

T.C
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

**A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF AFGHANISTAN'S AND PAKISTAN'S
PROCESSES OF STATE-BUILDING**

THESIS
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(Y1312.110055)

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAM

THESIS ADVISOR: ASSISTANT PROFESSOR GULAY UGUR GOKSEL

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T.C.
İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

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Not: Öğrencinin Tez savunmasında **Başarılı** olması halinde bu form **imzalanacaktır**. Aksi halde geçersizdir.



To my father who provided me with maximum chance of education with least available resources.





FOREWORD

It was a snowy freezing day; the heaters were on to its maximum level, still the coldness tempted me to take a cover and rub my body in it to avoid coldness. I was about to go to another room to pick up the cover, when I heard a voice of “yaullah, is there anyone at home”. It was my uncle who had decided to spend this cold snowy day with us. I went to the stairs and said “Yes, come in, Welcome Uncle”. He is a thin, but tall guy. He was wearing a puffy jacket and long boots and robbed himself with a traditional Afghani *Pato* which mostly men wear it during the winter.

He came in and sat and greeted with all of us at home. He is a learned person at his seventies. But his soul is young and his heart so kind. He is a source of motivation to everyone and from his speech pours down gold like talkings. He managed to finish his bachelor degree during the communist era in 1970s in Afghanistan but when war started, he became so busy with breeding his family.

This time, unlike the previously, he started to talk disappointedly. He complained about the country and the government. He said, “I spent all of my life to serve for Afghanistan, but at this time of necessity, it doesn’t even provide me with the basic needs like electricity, gas and even resources for heating the homes”. He pointed to high number of the young Afghans who leave the country and escape to outside countries. He talked about the widespread corruption in the bureaucracy where no one can do anything without bribing. Furthermore, he spoke about the Taliban and other foreign aided groups who keep the flame of fire in Afghanistan and the region. At the end he pettily said, “I don’t care about myself, since my age is almost over, but I care about my children and grandchildren, I think they will have the same unfortunate life as I lived regardless of whatever efforts they do”.

This experience shifted my mood. As a political science student, I had no academic answer to explain why he had to undergo all of these difficulties? I wanted to explain to him what is missing in our country that it can’t render basic services to its people. I failed that day and I decided to do an academic comprehensive research to explain what is exactly wrong with our country and with countries around us that we fell vulnerable to a lot of deficiencies. As a result of my comprehensive research, I came to believe that all of the problems in my country derives from its failed process of state-building where the government never functioned as a unilateral actor to practice social control over its masses.

In conducting this work, I would like to express my gratitude to my lovely family who at every step gave me a lot of support and love. I also would like to thank my learned uncle who always motivated me to be creative and to think critically about issues around me. I am also grateful to all of my professors especially Professor Gulay Ugur Goksel at

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January 2016

AMANULLAH HAIDARY AZADANY
Master Student



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ABBREVIATIONS

MLP	: Muslim League Party
PCSIR	: Pakistan Council of scientific and Industrial Research
PIDC	: Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation





A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF AFGHANISTAN'S AND PAKISTAN'S PROCESSES OF STATE-BUILDING

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a historical and theoretical study of Afghanistan and Pakistan processes of State-Building. In this research, based on the European pioneer model of state building, I am presenting a comparative analysis of Afghanistan and Pakistan state-building processes. The European pioneer states in state building have experienced some trends during the process. Industrialization, Capitalism, Organized Crimes, Nationalism and modernization are the observable trends in European State-Building process.

In this thesis, I am taking these trends of European State-Building Process and apply them on Afghanistan's and Pakistan's processes of State-Building. This study paves the way toward better understanding of the attempts of different Afghan and Pakistani governments geared toward the two countries' State-Building process.

Throughout my research, I found out that Afghanistan and Pakistan failed to successfully implement these trends in their State-Building process and thus still lag behind to function as a modern state (Nation-state).

The thesis continues to answer the question of "if Afghanistan and Pakistan are not Nation-States, then what state organization they best fit in?" I find out that Pakistan fits better in category of a Military-State and Afghanistan fits best into the category of a Tribal-State. The reasons would be the frequent military domination of Pakistani affair by its military and domination of Afghanistan politics by the dominant ethnic group of Pushtons.

At the end, I argue that Afghanistan and Pakistan along with other states needs to continue in their struggle to embrace the notion of nation-statehood, since nation-statehood responses to the issue of international peace, democratic values and economic development.

Keywords: *State Building, Nation Building, Industrialization, Capitalism, Organized Crimes, Modernization, Nation State, Tribal State, Military State.*



AFGANISTANIN VE PAKISTANIN DEVLET KURMA SÜREÇLERİ KARŞILAŞTIRMALI ANALIZI

ÖZET

Bu tez Afganistanın ve Pakistanın devlet kurma süreçlerinin tarihsel ve teorik bir çalışmadır.

Bu araştırmada Avrupa öncüsü modeline dayanan, ben Afganistanın ve Pakistanın devlet kurma süreçlerinin karşılaştırmalı analizini sunuyorum. Avrupa öncü devletleri devlet kurma sürecinde bazı eğilimler yaşamış. Sanayileşme, Kapitalizm, Organize Suçlar, Milliyetçilik ve modernizasyon Avrupa Devlet İnşaat sürecinde gözlenebilir eğilimlerden bazılarıdır.

Bu tezde, Avrupa Devlet Kurma Sürecinin olan bu eğilimleri alıp Afganistanın ve Pakistanın devlet kurma süreçlerinin karşılaştırmak için kullanmaktadır. Bu çalışma iki ülkenin Devlet İnşaat süreci Afganlı ve Pakistanlı hükümetlerinin yönelik farklı girişimleri daha iyi anlaşılması yönünde önünü açıyor. Benim araştırma boyunca, Afganistan ve Pakistan Devlet İnşaat sürecinde bu eğilimleri başarısız uygulandılar ve bu nedenle hala modern bir devlet (ulus-devlet) olarak işlev gerisinde olduğunu öğrendim.

"Eğer Afganistan ve Pakistan Ulus-Devletler olmayan ülkelerse onlar için en uygun olan devlet örgütü, hangisi?" soruyu bu çalışma cevaplamaktadır. Sonuç olarak Pakistan Askeri-Devlet kategorisinde ve Afganistan Tribal-Devlet kategoride en uygun olduğunu buldum. . Nedenleri Afganistan için siyasetin Pushtons baskın etnik grup tarafından control edilmesi Pakistan içinde olayı sık sık askeri hakimiyeti olması olacaktır

Sonunda, ben diğer devletler ile birlikte Afganistan ve Pakistan, ulus-devlet kavramını kucaklamak verdikleri mücadelede devam etmesi gerektiğini savunuyorum. Çünkü ulus-devlet uluslararası barış, demokratik değerlere ve ekonomik kalkınma konular için yanıtıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Devlet Kurma, Ulus Kurma, Sanayileşme, Kapitalizm, Organize Suçlar Modernleşme, Ulus Devlet, Tribal-Devlet, Askeri-Devlet*



1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is providing background on the situation of Afghanistan and Pakistan statehoods. It explores the contemporary efforts of the two states that put forward to embrace the notion of nation-states. At the end of the chapter, a comparison of Afghanistan and Pakistan states with a framework for discussions in the subsequent chapters will be presented.

1.1 Current and Former Political Orders

Before emergence of nation-states, humans were living in a much different political settings. The world order was much different than what the notion of modern state brought to the societies. Modern state brought with itself some values among people. Nationalism is the most noticeable value, which accompanied the notion of modern states in the world. Before, the geographical borders were not specified for different nations and peoples were separately living in different parts in the world(shively, 2005, pp. 43-53).

Empires preceded nation-states. Empires were big in scope and large in territory. Unlike today's common nation-states, empires were controlling very large territories. British Empire, French empire, and Persian empires are among examples of the previous world political order, which existed in different time intervals. Although some of these empires survived to exist much longer than the emergence of modern states, their essence of existence was fading with emergence of this new world political order of nation states(shively, 2005, pp. 43-53).

Empires were only using military forces to conquer more territory. The larger their territory the bigger resources they could extract. The only source of revenue for empires was to have more people subjected to them. They were extracting resources, which included taxation, local natural resources and human labor from their subjects. The desire to accumulate more resources from the subjects drove the emperors to use more military

force so that they get more territory. Emperors saw resources as the fundamental basis for their own survival. Therefore, they would commit any hardship to get more resources to guarantee a longer time of survival for their power and monarchy (Shively, 2005, pp. 53-63).

In this political world order, power was not concentrated over one authority. Thus, a multiple of actors were playing a great amount of social control over the subjects. Social control is to own every tool for supervision and surveillance over the subjects so that their actions are in accordance to what the authority wants. Nation-states assume that monopoly over social control is only and only the responsibility of state. However, in empire-like political system of the world, due to the multiplicity of the actors, monopoly over social control is based on multiple authorities (Shively, 2005, pp. 53-63).

To make my above assertion simple to understand, I present to you this example. British Empire, for example, was controlling India for centuries as one of its fruitful colonies. Sub leaders who were accountable to the top emperor controlled the British Indian emperor was selected by the British authority, and then every state in British India. As we go down to cities in states, and then districts in the cities, and then villages in the districts, it is clear that each part is ruled somehow independently except that they send a portion of the extracted resources to the one who is on top of them in authority (Keen, 2012, pp. 94-96).

So you imagine if one business man whose business run in multiple villages, or cities or states, to how many authorities he should bow and to how many different codes of laws he should bent. The first problem for the businessman would be that he should pay a lot of taxation to different state authorities in India, since every state has its own rule of taxation. Second, the rulers can extract him any amount of money, since there is not any higher authority than him at least in that territory (Keen, 2012, pp. 94-96).

In contrary, the today system of nation states focus on central power which defines and amends all the laws in the territory that it has sovereignty on. In today's modern state of India, for example, a business man would not face any problem regarding the multiplicity of authority and laws if he wants to exports his goods from one city to other. The state

rather than the rulers define laws for people and these laws are equally applied if state is powerful enough to practice social control over the people(Keen, 2012, p. 95).

Before emergence of empires, humans were living in different isolated territories. On that time, due to the lack of modern technology and communication systems, human were unable to communicate and get closer to the territories out of their own. It was in expense of their life, if they decided to leave, since there was different type of threats posing against their well being when they get out of their local societies. Diversity was rare and everything had to be in accordance of predefined values and norms(Petri, 2008, pp. 4-12).

Still the humans had to devise their own political and social systems so that they live a relatively comfortable life. The system had to provide solution for their then social and political problems. Athenian city-states, personal states and so on, which will be discussed more in depth in sixth chapter, are worth here to shine a light on ancient political order of the world(Petri, 2008, pp. 4-12).

Ancient city-states were small territories and relatively compassing little populations. Athenian city-states are given special credit for they provided the benchmarks for the mainstreams of today's democracy. Athenian city states practiced a system of governance which lay the basis for today democratic values. And mostly today's systems of indirect democracy of the nation states are revived from the ancient city-state practices(Petri, 2008, pp. 8-12).

Human exploration for better life never came to halt. They experienced different political and economical orders and thus evolved to invent the system that best describe and prescribe for their problems. Human experienced the isolated societies like the old Athenian city states. As they evolved further, they devised new models as the empires by which a great number of territories were colonized by handful powerful peoples. As more and more human evolve by timing, they bring changes to their basic political and economical systems too. As of 16th century, they established a brand new form for their political and economical system for survival and that was "modern state". Modern state is perceived the prevalent and ideal form of political order in the world. This is the modern state, which is responsive to the wide range of barriers and problems facing human life.

These problems may range from conflicts, to poverty to natural disasters and so much on. Now with this idea in mind, it is worthwhile to delve into the concept of modern state for basic insides in the following section.

1.2 What is Nation-State?

A nation-state in its modern form is a new phenomenon, emerging in sixteenth century in Europe. The now four-century-old nation state proved itself so working and helpful for producing better system for solving the people's problems in different societies. That's why different communities one after another in Europe first and then around the world also decided to adopt the principles of a Nation-state in their communities(Shively, 2005, pp. 43-50).

A community of people who have monopoly over legitimate use of violence and law-making processes in a defined geographical territory is called a state. State is also defined as a "formal group that is sovereign over its members and occupies a well defined territory. In contrast to the concept of State, Nation-State is different. Nation-State refers to a state whose primary loyalty is driven toward a specific cultural identity, which in our case we call a nation or nationality(Pick, 2011, p. 5).

Nation-State is the most prevalent form of state organization in current political world order. Thus State is taken different names depending on which specific literature is written with. Nation-states, modern-states are the other parallel names for states, which can be found abundantly in academic essays and works of different learned people(Scott, 2007, pp. 6-9).

Treaty of Westphalia, which was signed in 17th century, serves as a benchmark for creation of states and national self-determination. This peace treaty tried to end the eighty years old war between the Holy Roman Empire and the Spain and as a result of that recognition of Dutch republic independence. Therefore, the treaty is carrying an amount of importance with regard of states creations(ISN, 1648, pp. 8-12).

1.3 Afghanistan as a Nation-State

Having raise in Afghanistan, I can see it very well that Afghan governments never had monopoly over legitimate use of violence and law making processes in the country. Afghanistan started to embrace the principle of modern states in 1890s when the then Afghan government decided to suppress harshly its rivals inside the country(Barfield, 2005, pp. 110-120).

Since then, the different Afghan kings and governments took serious steps to make the states modern and improve the essentials of nation state in the country. Due to the on-going international rivalry resulted by the geopolitical significance of the country and the tough traditional cultural practices every government faced death when they took serious steps toward its state-building process(Barfield, 2005, pp. 110-120).

The attempts of the different Afghan governments in different time intervals have largely failed. The process of state building either stopped with the king collapse or was postponed due to the tough cultural or religious barriers. The efforts attempted to modernize the country and contribute toward its state building process by King Amanullah, president Daud and Afghan communist regime in 20th century all failed(Barfield, 2005, pp. 110-130).

Until now, Afghanistan's border is not clearly identifies and its south border with Pakistan is contentious. A state whose half of border is not still clearly identified, then it doesn't satisfy the requirements of a state, since state requires a specific geographical territory. Therefore, with regard of the scientific definition of the states, Afghanistan cannot be called a state so far(Coll, 2012, pp. 8-13). However, Afghanistan is more similar to a *de facto* state, which means by practice it function as a state, but by theory it doesn't meet the requirement for a normal state due to its continual disputes over its border with Pakistan.

