

Power, Panopticon, and Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*:

Benighted Violence against Benign Vigilance

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Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*^{xi} is not only about heart and its darkness but also about eyes and their scrutinizing gaze; a gaze that functions as a medium of control and operation of power. During the colonial times, the European "eye" was attracted to the African jungles for one simple reason: "a precious trickle of ivory" (*Heart*, 14). The exploration of Africa turned into an exploitation of its resources, natives and their energies. Read in the light of Michael Foucault's analysis of the working of power in *Discipline and Punish* and *History of Sexuality*^{xli}, *Heart of Darkness* sketches a picture of surveillance and punishment to administer human body. Though born much later than Conrad, Foucault's interest in "polymorphous techniques of power" (*History*, 11) lends a new dimension to the readers of Conrad to explore his assessment about exercise of power in the colonial and imperial perspectives. In *Heart of Darkness*, Kurtz represents a mesmerizing gaze and its invisible supervision over human bodies. He emerges as an image of benighted violence against the idea of benign vigilance.

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault uses prison reforms to describe the "disciplinary mechanisms" (*Discipline*, 211) engineered in the great modern institutions of the Western civilization, ranging from the techniques of domination over others to the techniques of self-control through

confession. In its ideal form, the power that subjects the criminals to punish is found in the idea of "Panopticon" illustrated by the utilitarian philosopher Jeremy Bentham.^{xlii} The concept signifies the connection between visibility, power, knowledge, and examination, constructing the perfect disciplinary apparatus in a single gaze: "Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze ... the eye of authority" (*Power/Knowledge*, 155).

As in his other works, Conrad introduces us to British merchant seamen, commercial adventures and colonialists in *Heart of Darkness* as well. He depicts the Europeans who step beyond the boundaries to grab "what they could ... from those who have different complexion or slightly flatter nose..." (4). He challenges the romantic image of the colonial life and talks of its contradictions. In the novel, Africans and their silence is portrayed as object to the Western knowledge and as subject of the white man's fantasy of domination. Kurtz's gaze, like the "round carved balls" (44) or human skulls represents this dehumanizing factor of the deadly exploitation of the colonized. It replicates the inscrutable subjection of human body and mind through the use of brutality. Kurtz's gaze as well as his mysterious "voice" (57) are attempts to exercise power and mould Africa into what Foucault terms as "[d]ocile bodies" (*Discipline*, 135) to fit it for the new modes of industrial production. Against the dumb and laconic background of silence and its multifarious representations in the novel, Kurtz is a voice of domination that attempts to expand and consolidate disciplinary "'power of mind over mind'" (*Discipline*, 206) for the purpose of economic process.

In the novel, Kurtz has been portrayed as a very talented person. He is pronounced as "remarkable" by the General Manager and even by Marlow (15 and 29), in the novel. Kurtz is a painter, a musician, a writer, a trader, a traveler, an explorer, a reformer, a lover, and an administrator. He fully represents the Western ideals of efficiency. He is the chief of the Inner Station and it is from here that all his powers to control back and forth in the name of progress are exercised. The fire of his eyes, the inextinguishable gift of his noble and lofty expression (57), conveys the meaning of the stare. It could not see the flame of the candle but "was wide enough to embrace the whole universe, piercing enough to penetrate all the hearts that beat in the darkness" (59).

Kurtz is "remarkable" because the layers and boundaries of his powerful control are very vast. They range from Europe to Africa with a number of stations of influence in between. We could first hear about him from the chief accountant at the Company's station. The accountant's way of working at the office, the apple-pie order of his book keeping is juxtaposed with the painful groans of the sick and dusty "niggers" (14). Here, Kurtz's the invisible presence and the fear of his watch is similar to the gaze of the nameless, faceless supervisor of a panopticon. But in its application of this supervision in the African situation, Kurtz's methods are diametrically opposite to the civil operations of power displayed through Bentham's design of panopticon.

The display of Kurtz's ruthless methods of control are also manifest in the General Manager and his delineation as a figure close to Mephistophelian hollowness (21) at the Central Station. All the statements of the Manager are

based on distrust and insincerity. The dehumanizing features of Kurtz's manipulating power are based on a similar atmosphere of intrigue and treachery. His repressive and violent punitive techniques, his personal interests, "My ivory," "My intended" (40), "my station, my career, my ideas" (57), are in complete contrast to the so-called impersonal and gentle ways of the benign panoptical vigilance preached by Bentham. Kurtz's assessments finally burst into a savage statement: "Exterminate all the brutes!" (42). His persona of the so-called king is a regression to the older model of allegiance as described in the first part of *Discipline and Punish*, a king who controls death upon human bodies.

