activity of the multitude, its production of subjectivity and desire, one can recognize how globalization, insofar as it operates a real de-territorialization of the previous structures of exploitation and control, is really a condition of the liberation of the multitude*. (Hardt & Negri M. a., 2004, p. 70)

The chapter like the previous ones aims to narrate a historical process, and in turn vertically locate its impacts and corresponding processes in different spaces, first in Europe and then its other, the postcolonial world. This part of our study is divided in three sections. First, we will record shifts in world system after WWII leading to Globalization, making globalization an unchallenged myth, constructing a regime of truth through its reality claims. Second section will account the impacts of these shifts on Europe, integrating itself into a region, evolving a new form of governmental reason based on the conception of perpetual peace, a step ahead from the state. Third section will focus on postcolonial state failure to evolve a raison d’état, lending to failed state discourses as well as their drift into ethnicity and religious revivalism and emergence of forces to alter globalization at the same time focusing on concept of myth.

We treat “Globalization”, as myth, because its conception of progress is not only integral part of discourses that advocate the benefits of a unified working Whole, i.e. the globe acting as economic and social unit but also an essential component of forces of alter globalization. To analyze the Foucauldian concept of “governmentality”, myth becomes a circular dialogue. Contrary to earlier conceptions about myth, Foucault believes that myth doesn’t “dominate” the subject but becomes a part and parcel of subject’s cognition. Myth serves as technology to constitute and mould subjectivities;
hence it pervades in everyday social practices and shapes not only the experiences but
serves as “condition of existence”, at the same time setting the ‘limits of the possible’
and ‘impossible’.

Using some primary data we want to establish that myth operates circularly as these
forces not only shapes the “conduct of conduct” (governmentality), but themselves are
the effects of different versions of governmentality. Elites working on the project of
altering the system themselves are “subjects”, constituted by system, hence they are
unable to look beyond the modern solution and Europe serves as exemplar of
governance for these forces.

Part I: Globalization (From Bretton Woods to Washington Consensus)

This part of our research will treat discourse as events unfolding to formation of
singularity, “Globalization”, at the same time describing the discursive and material
shifts sustaining the discourse. Neil Smith (Smith N., 2005) considers Globalization
as the third moment of US imperialism. The following lines will account formations
and transformations on global level from Bretton Woods to Washington Consensus
bringing the new formation “Empire” to life. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (Hardt
& Negri M. A., 2001), herald the end of “imperialism” and its replacement by a new
ensemble “Empire”, characterized by lack of boundaries and a rule of capital without
any limit and constraint.

Economic historians (Gilpin, Amin, Wallerstein, Nayar) divide post WWII phase of
history in two periods, i.e. Period of prosperity (1945-1975) Period of Crisis (1975-).

53 Neil smith considers Wilson Global Monroe doctrine with corresponding vision of liberal world
institution as first moment on US imperialism. Brettons Wood and UNO after WWII mark the second
moment of US imperialism. For Neil Smith after Soviet collapse and changing role of Brettons Wood
institutions the third era of US global empire started
The first period witnessed the triumph of Keynesian interventionist policies restoring the economic potential of triad as the first pillar on which American hegemony rests. Second Period witnessed the triumph of military “Keynesianism” in US economy, and building of American military muscle as the second pillar of American hegemony.

46. Post War Boom and Constitution of Triad:

In Post WWII world US was the only surviving economic power. US capitalism was facing the dual challenge of “over accumulation” in sector of finance capitalism as well as “decline in demand” of consumer goods in sector of production capitalism. To meet these challenges and to save the middle classes of industrial countries from conditions of unbearable mass poverty as aftermath of war and accompanied threat of communism US “containment policy” authored by George Kennan proposed a solution by building economic potential of Western Europe as well as Japan.

As productive potential of these economies restored, consumer products from Japan and Europe started attracting consumers in US as well as in other parts of the so called “free World”, all over US sphere of influence. By the 1960, productivity gap between these economies to that of US minimized. These economies restored their control over domestic markets, effectively competed with US goods in third world, and started to get hold of US market as well. (Wallerstein I. , June 2000)

Samir Amin owes successful working of Bretton Woods System and triumph of “Regulated Capitalism” to three social projects.

1- Social democratic project of Welfare nation-state in Western Europe that created a delicate compromise between capital and labor.

2- Bandung Project (1955), that gave concrete shape to national bourgeoisie project of modernization, industrialization and development in third world states.

3- Soviet “Capitalism without Capitalists”, working in relative independence from the dominant world system. (Amin, 2000, pp. 16-17)

47. Crisis and Third World Industrial Revolution

In 1973 Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange came to an end, when American hegemony smashed the system to increase its freedom of economic and political action, and decision was made to “let exchange rates float”. (Gilpin, 1987, pp. 140-41)

1973 was a crucial year for finance capital with respect to four developments.

- The world's major economies, including the United States, were all cutting into an interconnected economic depression, bringing an end to exemplary postwar boom.

- US trade deficits, exploded to $11 billion by 1972, rising beyond 1960’s annual average of $1.8 billion with billions of US dollars poured into the
world and European financial markets. Almost 10 percent of the US money supply was poured into Euro Dollar market beyond regulation of any state by 1970.

- A third event exasperated the crisis in spheres of finance and production capital, i.e. the OPEC oil embargo. The event resulted in breaking the monopoly of Western Oil Cartel, leading in a price hike of almost a factor to ten. (Smith N., 2005, pp. 130-31)

Petrodollars in turn provided a boost for demand of consumer and mechanical goods in Middle Eastern states and blossoming of merchant and construction capitalism and development of commercial centers like Dubai with port facilities. A major proportion of Petrodollars were recycled to the private banks of Wall Street. Although governments of triad were losers in this crisis unable to provide oil to their consumers and industries, Wall Street emerged as the global center of Finance Capitalism. It recycled the accumulated “Petrodollars” for reinvestment. Eurodollar market expanded and an accompanied result was an increase in debts of Asia and Latin America leading to third world debt crisis of 1980’s.

These developments contributed to other related developments of the period, i.e.

- The Asian industrial revolution, emergence of the so-called “Asian tigers, i.e. Taiwan, Hong Kong and South Korea that were perceived by the West as part of the “Third World”. Since the 1960s these economies, renounced import substitution strategies for export-based production. These economies too were fueled by recycling petrodollar funds. 1973 witnessed these “Asian Tigers”, joining the ranks of top national economies. The economic breakthrough was the result of a combination of certain features like cheap labor, strong state control over workers and capital flows, that all these countries share with each
other and with other rising economies of South and South East Asia like Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand etc. The other countries that joined the group were China after the capitalist reforms of 1979, India and Bangladesh in 1990s. (Smith N., 2005, pp. 130,131)

- Japan emerged as the “lender of Last resort” and in mid 1980’s it was supplying a substantial fraction of 100-120 billion $, credit to US government as well as investing in all types of assets in American economy.

- Reagan administration unable to stimulate the domestic consumption and demand commenced to largest military expansion strategy in US during peace time and there was an unparallel increase in defense expenditures. (Gilpin, 1987, p. 331)

In 1989, with fall of Berlin Wall and disintegration of Soviet Union in 1991, the erstwhile controlled economies of Eastern Europe also included in domain of “free market liberalism”. Stieglitz (2002, pp. 133-34) notes that, in 1989 with demise of Berlin Wall, the most important transition of all the time initiated. He describes the transition as the second bold experiment of the history. With this experiment he believes that 8% of world total population in former USSR and Eastern Europe fell to the “orthodoxy of market fundamentalism”. The whole globe was now open for market interventionism. The era was marked by Fukuyama as Liberal “end of history converting the “half loaf” of Bretton Woods into “full loaf”, globalization (Smith N., 2005, p. 122) it was the third moment of US hegemonic ambitions, providing US an opportunity for complete economic lebensraum. Under direct US influence the economies of whole world have to opt for economic reforms directly controlled by US and its economic institutions. As the “threat of communism” existed only in

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54 The Stieglitz consider Bolshevik revolution of 1917, that lasted for almost seventy years as the first bold economic transformation
historical narratives, policy of US and its allies shifted from “Regulated Capitalism” and “Fordist” welfare state to workfare state of “Washington Consensus” and American brand “Anarcho-capitalism”.

48. **Washington Consensus, Rise of “Anarcho-Capitalism” and Changing Role of Bretton Woods Institutions**

Foucault identifies two versions of neo-liberalism, with different cornerstones and historical contexts i.e. the German and American. He traces the genealogy of American liberalism in German school of “Ordo-Liberals”, and finds it rooted in Weimar Republic, 1929 crisis, the development of Nazism and autarky and, finally in the post-war reconstruction of Germany.

American neo-liberalism according to Foucault is rooted in “New Deal”, the criticism of Roosevelt’s federal interventionist policies and against the aid and other programs of Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson Democratic administrations.

Foucault establishes certain links and connections between these two versions of neo-liberalism.

1. Both share the “main doctrinal adversary, Keynes”, the common enemy, to be criticized.

2. Both share revulsion of the state-controlled economy, planning, and state interventionism, important for Keynesian strategy due to its theoretical and practical merits.

3. Both believe in Austrian neo-marginalism and have common people who are staunch protagonists of Austrian neo-marginalism, like von Mises, and Hayek.

Foucault believes that in the course of this colloquium between German and American Liberals, the specific prepositions peculiar to neo-liberalism were defined
and neo liberalism was named “positive liberalism”. Foucault believes that “positive liberalism” is also an “intervening liberalism” due to its belief that “The free market requires an active and extremely vigilant policy.” Foucault believes that in all the texts of the neo-liberals dominant theme is that government must assume an active, vigilant, and intervening role to create and protect a liberal regime. Foucault points out that in contemporary version of American “anarcho-capitalism” too, the state is responsible for the end result of economic activity, but the nature and objective of state intervention is different. Foucault visits the problem and nature of state interventions as the first point to approach the specificity of state in neo-liberal policy. State according to Foucault has to distinguish between agenda and non agenda of intervention. Market cannot operate without state’s patronage. Foucault believes that neo- liberal governmentality schematically addresses three issues i.e.

- Address the problems arising in case of monopoly
- Provide a legal framework for conformable economic action
- the problem of social policy

State agenda in a liberal regime for Foucault imparts an interventionist role in favor of market forces to break monopolies and promote a competitive environment and to develop an arena for comfortable economic operations to be carried on and opt for a policy of tax reduction. Foucault believes that only non agenda for state intervention is its reduced social role and non interventionist social policy, the domain where state cannot intervene. Rejection of social policy is what according to Foucault developed by American “anarcho-capitalism”. Other important aspect for Foucault is neo-liberalism alignment with privatization of insurance mechanisms, and for the individual to protect himself against risks through all the reserves he has at his
disposal, either simply as an individual, or through mutual benefit organizations. A privatized social policy is the main aim of neo liberalism.

For Foucault

- From the economic point of view neo-liberalism is no more than the reactivation of old, cast-off economic theories.
- From the sociological aspect, it is just a way to establish strict market relations in society.
- From the political standpoint, neo-liberalism is no more than a mask for a generalized administrative intervention by the state which is all the more intense and comprehensive for being subtly intimidating and at the same time veiled beneath the mask of a neo-liberalism. (Foucault, 2008, pp. 129-140)

Neo-Liberal regime of truth, appeared as new knowledge orthodoxy in 1990s, marked by the post-cold war “Washington Consensus”. Chicago school economics provided the intellectual lure. At a time of rapid technological transformations, a return to neoclassical economics offered a gloss to state minimalism. “Hayek added a cybernetic twist by claiming that market forces provide superior circulation of information. Friedman's monetarism attacked Fordism and New Deal capitalism”. (Pieterse, 2004, p. 3)

The Washington Consensus was the ideology in post cold war environment sustaining capitalist mechanism of subjugation as policy rhetoric for capitalist world elites broadly sharing the ideological vision “equating capitalism with democracy, and free markets with human rights”. It also laid defunct to postwar mode of intervention, i.e. the development discourses for the “less developed countries”, and state management of “modernization.” The alternative provided by Washington consensus instead saw “emerging markets,” would erase the social dogmas of tradition oriented places and
prescribed privatization as a means for export-oriented growth. Panacea for ills of “mal development” was privatization, deregulation, free trade, and monetarism”. Post War institutions were marred by new role in new regime of truth. The IMF, World Bank, and World Trade Organization (GATT was renamed in 1995) began to play a more dominant global role in ideological swing and virtual control of the US Treasury Department, they too became organs for implementation of the Washington Consensus, “enforcing the doctrines of neo-liberalism through free trade statutes, the discipline of structural adjustment, and the strictures of financial stabilization programs. Liberalize, privatize, deregulate! These were the nostrums of the new orthodoxy”. (Smith N., 2005, p. 144).

The distinguishing features of Post WWII era were liberal democracy, a social class accommodation, and Keynesian aggregate demand management to ensure economic growth. Era was marked by open trade and controlled finance, but shift took place in post cold war epoch. The economic regime in post cold war years rests on “open finance”. Foucault views that state was definitely involved in bringing about the transformation and played a pivotal role in reorganization of capitalism from trade to finance. State brought the necessary changes in economic environment, like legislation for privatization, intervention in money supply, limiting the role of public sector, deregulation of capital, tax cuts, and abolition of price controls. State was also instrumental in new global economic governmentality like previous economic regime, but with a shift in functions. “Free World” policy, and cold war geopolitics was converted into a global financial regime, and the erstwhile anti-communist alliance morphed into a free-market hegemonic compromise. (Pieterse, 2004, p. 9) Harvey (2000, pp. 25-30)identifies following social transformations in global socio-economic systems after the collapse of Bretton Woods institution i.e.
- Media and information revolution is creating entirely “new wants and needs”, giving a boost to demand as well as providing linkage between societies and people, eroding cultural barriers and production of a singular global culture based on “consumerism”.
- Cost and time of moving commodities and people is stretched to downwards.
- Removal of spatial constraints of capital leads to off shore production activity reducing the cost of labor.
- A trans-national character of production (TNC) eroding national character of production
- Urbanization and accompanied migration to industrial center along with social transformations\(^{55}\) brought an increase in world wage labor force.

### 49. Ideological Reality Claims of Globalization: Start of New Era of War

Neo-liberalism is the ideology behind present discourse of globalization. Foucault considers ideological discourses as general recipe to exercise of power over men. He believes that mind is a surface for inscription of power and “Semiology” is the tool of ideology. With control of ideas it secures the submission of bodies. (Foucault, 1995, p. 102) Globalization has assumed the role of ideology since 1990s, with its specific semiotic, ideological tools. By the mid 90s, large population segments in global North as well as in South had accepted globalism’s core ideological claims, making these normative truth claims as part of everyday norms and belief patterns, hence internalizing the overarching normative framework that advocates, “the deregulation of markets, the liberalization of trade, the privatization of state enterprises, the

\(^{55}\) Harvey identify that women comprise the majority of labor force in Asian industrialized countries.
dissemination of ‘American values,’ and, after 9-11, the support of the global War on Terror under US leadership” (Steger, 2003).

Discourses sustaining present structure of capitalist global monument rely on the constant repetition, public recital, media images of “globalism”. Steger is of the view that such ideological truth claims are capable to produce what they term and refer as “globalism”. Steger identifies six main ideological, normative, “truth” claims about globalization.

- Globalization liberalizes and integrates world markets.
- It is an inevitable, irreversible process
- The forces work independently without any leadership, as no one is “in charge of globalization”.
- Globalization is in benefit of everyone.
- Globalization will result in democracy all over the world and
- A global war on terror is required to save forces of globalization. (Steger M. B., February 2005 (10) (1))

The sixth claim that “Globalization requires a global war on terror” to protect and counter all kinds of threats to liberal way of life provides a means to re-territorialize the world according to new needs and requirements of capitalism. Like Mackinder and Isaiah Bowman whose ideas provided “political territorial features” to face of earth, in previous stages of capitalist development, new idea is provided by Huntington56 and Thomas Barnett.

For our discussion on “Globalization”, we take Barnett’s ideas. Thomas Barnett’s presented his ideas in an article “The Pentagon’s New Map”, first published in the March 2003 issue of Esquire magazine, and afterwards expanded into a bestselling

56 Clash of Civilization thesis of Huntington
book with same title. Barnett argues that the Iraq War was the distinguishing moment when Washington assumed the real role to provide strategic security in globalized world. He divides Globalised integrated world in a “functional core” and a “non-integrating” and also include “Seam States”, that lie between two diverse regions. Functioning core characterizes “globalization”, with its dense networks of connectivity, transaction of capital and flow of media images and bonded in a sort of ‘collective security’ arrangement. State members of functioning core are stable and working democratic polities with established mechanisms of accountability and transparency, high living standards. The group includes most of Europe, North America, Australia, New Zealand and a small part of Latin America.

Non Integrating Gap includes the areas where forces of globalization are thin or just ‘non-existent’. The region is besieged by oppressive, exploitative political regimes, markets under government regulation, and people of these areas live in conditions of invasive poverty and disease. The region consists of most of Southeast Asia, the Middle East, China, Central Asia, the Balkans, Caribbean Rim, virtually all of Africa and the Caucasus. He believes that this non integrating division provides conditions and nurtures global terrorism.

Barnett third division comprise of the “Seam States” that lie in between these two regions. These states according to Barnett are those that lie on the “bloody boundaries” of non integrating gap. He includes the states like Pakistan, Turkey, Greece, Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, Algeria, Morocco, South Africa, Mexico and Brazil in the group of “Seam States”. Barnett, consider events of 9-11 as a signifier representing the threat ever present for “functioning core” and emphasize on the urgency to deal with the entire Gap as a “strategic threat to global economic

57 Barnett includes members of NATO in his first group who also rely on US for their security
environment”. He argues that “War on Terror”, is necessary and required for the desired objective to spread globalization. The main objectives of this war according to Barnett are

- To Increase the Core’s immunity to respond September 11 like turmoil.
- Enhance the military potential and capabilities of ‘seam states’ to develop them as protective firewall for the Core from the coming threats from the non integrating Gap’s nasty exports, like terrorism and drugs as well as to narrow the non integration gap between thick and thin globalization. For Barnett the process must be initiated from the Middle East.

War on Terror for Barnett is the only response to non integrating gap because he emphasizes that if “We ignore the Gap’s existence at our own peril, because it will not go away until we as a nation respond to the challenge of making globalization truly global” (Barnett)58

Barnett study reveals the paradox of a Globalised integrated world where media images, information technology and World Wide Web has exposed the riches of core to peripheral subjects enticing a feeling of discontent, utter hatred and dissatisfaction. Inequality and economic gap is implicit feature of economic progress, but never in history this feature was exposed to oppressed and exploited to such an extent to bring them in a clash with whom they consider responsible for their plight and signifying them as threat.

The coming part of our discussion will focus on areas with apparently thick globalization forces, integrating into a new governmental rationality in form of a functioning region “Europe” but still primordial non integrating ethnic forces and backward spaces exist in this Functioning Core region. Second focus of our study is

58 http://wweb.uta.edu/insyopma/prater/pentagons_new_map.pdf
the “Seam States” i.e. Pakistan and Nigeria\(^{59}\), a hybrid category with thick and thin globalization forces. We can identify the global cities with standard of living comparable to functioning core as well as the “ungovernable spaces” in the same states that are considered to be the breeding grounds of religious revivalism and primordial forces of ethnicity.

\(^{59}\) Nigeria is not included in the group of Seam States in Barnett article. However for sake of our discussion we include Nigeria in the group due to its mixed economic and social traits and military power.
Figure 22: Relations of Power in Age of Globalization

Power/Knowledge
Positive Liberalism/Washington Consensus
Globalization/Empire

Neo-Liberal Interventionist State as "Total Structure" (Cause and Effect of Power)

True Discourses, Globalization as Panacea of Economic Ills
Neo-Liberal End of History

Mechanisms of Subjugation, State interventionism to protect market, End of State’s Welfare Functions, Structural Adjustment Programs and Changing Role of Bretton Woods Institutions

Relations of power
Functioning Core/Non Integrating Gap

Games of Truth
Globalism as Neo Liberal ideology

Hybrid Seam States
Part II: European Regionalism: A new stage in History of Governmentality

Foucault aims to do “without a theory of the state”. Foucault objects two fundamentals of state theory.

- State is a universal entity
- State is an independent, autonomous source of power.

For him the “state is neither a universal nor in itself an autonomous source of power” (Foucault, 2008, p. 77) and “Emergence of state as a fundamental political issue” is an episode in “general history” of Governmentality. (Foucault, 2004, p. 247) The “state is nothing else”, writes Foucault but “the effect, the profile, the mobile shape of a perpetual statification (étatisation) or statifications, in the sense of incessant transactions which modify, or move, or drastically change, or insidiously shift sources of finance, modes of investment, decision-making centers, forms and types of control, relationships between local powers, the central authority, and so on……in short, the state has no interior. The state is nothing else but the mobile effect of a regime of multiple governmentalities”. (Foucault, 2008, p. 77) Foucault believes that state is not that kind of a “cold monster that has continually grown and developed as a sort of threatening organism above civil society” rather from sixteenth century, a civil society, a governmentalized society organized itself into a “fragile and obsessive structure called “the state”. (Foucault, 2004, p. 248)

Foucault turns theory of state at its head by saying that “state is only an episode in government”, and it is not government that is an instrument of the state. With this change in ontological definition he opens new vistas for alternatives other than state
and “would be state”. Foucault believes that exercise of sovereignty is not the prerogative of state but it can take several forms. One such form is the idea of “Final Empire”, where all particularities and kingdoms would be fused and subjected to a single form of sovereignty. Against that idea of Final Empire there emerged the Kantian conception of Perpetual Peace, “dream of a link between the states that will remain states”. Kant according to Foucault believes that universal peace is not a consequence of “unification in a temporal or spiritual empire”. Foucault conceives a “plural” state, where different states will be able to do-exist with each other, “according to a balance that prevents one dominating the others”. Universal peace is for Foucault a “stability acquired through a balanced plurality” and is therefore different from the idea of “final empire”. Foucault believes that eventually the idea of indefinite governmentality embodied in “state”, will give way to the idea of progress. (Foucault, 2004, p. 260)

Alternative to state and its corresponding ideology of statism is provided again in Europe where the previous concept of “Police state” and statism was forged; and European Police States enter in a new relation, a community of European state, a union. Europe for Foucault is no longer “a confused mess of isolated pieces” in which each thinks in terms of its narrower “little interests”. Today, Europe is a “political

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60 Foucault traces the genealogy of use of term police, and finds that term “police” was used in political discourses up to sixteenth century along with other expressions like states, principalities, towns etc to signify “a community or association governed by a public authority”. There is a shift in meaning since seventeenth century with start of competition between European states and “balance of Europe” term began to refer set of means by which state’s force can be building or increased while preserving state in good order. Foucault outlines three objectives of police in competitive environment. 1. Increasing the state’s force to maximum. 2. Increasing state’s force to the extent that it is impossible for other contenders to overtake or surpass it. 3. Development of statistics as common instrument of European equilibrium and police. As European equilibrium require that each state is in position to know its own forces and know and evaluate the forces of others. Foucault outlines five concerns of Police activity. 1. Number of men and their integration in state’s utility. 2. Providing necessities of life to people enabling them to live. 3. Problem of health in case of epidemic. 4. Activity of population preventing them from idleness 5. Last concern of Police is circulation of goods and products of men’s activity. Circulation involves building of roads as well as navigability of water routes etc. Circulation also involves set of regulations, constraints and limits or facilities and encouragement that will allow circulation of men and things in the kingdom and possibly beyond its borders. (Foucault, 2004, pp. 312-325)
system”, an organized body in which varied interests of nations that inhabit this space are interlinked.

50. Project Europe

Foucault believes that modern Europe is the result of continuous negotiations, “a kind of republic the member of which independent but bound by common interest, come together to maintain order and liberty”. (Foucault, 2004, p. 304)

History reveals that origin of the present Europe is rooted in Post WWII environment where Europe was divided in two ideological blocks. Western Europe according to Samir Amin, decimated by War was under the illusionary fear of being invaded by Stalin or communism, added by a fear from Germany to once again rise as power. Third enemy was mass poverty, taking its toll more than War. US that saved the Europe from Hitler again came as savior to protect Europe not only from mass poverty and accompanying threat of communist revolution.61 US proposed the Marshal Plan for economic well being and prosperity of Europe. Baldev Raj Nayar considers Marshal Plan conditionalities as important factor in bringing co relevance to diverse European interests. US insisted that there must be a coordinated effort on part of European countries for an economic recovery on “European Scale”. The condition was imposed according to Nayer to avoid the competition between European states that “would escalate beyond what US could reasonably meet” (Nayar, 2005, p. 85)

The US was also concerned that if Europeans were not pushed to cooperation, there will be a reversion to traditional animosities leading once again to a situation like previous two Wars where US would have to intervene. America according to Nayer forced Europeans to “think like Europeans and not like the nationalists”. (Nayar, 2005,

61 George Kennan in his long telegram analyzed that for Western Europe Soviet threat was ideological rather than military. He believed that Soviet backed communist parties in Western Europe could take advantage of prevailing postwar poverty, uncertainty and chaos. Kennan was the firm believer that communism flourishes in societies where a small, wealthy class exploits poverty stricken masses. He suggested that elimination of mass poverty will lead to a reduction in communist appeal.
US also feared that nationalist Europe will also revert to autarkic economic policies of interwar period. Marshal plan thus aimed to support the “intensification of intra European trade as a prelude to complete opening up”. (Amin, 2000, p. 110)

The project Europe was the condition that “weak and afraid of their working classes”, European bourgeoisie accepted without condition. (Amin, 2004, p. 90) As far as the third European fear Germany was concerned, initial thought of revenge and punishment and distressing its industrial potential were introverted in face of communist threat and a unified Germany in communist sphere of influence. Kennan economic calculation contributed a lot in these afterthoughts. Kennan identified five regions i.e. US, UK, Rhine Valley (Germany), Japan and Soviet Union, where sinews of military strength can be produced in bulk. Only one was under the communist control, so object of containment was to ensure rest of these from communist control. (Nayar, 2005, p. 84)

51. Creation of a Supra-State Structure Europe

Foucault traces the origin of “Europe”, like state in the treaty of Westphalia. Treaty for Foucault was designed to reorganize the Empire with objective to define the status and rights of empire in relation to German principalities and empire’s zones of influences, Austria, Sweden and France on German territory. Germany for Foucault is and could become the “center of elaboration” for European republic. Europe as “juridical political entity”, as a system of diplomatic and political security, is the “yoke that the most powerful countries imposed on Germany”. For Foucault Europe was created to impose the domination of England France and Russia on Germany. In Post WWII environment Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman devised a novel form of Governmental rationality to build conformity in US containment interest and French fears of revival of German’s military industrial complex, where Germany’s military
industrial potential was absorbed into the construction of Europe to save Europe from future Wars as well as communist threats in case of USSR, German alliance.

The act was in fact the first instance when challenge to universality claims of state and its monopoly over territorial resources was posed. ECSC (European Coal and Steel Community)\(^{62}\) according to Amin (2000) was the first expression of Project Europe when coal of Ruhr valley and industry across Rhine was absorbed in construction of Europe. The cooperation was extended when the six founding ECSC states, in 1952 signed a second treaty to create European Defense Community. Europe’s military forces were combined under a single budget and command; however French Parliament refused to ratify it. Real aim according to Amin was to neutralize “Bundeswehr”\(^{63}\), by integrating it into a European Army. But German military potential was neutralized by three US conditionalities.

a) Participation in NATO\(^{64}\)

b) Lack of nuclear weapons

c) Constitutional provisions

There were further efforts to extend economic cooperation in military and political arenas. Another idea to create European Political community was also discussed in 1953 but was unable to secure agreement on terms. ECSC economic cooperation could not be extended to military and political vistas.