Afghanistan's frequent occurrence of war also related to a failed process of state building and ultimately marking it as one of the failed states in the world. It has been observed that Afghanistan has a cycle of peace and war repetition, in which a short period of peace is

followed by a war and conflict period for the last century. For example, King Amanullah got the throne in 1919 and started its radical social and political reforms of modernizing the country. The king's nine yearstenure of throne was marked as peace until he was ousted due to the large-scale national unrest. The country entered into war for two years until King Zahir Shaw grasped the Power in 1932. King Zaher Shaw managed to maintain another period of peace until the military coups perpetrated by his cousin oustedhim. Again with announcement of Afghanistan as a republic, peace prevailed for 5 years. Then the Soviet Union invaded the country and war again started until the collapse of Soviet Union in 1990. Afghanistan entered into another civil war from 1992 to 2001, when the international community invaded the country and ousted the regime of Taliban. Since 2001, relative peace prevailed, until 2009 when the Taliban rose as a formidable force fighting against the Afghan Democratic regime. The violentresistance of Taliban against the Afghan military forces indicates that Afghanistan is experiencing another period of war(Saikal, 2004, pp. 89-100).

Therefore, this cycle of war and peace indicates that Afghan governments never had been able to eliminate and neutralize their internal rivals. With this, it's clear that they lacked the power to practice social control and provide the people with means of production so that they also give their support for the government in case an internal threat is being posed against the government(Coll, 2012, pp. 18-19).

This repeating cycle of peace and war also broke the social fabric among the diverse population of Afghanistan to function as a nation. Afghans were busy with wars for the last century and thus were lift with very little time to think about the idea of national identity. Until now in 2015, Afghanistan has not achieved a national identity and people tribal identity transcend national one. For example, the distribution of electric identity carts has been stopped since on it only national identity of "Afghan" rather than the ethnic identity are mentioned. Other ethnicities consider the word "Afghan" referring only to the Pashtun ethnicity. Therefore, the national identity is controversial in Afghanistan so far.

1.4Pakistan as a Nation-State

Pakistan is a very young state, almost 67 years old. Pakistan is one of the very few states whose creation is based on a religious identity. Pakistan is encompassing a large population of Muslims who make up 100 percent of its population(Lieven, 2012, pp. 12-18).

Pakistan creation as an independent state in 1947 created some hostilities, which continue until now. India and Afghanistan consider Pakistan as a hostile state since it took half and half of its geographical territory from them(Lieven, 2012, pp. 40-50).

Pakistan has also failed to become a modern state, since it enjoys little monopoly over legitimate use of violence over its population. Social control is not practiced unilaterally by state, but rather actors including Pakistani Taliban, religious extremist groups are very abundant in remote areas(Lieven, 2012, pp. 50-57).

Pakistan is defined as “an army with state” rather than “a state with an army”. The military and army is dominating its political affairs and thus all the political, social and economical reforms with its foreign policy are influenced greatly by the military. It has a history of military rule three times too. The reason for military domination of Pakistani state is due to its long held hostilities toward India. After the separation of Bangladesh from the United Pakistan in 1972, Pakistan fears from the potential threats of India steer toward the idea of Pakistan partition(Lieven, 2012, pp. 300-304).

In addition to this, Pakistan diverse population has made it so difficult for the state to make a national identity for the state. Rather than being Pakistani, people of different backgrounds prefer to go with their ethnical identities. Five major ethnicities exist in Pakistan: Punjabi, Sindhi, Pathan, Mahajir and Boluch. Punjabis who share a little power with other ethnicities dominate the state and army. Among these, Boluch are the least privileged ethnicity whose fight for independence has been violently suppressed by the Pakistan military throughout the last century. This would not be so common in the center of cities, but of course when you go deeper in the remote areas, it is quite observable(Lieven, 2012, pp. 300-304).

In addition to this, national identity in Pakistan is so fragile. The official language of Pakistan is Urdu and English. Both of these languages were strange to the different ethnicities that made up Pakistan since the five major ethnicities had their own languages. The adoption of English as one of their official language after independence helped to a stronger level of national identity. However, still national identity doesn't transcend ethnic lines especially among the separatist groups. These reasons and the continual suppress of the Boluch separatists indicate that Pakistan has not yet constitute a national identity around which all the population would revolve(Lieven, 2012, pp. 512-517).

1.5 State-Building Process in Afghanistan and Pakistan

State-building process is a process in which states start to function as the sole authority to own means of production and enjoy social control on the citizens of a specific territory. There is not any specific model for state building that can be undergone by states who newly attempt to become modern. That is because every state has its own complexity and its unique social and cultural fabrics. However, during the state-building processes of European states, which first occurred in 16th and early 17th century, some trends are observable which define the basis for state building processes of any state, which newly attempts to undergo. In Europe, trends such as industrialization, Capitalism, Organized Crimes by governments, Nationalism and Modernization occurred during state building process of states. Thesetrends of the European state-building process canalso determineeither the success or the failure of the state building process of other states too(Scott, 2007).

In Europe,during the enlightenment era different philosophers and scientists presented their works and tried to find solutions for that time problems so that people live in a comfortable life. With this enlightenment injection, industrial and agriculture revolutions happened. These revolutions introduced new technologies in different areas of military, economy and politics. Government started to play the role of a racketeer state, in which they both created a threat and then provide protection for the people. Like this, government started to have support of their citizens and thus extracted resources in form of taxation from them(Scott, 2007).

With invention of new technologies, capitalism was supported, and the former feudal started to own factories and accumulate capitals(Scott, 2007). With capitalism, business and communications improved. Urbanization happened too. Governments worked forward to establishing national identities and thus nationalism emerged. Development of roads helped the farmers to bring their harvest in the cities and thus contribute to the whole development and modernization of the societies. Therefore, State-Building process in Europe successfully underwent these processes, which include industrialization, Capitalism, Organized crimes committed by government, Nationalism and modernization(Scott, 2007).

In this thesis, I would like to analyze the processes of Afghanistan and Pakistan state building. I want to observe if Afghanistan and Pakistan have undergone the same European procedures of state building? If yes, How and if they have taken a different path to their state building process, what is that specific path and procedure? This thesis will also answer the question of what type of state organization, Afghanistan and Pakistan best fit into.

Next chapter will present the literature review on state building process in European states. It will extensively stare into the trends of mainstream state building process. Based on the European experience of state building, I will analyze and explore Afghanistan and Pakistan processes of state building in the subsequent chapters.



2. LITERATURE REVIEW ON STATE-BUILDING PROCESS

This chapter is presenting the literature review on State building process. Since state-building process was first experienced by the European states in 16th century, much of the literature review has been done on European states. Therefore, as in this thesis, the comparison of Afghanistan and Pakistan state building processes is based on the model of European style, it is worthwhile to explore and understand the insides into European model of state building.

After the treaty of Westphalia, the creation of states and national-self determination became so common among the nations. States who had the potential for development and had the capacity to digest new types of governance, started to embrace new forms. Some events happened that forced states to become modern states. For example, the emergence of industrial and agriculture revolution in Europe required the nations to be modern and serve better to the people. The states which undergone the industrialization had to work toward the essentials of modern states too. They needed to work on developing a national identity for their citizens. These national identities, which serve as a cultural and social sign, differentiate the citizen from the citizens of other states. It develops a sense of nationalism and finally serving toward national interest rather than the common interests(Interpeace, 2001, pp. 6-7).

European states are considered the icebreakers of state building process during the 16th century. The process of state building in Europe was not an event to be accomplished over night. It took decades and centuries until the nations in Europe developed to embrace the notion of nation-state. In this path of European nation state development, the historians and political scientists that proved significant in development of Nation-state highlight some specific trends.

It is believed trends, such as Industrialization, capitalism, organized crimes by governments; nation building and modernization have contributed toward the adoption of the notion of modern state in Europe. These four events didn't occur at one time or one

directly after another in a defined period of time in one specific European state. However, these events occurred dispersedly over a longer period of time and subsequently stimulated the process of state building in Europe. Now I am going to express the existing literature review on these important events, which stimulated the process of state building in Europe (Scott, 2007). These factors can provide a basis for understanding the process of state building in Afghanistan and Pakistan too.

2.1 Industrialization and Capitalism:

Industrialization is called for a process in which a predominately non-industrial community transfers into a predominately industrial community. Industrialization replaces a primary agricultural society into a one based on the manufacturing of goods and services. Manual labor is not so much common in an industrialized community because of mechanized mass productions. Physical energy in farms is given its place to machines in the factories (More, 2000, pp. 8-9).

A community, which has not undergone industrialization, can have the following implications in its shape. Non-industrial society is highly depending on agriculture as way of living. Agricultural method for producing better harvests is not developed and it is mostly the primitive and traditional methods that the farmers use to grow crops. Landlords, rather than the peasants usually own lands. In addition, agricultural productivity is low per person and piece of land that is used, thus the farming is for subsistence rather than for market. Markets are not common, either they are ill organized or located in a far place where the peasants can't carry their crops there. Therefore, community produces, as whole, little beyond mere subsistence (More, 2000, p. 69).

Means of communication and transports are inadequate. There is not a good communication network between the consumers and the producers. Machineries for packing the agricultural products are not developed and there are no transportation machineries to carry the products from the villages to the cities. Neither, there are credit and banking facilities to support the peasant to grow and farm large scale agricultural crops (Akhtar, 2007, pp. 40-43).

Food is scarce and basic; clothing hardly enough for minimum needs and there is not hygiene and comfort inside the houses. School and health cares don't exist adequate and there are hardly facilities for recreation. Poverty is a common fact, hitting communities and leading to high incidences of disease and mortality. Although birth rate is so high, the population remains low because a great number of people can't survive the diseases and thus infant mortality is crying out of the communities(Akhtar, 2007, pp. 40-43).

The most depressing fact in non-industrial economy is that its backwardness is self-perpetuating. Poverty creates more vulnerability and there is scarcity of everything, this is the time when the cost of human life is so less and lots of atrocities occur in hope of gaining resources. In such communities, there is prosperity and plenty for a microscopic minority of people who only own the lands, and means of production(More, 2000, p. 16).

Industrialization aims to change such community that I described above. Industrialization uses a small proportion of the population to supply the basic essential of life and leave the other large bulk of the population and corresponding resources to produce goods and services, which makes life more comfortable and more pleasant. An industrialized society enjoys the adequacy of food, comfort of homes and universal facilities for education, health, amusement and recreation. Unlike non-industrial society, the birth rate is low, but since infant mortality is fought with, the population rate is substantial(Akhtar, 2007, pp. 40-43).

Self- motivated Industrialization occurred in Europe. Europe was the best place for it since all the prerequisites were met. Three factors existed in Europe, which motivated industrialization process. Land, labor and capital were abundant. Beside these, the enlightenment era had convinced the community to embrace the works of a lot of the philosophers and taught people who had dreams of making the world a better place for humans. Therefore, there was not any external factor in European states in which industrialization first occurred. Their societies had met the prerequisites of the process and then industrialization was a must to happen there(More, 2000, p. 67). Industrialization preceded the process of state building. It is considered as the main catalyst for nation-states. The nations that want to undergo the process of state

buildings should first experience industrialization and then the path for state building is paved. Without industrialization, process of state building is not completed, since this is the industrialization process, which requires a system of modern state that involves every angle of it (Eriksen, 2003, p. 12).

Industrialization first occurred in Europe of course it was a gradual process, but it significantly helped the process of state building in European states. Industrialization first started in Britain, because it had the factors of industrialization; land, labor and capital. Land is providing the raw resource for producing harvest and goods. Labor and capital along with abundant lands pave the way toward industrialization (Eriksen, 2003, p. 48).

Agriculture was highly commercialized and improved by new introduced technology, crops and new policies of property holding. There was also a growing supply of available capital in Europe. London was the international center for trade and transfer of raw material and manufactured goods throughout the world. In addition to these, unlike the other European countries, there was not a system of internal toll and tariffs in Britain. These all factors helped the industrialization revolution happening in Britain (Eriksen, 2003, p. 48).

Industrialization provided the modern state with technologies, like telegraph, roads, and weaponry. Given such technologies to European states, they could exceed their internal and external rival. These technologies helped the Britain to have monopoly over the legitimate use of force in its territory. These technologies also contributed to better-trained army for Britain so that it could make such a huge empire in the world by 19 century (Eriksen, 2003, p. 48).

Now with industrialization, there was need for modern state, the traders and merchants who used to carry their goods to remote areas they needed good security, and a defined amount of taxes paid for one monarch. Traders support one monarch rather than different landlord and feuds. Thus, modern state is build very automatically in relation with industrialization.

Capitalism, which fueled the industrial revolution, also contributed to the process of state building. Before capitalism, feudalism was in practice in Europe. Some of the English landlords were to some extent capitalists. They were hiring labors to work on their land in exchange of money, but these landlords didn't aim to change the overall system of feudalism. After that, when the peasant become free and system of the feudalism collapsed, the previous landlords started to possession the means of production like small factories. The landlords who now own the means of production, they use the peasant labor in these small factories(Eriksen, 2003, pp. 12-30).

Capitalism helped urbanization too. Europe was the center of trade for raw material and manufactured goods. The countryside was connected to the cities. This center/periphery relation in Britain helped the urbanization of the cities; bring the villagers to sell their labor in the cities' factories. Britain needed the capitalist because of their capital. If there was foreign threat for the state, the king could ask money or other resources from the capitalists to fund its war. By helping the state, the capitalist could also benefit in a way that the king would not impose high taxes on the capitalists(Eriksen, 2003, pp. 12-20).

In Europe, the American cheese model of governance was followed. American cheese model of governance is that government enjoys social control on all over its territory without any exception. Taxation in form of money was being collected from all. Money taxation helped the rural areas to leave subsistent agriculture, and forced them to produce for the market. This notion of producing for market promoted capitalism in a way that integrated the villagers' labor in to the city market and as a result, promoting capitalism(Eriksen, 2003, pp. 12-20).

With European state-building process, many catalyts including industrialization and capitalism played a crucial role. Without a noticeable improvement in any of these catalyts, the process of state building in Europe would have not been so successful. Even if one of these catalyts doesn't occur in one state who newly wants to undergo the state-building process, another catalyts in other form should happen to take its place. Foreign aid injection may play the role of industrialization in some states, if it is managed well (Eriksen, 2003, pp. 12-20).

2.2 Organized Crimes

Another trend contributing toward European state building process was perpetuation of organized crimes by the government. Different governments in order to consolidate their power and also to find financial revenue for their survival, they committed the following four activities, which can be described as organized crimes(Tilly, 1985, p. 170).

2.2.1 Waging war

They used to wage wars against their internal rivals so that their rival's power is neutralized and no threat exists for them. Waging war was a matter of monopolizing power and marginalizing the parallel groups who had the dream of grasping power inside the community. It was nonsense for a state to leave free its internal rivals who might pose serious threat to the wellbeing or survival of the state. Therefore, states who wanted to become modern states and have a powerful unilateral social control, they had to first wage wars against their potential eternal rivals so that the people in the community start to believe on the strength of the state. People can also be relieved to see their state is strong and powerful enough to suppress the other power graspers in the community. Thus people give full support for such a strong state and government(Tilly, 1985, p. 181).

