

**NEO-IMPERIALIST CAPITALIST GLOBALIZATION AND
SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVES TO THE SYSTEM IN PAKISTAN:
A CRITIQUE OF TARIQ ALI'S WORKS**

By

Kalsoon Khan



**NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES
ISLAMABAD**

December, 2020

**Neo-imperialist Capitalist Globalization and Socialist Alternatives
to the System in Pakistan: A Critique of Tariq Ali's Works**

By

KALSOOM KHAN

MPhil, International Islamic University, Islamabad, 2013

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

TO

FACULTY OF ENGLISH STUDIES



NATIONAL UNIVERSITY of MODERN LANGUAGES, ISLAMABAD

© Kalsoom Khan, 2020



THESIS AND DEFENSE APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have read the following thesis, examined the defense, are satisfied with the overall exam performance, and recommend the thesis to the Faculty of Languages for acceptance:

Thesis Title: Neo-imperialist Capitalist Globalization and Socialist Alternatives to the System in Pakistan: A Critique of Tariq Ali's Works

Submitted by: Kalsoom Khan

Registration No: 495-PhD/Lit/S14

Doctor of Philosophy

English Literature

Dr Nighat Ahmad

Name of Research Supervisor

Signature of Research Supervisor

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Safeer Awan

Name of Dean (FES) / Pro-Rector Academics

Signature of Dean (FES) / Pro-Rector Academics

Maj Gen Muhammad Jaffar HI (M) (Retd)

Name of Rector (Name of DG for PhD Thesis)

Signature of Rector

15/12/2020

CANDIDATE DECLARATION FORM

I, Kaloom Khan,

Daughter of Ali Gauhar Khan,

Registration # 495-PhD/Lit/S14,

Discipline English Literature,

Candidate of **Doctor of Philosophy** at the National University of Modern Languages, do hereby declare that the thesis **Neo-imperialist Capitalist Globalization and Socialist Alternatives to the System in Pakistan: A Critique of Tariq Ali's Works** submitted by me in partial fulfillment of PhD degree, is my original work, and has not been submitted or published earlier. I also solemnly declare that it shall not, in future, be submitted by me for obtaining any other degree from this or any other university or institution.

I also understand that if evidence of plagiarism is found in my thesis/dissertation at any stage, even after the award of a degree, the work may be cancelled and the degree revoked.

Signature of Candidate

December 15, 2020

Kaloom Khan
Name of Candidate

ABSTRACT

Thesis Title: Neo-imperialist Capitalist Globalization and Socialist Alternatives to the System in Pakistan: A Critique of Tariq Ali's Works

Tariq Ali's fiction has been mainly explored in relation to the subjects of representation of Islamic histories, cultures and Muslim identity. In the wake of Marxist Postcolonial literary criticism, Ali's fictional engagement with the politico-economic concerns of the postcolonial and global milieu assumes enormous significance for an investigation into the phenomena of global capitalism and its concomitant neocolonialism. A study of the selected fictional and non-fictional texts of Tariq Ali from the theoretical perspective of Marxist Postcolonial Studies would not only unravel the predominant thematic pattern of the texts but also establish a strong connection with the contemporarily pertinent subjects of the global operation of capitalism in tandem with American neo-imperialism, and class division as well as neocolonial modes of operation in postcolonial context. The subjects are inextricably linked with the organization and role of socialist movements within postcolonial states, such as the Twenty-first Century Socialism in the present times, in challenging the above-mentioned historical processes. Tariq Ali's fictional works foreground, more than any other subject, the socio-economic and political conditions of postcolonial context in a global capitalist and neo-imperialist order.

Keywords: Neo-imperialism, Global Capitalism, Neoliberalism, Class Division, Modes of Neocolonialism, 21st Century Socialism

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
THESIS AND DEFENSE APPROVAL FORM.....	ii
CANDIDATE DECLARATION FORM	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	vii
 CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	
1.1 Introduction.....	1-15
1.2 Theoretical Background to the Study.....	16-17
1.2.1 The Coordinate Global Operation of Neoliberal Capitalism and American Neo-imperialism.....	17-20
1.2.2 Modes of Neo-colonialism and Class Division in Postcolonial States.....	20-23
1.2.3 The Postcolonial Context, Emergence and Role of Twenty-first Century Socialism.....	23-27
1.3 Statement of the Problem.....	27
1.4 Significance of the Study.....	28
1.5 Research Objectives.....	29
1.6 Research Questions.....	29
1.7 Previous Research Studies on Tariq Ali’s Works.....	30-31
1.8 Structural Organization of the Study.....	32-34
 CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	
Introduction.....	35
2.1 Review of Tariq Ali’s Fiction and Non-Fiction.....	35-48
2.2 Marxist Postcolonial Studies.....	49-52
2.3 The Coordinate Global Operation of Neoliberal Capitalism and American Neo-imperialism.....	52-62
2.4 Modes of Neo-colonialism and Class Division in the Postcolonial States.....	63-72
2.5 The Postcolonial Context, Emergence and Role of Twenty-first Century Socialism.....	73-84
 CHAPTER 3: Methodology	
Introduction.....	85
3.1 Theoretical Framework.....	85-88
3.2 Research Methodology.....	88-89
3.3 Method of Qualitative Analysis.....	89-91

CHAPTER 4: The Coordinate Global Operation of Neoliberal Capitalism and American Neo-imperialism in *A Banker for All Seasons: Bank of Crooks and Cheats Incorporated* (2008) and *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity* (2002)

Introduction.....	92
4.1 <i>A Banker for All Seasons: Bank of Crooks and Cheats Incorporated</i> (2008).....	92-110
4.2 <i>The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity</i> (2002).....	110-126

CHAPTER 5: Modes of Neo-colonialism and Class Struggle in the Postcolonial Context as Depicted in *The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy* (2007) and *Can Pakistan survive?:The Death of a State* (1983)

Introduction.....	127
5.1 <i>The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy</i> (2007).....	127-152
5.2 <i>Can Pakistan Survive? The Death of a State</i> (1983).....	152-169

CHAPTER 6: The Postcolonial Context, Emergence and Role of Twenty-first Century Socialism in *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) and *Pirates of the Caribbean: Axis of Hope* (2006)

Introduction.....	170
6.1 <i>Night of the Golden Butterfly</i> (2010).....	170-198
6.2 <i>Pirates of the Caribbean: Axis of Hope</i> (2006).....	198-214

CHAPTER7: Conclusion

Introduction.....	215-218
7.1 Findings of the Research	218-226
7.2 Recommendations for Future Research Studies.....	227

Works Cited

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The work owes its present form to the critique and recommendations of my supervisor Dr Nighat Ahmed (Assistant Professor, Department of English National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad) and my examiners Dr Cara Cilano (Professor of English and Associate Dean of Undergraduate Studies, Michigan State University, USA), Dr Alan Johnson (Professor of English, Idaho State University, USA), Professor Nasir Jamal Khattak (Department of English and Applied Linguistics, University of Peshawar), Dr Amra Raza (Chairperson, Department of English Language and Literature, University of the Punjab, Lahore) and Dr Inayat Ullah (Assistant Professor, Department of English National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad). I stand indebted to all of them for their meticulous reading of my dissertation and useful suggestions for its improvement.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The chapter briefly introduces Tariq Ali's life and his fictional and non-fictional texts, identifying the commonality of themes in these works. It presents an overview of the literary criticism on Ali's fiction mainly, highlighting the major merits and demerits of the works pointed out in the critiques which is followed by the researcher's critical evaluation of the appraisals. The chapter also situates Tariq Ali's fiction within contemporary Pakistani English fiction and underscores the thematic convergence and divergence of Ali's plays and novels from the major trends prevailing in this flourishing body of fiction. It provides an outline of the available academic researches on Ali's fiction, points to the gaps in these studies and clearly defines the aspects, related to the selection of texts, the evaluated content and the theoretical paradigm adopted for analysis, in which the present research markedly differs from these. Thereby, it establishes the contribution of the present study to a comprehensive evaluation of Tariq Ali's standing as a literary writer and of the thematic content of his fiction.

Subsequently, the chapter introduces Marxist Postcolonial Studies as the theoretical domain providing the major theories and rubrics in the light of which the key themes of Ali's selected fictional and non-fictional works are analyzed. It offers a preliminary view of the theoretical background to the study in the form of the basic postulations of Samir Amin's theory of World system and Dependency, Kwame Nkrumah's theory of Neocolonialism and Class Struggle and, and Marta Harnecker's formulation of 21st Century Socialism. The chapter also encompasses the statement of the research problem and the significance of the study followed by the research objectives and questions which motivated the enquiry in the first place. In conclusion, it provides a summary of the academic research projects carried out in relation to Tariq Ali's fiction and non-fiction and the structural organization of the thesis.

Tariq Ali is a contemporary British Pakistani literary writer, historian, essayist, journalist, biographer, editor, filmmaker, political activist and a social and political public commentator. A brief glance at Ali's family background and the career paths he has chosen helps in understanding the perspectives he adopts in both his fictional and non-fictional works. He was born in Lahore in 1943 and received his early education in Pakistan. His parents were well-read and maintained a secular and politically active outlook on life which influenced Ali's mindset from the beginning. Ali describes these early influences in his book *Street Fighting Years: An Autobiography of the Sixties* (2005) in which he informs that his parents were members of Pakistan Communist Party and regularly participated in the party meetings and events (61-92). At home, the discussions arranged by his father, chief editor of the socialist daily newspaper *Pakistan Times*, and the "tons of Russian literature" read by his parents shaped his sensibilities (66). Ali participated in a socialist demonstration against the government organized by the Railway workers of Lahore when he was only five and a half years old. As a school and college student, he rallied students in marches to the British and American Consulates expressing an anti-imperialist stance on various global issues.

He also led students' protests against the military dictatorship of General Ayub (1958-69). When he was admitted to the University of Punjab, the military dictatorship blacklisted him due to his political activities. Fearing imprisonment and persecution, his parents sent him to England in the early 1960s where he studied Philosophy, Politics and Economics at Exeter College, Oxford. Ali soon became a popular figure in England as he became president of the prestigious Oxford Union, member of the International Marxist Group, and an active participant in public and television debates on significant political and economic issues. In London, he led demonstrations against the American war on Vietnam during the 1960s. Since then, he has been residing in London and along with writing significant fictional and non-fictional works, he has been performing editorial jobs for various Marxist newspapers, magazines and journals such as *The Black Dwarf* and *The Red Mole*. He is presently serving as a member of the editorial board of the *New Left Review*. He has also scripted and produced movies and documentaries on the lives and ideas of famous philosophers and politicians. The most notable among these are *Spinoza, Locke and Wittgenstein*, and *The Assassination Quartet* on the murders of four popular nationalist leaders of the postcolonial states: Sirimavo Bandarnaike, Indira Gandhi, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Mujib-ur-Rehman. The last documentary he has produced is titled *South of the*

Border which focuses on the rise of socialist mass movements in several Latin American countries.

Ali has penned around fifty books and stands in a class of his own due to the broad range of the subjects he deals with and the diverse genres he has adopted for expression. In the genre of non-fiction, he has written on the subjects of history, national and global politics and economies, colonialism, the evolution of capitalism as a world economic system, class struggle in societies, neo-imperialism, and socialist governments and movements in various parts of the world. Ali participated in the Post-World War Internationalist Left-wing movements in the 1960s and began his writing career in non-fiction around the same time. Therefore, the Marxist vision adopted during the period remains central to his works. His non-fictional works are mainly politico-economic critiques of historical developments such as the rise of Stalinism in Soviet Union, the fall of Communism in Europe, and American neo-imperialist interventions in the Balkan States, Latin America, Afghanistan and the Middle East. The most widely read and well-known among these works are: *The Stalinist Legacy* (1984), *Street-Fighting Years: An Autobiography of the Sixties* (1987), *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity* (2002), *The New World Disorder* (2015), and *Permanent Counter-Revolution* (2016). His most comprehensive and scathing critiques of Pakistani social context are found in *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power* (1970), *Can Pakistan Survive? : The Death of a State* (1983), and *The Duel: Pakistan on the Flight Path of American Power* (2008).

In fiction, Ali has seven novels and nine plays to his credit. In 1990, he initiated his fictional writings with the yet-unfinished trilogy of novels centered on the theme of the fall of communism in Soviet Union and East as well as Central Europe. The first novel in the series titled *Redemption* (1990) is a pungent satire on the political failure of the Bolsheviks to avert the fall of Communism in East Europe. The second novel in the series titled *Fear of Mirrors* (1998) deals with the same subject utilizing pathos as the main literary device. According to Sakelleridou, the immediate reviews of the novels categorized them as political fiction and Agitprop i.e. political agenda disseminated through literature (145). In 1992, his fiction took a new turn when he published the first of Islam Quintet, a series of novels based in Islamic history. The Quintet comprises *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree* (1992), *The Book of Saladin* (1998), *The Stone Woman* (2000), *A Sultan in Palermo* (2005) and *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010).

The popularity of Islam Quintet has overshadowed the significance of other fictional works by Ali and the fact is attested to by the exclusive focus of academic research scholars on these novels. The Islam Quintet has been hailed for its subversion of imperialist and neo-imperialist narratives of history and culture which stereotype Islamic societies. According to Mushtaq's research, these novels challenge the present-day, West-propagated images of Islamic cultures as orthodox, fundamentalist, and essentially undemocratic by retrieving and narrating episodes from Islamic history which are strongly expressive of social liberalism, intellectual dissent and cultural pluralism (14).

Tariq Ali has written nine plays which have been enacted in various British Theatres. All his plays have been immediate responses to momentous political events and can be labelled as political satires (Kaya 23). The first of his plays, *Iranian Nights* (1989), is an allegorical parody of the Arabic classic *One Thousand and One Nights* and deals with the Rushdie affair, supporting free speech against religious militarism in the immediate aftermath of the death edict issued against Salman Rushdie by the Iranian government. The second play *Moscow Gold* (1990) is a satire on the Soviet President Gorbachev and the events that took place in Soviet Union in the period between 1982 and 1989 while the third play *Necklaces* (1992) is a satire on apartheid in South Africa. The ensuing dramatic works *Ugly Rumours* (1998), *Snogging Ken* (2001) and *The Illustrious Corpse* (2004) mock the New Labour Party in England under the leadership of Tony Blair, and *Collateral Damage* (1999) is a trenchant critique of the Balkan War. The last two plays *The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy* (2007) and *A Banker for All Seasons: Bank of Crooks and Cheats Incorporated* (2008) center on the socio-political context of Pakistan and portray Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's fall from power and Agha Hasan Abedi's corruption as the most renowned banker in the country respectively.

On the thematic level, Ali's fictional works persist with the subjects explored in his non-fiction, instituting a harmony and continuity between his works in both the genres. In Cilano's view, the themes of Ali's fiction overlap with those of his non-fiction and it is difficult to disengage these from one another for the very reason that "the conditions of the literary production are clearly inextricable from those of his other political writing" ("Highlighting the Sceptical Strain" 190). The central themes of both Ali's fiction and non-fiction are based in socio-political and economic critiques of the national and global situations in various historical

periods, particularly the contemporary era. Major historical figures and momentous socio-political events occupy the center stage of his works.

In a review of Tariq Ali's and Howard Brenton's play *Ugly Rumours* (1998), Kaya evaluates that thematically, Tariq Ali's works are "always situated politically vis-à-vis current affairs" (24). Hashmi terms the contemporaneity and political vision of Ali's works as "a sharp focus on the contemporary world" (210). In this aspect, Ali's works also be viewed in the light of the postcolonial theoretical perspective posited by San Juan Jr. which considers postcolonial literature as "acts of concrete political practice" reflecting the dynamic process of the national evolution in the developing countries (qtd. in Chapman 9). Both Ali's fictional and non-fictional works are essentially issue-driven, engaging dynamically with subjects significant and crucial to the global as well as the postcolonial context.

In the course of the present study, the researcher found two principal yet contrasting critical evaluations of Tariq Ali's fiction come to the fore. The first category of appraisals views his fictional delineations in a positive light and full of merit. Shamsie finds his extensive fictional works to be based on an exhaustive research and incisive critique of history. She also regards the first four novels of Islam Quintet as highly enlightening about Islamic civilization and directed at addressing the issue of "the ignorance displayed by Western commentators about Muslim culture" ("Pakistani-English Writing"13). Within the postcolonial discourse, critics assess the first four novels of Islam Quintet to be significant for the deconstruction of Euro-American narratives on Islamic history and culture and the rewriting of the Islamic history from the viewpoint of the marginalized Muslim 'other' (Waterman157; Gamal 30-2; Ali et al. 61-8). Marxist critics such as Ahmed (416-17) value his works for offering a multi-faceted, unrelenting criticism of capitalism and providing both a broader history of the Left in all parts of the world and comprehensive details of the Leftist movements in specific historical contexts. He admires the historical, political and radically critical perspective adopted by Ali at a time when such trends have been sidelined in literature gradually. The researcher regards the incisively critical, enlightening and deconstructive aspects of Ali's portrayals, elaborated by the above-mentioned writers, to be a part of the major merits and contributions of Ali's fiction and, therefore, finds these approbatory appraisals to be logical and justifiable.