The Russian, who praises Kurtz all the way, describes the degeneration of Kurtz's confrontational methods of control. The Russian would not dare to call Kurtz unreasonable or mad. The Manager, however, complains about Kurtz's "unsound methods" (52 and 57) and his cruel practicing of the "unspeakable rites" (41).

The context of Kurtz's charismatic and magnetic control also raises the question of Marlow's narrative description as a warped observer. Marlow is the new member of the "gang of virtue." He is the visual spectator and key informer of loot and scramble. His murky and mystifying interpretations challenge his own reliability as a narrator because he makes us "see" only what he sees. The dense and impenetrable jungle has a deep effect on Marlow's narration, but Kurtz also overpowers his vision as an overseer. Kurtz's control over the narrative might be a controversial and debatable point but his power over the natives is beyond any question.

Though Kurtz's influence on the natives is quite obvious, we notice that he wants to extend the whiteness of his influence over the black world from Europe to the interior ends of the Dark Continent. He preaches his form of civilized control and capture through his eloquent pamphlet, the report on the Savage Customs. The so-called benign vigilance of Kurtz reveals the blackest ends of the colonial rule as brutal and benighted act of violence. Even his possessive love for the Intended, his white fiancée in Europe, is a symbolic representation of his voluptuous desire for ivory and its represented whiteness in Africa. In certain ways, Kurtz's portrayal as a ruthless colonialist and his deep sinking into greed exposes the brutalities levied by the Belgian form of colonialism and its demonstration in the Congo. But this exposition is also a comment on other forms of colonialism[s].

When it comes to the question of rule through colonial and imperial power even the British abolitionism and anti-slavery movements are considered the most political and economic-based schemes. Patrick Brantlinger, in *Rule of Darkness*, observes that "[p]aradoxically, abolitionism contained the seeds of empire" (Brantlinger, 174). In all its so-called civilized forms, colonialism was simply an extension of violence.^{xliii} As portrayed in *Heart of Darkness*, the British idea of a fair trade and civilizing missions resulted in hundreds of Kurtz leaving Europe for Africa. The imperial expansion worked better with trade goods and Bibles than with guns and bullets. The economic conditioning of the abolition of slavery helped the west extend empire building in several new ways.

From the psychoanalytic perspective, the question of coercion also raises the psychological association of the civilized white man with the darker Other depicted as the savage Self. To quote O. Mannoni: "The Negro, then is the white man's fear of himself" (Mannoni, 200). The statement reflects white man's division about his guilt for slave trade and empire building and Kurtz is an archetype of the divided European Self.

Referring to the question of domination and coercion, Foucault, in *History of Sexuality: vol. 1, An Introduction*, mentions the deployment of the organization of power over life on the basis of "anatomy- and bio-politics" (135-59). He argues that by the end of the 19th century racism took shape on the ground of "thematics of blood" as a historical power exercised through the "devices of sexuality." In the context of the British imperialism and the Victorian medical sciences, *Heart of Darkness* describes the Other-ness of female sexuality in terms of the Other-ness of the African continent.^{xliv} Sigmund Freud also compared female sexuality to the Dark Continent. The essential link between the Victorian culture of commodity, commerce, colonization and racial discrimination forms an integral relationship through Kurtz's fantasy of domination over Africa as a female body, first over the Intended in Europe and then over her Other, the Negress in Africa. The links between the Victorian sexuality and the British imperialism converge into exploring the male eye as a medium to manipulate the female body through an exploiting gaze. In the colonial perspective, this exploration and exploitation is sublimated in male adventure and loot, transforming colonial lands into the image of domesticated ugly female

servants, which then becomes the motivating factor of the cargo cult.^{xlv}

Africa is the Other of the European Self and Kurtz's attempt to grasp the impenetrable jungles is an effort to gain control over the Other. The colonial "gang of virtue" converts the dark human bodies into "chain gangs" and laboring slaves. Kurtz idolizes ivory, grows savage, and the process of civilizing goes corrupt. Africa becomes a vulnerable female body for Kurtz and other colonialists. Kurtz's attempt to grasp the body of the Negress sounds like what Jan Nederveen Pieterse in his book *White on Black* describes: "the rape of the Congo" (Pieterse, 173). The blackness of the Negress, ornamented with ivory, shows her as a commodity item for the European quest for economic power. In a way, the Negress as well as the Intended stand for the economic and political sexualization of the so-called primitive and the European desire to control it. Together with the African jungle, the Negress and the Intended foreground Kurtz's inability to comprehend the African "body," revealing the irony of his control and gaze in the relational and polymorphous mechanism of power.