2.2.2 State-making

After waging wars they neutralized and eliminated the external rivals. One of the main reasons for creation of state is to protect the life of its people and provide them opportunities to have quality life. Sovereignty of a state is the most important essential of its creation. So a state that wants to embrace the notion of modern states would remove any threat that exists to them from out. Neutralization and elimination of external rivals can be done through having strong army and military forces to transcend the enemy power (Tilly, 1985, p. 181).

2.2.3 Protection

They started to protect their citizens and provide them relative services. At this stage, states would start drafting proper law and norms, providing services from healthcare to

education and other range of service. They would also provide a peaceful internal sphere for their citizens to live their life fruitfully. Judicial law and constitutional laws should be widely common and the single authority in the state punishes its preparatory. In addition, the law making organs are clear and the mechanism for amending laws in the state is institutionalized (Tilly, 1985, p. 181).

2.2.4 Extraction

They would extract resources from them. At this stage, states start to get the benefit back from the people. In form of taxes, they accumulate money and resources from the people in exchange of the services they offer to the people. Extraction of resources is the most significant part in survival of states. The better system of taxation in the state, the more a ruler survives with its power (Tilly, 1985, p. 181).

This procedure can be seen through military revolution of Elizabeth in 1640s. Elizabeth's grasp of power shows these four procedures. By the nineteenth century, the British Empire was the dominant imperial power, in both trade and conquest. The British colonies covered one-third of the planet, which included Canada, India, Malaya and countries in east and West Africa. These colonies provided the Britain with enough resource for its state building process. The resource the Britain got, first they would spend it on training capable military, navy army and bureaucratic institutions. Since Britain's geographical position is in an island, it is difficult to be invaded. This geographical privilege helped the Britain to more focus on an aggressive military rather than defensive. This army could neutralize the internal rivals in the country. Second it starts to remove the external threats and make colonies. This is why Britain invaded many countries, like Canada, Spain, and India. Third, it was to provide security and protection to the key capitalists and capital owners. By following these three steps, Britain was able to collect a considerable amount of resources from its population and its colonies (Scott, 2007, pp. 60-65).

2.3 Nation- Building:

Nation Building is another trend, which is observed in the State-building process. Societies need to develop a national identity, which can transcend the religious and tribal identity. Without emergence of a national identity, the process of state building faces heavy obstacles that might result in failure.

Today modern world is undoubtedly a world of nations. And nationalism is defined as the principle for state building and politics. However still, there are few states that are functioning as full nation states. Mostly, states have diverse population and embodying different belief systems. States are commonly heterogenous in their formation rather than homogeneous (Utz, 2003).

There is a lot of literature on how to define concept of nation. But the most convincing definition for nation is a community of people who are living in a defined territory and following the same codes of law. It's not for territory to have a single group of people with single ethnic background to become a nation. As long as they live in same territory and bow to the same laws and regulations, although they are different in regard of ethnicity and race, they make a nation (Utz, 2003).

In regard to nation formation, there are two distinct types of nations prevalent in two opposing geographical territories. The west, which includes European pioneer states in state building, formed a territorial nation for them. The European territorial nation forming was based on a couple of features. One of these features of territorial nation formation was its basis from a sense of territory and from the effects of interaction within clear-cut boundaries. Another feature of territorial nation formation is its legal aspects. It is a community of laws and legal cods, and there are not exceptions on ground of race, color or creed (D.Smith, 2005, pp. 134-138).

On the other hand, the eastern nation formation is established on the basis of ethnic. Ethnicity and shared history, solidarity among the member of the group has played a significant role in the eastern notion of nation formation. Nation building is mostly a

transformation from ethnicity to nation, which is quite common in Middle East countries including Afghanistan and Pakistan(D.Smith, 2005, pp. 134-138).

2.4 Modernization

Modernization is another trend observed in European model of state building. Modernization theory refers to a situation in which a pre-modern or traditional society transfers into a modern one. Theory of modernization emphasizes on the process of modernization within societies. From the modernization theory lenses, one can look at the internal factors of a country and assume how to change its traditional mode to a modern one. Modernization theory is focusing on the social variables of a society to find an explanation for its social progress and development(Harrison, 1990, pp. 8-15).

The main focus of the modernization theory stands on the point that if traditional societies adopt modern practices they will develop. The proponents of the modernization theory argue that modern states in comparison to traditional states are wealthier and more powerful. Its citizens also practice a more level of freedom and enjoy an overall better living standard(Harrison, 1990, pp. 8-15).

Modernization is mostly linked with developments in urbanization and industrialization. This is why European states that pioneered in state-building process became modern as the result of occurrence of modernization. Modernization is also related to the process of rationalization. When modernization increases in a society, and thus the citizens become more rationale. They eventually replace the family or community as the fundamental unit of society(Harrison, 1990, pp. 8-15).

There are a lot of states that still struggle to embrace modernization theory. In such states, like Afghanistan and Pakistan, traditionalism is so widely practiced that the modernity fades to survive. Even due to the extreme traditional social fabric, Attempts to modernize Afghanistan have failed for many times.

To sum up this chapter, European state-building process involved industrialization and capitalism, Organized crimes, nationalism and modernization. Now, I am going to closely

analyze these trends in the Afghanistan's and Pakistan's early steps that were taken toward State-building process.



3. INDUSTRIALIZATION AND CAPITALISM IN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN PROCESSES OF STATE BUILDING

European states that pioneered in state building process experienced industrialization before becoming modern states. In this chapter, I am going to analyze the role and impact of industrialization and capitalism on Afghanistan's and Pakistan's processes of State-building. . In addition, I am observing if industrialization ever occurred in Afghanistan and Pakistan and if yeah, how it helped toward these two countries state-building processes.

3.1 Industrialization Stimulates Emergence of Modern States

Today most of the communities lay between a fully industrialized and a fully non-industrialized community. US is today's best industrialized society in which only 20 percent of population are engaged with basic essentials of life and only this low portion of population can use the labor force to ensure minimum of subsistence to the entire US population. The remaining 80 percent of population are engaged with producing things of comfort and luxury. On the contrary, in the south Asian countries like Pakistan, they use 75 percent of their population to produce the basic essential of life and the remaining 25 percent of population are busy with creation of luxury so that people life becomes more comfortable(More, 2000, pp. 16-20).

Industrialization was the first step toward state-building processes in European states. It was highly helped by capitalism too. The capitalists used to be the previous feudal who owned large scale of lands with peasants. But with collapse of feudalism, the former feudal used to own factories and means of production, and they used the previous peasants and workers in the factories and thus started to accumulate more capital(Giunchi, 2013).

States out of Europe, which tried to adopt state-building principles mostly, imitated the European style. They undergone industrialization process first and then industrialization provided new technology and services and thus required developing a modern system which is responsive to the newly created needs.

3.2 Did Industrialization Ever Occur in Pakistan?

Pakistan is a postcolonial state, which was created after the collapse of the British India. It is one of the youngest states in the world. Pakistan creation was based on large-scale violence that occurred between the then-Indian non-Muslims and the then Indian-Muslim population. Its creation is based on Islamic identity. In fact, the then Muslim Indian leaders wanted to make Pakistan a federal state in India but the large scale violence between the Muslim and non Muslim population created hostilities and thus making it impossible to stay stick together. As a result, the Muslim population of India announces the independence of united Pakistan that includes the East Pakistan that is now Bangladesh and West Pakistan that is the current republic of Pakistan (M.Adnan, 2006, pp. 12-14).

British India was not industrialized under British rule. Pakistan that was part of India and Afghanistan in that time also has hardly the signs of industrialization. During partition, there was 955 industrial units functioning in the British India, Pakistan got only 34 industries, which made up 4 percent of the total industries established in the subcontinent. The rest of the industries located in India. Even the industries that came to the share of Pakistan- small sugar mills, cotton ginning factories, flour mills, rice husking mills and canning factories- were small in size and were run based on raw material (Jaleel, 2009).

Therefore, at time of partition, Pakistan had a negligible industrial base. Such a small number of industries were not responsive for any newborn country to face the industrial world. Thus, Pakistan had to start from scratch and put a lot of effort to develop its industrial sector. The resources in Pakistan were so scarce and it had to make out of the most limited resource to pace itself with other states. With passage of time, Pakistan tried to use the internal and external resource to develop its industrial sector. Now after years of hard work, Pakistan industry has taken incredible success in and has attained a family

of diversified base in manufacturing ranging from sugar, steel, and fertilizers to cement(Khan, 2009, pp. 2-8).

At first years, industrialization in Pakistan was postponed by purpose. And the delay and stop in industrialization made it so difficult for Pakistan to process with its principles of state building. Since state-building process needs initially an industrial economy in place(Khan, 2009, pp. 2-8). The reasons for industrialization backwardness in Pakistan during the early years of its independence lay under the following areas:

3.3 Causes of Industrial Backwardness in Pakistan

Industrial sector play an import role in development and state building process of Pakistan. Industry is the second major sector of Pakistan's economy after the agriculture sector. The first causes of industrial backwardness are historical causes.

3.3.1 Historical causes:

Industrial backwardness in Pakistan has to do with the policy of the British rulers during the colonization of British India. It was not in favor of the British government to improve industrial sector in Indian sub-continent. If they developed the industrial sector in their colonies like India, the colonies would become self-supported and then they would ask for independence and this way British Empire would lose its power in the colonies(Kan, 2012).

Therefore, the British government always followed a harsh economical policy in their colonies so that they keep them underdeveloped. For example, in India, Pakistan was part of it then; British government exported the raw material at cheaper rate to Britain. Then in Britain they would use their own factories and industry to produce goods and products and then they would send it back to their colonies and would sell them back to the people at expensive rates. This policy of British government in India caused the industrialization process within India so slow and mostly the industrial sector came to a halt in most of its places(Kan, 2012).

Like the same, technical knowledge was isolated for Britain alone. Modern technology was only for Britain and never introduced in the colonies. In Britain they were using the modern methods of production, but in the sub-continent they used the old methods in all manufacturing units. Because of these issues, the quality and quantity of the production in the subcontinent was kept very low(Kan, 2012).

Industrial share also affected the backwardness of industrialization during the partition time. From 921 industrial units that existed in all subcontinents, only 34 small industries were located in the territory, which belonged to Pakistan share during the independence time. This was a small share and didn't have any effect on development of the newly established country. Therefore, Pakistan has to start from the first(Jaleel, 2009).

3.3.2Economic causes

Economic causes also existed and played a crucial role in Pakistan's industrial backwardness. One of the main economic reasons for industrial backwardness in Pakistan was due to the disputable industrial strategies. Pakistan from the initial time of establishment until these years has not adopted a single industrial strategy. Every time the governments in Pakistan shifted either by democratic ways, election, or non-democratic way, coups; followed their own favorable strategy for industrial developments(Kan, 2012).

During the first years of creation 1947-1950, Pakistan was highly dependent on imported goods from outside. It was a real calamity; therefore the government had to tackle this problem. They adopted the import substitution strategy. This strategy fostered the internal factories to manufacture goods inside rather than importing from outside. This policy continued until 1960(Kan, 2012).

After 1960s, a major shift in Pakistan industrial strategy happened. Z. A. Bhutto adopted the policy of nationalization. Nationalization not only didn't develop the industry but also it made it much more slow. The governmental bureaucracy was corrupted and slow to own the major factories and manage them. The farmers and capitalists found it so

embarrassing when they saw that mostly the resources and positions are filled up by people who have political ties in their villages and cities(Kan, 2012).

After this, even Zia UIHaq when got the power through military coup, He adopted policy of privatization. With all of these periodical shifts in industrial strategy, the investors either from inside or outside always felt hesitated to invest in such unstable situation. In addition to these frequent shifts in the industrial strategy of Pakistani, lack of mineral resources also were of great importance in Pakistan industrial backwardness. There is an acute shortage of resources like gas and oil in Pakistan. These resources are fundamental in functioning of the machineries in the factories. Contribution of natural resources to GDP is estimated 0.8 percent in Pakistan. This is a low percentage, and that is why the lack of natural resources played a crucial role in industrial backwardness in Pakistan(Kan, 2012).

3.3.3 Social causes

Lack of education is one fundamental cause behind industrial backwardness in Pakistan. Illiteracy is widespread and people don't know how to set up the industrial machines and instruments. The unskilled and untrained labor produces low and inefficient goods in the industrial sector, which makes it more back-warded(Kan, 2012).

Literacy is very common and there is a large gap between male and female domination in the industrial sector. Women are usually not given the chance to take part in industry and manufacturing goods. Women are more illiterate than men and the statistics indicates that 57 percent of the Pakistan population is illiterate and worse than this that 1.8 percent of GDP is spent on education, which is one of the lowest rates in the region(Kan, 2012).

Corruption is another social phenomenon, which decreased the rate of industrialization in Pakistan. In Pakistan political system, kinship and political ties are the healer for all the problems. People, who have no skill and no education, but have a close friend or dominant party inclinations unconditionally fill the significant offices in the whole government. This also includes the private sector, since corruption is now almost a culture in Pakistan. Based on the latest rankings, Pakistan takes the 30th place of the most

corrupted states in the world and one of the major corrupted states in south Asia(Kan, 2012).

3.3.4 Political causes

Political instability is an additional cause of industrial backwardness. There are frequent changes in the government through either democratic or non-democratic means. Foreign investors as well the domestic investors feel risk to invest in a state where every some years experiences coups and dictatorships. In addition to frequent shift of the political systems, there is an ongoing war over Kashmir with India. Pakistan tough hostility with India over Kashmir and water issues is making the investors to think second time about investing in Pakistan. So far the big two wars has been fought with India in 1965 and 1971. As a result in 1972, Bangladesh, which was part of Pakistan, separated from Pakistan. Therefore, there are still worries about eruption of a potential war with India and dissolving Pakistan as a state from the world political map. Such worries existed since its creation and investors felt risk to bring their capital and money in the country(Kan, 2012).

3.4Pakistan's Major Steps Toward Industrialization

As I mentioned above, Pakistan started with an almost zero industry when it was established as a state in 1947. Industrialization was already postponed and stopped in it. But after independence, it had to take some serious actions to catch up with industrialized outside world. Therefore, it took the following major steps to improve its industrial sector.

Pakistan during its first years of independence realized the need for development of its basic industrial sector, which included establishing industrial estates and an engineering base. Lyari in Karachi at present Sindh industrial trading estate road was the first estate that Pakistan government processed with. Lyari estate provides the basic facilities such as water, plant and waste disposal system. Then after this step, the government created Shipyard and engineering works to satisfy the needs of engineering material, plant and equipment's(Wadhwani, 2009, pp. 1-6).