The second prevailing interpretation of Tariq Ali's fiction, which the researcher discovered during the course of the present study, is that these are propagandist in nature i.e. carry a political agenda, and possess little literary worth. According to these appraisals, the single major motif of both his fictional and non-fictional works is the subject of capitalism vs. socialism and all other themes consistently come secondary to and revolve around this theme. In Chapman's view (7-9), Ali's fiction can be conveniently placed within the category of postcolonial literary texts which propagate economic reductionism and subdue all significant subjects to the base and superstructure dichotomy. In Hashmi's evaluation, cultural aspects such as the religious, literary, linguistic and psychological impacts of capitalism are sidelined in Ali's works and depicted as spheres determined by the material realities of each context (210-11).

The researcher partly agrees with the argument that Ali's fictional portrayals are based on economic reductionism in the sense that cultural activities in these texts are largely seen as the by-products of the economic system. However, in the course of the present study, the researcher has come to assess that Ali's fiction delineates the cultural and economic spheres to be in a dynamic negotiation with each other, with patterns of impacts flowing in both directions. One major instance supporting the researcher's argument is provided by the novel *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010), a text selected for the present study, in which the radical poets and painters raise the social consciousness of the masses in Pakistan and motivate them to organize from below compelling the military dictatorship of General Ayub to lift Martial Law and hold general elections (8). Therefore, the base and superstructure interrelationship in Ali's fiction is more complex and nuanced than a simplistic domination of the latter by the former, as these critics evaluate to be the case. In addition, in cases where Ali depicts economic interests to be the determinants of cultural directions, he substantiates his delineations with specific instances and concrete as well as historically authenticated facts and figures.

On the same lines, other critics point out other demerits in Ali's fiction. In a review of *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree* (1992), the first novel of Islam Quintet, King finds fault with Ali's writings for turning his characters into mouthpieces for the dissemination of socialist political agenda (112). He cites the character of Al-Farid in the novel *A Sultan in Palermo* (2005), set in Medieval Sicily, to be blasting the Muslim elite as well as the Christian Barons in the Trotskyite language of Ali. In King's view, the dominance of the political perspective in

Ali's fiction, therefore, leads to a compromise on the relativity and multiplicity of characters. Ali's fiction lacks in multiple themes and is therefore deficient in multi-vocal representation as well. According to King's analysis (112), Ali displays a recalcitrant attitude towards placing events and characters into the two definitive categories of pro-capitalist and anti-capitalist, creating stereotypical themes and characters for the reinforcement of his political doctrine. In Chapman's view, Ali's fiction depicts a postcolonial utopianism in its portrayals because it offers the vision of a classless society free of all kinds of inequities whereas the established social order and ground realities offer no hope for such a utopian future in the postcolonial countries (9).

Ali's plays are also criticized on the ground that these are more factual than fictional. Sakelleridou (143-52) extends her critique of *Moscow Gold* (1990) to all of his plays, examining that the journalistic language and representation of characters and events in Ali's plays fall much below the literary standards. The themes making the core of his dramatic works center more on imparting historic information than presenting an imaginative and literary picture of facts. Ali's drama, according to her, is "history served up as sketchy cartoons or dramatized captions" in comparison with which "the original television and newspaper versions were better" (144). In her view, the monologic structure of the play script and the authority of the narrative voice in his plays, which is always Ali's representative, "tighten the text's linearity" and undermine its multivocal character (145).

According to her, there is no dialectical relationship with the reader in Ali's fiction; it is simply the imposition of the author's perspective on the reader (148). The presentation of a one-dimensional image of socialism as a panacea for all social ills and as a paradise everyone must struggle for hinders the representation of a pluralistic, undogmatic vision. There is an understated but definite denunciation of Ali's fiction in these critiques on the ground of its being sexually explicit as well. Critics like Chapman, Sakilleradou and Kaya, however, admit that his subjects are well-researched and per factual evidences provided by historical documents.

The researcher's appraisal, underscored consistently in the analysis of Ali's texts, does not accord with Chapman's depreciation of Ali's fiction based on the argument that the portrayals of characters and events are rooted in Marxist perspective and class-based vision of society (9). Contrarily, the researcher would argue that the representations of characters and social contexts from a radical viewpoint constitutes one of the major merits of Ali's fiction,

particularly in the contemporary era when few literary works offer stringent criticisms of capitalism and class-centered depictions of societies. In addition, the researcher's evaluation differs from the critical assessments of Sakilleradou (143-52) and King (112) that Ali's fictional delineations read history-like, journalistic and monologic. Both minor and major characters in his novels and plays come out as fully developed people in their respective domains of life, regardless of their class origins. Their growth as individuals and their dynamic social interactions are drawn imaginatively which is an attribute of quality fiction and not that of journalistic or historical accounts. The turns of event are also looked at from multiple angles and portrayed with wit, sarcasm, humor and pathos. Concrete instances from each selected text are provided in the chapters of analysis to substantiate the researcher's argument.

As counter-argument to the depreciatory appraisals, the researcher also posits that Ali's fiction is not only informative in its incisively critical and satirical portrayals of the dominant ideologies and historic key figures endorsing those ideologies but is also delightful in its wit and humor. The witty dialogues and humorous parts are the more noticeable and impactful because these are set against a mainly grim and serious backdrop of consequential issues. For instance, Bhutto's flirtation with the journalist Lily, the episode of a renowned politician's wife stealing panties from Marks & Spencer and General Zia's dim-witted responses to Bhutto's highbrow discussions in the play *The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy* (2007) provide relief in the course of the story woven around the military coup of 1977 and the trial of the Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Along the same lines, the account of teenagers' trysts in the Northern Mountain resorts and details of the gaudy and provocative appearance of Naughty Lateef despite her presentation by Western media as a woman exploited by a repressive Islamic society give the reader a break from the main plot of corruption, manipulation, and exploitation in the novel *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010). The protagonist Plato's wit is both satirical and amusing as is evident from the first sentence he utters in the same novel : "I 'm going to change my name to Diogenes so I can light a lantern in the daylight and go in search of honest civil servants" (2).

Another distinctive characteristic of Ali's fiction, in the researcher's opinion, is that his stories draw a holistic picture of the social scenario as the plays *A Banker for All Seasons: Bank of Crooks and Cheats Incorporated* (2008) and *The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy*

(2007) as well as the novel *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) investigated in the present study do in relation to the social context of Pakistan. At the centre of his fiction are personal lives, careers and interpersonal relationships but the fictional canvas never remains confined to these aspects. The stories of individual characters are narrated in such a way that a complete image of the social context is brought to the reader. In this regard, Ali's fictional delineations conform to Trotsky's vision of a socialist and progressive literary work i.e. a work which views events from a collective angle rather than individual and aims to contribute to the understanding and amelioration of social conditions. In such literary works, according to Trotsky, all spheres of social life such as art, economy, culture and politics are perpetually in a dialectical interaction with one another and a complete picture of the entire social dynamic is at the center of the literary narrative (66-107).

The rootedness of Ali's narrative style in a social vision is elucidated best by Dara, the narrator of the novel *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010). When one of Dara's friends, Plato, requests him to write a story on his life, Dara's response has an autobiographical echo:

It must be plain storytelling, without frills or too many digressions. I agreed, but warned him that I could not write a book that was only about him. He was the best person to do that, and could simply dictate a memoir if that was what he wanted. Nor could I simply portray his development in terms of his interactions with other people. The period would have to be evoked, the social milieu excavated, and navel-gazing resisted. (4-5)

A valuation of the themes of Ali's selected fictional works from a Marxist Postcolonial perspective, a task the present study undertakes and elaborates on in the subsequent sections of this chapter, is significant at this historic juncture when viewed in the backdrop of the two major developments in contemporary Pakistani English fiction of which it forms a part. Both developments are momentous in their own right and add to the value of this evolving body of fiction. According to the researcher's appraisal, Ali's fiction stands at the center of the first principal development in contemporary Pakistani English fiction while it deviates sharply from the second direction this corpus has been taking lately. However, both the concord and discord with the present literary trends help in determining the particular value of the main themes Ali's fiction engages with.

The first significant development, in Cilano's assessment, is that the present Pakistani fictions "face head-on the realities" of the national and global contexts and are seriously engaged with and critical of the socio-economic inequities prevalent in the Pakistani society as well as the inefficient role played by the state in improving social conditions ("Hybrid Tapestries" 852). In the first critical account of Pakistani Literature in English titled *A History of Pakistani Literature in English* published in 1991, Tariq Rahman declared Pakistani English fiction to be "less politically aware or committed" and unresponsive to momentous socio-political issues in comparison with the post-independence African or Indian English fiction, for instance (229). The book did not take into account Ali's fiction though he had written his groundbreaking political non-fiction on Pakistan by the time and had also laid the base for his fictional works which were centered on socio-political themes by publishing his first novel *Redemption* (1990) and the two plays *Iranian Nights* (1989) and *Moscow Gold* (1990).

The reviews of later critics and researchers on contemporary Pakistani English fiction, however, differ from that of Rahman's assessment of contemporary Pakistani English fiction lacking in portrayal of significant historical events and subjects. In *Rethinking Identities in Contemporary Pakistani Fiction: Beyond 9/11* published in 2015, Aroosa Kanwal highlights the pertinence and contemporaneity of current Pakistani English fiction and its serious engagement with the pressing issues and conditions of the times. The Pakistani English fiction writers whose works are critically analyzed and assessed by Rahman in 1991 are termed by her as "first-generation writers" while those following them as the "second-generation" (18-23). The basis for categorization is partly temporal and partly, but not exclusively, thematic.

According to her, both generations of writers of fiction portray the social milieu and significant socio-economic and political issues of the time. The first generation of writers largely represent the post-independence issues of the trauma of partition, ethnic conflicts and the identity crises of the first generation of diaspora whereas the second generation writers (mostly diasporic) weave their stories out of a sense of displacement and the national as well as religious identity crises in the immediate pre-9/11 and post-9/11 socio-political backdrop. In this regard, Ali's fiction, which can be conveniently placed within the categories of both the generations of writers, observes a strong harmony with this trend of delineating crucial social issues on both the national and global planes. An assessment of the major thematic directions of his fictional texts

“with a sharp focus on the contemporary world”, therefore, assumes a renewed pertinence in the contemporary backdrop of the growing engagement of Pakistani fiction with major social issues (Hashmi 210).

The second development pertaining to contemporary Pakistani English fiction is the current prevalence of the notion of ‘boom’ associated with this fiction. In introduction to a recent book *Writing Pakistan: Conversations on Identity, Nationhood and Fiction*, a collection of interviews with selected Pakistani fiction writers in English, the interviewer Bilal highlights the fact that the number of Pakistani English fiction writers has risen considerably in recent years (1-2). Moreover, these writers have received critical acclaim both at home and abroad in addition to their works having been translated into many foreign languages. Bilal underscores the reason at the back of the literary development and posits the argument that the growing fictional engagement with post 9/11 issues and the welcoming reception as well as acclaim granted to such narratives in the Euro-American market owe to the specific geo-political context and the significance the country holds as a major ally in the US-led global War on Terror, for “there must be Lithuanian writers who are not getting the attention they deserve because their country is not in the news” (1).

In the present context of contemporary Pakistani English fiction undergoing a boom period and acquiring global renown, mainly due to the above-mentioned reasons, fictional narratives highlighting representational aspects such as the representation of Islamic cultures and Muslims and, in particular, the impact of 9/11 on the identity formation of the Pakistani diaspora have been granted unparalleled attention not only by Pakistani writers but also by Western critics and media. In the researcher’s opinion, Ali’s fiction does not succumb wholly to this market-driven trend in Pakistani English fiction and though some of his texts such as the first four novels of *Islam Quintet* focus on deconstructing Western narratives of Islamic histories and cultures, which have acquired a renewed prominence and prevalence in the aftermath of 9/11, these representational themes remain secondary to the corpus of fiction written by him.

The need for and significance of the present research, based in a Marxist Postcolonial study of selected fiction and non-fiction of Tariq Ali, also stem from the researcher’s engagement and subsequent contention with multiple literary developments in relation to Tariq Ali’s fiction. Firstly, Tariq Ali’s fiction has been comparatively sidelined not only within the new

and euphoric national as well as global recognition of Pakistani English fiction but also within the domain of academic debates, critiques and literary research studies. Secondly, out of the vast corpus of fiction produced by him, only a few of his works have been granted attention in which such themes as mentioned above i.e. themes based in the representation of Islamic histories, cultures and Muslim identity and, in particular, the crisis-ridden impact of 9/11 on the national and religious identity formation of the Pakistani diaspora, are depicted.

The researcher's argument is validated by the fact that the few academic researches on Ali's fiction focus almost exclusively on the first four novels of Islam Quintet. The specific details of these studies have been provided in Section 1.7 of this chapter titled as "Previous Research Studies on Tariq Ali's works". These academic research studies investigate into the historiographic and metafictional strategies utilized by Ali to deconstruct European historical and literary narratives representing Islamic societies as fundamentalist, repressive and monolithic. The first four novels are also evaluated as postcolonial texts reclaiming the hitherto marginalized voice of the Muslim 'other'. The novels are viewed as fictional attempts to represent the liberal, pluralistic and secular aspects of Islamic history through the voices of Muslim characters rooted in Islamic cultures at specific historical periods. According to Shamsie, Islam Quintet has gained attention in the contemporary literary scenario because its representation of Islamic cultures coincides with the pervasiveness of the subjects of Islamist fundamentalism and the clash between Islam and the West as the most debated topics on media, in literary works and public discussions in the aftermath of 9/11 ("South Asian Muslims" 151).

Thirdly, the prominence of the first four novels of Islam Quintet among Ali's fictional works and the predominance of their thematic subjects in academic, research-related, critical and even public literary discourses lead to an assumptive perception that the major themes of Islam Quintet based in a nuanced, multi-dimensional and authentic representation of Islamic cultures at various junctures in history, articulated by the hitherto marginalized Muslim 'other', are archetypal of the thematic subjects of all of his fictional works.

The researcher's disagreement with these literary developments and the general direction of perception adopted in these in relation to Ali's fiction lead, subsequently, to the hypotheses at the back of the present study. The first of these hypotheses was that since Ali's perspectives have been rooted in Marxism, the major themes of his fictional portrayals would bear a strong link

with material realities such as economic inequities and class divisions in societies. The second hypothesis was that Ali's fiction would also be thematically depictive and critical of the historical processes of imperialism and neo-imperialism, not only due to his intellectual affiliation with Marxism which is rigorously critical of imperialism but also because of his real-life association with the postcolonial society of Pakistan. The combination of the two assumptions lead to the broader unitary hypothesis that themes central to Ali's fiction will be related to economic and political issues rather than religious, cultural, history-related or identity-centered.

In addition, the researcher's viewpoint that the engagement of postcolonial literature with contemporary manifestations of capitalism and neo-imperialism needs to be studied and the multiple facets of that engagement foregrounded also played role in the selection of the theoretical paradigm as well as of Ali's works. The rationale for the selection of fictional and non-fictional works for the present study, out of the vast oeuvre Ali has produced, is that all these texts are based in the depictions and analyses of postcolonial societies, mainly contemporary Pakistani social milieu, and the politico-economic repercussions of capitalism and neo-imperialism have been looked at from a radical perspective rooted in postcolonial context.

Consequently, the present research differs from the few available research studies on Ali's fiction in multiple substantial ways. To begin with, the primary texts selected for analysis in the present study are not the first four novels of Islam Quintet which have been scrutinized invariably in all the academic researches based on Ali's fiction. Therefore, the present study neither explores the narrative strategies adopted by Ali in his fiction for the retrieval of the marginalized voice of the Muslim 'other' nor does it investigate into how the representation of Islamic cultures in Ali's fiction differs from the depictions of these in Christian European narratives. Another significant departure of the present study is that it scrutinizes a *mélange* of Ali's texts in the light of the selected theoretical paradigm to make the study holistic and representative of the major thematic strains in Ali's works. Two of Ali's plays *The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy* (2007) and *A Banker for All Seasons: Bank of Crooks and Cheats Incorporated* (2008) have been selected for analysis in the present study which have not been scrutinized under any rubrics in any academic research project. In fact, Ali's plays the number of which far exceed the number of novels written by him are the most marginalized of his fictional

works. Furthermore, the last novel of Islam Quintet *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) delineating contemporary Pakistani society, a hitherto sidelined and unexplored text in researches on Ali's Quintet yet immensely pertinent, has also been incorporated in the study.