Through his genealogical analysis, Foucault argues that the exercise of control through power is bound to produce resistance. Resistance, in itself, is an application of power meant to regulate the Self. The demonic power of the African jungles, that represents the resisting elemental forces, unleashes itself devour the controller and the destroyer. The Negress as an image of the jungle and as a symbol of all the primitive and diabolic forces, resists any intervention. In the colonial perspective, it is certainly protest against the European "rape" of Africa, its deep

penetration and invasion. In psychoanalytic terms, it is the resistance of the Other against the overwhelming Self. The gazing eye of the jungle, its frightening look, its nerve-racking pressure, the multiplicity of the points of its appalling resistance, its horror and its depth are the features of the web of power. Placed in the historical space, the Blacks and their stereotypes, as an enemy within, is a product of racial imperialism. Africa and its darkness leads to a stronger and proliferated retaliation against the white world order, inverting the whole Europe into a whited sepulchre: "And this also has been one of the dark places on the earth" (*Heart*, 3).

The deeper and deeper penetration of Kurtz, namely the west, into the body of the Negress or Africa reverses the circulating order of power, resulting in "The horror! The horror!" (*Heart*, 58). In this strategic reversal lies the irony, the failure of the Western imperial eye and its attempt to whip the African body through the colonial gaze and its penetrating control. As a whole, the cycle of power and its exercise becomes complex, revealing "[i]mages of otherness as the furthest boundary of normality [which] exert a disciplinary influence, as reverse reflections, [as] warning signals (233). In *Heart of Darkness*, "The horror!" becomes a confessional statement, a "technique of self," and a voice of self-control that is present within Kurtz. The heart of immense African darkness beats in the white sepulchral body of Europe. The relationship established among Europe, "My Intended," "My ivory," "The horror!" and Africa sums up this "inconclusive" (*Heart*, 5) experience of the cyclic working of power as panopticon and its exercise for gaining control over human hearts, minds, and bodies through the inspecting gaze. In *Heart of Darkness*, the

whole idea of accessing hearts through eyes, through the penetrating trap of visibility and its stretched and scrutinizing gaze in order to operate a benign vigilance, gets converted into benighted violence that is full of mutilation and exploitation.

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Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. *White on Black*. New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1992.

¹ Muhammad Baqir, "Iqbal was more human than stress on his philosophy has left him," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 21, 1953.

² ⁸⁵ Pir Tajuddin, "Dr. Iqbal as I knew him," *The Pakistan Time*, Lahore, April 21, 1953.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Zafar Ali Khan (1873-1956); politician, pan-Islamist, journalist, orator, leader of Pakistan movement; Private Secretary to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk; served in Hyderabad State and became Secretary, Home Department; brought and edited *Deccan Review*; took over his father's paper *Zamindar* and transferred it to Lahore; the paper was banned and

press confiscated several times; visited Turkey to deliver the purse collected by Muslims through Indian Crescent Mission, 1912; was a Khilafat delegate to England, Paris and the Middle East, 1925; joined Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam, 1929; participated in Civil Disobedience movement, joined Muslim League, 1937; member, Punjab Legislative Council, 1937-46; member, Central Legislative Assembly, 1946; wrote and translated several books.

⁵ Salahuddin Ahmed, "Sting and Smile in Iqbal," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 21, 1953. For an extensive study on the satirical poetry of Allama Iqbal, see Ata Muhammad Malik, "Iqbal ki Shiari Main Tanz," Unpublished M. Phil Iqbaliat thesis, Allama Iqbal Open University, 1995. Allama Iqbal's poetry which was written in Akbar Allahabadi's pattern was compiled by Khawaja Hasan Nizami under the caption 'Akbari Iqbal'. Quoted in Qazi Ahmad Mian Akhtar Junagarhi, *Iqbaliat ka Tanqidi Jaiyza*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1977, p.71.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Razi Abidi, "Allama Iqbal's humorous verse," in Tasadduq Hussain Raja, *Iqbal: A Cosmopolitan Poet*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1996, pp.141-148. Also see Abdul Qawi Disnawi, "Iqbal ki Tanzania aur Mazahia Shairi", in Waheed Ishrat, *Iqbal 1986*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1990, pp. 221-234.