PCSIR, the Pakistan Council of scientific and Industrial Research, was set up in 1953 to develop technologies for utilization of indigenous resource, dissemination of results of research and solving problems that encountered by newly established industry(Wadhvani, 2009, pp. 1-6).

After this, PIDC (Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation) was created to work on the major and heavy industries like cement and those industries, which the private sector couldn't manage. The Landhi town ship was simultaneously established to set up industrial estates to ensure employment for the newly shifted people from other sides of India(Wadhvani, 2009, pp. 1-6).

Until late fifties, the small scale-manufacturing units contributed to the economy of Pakistan more than the large-scale industries. After that, the large-scale manufacturing based on embodies technologies contributed more to the economy and replaced the small scale manufacturing units. Subsequently, both large scale and small-scale manufacturing unites were established in the cities of Lahore, Karachi, Kyderabad, khaipure and late in Baluchistan(Wadhvani, 2009, pp. 1-6).

3.5Industrialization in Afghanistan

Afghanistan is a mountainous country located in south of Asia. It is located in a very important geographical position in the heart of Asia. There has always been a warm enthusiasm for the super powers in the world to have an influence in the country. Invasion or influence in Afghanistan would provide the colonial powers a passing tunnel to fertile lands, like India. After the death of Ahmad Sha the first Afghanistan's kings in 1747, international rivalry has played a big role in this land(Rubin, 2002, p. 135).

Having weak institutions for raising internal resources to fund its expenditures, Afghanistan has gone through foreign aid as their main source. AdulRahman khan, who is considered the founder of modern state in Afghanistan, depended highly on British subsidies for holding its power. The same is true with Musahiben family who ruled the country from 1929-1978. They were highly dependent on British and Russian subsidies, which finally made Afghanistan a full renter state in 1978(Rubin, 1998, pp. 1188-1209).

In Afghanistan the process of modernization has followed a different path than Europe's. Industrialization didn't happen in Afghanistan, and the class of capitalists didn't emerge. Industrialization needs modern state, so when there is not industrialization then there is no modern state. Having said this, then there must be an alternative for industrialization. And that is the injection of foreign aid in Afghanistan by superpowers in the world. Therefore, the process of state building in Afghanistan has been dictated on it(Rubin, 2002, p. 193).

Abdul Rahman Khan started the process of state building in Afghanistan. There was not enough resource for establishing modern institutions and bureaucracy. In order to get the resources, he had to rely on foreign aid, since Afghanistan could not wage war against the foreign countries to extract resources. Foreign aid from British provided the resources to him, but it ended up costing him the foreign control of the country in hands of the British(Barfield, 2009, p. 198).

3.6 Industrial Backwardness in Afghanistan

Industry in Afghanistan has been poorly improved. Capitalism was not introduced to Afghanistan, because there was a fear that the capitalists would bring technology, like telegraph and railroad to the country. These new technologies would pave the way for further domination of the country by the British during Abdul Rahman Khan era(Rubin, 1998, pp. 198-199).

Prevention of capitalism and technology, kept the existed gap between the rural and urban places, where the rural people were engaged in their subsistence agriculture. The villagers would remain in their traditional way of life. They would rely on the Khans, Arbabs and tribal leaders rather than the central government. This would undermine the monopoly of power by the central government as the state cannot easily penetrate to rural areas(Rubin, 1998, p. 199).

During King Amanullah (1919-1928), some further steps were taking to further develop the industrial sector in the country. Since foreign aid was cut for King Amanullah, he had to rely on internal resource extraction. He introduced the new policy of taxation on land,

and animals beside the export products in form of cash. This monetization of taxation helped to the interaction of the villagers to the market place. Incorporation of the villagers to the market would develop capitalism simply by transactions of villagers and city dwellers(Barfield, 2009, p. 200).

In order to continue the process of state building, he swept away the role of religious leaders, khans and Arbabs in the rural areas. He established institutions for collecting taxation directly from people. By cutting off the hands of Khans and Arbab in collecting taxes, King Amanullah wanted to promote the monopoly of the central government. Otherwise, these Khans and Arabs would be very powerful in their villages and would threaten the government at some point(Rubin, 2002, p. 36).

Afghanistan has mostly egalitarian tribes. Pashtuns who make up a large bulk of the country are egalitarian tribes(Lerner, The passing of Traditional Society: Modernization the middle East, 1958, pp. 19-42). It is very hard to govern egalitarian tribes, since they believe in superiority and inferiority among them. Even when Ahmad sha in 1947 established its empire, his purpose was to take colonies and extract resources from them, not to directly govern the people in his empire or colonies. This notion of egalitarianism, also make difficult the process of state building. For example, when King Amanullah announces the new law of marriage (girls should not get married under age 16 and without their consent), the fathers are embarrassed and oppose the law. The egalitarian population doesn't allow anyone to directly control them(Barfield, Afghanistan: a cultural and political history, 2009).

The process of state building became to a halt, when King Amanullah lost the throne. Then Musahibin Family took the power. They follow up their policy of encapsulate modernization. Musahib Family doesn't take any important step toward state building process. They just bring some economic reform including the establishment of Afghanistan first Bank, Bankemilli Afghan. Establishment such banks authorized Afghanistan to have share in the bank and also to bring under the control the tariffs of exporting goods and rate of currency change(Barfield, 2009, pp. 176-180).

To sum up this chapter, I identified industrialization and capitalism the first trends seen in state building process. Afghanistan and Pakistan industrialization processes are not developed but to some extent the injection of external aid somehow replaced the place of industrialization at the first step, and then it helped the two states to invest energy and effort to improve their industrial sectors. So far both states lag behind to have strong industries and thus their state-building process is slow and weak. Next chapter will focus on another trend of European state building and I will apply it in case of Afghanistan and Pakistan.



4. CONDUCT OF ORGANIZED CRIMES IN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN PROCESSES OF STATE-BUILDING

In the previous chapter I identified industrialization and capitalism as first trends observed in state-building process. I examined industrialization process in Afghanistan and Pakistan to observe if the first prerequisite of European model of state-building process has been met. In this chapter, I am applying another trend of State-building, which is “organized crimes by the government” in the processes of state building of Afghanistan and Pakistan.

4.1 What Are Organized Crimes?

In regard to state-building process, we defined state as a community of people who have monopoly over legitimate means of violence in a defined territory. The governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan, for example, can execute, put in prison and punish people in their respected territories. Of course, there is a code of law regulating this violence and that is why such punishments are legitimate for the government as the only organ that can have monopoly over such legitimate use of violence (W. Morris, 2000, pp. 15-20).

In regard to state building process, organized crimes are told for war-making and state-making issues. These two crimes are so common for establishing states and every state to the extent of its power has exercised war making and state making in their respected territories. War makes states. War making and state making refers to elimination of international threat and internal rivals (Tilly, 1985, p. 170).

War-making and state-making as which were boldly seen in European State-Building process are observable in the history of Afghanistan and Pakistan too. King Abdulrahman Khan’s attempts toward centralization of power indicate these organized crimes.

During King AbdurRahman Khan in the 1880s, he decided to consolidate the power of central government and thus continue with Afghanistan state-building process. The first step he did first was to neutralize the effect of the external powers like British Empire to have a say in internal issues of Afghanistan. He successfully accomplished war making through having a strong army and military. After this, the king focused on state making which is the elimination of the internal rivals who posed threat to the central government. He suppressed the Hazara minority tribe who didn't easily bow to his rule. He also killed and executed the religious leaders who opposed his rule. Therefore, king managed to stay in power and kept with his plan of build (Galeotti, 1995, pp. 20-22).

In Pakistan, too, war-making and state-making during its independent time is clearly observable. The war against India in 1947 was in fact to eliminate its external threats. Having in mind, the idea of independence and creation of modern state, Muhammed Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan state led a periodical war, which resulted in remarkable amount of violence in the subcontinent. After independence, also Pakistan led state making through suppressing its internal rivals. The Punjabi dominated government of Pakistan marginalized the Baluch ethnic minorities and suppressed their separation motives. Therefore, during initial years of Pakistan independence, war making and state making were used a tool for embracing the larger image of state-building process in the country (Jaffrelot, 2007, pp. 29-31).

4.2 Four organized Crimes Done During State-Building Processes of Afghanistan and Pakistan

In regard to state-building issues, Charles Tilly further argues that agents of state commit four activities of state-controlled violence. War making, State making, protection, and Extraction are the four organized crimes perpetrated during Afghanistan and Pakistan process of State-Building too.

4.2.1 War making in case of Afghanistan and Pakistan

Charles Tilly puts forward that war making is elimination and neutralization of the external threats, which are the wielders of the force. Removal of the external rivals is the

priority in state building. The pioneer European nations in state building they waged wars against the external forces initially. In fact, war makes states. If there is another force that yields force in the territory, then the decision-making is multilateral and involved multi groups and one dominant group does not practice thus social control. War making as a major use of organized violence resulted in producing characteristic forms of organization. War making yields armies, military, navy and supporting services.

War making, as a form of organized violence by the governments in the Pakistan state-building process is visible. During and after wars of Muslim population of the subcontinent against the Indus population, the politicians who led the independences of Pakistan, fought wars with their Indus rivals. The wide spread of violence and frequent wars and unrest between the Muslim and Indus population of the subcontinent yielded that the newly established Pakistan state invest more on its army and military to neutralize any threat posed by India to it. Therefore, that is why Pakistani military stuff is sent in large number to United Kingdom for undergoing the military trainings. Pakistan proved to be a strategic ally with UK and thus UK supported Pakistan with military and army improvements (Wynbrandt, 2006, pp. 86-88).

In Afghanistan, too, Amir Abdul Rahman Khan developed a strong army as a result of threat posed to the state from British Empire to make it its direct colony. Strong army was used to consolidate its power internally rather than fighting the outside threats. Even after the intervention of international community in 2001, the newly democratic Afghan government had a hard time to fight with its external enemies, which were Pakistani Taliban, Al Qaeda and now ISIS. The fight against such external threats made Afghanistan and international community to invest more on its army and military forces. They focused and invested a lot of funds and energy on it, though now the Afghan army is lagging behind a standard army due to some other shortcomings (Rasanayagam, 2010, pp. 90-95).

4.2.2 State making in case of Afghanistan and Pakistan

Charles Tilly also argues that state making is also one of the organized crimes that government agents are committing as organized crime during the state-building process..

State making refers to the elimination and neutralization of internal rivals in the territory. State making produces durable instrument of surveillance and control within the territory.

In case of Pakistan, state making is visible through the common dominance of the Punjabi power holders. The Punjabi dominated party of Muslim League is dominating Pakistan affairs since its initial years of independence. The Panjabi leaders have always suppressed the politicians, which had other ethnic backgrounds and eliminated their rivals from political scenes through means of indirect force. The Boluch separatists who are fighting for their separation from Pakistan and creating their own state are largely suppressed through means of violent force in the country. And thus the Boluch community, for instance, is kept poor and weak so that they don't find quality time to think about their separation ideas. Therefore, by ethnic minority suppression, Pakistan managed to improve its instruments of surveillance and control over the Pakistani mass within the country(Lieven, Pakistan: A Hard Country, 2012, p. 109).

In case of Afghanistan, King Amanullah 1919-1929 also used tremendous amount of military force to suppress the religious extremists who posed serious threat toward its application of modern social and economical reforms. The religious extremists opposed any modern European like modernization in the country and thus the king used its maximum military power to suppress them, but due to the powerfulness of the religious leaders in Afghan societal fabric, the king found itself so weak to face the religious leaders and thus the king was ousted by a social unrest in the country in 1929. Thus, it was due to this reason that Afghanistan in that era, failed to develop a strong surveillance and control system over the masses and the dissident groups within the country(Barfield, 2009, pp. 65-68).

4.2.3 Protection in case of Afghanistan and Pakistan

Charles Tilly says that government used protection as a means of organized crime during the state building process too. Governments both create and remove threats for citizens so that the masses follow their rule and don't oppose them. This role of the governments is defined as racketeer state. Under this category come Banditry, piracy, gangland rivalry, policing, war making and so on. In fact, these are the organized crimes that have been

arranged by the government to trick the masses to make them follow their rule. Protection yields in creation of courts and collective legal assemblies by which the masses sue the ones who were supposed to protect the masses during war making (elimination of external threats) and state-making (elimination of internal threats).

Pakistan has experience this type of organized crime committed by the government. Pakistan has been a safe haven for the terrorists in the last decades. The dangerous terrorists who plotted the most devastating terrorist attacks on innocent people in different countries have been given shelter in Pakistan. The example of Osama Bin Laden who was killed by an American raid in Abbotabad of Pakistan region is evident to this argument. Osama save haven example and other cases in Pakistan shows that Pakistan is supporting terrorism since it found its benefit with existence of terrorism in the territory and keeping the region instable. So Pakistan has been playing of a racketeer state in which it creates threats and then charges its people for its elimination(Gall, 2014, pp. 123-125).

Protection as an organized crime in Afghanistan history of state building is quite common too. Poverty and illiteracy are the two common calamities in the country. These two shortcomings have been resulted due to the weak performance of the governments in the country. Even during king Abdul Rahman khan, he rejected to allow the Rail trace and road building and other transformative and communicative facilities to be build in the country, because he feared the domination of British India in the country. Therefore, the government always used poverty and illiteracy campaign to open a new hope for people to support the government. Thus, the government started to inaugurate educational and communication projects in exchange for begging people support and alliance to the central government(Gall, 2014, pp. 123-125).

4.2.4 Resource extraction in case of Afghanistan and Pakistan

Charles Tilly further argues that states commit all the three above-mentioned activities to get to extraction. Extraction is simply accomplishing removing internal and external threat with providing protection for the citizens. In addition to this, exaction involves

taking resources from the citizens in form of taxation, charge of services or any other different forms. Extraction provides the fiscal and accounting structures into being.

Extraction has been boldly observed in the process of Pakistan state-building process. Taxation and fiscal issues has been quite common since and before its independence. Taxation was in form of cash rather than the goods. This cash style taxation also helped the farmers from the villages to send their goods or sometimes came and sees the cities. Therefore, this exchange of goods and harvest improved capitalism too in the country(Lieven, 2012, pp. 170-172).

The same in Afghanistan happened. Government in the country charged the citizen in exchange of education, relative security and other basic facilities that they provided them. Taxation has been imposed on the citizens in form of direct and indirect taxation. Direct taxation is the amount money that government received from the farming and harvest. In direct taxation is the amount of money that government received from the import and export related businesses. Taxation in Afghanistan was also changed from good-exchange style to cash during King Abdul Rahman khan in 1980s(Barfield, 2009, p. 143).