In addition, the present study incorporates the analyses of selected non-fiction by Ali which has not been the case in other studies based on Ali's fiction. The non-fictional works of Tariq Ali have been frequently quoted in research studies from other disciplines such as Political Science and International Relations. However, these have not been studied as primary texts, even in a supportive role as is done in the present study, for research studies in the discipline of English literature. Only a fellow doctoral candidate at National University of Modern Languages, Hammad Mushtaq, has incorporated the study of the selected non-fictional texts of Tariq Ali in his research dissertation titled "A Critique of Neo-imperial Interpellation in Tariq Ali's Writings" which has been defended successfully in 2018. The reasons offered by Mushtaq for the integration of the non-fictional works in his research project on literature are "to make the sample more representative" in addition to the fact that these texts are based on "themes that relate to my research questions" (24). In the present study, the rationale at the back of the selection of non-fictional texts alongside the fictional ones is that these texts engage with the same themes and add substantially to the thematic analyses of the fictional works. The non-fictional texts offer enlightening elucidations of the major themes of the selected fictional texts and, at times, explicate and highlight the new directions these subjects take.

Finally, the principal feature which differentiates the present research from other academic studies on Ali's fiction is the fact that it explores the selected fiction and non-fiction for the delineation of major politico-economic thematic concerns both at the global level and in the postcolonial context with specific bearing on Pakistani society. The major thematic concepts the depiction of which is investigated in Ali's selected works are derived from Marxist Postcolonial Studies and constitute some of the most pertinent and significant subjects within the broader postcolonial theory. Tariq Ali's fiction has not been previously analyzed from a Marxist Postcolonial theoretical paradigm and the present research, by doing so, attempts to fill the gap in the present academic studies which are mainly based in investigations into themes pertaining to the domain of culture. The objective is to test the hypothesis based on the premise that the central themes of Ali's fiction would be related to economy and politics, rather than to the

cultural sphere. In the researcher's view, an investigation into the core thematic concerns of Ali's fiction and the analyses of these subjects will contribute to a comprehensive understanding of his works as well as of his standing as a literary writer.

The three main themes/subjects the depiction of which is explored and analyzed in Ali's selected works are three major debates within the Marxist Postcolonial Studies and are intrinsically interconnected. These are the globalization of American neo-imperialism and neoliberal capitalism, the perpetuation of politico-economic modes of neocolonialism and class division in the postcolonial states due to these historical developments and the role of emergent socialist currents in the postcolonial context, such as the 21st century socialist movements in Latin America, in countering the capitalist and neo-imperialist order. American neo-imperialism since the second half of the twentieth century and the globalization of neoliberal capitalism two decades later have been the two most significant politico-economic developments of the present times which affect all spheres of human activity both on the global and national level. Therefore, a critical unearthing of the two phenomena and their interlinking has been a rigorous theoretical practice with Marxist Postcolonial theorists. The theory also focuses critical attention on the formation of bourgeois class within the postcolonial states, a process initiated by European colonialism in tandem with its capitalist expansion and perpetuated by American neo-imperialism and neoliberal capitalism in the contemporary era. The theory links the inauguration and establishment of neocolonialism with the creation and strengthening of national elite class in the postcolonial states and the consequent class division in these societies.

Within Marxist Postcolonial theory, the incisive critiques of the global and concomitant functioning of capitalism and neo-imperialism, manifested in the form of class division and neocolonial modes of operation in postcolonial contexts, are invariably linked with debates on socialist mass movements resisting the capitalist and neocolonialist order and theorization of new, contextual and flexible models, out of which the 21st century socialist model is the latest proposition. All these Marxist Postcolonial theoretical concerns are pertinent to the contemporary era, in particular in the postcolonial context, and therefore, an investigation into the delineation of these subjects in Ali's selected texts will help not only in locating enlightening aspects of these themes as portrayed in his fiction and non-fiction but will also serve to evaluate Ali's position as a Marxist postcolonial writer.

1.2 Theoretical Background to the Study

The present research is theoretically grounded in Marxist Postcolonial Studies: a significant and pertinent discourse within the broader discipline of Postcolonial studies. The basic premise of Marxist Postcolonial Studies is that the domains of politics and economy are intertwined and inextricable. Therefore, the political projects of European colonialism in the past and American neo-imperialism in the contemporary epoch cannot be comprehended in their entirety without linking them to the concurrent evolution of the capitalist economic system the mechanics of which functioned as the driving force at the back of the two historic processes. Within the theory, hence, the critique of imperialism and neo-imperialism is bound with the critique of capitalism. The term Marxist Postcolonialism, therefore, signifies a rigorous study not only of the operative mechanisms of capitalism and neo-imperialism but also a scrutiny and unearthing of the interlinking between the two.

The contemporary era witnesses the politico-economic subjugation of the world to the dual global operation of American neo-imperialism and neoliberal capitalism. Therefore, the theoretical paradigm of Marxist Postcolonial Studies considers it crucial to understand the collaborative mechanism of the two phenomena and the social structures and politico-economic procedures in the postcolonial states facilitating the exploitative establishment so that the present political conflicts between the new empire of the United States of America and the postcolonial regions are viewed not as civilizational, religious or cultural clashes but are grasped, in concrete terms, as consequences of the material inequities created by European imperialist, capitalist expansion and perpetuated by American neo-imperialist imposition of neoliberal capitalism on the globe. All genuine projects of decolonization from a Marxist Postcolonial perspective, unlike the movements for independence which culminated in the drifting of the postcolonial regions into a neocolonial status, also involve challenging and transcending the capitalist system with socialist movements and the exploration of new politico-economic systems socialist in essence.

The major proponents of Marxist Postcolonial Studies reason the need for the disciplines of Marxism and Postcolonial studies to debate issues of mutual concern in the form of a more intense and comprehensive integration because the processes of both colonialism and neocolonialism have been based on economic exploitation and the creation of class division on the national and global level. Lazarus and Varma (309-32) assert that the cultural, psychological

and identity-related crises of the colonized have been generated by the root cause of economic subjugation; therefore, Marxist perspectives focusing on asymmetrical material formations are crucial to Postcolonial Studies for an exhaustive dismantling of the process of imperialism in the past and neo-imperialism in the present times.

Both contend that the reason for the marginalization of Marxism within Postcolonial Studies has been the dominance of Postmodernist discourse and a Post-theory approach in the field which celebrates a euphoric diversity and multiplicity of narratives, serving to justify the logic of the neoliberal free market instead of critically unearthing the practical establishment of the single and most dominant metanarrative of the times i.e. the globalization of capitalism. Lazarus (*Nationalism* 42-47) cites the instance of an uncritical acceptance of fluidity, decentralization and globalization reducing the nation-state to insignificance as a case in point. He terms it as an unpragmatic project highly detrimental to the cause of liberation from global capitalism and its concomitant neo-imperialism. He stresses that the processes of colonialism, neocolonialism and nationalism, are concerns common to Marxism and Postcolonial Studies for which the theoretical paradigms of both should merge and collectively explore new social avenues of decolonization. The present study is based in the seminal works of three theorists within Marxist Postcolonial Studies: Samir Amin, Kwame Nkrumah and Marta Harnecker. The rationale for the selection of theorists is that all the three are Marxist Postcolonial theorists positing various strands of the critique of global capitalism and neo-imperialism from perspectives rooted in postcolonial contexts.

1.2.1 The Coordinate Global Operation of Neoliberal Capitalism and American Neo-Imperialism

The primary theoretical concern of Marxist Postcolonial Studies has been a comprehensive and critical unveiling of the coordinate functioning of the globalization of capitalism and neo-imperialism which forms the core source of the political and economic exploitation of the postcolonial regions. Therefore, the first subject the present research explores theoretically and subsequently analyzes the depiction of in Ali's selected texts, is the global operation of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism in function from the second half of the twentieth century till the present day, affecting political and economic contexts on both the national and the global level. The concomitant universal progression of the two phenomena,

which determines the face of contemporary globe, is examined under the rubrics of the Dependency and World System Theory expounded in the works of Samir Amin, an eminent Postcolonial Marxian theorist and one of the leading proponents of the theory. Amin (*Unequal Development* 9-22; *Empire of Chaos* 7-14; *The World We Wish to See* 7-15) postulates that a single economic system, originating in 16th century Europe, has gradually incorporated world economies in the last five centuries. The capitalist system, with an inherent tendency for polarization, established the division of labor on a global scale and divided the world into core and peripheral economies. The industrially and militarily advanced Europe formed the core while the rest of the globe, in particular the three underdeveloped continents of Africa, Asia and the South America constituted the periphery. The development of this one but unequal world system initiated a persistent interrelationship of dependency and exploitation between the core and the periphery. The development or underdevelopment of an individual nation-state therefore, “ cannot be understood in itself, for its relations with the center are crucial; similarly, the social structure of the periphery is a truncated structure that can only be understood when it is situated as an element in a world social structure” (*Unequal Development* 294).

Building on the premise, Amin adds (*Unequal Development* 155-90) that the profit-driven expansion of the capitalist system compelled Europe to colonize the peripheral regions, integrate their pre-capitalist social formations into the system and accumulate capital by establishing monopolies over their resources, trade and investments. Around the second half of the twentieth century, the European empires crumbled as a consequence of the two World Wars and the United States of America emerged as the new center of the capitalist system (*Empire of Chaos* 8-11; *Beyond US Hegemony* 193-4). The phenomenal growth of a huge, sophisticated capitalist structure with a rapidly multiplying need for raw materials propelled US towards a neo-colonization of the postcolonial states, a process defined by Loomba as one of indirect political and economic control instead of direct military occupation (3-6). The development, according to Andre Gunder Frank, ended the industrialist-imperialist phase of the evolution of the capitalist system and inaugurated the neo-imperialist-technological stage of its progress (qtd. in Hout 62).

Amin (*Beyond US Hegemony* 128) configures that in the period between 1945 and 1975, the capitalist exploitation and political domination of the globe by the new Empire in the making was curtailed by the ideological prevalence of the rival politico-economic system of communism

in the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) and China as well as by the socialist and nationalist insurgencies across the postcolonial periphery. However, the global initiation and enforcement of neo-liberal policies by Washington in the late 1970s and the subsequent collapse of USSR in addition to the integration of China into the global capitalist system completed the triumph of both the capitalist system and US political hegemony.

Elaborating upon the current neo-liberal and neo-imperialist phase of the capitalist world system, Amin explicates that the core capitalist countries have devised a more sophisticated, systematic and global *modus operandi* for the perpetuation of underdevelopment and dependency in the periphery and the continuation of its exploitation (*Unequal Development* 189-200; *Beyond US Hegemony* 8-124; *The World We Wish to See* 73-114). According to him, the present period is marked by the institution of US-centric global companies run by Euro-American or Metropolitan bourgeoisie which maintain a monopolist hold over finance capital, advanced technology and highly skilled labor of the globe. These global cartels have established a global monetary system and network of International Financial Institutions (IFIs) like World Bank (WB), World Trade Organization (WTO) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) for the imposition of the neo-liberal policies of free trade, privatization, deregulation and structural adjustments on all the integrated states. The system and policies not only ensure the unilateral flow of surplus from the periphery to the core by facilitating the investments of the apparently global cartels in the major economic sectors of the nation-states but also by exempting these from their restrictive regulations.

Amin also asserts that the nationalist and socialist mass movements in the periphery resisting this dual mode of exploitation are eliminated and substituted with compliant satrapies through overt and covert military operations executed by an extensive structure of intelligence agencies, military bases and alliances set up by the new Empire and its allies for the purpose. According to his analysis, the advocates of neo-imperialism and neo-liberal capitalism label the unceasing American global wars as civilizational clashes and humanitarian interventions but the fact remains discernible: these are economic wars fought for the interests of the Empire and are a natural consequence of the economic system it imposes on the globe (*Beyond US Hegemony* 123).

According to Amin's appraisal, the dilemma of the post-colonial periphery lies in the fact of its inability to "delink" from the neo-imperialist capitalist world system (*Unequal Development* 246-48, 333-42; *Beyond US Hegemony* 137). The period of European colonialism integrated its agrarian social formations into the system but escalated their underdevelopment by proletarianizing the masses through methodical feudalization and deindustrialization. The agrarian and industrial capitalism initiated in the last phase of the colonial period remained dependent and extravert in orientation. However, the process laid the foundation for neocolonialism through the formation of a national capitalist class of industrialists, traders and financiers which developed its own stakes within the system. Amin concludes that the biggest impediment to the development of the periphery is posed by this class which is dependent on the economic, political and military patronage of Metropolitan bourgeoisie for the maintenance of its privileged status and on the globalization of capitalism for the multiplication of its capital. The immediate neo-colonization of the periphery by the American Empire, aided and abetted by the national ruling classes, not only preserves its structural underdevelopment but also generates new modes of political subjugation and economic neo-dependency.

1.2.2 Modes of Neo-colonialism and Class Division in Postcolonial States

The broader analysis of the parallel global operation of American neo-imperialism and neoliberal capitalism, constituting the first theoretical concept of the research, leads ineluctably to questions concerning the social dynamics and specific politico-economic modes in the postcolonial periphery aiding the operation of capitalism and neocolonialism. The subjects are engaged with in the theory of Neocolonialism and Class Struggle which, therefore, provides the second theoretical concept of the research. The principal theorist whose works are studied for the discussion of these issues is Kwame Nkrumah, the Marxist Postcolonial theorist and revolutionary who guided the Ghanaian struggle for national liberation against the British and became the first Prime minister of the country. Though his theory of Neocolonialism and Class Struggle scrutinizes the African context, yet, according to him, these remain relevant and applicable to the study of all postcolonial states for "the independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America have a similar historical past in that they have suffered from imperialism and colonialism; and after political independence have in almost every case, swept into the orbit of neocolonialism" (*Class Struggle* 58).

According to Nkrumah's theoretical perspective (*Neocolonialism* ix-xx), neocolonialism is the indirect process of the political control and economic exploitation of the weaker and underdeveloped states by the powerful and developed countries of the world. Since direct occupation and prolonged wars signify huge expenditures and the probability of nuclear confrontation, the indirect means of economic extraction, the ultimate objective of colonialism, becomes a more viable option in the present times. The four basic operational modes of neocolonialism in the periphery, according to Nkrumah (*Neocolonialism* 11-258), are: economic and military aid from the center to the periphery, unequal trade between the two, foreign or metropolitan investments in the postcolonial states and the loans these take from the global monetary organizations. The theory of neocolonialism elucidates the negative and undermining repercussions of these modes for the economic development and political sovereignty of the peripheral postcolonial states.

Nkrumah (*Neocolonialism* 11-258) examines that economic aid from the developed capitalist countries to the underdeveloped postcolonial states bolsters the growth of foreign private enterprises only and is largely manipulated by the ruling classes directing it either to their private ventures or to consumptive instead of productive spheres. Military aid intensifies external conflicts as well as internal repression and simultaneously binds the state in neo-imperialist military pacts, giving it a mercenary character. The continuation of unequal trade based on the export of raw materials and import of manufactured products by the periphery from the center keeps the local industries underdeveloped and dependent on the technological supremacy of the center. Foreign investments establish the monopoly of global capital on national economies and facilitate the flow of surplus to the center. Loans from the global monetary organizations, run by the capital of the center, subjugate these states to the policies devised by Metropolitan capitalists and render these incapable of providing even basic services to the masses.

In Nkrumah's view, the main internal vehicle expediting the processes of neocolonialism and capitalism is class division within the peripheral states, inherited from the colonial period (*Class Struggle* 9-10). European colonization created and patronized the various sections of the elite class which helped it administer vast territories containing hostile masses. During the movement for national liberation from colonialism, the class rift seemed apparently indistinct, however, the conflict of class interests resurfaced soon after formal decolonization.

Nkrumah's theory postulates five distinct categories of the national bourgeoisie: the bureaucratic, the military, the feudal, the intelligentsia and the industrialist classes whose interests clash with those of the proletarian masses (*Class Struggle* 9-26). Originating under the colonial administration and benefitting from the consequent integration into the capitalist system, the safety of the economic interests of these sections of the elite class was guaranteed only by the continuation of the capitalist system and neo-imperialism/neocolonialism. Moreover, being educated and trained in the institutions of the capitalist center, they were indoctrinated to the ideological supremacy of its politic-economic system and social values.