Another success to project Europe came with Treaty of Rome 1957, when initial cooperation on Coal and Steel between six member states were extended in new realm i.e. atomic energy. “EURATOM”, the European Atomic Energy Community was formed to pool research for nuclear power development. But German military

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\(^{62}\) European Coal and Steel Community have six state members France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherland and Luxemburg, together called Benelux countries

\(^{63}\) Bundeswehr refers Germany.

\(^{64}\) Nayar quotes Lord Ismay, NATO’s first secretary general “NATO exists for three reasons--- to keep the Russians out, the Americans in and Germans down”. (Nayar, 2005, p. 81)
potential always remained a source of threat leading De Gaulle to sabotage “EURATOM” in favor of French Atomic Energy Commission. (Amin, 2000, pp. 110-111)

The second organization emerged from the Treaty of Rome was “European Economic Community” (EEC), originally signed by founder Benelux countries, but later renamed European Community (EC), with extended membership. EC created a “free trade area”, “Custom union” and “Common Market”, relaxing tariffs, and other restrictions on flow of commodities across the borders of EEC, by adopting unified tariffs for goods coming outside European Free Trade area, and allowing the movement of Capital and labor across EEC borders.

EC also extended the police functions of state across state borders and this novel governmental rationality ensured the circulation of men, goods and ideas beyond state border, hence building an environment for a mutual enrichment of Europe, making progress of Europe a reality. It was the emergence of European Polis.

In 1973 EC membership was extended to nine states, when Britain along with Denmark and Ireland was granted community membership. Membership was also granted to Greece in 1981 and to Portugal and Spain in 1986. EC has rich states like Britain, France, Germany, Netherland as well as the “poor four”, Greece, Portugal and Spain.

1991 Maastricht treaty, renamed EC as EU (European Union). With Maastricht treaty Governmental functions of EU were extended. Euro was emerged as single European currency, substituting many national currencies. European Union function extended to justice and home affairs as well with constitution of a European police agency to monitor cross border flows of immigrants, criminals, sex traffickers and contrabands. European Union’s unique feature is its idea of citizenship, beyond borders while
retaining the original rights of state citizenship. A French citizen living anywhere in EU can participate in local French elections. Another controversial theme discussed in Maastricht is political and military integration with a common foreign policy.

52. Success of Project Europe

In 1995 Austria, Sweden and Finland joined EU. EU extended again in 2004 when Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia joined the union. In 2007 Romania and Bulgaria also joined the union increasing the membership to 27 states. Europe is well on path of integration. 1500 principalities of Renaissance Europe consolidated in 20 modern states and in postmodern age these states are again converging in One Union; the European Union. A new form of Governmental rationality is evolving, with institutions like European Commission, European Parliament, and European Court of Justice, European Central Bank as institutions of European Super (a)-State.

Project Europe according to Amin (2000) secured a consensus of Left and Right wing European parties alike. However extreme right wing Fascist parties of Europe reject the project totally or near to total. Right protecting the interests of industry, agro-business and Finance favors open markets, and removal of barrier on flow of goods as well as capital. The Communist left principally opposed the “Europe of traders”, but then joined the wave to protect divergent worker’ interests, as package also delivered a trickledown effect of expanding market and upward homogenization in form of wage increase and greater social benefits for deprived social stratas. (Amin, 2000, p. 112)

Amin evaluates EC (EU) balance sheet and consider it a success story. He owes Post War exceptional growth of Europe to a compromise between capital and labor, the welfare state erected on solid basis of “Fordism”, and internal policies of West
European state proving a catalyst for European industry to operate in an extended open market.

EC Common Agriculture Policy (CAP) can be counted as mixed blessing. Amin appreciates CAP because it not only assured farmers an income comparable to urban world by setting intervention prices higher than those of world market, but policy also paved the way to European self sufficiency in food converting Europe into a major exporter of food stuff. (Amin, 2000, p. 114) But CAP aroused a feeling of dissent in countries like Britain with Small farm sector. British were exposed to free trade since 19th century and British consumers were accustomed to cheap imported food from USA as well as from common wealth countries. Domestically British government had a tradition to pay subsidies to its farmers to keep their prices lower to World market. CAP resulted in a 0.75 % of GNP rise in Budget expense. (Pinder, 2001, p. 80)

53. Paradox of Inequality in Europe

Prior to “Project Europe”, before and immediately after WWII, there were huge gaps in development and living standards between Mediterranean (Italy and Spain) and Northern Europe (France and Britain). Market expansion and subsidies provided to Ireland Portugal, Spain, Southern Italy and East Germany, contributed a lot in lowering the National income gap, and while Spain, a member of “Poor Four” club of EC (EU) has caught up due to economic transformations resulted by market expansion. (Amin, 2000, pp. 114-15)

However, the income gap between countries is reducing but regional inequalities within countries are intensified. Europe is also facing the challenge of peripheralization as we can identify core and peripheral zones in Europe the core of the world. A key issue that Europe has to address in future is the problem of economic concentration. Industry is more concentrated in the centers, but on the other hand
Denmark, England, Portugal, Southern Italy, Western France, Western Spain, and Greece all are facing the paradoxes of peripheralization, unequal development and accompanied ethnicity. List of the active secessionist movement with claims to statehood are following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Proposed state by Secessionist Movements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>Flander, Wallonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>Faroa Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>Aland, Sami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Basque Country, Brittany, Corsica, Country of Nice, Normandy, Savoy, Occitania, Bavaria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Bavaria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Padania, Aosta Valley, Lombardy, Insubri, Trentino, South Tyrol, Veneto, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Liguria, Sardinia, Sicily, Southern Italy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Sani, Scania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Basque, Catalonia, Val d’ Aran, Balearic Island, Aragon Galicia, Andalusia, Asturias, Cantabria, Canary Island Castile, Leon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>Madeira, Azores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherland</td>
<td>Frisia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>Cornwall, England, Gibraltar, Guernsey, Isle of Man, Jersey, Scotland, Wales, Wessex</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 23: Ethnic Movements in European Core States

But still the optimistic commentators about European future believe that when Europe will reach the optimum level of specialization, “the magnet of center will become less strong”, and many European peripheral regions will become “warmer places”. (McRae, 1995, p. 69) Regional inequality is a natural byproduct of capitalist expansion and a phenomenon common to progressive “Eurocenter” and its backward other, the third world peripheries.

Figure 24: Inequality within and Between European Union States

54. Future of Project Europe

Amin (2004, pp. 90-91) establishes that Project Europe is a success in three respects i.e.

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• Western Europe has overcome its technological and economic backwardness in relation to US
• Soviet threat with possibility of communist allies within European societies is no longer effective.
• The three major continental rivals, Germany, France and Russia, with history of most violent conflicts has reconciled

But still Europe of day faces two challenges, the “German Europe”67, and “American hegemony”. There is a minimum dissent within Europe on Europe operating as political “entity”, with liberal economic policies, but Europeans are divided about the course of future for Europe. Amin, (Amin, 2004, p. 92) identify four different pro European groups having different conceptions about Europe’s future role in the world.

1. Liberal Europe under US unconditional leadership
2. Liberal, Politically sovereign independent Europe free from US alignment conditions
3. A Social Europe with a new kind of economic rationality embodying capital, labor compromise, without too much concern about its role in world.
4. A Social (Political) Europe, perusing a peaceful foreign policy, towards South, Russia and China, different from its previous role of colonial master for the rest of world.

55. Conclusion:

From Early to late modern centuries Europe made globalization a reality. Centuries of encounter established a two ways, reciprocal relation between world and Europe. World has become “Europe” with embracing European concepts of state, capitalism

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67 Foucault refer that Europe is the German dream with myth of “sleeping emperor”, that sometimes wake up and tell the world that “I am Europe”. “I am Europe”, for those who wished me to be Europe beyond French Imperialism, English domination and Russian expansionism”. (Foucault, 2004, p. 304)
and modernity. On the other hand Europe has become World with migrants coming across the world making Europe home of all the religions, races, languages, and accompanying cultures of the world. Europe enters the postmodern age of globalization providing a model for future global governmentality. Twenty First century will provide evidences that European governmentality will create a politically integrated Europe, “fortress Europe” that could resist outside influence or the vision of a merely coordinated ‘Europe of Nations’, with liberal economic policies under US influence will prevail. A third view is that Europe will also face the challenges of ethnicity and religious revivalism like third world due to development gaps within different regions of European state and different social strata’s further subdivided on lines of race and religion.
Part III: Myth of Globalization

In post WWII environment, economic doctrine advocated by US focused on growth. Two assumptions provided by the growth led economic doctrine was

- Eventually countries will catch-up the level of growth of advanced industrialized countries
- In course of economic development fruits of growth will trickle down to peripheral spaces as well as to lower strata of population within less developed countries.

During the era of “Controlled”, “Regulated” Capitalism, in 1970s, the Bretton Woods institutes according to Akbar Zaidi had a smaller but significant role in economic development. IMF focused on balance of payment and World Bank loans were project oriented and related to general working of macro economy. Major source of credit was IMF and lots of conditionalities were attached with these loans. In 1972-79, with Petro-Dollars investment Western Private Banks emerged as source of credit with few or no conditionalities imposed on debtor nations. The consequence was accumulated debt. The situation led to an ever increased role of Bretton Woods institution in third World economies to overcome problem of debt servicing. Under Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) it was advised to cut social expenditure in all countries that had accumulated debts. Zaidi is of the view that worst impact of these policies was on poorer strata, the main beneficiary of public sector expenses. The program was meant to encourage export, devaluing currencies, cut fiscal deficit by increasing prices of needs, cutting subsidies, decreasing Public expenses, privatization of government owned enterprises etc. (Zaidi, 1999, pp. 300-303)
56. Adoption of Anarcho-Liberal Strategies and Structural Adjustment Programs in Postcolonial States

Pakistan and Nigeria as part of “Archaeological Whole”, of global system perused the “anarcho-liberal” strategies devised by American neo liberalism. In both cases of our concern Pakistan and Nigeria, the neo-liberal policies were adopted by Coup governments or interim set ups following coups.

SAP in Pakistan
In Pakistan an interim setup headed by Moeen Qureshi, (a former World Bank staff member) was launched after dismissal of Nawaz Sharif government in July 1993. Moeen previously was an unknown figure in Pakistan. Announcement of his name as caretaker Prime Minister roused a feeling of surprise in masses. By 30th August 1993, there was an agreement on “Policy Framework Paper” between Pakistan Government and IMF/WB officials. Critics argue that paper was framed by IMF/WB officials who informally worked as advisors to Pakistan Government led by their ex colleague. Zaidi argues that interim setup was provided a standby loan by IMF in record time of just 16 day on 16th Sep 1993. When Benazir Bhutto took over as Prime Ministers of Pakistan a detailed economic program was handed over to her. She left with no room to maneuver but to endorse it.(Zaidi, 1999, pp. 315-316)

Structural Adjustment programs were direct result of shift in role of Bretton Woods institutions. The new discourse was based on the view that governments of the developing countries are inefficient and corrupt. So locus shifted from government to civil society. Civil society with component local NGOs were considered responsible for social, political and economic development.
Nigerian Version of SAP
In Nigeria the coup regimes of Babangida and Sani Abacha, pursued SAP abandoning the old paradigm of Development where government was considered an instrument of change. The reforms included the devaluation of Naira, reduction of tariffs, as well as cancellation of import licensing. But the real problem for elite was to devise means to funnel aid resources. Daniel Jordan Smith believes that by mid 1990s, Nigerian ruling junta learned the tactics to channelize aid money for personal gain. The main preposition of neo liberal reform was that “government either incapable or inefficient” or “corrupt”, has failed to bring change in postcolonial states and societies. Smith provides evidences that locus shifted not from state to civil society but from “Rulers to their wives”. Babangida wife Maryam founded “Better Life for Rural Women”, a quasi-government program run by the first lady. Mrs. Babangida holding the national chair, the program was organized hierarchically involving the wives of military administrators from state to local levels. The program was renamed in popular rhetoric as “Better Life for Ruling Women”. After Babangida, Abacha regime followed the policies with only alteration of names. SAP in Nigeria was in fact the continuation of symbiotic relations between international donors and postcolonial state rulers. (Smith D. J., 2007, pp. 97-100)

Like Development governmentality of Post War years the SAP was meant to bring positive growth and changes associated with modernity but resultants were not different from “Development” discourse. Studies about the impacts of SAP in Nigeria relate the expression of primordial identity in form of ethnicity and religious revivalism as direct results of SAP. (Osaghae, 1995)

57. State in the Era of Globalization

Foucault believes that after 1648, treaty of Westphalia, states entered in a competition. A state science i.e. “statistics” was devised to calculate state’s means and resources, to
ensure a better competitive position of state. Whole discourse of “governmentality” and conduct revolve around the calculations. The competitive system operates by drawing parallels and comparisons of state’s wealth and power in relation to others. As population was considered the source of sovereign’s wealth, since the inception of state, main objective of governmentality was to devise means to engage population in activities necessary to preserve, maintain and enhance state’s force in relation to other states. State provisions enable citizens to increase state’s wealth. Hence state and population are imbedded in an intrinsic relation where population is a means to end of state and in turn state becomes a means for population welfare.

Globalization debates emphasize that forces of globalization has rendered states as ineffective. In previous sections we have challenged the truth claim of Globalization discourse and find certain evidences that neo-liberalism requires state to play an effective role to provide environment conducive to Capitalist forces. Following lines will challenge the global myths about state from another aspect. In first decade of 20th century the state is once again the concern of global think tanks evaluating states on different performance indicators, i.e. legitimacy, authority, capability. There is ever rising concern about state’s weakness, fragility and failure. States are rated on different indicators. Weak and fragile states have become a concern. Failing to provide provisions of a “better life”, these states are often considered as breeding grounds of global terrorism and hence a threat for global forces. State’s fragility has become a source of insecurity not only for the respective state but also for global system. Hence State is considered an effective remedy to counter anti globalization forces. State is considered a means to provide globalization an environment, necessary and conducive for unrestricted flows of capital and goods. States of our
concern Pakistan and Nigeria are rated on different indicators as weak, fragile and failed states.

**Discourses on State Failure**

2008 Brooking Global Weak State index rates Nigeria at No. 28, among the Bottom Quintile of States with a performance score of 4.88 and 640 $ per Capita. Pakistan is in slightly better position at No. 33 with a performance score of 5.23 and 770 $ per capita. On CIFP Fragile state index 2008, countries are rated like this

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>Fragility Score</th>
<th>Authority</th>
<th>Legitimacy</th>
<th>Capability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.60</td>
<td>6.74</td>
<td>5.95</td>
<td>6.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.53</td>
<td>6.82</td>
<td>6.06</td>
<td>6.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 25: Performance of Pakistan and Nigeria on CIFP Index**

On Funds for Peace Foreign Policy Magazine’s Failed State index Countries has a consistent performance. Index classifies states among “Alerts”, “Warning”, “Moderate”, and “Sustainable”. From 2008, to 2012, countries were rated as “Alerts”.

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68 Adopted from [http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2008/02/weak-states-index](http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2008/02/weak-states-index)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>2008 Ranking(score)</th>
<th>2009 Ranking(score)</th>
<th>2010 Ranking(score)</th>
<th>2011 Ranking(score)</th>
<th>2012 Ranking(score)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>9 (+3)</td>
<td>10 (-1)</td>
<td>10 (0)</td>
<td>12 (-2)</td>
<td>13 (-1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>17 (5)</td>
<td>15 (+3)</td>
<td>14 (+1)</td>
<td>14 (0)</td>
<td>14 (0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 26: Performance of Pakistan and Nigeria on Weak State Index**

**Emergence of Global Cities in Postcolonial Failed States:**

The popular media and policy narratives have concerns about state failure but these narratives also tell us the success stories of these states. In the mayhem of failure narratives there appears a discourse about Global cities. The cities connected in a network making globalization a reality of postmodern age. Like colonial periods Ports these global cities ensure the World Wide flow.

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Figure 27:

The global cities\textsuperscript{22} are not only signifiers of growth and material prosperity of the postcolonial states but also nodes in economic network making globalization a force.

\textsuperscript{71} http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/rb/rb205.html. Figures represent linkages in world economy. A = total connections, B = basic materials connections. C = manufacturing connections. D = trade connections, E = producer services connections

\textsuperscript{72} http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Global_city. Global cities are categorized as Alpha++, Alpha +, Alpha & Alpha, Beta Level Cities, Gamma Level and Sufficiency level cities. Alpha++ Cities are New York City and London, more integrated in World Economy in any other city; Alpha+ cities complement London and New York City by providing advanced services for Global Economy. Alpha & Alpha cities provide linkage among major economic zones of World Economy, Beta level cities are nodes providing linkage to moderate economic zones to world economy, Gamma cities link smaller economic regions to world economy, and Sufficiency level cities have sufficient level of services available. Three Pakistani cities are included in global city network. Karachi is among Beta cities, while Lahore and
Lagos and Abuja in Nigeria, Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad and Faisalabad, the cities sustain globalization claims that globalization is total and in benefit of all and ensure similar levels of material comfort for all. The practical importance of these global cities lies in the fact that they are nodes of interconnected liberal world economic order. With almost all core like facilities these global cities of failed semi-peripheral states strengthens Hardt and Negri preposition that in age of empire, the Core and Peripheral areas are now dispersed all over the world. In age of globalization we can find core areas in peripheral states and peripheries in the most developed core countries.

58. **Religious Revivalism and Ethnicity, Alter-modernity a Response to State Failure**

In Washington- Consensus era of neo-liberal globalization we witness multiple variants of “anti-systematic movements”, challenging the universality claims of modernity as well as globalization. There are indigenous people movements on American continents where the first victims of Imperialist discourses are resisting, for protection of their cultures as well as resources of their lands and their subsistence economic systems of communal ownership, to become a sway of Global forces.73 While Instruments of capitalist extraction the post colonial modern states of Africa and Asia are traumatized by the dual challenge of religious revivalism and ethnicity. The forces of anti or alter modernity everywhere, are coming to play with the universal swing of neo-liberal end of history. In age of planetary singularity, multiple

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73 The World-System scholars have identified almost seven indigenous nations fighting on basis of first generation claims to sovereignty or for special status in USA i.e. Lakota, Cherokee, Puyallup, Pequot, Yaqui, Hawaiian (Indigenous). Mohawks are active in Canada and USA, Mayans in Chiapas Guatemala, Miskito in Honduras and Nicaragua, Yanomani in Brazil and Venezuela, Quechuan in Ecuador and Peruvian.
descendent effects of this global singularity are in operation against the forces what caused them.

So far, we analyzed our system with help of Archaeological Analysis, by bringing out the conditions of acceptability of a system, and following “breaking points, and “phenomenon of rupture and discontinuity”, that indicates the formation of singularity at any levels of development of World-System. But Foucault augments his historical analysis with Genealogical method when historian is encountered with multiple descendents of some “principle cause”, where “architectonic unities”, results in multiple descendents that are not the products of that principle cause rather its effects. Role of archaeology is a purifying one because archaeologist does not restrict itself to an analysis of discourse but moves a step back from the discourse and treat phenomenon as discourse object. In this way archaeologist isolates the horizon of meaning by uncovering laws that constitute our subjectivity within a given epoch. Genealogy augments archaeology by denying fixed essence and underlying laws of development. Genealogical analysis emphasizes on the surface analysis or analysis of events taking place on the surface without going in the depths of historical edifice and leaving the in depth reconstruction of archectonic unity to archaeologist. However Genealogy has a revolutionary posture and can be used as a tool for emancipation, by creating a “mistrust” for the given, the existence, the identity of the being. Foucault argues to “mistrust the identities in history; they are only masks, appeals to unity, there is no essence because essence is fabricated in piecemeal fashion by alien forms”. 

The defining characteristic of this era of globalization is the challenge posed by discourses of identity whether ethnic or religious to civic identities imparted by state. The two post colonial states of our concern are today challenged and threatened by two contradictory forces i.e. Religious Revivalism and Ethnicity. The states are
considered as breeding grounds of global terrorism where forces of political Islam are in operation against all forms of modernity. But case of Nigeria provides that religious revivalism is not a phenomenon specific and limited only to Islam. Although “Boko Haram” a version of Taliban operates in Muslim North of Nigeria but in oil rich Christian communities of Southern Nigeria failure of state to remove poverty, also generated a similar reaction having religious coloring in form of “Bikasi Boys”, and “Born again” movements that aim to provide justice and promises of prosperous life when state fails. Religion has also become an expression of ethnic identity. On the other hand in case of Pakistan Political Islam is a derived phenomenon, an effect of Pakistan’s role as surrogate state to look after hegemonic interests during Cold War era.

State sovereignty and survival is also challenged by resource rich ethnic minorities deprived of their resources in name of nation and state building. Niger Delta and Baluchistan serves as prized internal colonies in state of Nigeria and Pakistan respectively. The revenues extracted from these areas are allocated centrally among various regions and professional groups especially Armed Forces, leaving the people of these areas to strive for liberation and emancipation. Hence the immediate cause of these identity discourses whether religious or ethnic lie within economic inequalities and regional disparities within states. Economic forces consolidate identities whether religious or ethnic. Due to service failure the states face internal security challenges from religious and ethnic fissures.

59. Religious Revivalism in Pakistan and Nigeria

Political Islam as Custodian of US Interests in Pakistan:
As we have earlier discussed in course of our discussion on Muslim Nationalism that economic factors were responsible in consolidation of Muslim identities in sub
continent. Emerging Muslim Business elites under the guidance of Mr. Jinnah the founder of Pakistan wanted to create a modern capitalist state free from dominance and competition of Hindu Capitalist class. But in immediate Post WWII environment the groups were haunted by a communist takeover of polity. The fear of Communist Socialist victory was shared by local and global capitalist forces and in course determined the role of clergy in Pakistan’s polity during first phase of country’s political development. Religious elites during the independence struggle were empathic against nationalism and considered the idea against the Muslim conception of “Ummah” but in post independence environment they co-opted with the establishment with the religious fervor against Hindu and communist “others” to Muslim. Many historians believe that religion was a binding force to cement diverse ethnic groups into a civic nation but in practice inclination to religious rhetoric created Hindu and Communist as external enemies posing threats to Pakistan’s territorial integrity. Religious rhetoric also countered socio-democratic forces demanding egalitarian rights and share in polity by declaring them enemy agents.
Figure 28: Archaeology and Genealogy of Globalization

- Indigenous People Movement
- Alter Modernity
- Ethnicity
- Religious Revivalism

Glocalization, Regionalism

Singularity

Power / Knowledge
- Positivist social science
- & science of State (Governmentality)

Net Work accounting for Singularity

Pax Americana, Cold war, Third world, Development Modernization, Neo Imperial Strategies of Control

Ensemble of Causes

Nationalism, Rise of Post Colonial State, Modernity Enlightenment Ideal to Non West, Shift of Hegemony

Truth
- Discourse of Neo Imperialism
- Subjugation of Resource Rich periphery within third world state

Relation between Core / periphery Division of third world

Games of truth played by state institution
During First Military regime ecclesiastical class protested against the secular domestic legislation of Ayub regime, like family laws declaring such laws against Shariah but provided tacit support for external policies of regime and Pakistan’s role in Cold War as trusted US ally against Godless Communism.

After disintegration of Pakistan Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto assumed power. Bhutto was criticized by religious groups for his Western lifestyle and bend for socialism. Bhutto’s period witnessed the rise of Madrassah as a result of sponsorship from Arab countries especially Saudi Arabia. As Arabic was introduced at middle level as compulsory language during the period Madrassah products were absorbed in Government schools. As a result of oil boom Middle East became the job market for skilled and unskilled labor absorbed in Construction and other activities. Pakistan exported labor to Middle Eastern countries and in turn these uneducated, semi educated people from rural areas of Pakistan came under the influence of forces of Political Islam especially “Wahabism”. The immigrants turned out as new middle class of rural areas where they took solace in Madrassahs to break the traditional authority of local Feudal.

Another aspect of Bhutto policy was that after 1973 coup in Afghanistan that dethroned Zahir Shah; Bhutto with the help of Gen. Nasirullah Babar cultivated with Afghan dissidents like Gulbaddin Hikmatyar, Burhanuddin Rabani, and Ahmad Shah Masood. Indoctrinated by Islamic ideology these dissidents in turn destabilized the USSR backed regime in Afghanistan. Bhutto provided justification of his acts in doctrine of “strategic depth”, but Bhutto laid the foundation of Islamic Jihad that in coming years served the purpose of US hegemony.

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74 Madrassahs are Schools of religious learning. During Bhutto period 852 new Madrassahs were opened in collaboration of Middle Eastern states.

75 As Pakistan was facing India on its Eastern borders, Pakistan was seeking for a friendly regime in Afghanistan and wanted to secure its Western borders. The policy is termed as strategic depth.
1979 witnessed two significant changes in the regional atmosphere of Pakistan accompanied by an internal shift in government i.e. Revolution in Iran and Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as well as Zia’s military regime. Zia became a trusted ally of USA in post-1979 environment. In the absence of any popular support in masses, Zia brought the religious parties to the surface. The parties established the schools of religious learning to promote the teachings of their respective sects. Saudi Arabia and USA became the main promoters and patrons of Madrassahs. After 1980, during the Iraq–Iran War, both oil-rich countries sponsored the Madrassahs of their respective sects in Pakistan, and Pakistan became a hostage to sectarian strife and accompanied violence.

There was a spectacular rise of Madrassahs during 1982-1989, when 1000 new Madrassahs were established. The institution imparted material (Arms) and discursive (Ideology of Islamic Jihad) training to counter Soviet regular Army to immature fighters and transformed them into courageous guerrilla warriors fit for mountainous battlefields of Afghanistan. Pakistan became a home of volunteer fighters, “Mujahidin”76 coming from Arab World, Central Asia, North Africa and Cuscuses. US and Arab-sponsored Madrassahs in Afghan refugee camps became a cradle of Taliban (the students). Student wings of Religious parties also penetrated in institutions of secular learning like Universities.

In 1989 after withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, Pakistan lost its strategic importance. Legacy of the decade lasts to this day in the form of religious intolerance, sectarian violence, Armament of civil society, etc. In 1989, Pakistan was abandoned by US with Afghan refugees and a huge number of unofficial Army of militants. The civil government of Benazir Bhutto (BB) followed the legacy of his father and with

76 The Word Mujahid is derived from Arabic word Jihad, that means struggle, effort, a move to attain an objective and cause.
help of Nasirullah Babar supported Taliban to takeover misery ridden chaotic Afghanistan in pursuit of “strategic depth” for Pakistan.

After 9/11 Musharaf regime had to take a policy shift on Afghanistan and Pakistan abandoned Taliban. Musharaf policy was not a shift in Pakistan’s policy towards US. But by the time Islamic rhetoric and Afghanistan has been so deeply penetrated in mass psychology that it created a general air of tension among masses. At present Pakistan is facing the challenge of religious revivalists who considers the independence of 1947 as the first step towards the creation of an Islamic block on basis of “Ummatic nationalism”. The groups want to discard all symbols of the West and consider Pakistani state and Western educated secular masses as enemy agents. The “Taliban” have proud memories of Afghan War, when they defeated Godless enemy with the power of faith, and exemplars of governance from the early history of Islam that can provide social distributive justice to masses of neglected regions of Pakistan.

**Political Islam and Christian Revivalism in Nigeria as a result of Flawed Development:**

Muslim constitutes almost 50% population of Nigeria. If we have a glance on HDI, HPI and GDP (PPP) of Nigerian states the Muslim states of North are well behind the Christian states of Southern Nigeria.