⁹ Shamsul Haq (d.1969) journalist, poet.

¹⁰ Absar Ahmad believes that the theory of 'self' constitutes the pivot around which Iqbal's entire philosophy revolves. For a comprehensive study of Iqbal's concept of 'self' and its place in modern philosophical thought, see Absar Ahmad, *The Concept of Self and Self Identity in Contemporary Philosophy*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1986.

¹¹ Shamsul Haque, "Symbol of eagle in Iqbal's poetry," *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 22, 1953.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Syed Abid Ali Abid, *Shair-i-Iqbal*, Lahore, Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1977, pp.309-311.

¹⁴ Abid Ali Abid, "Iqbal and essentially and primarily a poet," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 21, 1953.

¹⁵ For a complete description of Abid's articles, essays and books on Iqbal, see Abdur Rauf Shiekh, *Iqbal Shanasi aur Abid*, Multan, Beacon Books, 1993, pp.9-55.

¹⁶ Shakoor Ahsan, "Iqbal and nature," *The Pakistan Times*, April 21, 1953. Even a person like Ali Abbass Jalalpuri, who is highly critical of some ideas of Iqbal, is praiseful of these poems and argues that they

are not only unparalleled in Urdu poetry but they can be presented with pride and satisfaction in comparison to works of any other great poet of the world. Quoted in Ali Abbass Jalalpuri, *Iqbal ka Ilm-i-kalam*, Jhelum, Khirad Afroz, 1987, p.139.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* For a detailed survey of impact of English romantic poets on Allama's thought, see Sheikh Muhammad Iqbal, "Roomani Angarazi Shurah ka Allama Iqbal Par Athrat," Unpublished M. Phil Iqbaliat thesis, Allama Iqbal Open University, 1992. Also see Kokub Shadani, "Iqbal ki Roomani Shairi," *Iqbaliat*, Vol. 36, No. 1, July-September, 1997, pp. 7-32.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Khalifa Abdul Hakim, "The creative evolutionist of Islam," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 21, 1953. Sajjad Baqir believes that creativity is a central theme in Iqbal's poetry. To him, creativity is a principle and an attitude which is a panacea for ills of the age. Quoted in Sajjad Baqir Rizvi, *Allama Iqbal aur Arz-i-Hal*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1994, p.2.

²⁰ H. H. Bilgrami, "Spirit of Islamic culture: Iqbal's approach, *Dawn*, April 21, 1953.

²¹ A. R. Anjum, "Iqbal and Muslim Culture", in Nasira Habib, *Versatile Iqbal*, Lahore, Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1998, pp. 168-169. For an analysis of Iqbal's idea of *Tauhid*, see Riffat Burki, "Iqbal and *Tauhid*," *Iqbal Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, October, 1973, pp.9-15.

²² Marghub Ahmed Siddiqi (1923-1979); columnist, journalist, writer and educationist; Chairman, Journalism Department, Punjab University, Lahore 1958; Pubs. *Pakistan-American Relations*; *Sahafat aur Mu'asharah*; *Hindustan main Zuban ka Mas'alah*.

²³ Murghub Siddiqi, "Iqbal's concept of superman an evil influence on public morals," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 21, 1953.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ For details, see Syed Viqar Azeem, *Iqbal: Shair aur Falsafi*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1997, pp.193-206.

²⁶ Sardar Muhammad, "Message to youth", *The Pakistan Times*, 21 April, 1953.

²⁷ For a comprehensive study of Allama Iqbal's views about the Quran and indication of the Quranic teachings in his writings, see Ghulam Mustafa Khan, *Iqbal aur Quran*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1994.

²⁸ Shaukat Ali, "Iqbal and his philosophy of Ego," *The Pakistan Times*, April 21, 1953.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Nazir Qaiser, *A Critique of Western Psychology and Psychotherapy and Iqbal's Approach*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 2000, pp. 61-70.

³¹ A. Shakoor Ahsan, *An Appreciation of Iqbal's Thought and Art*, Lahore, Research Society of Pakistan, 1985, p.26.