To sum up this chapter, Charles Tilly argues that European states that pioneered in state-building processes have committed organized crimes to consolidate their power in the states and to force the citizens to not bow to any other groups who wield power except to the central government. Agents of states processed with war making, state making, protection and extraction as the four activities defined as organized crimes. Afghanistan and Pakistan has also followed this specific path of European state building to some extents. They started with elimination their external enemies then eradicating their internal rivals then providing protection for the citizen and then extracting resources from the citizen to fund their rule. Both Afghanistan and Pakistan didn't prove completely successful in these four activities but to their extent of power they tried to commit organize crimes. Next chapter is going to discuss nationalism. It was observed as a trend in the European state building processes. Therefore, next chapter will show if the idea of promoting national identity in Afghanistan and Pakistan contributed towards its State-Building process.

5. NATION-BUILDING IN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN PROCESSES OF STATE-BUILDING

Nation Building is another trend observed during the European model of State-Building process. The pioneer European states all fostered a notion of a single nationhood when they undergone the state-building process. Formation of nation in Europe was observed desirable due to the three revolutions. These were a revolution in the sphere of the Division of labor, a revolution in the control of administration, and a revolution in cultural co-ordination. Anthony D. Smith argues that nation or *ethnie* has five dimensions. Five dimension of nation presented by D. Smith can also be observed during nation building process of the European State-Building process (D.Smith, 2005, p. 22).

5.1 Dimensions of a nation (*ethnie*)

Ethnie is a French word indicating for a group of people who bow to the same rule and constitution in the same territory. *ethnie* is interchangeably used with the word nation with a slight difference. *Ethnie* is much older concept than nations and mostly in different society's *ethnies* shifted into nations. Anthony D. smith in his famous book, the ethnic origins of nations, presents five dimensions for forming nations (*ethnie*) in a state. Therefore, I am now observing each of these six dimensions of nation-formation to analyze how Afghanistan and Pakistan process of nation building has occurred.

5.1.1 Collective Name

Anthony D. Smith argues that nations have collective name. It is the main identifying mark of a nation in the historical record. In regard to nation formation, first a collective name should be established. Collective name is usually created by the dominant group, which has the most of the power in its hands. Britain, France, and Spain are the example

of successful states that managed to form their nations in the 16th century(D.Smith, 2005, pp. 22-27).

Pakistan has also tried to take significant steps toward its nation formation as a step of state building process. After Pakistan establishment as a state, the governments tried to form their nation and thus established a collective name of Pakistanis to all citizens of Pakistan who are from different ethnic (Punjabi, Sindhi, Pathan, Boluch and Muhajir) and religious (Sunni Islam, Shia Islam) backgrounds. Pakistani as a collective name for the Pakistan citizens is indicating a collective identity by which they differ from the citizens of other states. Despite the tremendous attempts of the government, Pakistan society is so diverse that Pakistani word contentious among its popular. Boluch who are seeking independence are hard with the term since they want their own state. The same is true with the Pathan living on Afghan-Pakistan border. Since they were from Afghanistan, some of them want to be part of Afghanistan and some other Pathan assert for their independent state of Pashtonistan(Jaffrelot, 2007).

Afghanistan has also taken some steps toward its nation-formation, though it has passed through tough paths. The word “Afghan” has been developed as a collective name to present all the citizens of Afghanistan. However, this collective name is a bit controversial and thus has failed to bring about a successful national identity in the country. Afghan is historically called for the pushtons ethnicity and due to their political and military dominance in the country; their ethnicity name was imposed on the whole population. It was established as a collective name but highly controversial. For example, the processes of distribution of electric identity cards have been stopped because it bears the word Afghan in place of nationality rather than mentioning any specific ethnic name. Some argue that instead of the word *Afghan*, *Afghanistani*, which is more representative of all the ethnic groups, should be replaced as a collective name(Saikal, 2004, pp. 174-180).

5.1.2 Common Myth of Descent

D. Smith further put forwards that a common myth of descent is another dimension for nation formation. Nations at eve of formation should be stick together by myth of

descent. Myth of descent relates to a common ancestry and origin. A nation needs to provide answer for question similarities and belongings that they came from the self-same ancestor at a specific time. It is up to the nationalist leaders of the state to either make up new myth or continue with the existing former ones to make the citizens stick together and feel proud of their descent and origin. An example of this would be the Iranian myth about the ancient Persian warriors of Sohrab and Rastam who were the warriors and heroes of wars. This type of myth makes the people of a specific nation to feel proud of their past and ancestors(D.Smith, 2005, pp. 22-29).

Pakistan has proved itself successful at developing this specific dimension of nation formation. The inevitable hostilities toward India and the magnifying violent wars they fought with non-Muslim Indian population during the 1940s. Such myth of descent they were all Muslims and fought together for an independent state has helped significantly in keeping the shaky diversified population of the country together(Lieven, 2012, p. 90).

Afghanistan has also worked toward developing a common myth of descent in different period of times. Ahmad Sha Abdali 1747-1780 who is father funder of the first dynasty in the country and the one who chose the name “Afghanistan” for this geographical territory was so brave that he managed to attack on India for seven times. Every time he came back with bounties and gold and thus his bravery and fighting skills has been used as a common myth of descent in the country to make the Afghan citizens feel proud about their ancestors(Saikal, 2004, pp. 187-188).

5.1.3 Shared History

D. Smith also argues that a shared history is another dimension of nation formation. Nations are built up on the shared memories. There should be a sense of common history that unites successive generations in a nation. Indian holy man, the Turkish warrior, the Jewish sage are the examples of developed shared histories among different states.

Pakistan has been successful in creating a shared history to some extent too. Pakistan is one of the two countries in the world, which was created based on a religious identity. Therefore, the Pakistani dedicated Muslim is what the government has been working on

to foster its nation formation. Due to its hostilities with India, the governments have been using the name of religion to achieve their own ends(Lieven, 2012, p. 90).

In Afghanistan, too, governments have made up shared history. The three wars against Britain and all three times beating them on battlegrounds is what made the Afghan bravery as shared history. From these historical events, the story of *Zargona* is notorious. She was the brave Afghan woman in first Afghan-British war where he triumphed on killing a remarkable number of British soldiers with her single sword. With all of these efforts, “Afghan Brave women” has been established as a shared history among Afghan citizens(Saikal, 2004, p. 188).

5.1.4 Distinctive shared culture

D. Smith also argues that a distinctive shared culture is another dimension of nation formation. Nations are differentiated through one or more elements of culture which both help to bind together members and separate them from the outsiders. The two important cultural traits of one nation are language and religions. Other traits like music, food, folklore, dress and the like are of importance but lower than language and religion.

Pakistan is one of the very few states, which were established based on religious identity. All of its population without any exception is Muslims. But when one goes deep into the religious situation of Pakistan, the religious tensions among the different division of Islamic faith is observable. The government in Pakistan tried to eliminate the threats that exist among the Sunni, Shia and Sofi order divisions of Islam, but to some extent they have failed. In regard with language, Pakistan is consisted of different ethnicities each with their own language. Urdu, Pashto, Boluchi were the indigenous language of the tribes. But governments in Pakistan decided to create cultural unification and that is why they chose English as one of their official languages(Wynbrandt, 2006, p. 89).

Afghanistan has tried to the extent of its power and energy to make unified culture in the country. Selection of the two dominant languages of Dari and Pashto as the country’s official languages is evidence to this argument. Religion is also unified, since the overwhelming majority is Muslims in the country. But still there are some tensions

among the different creeds of Islam in the country. However, the government to the extent of their power has always tried to decrease these tensions so that the state get unified nation(Barfield, 2009, pp. 67-68).

5.1.5 Association with a specific territory

Finally, Anthony says that nations have an association with a specific territory. Nation posses tie to a particular territory, which they call their own. The members of the nation may reside in that territory or not, there is an association with it. A symbolic geographical center, a sacred habitat or the like can form this territorial association. It is not necessary that geographical center is originally located in the place where the people live. It can be located outside. But people are feeling an internal association with it regardless of its current location.

Pakistani people are bind together through the large number of the historic and religious saint that exists there. Every district in Pakistan has its own Sofi orders with their defined Sofi order, which make them stick to each other. Even, Pakistanis who are living far from that specific saint, they annually or on specially occasion come to pay their respect to their Shaik on whom they believe the most. (Lieven, 2012, p. 234)

In Afghanistan, too, the governments have constructed some place where people feel an association with. For example, in Mazar e sharif, one of the main cities in Afghanistan has a big historical mosque in which it is believed that Imam Ali cousin of Prophet Mohammad is buried in. Due to this trait, a lot of people from the other cities and states every year visit their holy place and it function as a pacific territory that Afghans feel association with. Governments in Afghanistan have been lazy in developing more places where people can associate with and thus indirectly promoting a national unity and subsequently national identity. Herat, which is another city in Afghanistan,has a lot of famous shrines of the Islamic philosophers and poets. Such places have the potential to turn into a place where people from all over Afghanistan can associate (Barfield, 2009, p. 199).

In conclusion, Anthony D. Smith put forward five dimensions for nation formation. Afghanistan and Pakistan as states that are still in their process of state building are trying to build a unified nation. Afghanistan and Pakistan has taken steps to perform all of the activities needed for nation formation in the two states. However, both of the two states' efforts have not been hundred percent successful, since still in the two countries notion of a single nationhood and a strong national identity doesn't exists



6. MODERNIZATION IN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN PROCESSES OF STATE-BUILDING

This chapter discusses about modernization, which is observed in the European state-building process, and it applies the modernization theory in case of Afghanistan and Pakistan to understand its state-building process better. Modernization caused the European states to leave behind their old traditional practices and embrace changes in their social, political and economical life. This chapter is exploring the reaction of modernization in Afghanistan and Pakistan process of State-Building.

6.1 The Modern Turkish Grocer and the Traditional Chief

Professor Lerner has done a great job in studying modernization theory in the Middle East. His study achieved a great amount of attention when he analyzed the transformation of a Turkish village from traditionalism to modernity in 1950s. Balgat, which was a village in outskirts of Ankara, was under study of Lerner for four years from 1950 to 1954. During these four years, Balgat is undergoing remarkable changes in form of development and leaves its traditional traits and replacing them by more modern ones(Lerner, 1958, pp. 19-40).

Lerner is focusing on two characters in the village to come up with his analysis of modernization in Middle East. These two characters are the village traditional chief and the village modern grocer. The chief is stuck with its traditional ideas of patriotism, localism, and subsistence agriculture while the grocer is dreaming about leaving the local village, undergoing changes, and exposing to diversity.

Lerner ends up finding some specific characteristics, which defines and differentiate a traditional society from a modern way. I am going to apply these characteristics in case of Afghanistan and Pakistan to observe the dichotomy of traditionalism vs. modernity.

Lerner's observation in Balgat village shows that village is scarcely populated. The number of family living in the village doesn't exceed fifty families. The village is geographically formed in a way that the pieces of land that are used for farming are surrounding the homes. That is because all the village population are farmers and they have subsistence agriculture for their own survival. Therefore, it can be inferred that traditional societies are not densely populated and the people are busy with subsistence agriculture on the nearby farms.

Lerner also observes that people in Balgat oppose any type of change. Undergoing changes for them is considered as eating poison. Leaving the local village for hope of a better life is infidelity and it was considered as a big taboo. The chief of the village consented that he would stay and live and die in his village, since he valued what has left to him from his ancestors. While for the modern grocer, staying at village was not a must and he would have left the village easily if there was business chance for him at any other place.

Lerner observed that in Balgat the chief was controlling the dissemination of information. He owned a Radio and assembled a group of villagers every evening to come and listen to his favorite news and programs. On the other hand, the grocer who was frequently going to the city of Ankara was already listening to the news in the city's cafe shops. The grocer was not dependent on the chief to get information.

Lerner also saw that the village is without any recreation and excitements. The local villagers including the farmers, shepherds are so much poor that even they can't provide themselves minimum necessary clothing's. There is no diversity of food too. There is only one or few number of local dishes available to the villagers. There are no shopping centers, no barber and no any recreation center.

After four years, Lerner revisited the village. He finds incredible changes in villages. This time it took him 20 minutes to get to that village from Ankara unlike the previous time, which took it one and half hours. The village is now big and densely populated. There is now more than five hundred families in the village. The chief who knew everyone in the village four years ago, he doesn't know all of the villagers now.

There is clean water distributed among the homes, there is also electricity available. People have welcomed change and they left behind a lot of their traditional practices now. The chief is no longer dominating the dissemination of information, since people have radios now and more than fifty channels of radio is casting in their village(Lerner, 1958, pp. 19-40).

Of the most surprising things, there is no one left as a farmer in the village. All the Balgat labor transferred to the Ankara's factories where they receive a remarkable larger amount of money. The shepherd left the village since there is no stock for his beasts, the farmers lift for cities. The number of grocers increased in the village and there are more than seven groceries and one barber working in the village(Lerner, 1958, pp. 19-42).

Important than all, people are no longer dependent on the chief. In fact, chief is not practicing social control over people. He doesn't have the means of productions, like land, money, legal practices in his hands. Now in Balgat, the state is practicing social control and that is why the chief is the last *Muhtur* of the village, and from now on the village will be part of the municipality and thus the state will determine how the people will be ruled(Lerner, The Grocer and the Chief: A parable, 1958, pp. 19-42).

From the experience of Balgot, Lerner argues that modernization has direct connection with transferring one traditional society into a modern one. It was the construction of three infrastructures, a road, electricity and water system, which shifted the traditional life of people into a modern one. With road construction, local people could commute to the city easily and therefore could bring new technology to their families in exchange of their labor. With electricity, they could run small factories, use technologies like telephone, telegraph and so on. With pure water system, they could be healthier and thus more productive.

Lerner concludes its analysis about modernization with idea that improvement in basis infrastructure boasts urbanization and urbanization leads to modernization. With a modern state society, of course they will easily undergo the state building process where one single authority like state alone practices social control on people rather than more subordinate multi-authority like the village chief, the family or the parents.

6.2 Traditionalism in Afghanistan and Pakistan Societies

With close dictation of the Lerner's analysis of traditionalism and modernism, I argue that traditionalism is more prevalent than modernism in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Afghanistan is a traditional society because state is not the only authority in the country to practice social control. State is in a tough competition with other actors. One of these major competitors with the state is the religious leaders. Due to the religious social fabric of Afghan society, people are easily motivated to oppose the unilateral social practice of the state in the country (Barfield, 2009, p. 17).

This example can be easily shown through two events that occurred in the country. First, the religious leaders lead the collapse of King Amanullah in 1929 due to the widespread unrest. King Amanullah was adopting European style social reform to modernize the country. He was imitating Ataturk of Turkey to apply the same reforms to help replace the traditional society of Afghanistan to a modern one. However, King Amanullah end up failing to face the power of the local Mullahs and other religious leaders and thus he was ousted of the throne by these social unrests (Barfield, 2009, p. 193).