Resentment of being at the periphery of Nigerian economy and political configuration of Nigerian polity, Shariah\(^77\) became an expression of protest against regional economic disparities. Shaykh Ibrahim El-Zakzaki Islamic Movement of Nigeria can be regarded as first Islamic movement of the country. The movement started under the influence of Iranian revolution. After September 11 event the movement was converted into “Boko Haram” (Nigerian Taliban) movement. The word *boko* is

\(^77\) Shariah is a system of Islamic code of life and legal system in form of Islamic jurisprudence.
derived from English word Book and Haram means forbidden. The word boko was coined in initial years of colonial rule when traditional elites educated in Islamic, Arabic and Middle Eastern systems were dislodged by colonial system because of their inability to read and write in English. These elites coined the term boko a sort of derogatory word for western educated Muslim elites operating state in manner of Western masters. “Boko Haram” capitalizes on “yan bokos” (Western elite) failure to provide opportunities for better living. Unemployed, unskilled, poverty striven youth aim to dethrone secular “Boko” control on state and motivated to control state. They believe that Shariah the Islamic code of law will liberate from inequality, injustice, corruption, inefficiency backwardness and social dislocation and provide a sort of distributive justice and prosperity. Michael Watts believe that multiplication of popular Usama imagery is a “problem of development and failure of Secular nationalism and post colonial state that transformed religion into cultural politics. (Watts M. , 2003)

The Christianity is religion of almost 40% of population and second largest religious group after Islam. The group is also not immune to this phenomenon of religious revivalism. However HDI, HPI, and GDP statistics reveal that the oil rich Christian communities of South are comparatively better than Muslim North, but according to Watts oil brings with it a dream of prosperity. When these communities compare their objective conditions with other Oil rich countries, natural response is a feeling of betrayal and protest against the institution responsible for their plight and misery i.e. the Nigerian state. Scholars like Eghosa .E Osaghae (Osaghae, 1995) and Jibrin Ibrahim (Ibrahim, 2000) establish links between State economic policies especially SAP and rise of religious ethnicities. Ibrahim believe that in Nigeria “the government are they, it has nothing to do with you or me” and to people “state and its organs were
identified with alien rule and were objects of plunder”, so they cannot associate with state as an instrument of common interest. (Ibrahim, 2000, p. 43)

The situation gave rise to Pentecostal Charismatic Christianity that incorporated “born-again” world view with traditional cultural beliefs. Ordinary Nigerian interprets the inequalities and injustices of country’s economy with Pentecostal understanding of supernatural. (Smith D. J., 2007, p. 214) Another expression of Christianity in Igbo dominated South Eastern region is “Bakassi Boys”. Initially young traders and young men paid by the contribution of traders appeared as Bakassi Boys in South-Eastern city of Aba. The aim was to get rid of criminals. The group publically executed the alleged criminals by burning them at site. Igbo support and take Pride in Bakassi Boys image as a dreadful force, a vigilant group. Christian population in South-East justifies the dreadful acts of Bakassi Boys as a means to fight crime when state institutions are either corrupt or unable to provide justice. Smith provides that vigilantism of Bakassi Boys is Igbo alternative of Shariah. Referring to Ferguson Nwoke Smith writes, “Crime in Nigeria was out of control. The Hausa instituted Shariah law to restore order. That’s their justice. They cut off people’s hands when they steal and stone to death adulterers. Bakassi is our “Shariah”. The Bakassi boys have restored sanity to society. If Government has allowed “North” to have “Shariah”; why not we have Bakassi”? (Smith D. J., 2007, pp. 185-86)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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2007 HDI & HPI of Nigerian States
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http://search.babylon.com/?q=National+Human+Development+report+Nigeria+Achieving+Growth+with+Equity+ppp&ie=utf8&oe=utf-8&l=0&rlz=0&babsrc=HP_ss

### Region HDI (2005)

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<td>N.W.F.P</td>
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**Pakistan Human Development Index 2005**

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Jhelum</td>
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</tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Haripur</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Abbotabad</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Shiekhupura</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kasur</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Ghotki</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Gujranwala</td>
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**Top Ten Pakistani Districts in terms of HDI (2005)**

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<th>District</th>
<th>HDI 2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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**Bottom Ten Pakistani Districts in terms of HDI (2005)**


60. Ethnicity as Response to Resource Curse

Challenge of political Islam and religious revivalism can be considered as recent phenomenon but since the beginning of their voyage as state these states are encountered with problem of ethnicity. In previous chapter we accounted the ethnic struggles among dominant ethnic groups of the polity to take their share in polity, or what Nigerian analysts terms as the “share in National cake”. But this cake (resources) belongs to micro ethnic groups never accounted in dominant national history narratives. Biafra struggle was the resistance on part of “Igbo” to dominate the resources of Niger Delta, whereas in Pakistan’s Bengali East and Punjabi West dueled with each other to control polity ignoring the rights of micro ethnic groups like Balochs.

Struggle of Ogoni, Urohbo, Ijaws, Itsekiri, Ibibios and Ikwerres the oil communities of Niger Delta is either missing from the resistance accounts of Biafra; or they are considered as agents of domination and instruments of divide and rule to save federal polity, playing in hands of national dominant group Hausas/Fulani at disadvantage of Igbo. In Pakistani narratives of Political Development and Constitutional History Baloch who received coercive state treatment almost under every setup whether military or political are missing.

Balochistan: From Great Game of 19th Century to new Great Game of Global Era:
Balochistan and Bloch (place and people) were significant for imperial great game of 19th century. Imagined fears and real interests brought British to the region and they incorporated this remote peripheral border zone and traditional people in British imperial order. Real or perceived fear of Russian, German and Afghan moves towards north western part of British India required a strict British military presence in the
area. (Breseeg, 2004, p. 163) On the other hand region was also important for British desire to extend their telegraph line westward from Gwadar to Strait of Hormuz at Jesk (Mojtahed-Zadeh, 2004, p. 165) to establish worldwide communication and information network. We have earlier discussed in Chapter three that British secured Iranian oil well before First World War. To protect its oil interests in Iran and after War in Mesopotamia (Iraq and Kuwait), British required an Army base in this vital region, and hence Quetta was systematically developed into a military base. Cantonment was established and the leased town\textsuperscript{83} of British Balochistan according to Axman was converted into largest military garrisons of the sub continent. The city was linked not only with British India but also with neighboring Persia and Afghanistan through railway lines. (Axmann, 2008, p. 35)

The region is still important because it is a node connecting resource rich Central Asia and Iran to new centers of development in era of globalization i.e. India and China. Moreover region is also pivotal in the new great game that has some old players like Russia and US and the new ones also like China and India. History is evident that biopolitics of resistance always remained the central feature of this region. The people (Balochs) always tried to defy the authority and maintain their independent status. But as they lack resources revisionist power players of any particular era whether it was Germany or Russia or in present day India made them objects to attain their interests. There are also evidences that support the preposition that present day resistance aiming to construct an independent state of Balochistan is also the result of major power rivalries and region’ importance as resource reservoir of Oil, Gas, Gold and Copper. However the grievances of the people and region are real and result of sheer neglect of an oppressive postcolonial state that continued with the empire building

\textsuperscript{83} British took control of Quetta by taking lease of the territory from Khan of Kalat.
tactics of its predecessor the colonial state of British India. Postcolonial state not only continued with the pre-colonial governmental apparatuses like tribal system in certain areas of its territory but also proved to be a failure to deliver the distributive justice and services to all the people and regions of its diverse ethno-geographic space and convert them into a civic nation. Independence and a prosperous future has always remained a dream for different identity groups, especially Baloch. But popular sentiments also reveal that in case this remote possibility of independent statehood will be actualized it is not going to bring any positive change in the lives of the people. Hence we propose a state remedy for state failure.

**Early History of Balochs and Balochistan:**

Klaus Dodds is of the view that particular narratives of identity are essential for both, i.e. the national state and regional separatists, in order to “demarcate the ownership of a territory”. To legitimate military and security operations, national governments “provoke greater levels of financial and emotional investments in narratives of national identity”. But on the other hand a separatist struggle challenges these claims of national identity to be “given”. (Dodds, 2007, p. 106) Hence narratives of identity also become a part of institutional games of truth.

We have already discussed that nationalism and nationalist narratives are instrumental when a group resists or fights the effects of domination. Nationalist narratives whether real or invented become a part of popular rhetoric, whenever subjugated people take solace in identity to challenge institutional games of truth. In this way they construct an alternative that treat official narrative as a discourse and violence that transformed (if not transformed suppressed) their real identity in name of unity and exploited their resources and denied their share in name of national integration. Balochs also accounts a historical narrative of identity and their
autonomous, independent political organization (state) that has a history of centuries before incorporation in colonial and postcolonial state.

Baloch narrative treats Balochs and Kurds as sister ethnicities having same place of origin in Aleppo Northern Syria. From where, both groups migrated almost at same time, during the 4th and 7th Century AD. Kurds occupied present day Iraq and Turkey while Baloch occupied the area from Bandar Abbas to Jacobabad and from Makran Coast in South to Toba Kakar range in the North. Balochs are divided in two main linguistic groups, i.e. Balochi and Brahui. Both languages have influence of Persian, Dravidian, Urdu, and Pashto. While Balochi is more nearer to Persian; Brahui is nearer to Dravidian. During the period, Kalat became the central nerve of Baloch population.

History of resistance against aliens dates back to 13th century when area was attacked again and again by the Mughals. 15th century witnessed the emergence of Baloch confederacy and a rule of Rind-Lashari hegemony that emerged in 1485. It was the largest tribal confederacy. But Rind Lashari union was short lived and survived only for three decades (1485-1512). After creation of a unified state that is now divided among three states, i.e. Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan; rivalry between powerful tribes of Baloch federation Rind and Lashari started. The cause was of course economic and feud started over the distribution of fertile lands of Kacchi and Sibi. (Breseeg, 2004, p. 143) The thirty years of glory ended in thirty year of civil war leading Balochs to migrate towards Sind, Punjab, Delhi, Mysore and Deccan region of India. The area was significant during that period also because Mughals of India, Safavids of Iran and Portuguese, all were interested in coastal regions under Baloch

84 Probably the Mughals of Central Asia, not the Mughal rulers of Indian sub continent, because Mughal dynasty established their rule in India only in 1526, the 16th century.
85 http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/817.pdf
suzerainty. In 1501 AD Portuguese occupied “Gwatr”\(^6\) and East of Chabahar. (Breseeg, 2004, p. 143) Balochs had mixed responses towards all these imperial powers. Although they always defied Mughal rule but there are instances when Balochs cooperated with Mughal rule to overthrow the domination of Sewai Hindus in 16\(^{th}\) century and derived them out of Kalat. Baloch struggle for autonomy succeeded when in 1666 Mir Ahmad Khan of Kambrani tribe established Ahmadzai dynasty that continued to rule autonomously till 1854 when British conquered the entire region.\(^7\)

Kalat became the seat of capital and a Confederation, with unwritten norms was evolved. As state was located on a border zone of Afghanistan, Iran and Mughal India, the Kalat state owed allegiance to one of these empires\(^8\), during different periods. Tribes were the political and territorial units of Kalat confederacy. Tribal system in Baloch area was initiated during the period of Rind-Lashari hegemony. The Sardars pledged their loyalty to Khan of Kalat and were bound to defend and protect Khanate in case of external aggression with material and moral support. Ordinary Baloch was subject to rule of Sardars (tribal chiefs). Kalat state reached its zenith under sixth Khan of Kalat Nasir Khan I (1749-1795). Nasir Khan I reigned an area stretching from Karachi to present Iranian frontier (Maliki Chedag) up to Quetta and from east of Quetta to Derajat borders. Nasir Khan I consolidated his dominion and brought together Marris, Bugtis, Las Bella, Makran, Khran and Quetta. The main source of

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\(^6\) Present Port of Gwadar in Pakistan.

\(^7\) \url{http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/817.pdf}

\(^8\) From 1666 to 1707 state owed itself to Authority of Mughal rule in Delhi. After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 it accepted the allegiance of Iranian ruler Nadir Shah. Baloch troops accompanied Nadir Shah when he invaded Delhi. In 1747 after the death of Nadir Shah Kalat state allied itself to Afghan king Ahmad Shah Abdali. In third battle of Panipat 25000 Baloch troops participated in expedition. After death of Abdali in 1758 Kalat became an autonomous region till the advent of British in 1854. Afghan state under Abdali, according to Pirouz Mojtahed-Zadeh was created when Kabul, Heart and Qandahar, the principalities previously under Iran dependence joined together. But it was only a short lived experience because after the murder of Abdali these areas went back to their traditional status. (Mojtahed-Zadeh, 2004, p. 4)
income of this great kingdom was revenues collected from port of Karachi and Bolan Pass. (Breseeg, 2004, p. 151) According to Axmann the area under his personal authority was “significantly different from those held by Sardars”. He developed a permanent irrigation system. Nasir Khan experimented with production of cotton and indigo as he collected seeds from Kandahar and India, grew large orchards in Kacchi. During his period Kalat produced cloth and carpets for coastal trade, and also exported horses to Bombay and dyestuffs to Muscat. (Axmann, 2008, p. 23) Although Nasir Khan’s successors were not so successful but Kalat continued to be an independent state under Khanate when British forces with the help of Afghan king and Sikh forces attacked Kalat. Mehrab Khan accepted death in a heroic manner. But death of Mehrab Khan was not the end of Ahmadzai’s rule in Kalat and British had to struggle till 1854. (Khan M. A., 1975, pp. 101-104)

The Great Game of 19th Century and British advents in Balochistan

According to Mojtahed-Zadeh, although British power increased to a level of large Empire in 17th century, it can only be termed as global with the conquest of India at turn of 19th century. (Mojtahed-Zadeh, 2004, p. 4) It gave Great Britain a position with no parallel in earlier history and it imposed a world order not only political but also economic. In third chapter we have already discussed British concerns about rising powers like Germany and Russia and British strategies to counter the emerging threats to its eminent position. During the period due to advances in Central Asia, Russia also secured a position of global power almost at the same time. According to Zadeh great game was in fact a power struggle between these two giants to get control of principalities ruled by local khans and Amirs owing allegiance to Persian Empire. Zadeh declares the great game as “direct geopolitical and territorial” rivalry between Britain and Russia, “with Iran acting as a passive player, whose Eastern and
Northeastern territories were treated as squares of a chessboard on which Britain and Russia conducted their game”. Zadeh adds that in 1820-30, British suspected Russian designs to attack India or probably take influence in Iran. British wanted a buffer between their vast Indian empire and rising Russia under Tsar. As counter strategy British carved out the Amirdom of Afghanistan and assisted Dost Mohammed Khan to establish his control on Kabul, Herat and “Qandhar” during first Afghan War. In this way British separated the border zones from Iranian allegiance and incorporated it in British sphere of influence. The influence according to Zadeh however could not last long and second Afghan war broke out in 1878 and British paved Amir Abdul Rehman’s way to throne of Afghanistan who in turn declared Afghanistan a British protectorate. In 1893 Durand line between British Empire and Afghanistan was carved out as boundary. Boundary was controversial because a sizeable number of Pushtoon areas were incorporated in British India as province of NWFP. When Afghans protested, Captain Durand gave them the area of Kalat confederacy (Balochistan). (Mojtahed-Zadeh, 2004, pp. 4-6) As we have already referred that Kalat (Balochistan) declared autonomy after the murder of Abdali in 1758 and remained independent till advent of British in 1854, almost a century but Iran was still a claimant of Kalat coastal lines especially Gwadar and Kaj territory. Colonel Frederick Goldsmid director of telegraph wire construction in Southern Balochistan was appointed as arbitrator to define boundary line between areas under the influence of Great Britain (Kalat) and Iran in 1870. Gwadar was vital for British plans to extend its telegraph lines westward from 89 North Western frontier Province 90 Nimroz province of present day Afghanistan 91 There was no concept of Boundaries in this region before advent of British. The border zones were free and ruled by independent rulers who taking account of their interests used to shift alliances between different empires adjacent to their territories. As British were introducing a sort of state system with clear cut boundaries hence Iran was a claimant to coastal areas on basis of historical claims that once Kalat was aligned to Iran.
Gwadar to Strait of Hormuz. Zadeh claims that on instigation of British Kalat authorities demonstrated against demarcating of Boundaries from Gwadar to Kaj territory. As the telegraph project was more important than Kalati protests, British continued negotiation with Tehran authorities and Kalatis were ousted from the process of negotiation. (Mojtahed-Zadeh, 2004, pp. 166-68)

The process ended in drawing of McMahon line in 1896 and Seistan and Western Makran coast was given to Iran. In this way British Russophobia resulted in division of Kalat state (Balochistan) in three states that ruled autonomously for almost a century after the death of Abdali. The colonial cartographers without taking account of geography, history, culture and will of people divided the territory on lines that suited only the interests of imperial order.92

However this Russophobia ended in 1907, when Anglo Russian accommodation took place and Iran, Afghanistan and Tibet were divided into zones of British and Russian influence. Rising German threat provided the basis of cooperation between Great Britain and Tsarist Russia. Moreover British protected a source of secure oil supply for its upcoming war activity in Iran. Small fishing towns of Jiwani on the Khanate’s western most Makran coast was converted into aero naval base. Military roads were built throughout British and Persian Balochistan. (Axmann, 2008, p. 129)

During British period Balochistan was divided into British Balochistan93 and Khanate of Kalat. Kalat was further subdivided in four principalities of Las Bella, Kharan, Makran and Kalat under de jure control of Khan Khan’s, however his de facto sovereignty did not extend beyond town of Kalat. Other three principalities were

92 http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/817.pdf
93 British Balochistan comprised of areas ceded from Afghan principalities under the treaty of Gandamak in 1880. Khan of Kalat also leased certain areas to British administration like Quetta (1883), Nushki (1899) and Nasirabad (1903)
practically independent feudal states. But Khan claimed the allegiance of powerful tribes like Marri and Bugti whose area was adjacent to British Balochistan.

**Status of Kalat State under Colonial Rule**

Slightly before the eve of independence when Cabinet mission came to India in 1946, Khan of Kalat submitted to it that status of Kalat state was different from 570 other Princely states of India, and like Bhutan and Sikkim it had an independent status and its treaty was not with British India but directly with Whitehall (British Crown). On transfer of power in British India, “the subsisting treaties between Khan of Kalat and the British government will come to an end. …the consequence will be that Kalat will become fully sovereign and independent, in terms of internal as well as external matters, both, and will be free to conclude treaties with any other government and state”. (Axmann, 2008, pp. 180-81)In support of his argument he presented the fact that ruler of Kalat never joined the chamber of Princes and always remained aloof from Indian affairs. He also added that position of Khan of Kalat Khudadad Khan at Imperial Durbar of 1877, was different from other Indian Princes.

The claim was rooted in treaties between Kalat state and British. British treated the area according to their imperial interests of that particular time. Khanate was regarded sometimes as independent state (1839), sometimes as vassal state of Afghanistan (1841), sometimes as an independent ally (1854), and sometimes as princely state of British India (1876). According to Article 3 of 1876 treaty British recognized the independence of Kalat state. It was a de facto independent state having special ties with British government and with limited exercise of sovereignty. (Axmann, 2008, pp. 174-76) The status continued till implementation of 1935 act when according to Axmann British unilaterally changed the status of the state of Kalat. According to India Act 1935, British incorporated British administered Balochistan as Balochistan
Agency into British India and “classified Khanate of Kalat as an ordinary native state of subcontinent”. Balochistan was ceremonially represented in Federal legislature, and it resulted in an increased politicization of Shahi Jirga, as it was converted into an electorate to federal legislature. Shahi Jirga according to Axmann was elevated to “position of semi-constitutional advisory council and a quasi-democratic electorate”, from a simple gathering of traditional Chiefs. (Axmann, 2008, p. 142)

**Accession to Pakistan Kalat state**
As we have already discussed that during British period the Present day province of Balochistan in Pakistan was divided in British Balochistan and Kalat state. In Quaid e Azam Muhammed Ali Jinnah’s Fourteen Points (1929)⁹⁴, there was a demand for introduction of constitutional reforms in British Balochistan. Demand was partially endorsed when Balochistan was incorporated in British India as Balochistan agency.

**British Balochistan:**
According to Axmann, by 1946, there was a little doubt that “British Balochistan”, in its wider sense was part of British India, and in case of British withdrawal from India, it will become an integral part of any successor state/states. As Congress accepted the partition of India, decision had to be made about “British Balochistan either joining Pakistani or Indian Constitutional Assembly. There was no doubt in British mind about the institution, whom to take decision. British considered the Shahi Jirga as only representative institution entrusted to take decision. Nehru lead Congress however opposed the idea and demanded to extend the franchise to ration card holders, all tribal chiefs and all members of district Jirgas also. However British expressed their inability to broaden the electorate and just included the twelve members of Quetta Municipal Committee along with Shahi Jirga. The group had to decide the fate

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⁹⁴ Fourteen Points were a kind of policy advice for upcoming constitutional reforms to be introduced in India, and a viewpoint of Muslim League about future governance setup.
of this vital region that whether it will be included in Pakistan or India. (Axmann, 2008, pp. 195-96)

Historians are of the view that proposed referendum to decide the fate of the territory had limited options. They had to choose between India and Pakistan. If they would have been provided a choice to decide between three, India, Pakistan or Kalat, their natural choice would have been for Kalat. Referendum was held on 29th June 1947, a day prior to the fixed date 30th June 1947. Axman accounts different narratives like Inamulhaq Kosar, Syed Abdul Quddos and Ian Talbot to narrate the fact that a bulk of electoral body was absent on that fateful day and himself believes that eight out of fifty five members of electorate were absent. (Axmann, 2008, pp. 199-200) From religious affinity with fellow countrymen, to limited choice theory or manipulation of electoral activity by British and few tribal chiefs, there are as many explanations about the decision of Shahi Jirga to join Pakistan. Whatever may be the hidden motivating factor the body decided to join British Balochistan with Pakistan?

Kalat:
As fate of British Balochistan was decided, the matter of Kalat state was still undecided. Partly due to reason that British Balochistan has acceded to Pakistan on 29th of June 1947; and partly due to the fact that Mr. Jinnah enjoyed cordial and friendly relations with Mir Ahmad Yar Khan the sovereign of Kalat state and has been advisor to state for constitutional matters since 1936; Nehru congress seems alienated and disinterested in fate of Kalat state. Hence a Stand Still Agreement was agreed between representatives of Muslim League Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, representatives of Kalat state, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan and Sir Sultan Ahmad (the legal Advisor to Khan of Kalat) and Viceroy Lord Mountbatten on 4th August 1947. (Khan M. A., 1975, p. 147)
According to “Stand Still Agreement”, the Kalat state enjoyed the status it originally held in 1838. British recognized the claim of Khan that status of Kalat was different from other Princely States of India. Kalat state and British both recognized Pakistan as legal, constitutional and political successor of British Government in this region. It was also agreed that relation between Pakistan and Kalat on matters of Defense, Foreign relations and communications will be negotiated in Karachi in near future. (Khan M. A., 1975, pp. 148-149) Axmann explanation of the clauses of Stand Still Agreement provides that “future existence of Khanate of Kalat was at mercy of Pakistan”, as “British paramountcy was transferred to Pakistan with eager consent of Khan” and in effect state became part of Pakistan territory ten days before the state itself came into existence”. (Axmann, 2008, pp. 223-225)

There are other explanations like Foreign Policy Center reports, “Balochs of Pakistan: On the Margins of History” (2006) that account that British initially supported the idea of Independent Balochistan under suzerainty of Khan of Kalat as De-facto ruler because British needed a base for their activities in the regions. Reports refer to an advisory report on Post War Scenario prepared by Maj. Gen. R.C Money in 1944 that suggested that “in case of eventual transfer of power, Balochistan since it was not formally part of British India could serve as strategic base for the defense of Persian Gulf”. The foreign policy report further suggest that by 1947, as it was settled that India would be partitioned, therefore British felt that instead of locating a base in militarily weak Balochistan, it is preferable to protect its interests in regions from Pakistan. The report further suggests that by September 1947, British clearly made up their mind that because of location of Kalat, it would be dangerous to allow it to be independent, and British High commission in Pakistan was ordered to act accordingly.

95 http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/817.pdf
We can draw inferences that support the above narrative of Foreign Policy Center by the fact that Khan of Kalat initiated constitutional reforms in his region after the standstill agreement and considered himself the sovereign because British has recognized his status of 1838. Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, the Khan of Kalat issued a declaration of Independence on 15th of August 1947 and promulgated a constitution. It can be attributed as a mimic constitution based upon Westminster model of democracy, as it provided for the office of Prime Minister (Wazir e Azam), Minister of Court (Wazir e Darbar) and a cabinet appointed by Khan. It also provided for a bi-cameral legislature, with an Upper House (Diwan e Khas or Dar ul Umra) and a Lower House (Dar ul Awam, or Diwan e Awam). The Upper House was composed of hereditary chiefs of Sarawan and Jhalwan and main Sardars of the Khanate, including Marri Bugti\textsuperscript{96} Tribal chiefs. It was an exception to Westminster model that Khan could dissolve the Upper House any time. The Lower House had to be elected by the votes of general public for a period of five years. According to Axmann the constitution had no description about the status of Kharan and Las Bella, and they were not represented in Upper as well as Lower House. As there was no executive machinery to hold General elections on basis of Universal Adult Franchise, the local Jirgas served as Electoral College and nominated people of local public standing for Lower House (Dar ul Awam). (Axmann, 2008, p. 227)

Pakistani authorities considered the reforms introduced by Khan as breach of Stand Still Agreement. Several meetings were held between Khan and Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, during September, October 1947. As Pakistan stance was an unconditional accession to Pakistan, Khan persisted that Parliament of Kalat was the

\textsuperscript{96} Marri Bugti tribal territories were adjacent to British Baluchistan that acceded Pakistan.
only authorized institution to take decision in this regard. (Axmann, 2008, p. 229) 
(Khan M. A., 1975, pp. 157-58)

Dar ul Awam, the Lower House of the Parliament had a clear stance against Kalat state’s merger with Pakistan. The House met in mid December 1947 with clear idea of Baluch sovereignty. The anti Pakistan feelings can be measured from Ghous Bakhsh Bazenjo speech delivered in first meeting of Lower House. The speech was clear denial of ideology of Muslim Nationalism that became the basis of Pakistan. Bizenjo declared that “we are Muslim, but it is not necessary that by virtue of our being Muslim, we should lose our freedom and merge with others. If the mere fact that we are Muslims requires us to join Pakistan, then Afghanistan and Iran, both Muslim countries, should also amalgamate with Pakistan”. He further added that “we are ready to have friendship with that country, on basis of sovereign equality but by no means we are ready to merge with Pakistan….We can survive without Pakistan. We can remain without Pakistan. We can prosper outside Pakistan. But question is what Pakistan would be without us”.97

The upper House also insisted on Kalat sovereignty in its first meeting of January 1948. The House composed of leading Sardars of the region passed the resolution that the House will accept and accede to any respectable and friendly treaty which Great Khan want to make with Pakistan, provided the independence and sovereignty of the country are maintained. (Axmann, 2008, p. 230)

While negotiations were going on between Khan and Pakistani authorities in tense environment; the Heads of Las Bella, Kharan, and Makran (Jam, Nwab and Chief respectively) acceded their territories to Pakistan separately during March 1948. According to Khan Autobiography, Pakistani authorities gave Kharan and Las Bella,

a status equal to Kalat. In Khan’s view these states and their rulers were subject to Kalat’s sovereign. (Khan M. A., 1975, pp. 158-59) The strategy secured Pakistan not only half of Khan’s territory but also made Kalat a sort of landlocked state; as Kalat lost its land connection with Iran and access to Arabian Sea. (Axmann, 2008, p. 232) Khan has left with no other option but to sign the accession document on 30th March 1948 in Karachi. Khan claims in his autobiography that his act saved Pakistan. He is of the view that British agent to Governor General was instigating Pakistan to use force against Baluchs. If that would have been the case, he constructs a scenario in which Pakistan would had been attacked by Afghanistan; Indian naval forces would have been advancing Makran Coast; and situation would have provided a pretext to Russia to advance through Afghanistan and capture Makran seacoast. (Khan M. A., 1975, p. 162)

Khan’s view seems exaggerated, but it is constructed on bits of reality and prevailing international environment of the years when Cold War was about to start and region was vital for Western block as gateway to oil rich Middle East. The region annexation with Pakistan provided a frontline base for Western Powers activities. At the same time the act boasted the bio-politics of resistance in the region. As state of Pakistan was a passive player of Western Power block’s efforts to construct its regime of truth, the Baloch resistors in their effort to protect their three centuries old autonomy became pawns of Revisionist Power of Eastern Block like Russia.