³² For elaboration of this ideas, see Muhammad Rafiuddin, *Hikmat-i-Iqbal*, Islamabad, Islamic Research Institute, 1996. The whole book is a wonderful explanation of this idea. For a detailed but simple discussion of Allama Iqbal's concept of *khudi* see Javid Iqbal, *Afkar-i-Iqbal: Tashreehat-i-Javid*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1994. Also see Farooq Ahmad, "Iqbal ka Tasawwur-i-Khudi aur Aqidah-i-Akhirat," *Iqbal Review*, Vol. 2, No. 4, January, 1962, pp.17-41.

³³ Muhammad Ajmal (1919-1994); educationist, intellectual, translator, philosopher and psychologist; Chairman, Psychology Department, 1962-70 and Principal Government College, Lahore, 1970-72; Vice Chancellor, Punjab University, Lahore, 1972-73; federal Secretary Education, 1973-77; founder Director National Institute of Psychology, 1978-79; member Federal Public Service Commission, 1983-84, Pubs. *Maqalat-i-Ajmal*; *Suqrat*; *Tehlili Nafsiat*; *Ruzmarah Nafsiat*; *Nishat-i-Falsafah*.

³⁴ Muhammad Ajmal, "The poet's attitude towards knowledge," *The Pakistan Times*, April 21, 1953. For a detailed discussion on Allama Iqbal's concept of knowledge, see Riaz Siddiqi "Iqbal aur Ilm" Younus Javid, *Iqbaliat ki Mukhtalif Jehatin*, Lahore, Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1988. Also see Khurshid Anwar, "Iqbal's theory of knowledge," *Iqbal Review*, Vol. 28, No. 1, April-June, 1987, pp. 87-105.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Abdul Hameed, "The poet of the East looked upon capitalism, communism and fascism as three facets of the same materialistic culture of the West," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 21, 1953.

³⁸ *Ibid.* For a further elucidation of author's point of view, see Ejaz Faruqi, "Islam: A third force vis-à-vis capitalism and communism," *Iqbal Review*, Vol. XXI, No. 3, October, 1980, pp. 43-48.

³⁹ M. Yusuf Qureshi, "Allama Iqbal", *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 19, 1953.

⁴⁰ Muhammad Nasir, "Iqbal did not want Pakistan to be a theocratic state," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, May 26, 1953.

⁴¹ Zafar-ul-Islam (d.1964); historian, remained member of History Department, Punjab University, Lahore.

⁴² Zafarul Islam, "Growth of Muslim politics in India influence of Iqbal & Jinnah-IV" *The Civil and Military Gazette*, September 13, 1953. For a detailed study of Allahabad address see Nadeem Shafiq Malik, *Allama Iqbal ka Khutbah-i-Allahabad: Aik Mutalah*, Lahore, Ferozesons, 1997. Also see Ch. Muhammad Ashraf, *Musawwar-i-Pakistan Koun: Talkh Haqiq*, Islamabad, Capital Publications, 1997; Shafiq Ali Khan, *Iqbal's concept of separate north-West Muslim State*, Karachi, Markaz-i-Shaoor-o-Adab, 1987.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Abdul Hameed, *Iqbal Bahesiat Mufakkir-i-Pakistan*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1988, pp. 145-145.

⁴⁵ For details, see Abdus Salam Khurshid, *Sarghazushit-i-Iqbal*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1969, pp. 257-266. For text of news, articles and editorials appeared in daily *Inqilab* regarding Allahabad address, see Muhammad Hamza Farooqi, *Iqbal ka Siyasi Safar*, Lahore, Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1992, pp. 209-290. For a survey of reaction of Hindu and Anglo-Indian Press on Allahabad address, see Rasheda Begum, "Allama Muhammad Iqbal ka Khutbah-i-Allahabad, 1930," Unpublished M. A. History thesis, University of Punjab, 1994, pp. 129-159.

End Notes

ⁱ One judge of High Court, several judges of subordinate courts, senior police officers, magistrates, prosecuting officials and even jail wardens have been assassinated by the militants. Now sometimes judges/police officers are reluctant to try/investigate the sectarian criminals because of insecurity.

ⁱⁱ Freeland Abbott. 1968. *Islam and Pakistan*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

ⁱⁱⁱ Leon T Hadar. 1993. "What Green Peril". *Foreign Affairs* 72 (2): 27-42

^{iv} In Pakistan, especially in Karachi, Shia-Sunni clashes are very common and situation gets aggravated during the month of *Muharram* when entire Government machinery focuses on maintaining law and order situation. For detailed treatment of the subject see Shaukat Ali's book *Pakistan: A Religio-Political Study*. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research.