To begin with, the feudal elite came into being out of the tribal chiefs and landlords who, instead of offering resistance to British imperialists, chose to serve them with rural resources and peasant man power under their influence. As rewards, they were granted titles and lands transforming them into a feudalist class. This class has colluded internally with the industrialist bourgeoisie, both in the colonial and postcolonial period, and externally with the Metropolitan bourgeoisie for the protection of its land holdings and the attainment of political power.

Nkrumah elaborates that the colonial apparatus administered large colonies through the development of a heavy bureaucratic structure which incorporated and utilized local population (*Class Struggle* 61-62). This gave rise to the emergence of bureaucratic bourgeoisie who received political power and privileges from the colonial government and maintained their influential status when the new-found states initiated socio-economic plans for development. They nurtured close links with the capitalist center which persisted in granting it major role in the implementation of neo-imperialist and capitalist policies.

According to Nkrumah's analysis, the officer ranks of the armed forces trained in European military institutions and utilized as a repressive state apparatus in the imperialist wars, both within and without, formed an elite class in its own right (*Class Struggle* 41-54). The border disputes left by British colonialists for the decolonized states enhanced the value of the organization and technological expertise of the institution. The influential politico-economic role and social significance of the military oligarchy in the peripheral states and its dependence on imperial military aid makes it one of the strongest allies of the neo-imperialist capitalist system. The military coups carried out by this class to topple nationalist and socialist governments have been guided invariably by the objective of the preservation of the capitalist and neocolonialist

system. The aristocratic and moneyed class of intellectuals, educated in the West and conditioned by its ideologies, also supports other sections of the elite class in the Postcolonial states for the acquisition of professional and political status.

Nkrumah elucidates that the indigenous industrialist bourgeoisie remained petty bourgeoisie, for the greater part of the colonial period, due to the policies of tariff restrictions and deindustrialization followed by the colonial government (*Class Struggle* 55-63). During the last phase of colonialism, the colonial government patronized and encouraged its enterprises due to the pressure exerted by the class for national autonomy and the imperial need for the growth of industries it could extract from. After independence, the national bourgeoisie who ran the founding political party came to govern and proceeded to make their fortunes. They became partners to the Metropolitan bourgeoisie, receiving kickbacks from foreign investments and enterprises. This comprador class collaborates internally with the other elite groups to strengthen the neocolonial and capitalist structures which are crucial to the growth of its capital. Nkrumah points out elitism, the belief that “society would always be governed some kind of elite or, a combination of elites”, as the basic and intrinsic flaw of all these bourgeois comprador sections of the dominant class (*Class Struggle* 30). He concludes that a class with this elitist outlook trusting society to rigid class division cannot liberate the country out of the system based on the class division of nations on the global scale. A government run by any of these elite sections can only perpetuate dependency and underdevelopment in the postcolonial states.

1.2.3 The Postcolonial Context, Emergence and Role of Twenty-first Century Socialism

The third theoretical concern of Marxist Postcolonial Studies, after a rigorous scrutiny of the dual functioning of global neo-imperialism and capitalism, and examination of the role of class conflict as well as neocolonial politico-economic modes in what is broadly termed as “the postcolonial condition” (Taoua 209-226), is to critically assess the shortcomings of the 20th century socialist struggles in the postcolonial societies, following the Russian and Chinese models, in combatting the inequities and exploitation generated by all of these phenomena. Postcolonial Marxist theorists have also been theorizing new concepts of socialism and critically analyzing emerging socialist movements resisting the politico-economic dilemmas created for the postcolonial societies by neocolonialism and entrapment within the capitalist world system. Lebowitz terms the practice within the discourse as the realization of “the necessity to go beyond

anti-capitalism to a concept of socialism” (*Build it Now* 11). These theorists, such as Amin, surmise that the only way for a postcolonial Third World state to extricate itself from the exploitative cycles of neo-imperialism and neo-liberalism is “delinking” from the capitalist economic system through the pursuit and implementation of policies which are nationalist and socialist (*Empire of Chaos* 14).

At the turn of the new millennium, social developments in the Latin American countries of Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador in the form of 21st century socialism have provided Marxist Postcolonial theorists with a new theoretical engagement they attempt to evaluate both in theory and in practice. Current Marxist Postcolonial discourse, therefore, focuses attention on the critical study of the socio-economic and political conditions, peculiar to most postcolonial societies, giving birth to this new, contextual and flexible brand of socialism and attempts to scrutinize its effectiveness in the process of delinking from global neoliberal capitalism and neo-imperialism. The theory of 21st century socialism, its emergence within quintessentially postcolonial social conditions and its implications for the same, therefore, constitute the third theoretical concept of the research the aspects of which will be first theoretically examined and subsequently analyzed in the delineations of selected works of Tariq Ali. The main theorist whose expositions, formulations and instances illuminate the discussion is Marta Harnecker, one of the leading Latin American Marxist authors who have explored the subject prolifically.

Harnecker (*Rebuilding the Left* 3-31) expounds that a chain of insurrectionary mass movements took place across the Latin American continent at the turn of the millennium against bourgeois governments which had intensified the implementation of neoliberal policies dictated by IMF. These social movements protested against the deteriorating socio-economic conditions in the form of increasing class gap, poverty, inflation, unemployment, crime, infrastructural underdevelopment and privatization of key economic sectors in addition to the exploitation of national resources by US-based global corporations. Harcker elucidates the dilapidation of the pre-socialist conditions in these terms: “Neoliberal policies implemented by large transnational financial capital, which is backed by a large military and media power, and whose hegemonic headquarters can be found in the United States have dramatically increased misery and social exclusion, while concentrating wealth in increasingly fewer hands” (*Rebuilding the Left* 28).

The persistence of neo-imperialist machinations in the form of support for pro-American military dictatorships and elected governments as well as capitalist exploitation carried out by both Euro-American and local capitalists rendered these societies underdeveloped and dependent on foreign aid and investments. In Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador, the mass movements gathered momentum; instituted new radical parties and brought these left parties to government through electoral polls in 1998, 2005 and 2007 respectively. The socialist governments based on these movements have exercised, since then, a contextual and flexible new version of socialism termed as 21st century socialism. The theory and practice of 21st century socialism bears an essentially anti-neoliberal and anti-imperialist character and is adapted to both the local requirements of Latin America and the developments in the 21st century.

According to Harnecker, the first defining tenet of 21st century socialism on the social level is the unification of the diverse and divided strata of society against the universal exploitation of neo-liberalism and neo-imperialism (“Democracy and Revolutionary Movement” 65-68; “On Leftist Strategy” 142-52; *Rebuilding the Left* 33-145). The theory posits that a reductionist class-based approach is unpragmatic at the historic juncture of the 21st century when global capitalism has created new layers of oppressed classes and multiplied conflicts on the basis of religion, ethnicity and gender. A horizontal alliance from below, inclusive of all the progressive sections of society, is the need of the hour if a broader social front against the ruling elite is to be formed.

In Harnecker’s analysis, the tasks of raising social consciousness and building solidarity among people are more significant than the attainment of political power through struggle based in authoritarianism. In accordance with the inclusive and pluralistic theoretical stance, these movements have instituted new radical political parties which are not exclusively workers and peasants’ parties but have incorporated “military, indigenous movements, the feminist movement, and humanist and environmental currents, peasants, students and revolutionary Christians” (*Rebuilding the Left* 65). The instrumental function of the new left parties, as Harnecker puts it, is not the exercise of a vertical authority but the promotion of coordination among diverse ideologies for the acquisition of state power (“Ideas for the Struggle” 4, *Rebuilding the Left* 47-90).

In contrast to the 20th century socialist practice, 21st century socialism does not lead to a revolutionary overthrow of the existing system but emphasizes upon a gradual transition to a socialist politico-economic order. For the purpose, the left parties in Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador have appropriated the parliamentary set-up of government and have brought about radical social transformation such as Land Reforms, Public Services Acts and the regulation of private enterprises through constitutionally legalized measures (Harnecker *Rebuilding the Left* 49-52). Inclusivity and plurality are maintained by abandoning the one-party government and adopting a multi-party system in which all social movements can voice their oppositional ideologies through their representatives. The devolution of power to the grass root level and the initiation of participatory budgets is another central feature of 21st century socialism. Harnecker elucidates (*Rebuilding the Left* 118-45) that these left governments, acting according to the demands of the social movements which brought them to power, have helped form citizens' councils, communal councils and workers' cooperatives so that local priorities and expenditures can be decided by the concerned people themselves, granting them control over their material conditions.

Griffiths (607-22) adds regional integration and a mixed economic model as two other integral precepts of the 21st century socialism. The three countries have initiated collaborative projects with other Latin American countries in the spheres of trade, finance, education, health and many other social sectors. The objective of economic pacts termed as fair trade Agreements is to counter the neoliberal free trade agreements enforced globally by the United States. This initiation of continental solidarity counters Western hegemony over the global economy and tries to create a multi-polar world interacting on the basis of cooperation instead of cut-throat competition. The mixed economic model practically applied in these countries distributes economic power among the state, the communal councils and regulated private enterprises which makes it more vibrant and contributive to economic and social development. The theory and practice also envision a new role for the armed forces which stands in marked contrast to the repressive character given to it by bourgeois democratic governments. The social movements in Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador have radicalized the soldiers and the left governments in these countries are utilizing the discipline and expertise of the institution of the armed forces in national infrastructural building and social welfare projects (Aviles 1549-1564). Despite pointing to its multiple shortcomings and contradictions, majority of the Marxist Postcolonial theorists

evaluate the reformative and flexible processes of 21st century socialism to be a positive development challenging the progression of global capitalism and neo-imperialism.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Academic research studies on Tariq Ali's fiction are few and based exclusively on the analyses of the four novels of Islam Quintet from theoretical perspectives pertaining to Historiographic Metafiction and Postcolonial Studies, sidelining one or two Marxist interpretations of the same texts. The present research is an attempt to shift the focus of literary research to Tariq Ali's plays, the last novel of Islam Quintet portraying present-day global and Pakistani context, and three non-fictional texts which highlight the same major themes as those of the fictional works, contributing substantially to their discussion and extension. A combination of a variety of fictional works and non-fiction will serve to make the study more holistic and representative of the pivotal themes of Ali's fiction in particular. The present research adopts a comprehensive theoretical paradigm from within Marxist Postcolonial Studies and investigates the themes of the selected fiction and non-fiction of Tariq Ali for the delineation of the key concerns of the discourse i.e. the global interoperation of American neo-imperialism and neoliberal capitalism, class division and modes of neocolonialism in the postcolonial societies, and the emergence as well as the role played by new socialist movements such as 21st Century Socialism in challenging these in the context. The debates of Marxist Postcolonial Studies are studied in the light of the theories of Dependency and World System, Class Struggle and Neo-colonialism, and 21st Century Socialism postulated by eminent Marxist Postcolonial theorists Samir Amin, Kwame Nkrumah and Marta Harnecker respectively. A Marxist Postcolonial analysis of Ali's works, hitherto unattempted, is expected to lead to an evaluation of Ali's position as a Marxist Postcolonial literary writer and an appraisal of the major themes in his fiction which, according to the hypothesis of the present research, are centered on the economic and political issues of the postcolonial states rather than being based on the representation of exclusively religious, cultural, ethical or historical concerns, as other available academic studies have attempted to establish. The study is also expected to bring to fore fresh insights into the contemporarily pertinent subjects of neo-imperialism/ neocolonialism, global capitalism, class rift, and new socialist movements attempting to subvert the ideological and structural dominance of the established order in the postcolonial context.

1.4 Significance of the study

In the last six decades, Tariq Ali has produced a prolific corpus of fiction and non-fiction. However, only the first four novels of Islam Quintet by him have been examined in academic literary studies and these too for the analysis of themes which are secondary to his works such as the representation of Islamic history and cultures. In the researcher's view, the existing literature on Ali's fiction is limited and one-dimensional resulting in an incomprehensive appraisal of Ali's standing as a literary writer and of the thematic content of his fiction. The present study, in the form of a scrutiny of the thematic strains in Ali's hitherto unexplored fictional texts with the help of a Marxist Postcolonial theoretical paradigm, aims to bring to the fore the depiction of politico-economic issues in his fictional works and thus fill the gap in and contribute to existing literature evaluating his fictional works.

The present research originates from the hypothesis that the central thematic delineations of his fiction and the fundamental contentions of his non-fiction bear a strong link with the major subjects of Marxist Postcolonial theory since Ali is rooted in the postcolonial context of Pakistan and has been politically affiliated with national and international Marxist organizations. The significance and contribution of the present research lie in its analysis of the major themes in an assortment of Ali's works such as plays, novel and non-fictional texts in the light of the currently significant and pertinent debates within Marxist Postcolonial theory: an attempt which has not been made in any previous research study. In addition, the Marxist Postcolonial discourse generating fresh debates on the contemporary issues of American neo-imperialism, global capitalism, class division, politico-economic modes of neo-colonization and new socialist movements in the postcolonial societies has not been previously utilized as a theoretical paradigm for the study of Ali's fiction and non-fiction. The present research, by analyzing the main themes of a representative collection of Ali's works and exploring their connection to the key theoretical concerns of Marxist Postcolonial theory, contributes substantially to determining Ali's position as a Marxist Postcolonial literary writer, to a comprehensive interpretation of the thematic strains in his fiction and fiction, and to highlighting new insights into the currently pertinent and significant debates within Marxist Postcolonial Studies.

1.5 Research Objectives

- To explore the critique of American neo-imperialism and global capitalism in Ali's fictional and non-fictional texts
- To analyze the thematic depiction of class conflict and neo-colonialism in Pakistan in Ali's works
- To comprehend Ali's portrayal of the prevalent socio-economic and political conditions in postcolonial Pakistan and the Latin American countries of Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador, and his appraisal of the role of 21st Century Socialism in the latter in challenging the neo-colonial and capitalist order
- To evaluate the expression of the key subjects of Marxist Postcolonial theory in Ali's fiction

1.6 Research Questions

The research questions of the present study are formulated in relation to the research objectives which focus on filling the gap in current academic research studies on Tariq Ali's fiction and are linked with key concepts in Marxist Postcolonial theory. The research questions are:

1. How do Tariq Ali's fictional delineations and non-fictional analyses critique the globalization of American neo-imperialism and neoliberal capitalism and the interlinking between the two?
2. What insights do Ali's works offer in relation to class conflict and modes of neocolonialism operant in the postcolonial Pakistani society?
3. In what ways do Tariq Ali's fiction and non-fiction depict and critique the prevalent socio-economic and political conditions generated by a capitalist and neocolonialist system in the postcolonial contexts of Pakistan and the Latin American countries of Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador, and evaluate the on-going movements of 21st century socialism emerging out of the latter contexts?
4. What do Tariq Ali's works inform about his standing as a literary writer in relation to the major theoretical concerns of Marxist Postcolonial Studies?

1.7 Previous Research Studies on Tariq Ali's Works

An elaborate inquiry into the research articles and dissertations on the fictional and non-fictional work of Tariq Ali resulted in the following findings. There are two published research theses “Challenging Eurocentric Notions of History and Culture in Tariq Ali's *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree*” (2013) by Robin Wikander and “Elements of Historiographic Metafiction in Contemporary Pakistani Historic Fiction: A critical Study of Selected Works of Tariq Ali” (2014) by Farhana Shamim from Lund University of Sweden and International Islamic University of Pakistan respectively. A research article by Ahmed Gamal titled “Rewriting Strategies in Tariq Ali's Postcolonial Metafiction” published in 2010 in the journal *South Asian Review* is found to be widely read. These research projects explore the first four novels of Islam Quintet by Tariq Ali and deliberate over the historiographic and metafictional strategies employed in the Quintet for the reclamation of Muslim voices marginalized in Eurocentric fictional narratives and history. Tariq Ali's non-fictional work *The Obama Syndrome: Surrender at Home, War Abroad* makes one of the primary texts for “United States Policy Towards the Middle East: A study of American Political Discourse Under Four American Presidents 1988-2011”, a research thesis from Birzeit university, Palestine. The study, though centered upon discourse analysis, pertains to the discipline of International studies rather than literature.