**Bio-Politics of Baloch Resistance:**
According to Michael Hardt and Antoni Negri’s, reading of Foucault Phenomenology of bodies reveal that “freedom and resistance are preconditions of power because power is exercised only over free subject and only so far as they are free. They believe that a bio-political event comes from the outside and ruptures the continuity of
history and existing order. They consider these events as innovative disruptions aimed to produce new subjectivities. (Hardt and Negri, 2009, p. 59) Bodies resist this subject making exercise of power and according to Hardt and Negri the resistance becomes a mode of existence. They believe that one prime axiom of Foucauldian research agenda is not to take history merely as a horizon on which bio-power configures reality through domination but on contrary history is determined by the bio-political antagonism and resistance to such effects of power. (Hardt and Negri, 2009, p. 31) Resistance to forces coming from the outside and normalization impacts of such events is the main characteristic of Baluch story of existence.

In 1839 British attacked Kalat state with Sikh and Afghan help. Mir Mehrab Khan the ruler of Kalat had only 300 Warriors at his disposal. British appointed a political agent and appointed Shahnawaz Khan as ruler of Kalat. Mehrab Khan’s son Nasir Khan II had been sent away to safe custody of Mengal tribes. With the help of Marri tribe chief Doda Khan and his son Din Mohammed Marri Nasir Khan II regained his throne from British controlled puppet ruler of Kalat in 1840. (Khan M. A., 1975, pp. 103-104) As British were distributing Kalat’s areas among Iran and Afghanistan to mount pressure on Nasir Khan II, Khan enjoyed a continued support of his loyal tribes, Mengals, Marris and Bugtis. On 1st October 1847; 700 Bugtis blockaded the border with Sind. They encountered Lieutenant Mereweather, Commanding officer of Sind Horse. They fought till last man and no one surrendered. Nasir Khan II was poisoned by his courtiers in 1857 and British managed to get rid of Nasir Khan II but resistance continued. In 1867, a combined force of 1200 Marri, Bugti and Kethran tribesmen fought a battle in Chacher valley near border of Dera Ghazi Khan. In 1896, a religious group of Marri named them “Ghazis” after Islamic tradition, in leadership of Haji
Kala Khan the “Mast Faqir”, and attacked on British Railway and telegraph lines. Ghazi movement continued till the Mast Faqir was executed on November 1896. (Breseeeg, 2004, pp. 163-64)

We have already discussed an instance of defying British authority in 1917 in Chapter three when Baloch Sardars opposed the idea of recruitment of mercenaries for British War efforts just before WWI.

Balochs has a history of resistance for sake of their independence and more so for their existence. They resisted all kinds of Bio-political events and normalization impacts of modernity. However modernity and accompanied concepts of nationalism and state taken root in subject mind. Ghous Bakhsh Bazenjo in his historic speech defined Baloch nationalism vis a vis dominant rhetoric of Muslim nationalism. His concept of Baloch nation was in line with modern concept of nation, where language, territory and shared cultural ethos define the basis of nation hood and aspirations to live together in future. He wanted an independent state of Kalat to protect Baluch future. Bazenjo, a commoner, representative of Baluch people and his ruler Khan Mir Ahmad Yar both shared a view about Balochistan prosperous future outside the state of Pakistan due to its lucrative geographical position and sub soil resources. During British period, British government signed an 18 year lease agreement (1918-1936), with Burmah Oil Comapany to exploit Petroleum in Balochistan. (Khan M. A., 1975, p. 128) Khan in his autobiography writes that “this immense natural wealth cannot be exploited to the country’s advantage unless Pakistan government frees itself from Anglo-American political and economic pressures. (Khan M. A., 1975, p. 42)

Accession to state of Pakistan was also a kind of bio-political event. After Accession to Pakistan, according to Mir Ahmad Yar Khan Kalat state was reverted back to “what it was during the preceding British rule!” A Political Agent – an officer
subordinate and accountable to Governor General in Karachi was appointed. The officer was responsible to look after the administration of the state and guide the Chief Minister of the state on internal affairs. (Khan M. A., 1975, p. 164) Against the event Prince Abdul Karim the younger brother of Khan of Kalat launched Guerrilla insurgency against Pakistan Armed forces from Jhalawan District in May 1950. Ahmad Yar Khan was pursued by Pakistan authorities and on promises of amnesty and safe conduct Khan persuaded him to surrender. But Abdul Karim Khan was arrested along with his 102 followers on their way back to Kalat. Since that day it is established that Pakistani authorities do not honor their words in case of Balochistan. On the other hand Karim revolt was just another episode in Baloch history of resistance for sake of existence.

In chapter three we discussed in length that fear of Bengali domination leaded to internal re-territorialization of Pakistan Political milieu. To counter Bengal majority in Westminster form of Parliamentary rule an artificial parity was created; by fusing territorial units belonging to diverse ethnic groups into one territorial unit, i.e. the West Pakistan. One Unit plan was jointly opposed by Mir Ahmad Yar Khan and Prince Abdul Karim who has completed his sentence in 1955. Khan submitted a memorandum on 17th December 1957 and demanded from General Mirza to exempt Baloch areas from one unit scheme and allocate more funds for development of the region. (Khan M. A., 1975, pp. 169-70) Pakistan Army attacked Kalat on the pretext that Khan has raised a parallel Army to attack Pakistan Armed forces, a day prior to promulgation of Martial Law in the country on October 6, 1958. People loyal to Khan were arrested. Reaction came from Nauroz khan the chief of Zehri tribe, who resisted in Marri Ghat region of Balochistan. Pakistan Army was successful to bring Nauroz on negotiation table. Nauroz surrendered on assurance of safe conduct and amnesty
and oath on Quran as guarantee, but he and his sons were put behind the bars. Nauroz
sons were hanged in Sukkur and Hyderabad jails and a shocked Nauroz died in

After 1958 operation Pakistan Army established new garrisons in interior Balochistan.
The action was reacted and resisted by historical trio, Marris, Mengals and Bugtis and
they established a guerrilla armed force “Pararis”, for ambush activities. The fighting
continued during entire period of Ayub. The episode was over in 1969, with advent of
Yahya rule and breakdown of One Unit. The democratic process started in 1970
brought a lull in Guerrilla insurgency.

First popular elections in Pakistan history were held in 1970. National Awami Party
was successful in NWFP and Baluchistan. First time in history of Pakistan and
Baluchistan, the region was given the status of province in 1973 constitution. As
result of elections Attaullah Khan Mengal became chief minister of the province. It
was likely that democratic process would have brought Balochs in conformity to
Pakistani state. During the Period a large consignment of weapons was discovered
from Iraqi Embassy in Islamabad. It was perceived that weapons were intended to
destabilize Pakistan. On the pretext Bhutto toppled the democratic set up in the new
province of Balochistan and General Tikka khan was sent to province. Balochs were
resorted to their traditional guerilla warfare and Bhutto put Ghaus Baks Bazenjo,
Attaullah Mengal and Khair Bakhsh Marri behind the bars. Insurgents were successful
to cut road links of the province by July 1974. The last link through Sibi – Harnai Rail
link was also blocked. However Pakistan government was successful to curb
insurgency with help of Shah of Iran, who sent US Cobra helicopters manned by
Iranian pilots. Cobras heavily bombarded on pockets of resistance. Pakistan Army
attacked Chamalang plains in Marri area where Baloch gather for their traditional
festival of grazing their flocks. Six day battle ended in heavy causalities and exile of many Baluch groups to Afghanistan and UK. Bhutto claimed that he wiped out Baloch insurgency forever. In 1976 Baloch People Liberation Front (BPLF) was created from erstwhile Baloch Student Organization (BSO). During Zia period Zia ul Haq used anti Bhutto sentiments of Baluchs and brought back many exiled leaders like Bazenjo, Mengal and Akbar Bugti.98

Selig Harrison in his famous book “In Shadow of Afghanistan: Baloch Nationalism and Soviet temptations”, wrote that “A glance at map quickly explains why strategically located Balochistan and five million Baloch tribesman who live there could easily become the focal point of super power conflict”. BPLF arose out as a reaction to Pakistan’s state repressive strategies. But during Afghan War of 1979, Soviet Union used the group of these defiant elements to internally destabilize Pakistan. (Harrison, 1981)

BLA restarted its operations in year 2000 during Musharaf period. Like previous events of bio-political resistance present episode of militancy is also rooted in an event of external intervention. The project Gwader was initiated in year 2000. Land was bought from indigenous people. The Gwader port is significant because it is located on major resource corridor. The project Gwader and Balochistan has also significance because after disintegration of Soviet Union the resources of Central Asian Republics are now open for all powers. But Russian dominance in the Central Asian Republics has remained intact. Allure of Balochistan domestic resources and its geographical locale as a gateway to resource rich zones made Balochs and Balochistan major concern of policy think tanks of all major power players. On the other hand same reality has created a feeling of betrayal and sense of exclusion from

riches of their land, among Baloch masses that live in conditions of abject poverty. As the work around Gwader and Construction of Highways as well as the Cantonments at Kohlu (Marri Region) gained momentum in 2003, Baloch response as resistance to such activities by historical trio of resistor (Marris, Bugtis, and Mengals) also recorded its presence by attacks on highways, gas pipelines and killing of settlers in the province. Pakistani government resorted to its traditional tactics. As a result of attacks on Bugti area, 85 % population of Dera Bugti total 22-26 thousand population left the area. The most important was their lord Nawab Akbar Bugti.

Killing of Nawab Akbar Bugti on 26 August 2006 in Kohlu District of Balochistan has provided Baloch resistance struggle a martyr who sacrificed his life for the cause of his People. According to our survey 90% Balochs and 80 % Pashtuns living in the area consider Nawab a hero. According to an officer of Pakistan Army, Bugti is worshipped and respected by his people and for a reason. Like a real elder he always taken care of his people. According to another officer of Pakistan Army Bugti was not a hard liner. He was the person with whom it was always possible to negotiate. If he was demanding certain prerogatives like increase in Gas Royalty that originate from his land or some employment for Bugti tribesmen in Sui gas field, it was his right. Many other consider the Bugti killing an episode that leaded the course to a point of no return.

To this day BLA with help of other foreign elements is involved in attacks on gas installments, as well as target killings of Punjabi settlers and Shiite Hazara community. On the other hand in this condition of Civil War Baloch claims about missing people, abducted by Pakistani agencies. Both groups are culprits of worst human rights violation.
Importance of Balochistan for Pakistan’s Economy

There was a truth in Bazenjo statement already discussed earlier that we (Balochs) can prosper outside Pakistan. But question is what Pakistan would be without us (Balochistan). Pakistan economy is dependent on one major source of energy i.e. Natural Gas. Natural Gas is Pakistan’s prime source of energy as it meets 50% of country’s energy needs. Pakistan Petroleum Company produces 720-750 million Cubic feet Gas daily from about eighty wells in Bugti area. Gas field in Dera Bugti alone meets 45 % of country’s energy requirements. Dera Bugti is not the sole provider of vitality to modern Pakistan. Uch, Pirkoh, Loti, Gundrau, Zaorghon areas also contribute in Gas dependent economy of Pakistan. The province contains 19 trillion Cubic feet of Gas and Six Trillion Barrels of oil in its desert and semi desert mountainous terrain. Natural gas generates 1.4 billion US$ in terms of revenues. Only 116 million US $ are returned to province in form of royalties.

45 % Population of province lives below the poverty line. Baluchistan is the largest Province of Pakistan in terms of territory and contains 43.6 % territorial mass of Pakistan. However the region is scarcely populated and home of only 5 % population, of which 54.7 % are Baluchs (including Brahuis). 23.9 % population of Balochistan is Pashtoons. According to 2008 census Balochi is the language of just 4.72 million people in a country of 132.3 million populations. They are just 3.57 % of total population of Pakistan and only 2.71 % of Baluch speaking population live in the province bearing their name. The largest province of Pakistan gets only 5 % of Federal revenues because in Pakistan revenues are distributed among federating units on basis of their population. The poorest province of country subsidizes the economic growth of rich provinces and global cities like Karachi, Lahore and Faisalabad. The
other resources of the province are copper, Uranium and Gold. The Saindak and Rekodik areas are rich in copper and gold. 99

But the greatest wealth of the area is its 770 Km long Coastal area that comprise 70 % of total coastal zone of Pakistan. The region is important due to its natural Warm Water ports. Pakistan had only one naval base (Karachi) in Past. So Project Gwader was started in Musharaf period with the help of China in 2001. Gwader transformed from fishing village with a meager population of about 5,000, into a bustling town of at least 125,000. Developed into an urban center of tourist delight city will compete with Emirates states like Dubai. But real importance of Gwadar is from Defense perspective. Located 650 kilometers (about 400 miles) west of Karachi it will provide the most required strategic depth for Pakistan’s naval force. Concentrated only in Karachi Pakistan Naval Forces were subject to the cordon by the much more powerful Indian navy. However, the obvious military advantages gained by Pakistan from the new port are only one dimension of Gwadar’s multi faceted significance.

The province is a gateway to energy resources of Iran and Central Asia. Two proposed international gas pipeline projects i.e. Iran Pakistan India (IPI) and Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India (TAPI) cannot be actualized without peace and stability in this province.

99 http://www.adb.org/projects/39003-012/main
Due to its strategic location, Balochistan and 5 million Balochs living in the place could easily become focal point of super power conflict.\textsuperscript{101}

**New Great Game and Balochistan in the era of Globalization**

Perceived fears (Russophobia) and real interests (Telegraphy line extension and oil interests) brought British to this region; and colonial cartographers divided the Baloch territory into three states. This was the great game of Victorian age. In this new age

\textsuperscript{100} Robert G. Wirsing “BALOCH NATIONALISM AND THE GEOPOLITICS OF ENERGY RESOURCES: THE CHANGING CONTEXT OF SEPARATISM IN PAKISTAN”

\textsuperscript{101} Robert G. Wirsing “BALOCH NATIONALISM AND THE GEOPOLITICS OF ENERGY RESOURCES: THE CHANGING CONTEXT OF SEPARATISM IN PAKISTAN”
that can be attributed as age of Globalization the region is still significant. The imperial needs divided the region among three different states but in new age there is a re-territorialization demands on part of Balochs for a Baloch state i.e. the Greater Balochistan. As we have discussed in previous section that importance of the territory not only lies in its resource potential but equally important is its geographical locale that makes it a gateway to resource rich central Asia and growing economies of China and India. Hence certain reports indicate the existence of a “Corridor of Instability” at border zone of three states i.e. Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan. The reports demarcate this corridor of instability like this, “If you mark Shah Ismail and Ziarat Sultan Vais Qarni in Afghanistan and Iranian region of Jalq and Kuhak. Draw a slowly arching line to connect Shah Ismail in Afghanistan with Kuhak in Iran and draw a parallel line to connect Afghan town of Ziarat Sultan Vais Qarni with Iranian town of Jalq, space between these two arching lines constitute the corridor of instability”. According to this report many kinds of players like Taliban, Baluch activists, American contractors, opium smugglers, spies of states like Russia, India, American Black water (now Xe) use this corridor of instability to travel between Afghanistan and Iran via Pakistan. \(^{102}\)

All these players have diverse interests in the region. India is concerned about Chinese presence in Gwader port because Port will provide China an overland trading route to Arabian Sea from its Western province and Balochistan. On its completion Gwader will become an alternative port for China to channelize its trade from Western provinces instead of its Eastern coasts. India considers Chinese presence in Gwader as an effort to build a circle of Ports to block India on its Eastern, Northern

and Western borders. India fears that Pakistan will be absorbed in a China Centric system.\textsuperscript{103}

Some media reports consider it a matching of interest between Indian and US interests, and believe that a coordinated effort to destabilize Pakistan is going on in which Indians acts as junior partners of USA and operate on behalf of Xe (Black water)\textsuperscript{104}. The efforts include strategies to destabilize Pakistan by all means. However Indian and American interests are not identical. As USA is trying to break Russian dominance in Central Asia, Pakistan can play a significant role to implement American designs in the region. In 2007 USA announced a 673 meter long bridge over Pyanj River a natural boundary between Afghanistan and Tajikistan. U.S. Secretary of Commerce Carlos Gutierrez declared the Bridge as a link between Central and South Asia with Warm water Port of Karachi as its South Asian destination.\textsuperscript{105}

On the other hand Indian Plans for Energy motivated transport corridors are also a reason of concern for US due to Iranian involvement. India’s project of International North-South Transport Corridor (INTC) formally initiated in year 2000 joined India initially with Russia and Iran. The project will in future not only join India with many

\textsuperscript{103}Robert G. Wirsing “BALOCH NATIONALISM AND THE GEOPOLITICS OF ENERGY RESOURCES: THE CHANGING CONTEXT OF SEPARATISM IN PAKISTAN”

\textsuperscript{104} Black water USA was formed in 1997, by Erik Prince in North Carolina, to provide training support to military and law enforcement organizations. In explaining Backwater’s purpose, Prince stated that “we are trying to do for the national security apparatus what FedEx did for the Postal Service.” In October 2007, Black water USA began the process of changing its name to Black water Worldwide, and also unveiled a new logo. It was renamed Xe. In December 2011, Xe changed its name again, to "Academy". The name refers to Plato’s Academy

\textsuperscript{105}Robert G. Wirsing “BALOCH NATIONALISM AND THE GEOPOLITICS OF ENERGY RESOURCES: THE CHANGING CONTEXT OF SEPARATISM IN PAKISTAN”
other European and Asian Nations but also divert European Commercial Trade Traffic from Suez Canal to INTC and alternative short road, rail and sea route through Iranian Port of Bander Abbas\textsuperscript{106}. The project is reminiscent of Berlin Baghdad Railway line of pre World War I years. Iran has also developed the Port of Chah Bahar in Iranian province of Seistan and Balochistan.

Russia as successor of Soviet Union and Tsarist Russia still urge for a Warm Water port and through Afghanistan Baloch province of Nimroz, Pakistani Balochistan with its 770 Km long Coastal line of Warm Water with many natural port sights is part of Russian designs.

In this background the media analysts believe that however to destabilize Pakistan Balochistan is the common interest of all the players involved but they have different objectives in mind but if they continued their activities for too long, it will not only block the regional influence and economic growth of China and Russia but also lead to a confrontation between two historic rivals and adversaries with nuclear capability, i.e. Pakistan and India. The aggravated tension in region will only serve the purpose of USA who will not only block China and India to become its economic rivals but would also be able to break Russian hegemony in resource rich Central Asian Republics (CARs). In this background the demand for Greater Balochistan seems to be formulated in Washington.\textsuperscript{107}

\textsuperscript{106} Robert G. Wirsing “BALOCH NATIONALISM AND THE GEOPOLITICS OF ENERGY RESOURCES: THE CHANGING CONTEXT OF SEPARATISM IN PAKISTAN”

\textsuperscript{107} http://www.newscentralasia.net/moreNews.php?nID=414
The people of region as well as the officers who served in the region have a general consensus on foreign involvement in the region. But they differ on the reason of foreign involvement in the region.

A person like Dr. Abdul Hai views the situation as the natural outcome of Pakistan policies of alignment with Western block and USA. Dr. Abdul Hai believes that “Sure India was your enemy but you did enmity with Afghanistan”. (Hayi, 2012) Hasan Ara has similar view on the situation when she says that “The involvement of countries like India, Iran, Afghanistan, and America and even of Israel is reported. Even the weapons and bombs for this area are being manufactured in India. So you can say that India is intervening and inducing the Baloch liberation movement. It is highly sensitive issue. Afghanistan does not want Pakistan to intervene in its internal matters. So one can say that, Afghanistan is involved in target killings of Balochs. It is the direct result of Pakistan central government policies since 1979”. (Ara, 2011)

There are others who believe that foreign involvement is due to regions resource potential and these foreign hands find collaborators in local population denied all civic needs. “So the foreign involvement is here and they want to have access in the area. They can find roots in people who are exploited by their own system and want their own independent state”. (Anjum, 2011)

A corresponding view to above is that when a repressive structure violates the basic rights and denies the basic necessities it is natural for the people to seek solace from state’s external enemies and rivals. “What happened in Bhutto era? What Musharaf did with Balochs? What center allocated during all the years of so called independence. If there are grievances then there is space for foreign elements. If Baloch has taken rifle against Pakistani center, it is natural for India to take advantage
of this situation. Why not you order your home first; before pointing finger towards foreigners?” (Shams-ud-Din, 2011)

Still many consider the foreign involvement due to strategic locale and resource potential of the sole factor responsible for region’s destabilization. “Our neighboring country is taking advantage of this condition. Balochs are demanding their rights and share in polity, but neighboring country wants it to convert into a liberation struggle”. (Kakar, 2011) “You can hold other countries responsible for all this. USA and India are there in Afghanistan to protect their interests while Afghans also hold Pakistan responsible for the situation of Afghanistan”. (Adnan, 2011) “America is playing the game of chess in the region. It saves the king and kills the other. It came in Afghanistan. It secured help against Russia by saying that Russians are infidels, and we are believers. We will provide you all the necessities even “Snuff”. Russia came in Afghanistan to honor the agreement, she made with king Amanullah Khan, to help government in case of any civil war and foreign intervention. America is the greatest terrorist of the world. Israel is its kid and India is also involved”. (Hussain, 2011)

Whatever may be the root cause and whoso ever may be the player counted as responsible of region’s turmoil, the remedy and solution, perhaps lie with the state of Pakistan, that will be discussed in next section of our discussion.

From Twelve Day Revolution to Movement of Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND)
In Nigeria the majority-minority ethnic dynamics are very complex. Traditionally Hausa-Fulani (Muslims) are considered as majority that dominates the national polity, since the days of British protectorate. Other two groups, Yoruba and Igbos are deemed as minority group in popular rhetoric marginalized at hands of Hausa-Fulani majority and struggling to attain their due rights and share in the polity. But for micro ethnic groups living in South Eastern and South Western regions of Nigeria (Niger
Delta), Yorubas and Igbos are majorities that subject them to internal colonialism. Niger Delta consists of nine out of thirty six states of Nigeria. The collective territory of these nine states of (Niger Delta) is 112,110, Sq Km. Population of this region was estimated to be 28 million, and that is overwhelmingly rural and poor according to Michal Watts. (Watts, 2008, p. 40) Niger Delta too can be divided into Core and Peripheral areas according to Austin Onuha. Rivers, Baylesa and Delta states constitute the core, and periphery includes Abia, Imo, Edo, Akwa-Ibom, Cross Rivers, and Ondo States. (Onuoha, 2005, p. 25) According to Michal Watts, Baylesa, Delta, Rivers and Akwa- Ibom cover 45000 sq km of land accounting for half of the regional population and more than ¾th onshore oil production. (Watts, 2008, p. 40) If we have a glance on our GDP table as well as HDI and HPI indexes all these states present a better figure than states of other regions of Nigeria. But the area is prone to multi dimensional conflicts and mounts a centrifugal pull over Nigerian federation by adopting violent means. According to Austin Onuha, conflict in Niger Delta is multidimensional. The issues of self determination, resource control, environmental security and political inclusion are at heart of political agenda of Niger Delta. One and only reason provided by Michal Watts is that Oil that creates the illusion of a completely changed life. On the other hand overdependence on oil creates a disproportionate burden and on communities and people, who own, live and depend on the environmental and natural resources of the land.

Nigerian Politics is a politics of three dominant groups Hausa/Fulani, Igbo and Yorubas who fiercely compete with each other on the basic issue pertaining to conduct of conduct (governmentality); who will govern? Struggle over who will govern is implicitly a struggle over who will collaborate with foreign capital, involved in extraction activity in form of oil majors. Minority groups express their grievances
and try to redress their marginalization by either withdrawing their support or breaking away from the polity. (Omoweh, 2005, pp. 34-35)

Delta people cannot fulfill the criteria to be attributed as “people”, belonging to single ethnicity. Watts identifies about 40 different ethnic groups living in Niger Delta, speaking 250 different languages and Dialects. (Watts, 2008, p. 40) Different groups attributed as “micro minorities”, by crisis group are Ijaws, Ogoni, Ikwerre, Iskeri, Urohba, Isoko, Andoni, Efik, and Ibibio. Discovery of Oil in Oliobori in Ogoniland in 1956 can be regarded a recent phenomenon in the 500 year old history of imperialism and advent of capitalism in the region. Niger Delta according to Ukoha Ukiwo stands for “five centuries and more at the epicenter of violent economy of extraction”. Destructive function of imperialist discourse made and remade the region, to facilitate accumulation at successive stages of Capitalist history. (Ukiwo, 2008, pp. 70-71) Pre European cultures and polities are no more existent; however certain traits of pre-colonial culture and living remain unaffected by the sway of capitalism.

According to Onuha, life style of Delta people is communal than individualistic. Family is the basic unit. Elders play a decisive role in communal life. Age is respected. Christianity transformed traditional religions but many traditions live to this day like fishing festival and a mystical relation with the rivers as river provides food and living to community. In pre colonial systems of rule they used to have diverse political organizations from kingship (Itsekiri) to stateless society (Ndoki). Niger Delta can take pride that its able bodied youth has participants to build new world and participated in making globalization a reality since 1444 when Portuguese arrived the area and in return of hospitality of people carted away 235 people who were sold in Europe. All the European powers were participants in slave trade and slaves of the
region contributed in plantations in new world of Americas. British abolished slavery in 1807-08, and palm oil replaced slaves. (Onuoha, 2005, pp. 75-77)

According to Omoweh, “as Delta was criss crossed by rivers, colonial capitalism simply developed these natural routes for transportation to ease the movement of palm produce, to the sea ports for onward shipments to Europe. Imports were also brought in through these routes”. The river transportation disrupted the natural fishing methods of the people of Delta region. (Omoweh, 2005, p. 78)

Events prior to discovery of oil in the region like colonialism, Christianity, educational reforms can be attributed as bio-political events in Foucauldian terms; originating from the outside and transforming the modes of existence of people. But Discovery of oil can be attributed as one such event that transformed the economy, polity and natural environment of the people. With oil came the illusion of a better life and abundance, a life in which subjects will become sovereign of their destiny. The expression of this dream in Nigerian history can be found in two declarations of independence. One was declaration on part of Igbo minority (dominant group of Eastern region) of State of Biafra. The other was declaration of “Niger Delta People’s Republic” by Isaac Boro, a person born in the town of Oliobori, also the place of origin of oil in Nigeria.