^v In August 2001, Government decided to impose ban on fund raising for Jihad. However, it was a half-hearted effort and Government seemed not committed to implement the ban. For example, Interior Minister Moinuddin Haider and others issued conciliatory statements that Government had no intention to curtail their activities, but only wanted

them not to collect donations publicly (see press statement in *The Nation*, September 3, 2001.).

^{vi} Almost all the Jihadi organizations condemned the government action. Some prominent politicians like Nawabzada Nasrulla Khan and Chaudhary Shujait Hussain also disapproved the Government's move (see various press statements published in the last week of August 2001)

^{vii} Press statement of Mr. Umar Farooq, (leader of *Lashkar-e-Tayyba*, a prominent Jihadi organization operating in Indian Kashmir) published in the *Daily Jang* (an Urdu daily dated 15-8-2001) published from Lahore.

^{viii} Even after promulgating the Madrassas ordinance, various Cabinet Ministers and Governors of Punjab and Baluchistan issued states that they "never wanted to interfere into Madrassa affairs"---a clear negation of the policy of their own Government. It reflects that Government itself is not clear and determined to bring the Madrassas under state control.

^{ix} Muhammad Zakria Zakar. 2001. "Dual System of Education and Poverty Persistence in Pakistan". *Al-Systia* 1 (2): 25-48.

^x Pervez Hoodbhoy. 2000. "What are They Teaching in Pakistani Schools". *The News* (English daily dated June 11). Lahore: Jang Publications.

^{xi} Press statement of Mr. Moain Haider, Federal Interior Minister, Government of Pakistan, published in the daily Jang dated 15-8-2001. Recent survey conducted by *The News* and some private NGOs (e.g. *Sudhar*) have reported that the actual number of Madrassas is much higher than officially reported.

^{xii} Nadeem Shahid. 2001. "An Enigmatic Crackdown". *The Nation* (an English daily) dated September, 03 2001.

^{xiii} Religious parties in Pakistan usually criticize the policies of the Government by alleging that "Government wants to appease the West". In Pakistan, no Government can afford such allegation.

^{xiv} Afzal Mahmood. 2001. "What Price Jihad Culture"? *Dawn* (English daily dated January 15) Karachi: Pakistan Herald Publications.

^{xv} Nadeem Shahid. 2001. "An Enigmatic Crackdown". *The Nation* (English daily September 03). Lahore: Nawia-Waqat Publications.

^{xvi} Resolution passed by Sipahi-Sahaba Pakistan in a public meeting held in Karachi dated 20-10-2000.

^{xvii} Ahmad Rashid. "The Taliban: Exporting Extremism". *Foreign Affairs* 78 (6): 22-52.

^{xviii} "Assuming the State Function". Editorial note of *The Nation*, an English daily published from Lahore dated 24-10-2000.

^{xxx} Last year, thousands of followers of Maulana Akram Awan camped near Islamabad and served a warning to Government of Pakistan to Islamize Pakistan's polity and economy within three months; otherwise they would invade Islamabad and implement Islamic system with the power of gun. High ranking Government officials rushed to Maulana and assured to consider his demands seriously. With timely intervention of Government, a gory civil war was narrowly averted.

^{xxxi} Shahid Rafique. 2001. *The Future of Pakistan*. Karachi: Millat Publishers

^{xxxii} Ahsan Farooq. 2000. *Fate of Democracy in Pakistan*. Lahore: Wahid Publishers

^{xxxiii} Time and again, neighboring states including India, China and Iran have expressed their concern over the activities of fundamentalists organizations in Pakistan and have urged to check them.

^{xxxiv} Jessica Stern. 2000. "Pakistan's Jihad Culture". *Foreign Affairs* 79 (6): 12-25.

^{xxxv} "Islam in Asia" A report (April 16, 1999) authored by Dr. Saru Limaye, Chief Research Division, Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies.

Honolulu, Hawaii. Also see Rasul Bakhgh Rais's article titled "Pakistan's Defining Movements" published in *The News* dated September 24, 2001. Also see Afzal Mehood's article "What Price Jihad Culture" published in *Dawn* dated January 15, 2001.

^{xxxvi} Ahmad Rashid. 2000. *Taliban Islam, Oil and the New Great Game in Central Asia*. London: I.B. Tauris Publishers.