A research article titled “The Secular Side of Islam: A Case Study of Tariq Ali's Islam Quintet” by Ali, Parvez and Malik has also been published in the *Journal of Culture, Society and Development* in 2014. The article contends that in the first three novels of Islam Quintet, Ali deconstructs the Western misrepresentation of Islamic history and presents Islamic culture through the eyes of the ‘other’ i.e. Muslim characters which represent it as rational, secular, liberal and multicultural. Another research article “The Clash between Islam and Christianity: A Marxist Reading of Tariq Ali's *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree*”, written by Malik and Baby and published in 2013 by *ELF Annual Research Journal*, is also available online. The central argument of the research is that the clashes between Muslims and Christians in 15th century Spain were based on ownership of lands and resources rather than driven by religion which was merely utilized as an ideological tool to achieve respective economic interests. Two other non-fictional works *The Duel: Pakistan on the Flight Path of American Power* (2008) and *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihad Modernity* (2002) are found to be frequently quoted in

discussions of the Post 9/11 global political context, rising religious fundamentalism within the Islamic world and Pakistan's economic crises. However, these books have not been studied as primary texts for a research thesis in the discipline of Literature, to the best of my knowledge.

A fellow doctoral student at NUML, Hammad Mustaq, has published his research on Tariq Ali's works in 2019. The title of his research study is "A Critique of Neo-Imperial Interpellation in Tariq Ali's Writings" and it focuses on the subversion of interpellations of significant subjects within the neo-imperialist discourse using Althusserian theories of Interpellation, Ideology, and Ideological State Apparatuses. The fictional works analyzed are the first three novels of Islam Quintet dealing with Islamic history and the non-fictional works are the comparatively lesser known texts.

The present research differs from the available research projects on Tariq Ali's fiction in two distinct ways: it does not engage with the first four novels of Islam Quintet based in Islamic history as its primary texts and it does not explore formalistic and linguistic aspects i.e. the narrative techniques and strategies utilized for subversion in Ali's fiction, as has been the case in previous studies. As cited and expounded earlier in this section, the previously existing studies on Tariq Ali's fiction have been focused on Historiographic, Metafictional and Deconstructive features of the first four novels of Islam Quintet. The present study makes a significant departure from both these trends in the available academic researches on Ali's fiction and focuses attention on the thematic content of selected plays, a novel and non-fictional texts by Ali which have remained unexplored till date. It attempts to locate the connection of the thematic content of these texts with the current Marxist Postcolonial debates of American neo-imperialism, capitalist globalization, class division and politico-economic modes of neocolonialism in the postcolonial states, and the role played by 21st century socialism in the context.

The present study is delimited to the analysis of the thematic content of the selected fiction and non-fiction of Tariq Ali and excludes any discussion of the literary devices, narrative techniques and linguistic strategies employed in these works.

1.8 Structural organization of the study

Chapter One introduces Ali's fictional and non-fictional works and presents an overview of the two major trends in the critical evaluations of these works, followed by the researcher's assessment of both. It positions Ali's fiction within contemporary Pakistani English fiction and underscores the thematic diversion of his works from the rest of the currently produced works in the genre. The chapter provides an outline of the available academic studies on Ali's fiction, points to the gaps in these studies and clearly posits the aspects, related to the selection of texts, the evaluated thematic content and the theoretical framework adopted for analysis, in which the present research markedly differs.

The chapter also offers an introductory view of the theoretical background to the study defining Marxist postcolonial Studies and the three theoretical subjects of the globalization of capitalism and American neo-imperialism, modes of neo-colonialism and class struggle in the postcolonial context and the background as well as role of emerging 21st century socialist movements studied under the rubrics of the works of key Marxist postcolonial theorists Samir Amin, Kwame Nkrumah and Marta Harnecker respectively. The chapter is concluded with the problem statement, research questions, objectives, significance of the study, summary of the available researches on Ali's fiction and non-fiction and a view of the structural organization of the study.

Chapter Two offers a critical review of the available literature on Ali's works, mainly his fiction. Against this background, it establishes the position and significance of the present study as one centered on the analysis of his plays, novel and non-fictional texts which have not been previously critiqued. Moreover, these selected texts are appraised for the depiction of pertinent socio-economic and political subjects from a new theoretical framework based in Marxist Postcolonial theory.

The chapter also provides a comprehensive study and review of the three major theories within Marxist Postcolonial Studies which serve as the theoretical concepts applied to Ali's selected works. The first theoretical subject of the globalization of neo-liberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism is studied in the light of the seminal works of Samir Amin. The second theoretical subject of modes of neo-colonialism and class struggle is elucidated under the

rubrics of the works of another Marxist postcolonial theorists, Kwame Nkrumah. The third theoretical concept of 21st century socialism based on social movements evolving in postcolonial Latin America and posing resistance to neo-colonialism and neo-liberal capitalism is highlighted through the works of Marta Harnecker. The study of the subjects is followed by the major criticisms of these theories and the researcher's evaluation of the two sides of the arguments.

Chapter Three lays out the theoretical frame work of the study and clarifies the division of the selected texts into three parts, with each part analyzed in the light of one theoretical concern in the chapters of Analysis. It also describes the research methodology of the study and provides the details of the three steps of Miles and Huberman Model of thematic analysis followed for the analysis of the selected works of Tariq Ali.

Chapter Four analyzes the two texts *A Banker for all Seasons: Bank of Crooks and Cheats Incorporated* (2008) and *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Jihads, Crusades, and Modernity* (2002) by Tariq Ali for the thematic discussion and depiction of the first theoretical concept of the coordinate globalization of neo-liberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism studied in the light of Samir Amin's theory of World system and Dependency. The chapter incorporates relevant details and citations from the above- mentioned two texts linking these to the theoretical notions as well as to ideas on the same subjects from other relevant texts. The texts are also scrutinized in the light of relevant critical appraisals of Ali's works and the researcher's accord or discord with the critiques is provided. The same methodological pattern has been followed in all of the three chapters of the analysis of primary texts. The researcher's overall critical evaluation of the depictions has been provided at the end of the chapter.

Chapter Five critically investigates the two texts *The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy* (2007) and *Can Pakistan Survive? The Death of a State* (1983) for the thematic delineation of the second Marxist postcolonial theoretical concept, derived from the seminal works of Kwame Nkrumah, offering study of the socio-economic and political modes of the operation of neo-colonialism and class struggle in the postcolonial states.

Chapter Six critically examines the two texts *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) and *Pirates of the Caribbean: Axis of Hope* (2006) for the thematic portrayal of the third theoretical concept of the 21st century socialism emerging out of the social conditions generated by the

exploitation of neo-imperialists, global capitalists and the national ruling elite in the postcolonial states as explicated in the works of the Chilean Marxist postcolonial theorist Marta Harnecker.

Chapter Seven is the concluding chapter which recapitulates the gaps in the available academic researches, the objectives of the present study, the rationale at the back of the selection of fictional and non-fictional texts, the theoretical key concepts in the light of which the selected texts are analyzed and the model of thematic analysis applied to the study of the texts. The chapter also specifies the findings of the study and recommends subjects for future research projects.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The chapter reviews literature related to Tariq Ali's fiction and non-fiction, points to the gaps in the studies and posits the ways the present study employs to fill these gaps. It highlights the basic propositions of Marxist Postcolonial theory and the significance of the theory within the broader discourse of Postcolonial Studies. The last three sections of the chapter i.e. section 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5 review the three Marxist Postcolonial theories of World System and Dependency by Samir Amin, Neocolonialism and Class Struggle by Kwame Nkrumah and Twenty-first century Socialism by Marta Harnecker respectively which constitute the theoretical lens through which Tariq Ali's selected texts are studied.

2.1 Review of Tariq Ali's Fiction and Non-Fiction

Tariq Ali is a contemporary Pakistani English writer, residing in London, who has written prolific fiction and non-fiction. His consistent engagement with a variety of genres such as journalistic writings, essays, film scripts, fiction and non-fiction over the last half century has been acclaimed world-wide. Ali began his writing career with non-fiction and a glance at the list of non-fiction written by him reveals the plentitude and diversity of his work. Some of the prominent inclusions in the list are: *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power* (1970), *The Coming British Revolution* (1970), *1968 and After: Inside the Revolution* (1978), *Chile, Lessons of the Coup: Which Way to Workers' Power?* (1978), *Can Pakistan Survive?: The Death of a State* (1983), *The Stalinist Legacy: Its Impact on 20th-Century World Politics* (1984), *Who's Afraid of Margaret Thatcher?: In Praise of Socialism* (1984), *The Nehrus and the Gandhis: An Indian Dynasty* (1985), *Revolution from Above: Where is the Soviet Union Going?* (1998), *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (2002), *Bush in Babylon* (2003), *Speaking of Empire and Resistance* (2005), *Rough Music: Blair, Bombs, Baghdad, London, Terror* (2005), *The Duel: Pakistan on the Flight Path of American Power* (2008), *The Obama Syndrome* (2010), *On History: Tariq Ali and*

Oliver Stone in Conversation (2011), *Kashmir: The Case for Freedom* (2011), *The Trials of Spinoza* (2011), *The Rivals: American Empire Project* (2014), *Permanent Counter Revolution* (2016), *The Dilemmas of Lenin: Terrorism, War, Empire, Love, Revolution* (2017).

The major themes Ali tackles in these works are the growth of capitalist world economy, Russian revolution, Stalinist Bureaucratic Socialism, socialist movements in Europe, European colonialism, American neo-imperialism and politics of the Left and Right across the globe. In the books on Pakistan, Ali scathingly criticizes the elite classes, in particular the military-bureaucratic oligarchy, the neocolonial political structure and the capitalist economy of the country.

Ali's non-fiction has been appreciated as well as depreciated for both its writing style and content. The narrative voice in Ali's non-fictional works is not strictly objective as these are invariably interspersed with personal experiences and convictions. For instance, the factual details of the critique of American neo-imperialism in *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Jihads, Crusades, and Modernity* (2002) and *Pirates of the Caribbean: Axis of Hope* (2006), are full of references to Ali's own interactions with the Vietnamese during the American war on Vietnam in the 1970s and conversations with a number of people from Latin America in the first decade of 21st century respectively when, according to him, American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) supported the overthrow of elected popular governments in the regions (*Pirates of the Caribbean* 167-85). Hattori (242-3) observes in the case of *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (2002), a non-fictional work selected for scrutiny in the present research, that the language of Ali's non-fiction is simple and the narrative style is both informal and autobiographical which makes it easy for the reader to understand the complex political and economic issues he engages with. He believes that the personal details and perspectives in Ali's non-fictional writings keep the readers both engaged and entertained: "Ali's informal but rich and informative mixture of memoir, history, and cultural criticism is excellent and enjoyable" (242). In case his works lacked these qualities, the serious social, political and economic polemics Ali's works tackle would have been heavy academic studies

The researcher agrees with the assessment and extends the argument in favor of Ali's narrative style in his non-fiction. In her opinion, the autobiographical tone and the mingling of personal facts with historical details not only render these texts more engaging but also add to the

authenticity of the accounts in his non-fiction. On the same lines, another merit of this narrative technique is that it saves his vitriolic critique of local and global events from becoming one-dimensional and monotonous. Situating events in the backdrop of the author's life as well as extending the critiques to bear on activities in cultural domains such as art and literature, academic pursuits and connections between families make the narratives all-encompassing, pluralistic and more informative.

Ali's radical, socialist perspective from which he examines historical developments and socio-politically significant personalities remains a consistent element of his fiction, non-fiction, articles, screen plays and public discussions. Ahmad views the standpoint in a positive light in his review of *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power* (1970) and gauges, in relation to Ali's non-fiction on Pakistani context, that the author does not conceal his "partisanship"; therefore, his works are a significant contribution to the meagre body of literature available on the critique of Pakistan's socio-economic and political conditions from a radical viewpoint (417). Ahmad regards Ali's non-fiction on Pakistan as the first of its kind since majority of studies on the social, economic and political developments in Pakistan exclude the discussion of the masses and their living conditions.

The researcher agrees with the evaluation after pursuing a comprehensive study of Ali's fiction and non-fiction delineating Pakistani social context since the standard text books on Pakistan and general books pertaining to Pakistan's history, culture, economy and politics hardly offer any radical critique of historical developments or highlight the communist ideology and the communist movements at various points of history in the context of Pakistan, in particular the radical struggle of the Baluch People's Liberation Front. Moreover, the account of the living conditions of masses at the grass root level has also remained a neglected subject in most of these works which, broadly speaking, focus on the lives of towering political personalities and magnify their impact on social transformation in a farcical and ahistoric manner. According to Ahmad, Ali's works not only focus on the living conditions of the masses but also explain Pakistan's dilemmas "in terms of class contradictions in the society" (417). In the researcher's estimation too, the foregrounding of material realities and inequities in Ali's works and representation of class division in society are the major merits which distinguish Ali's non-fiction on Pakistan from other works of the same kind.

Many critics, however, depreciate the radical perspective adopted by Ali for the analyses of both the national and the global contexts. Feinberg examines that there is a pervasive social disillusionment in Ali's non-fiction because individuals and social movements fail to meet the "stern Trotskyite's super high standards" (150). He finds Ali's studies of the Islamic societies depressing because the regions have been unable to spur the kind of socialist mass movements Ali envisions. In a critical review of *Pirates of the Caribbean* (2006), another text analyzed in the present study, Feinberg considers Ali's voice to be that of an "old school theoretician who blames much of the region's problems on U.S imperialism and the fundamentalist Washington Consensus" (150). Hattori finds it contradictory that Ali offers cutting critiques of the imperialist and capitalist ventures of the United States without taking into account the shifting socio-cultural dynamics within the American society itself (244). The criticism is similar to the one put forward by Hashmi who regards Ali's Marxist interpretations and emphasis on economic inequalities to be devoid of any deep understanding of the role ethics, spirituality and cultural concerns play in human societies (210).

Hashmi's critique (210) has been countered by Ali himself in an explication in *Pirates of the Caribbean* (142-4) in which he considers economic determinism to be one of the unwholesome impacts of the "dead weight of Russian bureaucratic and critical traditions" (142) and places emphasis on the dynamic role of cultural democracy in transforming material conditions. In this regard, Cilano's appraisal that Ali's works highlight a close interconnectivity between cultural and material activities is more balanced and nuanced in approach ("Highlighting the Sceptical strain" 189). According to the researcher's evaluation, Ali's works examine the exact nature of this engagement in each social context and then underscore whether the economic conditions dominate the cultural ideologies and practices or the reality is the other way round, in a given case.

For instance, in *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (2002), when Ali argues that Islamist fundamentalism and militarism are the byproducts of the material inequities engendered by the global dominance of American neo-imperialism and capitalist fundamentalism rather than socio-cultural or political movements originating on their own, he expounds comprehensively the material exploitation of Islamic countries by the neo-imperialist power and substantiates his argument with concrete historical facts (314-38). Similarly, Feinberg's (150) and Hattori's (244)

appraisal that Ali's radical critique of American neo-imperialist and capitalist exploitation of the postcolonial states is one-dimensional and founded on insufficient scrutiny of the internal dynamics of American society has been invalidated by the detailed analyses of the subjects, substantiated with citations of historical events, in both the fictional and non-fictional texts selected for the present study in particular *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (281-315) and *A Banker for All Seasons* (193-211). All these critics, nevertheless, agree that Ali's non-fiction is invariably wide in scope and highly informative.

Ali began his career in fiction with *Iranian Nights* (1989) which he scripted in collaboration with Howard Brenton. The play was an immediate response to the fatwah edicted by the Iranian government against Salman Rushdi for publishing the controversial *Satanic Verses* (1988). The play criticized religious extremism and supported free speech. His second play *Moscow Gold* (1990) was a satire on Soviet Politics starting from Lenin's time to Gorbachev's period. Three of his plays *Ugly Rumours* (1998), *Snogging Ken* (2001) and *The Illustrious Corpse* (2004) are satires on the present New Labour Party in Britain. The plays *The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy* (2007) and *A Banker for All Seasons: Bank of Crooks and Cheats Incorporated* (2008) depict and satirize political intrigues and financial corruption in Pakistani context. Ali's immediate responses in fictional forms to contemporary happenings makes critics such as Feinberg (150) comment that his fiction is hurriedly written. However, in the researcher's opinion, the argument does not hold water since these critiques fail to substantiate how the immediacy of the works affects the literary attributes of the fiction or reduces the significance of its thematic content.