In January 1966 when ethnic cleansing of Igbo population in “Sabon Garis” (stranger quarters) of North were going on, Boro declared independence for Niger Delta Republic. Fredrick Forsyth, a great promoter of Igbo rights provide that Boro was supplied with funds by Prime Minister Belwa and Boro act gave him a pretext to declare a state of emergency in Eastern region. (Forsyth, 2007, p. 26) However according to Crisis Group reports Boro led a “handful of barefoot, machete-wielding peasants in rebellion in February 1966”. “The rebels began with just four rifles; they
stole from a local police station and symbolically declared all oil contracts null and void”. (115, 3 August 2006, p. 4) Boro revolution lasted for just twelve days. Boro declaration was crushed by the Ironsi regime and he was sentenced to death by Eastern Nigeria High Court. Boro justified his actions more compelling “when the area is so viable, yet the people are blatantly denied development and common necessities of life”. Boro was granted amnesty by General Gowon on eve of Nigerian Civil War, and later he was granted commission as major in Nigerian Army. Boro fought in civil war on side of Federal forces but for a different reason. He wanted to liberate his Niger Delta Republic from Biafran occupation and Igbo domination.

Isaac Jasper Boro was the Delta’s first post colonial rebel. But his struggle made it evident that in Nigeria power sharing is just not a tri party game but there are multiple claimants of authority and power in Nigeria.

There are many accounts of Biafran War of independence when an oil minority Igbo expressed its right of self determination and its will to control the resources of its territory. We had already discussed the case in chapter three when we made conclusion that it was the great power interest that kept Nigerian Federation intact. But plight and misery of micro minorities are missing in this dominant account. If reality changes with the situation then micro ethnic groups like Ogoni had nothing to do with all this bloody affairs, as they were not either with East or with North. In any case they had to loose and fell prey to domination of ethnic group emerging as winner.

“The Ibo’s valiant struggle for Biafra, and their remarkable military ingenuity, earned them the respect even of their critics. Less appreciated and understood, however, was their treatment of the Ogoni and other Delta minorities who were called into Biafra against their will”. Ogoni plight did not end with their inclusion in Biafra. They were perceived as devil’s advocate by both sides and when federal troops entered Biafra to
take Port Harcourt Ogoni with other minorities of the region were evacuated refugee centers and concentration camps. They had to face the shelling and bombardment of federal troops as well as the persecution of Biafrans. Apter counting on Saro Wiva’s calculation believe that an estimated thirty thousand that constitute more than 10% of total Ogoni population were died in Civil War of Nigerian (dis)integration. (Apter, 2005, pp. 262-63)

We have already discussed in chapter 3, that Nigerian state opted for re-territorialization of internal boundaries as a strategy to alleviate the problem of ethnic tension amongst three dominant groups of the polity. Three regions scheme (East, West and North) was replaced by twelve states. Ogonis and other micro ethnicities joined the newly formed Rivers state. Since that day Ogoni has to struggle not against I(g)bos but against federal government for their due share in resources and Oil companies responsible for degradation of their natural environment that sustained their economy (agriculture and fishing) since ages.

We have so far discussed different versions of governmentality during course of our discussion. But Governmentality (conduct of conduct) is more complex in Petro States. According to Michal Watts since oil supply is a national security concern and part of US hegemonic strategy, USA has special military diplomatic relations with oil suppliers like Saudi Arabia. It is convenient for Oil companies to operate in weak, undemocratic military setups. Moreover there is an intrinsic relation of conflict, violence, and human rights violation with oil. State in these countries has a legal monopoly over mineral exploitation. A nationalized oil company (state oil) operates through joint venture with global oil majors. Security apparatus of the state work in collaboration with Private security forces of Trans National companies with an aim to provide safety to investment and operations of oil majors. Often these oil companies
pay to state officials whether in military or in police to buy their loyalty against communities struggling for their due share in oil revenues or protesting against degradation of their eco systems. Political mechanism by which revenue is distributed is at heart of entire struggle. The well being of oil producing communities within whose customary jurisdiction the wells are located comes at bottom. (Watts, 2004)

The struggle to control resources on part of oil communities revolves around three major issues i.e.

- Mineral Ordinances and Land Use Acts
- Revenue Distribution Mechanisms.
- Environmental Degradation

**Mineral Ordinances and Land Use Acts**
According to Daniel Omoweh, colonial state was created with an aim to create an atmosphere for exploitation of the colony including Niger Delta. For the purpose colonial state enacted Mineral Ordinance of 1912. The act accredited the sole right of ownership over minerals to Crown, the Royal Majesty. The act was amended in 1913 and 1914. Shell came to Delta in 1937 using the prerogative of Colonial State. (Omoweh, 2005, p. 79) Implied meanings of this mineral ordinance were that the people of the area had no right on the wealth their land produce.

Colonial state was succeeded by Postcolonial state, but Petroleum Act of 1969 was not different from Mineral Ordinance of Colonial days. The Petroleum Act of 1969, vests all ownership and control of all Petroleum in the state, which has sole control over exploration and Production licenses. The Land Use Act 1978 was the worst in this chain of legislation. It vests all lands to the State to be held in trust on behalf of the people. The rights of residents and traditional land owners are reduced to those of occupants. (118, September 2006, p. 12)
According to Michael Watts Nigerian National Petroleum Company NNPC operates through joint ventures with International Oil Majors (Shell, Exxon, Mobil, Agip, and Total). These oil majors are granted territorial concessions (blocks) as Oil Prospecting Licenses (OPLs) or Oil Mining Leases (OMLs). The security apparatus of state work in complementary with private security forces of the companies to secure “national oil Assets”. (Watts, 2008, pp. 43-45) Companies often provide allowances and perks to soldiers and regular duty police officers, including Mobile Police. (115, 3 August 2006, p. 9) In wake of attacks by the militant groups of Niger Delta, another strategy was devised by oil interests to protect their investment in the region. Militants were offered by Defence Minister Alhaji Yayale Ahmad in 2008 to form private security companies that would be hired to provide security for Pipelines and other installations. (60, 30 April 2009, p. 11)

**Revenue Distribution Mechanisms**

According to Watts in 2007, oil accounted over 87% of government revenues, 90% of foreign exchange earnings, 96 % of export revenues almost half of Nigeria’s GDP. Oil provides Nigerian exchequer at least 50 billion $ of what economists account as unearned income. The history of development in Nigeria is a history of politics of oil revenue distribution, according to Michael Watts. (Watts, Sweet and Sour, 2008) Nigeria possess four key distribution mechanisms of oil revenues: the federal account (rents appropriated directly by the federal state), a state derivation principle (the right of each state to a proportion of the taxes that its inhabitants are assumed to have contributed to the federal exchequer), the Federation Account (or state’s joint account which allocates revenues to states on basis need, population and other criteria, and Special Grants Account. The latter includes money designated directly for the Niger Delta through Oil and Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission
(OMPADEC), Niger Delta Development Commission (NNDC), and Consolidated Council on Socio-Economic Development of Coastal states of Nigeria. (Watts, 2008, p. 43) The latter account is developed keeping in view the special status of Niger Delta in Nigerian economy, as a result of struggle of oil producing communities. At independence 50% revenues from oil were allocated to the region that produced oil. By 1982, 50% were reduced to a figure of 1.5%. A decade later, under pressure from the Delta communities the 1.5 % was raised to 3 %. (Andy Rowell, James Marriott & Lorne Stockman, 2005, p. 218) According to Watts as a result of process of fiscal centralism oil revenues flow to federal account and since 1980 the non oil producing states account for over 75% of total federal allocations. (Watts, 2008, p. 45) Niger Delta activists struggle to attain 25-50 percent of revenues as derivation payment from federal account. (118, September 2006, p. 13)

Environmental Degradation

Shell-BP started its operations in Ogoniland in 1958 with promises of development and economic prosperity for the region. The operation was curtailed during Biafran War. At the end of Civil War Ogonis according to Apter realized that promises of economic development, and prosperity were empty lies. There were no new employments for the people of the area. Ogoni Rural Community Projects existed in name only to save tax deductions. Shell brought to Ogoniland,” pollution, contamination of Mangrove swamps and farmlands with seepage and spills while fouling the air with lethal gases from flare- offs that burned day and night”. (Apter, 2005, p. 263)

Omoweh believes that environment means entire environmental resources of the Niger Delta, including culture, natural things, and how these things are used and managed to support the capacity of the people, who live there, to reproduce
themselves materially and spiritually. Environmental degradation means the inability of the environmental resources like the atmosphere, rivers, soil and vegetation to renew itself naturally. He further adds that majority of the people living in the area that produce 90% of country’s wealth are poor, malnourished, and lead a life with minimum basic needs. The land and rivers that previously supported the economic base of peasant village societies are badly affected by the operations of Oil majors. (Omoweh, 2005, pp. 130-131) The region is the source of unearned wealth but receives a nominal share of just 3 % in that unearned wealth and added to its misery the chances to earn wealth by traditional means of farming and fishing are becoming scarce due to activities of oil majors in the region.

Making of a People: Resistance in Niger Delta (From MOSOP to MEND)
Niger Delta is home of many micro minority groups with diverse ethno-linguistic and cultural background. Ogonis numbering just, 500,000, occupy a territory of 404 square kilometer. The small zone produced 634 million barrel oil between 1958 and 1995. Ken Saro-Wiva founded the Movement of Survival of Ogoni People in 1990 and in August 1990 adopted an “Ogoni Bill of Rights”, and demanded from Nigerian Military regime “political autonomy to participate in the affairs of Republic as a distinct and separate unit”. (115, 3 August 2006, p. 4) The Ogoni Bill of Rights proclaimed that

- Political control of Ogoni affairs by Ogoni people
- The right to control and use a fair proportion of Ogoni economic resources for Ogoni development
- Adequate and direct representation as of right in all Nigerian institutions
- The use and development of Ogoni language in Ogoni territory
- The full development of Ogoni culture
The right to protect Ogoni environment and ecology from further degradation (Apter, 2005, p. 266)

MOSOP demonstrated its full strength in a rally in which almost half of the Ogoni population participated on 4\textsuperscript{th} January 1993. As a result of this agitation Shell that operated almost all the 96 Wells in Ogoniland had to cease its production activity in the region. Nigerian military responded to MOSOP agitation with a crackdown and created River State Internal Security Task Force Unit to deal with the Ogoni crisis.

Saro-Wiva was successful in bringing to light Ogoni tragedy as he attained membership of UNPO (Unrepresented Nations and People Organization) in 1993 and with the help “Body Shop”, owners Gordon and Anita Roddick established Ogoni Foundation in London in 1995 to respond human rights abuses in the area. (Okowa, 2001, p. 267) Saro-Wiva and several other Ogoni activists were arrested in May 1994 following the mob killing of four other Ogoni leaders from a faction of MOSOP that had opposed Saro-Wiva activities. On 10\textsuperscript{th} November 1995, the Nigerian military regime hanged Saro-Wiva after a judicial trial.

Saro Wiva death changed the course and mode of resistance. Since 2005, MOSOP is replaced by MEND (Movement for Emancipation of Niger Delta). MOSOP is a combination of several militant groups who use violent means. MEND guerrillas use speed boats in the Niger Delta swamps to quickly attack targets. The militants bomb pipelines and oil workers. Due to activities of MEND Niger Delta has become the most volatile region of the world.

\textbf{Oil and US Interests in Gulf of Guinea}

African oil according to Michael Watts has become a considerable national strategic interest to US due to Africa “potential to become next front in global War on terrorism”. West African oil is important in another respect too, because it provides an
alternative to Persian Gulf Oil. The Sweet Crude oil coming from Gulf of Guinea is geographically closer to US market. The two Sub Saharan states Nigeria and Angola respectively account for 53% and 26% of US Petroleum imports. In order to boost its influence in Africa and secure the loyalty of governments, the U.S. has provided military arms and developed military training programs with individual African governments. To increase its military presence, it has acquired bases and access to airfields in Djibouti, Uganda, Mali, Senegal and Gabon, along with port facilities in Morocco and Tunisia. USA has expanded its covert intelligence operations across Africa in the name of combating terrorism. In 2007, the US African Command (AFRICOM) was established as the ninth of the Unified Combatant Commands under the supervision of the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD). The alleged purpose of AFRICOM is to administer American military operations on the African continent in order to enhance the stability of the region and to promote U.S. national security objectives. Many critics of AFRICOM believe there is a direct relationship between the existence of AFRICOM and America’s interest in African oil.

Another reason for the establishment of AFRICOM is growing Chinese interest in the development of oil sector in Gulf of Guinea especially Angola and Nigeria. There is a growing sentiment in Washington that China’s presence in Africa could challenge U.S. security interests in the region. China’s unconditional financial aid to develop infrastructure and economic potential of these states and flow of its cheap goods to African states (in exchange for oil contracts) have often made it a more alluring trading partner than America. To keep check on Chinese activities US need a forward operating base capable to securing Western oil majors’ assets in the Gulf of Guinea. Hence AFRICOM base was created in the small state of Sao Tome and Principe.
The Perception that Nigeria is being squeezed from the North (Muslim terrorist organizations) and from the South (the militarization of Gulf of Guinea by ethnic militias) is a major source of tension for US policy makers. Hence there is a probability that in coming year there will be more and more US involvement in Nigeria’s internal matters. In this situation there is likeliness that country will become next Iraq.

In Nigeria the basis issue regarding governance “Who Will Govern?” is a struggle between Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo to collaborate with foreign capital, for capital accumulation, and take a share in accumulated capital and unearned income of oil revenues. State do not exercise independent judgment, and serve as functionary of foreign capital. Minority groups try to redress their grievances either by withdrawing their support or breaking away from the polity. In this case we suggest a “State Medicine”, for state failure, and “mal-development” of Niger Delta; as we have prescribed in earlier case of Balochistan.

61. State as Remedy of State Failure

In previous chapter we ended our discussion that state preceded nation in development of state. National state predates nation-state and nation-state predates the developments leading to modernization. Foucault slightly differs with this perspective on evolution of state. He believes that modern state appeared where there was “neither political power nor economic development”; hence state predates all other developments. Foucault considers Prussia the politically most unstable and economically less developed region in heart of Europe as the first modern state. Foucault owes German development to improvement of Public health and strategy of “state medicine”. Doctor was the first individual who was standardized and made responsible to improve “Public health” as part of medical police, in Germany at the
time when France was standardizing its military, its canons and its rifles. After standardizing its canons, France pursued the policy to normalize and standardize its professors and education. *Ecole normales* were designed to train professors and offer them same type of training. Hence two exemplar modern states of Europe were strengthened by standardizing and providing services to population in two important aspects of public life, i.e. health and education. (Foucault, 2000, pp. 139-141)

Foucault believes that all these developments were results of a fusion of religion in polity and public life in Christian societies. Foucault breaks the myth that in Europe religion was separated from Public life and restricted only to private life of individual. Foucault believes that in modern western societies there is an essential relationship between religion and politics. Interplay of religion cannot be found in the interplay between church and state but in another realm, i.e. between Pastorate and Government and adoption of pastoral strategies in governance of everyday life. (Foucault, 2004, p. 191) Christian pastor and his sheep are bound together by extremely complex and subtle relationship of responsibility. The relationship is distributive in nature. Pastoral technology for Foucault is the art of governing men, a method used to “subject men to sovereign and laws”. Foucault considers pastorate different from Politics. Pastorate for Foucault is the “embryonic point of Governmentality”, its background and modern state was born when “governmentality became a calculated and reflected practice”. (Foucault, 2004, p. 165)

Concept of Pastoral governance as “ideal” of governance was always there in political theorizing. Foucault believes that Plato considers the idea of political rule but discards it in favor of a system of “individualized care for the ruled, like the care of shepherd for his flock” and Plato’s criticism of Greek polity originated from the fact that “shepherd game” of Pastoral care, was incompatible with the “city game”, of the
polis and free citizen”. Foucault believes that “from the end of antiquity to birth of modern world no other civilization or society has been more pastoral than Christian societies”. Christian societies especially those on the Western side of European continent according to Foucault were the only societies that successfully attained the fusion of “pastor and Polis”. After “Thirty Year War”, European state translated itself into a program of regulating population, of individual subject through exhaustive detailed knowledge. It attuned itself into a secularized pastor where the care of individual’s life and happiness ensures and maximizes the health and strength of state. (Gordon, [1997],2000, pp. xxvi-xxvii) Foucault believes that the well known “welfare state”, considered as “new governmental technique of today”, is in fact a “tricky adjustment between political power wielded over legal subjects and pastoral power wielded over lives of individuals”. (Foucault, [1997],2000, p. 307)

European Governmentality, a political reason that emerged after fusion of “polis and pastor”, “Omnes et Singulatim”, a government of all and for each, where sovereign is bound to its subjects in relation of responsibility was the motivation of Nationalist Resistance to colonial rule. As postcolonial states became a tool of capitalist extraction and exploitation, the states failed to convert themselves into a pastor on European model state, the dream of pastoral rule served as catalyst for ethno-religious movements resisting and defying the postcolonial state authority. One expression of revolt and resistance against capitalist states is phenomenon of religious revivalism. The said phenomenon is always associated with Muslims and Islam but our study of Nigeria’s resource rich Christian communities reveal that phenomenon of religious revivalism is a direct outcome of flawed governmentality and an everlasting universal dream of subjects to be cared and looked after by their respective state. Dream of Pastoral governance motivates people to secede and mounts a centrifugal push on
state. As these states were born with a dream of pastoral governance only pastoral techniques of individualized care for population can save these states on verge of collapse.
Conclusion

The study started with the objective to apply Foucault’s Archaeological method on phenomenon of “Globalization”, that appeared as concern of academic debates of various disciplines like Economics, Sociology, Geography, Politics and International Relations. Theorists like Manfred Steger believe that phenomenon needs a multi disciplinary approach. The forces of mega phenomenon globalization have touched almost every aspect of human life of people living on planet earth. Hence there is a need to do the history of present, the history of Globalization that is considered by neo-liberals as the “end of history”. Foucault Archaeology is considered as “History of Present”. The object of this study is to do the “Archaeology of Globalization”, Archaeology of our Present.

A historian of present can take two positions. We can either consider present phenomenon of “globalization”, the result of conscious human effort or treat it as result of historical forces moving towards a pre determined direction. A Foucauldian historian aims to provide a historical narrative without individual subject. Foucault falsify the assumption that human history is a project of human consciousness and driven by experiences. Foucault Archaeology introduces the elements, “discursive”, and “non-discursive”, outside the conscious realm of action that determine the direction of our lives. Foucault believes that individual operate in a conceptual environment that determines and limits the human consciousness and experience. Stage on “which we enact our history”, is the main concern for Foucault.

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108 Foucault provides the notion of episteme for conceptual environment that determines thought. Episteme for Foucault are conceptual strata that underpin various fields of knowledge. As Archaeology deals with unconscious, the anonymous that underpins the forms of thought, episteme is the \textit{historical a priori} in a given period that limits and delimits the totality of experience, defines the mode of being, determines the subjectivities. Episteme is the background of man’s everyday experience.
believes that script we enact is established independent of human thought. (Gutting, 2005, pp. 32-42)

Archaeological analysis considers the phenomena under study as a derivative and aims to bring this derived phenomenon “back to cause”. Foucault believes that a nexus of knowledge and power supports and recoups a phenomenon and makes it acceptable as “condition of existence”. Hence Archaeological analysis entails a reconstruction of a “holistic field of aggregate relations”, that constitutes human subjectivities. Individual, its identity, characteristics, aspirations and desires are product of this “holistic” structure of existence brought to life by discourse. (Foucault, 2002, pp. 201-202)

Discourse is integral component of archaeological historicity. Human consciousness emerges out of this discursive and non-discursive structure. Its normalization affects serves as strategy of subjection leading to endo-colonialism and inculcation of norms in subjects deemed necessary for the transformative functions of discourse. True discourses are generated by structures of political rationality (global and local) through institutional games of truth and in turn these discourses serve as mechanisms of subjugation to sustain the very structure that produced them. Games of truth discursively shape subjectivity of individual. Primary argument of this study is that human subjects operating in the episteme of globalization are the product of discursive and non-discursive environment and true discourses that served as mechanisms of subjugation and defined the relations of power. Through successive stages where true discourses enacted their violent functions, subjects transformed, re-transformed and reached the present “end”. The history of violent functions of discourses dates back to early modern century. The present subjects world over are the product of two complementary discourses i.e. state and capitalism.
Globalization is oft cited as the final destination and end of Capitalism as well as triumph of capitalism that originated in Europe. One mythic ideological claim of Globalization discourse is that forces of globalization has made state ineffective and a new era is about to start when some new form of political organization will replace state. Samir Amin (Amin, 1989) regards capitalism and state integral to each other. Foucault also sustains the idea that economic discourses resulting in accumulation of capital and political one resulting in accumulation of power are intrinsically interconnected. Foucault believes that without rational ordering of population based on statistical knowledge (science of state), capitalism would have been impossible. Foucault calls Statistics as Science of state, and a means necessary to rationally govern the state milieu according to desires of human species living in the state habitat. Calculation was important also to build state power in a competitive environment rising after Peace of Westphalia. State “conducting the conduct” of population and arranging the natural and artificial givens of state territory was also a pre-requisite of Capitalism.

As discourse limits the domain of human thought and action and subjects see the truth about themselves within limits set by discourse. State in Europe as political structure of rationality with its articulation of true discourses and institutional games of truth was successful to produce individual subjects whose aspirations, desires and motivation converted them into utilitarian beings necessary for the rise of Capitalism. Foucault is not concerned with the growth of capitalism but his main concern is about “subject and power and political rationality that bound them together”. (Rabinow P., 1984, p. 18)

Foucault takes a slightly deviant stance from Marxist explanations that consider capitalist expansion beyond European space as the requirement of capitalism.
Foucault however believes that it was the competitive nature of European state system and an apparently contradictory concept of “mutual enrichment” of Europe that induced European state to move beyond its borders and establish Europe’s relation with rest of the World that is to this day a relation of dominance. The resultant was expansion of World-System with Europe as Center, and in process making the entire globe subjugated and subjected to Europe. The previously external zones of planet and their population were subjected to European structures of rationality and statistical calculations leading to an increase in power and wealth of European State. Diamond referred earlier in our discussion considers the state as the main difference between Europe and other civilizations leading not only to Eurocentric world order but also consider it responsible for Europe’s present economic growth and global inequality. (Diamond, 2010)

On the other hand Capitalism as a system is compelled to remove all kinds of barriers, whether material or discursive on circulation. At any given moment of world history capitalism creates and operates in a milieu with its set of natural givens as well as artificial givens (ideology). Space is an element of milieu Foucault establishes and milieu bears an impact on the life of those who live in it and is regulated not only to facilitate circulation but also establishes a circular relation of cause and effect. We taking inference from Foucault interpretation of Europe’s history in “Security, Territory and Population” (2004), and “Birth of Bio-Politics” (2008), establish that Western imperial powers first created and regulated a milieu at state level making human species living in these state milieus as utilitarian docile beings by subtle use of disciplinary technology and control and made them subjects of power. Operation and regulation of milieu involved calculations to rationally arrange people and spaces according to logic of capital. Further through use of political discourses human
species was imparted with certain rights vis-à-vis sovereign making governance in accord to wishes and desires of subjects. As subjects were also the product of power, individuals were unable to think alternatives other than state; however they proposed alternative modes for “conduct of conduct” (governmentality). Individual’s identity, aspirations, desires and demands of rights and critique of governance, all generated within the priori, the episteme that considered state the only alternative of anarchical society. Human Species was transformed into “public”, who has certain inalienable rights (life, liberty and pursuit of happiness), but right to live practically was conditioned with subject’s ability to sell their utility in market. State provided an environment conducive to accumulation for a small group of People, named Bourgeoisie by Karl Marx. The ultimate outcome of capitalism and state operations was inequality and a class structure based on it. The situation was the backdrop of Marxist explanation that state is a tool of capitalist class oppression.

As there was a group of people who has to rely only on its labor for survival and ensure its right to live, European sovereigns has to expand the milieu under their regulation. The colonies served as spaces where the surplus population can be effectively absorbed. The surplus population planted in “terra nullius”, facilitated the extraction of resources at the same generating immense surplus. The wretched and oppressed at home became the partner of European liberal ideals to civilize the “other”, in colonies. Hence “Global Milieu” was created according to logic of capital where various places, people were bonded in relations of dominance and subjugation. Milieu was functional in nature circularly relating labor and resource divisions as well as facilitating the extraction of surplus and resources at a global scale. Another outcome of the development was that European States were entangled in a competition with each other in space of monetary circulation, colonial conquest, and
control of seas. Political and economic competition between rival states satisfied capitalist urge to expand and move beyond barriers. With colonization world was charted as a whole, with a center Europe and its other the colonial peripheries. Conduct patterns (governmentality) were different in both spaces of this single world embedded an intrinsic relation to attain a single objective i.e. “Accumulation of Capital”.

Archaeology as method facilitates a multilayered description of same phenomenon, as events and their effects are not uniformly present at all levels of analysis. Archaeology provides a linear horizontal description of process at the same time establishing a vertical relation among different levels. Provided by the archaeological method we attempted to analyze the impact of same phenomenon on Core and Periphery of world-system. We had divided the historical processes leading to Globalization in three stages. Furthermore we have subdivided each stage of our analysis further on two more levels to probe the effects of same phenomenon on “Europe” as core and its peripheral other. In the way we constituted a series, established relations particular to each series at all stages and levels of our analysis. At end of our analysis we are able to draw a table, a series of series, describing the aggregate structure of the “archaeological whole”, “Globalization”, the condition of our existence. We have also taken account of knowledge-power nexus peculiar to each stage and level of our analysis supporting and recouping the political structures of rationality at global and local level. At all stages of our study state remained the pivot creating subjectivities necessary for sustenance of capitalist discourses.

During the first stage we analyzed the phenomena when world was made an ordered whole. European states financed the voyages of discovery to unknown zones and in process the whole globe with its natural givens were charted, named and mapped.
Further process to regulate this global milieu involved construction of manmade structures like ports, rail links and roads for circulation of goods, resources and labor to establish a system of places, hierarchically organized in unequal power relations hence making nestles of bourgeoisie and capitalism possible across the globe a dream converted to reality. Ports, Railways, Radio waves also purveyors of European modernity across the globe. Last but not least operation in creation of global milieu was to induce new needs and wants in colonial human species to urge them to become a part of global workforce, utilitarian beings with docile bodies for the exercise of capitalist bio-power. Process was hegemonic in nature employing consensual as well as coercive means to engrave modern norms in colonial subjects. As colonial subject were the product of traditional structures and systems of existence it was a laborious work to break the subject bonds with the pre-colonial structures of existence and adjust them as part of new “whole”, determining their existence in the colonial world. Individuals were made subjects to colonial hegemonic power that not only determined their subordinate status but also provided the reasons for the status and supremacy of the European colonial masters. Colonial states were created as arms of imperial European states to establish Western hegemony in non west, and its colonial governmentality through violent processing of discourse, arrested the growth potential of non western societies and imbedded people of non west in subordinate position in relation to West converting them into passive movers along with forces of history. Global Milieu thus created according to logic of capital where various places, people are bonded in relations, related to global division of labor. Functions of artificial and natural givens of milieu are appropriated to dynamics of accumulation but main actor responsible for the phenomenon was “European State”, rationally involved in calculus. Through successive stages milieu expanded spatially.
The characteristic that is consistent since the beginning of world-system is the eminent position of a state that grows more powerful than other states of same posture, and benefitted most by its position of eminence. Foucault gives a slight reference of the phenomenon in “Security, Territory and Population” discussed in chapter three. Foucault refers to a phenomenon of rupture when a “revolution” occurs and sources of power became the sources of decline and position of prominence transfers to other dominant state. During the first stage of charting, mapping and naming the world space and arranging it in a functional order the hegemonic position was a European affair. The hegemony transferred from Spain and Portugal to Dutch, and finally making the British the most dominant power on the earth. British naval power controlled the world trade routes while British “free trade” theories determined and sustained the economic discourse at global scale making GB the champion of world trade activity and its currency Pond Sterling backed by its Gold reserves in colonies like South Africa was the mode of transaction and finance world over.