^{xxxvii} According to most of the Jihadi organizations, they are not only committed to fight with infidels in other countries but also within Pakistan to make it a "true Islamic State".

^{xxxviii} Assuming the State function" Editorial of *The Nation*" October 24, 2000.

^{xxxix} The term was coined by the late Pakistani scholar Iqbal Ahmad, see *Dawn* dated 25-08-1998.

^{xl} Jessica Stern. 2000. "Pakistan's Jihad Culture". *Foreign Affairs* 79 (6):115-26.

^{xli} Recently, Government of Pakistan has started dis-associating itself from Jihadi organizations. Government's decision to impose ban on their funds raising in August 2001 may be one symbolic gesture.

^{xlii} Almost all the major newspapers of the country through their editorial notes questioned the Government capability to implement the ban (see editorials/analysis of *Dawn*, *The News*, *The Nations* and *Jang* in the last week of August 2001)

- xxxii Jessica Stern. 2000. "Pakistan's Jihad Culture". *Foreign affairs* 79 (6):12-25.
- xxxiii Ahmad Rashid. 1999. "The Taliban: Exporting Extremism". *Foreign Affairs* 78 (6)
- xxxiv Dr. Manzur Ejaz. 2000. "A Simplistic Approach to Madrassas Problem". *The News* (an English daily April 30,). Lahore: Jang Publications.
- xxxv Mahir Ali. 2001. "Here Come the Avenger". *Dawn* (dated September 19). Also see "Problems of Law and Order" by Dr. Maqbool Ahmad Bhatti published in *Dawn* (dated September 17, 2001).
- xxxvi "Afghanistan: a bitter harvest". See *The Economist* dated September 15, 2001 page 19.
- xxxvii Robin Wright. 1992. "Islam Democracy and the West". *Foreign Affairs* 71 (3):132-45
- xxxviii Ahmad Rashid. 1999. "The Taliban: Exporting Extremism". *Foreign Affairs* 78(6):22-52
- xxxix Amartya Sen. 1999. 'Democracy as a Universal value'. *Journal of Democracy* 10 (3): 2-17.
- xl Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*. Ed. Leonard F. Dean. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1960. Parenthetical references to the novel in the main text are inserted as *Heart*.
- xli Parenthetical references to the books in the main text are given as *Discipline* and *History*.
- xlii For details on Jeremy Bentham's idea of Panopticon, see Michael Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*, 195-228. See also Mary Peter Mack, *A Bentham Reader*. New York: Western Publishing Co., 1969. The main element in Bentham's plan is a penitentiary inspection house – a circular building where the prisoners' apartments or cells occupy the circumference divided from one another, thus, secluding the prisoners from all sorts of communication with each other. But, individually, they are audible through speaking tubes, and visible against the background of light to a vigilant eye at the center. The center of the Bentham's model of prison is occupied by a nameless, faceless supervisor or overseer, an invisible presence, a constant gaze that extends to the vulnerable prisoner a feeling of being always watched. This is reversal of the principle of the dungeon, and is similar to a plague-stricken town where each individual is

fixed in a segmented, immobile, frozen space by a body of magistrates, militia or "syndic," for the fear of life, contagion or punishment. The effect of this penetrating trap of visibility and insistent observation intensify and internalize the repressive violence that was once a direct instrument of vengeance. This process of internalization leads to the confessional techniques of self-control.

^{xliii} In the context of colonialism, the deeper and deeper involvement of the European powers in Africa led to the development of social sciences of the racist and evolutionary doctrines like those of Darwin and also of Freud to certain extent, creating a myth of the Dark Continent. Knowledge and power advance in tandem, privileging one type of human race over the other. However, one can trace the discriminatory pronouncements of the European knowledge even in the Biblical and the classical resources. Aristotle was of the opinion that the black race has been doomed to slavery. For details, see Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East*. Oxford: 1990. 53.

^{xliv} For details on the topic, see Brook Thomas, "Preserving and Keeping Order by Killing Time," *Heart of Darkness: A Case Study*. Ed. Ross C. Murfin. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989. 225-58.

^{xlv} Making Edward Said's *Orientalism* as the basis of her analysis, Nancy Armstrong in "The Occidental Alice," *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*. 2:2 (1990) 3-39 studies the impact of the image of "deviance" and "Other." Armstrong finds a connection between the Victorian sexuality and the commercial factors of the British imperialism. She describes that English culture uses the same logic to translate female sexuality as England used to define other cultures.