Ali's plays have been appreciated for the relevancy and aptness of their themes to the present-day world and a realistic depiction of the social contexts these engage with (Kaya 22-25). In Sakelleridou's view, the characters in his plays possess a high level of significance on the social plane and the political themes display enormous promise for dramatization (141-152). However, Ali's plays are more depreciated than appreciated on various grounds. The primary reasons behind the criticism are the subjects which are invariably political in all of his plays. Most of Ali's plays were initially rejected by theatres for their strong political content as happened in the case *The Leopard and The Fox* (2007) which Ali wrote for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) but which BBC did not enact due to its controversial and

libelous content related to the President of Pakistan at the time i.e. General Zia-ul-Haq and American involvement in toppling Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's elected government. According to Kaya (23), Ali's plays are based on political satire which is a decadent trend in contemporary theatre. King, in a review of *Fear of Mirrors*, has also categorized Ali's novels into the literary sub-genre of political novel which, according to him, has not been a dominant literary tendency in fiction in recent times (219).

Sakelleridou scathingly criticizes Ali's plays for other literary demerits but does not agree with Kaya and King concerning the notion that political satire is an outdated literary trend in theatre. She is of the view that political subjects have a high theatrical potential and are rarely irrelevant. Similarly, confronted with the reproving reviews of his plays on the above-mentioned ground, Ali clarified his dramatic objectives and reiterated his steadfast devotion to the literary form in Appendix to the play *Snogging Ken* (201). He pronounces unequivocally that his dramas are motivated by political subjects and that he as well as his collaborators are proud of the fact. In his opinion, there is a greater need for dissenting voices in drama at a time when hegemonic Euro-American narratives dominate cultural productions.

Another criticism brought up against Ali's plays is that the delineation of dramatic characters is highly exaggerated and the plots these weave are muddled (Kaya 22-25). The critique is supported by King's arguments on the same lines concerning Ali's novels in a review of *Fear of Mirrors* (219). After a comprehensive study of the two plays *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) and *A Banker for All Seasons* (2008), analyzed in the present research, the researcher has come to dissent with these critiques. The critical assessment that his characters are blown out of proportion might apply to some of his plays but not all. For instance, the character of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto delineated in *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) is witty, sarcastic, intelligent, courageous and full of mixed political convictions which goes in accordance with the details of his personality provided by historians and political analysts. The character drawn in the play is neither hyperbolic nor farfetched. Similarly, the subtle and apparently religious yet fraudulent character of Agha Hasan Abedi, a renowned Pakistani Banker, is also close to reality. There are accounts of his charitable donations to religious and social causes in the country but simultaneously, the whole BCCI (Bank of Credit and Commerce International) project turning out to be a scam with Abedi at the helm of affairs proves the case of fraudulence as well.

The criticism posited by King (219) and Kaya (22-25), in relation to the plots of Ali's plays and novels, also appears unconvincing. Both critics argue that his plots are isolated images rather than coherent and plausibly connected holistic pictures. The researcher, however, finds the chain of events in Ali's plays and novels to be logically connected, taking action to an expected denouement and characters to a predicted destiny. For instance, in the case of *A Banker for All Seasons* (2008), the establishment of the bank through links forged among the elite on a global level is followed by investigations into its unregulated activities and finally by the bank's closure and the downfall of its founder Agha Hasan Abedi. All the events are close-knit and follow a cause and effect order with no gaps visible in the chain of events.

Critics like Sakelleridou depreciate Ali's plays for their journalistic and documentary like representation of events and characters (141-152). According to her, the narrative voices in the plays, representing Ali's perspectives, are dominant to the extent that these suppress the multiple voices of other characters. According to the researcher's appraisal, the journalistic language and representational style could be partly attributed to the fact that Ali's plays also fall within the literary genre of Faction i.e. a creative combination of facts and fiction. The defining feature of Faction is that it engages with real-life characters and events, and imparts factual historical information to reader. The genre has assumed distinctive significance and pertinence in present times where contemporary readers prefer acquisition of information in conjunction with the attainment of aesthetic pleasure. In addition, Sakelleridou's critique cannot be applied indiscriminately to all of Ali's plays, as the researcher argues in the analysis of the play *A Banker for All Seasons* in chapter 4 of the present study. The play can hardly be described as journalistic in its account since it depicts not only the multiple facets of life in which the personal and social are interwoven but also offers dialogues which abound in wit, irony and humor.

The critique that multiple characters are not granted voice in Ali's plays and representations are monologic in nature also cannot be justified, though it can be admitted that in the progression of plot, the characters do not develop as fully as these would in plays focusing mainly on characterization. Even then, the criticism is not applicable to all of his plays since both plot and characters develop simultaneously in his dramas. In the case of the play *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007), the protagonist Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and the antagonist General Zia-ul-Haq are sketched as round characters, exhibiting complexities and contradictions as they go through

various phases of evolution in the domestic, social and political spheres. The play also cannot be termed as monologic in portrayal since the radical character of Habib, the feudalist and authoritarian character of Bhutto and the duplicitous character of General Zia are granted equal voice and representation in the course of the narrative. Furthermore, in the researcher's view, a strong authorial narrative voice presenting a radical perspective on characters and events, while giving equal representation to dissenting voices, is a merit of Ali's plays particularly in the present times when few plays are written from this viewpoint and most of dramatic narratives are, largely speaking, depictive rather than critical.

Tariq Ali has written seven novels five of which form Islam Quintet. His first two novels *Redemption* (1990) and *Fear of Mirrors* (1998) are parts of the Fall of Communism Trilogy the third part of which is yet to be written. Both novels are centered on the theme of the fall of communism in Soviet Union and East as well as Central Europe. *Redemption* (1990) is a political satire on the policies of the Bolsheviks which led to the rise of Stalin to power and loss of the direction of the 1917 revolution. *Fear of Mirrors* (1998) portrays the same downfall but is full of pathos and nostalgia in relation to the historical accomplishment, the loss of which caused disappointment and disillusionment. The subjects of the establishment of a socialist government in Russia and socialist struggles in Europe are the most momentous events of the 20th century. Looked at from this angle, the fact that Ali's two novels portray significant aspects of the historical development of the contemporary world is undoubtable (Hashmi 210). In the critical review of *Fear of Mirrors* (1998), King also appraises that the novel deals with the historical events of almost the whole of the 20th century. He adds: "Like many political novels, it attempts a grand story and has an epic feel resulting from the characters' involvement in major historical events" (219). According to him, what makes these two novels universal in their appeal is the fact that these delineate the vision, hopes, fears and disillusionment of characters in relation to the most cosmic subject of all: social justice. In the researcher's view, the novels depict the rise and fall of these communist struggles from a radical viewpoint and are particularly engaging and informative for readers who are interested in knowing about these historical developments from a leftist perspective.

Nevertheless, the two novels have remained the lesser known fictional works of Ali and have been granted little attention by critics and academic researchers in comparison with Islam

Quintet. In addition, the two novels have been criticized for what Hashmi puts as “a lack of understanding of ethics, morality, and, dare I say it, spirituality” (210-211). In the researcher’s opinion, based on an in-depth examination of the novel *Night of the golden Butterfly* (2010) selected for the present study, the critique is valid to the extent that Ali’s novels focus more on material conditions in the social context rather than representing philosophical, moral and spiritual questions. However, it is erroneous to claim that his novels neglect altogether or exhibit a lack of concern towards these cultural dimensions of social activities. In Ali’s novels, the intellectual, moral, cultural and political spheres are constantly highlighted to be degenerating under the influence of capitalist economy.

Ali’s novels have also been scathingly criticized for a number of other reasons as well. In King’s evaluation propounded in his review of *Fear of Mirrors* (1998), the themes of Ali’s novels are strictly confined to political and economic issues and therefore, fail to attract common readership (219). In the researcher’s estimation, King’s argument is ahistoric and Eurocentric since these form the major concerns of postcolonial societies at large and contemporary postcolonial fiction actively engages with the subjects, implicitly or explicitly. King also disproves of Ali’s fiction on the grounds that it has improbable characters, unreal dialogues, diffused plots and unnecessary elaborations of political subjects (219). Hattori (244) and Hashmi (211) view Ali’s vision of the socialist transformation of societies, projected in his fictional works, in a negative light. In their opinion, the vision leads to flights of fancy in prose and a kind of utopianism which is useful only for readers sharing the same hopes. The above-mentioned critiques have been countered, time and again, in the course of the critical analysis of the novel *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) and the two plays *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) and *A Banker for All Seasons* (2008) in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 of the present study, with support of evidence and instances cited from these texts.

The two novels are followed by Islam Quintet based in Islamic history the writing of which spans almost over two decades. Islam Quintet comprises *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree* (1992), *The Book of Saladin* (1998), *The Stone Woman* (2000), *A Sultan in Palermo* (2005) and *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) representing Islamic societies in 15th century Spain, 12th century Egypt and Syria, 19th century Ottoman Empire, 12th century Sicily and present-day Pakistan respectively. The novels do not portray a universally uniform image of an ideal yet

historically non-existent, monolithic Islamic culture which broadly signifies ways of social living guided by Quranic scriptures. Instead, these represent Muslim majority societies ruled by Muslim rulers, located at various points of time and geography in history, which vary culturally yet are pluralistic, rational and liberal in nature. In the vast corpus of fiction Ali has produced, the first four novels of Islam Quintet have been granted unparalleled attention by readers, critics and academic scholars. In fact, the first four novels have become symbolic of Ali's works sidelining all other significant texts which has been a crudely unfair development in relation to his fiction. The reason behind the popularity of the first four novels has been the contemporary global geo-political context in which narratives pertaining to the fundamentalist and orthodox nature of Islamic societies have emanated from the West in bulk, in the aftermath of the suicidal plane attacks on World Trade Centre and Pentagon on September 11, 2001. These narratives have dominated media, literature and public discussions in recent times when the West vs. Communism debate has cleared space for the clash between West and Islam. The first four novels of Islam Quintet counter these narratives and portray Islamic societies of the past as rooted in rationalism, liberalism and multiculturalism.

According to Shamsie, the currently global subject of Islamist terrorism and the clash between Islam and West has found a new treatment in Ali's historical novels for the writing of which the time could not be more apt ("South Asian Muslims" 151). In her view, Ali traces the encounter to its roots in the expansion of the Islamic empire to Europe and the ensuing Crusades, a series of wars between Christians and Muslims beginning in the 11th century. In a review of *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree*, King finds it refreshing to know the 'other's' perspective of history in these historical novels since most of history and historical literature has been written from a European viewpoint (112).

Waterman appraises the first four novels of Islam Quintet as quintessentially postcolonial texts in their rejection of Eurocentric narratives and representations of history, exposing the link between the production of these narratives and the material interests of Europe (157). He considers Ali's fictional writing of history to be "strongly linked to contemporary postcolonial issues in its refusal to accept official, dogmatic versions of history, preferring instead a critical approach which understands that history is often narrated from a particular perspective, serving someone's interests and biases in one way or another" (157). Ali, by representing Islamic history

and cultures from the viewpoint of dissident and secular Muslims in certain historical periods, offers a version of history which is diverse and complex. Gamal brings to the fore the writing strategies in the first four novels of *Quintet* and views them as part of postcolonial metafiction which challenges the essentialist images of Islamic civilization and Muslims propagated in colonial texts (27-48). According to him, Ali's historical novels not only deconstruct Euro-American representations of Islamic cultures but also reconstruct "native agency and language" (32).

Ali's own statements also substantiate the critics' appraisal of the *Quintet* novels as written with the objective of the deconstruction of Euro-American representations of Islamic history and cultures. He explains that he initiated writing *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree* (1992) in response to the derogatory comment of "a BBC commentator who, at the start of the first Gulf War, derided the peoples, civilizations and histories of the Middle East by asserting that Arabs were without political culture"(qtd. in Cilano, "Highlighting the Sceptical Strain" 189). The first novel led to a series of novels portraying the dynamism and liberalism of Islamic societies in the intellectual, cultural, political and economic domains.

Nevertheless, the first four novels of *Islam Quintet* also have had their share of depreciation and devaluation from several critical quarters on various grounds. The first critique counters the appreciation granted by postcolonial critics to the *Quintet* for its contestation of Eurocentric historical narratives. Reviewing *The Book of Saladin* (1998), King argues that the text is indeed postcolonial in its essence since it presents a stereotypical or essentialist image of European Christians (245). According to his evaluation, all the European Christian characters in the novel are portrayed as religious bigots and homicidal savages. King extends his critique to the narrative style of the novel as well. According to him, Ali's portrayal of history is punctuated with political jargon and unnecessary elaborations of political subjects by characters which mar the flow of the narrative and reduce the literariness of the text. The details of sexual acts, in particular of those involving lesbian relationships, are narrated in an offhand manner, and meant more to amuse rather than to highlight a serious social subject meriting attention in its own right. Erol categorizes *The Stone Woman* (2000) as a Romance since it is full of improbable characters and events which denote an escapist rather than a materialist treatment of history (341). In his

review of *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree*, King finds the characters insipid and one-dimensional, enunciating dialogues lacking vitality (112).

In the researcher's appraisal, Ali's positive depiction of Islamic societies, located at various points of time between the 11th and 19th centuries, as rationalistic, secular and pluralist formations is not far from reality since the historical period, documented copiously, had been one of material, political and cultural growth as well as stability in Islamic history. These fictional narratives by Ali are produced at a point of time when an essentialist discourse pertaining to Islamic culture produced by Euro-American writers needs to be challenged by voices from within these societies. Moreover, these fictional portrayals bring to the fore images of Islamic culture which contrast with the fundamentalist depictions of Islamic societies propagated from various quarters of the Islamic world itself through a variety of literature and serve to highlight the loss of many positive attributes Islamic culture upheld in the past.

In the case of the last novel of the Islam Quintet *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010), which does not portray Islamic history but present-day Pakistani society in the backdrop of the global scenario, Chambers points out that the novel delineates the rise of Islamist fundamentalism in Pakistan in the political void created by the suppression of popular and leftist struggles (127). In other studies on Islam Quintet, the last novel *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) is strangely and markedly omitted from discussion. In her analysis of the Quintet, Shamsie focuses attention on the first four texts and pronounces the last novel as "comparatively slight" ("South Asian Muslims" 151). According to the researcher, Shamsie's undue remark makes sense only when the novel is juxtaposed with the first four texts for a representation of the rich and diverse Islamic history. However, the novel is "slight" in no other sense and, in fact, the researcher considers it as the most contemporary and pertinent of all the novels of Islam Quintet as it vividly delineates the socio-economic and political dilemmas of present-day Pakistan placed in the broader global context.

In section 1.7 titled "Previous Research Studies on Tariq Ali's Works" of chapter 1 in the present study, the researcher has highlighted the fact that the limited number of academic research studies on Tariq Ali's fiction have been focused exclusively on the first four novels of Islam Quintet investigating into the deconstructive, historiographic, metafictional and representational aspects of these novels. The situation has not been dissimilar in the case of

critical reviews and studies on Tariq Ali's fiction discussed in the present section. A great number of critics whose critiques have been reviewed above, such as Chambers, Cilano, Shamsie, King, Waterman, Erol and Gamal, have centered their studies on the currently pertinent theme of West-Islam clash, rewriting of Islamic history and culture, and subversion of Euro-American narratives in the first four novels of Islam quintet. King (245), Waterman (157) and Gamal (27-48) also link these attributes to perspectives and practices rooted in Postcolonial theory.

In the researcher's view, the greater part of Ali's fiction and non-fiction engages with fundamental socio-economic and political issues, of the globe in general and the postcolonial context in particular, rather than the subjects of the clash between Islam and West, the nature of Islamic culture and history or identity crises based in religion and nationality. The most dominant thematic strain in his literary works i.e. the Marxist dimension of his fictional representations, rooted in an incisive critique of capitalism and vision of socialist formation of society, has hitherto remained unexplored and unappreciated in both academic researches and critical studies. In addition, the postcolonial aspect of his fiction, based in a stringent critique of the political and economic exploitation associated with the processes of imperialism and neo-imperialism, has also been neglected in these studies. The researcher regards these as serious gaps in the critique of Ali's fiction as well as in the evaluation of Ali's standing as a literary writer and the present study, therefore, aims to fill this gap and contribute to a more comprehensive appraisal of the thematic content of Ali's fiction.

The present research, therefore, adopts the theoretical lens of Marxist Postcolonial Studies to foreground the critique of the multiple yet interlinked facets of capitalism and neo-imperialism in Ali's selected works. The founding premise of Marxist Postcolonial theory is the argument that the historical processes of imperialism and neo-imperialism have been inextricably linked with the expansion of the capitalist economy and its present status as a global economic system. European empires integrated the colonized regions into the expanding capitalist economic system which created class divisions and dependent politico-economic modes of operation in these societies. These colonial legacies persist in the postcolonial societies and facilitate the neo-imperialist and neoliberal capitalist exploitation of these formations. However, socialist movements within postcolonial states have been challenging the dilemmas generated by

the neo-imperialist and capitalist global order and the emergence of 21st century socialism is one such contemporary development.