The dominance of Europe was the result of a whole range of treatises on issue of governance, making “how to govern”, and “what governance is” the issue of governance and conduct as the primary concern for the European decision makers. Governance became a science and mercantilist discourses on issue of governance leaded to an increase in wealth of European states. But issue of governance was not only to devise means of conduct for domestic European population but also have to address the issue of governance of unknown “other” spaces as well as “population”.

To resolve the issue of governing “other”, discourse of “Orientalism” appeared. Oriental discourses provided justification of European rule in circumference. In words of Lord Curzon the “people of circumference became partners in great idea, the idea of European rule”. Colonial state created ruling elites i.e. landed aristocracy, princes
and chiefs as well as bureaucrats and army personals as local partners of liberal ideal. Civilization mission and Dual Mandate kind of theories were also part of same “Oriental” discourse. Edward Said believe that the greatest humanist of history, Karl Marx was also not an exception to Orientalist mode of thinking. Marx provided justification for British takeover of India and admired Great Britain as “unconscious tool” of history introducing modernity and enlightenment to Indian people living for thousands of years untouched by historic forces of change and leading an inactive, static and stagnant life. (Said, [1978], 1994)

Second stage in linear progression towards Globalization came when revolution transferred the world hegemonic position to old colony of European settlers USA. USA is the first “Hegemon” in world history institutionalizing the economic governance of globe in form of first ever global finance institutions, (IMF World Bank) at the same time institutionalizing the free trade in form of GATT. USA was unique in the sense that instead of opting for physical lebensraum the state adopted the strategy of economic lebensraum penetrating in economies of entire world through the force of its finance power. (Smith N. , 2005)

The Europe during the era has to focus on its reconstruction. European powers pursued the Keynesian policies of regulation and “regulated capitalism” to ensure effective demand needed to protect capitalism. Foucault believes that only concern of capitalism is effective demand. He establishes that in times of crisis “Protectionism” and state interventions become necessary to sustain and save capitalist system. State interventions serve the purpose of capitalism and keep system moving. European powers were tired enough by two Wars that they were unable to keep the colonies. Another revolution was knocking the capitals of European colonial powers after War and transfer of hegemony; as the colonial subject moved and motivated by
modern norms and Western ways of defining their collective identity in terms of “nation” were demanding the states of their own. Once considered as source of power colonies with all the more demands for self rule and welfare services provisions became liabilities for the European powers. Colonial geographical expressions were granted statehood. Bhabha (Bhabha, 2004), believe that mimic of mother country constitutions were introduced as formal means of conduct. Bhabha further establishes that this constitutional exercise was also for a purpose. The constitutions standardized the operation of governance universally and made it easier to establish contacts with establishment of postcolonial states employing norms and procedures of conduct similar to Euro-Center. It helped the powers to continue and maintain their lost control over people and places they were going to abandon. The system was still the same; facilitating extraction and keeping the new states in bonds of dependence to old masters.

Postcolonial dream gone sore because the Postcolonial state has to face the paradox of their practical limitations; they have to sustain the dominant political position of global powers and meet the global capital needs of extraction of surplus and resources; convert itself into economic and military power to attain a better status in state’ hierarchy; compete with other postcolonial states to protect its territorial integrity; establish a modern economy and military; as well as to meet the expectation of masses by providing services and facilities to its population; and all within the limits of its scarce resources, in hand of “corrupt” decision makers whose agony to take their turn motivated them for coup. Hence coup after intervals of democratic dispensations is regular feature of these postcolonial states. The post-colonial states of Pakistan and Nigeria were a failure to address the basic question on issue of
governance, i.e. “who will govern”. The matter is discussed at length in Chapter 3 of this study.

Frank (Frank, Crisis: In the Third World, 1981) believe that third world state serves as facilitator for extraction of surplus beyond borders and looks after the interest of global and local capitalists and devise means to create balance between traditional feudal classes and newly emergent capitalists. The policies of colonial structures of rationality leaded to unequal development among different regions of state. It was perceived that first objective of the state was to achieve growth without distribution and eventually the fruits of growth will spill over to other strata and regions. State and its flawed conduct and governmental policies generated identity crisis. The post colonial states were unable to provide the answer to basic question “who will govern”. In absence of such a formula polity was controlled by non representative institutions like army and bureaucracy having a history to serve colonial masters as coercive apparatus of colonial states denying due share to their fellow countrymen.

Hecther (Hechter, 1978)proposes that early stages of nation building are reminiscent of empire. Postcolonial nation building strategy practically was an effort to build mono-ethnic states reminiscent of empires and suppress the groups unrepresented in army and bureaucracy. Foucault establishes that “every relation of power put into operation differences that are at the same time its conditions and its results” with the objective to maintain privileges. The instrumental modes that power adopts may take the form of economic disparities. (Foucault, [1997],2000, p. 344) Development security discourses of post war years and a belief in the process of economic growth served as knowledge-power nexus supporting the system at this stage. The outcome was developed industrial centers and deprived periphery within post colonial state often finding refuge in ethnic nationalism. Wallerstein believe that politics of ethno-
nations in postcolonial states redefining the discourse of nationalism are in fact expression of class interest of marginalized groups. (McCrone, 1998) Failed to provide the promised future independent from colonial oppression to majority populace and State nurtured the condition to put vigor and revitalization in identity politics. As resources were utilized and allocated centrally by non representative institutions, the areas that produce resource has to bear the expense of development of economic centers outside the resource producing zones. Spaces were bound to develop unevenly mounting the feelings of grievance and marginalization. The creation of Bangladesh and Biafra was a direct outcome of belief in economic growth and accompanied uneven development.

Third stage of system development is characterized by transformation accompanying neo-liberal discourses that Foucault term as “anarcho-capitalism”. (Foucault, 2008) There was a redefinition of roles of Bretton Woods institutions and state. The popular myth established that role of state has diminished in changed circumstances and state is no more an effective institution. However Foucault challenges the myth and provides that changes were result of a synthesis between German Ordo-liberals and American Liberals. The representative of this new school was Hayek. Foucault believe that myth about role of state is true in the sense that state is no more a provider of public services in new arrangement and social welfare projects of state are now rolled back. But state still remains an instrument of control for safe working of forces of Capital. States provides the safe environment for successful operation of market forces and protect the finance.

At same stage we analyzed the working of political processes in European core where a new form of governmental rationality is operative since the end of WWII in form of European Union. The one outcome of this kind of governmental conduct is that
income disparities among rich and poor European states are on decline but the flipside of this development is that income disparities within European nation state are constantly on rise making European state prone to internal security threats coming from class expression of ethno-nations. Almost all the states of Western Europe including the most established modern states France and Great Britain at the moment are facing the challenges of identity crisis, and ethnic nationalism.

The impact of these changes on peripheral states is more severe as these states have to face the dual challenge of ethnicity as well as religious revivalism. Failure of state apparatus to deliver any good to majority population induced the groups to take solace in so called anti-modern expressions and what Wallerstein call as “anti-systematic movements”. State in third world itself is involved in economic activity and the major stake holder of economic process. The establishment especially Army acts as corporate body in postcolonial states and cannot deny the responsibility of all the worst outcomes accompanied with economic growth and development.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Power/Knowledge</th>
<th>True Discourses</th>
<th>Mechanisms of Subjugation</th>
<th>Games of Truth</th>
<th>Relations of Power</th>
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<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Global</td>
<td>Bio-power/Science of State</td>
<td>Discourses on Political Economy and governance treating Population as Species and Public</td>
<td>King as Shepherd Sovereign</td>
<td>Lassies Fair economy. Malthus treatise on Population, Famine in European Peripheries to meet the food needs of towns</td>
<td>Bourgeoisie/Proletariat, Proletariat of Europe as Aristocracy of Labor Class, Migration of surplus population to Colonies. Racial discourses in Colonies</td>
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<td>Local</td>
<td>Knowledge about Subject Races, Orientalism, Colonial State</td>
<td>Civilization Mission, Dual Mandate</td>
<td>Peripheralization of Manufacturing Societies like India and Egypt, Establishment of Global and Local Linkages (Port Cities, Railways),</td>
<td>Progress, Partnership in Liberal Utilitarian Ideals</td>
<td>Benevolent Trustees/ Local Traditional Elites (Chiefs, Elders, Princes) as collaborators and instruments of control, Westernized Elites</td>
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<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Global</td>
<td>Positive Liberalism/Washington Consensus, Globalization/Empire,</td>
<td>Discourses on Globalization, Neo-Liberal End of History</td>
<td>Changing Role of Bretton Woods institutions, Structural Globalism as belief System and Neo-Liberal ideology,</td>
<td>Functioning Core/Non Integrating Gap, Seam States as Mid layer of</td>
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<td><strong>Neo-Liberal Interventionist</strong></td>
<td><strong>Adjustment Programs (SAP)</strong>, End of Regulated Capitalism and Fordist State with Welfare functions, State as a means to Protect Market and Finance Capital</td>
<td><strong>System Guarding Functioning Core from Orthodox Non Integrating Gap</strong></td>
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Accumulation of Capital according to Harvey has always been a “geographical and spatial affair” (Harvey, 2000, p. 20) Milieu whether Global or local is created and structured to facilitate circulation. People and places are arranged hierarchically according to their functional nuisance. Discursive formations like ideology bond people and places in relations of power and dependence according to logic of capital. Milieu goes through organization and reorganization and sometimes complete destruction as capitalism is impelled to destroy and recreate it to accommodate accumulation and appropriation at later dates. During the course of geographical expansion and spatial restructuring of milieu different spaces are bound to develop unevenly so governance of different spaces involve different forms of rationality. Uneven geographical development is a pre-requisite as well as aftermath of capitalism. These uneven places cannot be treated according to universal governance reasoning, i.e. a singular governmentality cannot be applied across space at any given moment. Study of governance rationality operating in Eurocenter and its other colonial and postcolonial states reveals different kinds of mechanisms of subjugation as well as games of truth employed by global and state institutions. Although different governmentalities operate as mechanism of control at different levels but these are meant to attain the same objectives i.e. the appropriation, accumulation and dispensation of Capital. Accumulation and dispossession are the two faces of same reality.

Along with uneven geographical development capitalist activity itself is hierarchically organized. Hierarchy is present between different types of capitalist activities with finance capital being the “Hegemon” of all kind of other profit generating activities. Hierarchy is established by turn over time. There is contradiction between turn over time of multiple strands of capitalism. Turn over time is instant in case of money and
finance capital. While other strands of capitalism like agriculture, merchant, manufacturing, construction and services, operate according to different turnover times. So coordination problem within different turnover times give rise to problem of over accumulation. Keynesianism provides a remedy of over accumulation by absorbing the over accumulated capital in “public works”. But another remedy is adopted by state in form of military Keynesianism, building military capacities to an extent that war becomes an inevitable outcome. First and Second World War can be owed to state’s urge for hegemonic position as well as to finance capital’s impulse to invest the over accumulated capital to war time economic activities. Hence defining feature of this globalised world is not only suffering, miseries and plights of billions, resulted due to exploitation but also an ongoing ever present War at multiple levels of system.

As subjects we evolved in the episteme whose final structure is globalization. It is the whole that conditioned our existence and characterized our being and in turn has determined our “conditions of existence”. The global episteme is erected on two non-discursive concrete arms, i.e. state and capital. Capitalism is not independent but a dependent variable of state. Capitalism operates in a state that itself is result of many kinds of compromises and end product of governance reasoning that Foucault affirms as raison d’état. Foucault acknowledges Europe’s contribution in evolving a peculiar raison d’état. He believes that “among all the societies in history, ours-I mean, those that came into being at the end of Antiquity on the Western side of European continent-have perhaps been the most aggressive and the most conquering; they have been capable of most stupefying violence, against themselves as well as against others. They invented great many political forms. They profoundly altered their legal structures several times. It must be kept in mind that they alone evolved a strange
technology of power treating the vast majority of men as a flock with a few as shepherds”. Foucault considers the development of “pastoral technology” as the main contribution of Western Civilization. The shepherd sovereign wields power over a flock. He gathers together guides and leads his flock and ensures their salvation. Wielding power is a duty and demands devotedness. Comparisons between good and bad shepherds are in fact parallels drawn among good and bad governance. Wicked Kings making decisions for personal interest according to Foucault are compared to “bad shepherds, who disperse their flock, let it die of thirst” in governance discourses. (Foucault, [1997],2000, pp. 301-303) On the other hand a good shepherd is treated in these discourses as the one who not only looks after the whole community but each individual in particular. The pastoral technology exercised by sovereign states is the prime reason that made the oppressive nature of capitalist system acceptable to individuals. The ruler and ruled sovereign and citizens are bonded in a relation of obedience and care.

When other places and people were incorporated in world-system, the concept of pastoral governance became the dream of almost whole population of the world. Nationalist discourses defining nation on basis of unique identity traits were not resisting modern statehood and its concept of governance, rather these movements were expressions that European colonial states had not treated these areas and their people in similar fashion. The nationalist discourses in colonies were not efforts to impose pre-colonial political and economic modes but creation of modern political setups in form of state. The popular consent and support for these movements was the result of the dream that independence will bring same kind of governmental reason to these areas where relation of ruler and ruled will be a relation of responsibility. The objective of these movements were to introduce same kind of
pastoral governance in the states of their own and strategy they presented before masses was the strategy of capitalist development. After independence these states became so obsessed with means i.e. the will to be modern and industrialized, that they forget the real objective of pastoral governance. The states opted for formulas devised by hegemonic nexus of knowledge-power without taking account of their objective realities and being skeptic of intentions of old masters.

The first and immediate impact of the strategy was unevenly developed state milieus and marginalized groups. The strategies gave rise to causes of sedition that Foucault refers as arising out of Belly and Head. First prime reason causing sedition is extreme, poverty, a level of poverty that becomes unbearable. Second cause of sedition is discontent. (Foucault, 2004, pp. 268-69) Foucault describes many causes of discontent and discontent over distribution of privileges is one of those causes of sedition that arise from head. Both causes of sedition can be attributed to flawed governmentality and a failure to evolve the “pastoral technology”. Hence dream of pastoral governance remains there always fresh in popular accounts, in media discourses, in academic discussions on nation building, in discourses on “how to govern”. Another expression of masses urge for pastoral rule was identity movements. Concept of pastoral governance remains an integral component of ethno-national rhetoric redefining their identity in post-colonial states to attain pastoral rule for their communities in their respective new states. The ethnic-movements fighting for their share in polity or questioning the legitimacy of their respective states, as well as those who are considered to be the forces of anti-modernity like religious revivalist (Islamic and Christians) all share same discourse on “how to govern”, and “what governance is”. They all want the exercise of pastoral power on part of sovereign state that not

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109 Foucault referring to Bacon describes two causes of sedition, arising out of “belly and head”.
only command but also be prepared to sacrifice for the flock, that looks after not just the whole community but each individual for entire span of individual’s life. The case of Nigeria is evident that religious revivalism is not a phenomenon peculiar to Islam only. Rise of Christian Pentecostal Churches (promising a prosperous future by employing supernatural forces), “Born again” movements, Bakassi Boys providing immediate speedy justice all reflect the failure of postcolonial state to meet the expectation of people.

The peoples and areas under consideration of this study are prone to both material causes of sedition. They have to live in abject poverty as well as they are discontented by the policies of their respective states making them subject of dominant ethnic groups. However the interviews of Baloch civil society conducted for this research reflect the aspirations of peoples and their urge for a state exercising pastoral technology to secure their future. On the other hand the Armed forces personnel involved in activities to suppress sedition in same area Balochistan also reflect the need to adopt the same pastoral technology for a permanent solution to address the causes of sedition.

Results of a representative survey conducted for this research reflects that 90% Balochs believe that their resources are not used on their development. 70% of the people believe that development of Gwadar Port will not contribute anything in development of the area and its people. 75% are dissatisfied with their role and share in Pakistani political system. 50% consider Punjab, the other 35 % consider Bureaucracy and Establishment of Pakistan and still other 15 % consider Tribal structure responsible for their underdevelopment. 80% of the group believes that their rights were not protected by any kind of government; only 15% consider democratic set up as protector of rights of people, still few only the 5% believe that Army
protected their rights. 80% of the group considers that they do not have secure future in State of Pakistan.

Same survey conducted on Pashtoon population living in Balochistan reveal almost similar results but with a few exceptions. 92 % believe that resources of area was not used for the development of the area and its people but they differ from Balochs of same area over the role of Gwadar port in future economic development of Balochistan. 94% Pashtoon population of area considered Gwadar as worthy project that will bring economic development to the area. But 100% Pashtoon of Balochistan believe that area and its population were denied its right in Political system of Pakistan. 72% of this group considers Punjab responsible for their underdevelopment, 8% consider Bureaucracy and other 20% consider Tribal system responsible for the process of underdevelopment. 68% believe that in Pakistani history no governmental setup was responsive to Baloch political and economic rights; however 76% people in this group feel that Balochistan can have a safe future within state of Pakistan.

(Annexure III)

One of the finding of our study is that state itself nurtures the conditions leading to identity crisis by pursuing certain kinds of policy. Attacks on Southern (Christian) people serving in Northern (Muslim) Nigeria by Islamic extremist faction Boko Haram are considered as expression of religious revivalism but Michael Watts owes the situation to flawed development that left certain groups marginalized. The Baluch treat the people from other provinces serving and living in Baluch space in similar manner. The oral arguments of the people from Balochistan sustain the finding that establishment stimulates the conditions that lead to expression of ethnic hatred. When they were asked that why people of other ethnic groups face the hatred and wrath of Balochs? They told that in Pakistani establishment Punjabis are dominant so Punjabis
living in Balochistan has to face the consequences of their policies. (Shams-ud-Din, 2011) “Government developed Put Feeder Canal in Balochistan and first time an insignificant proportion of Sind water reached to Baloch land but the beneficiary was Punjabis and Urdu Speaking people dominant in establishment. The fertile land was allotted to these groups. The recent project of Gwader development is also similar. The land was bought from Balochs in pennies and now when it is developed the main beneficiary is Pakistan Army. Baloch cannot even enter the area. It is like city of Karachi that is the capital of Sind but only Sindhis are absent from Karachi”. (Hayi, 2012) The agony is clear in Shadab Kakur statement “Punjab has snatched bread from our mouth; they robbed us from our leadership and resources. They snatched our minerals and gas and Coal resources; sell it to outside or used these in their own industries. They made progress at our cost. They bought the land of Gwadar from Balochs and then gave it to Army and China. What kind of system is this? We the owners of land have no right over its development and its resources”. (Kakar, 2011)

The Army personnel view the situation as the outcome of Great Game and Big Power interest in Port of Gwader as well as resources of Balochistan and Central Asia. They believe that Balochistan National Movement BLA was first organized by Soviet Union during Afghan War in 1980’s. It was a dormant body till it was reactivated by USA with the help of India. (II, 2011) However the group believes that Port was developed by China to promote its economic interests in the region. (I, 2011) Independence issue is raised only by three tribal chiefs i.e. Mengal, Muree and Bugtis. The rest of Baloch population does not support the cause.

On the issue of independent Balochistan the opinion was mixed Officers believed that it will serve US purpose and provide it the possible shortest route to resources of Caspian as well as provide it means to counter China and Iran in the region. (II, 2011)
But whatever may be the future scenario the viable independent state of Balochistan seems a joke to political analysts like Hussan Ara. She believes that in presence of pressures from Pakistani neighbor on border it will not easy for it to survive. Moreover state has to develop is independent military diplomatic apparatus in case of independence and resources will be used on Baloch establishment. She argues that independence will bring no positive change in the lives of people. (Ara, 2011)

Dr. Abdul Hayi believes that “no great game can be successful if people are satisfied. If establishment murder those patriots who demand their share from polity, and ask for employment of their people in setup that extract the wealth of their land people are bound to seek refuge in outside elements. The great powers can implement their designs and take roots only on dissatisfaction of people. If system gives us our due share no outside element will be successful”. (Hayi, 2012)

We have already described two strategies that modern states of Germany and France opted during the course their state development according to Foucault, i.e. Health and Education. (Foucault, 2000, pp. 139-142) Wajid Ali also suggests same strategies to resolve the issue of Balochistan. “He says that we need schools, we need health facilities, and we need employment. If you educate us, provide us employment and use resources of our land for our development, then the problems Center is facing in Balochistan will be sorted. The problem exists because establishment always deceived us”. (Ali W., 2011)

Shadab Kakur believes that Balochistan have “potential for fruit farming but in absence of irrigation facilities we are unable to use our agriculture potential. If government would have spent some amount to improve the irrigation system of area it would have become a food basket for the country. He believes that system is worst because it do not care people”. (Kakar, 2011)
Malik Shahzeb khan believes that since the time of “Quaid e Azam we demand our share in political system but in return get military operation. Government does not want us to progress. They often hold tribal structure responsible for underdevelopment of the area. But can they reply the simple question that who is responsible for continuation of tribal system. It is in the interest of the center and establishment to continue with the system to control people. The government behaves like a step mother for the people of the area”. (Khan M. S., 2011)

The establishment also shares the view that Balochistan has received fewer resources for its development. The Army Officers involved in operational activities to suppress the sedition coercively also share the view that area is the most neglected place of Pakistan and worthy of immediate attention for durable and lasting resolution of issue. The problem lies in the budgetary allocation of resources. That is on basis of population so the largest province of the State of Pakistan is unable to get its due share for development. If we change the formula and make it on basis of area under development, it will bring development to the area. (I, 2011)

“If you compare the Pushtoon and Baloch populated areas of Balochistan, there is an apparent difference. Pushtoon populated areas of Quetta, Pasin, Zhob, Qilla Abdullah are comparatively more developed and densely populated. Baloch belt Sibi, Dera Murad Jamali, and Dera Bugti is suitable for agriculture but due to non availability of water area remains barren. Maximum half million families and less than 8 million people living in tribal zones need our immediate attention. If system can make arrangements of the income generation activities of these households living in condition of unbearable poverty, we can save the state of Pakistan”. (II, 2011)

Foucault believes that power has no center rather it is diffused all over society. Like power resistance also has no central focal point. People subjected to bio-power of
state and global capitalist forces are fighting the effects of domination, hence politics of resistance also characterize the global episteme where people resist the mechanisms of subjugation. The future holds the answer that whether the forces of resistance and alter-modernity will bring an end to global commonwealth that is the end product of wealth, resources and labor of all people living on this planet. In words of Hardt and Negri (Hardt and Negri, 2009, p. vii), one primary effect of Globalization is the creation of a common world, a world that for better or worse we all share, a world that has no outside….we are destined to live in this world, not only subjects to its power of domination, but also contaminated by its corruption”.

State is still meaningful in this common world but state has to assume the role of a “secularized pastor” not only to save it but also the global commonwealth from forces of anti-modernity. To Foucault the power such a state will use will be individualizing and totalizing at the same time. To him such a state will represents the “modern, biopolitical and “daemonic” fusion of pastoral and polis.” Foucault believes that such a kind of state has remained as Utopia of Political theorizing since the time of Plato. Hence development of a state that is not the tool of capitalist extraction and exploitation; But a state that attune its health and strength by the care of individual; A state where government serve with motto, ““Omnes et Singulatim”- of all and of each”, can save the global “Commonwealth” as well as Post colonial Failed states from complete destruction.

Such a state “of all and for all”, was a dream during colonial resistance and integral part of mass narrative of resistance. Creation of Postcolonial states of Pakistan and Nigeria for masses were considered by the people as actualization of the “people utopia”, free from colonial oppression and colonial state that proved a tool of Capitalist oppression. As these geographical colonial expressions had no common
history as state, the myth of common past for the diverse populace of these areas was meaningless; however they were interested in a common prosperous future. As both states persisted with their colonial practices and continued to serve as instruments of capitalist exploitation, the demands of “Omnes et Singulatim” continued to reappear in form of ethno-linguistic and religious movements. The religious revivalism and formation of ethno-linguistic primordial identities in our both cases Pakistan and Nigeria are not anti-modern forces working against state and global commonwealth, but “modern” demands of a state that provides pastoral care to flock (People) who suffered worst in forward march of modernity towards “Globalization”.
Appendix I

Army Perspective on Balochistan Issue

62. Anonymous I

Questionnaire

Q. 1. What is the difference between Baluchistan and Punjab with respect to social indicators?

Ans:

a. Difference of cast and breed is more pronounced in Baluchistan

b. Places of one tribe are no go areas for the others.

c. Lack of education & Public Institutions.

d. Difference between rich & poor is like two extremes.

e. Lack of infrastructure.

f. Marriages are carried out with the consent of Sardars.

Q. 2. What are the causes of unrest in Baluchistan?

Ans:

a. Baloch population is approximately 40% of total population, remaining constitute, Pashtoons, Hazara, Urdu speaking and others. Unrest is generally found in Baloch areas which are Kohlu, Dera Bugti, Khuzdar and Wadh etc. Sulemean Dawsood S/o Khan of Kallat narrates that he asked his father about the issue of annexation of Baluchistan, he replied that, he was ordered by Hazrat Muhammad d(Peace Be Upon Him) in dream to say yes to Quaid-e-Azam.
b. Sardars wanted the province to remain like that

c. Most of the time Baloch leaders remained Chief Minister of the Province.

They wanted to have control over people to cultivate their lands and to
perform slavery duties. Otherwise could have gone to other areas of the
country for better earning and to improve living standard.

d. Unrest is not there in Pashtoons areas.

Q. 3. What do you say about Pak Baluchistan and Iran Baluchistan is like East and

West Bengal?

Ans:

a. There is no solidarity exist between Iranian Baloch and Pak Baloch.

b. At times Law and Order situation is also created in Iranian side of Baluchistan
to stimulate that there is also a movement for independent Baluchistan.

c. Basically the issue is of material resource is Gold, Lithium, Coal and other
minerals.

d. The strategic importance of Gwader Port is also source of concern for big
powers.

e. It may not be possible only for Pak Baluchistan to become an independent
stated that is why the idea of independent Pak-Iran Baluchistan is being
propagated.

f. If we analyze statistically, according to recent census total population is s8
million. Problematic regions are 2 or 3. More over within one tribe, there are
rivalries.

g. Independent Baluchistan also serves the purpose for U.S. to have shortest
route to Caspian reserves.

Q. 4: Budgetary allocation should be population based or area based”
Ans:

a. It is certainly better if budget allocation is area based. Baluchistan has 5th largest gold reserves and possibility of oil reserves is also there along Iran border. So communication arteries need to be developed to make use of resources.

b. The province was not given even natural gas still 1983 (when Quetta given the supply). In General Musharraf’s regime, development in the province is carried out to some extent.

Q. 5. What do you say about Bugti Episode?
Ans:

a. It was an half cocked effort as only Nawab Akbar Bugti was taken to task. Bugti never did corruption when he was sin Govt. and never spoken against Pakistan.

b. Bugti was the person who could settle the issue of Baluchistan.

c. The effort was to arrest him but Braham Dagh Bugti exploded the cave himself to become the Chief of the Tribe. Within inside jealously exist.

d. However military solution is not a solution. The issue could be handled in other ways.

Q.6 What could be the interests of big power?

a. China would like to have peace for taking maximum advantage of Gwader Port. The Port was developed by China for her own interests i.e. trade through Silk route and to Gwader is economically viable to them.

b. Remaining powers would like to create unrest. Dubai may also be a major player (Gwader becoming Dubai)
c. Iran started Development work on Chah Bahar Port also started in response to Gwader Port.