Another example, which magnifies religion manipulation of social control over people, is that era of Taliban in 1994-2001. Taliban were the religious extreme groups who opposed any model of European like modernization and believed on a very tough and harsh interpretation of Islam. People in the villages of Afghanistan, who have never experienced any sign of modernization in their villages, sympathized with Taliban interpretation of Islam. They are not educated and that is why they are tricked to support such a tough interpretation of Islam which doesn't allow any space for women improvement and participation too (Barfield, 2009, p. 56).

Another sign that shows Afghanistan is a traditional state is when the communist government of Afghanistan in 1980s adopted the family law. The law didn't allow marriage under 16 and required every family to send their girls to public schools. It also regulated the women will receive the same amount of inheritance as male brothers. This law was highly controversial since it was impossible for a traditional villager to let her

young girl go out of home alone; let it alone going to school. The traditional society of Afghanistan rejected this law and that is partly why they overthrew the communist regime in 1990s. This example shows that there has never been a single authority that can practice social control on people. Beside the states, groups like religious leaders, parents, families, and the like enjoyed an incredible amount of social control in their societies(Barfield, 2009, p. 210).

There is a gap between the villages and the cities in Afghanistan. In other words, urbanization has not occurred in large scale in the country yet. As of now in 2015, the circular road, which passes through a circle and encompassing all the main cities together, has not been completed. Just few miles from the main cities, villages are not having main infrastructure like roads, electricity and water supplies. The afghan villages resemble in great deal with the 1950 Turkish Balgat where there was not seen any sign modernity(Saikal, 2004, p. 87).

The same happens in Pakistan. But in compared to Afghanistan, Pakistan has embraced modernity more. The role of religious leaders is still considered as a powerful social control contesting with the government. Pakistan creation was based on Islamic identity and thus religion will play a great role in Pakistan affairs. Supporting the Islamic religious groups on Afghanistan Pakistan border to produce religious fighters against the soviet existence in Afghanistan and creating religious extremist military men to fight the Indians on Pakistan-Kashmir border is evident to overwhelming powerfulness of religious leaders(Lieven, 2012, pp. 223-224).

There is gap between village and cities too. widespread literacy and the believe that aside from studying Islamic studies is forbidden to study any other knowledge is common in its villages and out of cities, especially in north west frontier states, where people are more hostile toward modernity and adopting west style traditions. Except the main cities in which industrialization occurred, in outskirts of the main cities traditionalism prevails. State has nothing to do, since there are other actors like saints, mullahs, village chief and family who practice social control(Lieven, 2012, pp. 223-224).

In the most villages, there are no roads that connect them to the cities. In addition, there is not any clean water system and because Pakistan doesn't have enough water for its people, in outskirts a lot of people die due to the lack of clean water or frequent floods that occur every winter and at springs(Lieven, 2012, p. 223).

6.3 Encapsulated Modernization

Modernization in Afghanistan and Pakistan has occurred in form of encapsulated. Encapsulated modernization is called for subjective modernization, where one state selects specific societies and then focuses its energy only in there. Encapsulated modernization is easier than whole-including modernization, since it need less energy and resources(Harrison, 1990, pp. 1-10).

The communist regime in Afghanistan in 1980s followed encapsulated model of modernization. What they did was just choosing the key centers of the few cities in the country and then they focused their energy only there. For example, during that time, Kabul was famous as the second Moscow. The soviet-backed government built a lot of soviet style housings and factories in the city. They build the roads and made parks too(Barfield, 2009, pp. 190-194).

However, if one just got out of the city and went to a close village, he would observe how the center of a city defers from its nearby village. The same was true of other cities like Herat, Mazar, and Kandahar, whose centers only were, modernized(Saikal, 2004, p. 67).

In Pakistan, too, encapsulated modernization occurred. The main cities of the five states like Lahore, Islamabad, Peshawar, Karachi, kuita and few others were developed. Lahore became the main industrial city. Baluchistan, one of the few poor states in Pakistan, is less developed and the level of modernization is so low. If one drives few miles out of the city, the great gap between the modernity and traditionalism can be easily observed(Lieven, 2012, pp. 45-46).

6.4 American Cheese VS. Swiss cheese Models of Modernization

American cheese is a straight piece of cheese without any ups or downs at center or at corners. However, Swiss cheese is a type of square cheese, which has some holes at its center or at corners. This analogy has been a great value for some state-building scientists. And thus based on these two models of cheese appearance, they developed their analysis.

In traditional societies like, Afghanistan and Pakistan Swiss cheese model of governance has been followed. The hole in the Swiss cheese here represents the idea that government only could practice social control only in those specific areas of their territory. In other areas, there were other actors and power holders who managed to rule the people. In such system of governance, government is not sovereign in its all territory (Saikal, 2004, pp. 219-220).

In contrast, the American cheese model of governance is similar to the American cheese, which doesn't have any hole at middle or any ups and downs at corner. The modern societies are applying American cheese model of governance and they enjoy an overwhelming degree of control over all of their territory. There is no acceptance for power sharing and there is not even any single other authority that competes with the government to practice social control (Harrison, 1990).

The European states that pioneered state-building process, they all managed to adopt English cheese model of governance at one point in time. It is the proper and most effective way for controlling all the population in the territory. With this model of governance, state is the absolute and the only authority that enjoys social control (Harrison, 1990).

Having said all of these points about modernization and governance theories, Afghanistan and Pakistan proved not so successful in transferring their traditional society into a modern one. Urbanization occurred very little here and the modernization was subjective and based on ideas and teachings of encapsulated modernization. Furthermore, the governments followed the Swiss cheese model of governance here and thus could

practice very little social control out of the main cities(Barfield, Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History, 2009).

With these developments, the state-building process in Afghanistan and Pakistan has been more rough and difficult to persist. The traditional power contesters have always made it difficult for the government to practice its sole right of social control over its subjects. This is why the governments have been struggling to proceed with state building process in the two states and thus largely unable to leave behind the rational practices.

Afghanistan and Pakistan didn't prove well in putting in place the trends of European State-Building process, which are industrialization, Capitalism, organized Crimes, Nationalism and modernization. Therefore they have almost failed to function as a modern state. Now in the next chapter, I am analyzing if Afghanistan and Pakistan don't function as nation states, then, which form of state organization best fits them.

7. SIGNIFICANCES AND PRECURSORS OF NATION-STATES IN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN

In the previous chapters I discussed and explored how the events that stimulated the state building process in Europe occurred in Afghanistan and Pakistan process of State-Building. I discussed that Industrialization, Capitalism; Organized Crimes by the governments, Nationalism and Modernization in Afghanistan and Pakistan have not been as successful as it was experienced with European states. Therefore, they both lagged behind a functioning Nation-State (modern-state). Now in this chapter, I present the readers with the inside about why Afghanistan and Pakistan are trying to become nation's states. In addition, this chapter will present the precursors of the nation state and will explore to fit Afghanistan and Pakistan to the most appropriate place in the state organization.

7.1 The Significances of Nation-State

Nations-state is the most prevalent form of political order in the world. It is the best form so far, because it is presenting the societies with the best cure for the existing problems. Nation states have offers very flexible and constructive responsive to the different societies in area of international Peace, promoting democracy and fostering social and economical developments. These three reasons have also intrigued Afghanistan and Pakistan to put continual efforts for adoption of nation-state(Pick, 2011, pp. 5-9).

7.1.1 The Significance of nation-state: International peace

Nation-state is the ideal form of political order because if it is consolidated ones around a nationality, it will remain the stable form state organization. Nation states never tend to wage war with its neighbors. Maybe the high frequency of intra state wars or the rare excessive nationalism, which induce a country to start war like Hitler or Napoleon in

Germany and France, indicate for the aggressive nature of nation statehood. But it should be considered that nationalism might be presented in such conduct but it is not the normal conduct behavior of nation's states (Pick, 2011, pp. 5-9).

Major wars of the past years were not waged between nation states but between empires themselves or between the empires and the nation states. To mention some of these wars of 19th and 20th century, I can argue that they all involve historical empires such as Russian empires, British empire or was attempting to become a new empire like Hitler and Napoleon. The cold war in the last half of 20th century was fought between the Soviet Union, which is defined as an empire, and the nation states in Europe led by USA (Pick, 2011, pp. -9).

Now all of these empires are gone and the one who remained after world war two couldn't survive the 20th century. With the demise of Russian empire or Soviet Union in 1990s, the major threat of global conflict came to a halt. Therefore, the empires replaced by nation states and thus contributed toward international peace in the world (Pick, 2011, pp. 5-9).

Armed conflicts might occur between the nation states due to the insufficient number of political and diplomatic means to resolve the competing ambitions of the ruler of the states. But with empires, armed conflict is more prevalent. Empires are not founded on the principle of nationalism and therefore it is not specified for them where their boundaries should be and which provinces should they contain. Empires compete with each other to subjugate more territory so that they extract more resources. The desire for occupying more territory normalizes the war among the empires (Pick, 2011, pp. 5-9).

Whenever a nation such as Netherland in 1981 wished take their independence from a nation, they had to start waging war since war was the only mean to achieve their goal. On the contrary, when a state wanted to form a new empire, they were opposed by the nation state such as Germany and Japan who attempted to make empire in 19th century (Pick, 2011, pp. 5-9).

7.1.2 The Significance of the nation state: The Growth of democracy

Until the 16th and 17th century, all forms governments were lead by a body whose authority didn't come from the people whom they ruled. The people were call subjects. For the subjects, they had to live under such body of governance, which had the sovereignty and legitimacy. If the subjects considered the rule legitimate, they would follow it. However if they found no legitimacy in it, they would rebel and thus become the subject to another empire. Legitimacy was the main factor for survival of the governments. If the government occupied more territory and thus providing economic prosperity for their subjects, they would survive longer as the resource remains abundant among the subjects (Pick, 2011, pp. 5-9).

In pre-national system, the ruler was expected to exercise the power of the government, legislation and adjudication without considering the relation between them. As long as he was ruling effectively: solving the disputes, suppressing the rebellions, fostering stable economy for the subjects, he was the proper ruler and thus the legitimate government to rule the territory. His right to rule also had a religious base and usually supported by the church. If there were potential rebellion against his rule, he would be legitimized by the church as "monarch by Devine law". He would privilege its supporters by offering those lands, opportunities and leaderships (Pick, 2011, pp. 5-9).

Such state is evidently incompatible with democracy. Democracy receives its legitimacy from the popular consent and there is a specific legal process for expression of that consent by the masses. These two conditions only exist in nation states and that is why only nation states promote democratic values compared to other forms of state organization. For a state to become nation state, first there should exist a state with clear-cut boundaries under a secure legitimate government. Then the government lose its legitimacy and after that legitimacy is replaced by a government which is accountable the nation not to an external body (Pick, 2011, pp. 5-9).

7.1.3 The Significance of the nation state: Social and economic development

The transition from a pre industrial economy to industrial economy and technologically advanced economy is marked, as an event in the history is each country as a shift to Nation state. This shift from a pre-national state to nation-state system has occurred in each country depending on its circumstances. Such circumstance may include the availability of sufficient transport infrastructure, educated population, well-organized market, raw material and technological innovation. In a pre national state, the rulers need to maintain their authority and collect great amount of taxes. These two desires of a ruler in pre national society encourage the ruler to create and maintain a centralized administration control on the countries assists. In addition, the ruler is encouraged to enforce the religious ideology on which his authority depends. The ruler might also promote transport infrastructure to help increase his tax and revenue collection (Pick, 2011, pp. 5-9).

Such method perpetrated by the pre national state would bring efficiency but is not in consistence with development of modern economy. The development of nations state in Europe replaced the authority of the ruler with that of the nation expressed by legitimate rulers. Unlike the pre national state, the nation state encouraged its citizens to engage in economic activities regardless any need for the ruler endorsement of the activity. Instead the ruler became responsible for facilitating this activity through ensuring free market, promoting property rights and legal frame work for economic transactions (Pick, 2011, pp. 5-9).

Nation states facilitated the development of economy. There is mutual interest between industrialization and development of nation states. Both helped one another to come into reality. Indoctrination in a nation state has gone to different steps depending on the resources available. Industrialization has been subject to periodic disruption that was caused by problems in the management of capital movements. Development in economy is connected with the development of international trade and the capitalist economy. Both of these were originated in west European city-states and then they were adopted in European nation states (Pick, 2011, pp. 5-9).

7.2 Afghanistan and Pakistan Seek for Nation-State

As it was explained in the sections above, Afghanistan considered three motives for undergoing the process change from pre national state to a nation state. Although still it is contentious to express Afghanistan as a nation state, its continual efforts to adopt the notion of nation state are still alive. Three motives have stimulated Afghanistan to struggle for adoption of nation state.

First Afghanistan as a state in the today political order attempts to stand equal with its other counter parts in the region and in the world. Since Nation-State is the prevalent form of political order, Afghanistan desires to adopt and contribute toward global peace. If Afghanistan is lagging behind a adoption of a nation state, then other non state actor in the country will rise up and thus would threaten the well being of countries around it and ultimately the world. Afghanistan fail to embrace nation state would make this region as the safer haven for the terrorists especially ISIS who passionately working toward forming safe havens there(Barfield, 2005, pp. 112-114).

Second, Afghanistan believes on the democratic values and perceives it as the appropriate form in which the citizens can live prosperously. If Afghanistan succeeds in its process of state building, it will success in democratization of the country too. Unlike when the authority is received illegitimately by use of excessive force as during the Taliban regime 1994-2001, people in the country want the authority comes from the population consent through democratic means such as elections and freedom of speech(Coll, 2012, pp. 130-132).

Third, Nation state also paved the way toward economic and social developments. People will do much better economically and the rate of employment would be increased. If the country succeeds in state building proceeds, the nation state of Afghanistan would be able to establish reforms for elimination of violence against women and for empowerment of the whole marginalized classes of the people in the country(Galeotti, 1995, pp. 87-89).

Therefore, with these three motives of international peace, promotion of democratize values and fostering economic and social developments, the people and the government

of Afghanistan always search for the ways through which they could facilitate the state building process and adoption of a nation state.

Pakistan also desires to become a more functional nation state. Since Pakistan is a young state, its religious identity is playing a crucial role in unifying its diverse population. Pakistan for sake of three above mentions also has tried to become a more functional Nation-State.

First, Pakistan also has desire toward a peaceful political arena among the states in the world. Pakistan as a nation state, would define for it a specific geographical border in which Pakistan only has sovereignty on. Now that Pakistan northern border is controversial with Afghanistan and the Durand line between Afghanistan and Pakistan is not recognized officially by Afghanistan, this worry will be eliminated if Pakistan becomes a functional democratic nation state. As of now, Pakistan fears from the potential hostility that might be geared toward it from India and Afghanistan(Lieven, Pakistan: A Hard Country, 2012, pp. 176-178).