Marxist Postcolonial theory is a vast theoretical domain; therefore, the researcher has selected three theoretical concepts from within the discourse, given the concepts a concise heading, studied the concepts in the light of specific theories of renowned Marxist Postcolonial theorists and has delimited the study to the application of the these concepts. The three theoretical concepts are the coordinate global operation of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-Imperialism, modes of neo-colonialism and class division in postcolonial states and the postcolonial context, emergence and role of twenty-first century socialism which are expounded in the light of the seminal works of three key Marxist postcolonial theorists Samir Amin, Kwame Nkrumah and Marta Harnecker respectively.

As highlighted in the first chapter, the present study addresses other gaps as well in the academic studies of Tariq Ali's fiction. It is based on the study of two of Ali's plays *The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy* (2007) and *A Banker for All Seasons: Bank of Crooks and Cheats Incorporated* (2008) and the last novel of Islam Quintet *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) which have not been previously analyzed in the light of any theoretical paradigm in an academic research project. The present study also incorporates the analyses of three selected non-fictional works *Can Pakistan Survive? The Death of a State* (1983), *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihad Modernity* (2002) and *Pirates of the Caribbean: Axis of Hope* (2006) to make the study more holistic and representative of the major thematic strains in Ali's works. The subjects of the three non-fictional texts are vitally connected to the themes of the fictional works and serve to elucidate significant aspects of the thematic content of the fictional texts. In addition, the present study is focused on the analyses of themes in the light of the theoretical framework rather than being centered on investigations into narrative strategies based in Metafiction, Historiography and Deconstruction: aspects which have been granted unparalleled attention in the study of Ali's fiction. All of the above-mentioned fictional and non-fictional texts as well as the theoretical framework selected for the present study have not been previously examined in a literary research study.

2.2 Marxist Postcolonial Studies

In the introductory part to *Marxism, Modernity and Postcolonial Studies*, Bartolovich highlights the hitherto strained interconnection between Marxism and Postcolonial Studies (1-17). According to her, on the one hand, the discipline of Postcolonial Studies eschews Marxism as a Eurocentric and reductionist theory. On the other hand, Marxian theory disclaims Postcolonial Studies as acquiescent to capitalism and imperialism on grounds that the Postcolonial theoretical paradigm originated in Euro-American academia, and, largely, celebrates uncritically the narratives of multiculturalism, pluralism and globalization. Marxist theoreticians also label Postcolonial studies as superfluous and dematerialized in its approach to concrete economic issues related to colonialism and neocolonialism. She emphasizes that both fields of critical inquiry should recognize each other's usefulness as analytical tools and focus on issues of common concern instead of pursuing a denunciatory engagement.

Developing the argument in support of Marxist Postcolonial Studies, Bartolovich (1-17) explains that any critical glance at the colonial past or neocolonial present of the postcolonial world that encompasses only the political, cultural or civilizational aspects is bound to be incomprehensive and dematerialized, and, therefore, capitulatory. The debates within Postcolonial Studies remain insubstantial and unproductive if these are restricted to discourses of cultural, ethical and psychological fragmentations of the postcolonial subject which, in point of fact, are the "structuring effects" of the extension of the capitalist system (Lazarus and Varma 314). Historical materialism demands that the discipline raise questions of inequities within the global capitalist economy which underlie complex and evasive hegemonies in the superstructures. A Marxist or historical materialist perspective, even if labeled as reductionist, unearths the modes of the creation and continuation of economic inequities between the colonizing and the colonized regions, and therefore needs to be awarded primacy within Postcolonial Studies. Marxist Postcolonial Studies adopts the standpoint that the materiality of colonialism and neocolonialism must be confronted and tackled in concrete terms as it "cannot simply be wished away" (Lazarus *Nationalism* 87).

Elucidating the pertinence of Marxist Postcolonial Studies, Loomba and Kaul (3-30) point out that only an integrative theoretical approach can critically unearth the contemporary manifestations of imperialism and capitalism. Laying stress upon its engagement with Marxism,

Rao also asserts that Postcolonial theory should pay more “attention to political economy in general and to post-independence political economy in particular” (165). He is more stringently critical of Postcolonial theorists for their reluctance towards the adoption of Marxist theoretical paradigms and posits his pertinent query in a forthright manner: “we need to question why, in a field apparently concerned about colonialism and imperialism, theorists have avoided taking on, except in a cursory and eclectic manner, a description of the precise structures of imperialism and capitalism in their current historical configuration” (166).

Lazarus and Varma explore reasons behind the insubstantial negotiation between Postcolonial theory and Marxism and find that the root cause has been the fact that “the ‘post-’ of Postcolonial studies has been emphatically the ‘post-’ of postmodernism” (312). The very origination and development of the discipline in the Euro-American academia in the 1980s coincided with the prevalence of the post-theory paradigm and since then, Postcolonial Studies has remained a subsidiary to Postmodernism instead of casting off the influence and looking in new directions. Lazarus (*Nationalism* 9-51) stresses that the post-theoretical approach has been the rule in the ideology and methodology of postcolonial theorists, led by Western canon, and even prominence both as a theorist and literary writer in Postcolonial Studies is dependent upon a “display of appropriate post-theoretical credentials” (9).

According to his study, well-known postcolonial theorists like Bhaba, Minh Ha and Suleri have followed a poststructuralist approach denouncing all metanarratives, including Marxism, as essentialist and totalizing. A few theorists like Paul Gilroy have taken up an uncritical and indiscriminatory culturalist position, dismissing the methodical establishment and domination of capitalism as a global system. In his estimation, the postmodern doctrines of indeterminacy and relativism have not been able to dismiss elemental debates but have only assumed hegemony over other theories like the latest phase of capitalism it has sprung from which has brought all other economic logics under its own imperious influence (*Nationalism* 9-51).

Lazarus and Varma (330-31) cite the repudiation of nationalism and the uncritical celebration of migrancy, liminality and hybridity within Postcolonial Studies, under the influence of Postmodernism, as one of the cases in point. They point that in the 1990s, Ahmed had criticized an uninformed rebuttal of nationalism and identified nation-state as the most

significant metanarrative and everyday reality for postcolonial masses through which neo-imperialism is brought to their experience. The nation-state formed the pivot of the struggle for decolonization and pragmatically, the battle for emancipation from neo-imperialism is to be fought within the framework. Therefore, instead of refuting the concept of nation-state altogether or substituting it with a euphoric and non-negotiated globalization, Postcolonial Studies needs to come up with fresh enunciations of the state, nation and class to rebuild the nation-state in revolutionary ways, trying diverse national projects for human development.

Lazarus calls for caution within the discipline in engagement with Postmodernism as, according to him, it has been the philosophical and theoretical avatar donned by the logic of global capitalism to dilute insurgent struggles based on nationalism, socialism and alternative globalization movements (*Nationalism* 42-47). Presenting the case of contemporary 'Globalization' as another instance in point, he points to links between the global capitalism and the postmodern emphasis on flow, multiplicity and decentralization which rationalize the universalization of neoliberal free market and transnational corporations, supposedly offering equal opportunity to all across the planet but in actuality reproducing the unequal social relations of production on a global scale and polarizing the world more acutely. Lazarus and Varma (323) emphasize that within the discipline of Postcolonial Studies, the phenomenon of globalization should be analyzed more critically and materially i.e. in terms of its impact on the material conditions of life such as wages and employment in the Third World.

Lazarus and Varma appraise that the historical and political imperatives of Postcolonial studies are different than the sophisticated and *lassaiz-faire* objectives and tenets of postmodernism. On similar grounds, they criticize Bhaba's discourses on ethical concerns instead of the political which evoke the abstract notions of universal forgiveness and debt relief instead of the Marxist demand for equitable redistribution of the means of production (322). To sum up in Bartolovich's terms, neo-imperialism, nationalism, subalternity, political world order, the underdevelopment of the Postcolonial states and numerous other theoretical concerns are common to Postcolonial Studies and Marxism; therefore, a conceptual integration of the two would be more productive in dealing with the predicaments generated by colonialism and neocolonialism than any other inter-theoretical engagement within the discipline (1-17).

According to Lazarus (*Nationalism* 51), the capitalist mode of production has, for the first time in human history, outmoded and substituted all non-capitalistic modes of production. The contemporary globalized form of capitalism derives from the moment of European imperialism and capitalist expansion. At present, a single capitalist world economic system has been established neo-imperialistically which is founded on an unequal distribution of the means of production. In his view, the work of Postcolonial theorists who base their critical perspective in Marxian tradition and analyze the contextual underdevelopment of the postcolonial states with the lens of the capitalist world system theory, must be given due attention in the field. With the utilization of Marxist analytical tools, Postcolonial Studies can grasp the real working of the capitalist world system, its pervasive structure, the mechanism of its domination and its impact on the living conditions of the majority living on the periphery. Taylor (339-45) also cites Lazarus to be reinstating that Postcolonial Studies needs to focus attention and critique on the processes of capitalist modes of production and class relations, highlighting the continuity from imperialism to neo-imperialism. Thinking contextually as well as in material terms has become imperative for the discipline in the present era of asymmetrical capitalist globalization and increasing dependency of the postcolonial regions.

2.3 The Coordinate Global Operation of Neoliberal Capitalism and American Neo-Imperialism

The most significant critical analyses from Marxist Postcolonial Studies explaining global political and economic situation in terms of the prevalent phenomena of global neo-imperialism and capitalism and the current dependency and underdevelopment of the Third World come from the theorists of World System and Dependency theory. The pioneer of the World System and Dependency Theory has been the American sociologist and historian Immanuel Wallerstein who, while studying the postcolonial affairs of Africa, laid the groundwork of the theory in his seminal work *The Modern World-System* comprising four volumes published between 1974 and 2011. According to Hout's study, there are five theoretical premises at the core of Wallerstein's work: "the reality of the capitalist world system with its own laws and dynamics; the holistic character of social and political organizations; the materialist foundations of social phenomena; the pervasiveness of exploitation; and the expansive nature of capitalism" (114).

These analytical tools influenced other associated theorists such as Andre Gunder Frank, Arghiri Emmanuel and Samir Amin who built on the above-mentioned premises and contributed significantly to the evolution of the theory (Hout 40). The present study, however, focuses on the fundamental tenets and elucidations of World System and Dependency theory in the light of Samir Amin's works. The central concept and unit of analysis, according to these theorists, is the development and establishment of a capitalist world system which has created division of labor on a global scale, dividing the world into core, semi-peripheral and peripheral economies. They emphasize upon the fact that questions of development and underdevelopment, the politico-economic context of each state and the gap between the rich and poor countries cannot be grasped until these are viewed as part of one system and their respective conditions studied under this rubric.

Samir Amin (*Unequal Development* 57-58), tracing the historical origin of the capitalist world economic system, elucidates that capitalism took birth in Europe around the 16th and 17th centuries and, since then, has grown into the most dominant historical process and economic system outdoing all other modes of production. Hout (62) quotes at length from Gunder Frank to demarcate the three main phases of the development of capitalist world system. The first phase, according to him, was the mercantilist (1550-1770) during which agriculture and mining became commercialized and oriented towards Europe. The second phase of development was the industrialist-capitalist phase (1770-1870) and the imperialist (1870-1930). During this period, which began with European industrial specialization, the economies of Americas, Asia and Africa were gradually integrated into the capitalist system. According to Amin, both the periods shaped the three continents into the periphery of the capitalist system (*Beyond US Hegemony* 103). The unequal distribution of means of production between the developed and underdeveloped countries persisting till the present day began when the growth of the capitalist world system was added to by European colonial conquests. Amin calls it the period of European mercantilist expansionism and the mercantilist period of primitive accumulation (qtd.in Hout 80). These conquests brought different social economies into contact but Europe remained the capitalist center. The third phase of capitalism, termed as the neo-imperialist one, began around 1945 with the settlement of the United States of America as the chief capitalist and neo-imperialist center of power.

Marx comprehended capitalism to be a world system right from its inception, with a unifying and universalizing tendency (*Grundrisse* 533-540). Amin (*Empire of Chaos* 7) identifies the defining features of this universal capitalist system the primary and foremost of which, according to him, is the polarizing tendency inherent to the order. The development of this one but unequal system has led to the division of world into center, semi-periphery and periphery on the basis of economy; all of which are bound together in a relationship of inequality. Within this system, the developed countries of the West/North or the bourgeois nations are termed as Metropolis while the underdeveloped or proletariat nation-states on the periphery are labeled as satellites.

Amin views the current North/South, West/East dichotomy and economic division as the result of polarization created by the capitalist expansion of the last five centuries in which the centre has always been dominating and exploiting the periphery (*Beyond US Hegemony* 12). Within the demarcation, nation-states do not exist as isolated or sovereign entities. Their socio-economic conditions are determined by the fact whether they form part of the center or periphery in the world system, and underdevelopment is directly linked to the degree of dependence in the system (Hout 70). The capitalist world system thrives on the interconnection of dependence and exploitation between the core and the periphery. The political and cultural systems of the individual nation-states rest on this economic division. Similarly class struggle, as Marx rightly envisaged, is to be waged not within the context of the nation-state only but globally because of the universal ascendancy of the capitalist system (*On the First International* 174).

According to Amin, monopolization has been another characteristic feature of the world capitalist system which serves as hindrance to equalization of profit between the core and the periphery (*Unequal Development* 68). Hout (59) elaborates that during the industrialist-imperialist phase of capitalism, the production of manufactured goods was monopolized by the industries of the center. The satellite economies were incorporated into market economy on condition that these export primary products which are comparatively cheaper, and continue importing expensive manufactured goods from the capitalist center. Hout (65) provides the example of colonial India to prove the case in point. The development of industry in the metropolis and its monopoly over manufactured products required the underdevelopment of

industries in the periphery. Under British colonialism, the growth of Indian iron, steel and textile industries was stunted through the imposition of severe tariff restrictions and rendered dependent on imports from the metropolis. The current technological gap between the center and periphery and the deindustrialization of the postcolonial regions has been the inevitable consequence of disparities generated by European monopoly on trade and advanced means of production during the imperialist-capitalist phase.

Amin (*Unequal Development* 31-157) analyzes that on the external plane, colonialism disintegrated the pre-capitalist economies and integrated them as peripheries into the expanding capitalist world system in which the imperialist forces held the economic centre. Internally within the nation-states, the induction of the capitalist system engendered two factors: the accumulation of capital and the proletarianization of masses. Capitalism partly dismantled the feudal and agrarian mode of production and produced a large number of unemployed workers who had to migrate to cities in order to find jobs in the nascent yet multiplying industries. The initiation of finance capital through banks and their accumulation in a few industrialist hands introduced exploitative social relations based on capitalistic production within these economies.

The postcolonial nation-states were founded by bourgeois nationalists on the capitalist mode of production within the afore-mentioned international division of labor. Amin (*Unequal Development* 200-345) discusses the formative structure of the peripheral economies i.e. the previously colonized and the presently postcolonial/neocolonial economies. According to him, the peripheral economies have four features in common: “the predominance of agrarian capitalism in the national sector; the creation of a local, mainly merchant, bourgeoisie in the wake of dominant foreign capital; a tendency toward a peculiar bureaucratic development; and the incomplete character of proletarianization” (*Unequal Development* 333). Due to agrarian capitalism, peasants lose access to land and since indigenous industries are few and underdeveloped, proletarianization and unemployment are always on the rise (*Unequal Development* 333-345). All peripheral economies have extravert orientation in the sense that they rely on foreign investments for industrial and infrastructural development. The surplus generated by foreign projects go to the monopolist cartels of the center instead of staying within the borders. The accumulation of local surplus is curtailed and always remains deficient even for investments and acquisition of essential imports, thus leading to debt circles and payment of

interest on them. There is insufficient endogenous growth which signifies an insubstantial infrastructure unable to fulfill either national consumption needs or create adequate employment.