Q. 7. what are your views about future of Baluchistan.

Ans:

a. Hopefully, future is not so bleak and things would settle down.

b. Pakistan should make utmost effort to come out of U.S. influence.

c. Having acquired nuclear capability and delivery means, militarily there is no problem.

d. Leadership and clear direction is required. Pakistan has immense human, material and agriculture recourse. From Sibi to Jacobabad, the area is completely flat and suitable for cultivation. Only 12% of land is being cultivated.

e. As far as extraction of resources is concerned, initially help may be required from outside. However we have the potential to develop the means.

f. Badin can become Shangahi. Coal reserves can serve for 300 years. It seems that by design development is not being carried out.

g. New generation is not much attached with new Sardars like Braham Dagh Bugti and Balaj Muree etc. clashes between tribes like Raessani-Bugti clashes further weaken the collective cause.

Q. 8. Besides tribal leadership, is there any possibility of emergence of student federation’s leadership?

Ans:

a. It is not likely in near future. It may be possible when Baluchistan is developed like Punjab Province.

b. Outside Quetta no such leader can stand in front of Sardars.
c. General Musharraf made concerted efforts to develop the Province. Local people also appreciate his effort. Few indicators are:

1. Dual Carriage Quetta-Sibi-Jacobabad road.
2. Quetta Karachi road.
4. Coastal Highway (470 km). It used to take 4 to 5 days to reach at Gwader. Now it takes only 12 hours.
5. Mirani Dam

d. In Army, standard of recruitment has been lowered for Baloch people to bring them into main stream.

e. Baloch training wing has been established in Quetta.

f. Recruitment centers have also been established in Sibi. Lora Lai, Khuzdar and Turbat.

g. Cadet College Sui is also a land mark towards progress.

h. If we take such steps in other Governmental departments, it will be quiet helpful in bringing change.

i. It is quite astonishing that all Members of Balochistan Provincial Assembly are Ministers.

j. Kalpur & Masori’ Bugti were displaced by Nawab Akbar Bugti they were brought back after killing of Bugti. However they can bring peace in area.
63. Anonymous II

Officer served in BALOCHISTAN (PERIOD 1994-96)

Q. No 1: How can you compare the situation of that time with present?

a. Balochistan province was quite peaceful, except some disturbance at few places for example, project of road construction from Sibi to Barkhan used to be obstructed by few influential tribal chiefs.

b. Project of widening / desalting of putt feeder canal were carried out by Chinese firm in 1993-94. As the canal passes through the Bugti Area, Nawab Akber Bugti demanded approximately Rs. 80 Million (as compensation) because the land along the banks of canal was used for disposing off the silt. Occasionally the tribe’s men used to fire rockets to disrupt the ongoing project.

c. Inter tribe rivalry between Bugti tribe and Raeesani tribe also existed and settling of disputes was not so easy.

Q. No 2: What was the role of Law enforcement agencies at that time?

a. Approximately 3% of the area of province is being looked after by Police. Remaining 97% area is taken care of by the levies (controlled by the political agent). Mostly the individuals belonging to various tribes are employed in the levies.

b. Levies actions were generally biased favoring tribal Chiefs as their pay was distributed through respective tribal heads.

Q. No 3: Do you think that Educational facilities and Development work Is sufficient to fulfill the aspiration of people?

a. After insurgency operation, Government schools were setup in the province. Local teachers were not capable of delivering to the students. Therefore they
adopted the methodology of hiring other persons who used to take the classes on their behalf.

b. Unfortunately, the large number of developmental schemes like construction of roads, bridges, water supply etc existed on papers only.

**GENERAL LAYOUT:**

a. Generally the Balochistan province is thinly populated.

b. Areas of Quetta, Pashin, Zahob, Qilla Abdullah are comparatively developed and thickly populated. Fruit farms are the major source of income in these areas.

c. Baloch belt i.e. Sibi, Dera Murad Jamali, Dera Bugti etc is generally flat and suitable for agriculture.

d. Area from Sibi towards Bolan pass, Lak pass is mostly barren and uninhibited.

e. Area from Quetta to Noshki, Dalbandin and Taftan is very thinly populated. Distance from Quetta to Taftan border is approximately 700 km but only two or three major towns are found in between.

f. RCD highway exists from Karachi to Khuzdar, Noshki, Dalbandin, Nokkundi Taftan.

**What is the REASON BEHIND UPRISING AND MILITARY OPERATION:**

a. Lack of awareness, old traditions / customs and blind following of Sardars are the general causes. The order of the tribal chief is considered final and followed in letter and spirit.

b. Locals are kept away from civilization and education. Many of the people have not even seen the cities. On the other side, elite class brings up their children in best educational environment.
c. The tribal Chiefs exploit the people and situation for their personal benefits. They desire that people to remain subjugated and to remain under their authoritative Control.
d. Moreover, where there are deprivations, the situation is exploited by foreign elements for their own advantage.
e. During the period of Russian – Afghan War, Russia established and supported BNA with the help of RAW. However after the war the support was withdrawn. When U.S.A intervened in Afghanistan, the BNA was again activated by U.S.A with the assistance of RAW. Mengal and Muree tribes were also instigated and supported.
f. Access to Gwadar port is one of the major interests of U.S.A for transportation of natural resources from Central Asia to western world.
g. U.S.A also wants to have checked an Iran and China. Minerals of Balochistan and nuclear assets of Pakistan are also source of concern for them.
h. Mengal dominated area is comparatively developed due to existence RCD highway.
j. Muree and Mengal tribes did not forget their old rivalry with Bugti tribe which they developed in the period of insurgency of 1975 (as the Bugti was Governor of Balochistan and Mengal and Murees were insurgents).
k. There may be one of the possibility that trap was laid by these two tribes against Nawab Akber Bugti as he was brought to Kohlu surroundings which is Muree dominated area.
l. Bugti was desperate and was seriously ill, he sent Zain Bugti to Afghanistan and was almost left alone with two or three other individuals. Moreover he was mentally prepared and waiting for death.
Mengals and Muree should have been satisfied and happy but they exploited his death to gain sympathies of the people.

The situation could have been handled in peaceful way. As he was already dying person, he should have been given sage passage to reach the hospital for treatment. Military Operation brought adverse effects on the country as a whole.

Military always act and react in terms of power. Bugti episode required to be seen in the back drop of dictator vs. dictator attitude.

**Do you think that a Middle class leadership will eventually replace Tribal leadership in Province**

a. There is some kind of middle class leadership in Pakistan areas and their MNAs and MPAs are not so rich people. However Baloch strictly follow tribal system. Elected members from the small tribes may be considered as middle class but overall the role of middle class is negligible.

b. Students movements may result in middle class leadership, but it will take considerable time as it is directly proportional to educational devolvement in the province.

**What is the overall living condition in the province?**

a. Except in the cities and major towns, general public is living in mud houses, shelters, huts without electricity. There mode of earning is smuggling and small scale live stock business.

b. Punjgur, Mund and Turbat are peaceful areas. However clashes used to occur between opponent smuggler parties.

**Do you see any possibility of Foreign involvement in Baloch uprising**
a. Due to its economic interests, Dubai is not in favor of established Gwader port. Possibility of her involvement in creating law & order situation cannot be denied.

b. Iran is also not supportive due to her own national interests, particularly due to economic activity through Bander Abbas port.

c. Involvement of CIA and RAW is quite obvious. So due to vested interests of international players, situation in Balochistan has become complicated.

What is in your view the future of Pakistan State

a. Future is not so bleak, provided the government is serious to resolve the issue. National interests need to be given priority over personal interests.

b. During Gen Mushraff’s regime, despite heavy spending on important projects, huge amount of money allocated for the betterment of people was eaten up by the Provincial Government.

c. If the people of Balochistan are rehabilitated in true sense, the situation will certainly improve.

d. Why can’t we oblige the tribal heads by providing them the adequate money to counter the evil designs of foreign elements.

e. Population of Balochistan consists of few million people. Considerable portion nearly abort 50% consists of Pakhtoon people who are otherwise peaceful. Complete Baloch belt is not anti Pakistan. Magasi, Jamali, Raessani, Zahri, Turbat and Malik tribes are pro Pakistani. Murees and Bugties have rivalries. Within Bugti tribe there are sub tribes who are pro Pakistani. Likewise within Muree tribes there is a split due to internal disputes. Similarly Khitran, Rukhni, Barkhan are pro Pakistani.
f. Therefore there will be a maximum of 5 Lac families which need immediate attention. Rising of their living standard, elimination of deprivations, provision of basic amenities are not difficult objectives and fall within our state capability.

g. In a situation where every Member of Provincial Assembly is a Minister, the conditions are not likely to improve.
64. Anonymous III

Officer served in ZHOB – QAMAR DIN KAREZ Area during Gen Musharaf period

1. The area is inhabited by Pakhtoon and is thinly populated.

2. Qamar Din Karez is near Afghan border and used to be the hub of Mujaheden during Russian – Afghan war.

3. Across border, check posts have been established by NATO troops and Afghan National Army.

4. Possibility of smuggling of wheat from Pakistan and Fruits from Afghanistan cannot be denied.

5. At present the border is completely sealed.

6. Due to lack of development works, the areas are devoid of basic infrastructure.

7. Few NGOs are also active for the welfare of locals.

8. Generally the land is fertile but yield depends upon rainy water.

9. Culturally, they follow old traditions and customs and disputes are resolved by following old practices.

10. Across border, number of consulates has been established by India and they have employed locals for various jobs.

11. Local people also have relatives across border for which they follow hidden routes.

12. The area is generally peaceful and no incident of terrorist activity experienced.
Anonymous IV:

Officer participated in Post-Bugti operation in Dera Bugti

1. General perception about Bugti and Tribal Culture.
   a. He was a feudal lord and used to rule over people. Natural Gas explored in Bugti Area of Sui in 1953. During the regime of Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto Insurgency operations carried out in the area. Various forts were built by Bugties at that time, those are still intact.
   b. Like Bugti tribe, Muree tribe has also the same culture & way of living.
   c. People of Bugti tribe have soft corner about Akbar Bugti and for them he is just like their grandfather (Dada). According to the locals, he was pro-Pakistani, he stood against his father when his father expressed anti state feelings.
   d. Akbar Bugti did justice to the people even at the cost of his own relatives.
   e. He had a stiff neck and was not flexible.
   f. It is being said that, he did not give protocol to Gen Musharraf when he visited Balochistan.

2. Views about Bugti Killing by Armed Forces
   a. Unnecessarily the situation was created; the opposing factions like Kalpur and Masori were supported (as they were expelled by Akber Bugti form area).
   b. He was forced to leave his place and he took shelter in mountains.

3. Sociopolitical Traits of the Area:
   a. The area is semi mountainous; there are very few schools with limited numbers of students however some of the area has been developed by FC for their own convenience.
b. As far as Loralai is concerned, the majority of populations are Punjabi Baloch and awareness level are comparatively high. Strength of student’s is relatively high in schools of Loralai.

4. **GEOGRAPHY/DEMOGRAPHY:**

a. Balochistan can be divided into three distinct regions i.e. plane areas which are suitable for agriculture, mountains heaving mineral resource and the desert belt which is generally along Iran border.

b. Demographically the area of Southern Balochistan i.e. Dera Bugti, Dera Murad Jamali, Dera Allah Yar etc are Baloch dominant and Northern part is Pakhtoon dominant. If the Balochistan is developed it can become Paris.

c. Hurdles by Sardars are being created to prevent development work in development works of province for example Fort Munro- Loralai road remained un constructed, few incidents of contractor’s kidnapping and attack on FC check posts were occurred. If road is constructed, it will facilitate transportations of coal from Chamalang coal mines.

5. **MISCELLANEOUS:**

a. In Dera Bugti, there is typical Sardari system; people are loyal to respective Sarders. Among them, Nawab Akber Bugti was taken as benevolent figure.

b. When Natural Gas was explored in the Sui area, 100% locals were employed to establish and run the gas filed, which brought some prosperity to their area.

c. However there are all mud houses in Dera Bugti. In outskirts, People are also living in tents.

d. The major issue (as far as basic amenity is concerned) is in shortage. Water boozers are used to provide water to the people.
e. Putt Feeder canal also passes nearby to irrigate areas of Dera Murad Jamali, Dera Allah Yar and Southern areas. However there is no arrangement of water supply to people of Dera Bugti.

f. Chamalang area is Muree dominated. Blame of Killing of Baloch Muree in Afghanistan was put on Pakistan and locals create unrest to prevent extraction of coal from coal mines.

g. Culture of Pakhtoon area is similar to province of Khyber Pakhtoon Khwah.

h. The living condition of People of the southern part of Balochistan is quite worst.

i.e. Pakhtoon and Murees also have rivalries due to land resources.

j. There are about 2500 coal mines in Chamalang area. At places small bridges on Railway track (of British era) from Loralai to Kohlu have been destroyed by the miscreants/local Sarders to prevent coal transportation through railway. It has also affected the cheapest means of transportation of local people.

6. **NO GO AREAS:**

a. Dera Bugti and Uch are no go areas. Faraies are active in the area. There are certain campuses with lot of Indian and Russian made weapons, ammunition, Remote Control Bombs, Grenades, and Detonators etc. Operations against ferries are carried out as situation demands. India is trying to create situation like Bangladesh and acting on similar pattern.

7. **SUGGESTION:**

a. Whether it is FATA or Balochistan, we should take guidance from Quaid that how he handled the situation.

b. Negotiations in line with culture and traditions may be helpful.
c. Income generated from the resource extraction should be utilized for their development.

d. Focus should be on educational Development.

e. Long term schemes should be chalked out and conceived.

f. Balochi should be given preference while carrying out recruitment in various governmental department of Balochistan.
Annexure II
Balochistan Civil Society Perspective on Balochistan Issue

65. Dr. Abdul Hai Recorded on 09/05/2012 Multan Press Club

What is general perception of Balochi about Pakistani State?

Pakistani state is continuation of Imperial rule. Since its inception Pakistan is a client state perusing anti people policies. Establishment is the only power in Pakistan. Pakistani establishment always denied the fact that it is a multinational state. Establishment insisted only on one fact that we all are Muslims ignoring the particular histories and culture of People. Governance issue remained unresolved till today. State was operated through Martial Law and democratic periods were in reality the indirect rule of establishment. Economic issue is also there because establishment considers itself the owner of land and resources of Pakistan.

In its early years it faced the language movement. Urdu was not language of any ethnic group of Pakistan. Pakistan 1956 constitution was only favorable for establishment. Principle of parity was adopted ignoring the concerns of Bengali majority while denying other nations right to exist by creating one unit. Only fair election was held in 1970 but rule was never transferred to real representatives. There was an effort to resolve the issue of governance by using the barrel of gun. Dismemberment of Pakistan was acceptable to ruling elites but power sharing was not.

Do you think that Baloch are nation?

Balochistan has its own history. It never was part of Indian sub continent. When Afghanistan was created as buffer between Tsar Russia and British Empire certain
Pashtu areas were included in it. Quetta was bought by British from Khan of Kalat to meet administrative and military needs of that age. State of Kalat was accessed by Khan without taking the consent of both houses of its parliament i.e. Diwan e Aam and Diwan e Khas. Brother of Khan of Kalat Agha Abdul Karim resisted its inclusion in Pakistani state. Pakistani state always breached the promises made during time of resistance to Baluch leaders. Agha Abdul Karim and No Roz Khan are the manifest precedents of these breaches of agreement. Latest resistance was initiated on 17 Dec 2005. Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti and Balaj Marri is the present martyr of movement of Baluch rights.

What is according to your view the role of Pakistan state establishment in Balochistan?

Establishment is continuing with the same policy as it adopted in East Pakistan They need 770 Km long coastal belt. They need the port of Gwader. They made an agreement with China for Saindak Copper without the consent of People of the area. They need the Gold reserves of Riko Dek. They need the land and resources but don’t need the Baloch who is gifted by nature with all these riches.

In 1985 they started the project of Pat Feeder Canal but Punjabis were allotted the fertile land. Hub industrial area was an extension of Karachi denying access to employment only to Baluch. People from Karachi were settled there and still there are colonies like Allahabad Town Delhi Town. These are policies leading to internal colonialism. Gwader land was bought from Baluch and allotted to Army, Air Force, Navy and Land Mafia of Karachi. Sky Rise buildings are for others not for Baluch. It is same like the fact that Karachi is capital of Sind but Sindhis are denied access to Karachi. No Sindhis can get admission in Karachi University. Lyari was present when Karachi was only the city of just 50000 inhabitants. Lyari issue is also like Baluch
issue because Mafia wants access to its precious land so that they are massacring people.

**What is in your view the root cause of Baloch uprising against Pakistan State?**

Pakistan is the country where resources are denied only to those who are the real owner. Badin oil is not for Sindis; Mari Pur Gas is also not for them. In 1952 Gas was discovered in Bugti area. But Quetta city got it in 1973 only to meet the needs of Quetta Cantonment.

If Cantonment would not have been there Quetta was not able to get access to this resource.

Baluch struggle is a struggle of Common literate man like me. I am not Sardar. No Sardars are influential in Punjgur, Turbat and Gwader. This is the movement of Baluch women who are striking the doors of Pakistani judiciary for their sons, brothers, husbands and fathers. Why establishment is blind to the agony of these women who have the courage to see the unrecognizable bodies of their loved ones.

This is the struggle for People.

**There is common perception among Pakistani establishment that Baloch nationalism is the brain child of only three Sardars?**

Yes they are right that it is the struggle of only three Sardars, Bugti, Marri and Mengal. Because only they are the patriots; denying the dictates of establishment, to secure the right of their People. Other Sardars are the junior partners of establishment making compromises at the cost of People.

**What is in your view the Solution of Baloch Problem?**

Solution to the problem is Participatory Democratic Governance. You have to ensure the sovereignty of Parliament to save Pakistan and minimize the role of establishment.
Only through Power sharing you can save Pakistan. It is the right of federating units what powers they want to surrender for central govt.

**Do you think that Baloch situation is end result of great game between regional and international power players?**

Oh this is not the result of any great game but aftermath of Pakistan policy. Sure India was your enemy but you did enmity with Afghanistan. It was not your concern to change regimes in Afghanistan. Who asked you to become a client state and fight proxy wars for US?

No great game can be successful. Is it possible for US to create a Kurd state out of Turkey because Turkey resolved the issue itself? No foreign hand would be successful till the moment People are satisfied and trust there system. But if the vacuum is there it is to be filled by illegitimate resources. So first ensure People Participation. Pakistan would be saved.

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**66.  Hassan Ara Lecturer University of Baluchistan, Ethnic Group (Baloch) 07th July 2011**

**Question:** What is the socio economic environment of Balochistan?

**Answer:** Although Balochistan is the richest province of Pakistan but the economic condition of Baloch is poor. Province is rich in resources but the reason for its underdevelopment lies in economic exploitation. People are suffering from unemployment and are living below the poverty line. People whether they are affiliated with agriculture, trade, live stock, and poultry or in other minor services, share this curse, poverty. They are unable to live standard life.
About social condition, the province is tribal, the social setup is defined by tribal norms and values and people can even sacrifice their lives for these established customs. Tradition is good but many customs are not appreciable. For example, positive thing is that the Baloch did respect women, but the bad thing is honor killing, which is in my opinion a mockery to this custom.

Q. **Do you think that Baloch are tolerant towards People of other sub-national groups living in Balochistan?**

Ans. It is a very good and controversial question. The problem lies with provincial setup of Pakistan that is competitive in nature. Most of the time provinces fight with each other on petty issues. Center and Province have great disregard for each other. The situation which I have been observing for so many years is intensified in present situation. The Balochi have strong resentment against the Punjabi. They believed the federal government responsible for the grievances and deprivation of the province. That’s why they attack Punjabi settlers whom they consider the hands of central and Punjabi forces. Settlers are subjugated and pressurized by indigenous people. This is the main reason, why sub-national groups are facing the wrath of Baloch.

Q. **What are your opinions about the foreign involvement in the Baluchistan?**

Ans. It is not a secret that foreign involvement is present in Baluchistan. Many countries are involved in Baluchistan. The involvement of countries like India, Iran, Afghanistan, and America and even of Israel is reported. Even the weapons and bombs for this area are being manufactured in India. So you can say that India is intervening and inducing the Baloch liberation movement. It is highly sensitive issue. Afghanistan doesn’t want Pakistan to intervene in its internal matters. So one can
say that the Afghanistan has involvement in target killing in the region. It is the direct result of Pakistan central government policies since 1979. But Balochistan is at stake.

Q. **What are the interests of those foreign elements who are involved in Baluchistan?**

Ans. The central establishment intends to disintegrate Pakistan and they are waiting for that aggressed hostile moment. A lot of good standard projects started. Even these projects were given in the foreign hands of for the sake of few dollars. Resources and lands of Balochistan is the personal property of the indigenous people of Balochistan. This region is rich in different talent and skill, handicrafts, embroidery, hand crafted carpets, but main thing is that in order to flourish these domestic industries naturally and internationally there should be a proper structure. In this way we will be able to generate living for the people, and stabilize Pakistan.

Q. **Express your opinion about the Baloch liberation movement and their demands?**

Ans. As far as their movement is concerned and fighting for their liberation they have their own demands, but Pakistan can be saved by ensuring provincial autonomy. They wanted their demands to be fulfilled, but the Baloch leaders also have memories of Saheed Akbar Bugti, Atta Ulla Mongol and Balach Marri. The problem should not be ignored. It must be addressed before the moment when anger and hatred reach at its peak. Then it will be difficult to resolve the anger of Baloch. Now they have charged their minds and they didn’t want to survive with the federation of Pakistan, rather they do want their own separate state. They want their own state to promote their values, culture and ensure a better living standard for their people.
Q. Do you think the independent state of Baluchistan will be a viable state?

Ans. You know this question is very much important from international point of view. As far as its independence is concerned in 1948, the son of Qallat, Mir Yar Ahmad Khan did an agreement with Quaid-e-Azam, that the state of Qallat will remain independent unit in Pakistani federation but the agreement was breached. You know if Baluchistan will get independence the problem of security will be there. There is a big question mark about how the state of Baluchistan will be able to secure it from Afghanistan? The second question is whether this region will be able to generate its own revenues? How it will devise its own political system, its own constitution? What will be its international worth? It appears a humor to question about viability of Baluchistan. To me it is more beneficial to secure Baloch future through state of Pakistan. In state of Pakistan Baloch can stay without concerns about foreign exchange reserves, international politics and diplomatic affairs, and the most important factor is that the Army of Pakistan is there to protect it from neighboring threats like Afghanistan. With its current state of education and political awareness independent state of Balochistan is not a viable solution. I don’t think so that it would be a secure, economically prosperous and political integrated state. The tribal lords will make it Afghanistan and I fear there will be rule of anarchy. So I say that even if this would be state will remain independent it will be well corned by series of problems in future.

Q. What is your opinion about the Islamic movement of Taliban is adjacent afghan territory?

Ans. As far as Taliban movement is concerned they are emerged as a very strong group in Afghanistan. They are the production of Pakistan and all the Madrassahs of
Pakistan. Their objective is implementation of Islamic Sariyah in Afghanistan. They have presented a very orthodox image of Islam. They even provided strict penalty and are not in the support of women emancipation women liberation and lots of horrent rights violation are taking place. So I say this Taliban Islamic movement is in contradiction to Islamic values. US took advantage the political situation in Afghan and attacked it. So I say that Taliban Islamic movement govt. no big support from Afghanistan as well as form Pakistan. This is my own opinion.

Q. What will be the socio, economic and political impact of Afghan Taliban movement in Pakistan?

Ans. What so ever, advancement taking place in Afghanistan has its impact over Pakistan. The all Mosque incident, Swat operation and Waziristan operation I think these are all directly linked with this the Islamic movement of Taliban... They are promoting the same version of Islamization in Pakistan as you find this factor penetrated even in deferent universities of Pakistan. New Taliban demands are, ladies should wean Burqa; no co- education. They ask that girls need a ‘Mahram' to accompany them outside house. So practically women cannot go outside to get education and on work places. If they fail to do so they are sentenced to death on charges of adultery by religious courts operated by Taliban. This movement is taking roots slowly and gradually all over Pakistan. Pakistan is the direct target of this Taliban Islamic movement.

Q. Would you like to suggest same remedies for the prosperous future of Baluchistan?

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\(^{110}\text{Mahram} \text{ means a near male kin in blood relation to female like father, brother, husband, first uncle (only maternal and Paternal)}\)
Ans. Baluchistan is the largest province of Pakistan, consists of 47% of Pakistani territory. The federal government should start infrastructural development. The people and tribal lords of Baloch should also believe in the reformation and infrastructure development. The provincial autonomy should be given to the provinces. Law and orders situation should be improved. If immediately these steps are taken then situation could be improved in it.

67. Dr. Naheed Anjum, Chairperson Department of Political Science University of Baluchistan, Quetta; Ethnic Group Punjabi; 7th July 2011

Q. Throw light over the socio-economic conditions in Baluchistan?

Ans. We don’t have sufficient medical Colleges and Universities. The remote area especially in rural areas there is no school. Transport facilities are primitive over here. I am thankful to Saheed Benazir Bhutto, that she did opened lot of Primary and Secondary Schools for girls in province. Even these are misused in the Miral\textsuperscript{111} areas. So the government should monitor and supervise. Schools should be close to residential areas and there should be no distinction in urban and rural life. Uniform standards should be maintained.

As far as the health services are concerned I tell you in Baluchistan we do have qualified doctors and good hospitals, but still we don’t have good health in tribal areas. Doctors are unwilling to go into the periphery and many children, women and even men died of cholera malaria and other minor diseases. I don’t think sufficient

\textsuperscript{111}\text{Area under tribal chiefs of Balochistan}
medicine is provided to poor freely even I do belong to doctor family but I do have no facility of free medical.

Q. As Punjabi living in Baloch area do you think that other ethnic groups in Balochistan have to face the hatred of the Balochi?

Ans. You have to find reason why they want liberation in this political system. The federal government is much responsible for the ethnic hatred in Baluchistan. At time of independence in 1947, the people of Kalat were ready to be a part of Pakistan but not on the stake of their provincial autonomy and it was assured by Jinnah. Jinnah assured due allocation of their resources. But after that in all political and military set-ups they were denied their share. No federal set up had established in a proper sense, and the govt. of Pakistan is the part and parcel of America.

Q. What are your views about foreign involvement?

Ans. Major Powers of region are interested in hot water ports and mineral resources of Baluchistan. So the foreign involvement is here and they want to have access in the area. They can find roots in people who are exploited by their own system and want their own independent state. I have witnessed a unique trend during the last few years that majority of students get admission in M.A. Pol. Science, as to know their basic rights. They want to get rid of this type of existing political system because they want to get control of their own resources and want to deal with country in new manner. My doctoral thesis work is over the national integration of Pakistan and integration process is failure until and unless we don’t change the policies.

Q. What is your view about Islamic movement of Taliban?
Ans. After 9/11 Pakistan suffered a lot, before that Pakistan was a peaceful state, comparing with Afghanistan. After 9/11 we did engage in war on terror our social setup has been ruined. We have to face the consequences being teachers we are receiving threatening letters from Taliban. The Taliban movement has devastated our socio-structure. There is no one who can assure our security.

Q. What suggestion you want to give as solutions over the present problems?

Ans. NFC award can assure Baluchistan its due share of resources. More and more provincial authority is needed. People of Baluchistan are very sensitive and if they are reacting it not their but fault of Pakistani center. The Govt. of Pakistan and the U.N should take steps to improve the situation. There is problem of the missing people. We do receive 6 to 7 dead bodies killed by unknown murderers in a day and it is not good. The only solution of these entire problems of area is through dialogue. But due to War on terror and Pakistan involvement in that government have less focus over these issues. The issues could be resolved through regimentation of policies for better solution.
How you look at Socio-Economic and Political Conditions of Balochistan?