Second, Nation state in Pakistan would foster its democratic practices. Religious which is the foundation for creation of Pakistan state has created some problems to it too. For example, the manipulation of the state by the military and their campaign of support for religious extremists groups functioning in the neighboring countries. The more Pakistan becomes a functional Nation state, the more democratic value of equal participation would be fostered in the country(Lieven, 2012, pp. 176-178).

Third, the dictates of nation state in Pakistan would promote its social and economic well-being. The army would not dominate the economic innovations anymore and the poverty rate would decline if the citizens were given the chance to participate freely in the market. In addition to this, the more Pakistan become a functional nation state, the more effective policies it would adopt toward occurrences of natural disasters like flood and hurricanes which claim they lives of thousands of people every year(Lieven, 2012, pp. 176-178).

Now I would like to explore the pre national state and observe if Afghanistan and Pakistan don't fit into a nation state by maximum percentage, then which pre national state organization they fit in most appropriately.

7.3 Precursors of nation-states

Before the nation states emerged in 17th century, the following pre national forms of governments were prevalent among the states: Personal state, Theocracy, Oligarchy, City State, Territorial Empire, Trading Empire, Military State and Tribal State. Now I am going to describe each of this pre national form of governance and examine which one of these Afghanistan and possibly Pakistan fit in.

7.3.1 Precursors of nation state: The Personal state

The personal states revolve around one person or one ruler called king or sultan and the primary loyalties is given to that person. People living under his territory owe loyalty to the king and he treats them as his subjects. In such system of governance, it was impossible for the ruler to hold relation with the subjects. Therefore, the ruler had to maintain the loyalties of a group of aristocracy who had the support of the masses below them the social hierarchy. The loyalty had to be strong enough to impose order on the state and organize defense if any threat posed toward the king territory(Pick, 2011, pp. 50-20).

In personal state governances, the societies at early stages tend to be chaotic and violent. That chaos is resulted due to the suppression of the inferior by the aristocracy who compete in the society to win more support among the people. The function of the ruler lay in resolving disputes, maintaining disorder, and punishing misconduct. The right to rule only lay in the ruling family and transformed to one another through inherence linkages. The system of power transformation from ruler to the subsequent ruler is defined through in heritage dynasty and no one had the right to contest it(Pick, 2011, pp. 15-20).

Personal ruler didn't develop any appetite for nationality. The successful ruler who established their rule over a territory, they sought to extend their inherited territory by

wars, in heritage marriages. Before the 20th century, India in which Pakistan was part of it was personal states. Panjabi sultan dominated the Punjab region of today Pakistan and they relied on a number of aristocrat family who had the support of the people in the societies(Pick, 2011, pp. 15-20).

7.3.2 Precursors of the nation state: Theocracy

Theocracy is called for a state whose primary loyalty is given to authority of a church. The role of church and religion is to provide framework for social and moral rules for the people. It is believed that the authority of king is derived from god and the religion function is realized through doctrines and text in which the members believe in. The relation between religion and the political authority is different by the fact that religious power resides in a single authority of the church, which is the papacy, and he was located in central Italy(Pick, 2011, pp. 15-20).

The number of theocracy that appeared in the world is not much compared to other form of governance. But a good example, of theocracy can be Islamic Republic of Iran. The *Valayat Faqi* in Iran refer to a theocratic government in which the political power is vested upon the supreme religious leader of Iran. Although, it has some democratic aspects of elections for president, and parliaments members, but still the upper authority is vested up the supreme leader(Pick, 2011, pp. 15-20).

7.3.3 Precursors of the nation state: Oligarchy

Oligarchy state is dominated by a group of people who all know each other and they agree that they alone have the right to rule and their rule was accepted as legitimate. The oligarchy appoints a chairman and execute and co ordinate their decision in the territory. Membership of oligarchy depends on the wealth. The membership was based on hereditary but new members were welcomed if they achieve enough wealth necessary for membership (Pick, 2011, pp. 20-25).

The advantage for oligarchy membership was that member was free from arbitrary interference with their property, household, opinions that a person was inclined to practice. Historical oligarchic rule was call as Liberty but only for among the oligarchs.

However, if the subjects accepted the legitimacy of the oligarchy, they were also practicing some level of freedom. Oligarchies emerged as a result of overthrowing of personal rulers. The groups, which ousted the personal rulers, assumed the ruling as oligarchy (Pick, 2011, pp. 20-25).

A good example of oligarchy can be United Arab Emirates. The member states of UAE got their independence from Britain in 1971. The government of UAE includes seven autocratic emirs of the seven member states who appoint the ruling Federal Supreme Council. The power is vested upon emirs' hand that they even select half of the advisory Federal National Council. And the other half is elected by the 6689 nominated citizens. The 800000 citizens of UAE are only 19 percent of the whole population. But two provinces of Abu Dhabi and Dubai make up 50 percent of the whole population(Pick, 2011, pp. 20-25).

7.3.4 Precursors of nation-state: City states

City-state only appeared in Europe and near east. City-states generally give their royalty to the ruling government of a city. A small group of people evolved to live in same small territory and then they became literate and got their economic and political organization. Such independence in economic productivity and political power gave them privilege over the surrounding personal states and empires. The city-states, therefore, acquired their own sense of self-identity. Due to the threats posing toward them by the neighboring city-states, they developed a mechanism of defense that potentially would be used in case they are attacked from outside the city(Pick, 2011, p. 27).

The foundation for establishment of city-states was primarily for manufacturing and exchange of commodities and good. City-states believed wealth and prosperity would come from the exchange of good and trading activities of with other city-states, and tribes. The raw material they exchange with each other was mainly metal, precious metal, wood, ivory, and pigment, salt. These raw material existed in one region and there was a high demand of such stuff in other regions. Therefore, exchange of these materials fosters the economic and political identity of the City-States(Pick, 2011, p. 27).

The ancient city-states of Mediterranean were the cradle of western civilization. There are some reasons that the city-states didn't occur to establish in the south Asian countries like Afghanistan and India. The reason for it was that the central and south Asian civilization developed in a different framework(Pick, 2011, p. 27).

7.3.5 Precursors of nation states: Territorial empires

Territorial empire is an extensive territorial state, which includes a lot of people, and different province that owe their loyalty to single central government. Historically, they government was a ruling dynasty but it also happened that the empires were emerged out of city-states, oligarchies and other forms of state organization. The principle function for an empire was to provide its subjects and provinces with internal and external peace where economic and social life can develop. For this to happen, the empire had to maintain a system of law and justice for maintaining order. In addition to this, the empire had to promote transportation such as roads, water system and issue stable currency. In exchange of these services, the empire was legitimized to collect taxes, rule the provinces through its governors and ask for conscription(Pick, 2011, pp. 28-30).

India, for example, has experience a lot of territorial empires on its land. One of the notorious Islamic territorial empires in India was Moslem Delhi Sultanate (1205-1526). India was unified by Islamic invasion on that time in those areas that now constitute Pakistan. The Islamic empire of Delhi wanted to extent its territory and grasps more land and thus subjects to its rule(Pick, 2011, pp. 28-30).

7.3.6 Precursors of nation states: Trading empires

In the past there was empire, which cared only about extension of their territory. for them the only wealth was the natural mines and the agriculture of the land. That was the main reason behind colonization of more territories. The problem would rise to exist when the colonizing power wanted to override the language, culture and cultural practices of the colonies(Pick, 2011, p. 32).

Another time of empires was in form of trading empires. The characteristics of trading empires revolve around the idea that they were found by nation states. The European

empires in Europe who colonized most America and subsequently Asian and African countries were all trading empires. Such empires gave their loyalty to one nation state(Pick, 2011, p. 32).

Trading empires colonized different territories for the following reason. They wanted to exploit economically the colonized territory. They also wanted to dominate the trading routes and that is why they colonized different territories. Furthermore, the trading empires also aimed to toward settlement of surplus population in areas, which could be made available for that purpose. A good example of trading empires can be the British Indian Empire that colonized India and today Pakistan for centuries(Pick, 2011, p. 32).

7.3.7 Precursors of nation states: Military state

A military state is defined as a state in which military has more power than the civil government. It is military who dominates the political, social and economical reforms in the country. Most recently the military government has come to involve with power in places where the civil society and national identity were in less power than military itself(Pick, 2011, p. 33).

Military states manipulate the constitution of the state and amend it in a way that best serve their interest. A good example of it would be Pakistan and Iraq. Iraq before 2003 was ruled by military power of Saddam Hussain and the same Pakistan who's governing wheel is in hand of military rather than the civil government(Pick, 2011, p. 33).

7.3.8 Precursors of nation-state: Tribal states

Tribal state is called for states that have not developed a sense of national identity among its citizens. Tribal traits are more valued than national ones. Tribal state has developed two types of economy. One is agricultural economy in which one tribe learns how to farm and then after successful farming they settle in a territory. Theharvests they get from farming support them to form a political community. They develop a rule of ownership based on land. They also set up system of law and government to defend their territory from potential attacks of the outsiders(Pick, 2011, p. 34).

Tribal states can also form from a pastoral economy. The tribe with a pastoral economy is mobile to find the best pasture for their flocks. Unlike the agriculture-based economy, pastoral tribes identify the number of flocks and livestock rather than the amount of land as the means of ownership. Tribal identity is based on a form of descent from a common ancestor, which can be real or supposed. Pastoral tribes develop a warrior tradition so that they can protect and defend their property, pastoral tribes. Arabs were a good example of tribal states that relied mostly on their tribal identity in forming political communities (Pick, 2011, p. 34).

7.4 Which Type of State Organization Pakistan Best Fit in?

As I analyzed Pakistan's process of state building in the previous chapters, I found out that Pakistan didn't succeed to pass the European model of state building, which included the process of industrialization, capitalism, organized crimes, nationalism, and modernization. Therefore, Pakistan has failed to function as a complete nation-state. Now that Pakistan doesn't fit into a complete nation-state, I would like to analyze which form of pre-national government Pakistan best fits in?

Pakistan mostly fits into a military state rather than a nation state. The Muslim League was founded in 1906 to represent the interests of Muslims in British India. The Muslim League and the Indian Congress Party entered into negotiations to identify the participation of Muslims in an independent India in the subsequent years. It was in 1932 when the Muslim League, led by Jinnah, issued a manifesto and asked for a separate state out of India.

Independence of Pakistan was based on the idea of separation from India but it didn't resolve the issue of the principle of its own national identity. The first step toward consolidation of national identity was the development of a separate Bengali nationality, which formed another independent state of Bangladesh out of Pakistan in 1971. The first constitution was adopted in 1973 and the first elections in 1970. The second step toward consolidation of Pakistan's national identity was the time when Sharia law was incorporated into the constitution of Pakistan and formed the country's legal system. The third step toward consolidation of Pakistan's identity was the adoption of an effective system of elected local government in 2001. The fourth step is in 2010 when the presidential form of

government is replaced by parliamentary form of government. In such system, prime minister is held accountable for cabinet formation from within the parliament(Pick, 2011, p. 83).

Nonetheless, Pakistan has been subject to military rule for many times. The state has exercised three military coups in its short time life since independence. The military rule happened in 1957, 1997 and 1999. The last time of military coup lasted from 1999 to 2008 leaded by military General Parvis Musharaf. It is usually believed that states have military, but with Pakistan the reverse is right, military has a state. The civil government is below the political hierarchy compared to military power and that is due to its continual hostiles with India.

7.5 Which type of State Organization Afghanistan Mostly Fit in?

I also found out that Afghanistan failed to successfully pass through the state building process. Based on European model of state building, Afghanistan lagged behind to successfully become a nation state. It failed to undergo, industrialization, capitalism, organized Crimes, nationalism and modernization. Therefore, Afghanistan cannot be called a complete nation state so far. Now I am analyzing in which pre national form of governance, Afghanistan fit the best.

Rather than a nation-state, Afghanistan fits into the category of a Tribal state. Until 1709 Afghanistan did exist and was divided between three empires of Persian, Indian states and Bukhara. Three dynasties of Hotaki, Durrani and Barakzai laid down the foundation of Afghanistan as a country. All of these dynasties are Pashtuns, a dominating tribe that make up assumable 40 percent of the state's population. The remaining population speaks Persian. Afghan rulers were forced to accept the control of the country's foreign policy by the British. Afghanistan become a republic in 1973 and experiences a communist republic in 1978 that was supported by soviet invasion. It was also rule by Taliban from 1994 until 2001. Under the present democratic constitution, the president elections were held in 2004, 2009 and 2014(Pick, 2011, p. 83).

Afghanistan politics have been dominated by Pashtuns who are considered the largest patriarchal seminary lineage ethnic group in the world. All heads of Afghan government used to be Pashtun except one transitory president. A most determined individual who maintained to keep his rule by deal from among the Pashtun community forms government in Afghanistan. Therefore Afghanistan is described as tribal state in which one dominant tribe has form confederacy of tribes to rule the country.

The recent history of Afghanistan shows very successful national uprising. An example can be the national uprising against Britishinvading and soviet invading of Afghanistan. However, none of these national uprising have been used to consolidate national identity that transcend tribal identity. Without such support of Afghan national identity, many programs to modernize the country have failed. The modernizing reforms of King Amanullah and the attempted reforms of President Daud Khan failed to accomplish in the country. The counterforce to these was emergence of an extremely violence theocratic regime of Taliban. And arise of Taliban again after establishment of a democratic government supported by international community is in parts as reassertion of Pashtun rule, although the president of democratic government is Pashtun himself(Pick, 2011, p. 83).

To sum up this chapter, Nation state has three significances that the state such as Afghanistan and Pakistan and others seek to adopt it. Nation states supports international peace, foster democratic values and promote social and economical developments. These three reasons drive the states including Afghanistan and Pakistan to adopt the principle of Nation-State. However, all the state can'tsucceed to adopt Nation states. There are eight other pre national forms of governance, which can define the situation of non-nation states. Personal state, theocracy, oligarchy, city states, territorial empires, trading empires, military states and tribal states are the eight form of pre national governance. Pakistan due to the large-scale manipulation of its affair by military and lack a national identity fits into the category of military state. However, Afghanistan fits into the category of Tribal state, because the ongoing domination of its affair by Pashtun tribe. Next chapter is giving concluding the thesis and mention all the main points of the this that were discussed in about the process of State-Building in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

8. CONCLUSION

Afghanistan and Pakistan are two independent states, which are struggling with their state-building processes. The two countries are located in South Asia where usually the way to innovation is contentious. The two traditional Islamic states have gone through a couple of modernizing attempts geared toward continuation of their State-Building process. Both have not proved successful in adoption of the notion of Modern-State. The barriers standing in front of the process include the traditional social fabric of the states. However, still both states have not given up and are still putting a lot of effort to go ahead with their State-Building process.