The ordinary people of Balochistan are economically devastated. They are unemployed; they don’t have security, health and other facilities. They live in their meager resources. They face corruption. Balochistan constitutes 43% of Pakistani territory. It receives less than its due share in resources, and what it receives goes in hands of corrupt politicians and civil servants.

People are politically immature, because maturity comes with education. People of Quetta are lucky enough to have schools, but in surroundings of Quetta if school is present then there is no teacher on duty. In some areas under influence of tribal chiefs, teachers just come to receive salary. Without education how it is possible to be politically aware and mature and be economically strong.

Do you think that people settlers from other provinces have to face the wrath of Balochs?

Yes it is right, that for last 63 years tension exists between Balochs and other people. The hatred is rooted in Balochistan resources. Balochistan has many resources but Baloch feel that the wealth is utilized by other provinces. Balochistan provides Gas to entire country since 1954 but the utility is available in Quetta only and that also was provided only a few years back. People consider that Central government is responsible for this exploitation. As Pakistan Army, and Bureaucracy have huge proportion of Punjabis, and they decide the fate of country at Center, so Baloch target Punjabi migrants living in Balochistan. We cannot deny the fact that Balochs are mistreated. Now question arises who is responsible for this? To some extent
Baloch politician is also responsible but the real responsibility lies on center and center also admit it. There is no question about this that Balochs are mal treated but the issue is how to resolve this.

**Do you see any foreign involvement in Balochistan?**

If you realistically analyze the history you can find answer to this question. What happened in Bhutto era? What Musharaf did with Balochs? What center allocated during all the years of so called independence. If there are grievances then there is space for foreign elements. If Baloch has taken rifle against Pakistani center, it is natural for India to take advantage of this situation. Why not you order your home first; before pointing finger towards foreigners?

**Do you think that Resources of Balochistan can be utilized for development and progress of Pakistan and Balochistan?**

Balochistan has enormous wealth of natural resources, for example Gas, Copper and Gold. The resources are explored but common man of Balochistan and Pakistan has no benefit of this resource wealthy. Pakistani Center has made agreement with countries like China and they are the real beneficiary of this wealth. Balochs are fighting to get control of this resource wealth.

**Do you think that Baloch Liberation movement has mass support?**

As far as liberation movement is concerned, I do not think so that it has mobilized the mass support. But anger is there and its expression is also there. But freedom is not an easy task. It needs struggle. It needs organization. I do not see any organized movement having mass support for the cause of freedom. The movement is only the expression of anger.

**Do you think that an Independent State of Balochistan will be viable as state?**
Nothing is definite in Pakistan. When Pakistan got independence Bengal was our part. After sometimes we lost that part of our territory and historians believe that reason was centre treatment with that part of our territory. For 63 years center’s policies only generated hatred. In Balochistan at one side Balochs are involved in target killings while on the other hand they receive dead bodies that cannot be identified. The situation gave rise to this movement. The main concern of Balochs are bread, they lack the resources that an organized movement needs to get freedom. There are people who think that America will buy us freedom. But why? Do Americans do not have their own interests? If they will buy freedom for Balochs; that will be for sake of their own interests and not for Balochs.

Do you think that People of Balochistan support Tehrik e Taliban?

I do not think so. The presence of Taliban is only due to reason that area lies with Afghanistan, and Taliban are fighting in Afghanistan. Because there is also Pushtoon population, hence people move across borders. But Taliban is here due to establishment support. If establishment do not support them they cannot use the area for their purpose.

What is the future of Balochistan in Pakistani Federation?

To strengthen federation center must redress the grievances of people. Situation do not needs further statements like this that “we are giving Balochistan their due share” and announcements of packages, but real concrete steps. Balochistan has sufficient resources to bring prosperity to entire Pakistan. But it is unfortunate for us that our leadership sells these resources to foreign powers. We are cursed because Pakistani leadership maintains their assets outside the country and accumulate wealth by selling the assets of Pakistan.
How you look at Socio-Economic and Political Conditions of Balochistan?

The entire country is facing economic crisis. Politics is limited to few families. In Balochistan there are many ministers and they all are relative to each other. Politics is a political heritage. There is nothing like social justice. Youth faces the challenges of unemployment. Reason of unemployment is lack of courage in people due to prevailing environment. They do not want to take initiative because prevailing conditions are uncertain. We have plenty of fertile agriculture land. We can grow fruits and all kinds of agricultural products but people lack resources to make their land cultivable. We also do not have industry. If government provides us loan first to develop agriculture and then for industry to utilize our farm products, problem of unemployment and accompanied youth unrest can be solved.

Do you think that people settlers from other provinces have to face the wrath of Balochs?

Not only other ethnic groups but people belonging to other religions and sects like Hindus and Hazara are also the victims of hatred. The problem is rooted in lack of education and political awareness. There are quite few schools in rural areas. Make education available to all and make it free. If you give people education tolerance level will increase automatically, and people will overcome their ethnic and sectarian biases.

Do you see any foreign involvement in Balochistan?

We ourselves are responsible for the whole situation. We ourselves have provided room to foreign elements. We have given them chance to take their revenge by
harming Pakistan. Problem lies within; problem is created by us and solution also lies with us. It is only the irresponsible behavior and policies of center that created these problems. Instead of finding solution we are holding others responsible for this and presenting ourselves as helpless victim.

**Do you think that Resources of Balochistan can be utilized for development and progress of Pakistan and Balochistan?**

If we would have utilized the natural resources of our land the there would have been no issue like unemployment and other related problems we are generally facing all over Pakistan. Balochistan is getting Royalty of its resources. I am not concerned that is it worth the value of resources or not. My concern is that whatever it is it is not properly utilized to provide basics to people. Our demands are very basic. We want employment; we want education; we want health facilities. We all know that we have enough resources to meet these basic needs. If you provide people with these basic I assure that there will be no problem.

**Do you think that Baloch Liberation movement has mass support?**

Movement started with independence of Pakistan. When Balochistan acceded Pakistan Nawab Nauroz Khan started guerrilla resistance and take refuge in mountains. Establishment promised that he will be pardoned if he stops his activities. He surrendered and establishment deceived him. Same was the case with Akbar Bugti. Now people do not trust the ruling establishment.

**Do you think that an Independent State of Balochistan will be viable as state?**

Yes, it is possible. Balochs maintained their independence throughout history. It was an independent state, now under the subjugation of three states, Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan. It can act as independent state in future also.
Do you think that People of Balochistan support Tehrik e Taliban?

Constitutionally we are Islamic Republic of Pakistan, but government works contrary to teachings of Islam. Naturally there is mass hatred for government official policies and establishment has named this hatred as “Taliban”.
70. Shadab Kakar: Student; Zhob Ethnic Group; Pushtoon; Zhob 14July 2011

How you look at Socio-Economic and Political Conditions of Balochistan?

Basically Balochistan is home of two major ethnic groups Pushtoon and Baluch and both rely on agriculture for their subsistence as there is no industry in Balochistan. But government does not help to develop this vital sector of Baloch economy. Balochistan produce bulk of Pakistan’s fruits, dry fruits and vegetables. There is no irrigation system. People have devised their own means to meet water needs. As country is facing energy crisis there is 16 to 18 hours load shedding. Orchids of grapes and apple have gone dry. Government is not playing its role to develop agriculture potential of this area.

Other problem is our infra structure. Our farm products reach other provinces with difficulty.

We have worst political system. Our representatives appear only during election. After election they take government funds and vanish from the scene. The meager sum that province receives goes in hands of corrupt politicians. Poverty is the root cause of all our problems.

Do you think that people settlers from other provinces have to face the wrath of Balochs?

Pushtoon and Baloch who share this territory lives like brothers. We are proud of each other. Anger of Balochs is not without any concrete reason. Balochs are angry with Punjabis because Punjab has snatched bread from our mouth. They robbed us from our leadership and resources. They snatched our minerals and gas and Coal
resources; sell it to outside or used these in their own industries. They made progress at our cost. They bought the land of Gwader from Balochs and then gave it to Army and China. What kind of system is this? We the owners of land have no right over its development and its resources. What kind of justice is this? We do not believe in this kind of justice.

**Do you see any foreign involvement in Balochistan?**

Of course, there is foreign involvement but question arises why there is foreign involvement? The situation is deteriorating day by day. Our neighboring country is taking advantage of this condition. Balochs are demanding their rights and share in polity, but neighboring country wants it to convert into a liberation struggle. Balochs do not want freedom; they only want their due share in state of Pakistan.

**Do you think that Resources of Balochistan can be utilized for development and progress of Pakistan and Balochistan?**

Nature has gifted the area with mineral resources, fertile land and everything needed for a prosperous human life. But pity is that we do not have control on our resources. Coal, Gas, Copper, Gold, Chromium, Chromites, and Oil is there in Balochistan. Balochs and Pushtoon are sons of the Soil, but Punjab takes all the benefits. Coal is utilized by Punjab. Gas is utilized by Punjab. Only Quetta and two or three other cities of Balochistan has natural gas for domestic purpose. Even Zhob has no gas facility for domestic use till this day. Even the smallest town of Punjab uses gas of Balochistan in kitchen. We just want our share in resources.

**Do you think that Baloch Liberation movement has mass support?**
Independence is the only means to get a nation out of troubled waters. If a nation chooses the path of liberation that implicitly means that it has bore a lot. We want independence because we want our share. We want our share in education. We only have one University for the whole province. Our children want to get education. They want to get education because they want their share in state establishment. We want Pakistan to become a power but Pakistan denies us our share, that’s why people have chosen the path of independence.

**Do you think that an Independent State of Balochistan will be viable as state?**

No we do not want a separate state, provided we are given our due share in state of Pakistan. Please stop this maltreatment.

**Do you think that People of Balochistan support Tehrik e Taliban?**

Oh there is no such movement that can be referred as Islamic movement. There was an independent government in Afghanistan before US intervened there to protect its interests. They are only fighting to get back their control. Balochs (people of Balochistan i.e both Pushtoon and Baloch) are not concerned with that movement. Only we morally support Taliban to get independence from US.
How you look at Socio-Economic and Political Conditions of Balochistan?

Balochistan is in worst economic condition but government denies any responsibility towards this area. We are facing worst load shedding. There was subsidized electricity for farm sector but now there is no such privilege.

We do not have roads. There is no proper educational system. Punjab’s village is even better than our big cities, because they have roads, schools, post offices ETC.

Our politician comes only during elections. Rest of the time they live in their accommodations at federal capital Islamabad or in Lahore and Karachi.

Do you think that people settlers from other provinces have to face the wrath of Balochs?

Why not the people of these other ethnicities bear the brunt of Baloch? We live in deteriorated living conditions and people coming from other provinces enjoy the privileges in our area. All high posts in establishment are filled by settlers, whether Hazara or from Punjab. Last resort of Baloch is target killing. When he looks the situation that people from other areas live in his home as masters and he is forced to live in rural life settings and mountains with no urban facility, they started target killing. Go to any official building in Balochistan, whether Police Station, College, or School, you will not find any Baluch on high posts, but you can see Baloch peons, and gate keepers. If you suppress people to that extent they are bound to react.

Do you see any foreign involvement in Balochistan?

We have created the circumstances in which foreign hand automatically involves. Punjab is the big brother in Pakistani federation. If Punjab is working against our will
then no place is free from miscreants. These people receive foreign funding, but still responsibility lies with government of Pakistan.

Now I tell you who these foreigners are. NATO forces are there in Afghanistan and Indian RAW is there in collaboration with USA. They have their own regional interests and Baloch hatred is fertile ground where they can take advantage of the situation.

Do you think that Resources of Balochistan can be utilized for development and progress of Pakistan and Balochistan?

If government has utilized our resources for our benefit, the situation would not have been the same. Federal government is extracting gold from our territory and we even do not know to whom it is selling this wealth. They have given Gwadar to China and made our territory home for international conspiracies.

Do you think that Baloch Liberation movement has mass support?

When a nation is suppressed it takes the route to independence. As history reveals that exploited Muslims demanded independence in 1947. Bengalis demanded independence in 1971. Balochs has more concrete causes for independence. Any movement require two kind of people i.e. elites and lower class. Baloch movement has the support of both. Our leaders are kidnapped by establishment. We have martyrs like Akbar Bugti and then a large number of poverty stricken masses denied any kind of civic needs.

Movement has every reason to be successful. But still you can change situation in your favor, by providing employment to youth and taking control of Project Gwadar.

Do you think that an Independent State of Balochistan will be viable as state?
Oh yes it cannot be a viable independent state. It will be a situation like state of Pakistan in initial years. To this day Pakistan is unable to come out of US influence. Pakistan got freedom but was unable to build its state apparatus, so it accepted US conditions against popular will of people. Balochistan, if it became independent will have to face the same lot. Independence will not bring any real change in lives of people.

**Do you think that People of Balochistan support Tehrik e Taliban?**

We support tehrik e Taliban because it is fighting the subjugation of western powers in Afghanistan. People of Balochistan are against the presence of foreign powers in Afghanistan. So are the people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and I think entire Pakistani nation is against US presence in Afghanistan. Balochistan has become prey of this regional and international power play going on in adjacent territory of Afghanistan.

**How you look at Socio-Economic and Political Conditions of Balochistan?**

We rely on agriculture, here in Balochistan. Our agriculture is ruined in this energy crisis. We only get electricity for 6 hours a day and we do not have enough water for our farms. Prior to this we used to supply farm products to other three provinces but now we can hardly meet the requirement of province. We are facing natural calamities like flood but there is no government in the province.

There is no political activity. Politician just takes vote from us and if we ask them to build road and provide employment, they just disappear from the scene. They all are making their own bank balance. The old Sardars, Nawabs and feudal have converted themselves into politicians. There is no change of rule. People are subjected to their authority. We need a revolution like neighboring Iran. Musharaf was right to crush these feudal.

**Do you think that people settlers from other provinces have to face the wrath of Balochs?**

Yes; it is true, especially for Hazara community. Settlers whether they are Pushtoon or Punjabis are affected by the situation. As they run the business and official business of state they are victims of target killings. The situation has deteriorated to the extent that people cannot go to markets. The Pushtoon belt in province has to bear the consequences of the situation because when teachers are killed, schools are closed. As Balochs have no inclination towards education so they want Pushtoon youth to be the same.
Do you see any foreign involvement in Balochistan?

You can hold other countries responsible for all this. USA and India are there in Afghanistan to protect their interests while Afghans also hold Pakistan responsible for the situation of Afghanistan. So they all have consensus to take revenge from Pakistan. Afghanistan had provided refuge to Brahmdagh and he is also in contact with India there. It is obvious that ordinary Baloch who don’t have enough to feed himself for a single meal a day cannot buy such type of sophisticated weapons. But one thing is sure that if they were given their due share in polity they would not have gone to the extent to pick arms provided by foreigners.

Do you think that Resources of Balochistan can be utilized for development and progress of Pakistan and Balochistan?

There are other gas fields in province like Harnai, but center takes only one name Sui. I think they want to deny the share of province by using such tactics. Pashin is near to Quetta but it does not have gas for domestic usage. Gas can reach Punjab from Harnai and Sui but cannot reach to Baloch areas. Give us control on our resources. Give us our due share of royalty. Center is denying us our rights and this is the root cause of Baloch anger.

Do you think that Baloch Liberation movement has mass support?

The area is home of two ethnic groups i.e. Pushtoon and Balochs. One is demanding freedom from Pakistan and the other that is in numerical majority is loyal to Pakistan hence they would not be able to get freedom. Pushtoon will give all kind of sacrifices for the country.

Do you think that People of Balochistan support Tehrik e Taliban?
Afghanistan was an independent country and Taliban were running the state justly. We support Taliban because they are Pushtoon and Pushtoon are majority of Afghan population. They had every right to run the state of Afghanistan according to their customs and preaching of Islam. NATO forces have lost Afghanistan because the people support Taliban. One day the movement would be able to get back Afghanistan.
73. **Muhammed Hussain:** Profession: Agriculture; Political Worker; Ethnic Group: Pushtoon; Quetta:

16th July 2011

**How you look at Socio-Economic and Political Conditions of Balochistan?**

I know all the nationalist leaders who when reach Assembly forget their nation. There are 73 tribal chiefs who control the people and area. People whether they live in Noshki, Makran or Awaran cannot breathe without the consent of these chiefs. We cannot even install tube wells for our farms without the consent of chiefs. What is meant by society in Balochistan? There is no such thing because society has its independent norms.

**Do you think that people settlers from other provinces have to face the wrath of Balochs?**

Census tells us that however the Baloch occupy more area of the province but Pushtoon constitute the majority of population of province. Pushtoon and Hazara are developed communities so they bear the wrath of ignorant, illiterate Balochs. But we don’t want to fight. We want to get our share by doing politics. History is evident that a nation has to think in cool manner to get their rights. People must think that these settlers have given us education. They made us doctors, teachers, and technicians. We must consider their contribution in development of Baloch society.

**Do you see any foreign involvement in Balochistan?**

America is playing the game of chess in the region. It saves the king and kills the other. It came in Afghanistan. It secured help against Russia by saying that Russians
are infidels, and we are believers. We will provide you all the necessities even “Snuff”. Russia came in Afghanistan to honor the agreement, she made with king Aman, to help government in case of any civil war and foreign intervention.

America is the greatest terrorist of the world. Israel is its kid and India is also involved. Please tell me; what is the purpose of all those Indian consulates proximate to Pak Afghan border? Any Baloch who elope the authority find refuge in these consulates. I went to Qandhar. They have built schools in Qandhar, but I have seen many Pakistani Balochs there who are wanted by authorities. The schools are in fact hiding places.

But you cannot fix responsibility entirely to foreigners. I worked as political worker. I know there are only two or three thousand people who work as rented soldiers. All people know from where they got training and from where they obtained funding. ISI and MI also know the where about of these culprits. Army has ruled the country for almost forty years. They know the people who smoke “huqa”, and who smoke cigarette. They know really well who has sold himself to foreigners.

**Do you think that Resources of Balochistan can be utilized for development and progress of Pakistan and Balochistan?**

For last sixty two years we are protesting the fact that we are denied of our resource wealth. But I do not think that center is responsible for our misery. Responsibility lies with Sardars and Tribal Chiefs. They go to Core Commander in disguise at night and assure him that they are with government, and provide establishment the name of people whom they consider responsible for law and order situation. But I tell you that they give the names of doctors, engineers, professionals. They themselves are enemies of rising Baloch middle class. In morning they come and make processions.
They tell people that center has robbed our resources and killed the Baloch intellectuals.

I tell you that center must control the resources and allocate the resources. Give us just 1/4th of our resources and give other 3/4th to other three provinces. It will be enough for us. But center allocates resources to Sardars. They take their share of cake and live in luxuries of Lahore, Islamabad and Karachi.

In all Baloch districts foreign companies are involved in extraction of resources. Projects of their development are also in process.

**Do you think that Baloch Liberation movement has mass support?**

Oh they are just doing the politics of hatred. First they were against Punjabi settlers. Then they made Hazara victims and now they are doing this politics against Pashtoons. I am going to tell them that this land is ours. We have buried our ancestors in this land and we will not surrender a single inch of this land to a separate Baloch state. We Pashtoons will fight till our last breath for integrity of Pakistan.

**Do you think that an Independent State of Balochistan will be viable as state?**

If few thousand people go on mountain and fight a regular army then obviously nothing is going to change in their favor. If Pakistan army can fight India they can also suppress these few thousand irregular armed people. There are only three Baloch Chiefs, Marri, Mengal and Bugti who are in favor of Baloch state. Ordinary people have no concern with this.

**Do you think that People of Balochistan support Tehrik e Taliban?**

Who made Taliban? I once asked Wali Khan that from where Taliban came. He smiled and simply replied “from US embassy”, and New York. Obviously there is no
popular support for them. They are created by America and we are just a victim of their activities.


How you look at Socio-Economic and Political Conditions of Balochistan?

We are living in desperate conditions. Education is available only to elders. Poor has no right on education.

Establishment either rules itself or makes rulers.

Mostly people belong to labor class. Few works on their own land but our sub soil water resources has gone dry. We do not have electricity.

These things are with us for last sixty two years, but one of recent development is that there is a free movement of foreigners, who come and move freely without any government check.

Do you think that people settlers from other provinces have to face the wrath of Balochs?

We all share same belief and we all are Muslims but there are forces who are playing on sectarian cleavages and telling us that you are Sunnis and Hazara are Shiites. They are also generating ethnic hatred against Punjabi settlers. Pushtoon were previously not considered aliens but Balochs but now they are also victims of this ethnic hatred.

On the other hand a person coming from Afghanistan can obtain national id card of Pakistan by bribing an official. Punjabis has left the area and our education has become zero because they were running the educational system of the province.

Do you see any foreign involvement in Balochistan?
People freely move across border and obtain training and money in Indian consulates.

**Do you think that Resources of Balochistan can be utilized for development and progress of Pakistan and Balochistan?**

Our rulers are main culprits. They extract resources from the region; take it to Punjab, sell it to foreigners and whatever benefits are procured by our resources is utilized by Punjabi establishment. I am not blaming ordinary citizen of Punjab but the ruling elites and super ordinate classes of Punjab. Gas has reached to last corners of Punjab but except Quetta and Orak we don’t have gas in any region of Balochistan. Policies of our rulers made Bangladesh and they are persisting on the same policies. Balochs are righteously demanding their rights and I think these are not demanding any such thing that is beyond the resources of the state. We need more universities, agriculture and engineering colleges. But since independence whenever we demand our rights establishment responds by launching Army operation. Government of Pakistan doesn’t want us to prosper, so it has continued the Chieftain system. People are dual victims.

I have just one question from Army Generals. You are Generals because there is Pakistan. God forbid if there will be no entity named Pakistan, on whom you will rule.

**Do you think that an Independent State of Balochistan will be viable as state?**

I don’t think that it will be able to get independence. If it would happen, it would not be able to survive. We will give all sacrifices to safe the country from disintegration. It is our motherland, yet this is a separate issue that this mother has treated us like step children. But establishment must also revisit the situation that for more than sixty two years it has taken all the benefits, now it is its turn to distribute.
In case of independence it will not be a viable state because only 3% Balochs do have education. They do not have even doctors and teachers. Solution of the problems is to summon those chiefs who are angry with establishment. There must be a cease fire and foremost there must be trust between the two warring groups, i.e. establishment and Balochs.

**Do you think that People of Balochistan support Tehrik e Taliban?**

Taliban are perusing American agenda. They are against the interests of Pakistan. Taliban is the continuation of Afghan policy against Pakistan. You know that since beginning Afghanistan acted against Pakistan whether it was the government of Zahir Shah that refused to recognize Pakistan or the present day Taliban that are acting to disintegrate and destabilize Pakistan. I have already told you that real culprits are Pakistani rulers. Pakistan had no right to intervene in affairs of a sovereign country but they did. They intervened in Afghanistan, and mismanaged everything. They made Taliban in perception that they will defend Pakistan, but they were no exception. They are creating law and order in Khyber Pakhtoon Khwah. Establishment allowed Drone attacks to counter law and order situation and now there are more jihadist fighting the infidels whether they are Pakistani or Americans. I tell you that if government allows drone attacks on Baluchistan also to counter Taliban there will be an all out Jihad against "Kafirs" who are responsible for death of Muslims. Please stop this policy.
Annexure III
Survey on Socio-Economic Conditions of Balochistan

75. Questionnaire

1. What sector of economy you or your family relies?

2. Do the people of your region use the Natural Gas for domestic usage?

3. Do the people of your area are employed in Sui Gas Field?

4. Do you think that people of the Gas region are taking due share in employment generated by Gas filed in Balochistan?

5. Do you think that resources wealth of Balochistan has been spent on the development of Balochistan?

6. Do you think that Gwader Port will play a significant role in the Development of Balochistan?

7. Do you think that people of Balochistan got their due economic and political share in the federation of Pakistan 1947?

8. Whom you think responsible for the underdevelopment of Balochistan?

9. What kind of Governments protected Balochi interest in Pakistani Federation?

10. How many time your region faced military operation?

11. How you Perceive Akbar Bugti?

12. Do you think that Balochi favor anti American Islamic uprising in Afghanistan led by Al-Qaeda?

13. Do you think that future of Balochistan lie within the federation of Pakistan?
76. Results of Survey (Balochs)

1. What sector of economy you or your family relies?

2. Do the people of your region use the Natural Gas for domestic usage?
   a. Yes 45%  b. No 55%

3. Do the people of your area are employed in Sui Gas Field?
   a. Yes 25%  b. No 75%
4. Do you think that people of the Gas region are taking due share in employment generated by Gas filed in Balochistan?

   a. Yes 10%  b. No 90%

5. Do you think that resources wealth of Balochistan has been spent on the development of Balochistan?

   a. Yes 10%  b. No 90%

6. Do you think that Gwader Port will play a significant role in the Development of Balochistan?

   a. Yes 30%  b. No 70%

7. Do you think that people of Balochistan got there due economic and political share in the federation of Pakistan since 1947?
8. Whom you think responsible for the underdevelopment of Balochistan?

- Punjab 50%
- Bureaucracy 35%
- Tribal System 15%

9. What kind of Governments protected Balochi interest in Pakistani Federation?

- Democratic 15%
- Military 5%
- None 80%

10. How many time your region faced military operation?

- Once 0%
- Twice 5%
- Many Time 95%
11. How you Perceive Akbar Bugti?
   a. Freedom Hero 90%  
   b. 10%

12. Do you think that Baloch favor anti American Islamic uprising in Afghanistan led by Al-Qaeda?
   a. Yes 45%  
   b. No 55%

13. Do you think that future of Balochistan lie within the federation of Pakistan?
   A. Yes 20%  
   b. No 80%
77. **Results of Survey (Pashtoons living in Balochistan)**

1. What sector of economy you or your family relies?
   
a. Industries 0%  
b. Agriculture 24%  
c. Mine 20%  
d. Live stock 24%  
e. Job 20%  
f. Personal 12%

2. Do the people of your region use the Natural Gas for domestic usage?
   
a. Yes 20%  
b. No 80%

3. Do the people of your area are employed in Sui Gas Field?
   
Yes 12%  
No 82%

4. Do you think that people of the Gas region are taking due share in employment generated by Gas filed in Balochistan?
   
a. Yes 8%  
b. No 92%
5. Do you think that resources wealth of Balochistan has been spent on the development of Balochistan?
   a. Yes 8%   b. No 92%

6. Do you think that Gwader Port will play a significant role in the Development of Balochistan?
   a. Yes 94%   b. No 6%

7. Do you think that people of Balochistan got there due economic and political share in the federation of Pakistan since 1947?
   a. Yes 0%   b. No 100%

8. Whom you think responsible for the underdevelopment of Balochistan?
   a. Punjab 72%   b. Bureaucracy 8%   c. Tribal System 20%
9. What kind of Governments protected Balochi interest in Pakistani Federation?
   a. Democratic 12%  
   b. Military 20%  
   c. None 68%

10. How many times your region faced military operation?
    a. No 24%  
    b. Twice 0%  
    c. Many Time 66%

11. How you perceive Akbar Bugti?
    a. Hero 80%  
    b. Villain 20%
12. Do you think that Balochi favor anti American Islamic uprising in Afghanistan led by Al-Qaeda?

a. Yes 52%  
   b. No 48%

13. Do you think that future of Balochistan lie within the federation of Pakistan?

a. Yes 76%  
   b. No 24%
78. Bibliography


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