European states pioneered in State-Building process in the 16th century. During the State-Building process of European states, some trends of state building are observable. These trends include Industrialization, Capitalism, Organized crimes, Nationalism and Modernization. In order to analyze Afghanistan and Pakistan's State-Building process, I applied these trends in case of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Through analyzing these trends, I am arguing that Afghanistan and Pakistan failed in the process of State-Building. Therefore, that is why states in Afghanistan and Pakistan are not the sole authority to own means of production and enjoy social control on their citizens. In addition to the states, some other local actor shares the social control of the over citizens with the states. These actors include religious leaders, Tribal leaders, Heads of villages and so on. Thus, Afghanistan and Pakistan due to their multiplicity of authority in power holding are not modern states.

In order to analyze the state building process in Afghanistan and Pakistan, one should pay attention to the trends observed during the European state building processes. It should also be noticed that these five trends- Industrialization, Capitalism, Organized Crime, Nationalism and Modernization- didn't occurred in lining one after another. Rather they

might occur dispersedly in different time intervals. Therefore, in case of Afghanistan and Pakistan, it is conceived that these trends would not have to occur in a specific order.

State Building is the process in which the nations start to embrace the notion of a modern state. State Building embodies with itself a process which can't be done overnight. The European states including, England, France, Italy were the pioneer states in becoming modern states. European states spent a lot of time until they achieved successfully the state-building process. The push for initiation can be dated back to 15th century when the feudalism was the prevalent political and economical system. As societies evolved and the feudal and landlords started to lose their large piece of lands, people working on the lands started to get out of their lords control. That was the end of feudalism and then the serfs started to work on their one small piece of land and subsequently leaving the land for the hope of working in factories in a capitalist system.

State Building in Europe occurred through a specific model. This specific path of European model of state building has been imitated by other states, which want to embrace the principles of a modern state. The European state building was a self-perpetrated process, in which the factors emerged from within the societies and thus principles of state building one after another occurred and thus the states became modern.

Industrialization is one noticeable trend seen during the state building process of European states. Industrialization is in fact the shift from using the physical energy on farms to machine power in factories. Industrialization supports mass production and market replaces the subsistence agriculture of a pre-industrialized society.

With industrialization also agriculture revolution played a crucial role in European states. Agriculture revolution introduced diversity of crops and thus plenty of harvest. It also introduced new methods for farming and animal raisings. Agriculture revolution and industrialization provided the European states with labor, land and capital. These resources further supported the industrialization.

Industrialization was helped by introduction of capitalism. Feudalism was common before capitalism. When industrialization occurred, then the feudalists also shift to

become capitalists. That is because the feudal first owns land but when emergence of the machineries and factories resulted by industrial revolution, the former feudal started to own the factories. Besides the capitalist helped the states, in case state was attach by a potential threat from either inside or outs, thus states in exchange tried to put low taxation and easy policies regulating the market and business transaction. With these points in mind, capitalism supported the unitary authority of state to practice social control and own means of production on its citizens.

After occurrence of capitalism, the pioneer European states focused their energy on doing some activities, which political analysts define as the organized crimes. They did four activities. The first was waging war against their external enemies. The second was state making or elimination of internal threats who wield potential power in their territory. The third was protection, which means eradication of the threats toward the masses. And the fourth activity was extraction. The government used to extract a lot of resources in form of taxation, revenue and other types from the masses. Extraction is the main focus for governments since they achieve their financial fund mostly through collecting resources from people. The reason for committing organized crime was consolidation of power. States needed the people to follow them and thus states

European states, also worked on their notion of nationhood. They attempted to make their society a nation where all of the masses live in the same territory and bow to the same code of laws. Five dimensions of an *Ethnie* or nation can be observed during the European State-Building. These dimensions are- collective name, shared distinctive culture, shared history, a common myth of descent, an association with a shared territory. The pioneer state building states, succeeded in establishing a unique nation in their territory through applying the five above-mentioned dimensions of an *Ethnie*. Achieving a sense of nationhood, the people were united more with each other to work toward modernization and development.

Modernization is the process in which states leave behind their traditional practice and start to embrace modernity. Traditionalism is focused on subsistence agriculture as a

means of survival in the scarcely populated societies. Traditionalism emphasizes on keeping the pre existing norms and thus oppose any acceptance any change.

The parable of modern Turkish Grocer versus the traditional Turkish chief in Balgat village of Ankara is showing us how improvement in infrastructure like roads, electricity and system of clean water distribution can contribute toward transformation of a traditional society into a modern one. Balgat chief was so traditional because he rarely went out to the city from the village, while the grocer was going to city frequently and thus influenced by the modern life in the city. After four years, Balgat's road to the city was constructed and government managed to bring electricity too. People of Balgat who used to practice their traditional norms of subsistence agriculture leave their farms and go to work in the city in the factories since they get more money there.

Therefore, with parable of Turkish modern grocer versus Turkish Traditional chief, it can be inferred that Modernization also helps with state building process. Urbanization is the process in which there is no gap between the cities and the villages and they are well connected through roads, and have nice communication systems through which the people can commute easily.

8.1 Afghanistan's and Pakistan's State-Building processes

Afghanistan and Pakistan are two countries located in south Asia. These two countries have attempting to embrace the notion of state building and become modern states. But both of the two countries have lagged behind the successful process of state building.

Industrialization in Afghanistan and Pakistan didn't occur successfully. During the creation of Pakistan in 1947, it inherited a handful of industrial units, which were not responsive for the needs of a newly born state. Industrialization was postponed in Pakistan due to many reason including political, historical and economical issues. One of the main reasons for backwardness of industrialization in Pakistan was the destructive colonial policies of British India which didn't want to improve industrial units in the colonies, so that they don't become self efficient in term of economy.

Afghanistan never experienced industrialization. However, foreign aid replaces the industrialization in the country. Afghanistan was a renter state in 1980s where it deeply depended on foreign money. Foreign money has been used as a main subsistence fund for the government to stand on their feet.

Different kings in Afghanistan prevented the attempts to industrialize the country. King Abdul Rahman Khan disagreed with the British plan to bring Telegraph to the country and build the rail road, since he feared more domination of the British in Afghanistan. So because of such political reason, Afghanistan never experienced industrialization process.

The Attempts to establish a national identity in Afghanistan and Pakistan has also failed. The failure of forming a national identity is due to the complex diverse social structure of Afghanistan and Pakistan. In Pakistan for example, from the initial time its emergence as a state, its population were not homogenous. They even didn't share a language together, let alone other cultural traits. Until now the two official languages of Pakistan, English and Urdu, are hostile to the people, since none of the Pakistani ethnicities talked in Urdu. The five major ethnicities, Punjabi, Singhi, Pathan, and Boluch and Muhajir had their own language and cultural traits. Among these ethnicities, Boluch and Pathan are the ones, which seek for separation. Boluch separatist leaders have been brutally suppressed by Pakistani military and Pathans leaders are bought either by money or political and party ties so that they stay under the Pakistan rule.

In Afghanistan, too, existing wars have destroyed the unity social fabric of Afghan society. There is tension among the different ethnicities which includes Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara and Uzbek. Pashtuns have dominated the political and economical life in the country, and its dominance has created a lot of hostilities among other different minority ethnic groups. Therefore, Afghanistan has failed to develop a national identity among its citizens so far

Anthony D. Smith defines that a nation has five dimensions. These dimensions are collective name, shared history, common myth of descent, common language and association to a territory. He argues that in order to establish a national identity, one society should go through these five dimensions so that they turn into a nation. These five

dimensions of nation or Ethnie can also be observed during the nation building process of European states. Therefore, I also applied these five dimensions to the case of Afghanistan and Pakistan and finally found out that both Afghanistan and Pakistan failed to promote a sense of nationhood in the two countries.

Afghanistan and Pakistan unlike the European pioneer states could not exercise monopoly over the legitimate use of violence in their territories. The government in these two states are competed by different other religious, political actors that exercise social control over people. In addition to government, other actors like, religious leaders, family, tribe leaders, village leaders all contest with government to play social control over people. Government is not the sole owner of social control over its masses in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

This is much due to the issue of encapsulated modernization. In Afghanistan and Pakistan, unlike the European states, governments performed encapsulated modernization. Encapsulated modernization refers to idea that government focuses on developing the main centers of the main cities. A few handful cities in Afghanistan and Pakistan have been developed while the other remote cities are still in a traditional form where people practice their traditional practices.

Afghanistan and Pakistan, unlike the European states, also follow the Swiss cheese model of governance rather the American cheese model of governance. Like Swiss cheese which has some holes at its centers, the governments in Afghanistan and Pakistan only have direct control in these holes, where in the peripheries other contesters, like religious and tribal leader, village elders and so on enjoy social control over masses.

So I analyzed trends of Europeans State-Building process in case of Afghanistan and Pakistan. These trends- industrialization, capitalism, organized crimes, nationalism and modernization- didn't occur in Afghanistan and Pakistan successfully. Therefore, Afghanistan and Pakistan are not modern states in a complete sense. If the two countries are not functioned as modern states or Nation-states, then what category of state organization best fit in these two states?

In chapter 7, I discussed about the precursors of nation-state. Before emergence of nation-state other form of state organization were dominating the societies. These pre national forms of government were personal states, theocracy, oligarchy, City-states, territorial empires, trading empires, military state and tribal states. These pre national forms of governments dominated societies from Europe to Africa and Asia in different time intervals.

From these pre national forms of government, military state and tribal states worth more in our discussion than other forms. Now that I came to argue Afghanistan and Pakistan are not nation-states, then these two forms of pre national government can best describe them.

Rather than a nation state, Pakistan is a military state. Muslim league represented the interest of Muslims in British India. Muslim league and the Indian congress party enter into negotiation to identify the participation of Muslim in an independent India in the consequences years. It was in 1932 when, Muslim league lead by Jinna issued a manifesto and asks for a separate state out of India.

Independence of Pakistan was based on the idea of separation from India but it didn't resolve the issue the principle of its own national identity. The first step toward consolidation of national identity was the development of a separate Bengali nationality, which formed another independent state of Bangladesh out of Pakistan. The first constitution was adopted in 1973 and the first elections in 1970. The second step toward consolidation of Pakistan national identity was the time when Sharia law was incorporate into the constitution of Pakistan and formed the countries' legal system. The third step toward consolidation of Pakistan identity was the adoption of effective system of elected local government in 2001. The fourth step is in 2010 when the presidential form of government is replaced by parliamentary form of government.

Nonetheless, Pakistan has been subject to military rule for many times. The state has exercised three military coups in its short time life since independence. The military rule happened in 1957, 1997 and 1999. The last time of military coup lasted from 1999 to 2008. It is usually believed that states have military, but with Pakistan the reverse is right,

military has a state. The civil government is below the political hierarchy compared to military power and that is due to its continual hostilities with India. Therefore, based on this high frequency of military domination of Pakistani affairs, military-state rather than nation-state best describes Pakistan.

Rather than a Nation state, Afghanistan falls into the category of a Tribal state. Afghanistan was divided between three empires of Persian until 1709, Indian states and Bukhara. Three dynasties of Hotaki, Durrani and Barakzai laid down the foundation of Afghanistan as a country. All of these dynasties are Pashtuns, a dominating tribe which make up assumable 40 percent of the state's population. The remaining population speak Persian. Afghan rulers were forced to accept the control of the country's foreign policy by the British. Afghanistan became a republic in 1973 and experienced a communist republic in 1978 that was supported by Soviet invasion. It was also ruled by Taliban from 1994 until 2001.

Afghanistan politics have been dominated by Pashtuns who are considered the largest patriarchal seminary lineage ethnic group in the world. All heads of Afghan government used to be Pashtun except one transitory president. A most determined individual who maintained to keep his rule by deal from among the Pashtun community forms government in Afghanistan. Therefore Afghanistan is described as tribal state in which one dominant tribe has formed confederacy of tribes to rule the country.

The recent history of Afghanistan shows very successful national uprising. An example can be the national uprising against British invading and Soviet invading of Afghanistan. However, none of these national uprisings have been used to consolidate national identity that transcends tribal identity. Without such support of Afghan national identity, many programs to modernize the country have failed. The modernizing reforms of King Amanullah and the attempted reforms of President Daud Khan failed to accomplish in the country. The counterforce to these was the emergence of an extremely violent theocratic regime of Taliban. And the rise of Taliban again after establishment of a democratic government supported by international community is in part as reassertion of Pashtun rule, although president of democratic government is Pashtun himself.

I defined Afghanistan as a Tribal state and Pakistan as a Military state, however, both states must continue in their struggle to become Nation-state. The reason for that is the preference of Nation-statehood over other pre national forms of government. Three reasons of Nation-statehood might drive any state to embrace it.

The first reason is international peace. Nation-state is the ideal form of political order because if it is consolidated ones around a nationality, it will remain the stable form state organization. Nation states never tend to wage war with its neighbors. Maybe the high frequency of intra state wars or the rare excessive nationalism, which induce a country to start war like Hitler or Napoleon in Germany and France, indicate for the aggressive nature of nation statehood. But it should be considered that nationalism might be presented in such conduct but it is not the normal conduct behavior of nation's states.

The second reason is promotion of democratic values. Democracy receives its legitimacy from the popular consent and there is a specific legal process for expression of that consent by the masses. These two conditions only exists in nation states and that is why only nation states promote democratic values compared to other forms of state organization.

The third reason urges that Nation-States facilitated the development of economy. There is mutual interest between industrialization and development of nation states. Both helped one another to come into reality. Industrialization in a nation state has gone to different steps depending on the resources available. Industrialization has been subject to periodic disruption that was caused by problems in the management of capital movements. Development in economy is connected with the development of international trade and the capitalist economy.

With this analysis of mine, I conclude my thesis that Afghanistan and Pakistan are still lagging behind their state-building process and still don't function as a nation state. In today's political order, where nation-state is the dominate form of government, it takes a tremendous toll from Afghanistan and Pakistan in case they continue failing to embrace the notion of Nation statehood.

This failure to become a modern state indicates the high frequency of wars in both countries where the citizens have been deprived of the basic services and where the government failed to practice social control and to be the only authority that should enjoy social control over their citizens. I believe until the states of Afghanistan and Pakistan don't become strong enough to embrace the nation statehood, the war and status quo will continue in the two states.

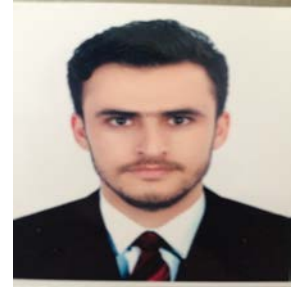


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REFERENCE

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