Amin (*Unequal Development* 189-200) appraises that the current globalized era is distinguished by two major developments in the capitalist world system: the establishment of transnational firms operating globally and a technological revolution which concentrates in these firms. The developed centers of capitalism specialize in the advanced technologies of the grey matter, atomic power, space research and electronics. Along with investments and unequal trade, technological supremacy and monopolies have become the latest source of surplus for the center. This renewal of monopoly in different production services maintains as well as multiplies the extraction of surplus from periphery to center and builds a new type of unequal international specialization. The concentration of skilled labor and capital in the global conglomerates add to their economic power which then interpenetrates the political world as well (Amin *The World We Wish to See* 48). In the capitalist world system, the monopolist cartels give the final verdict in both the economic and political arenas. Political establishments in the periphery, whether autocratic governments or democratic, all guard their interests and adapt to the free market scriptures devised by monopolies of the center after these have established their hegemony through colonial exploitation

Amin (*Beyond US Hegemony* 5) argues that the fundamental questions concerning the current phenomenon of globalization should be: is the process separable from the universal projects of capitalism and neo-imperialism? Is the development universal, equitable and unhierarchical? Do the free market and free trade mantras of globalization signify equal material exchange and distribution and the globalization of human rights and equal opportunity? He posits (*Unequal Development* 163-187) that expansion has been inherent in the capitalist world system as the market spreads incessantly in search of profit. The center of the system hunts for cheap raw materials, cheap labor and opportunities to sell goods to markets of luxury consumption. Present-day global interconnectivity is driven by the capitalistic objective of the extraction of higher profits from the peripheral countries. When the rate of profit at the center falls, capital is exported and invested in the periphery because of the advantages of cheap labor, low wages and inexpensive raw materials.

According to him, it is crucial to critically explore and unearth the interconnection between neo-imperialism and neoliberal global capitalism in order to dismantle and transcend the coordinate mechanism (*The World We Wish to See* 18-24). The economic and political are intertwined and imperialism has acted as the concomitant of capitalism since its inception. The characteristics of polarization and monopolization intrinsic to capitalism could not sustain without imperialism. In 1917, Lenin had declared a burgeoning capitalist economy to be the driving force behind Western imperialism. According to him, this new and higher stage of capitalism was marked by the collaboration between banks and industries and the emergence of finance capital which he defined as “capital controlled by banks and employed by industrialists” (45). He maintained that a capitalist oligarchy in the West had monopolized finance capital and spread its web of industries, investments and loans across the globe. The state was reduced to an apparatus accumulating and circulating surplus capital for a few (53). In his book *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, he postulated that the world’s cheap raw materials and labor force were at the disposal of a few global monopolist companies from the four most advanced capitalist economies of Great Britain, France, Germany and United States. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, Lenin identified United States as the most rapidly developing capitalist economy which, along with the above-mentioned three countries, owned more than three quarters of the world’s finance capital.

After the Second World War, the European empires crumbled and most of the colonized regions were granted independence. However, decolonization did not challenge the capitalist mode of production and the social relations it generated. Moreover, the post-World War scenario witnessed the leviathan rise of the United States of America as a colossal military power and the new center of capitalism, as was presaged by Lenin. The phenomenal growth of a huge, sophisticated capitalist structure with a rapidly multiplying need for raw materials propelled US towards a neo-colonization of the postcolonial economies, a process defined by Loomba as one of indirect political and economic control instead of direct military occupation (3-6). The development, according to Frank, ended the industrialist-imperialist phase of the evolution of the capitalist system and inaugurated the neo-imperialist-technological stage of its progress (qtd. in Hout (62). Since then, it has been the era of American capitalist exploitation, military domination and neo-imperialist political manipulation of the globe, in particular of the three postcolonial continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Lazarus highlights the period between 1945 and 1975 as the only weak point throughout the evolutionary history of the capitalist world system (“Epilogue” 529). The establishment of the opponent economic system of communism and movements for decolonization threatened its hegemony for the time and even the capitalist center of Europe had to give way to welfare and social democratic states. Popular national governments and projects brought a few elementary politico-economic changes to the postcolonial regions as well within the bounds of their neocolonial status and the capitalist economic system (Lazarus and Varma 310). However, the implementation of neoliberal policies and formulation of Washington Consensus in the 1970s and the 1980s by the United States and its European allies, in addition to the global fall of communism, ended the gains of both the nationalist insurgent movements in the postcolonial states and the welfare states in the West. The advent of the two phenomena has subjugated the world to unilateral capital and a unipolar political order since then.

Lazarus and Varma (310) reiterate that the period from 1970 onwards has been marked by the global assertion of the capitalist and political hegemony of the United States. Arrighi (21-42) also validates the fact that the contemporary epoch is distinguished by US-centric regional and military alliances and US-centric world monetary system. If the global monetary organizations are analyzed critically, according to him, they remain national in their essence, particularly in their top ranks which are American and, in some cases, European. Amin provides evidence to US capitalist hegemony through the fact that “IMF policy is actually decided by the more exclusive Group of Ten, which constitutes the real international monetary system” (*Unequal Development* 127). He cites that in 1969, special capital drawing rights from IMF were given to the US and US’s share in the export of capital grew to 59% in 1960 (127). Tikly (151-77) criticizes the present-day nexus between American neo-imperialism and capitalism by expatiating that in the contemporary era, capital flows in one direction and the international monetary organizations IMF, World Bank and WTO facilitate the flow rather than balance it. A Manhattan-centric agenda dictates neoliberal globalism because American capital runs these international monetary organizations.

In the same strain, Went (337-355) illustrates though Bretton Woods model how neoliberal capitalism imposes free trade and structural adjustment policies on national governments if these have to get incorporated into global economic system. He emphasizes that

the policies of privatization, reduction in public expenditure and deregulation of market prices, imposed through the provision of multilateral credits and loans, deprive the masses of poor countries of even the basic rights of health and education while multiplying the finance capital of the oligopolies of the North. Criticizing the asymmetrical character of contemporary capitalist globalization, Slater finds capital invested in transnational firms by capitalists both of center and periphery to be the only globalized entity. According to him, the world is run by a supra-state executive i.e. the few wealthiest merchants while the affordability of mobility or equal opportunity for all has been left out of the list of globalized items (647-678).

According to Amin's evaluation, the United States is regarded as the military defender of the common capitalistic interests of the North. The far-flung network of quasi-permanent overseas military bases kept by the US smoothing the way for its capitalist and neo-imperialist exploitation of the globe is a phenomenon unprecedented in human history (*Beyond US Hegemony* 4). He elaborates that US has monopoly on five vital sectors constituting the base of contemporary neo-imperialist hegemony: latest technologies, communication and information, natural resources, financial capital, and weapons of mass destruction. He is firmly of the opinion that removal of US military bases covering the planet and the end of NATO's unilateral military operations are preliminary conditions for global disarmament and peace (*The World We Wish to See* 15; *Beyond US Hegemony* 129-131). Amin also terms current capitalist globalization as a militarized one, imposed upon the globe from above under the auspices of the US. He calls for a reversal of it with a negotiated globalization which is polycentric, post-capitalist and equitable in the real sense of the term (*Unequal Development* 79; *Beyond US Hegemony* 122-155; *The World We Wish to See* 15).

The gist of the discussion is that the capitalist core has been waging a persistent war against the rest of the world, particularly Asia, Africa and Latin America in the form of imperialism and neo-imperialism throughout the various phases of the development of the capitalist world system. This exploitation is indispensable to the maintenance of its wealth and hegemony. Capitalist globalization signifies a universal, neo-imperialist control of national markets, indigenous resources, industries and investments by the center. Hout (24) maintains that in the last half century, trade liberalization has benefited nothing compared to the globally transplanted US corporations which have increased their economic and political power enabling

them not only to dictate the global monetary system but also to create tax havens for themselves. In order to maintain the hegemony of its capital, the centre consistently supports reactionary and pro-status quo political governments to perpetuate the primitive modes of production in the periphery. As a consequence, foreign investments go to plantations, manufacture of primary products and export industries. Current globalization and interconnectivity do not bring progress to the underdeveloped countries; these only perpetuate their poverty. According to Lazarus, the contemporary era has entered the hegemonic phase of capitalist globalization and neo-imperialism after passing through the dominant and coercive periods (“The Politics of Postcolonial Modernism” 71-82). The previously colonized have uncritically and unresistingly accepted the supremacy of the colonizers’ mode of production and their social and political systems. Both global neo-imperialism and capitalism function subtly with the consent of the dominated through the threat of economic sanctions and military coercion.

The World System and Dependency theory has shortcomings and loopholes which have been pointed out by critics and theorists. Rao (165-184) and Petras (“Dependency” 148-155) criticize the abstract and universalizing approach adopted by the proponents of the theory which denies specific, contextual attributes to a variety of social entities and yoke them together under the labels of Core and Periphery. In Rao’s estimation (165-184), the structural rigidity posited by the theory is pessimistic as it offers the postcolonial periphery no prospects of political and economic growth on its own. Friedmann and Wayne (399-416) also consider the theory to be statically structuralist, leaving no room for the people in the post colonies to exercise “autonomy and agency” (414). In their appraisal, the tenets of the theory have been incongruent with the ground realities of many postcolonial countries, such as India, Brazil and the Asian Tigers Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong which have emerged as substantial powers while functioning within the capitalist world system. Moreover, the theory views globalization as being driven solely by the capitalist core for the sustenance of its interests but this situation is presented rather simplistically. The postcolonial states partake a huge share in the global corporate sector and equally support the liberalization of economy: facts which are not accounted for within the theory.

Petras (“Dependency”148-155) criticizes the theory on two other distinct grounds as well. The first failure of the theory, according to him, is that it eschews the analyses of the internal

political, economic and cultural transformation of societies in the core capitalist countries. The second fault with the theory is that it forgoes the discussion of the role of pre-capitalist activities and classes in the underdevelopment of the postcolonial peripheral societies. In the same vein, Friedmann and Wayne (399-416) also point it out as one of the basic flaws of the theory that it does not configure the changing patterns of class dynamics within the advanced capitalist societies. They extend their criticism beyond the point and develop the thesis that since class conflict has been eschewed as the analytical base of the theory, it remains essentially deficient in its analysis of asymmetries on the global level. In addition, they appraise that the theory interprets global inequalities in geographical rather than economic terms and demarcates two units of space i.e. the North and the South in which one spatial unit exploits the other.

In the researcher's opinion, the criticism of the theory on the basis of its generalizing tendency is justifiable only to a small extent. The modes of capitalist and neo-imperialist exploitation may vary in size and degree but the fact that majority of the postcolonial peripheral states function within cycles of aid, debts, foreign investments and extraction by the global corporations cannot be refuted altogether. The theory generalizes but the generalization is founded on a comprehensive study of the common features of the peripheral formations. Moreover, fluctuations as well as periods of bust and boom are characteristic features of the capitalist economy and changes in figures concerning the growth of a few states have not signified exit from one formation to the other, in any case. In addition, the proponents of the theory have provided a basic and broader framework for the study of underdevelopment in the postcolonial regions and have nowhere put a restriction on a detailed contextual study of discrete political entities in which the neocolonial and capitalist situation varies. In fact the theory, like other Marxist analyses, emphasizes taking into account the specificities of each material context and making a struggle for transformation keeping in view the same.

Similarly, the argument put forth by Rao (165-184) that postcolonial states and indigenous bourgeoisies seek liberalization of economy and share in transnational corporations equally is self-evidently invalidated when juxtaposed with the postulation of the theory that capitalist and neo-imperialist operations in postcolonial states are carried out with the support of indigenous bourgeoisies since their class interests are safeguarded by the dual system. It is one of the major propositions of the theory which explains underdevelopment in the postcolonial

context and adds to the notion of a North-driven globalization, identifying vital facilitators of the functioning of the processes in the periphery.

According to the researcher's study, the anti-World System and Dependency arguments can be also be challenged on the basis of the explications provided within the theory. Hout (74-94) elucidates that the class gap within and the neo-imperialist enterprises launched by the core countries benefit the Metropolitan bourgeoisie largely. In order to minimize the internal class conflict, the capitalist class of the core has been granting concessions to the internal proletariat. After the neo-liberalization of the capitalist world economy in the 1970s, the conditions of the laboring class in the developed countries have also deteriorated and class conflict has aggravated. The broader gist of the theory also informs that the dual world system of capitalism and neo-imperialism multiplies the capital of the elite classes only, whether at the center or in the periphery. As far as the role of pre-capitalist classes and economic modes of production in the periphery are concerned, Amin has elaborated them in detail (*Unequal Development* 9-62). The criticism of Friedman and Wayne is invalidated by the fact that the World System and Dependency theory is rooted in Marxist Postcolonial critique and class has been a central unit to all of its analyses. However, it can be conceded that class dynamics and conflicts in the periphery have been granted more critical attention in the theory than those at the center due to the fact that these play a greater role in the dependency of the postcolonial societies.

In addition, the critique that the theory interprets global inequalities in geographical terms is unconvincing since the theory does not posit it as a case of the global North exploiting the South but the centers of capitalism extracting capital from the peripheries of the system. It has been a historical and geo-political fact that the core of the capitalist world system has remained the Northern part of the globe and the periphery the Southern hemisphere. In a nutshell, the researcher concludes with the assertion that the World System and Dependency theory offers more sustainable, valid and applicable arguments and tenets than its various critiques which are comparatively flimsy and controvertible.

2.4 Modes of Neo-colonialism and Class Division in the Postcolonial States

Within Marxist postcolonial Studies, the subjects of the division of the globe into the core and peripheral capitalist states and the perpetuation of the dependency of the periphery on the core elucidated by World System and Dependency theory have been narrowed down to the study of the specific political and economic modes by which neocolonialism operates in the periphery and the role class division plays in the operation. The study has been carried out in Kwame Nkrumah's theory of Neocolonialism and Class Struggle which expounds both dynamics at length.

Writing in the second half of the twentieth century, Nkrumah elaborates that the colonialism of the past few centuries has been substituted by neocolonialism as the main vehicle of domination and exploitation. In his words, "imperialism has extended its economic grip and thereby its political compulsion by the artfulness of neocolonialist insinuation" i.e. the indirect subjugation and manipulation of the political and economic systems of the new-found postcolonial states (*Neocolonialism* 33). According to him, the developed and highly industrialized Europe and the United States of America constitute the major capitalist and neo-imperialist powers while the backward continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America contain most of the previously colonized and presently neocolonial states. Through neocolonialism, these powers preserve the colonial economic structures and colonially formed class division in the postcolonial states. However, the phenomenon of neocolonialism is of far graver consequences for the neocolonial states because it not only does away with the semblance of liability and accountability the colonial administration had towards the colonized but it is also more unconscientious, concerted and pervasive in its influence. In Nkrumah's words: "for those who practice it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress" (*Neocolonialism* xi).

Various contemporary theorists have coined specific terminologies for the description of the link between a powerful neo-imperialist state and a weaker neocolonial one in the present times. Highlighting the context of American relations with the Third World states from 1945 onwards, Banerjee terms it as "the superpower-client" relation (202). Aijaz Ahmed (2004) terms it as the "imperialism of our time" and Tariq Ali labels neo-imperialist US and its allies as the "masters of the universe" though in a challenging and mocking way. Whatever the title used for

neo-imperialist links, the fact that colonialism and neocolonialism have been modes and means for economic gains at the cost of others has been incontrovertible. It would be more accurate to state that both historic processes have been utilized as political means to multiply the surplus accumulated by the Euro-American capitalists since the inception of the capitalist world system around the sixteenth century.

In Nkrumah's estimation, the development of nuclear weapons resulting in mass destruction has played a crucial role in deterring powerful countries from waging worldwide wars (*Neocolonialism* x). The post-World War imperialist European countries were too materially exhausted and impoverished to carry out large scale colonial operations. Therefore, the neocolonial mode of operation, which exercises "balkanization" instead of colonial occupation, was the need of the particular historic epoch. Balkanization, according to Nkrumah, is "the break-up of large political entities into small market states which are convenient to capture and manipulate" (*Neocolonialism* 14). The prevention of formation of large regional and continental blocs, which threaten both imperialist and capitalist hegemony, serves the purpose previously accomplished by colonialism.

Nkrumah (*Neocolonialism* 83-178) elaborates that the major field of the operation of neocolonialism remains the economic sphere. The key functioning mechanisms of neocolonialism within the sphere are: monopoly over markets of raw materials and manufactured products, capitalistic investments and the imposition of policies on the economies of the postcolonial nation-states through the provision of aid and loans. These procedural mechanisms turn the peripheral postcolonial economies into sources of extraction and profit for the capitalist and neo-imperialist center and perpetuate their underdeveloped and dependent status in relation to it. The first and foremost means employed for the neo-imperialist exploitation of the neocolonial states are capitalistic investments. Nkrumah states: "At its neo-imperialist stage, finance capital's primary need is to find spheres of overseas investments which will return profits at a greater rate than can be obtained at home. The export of capital, therefore becomes the dynamo of imperialism and leads to the capture of colonies as the means of assuring monopolist control" (83). The procedure renders indigenous economy dependent on foreign capital which leads to political subservience as well. Moreover, extreme care is taken of the fact by the capitalist center that the investments are not done in productive economic sectors which could

industrialize, educate or raise the living standards of the masses in these countries and bring them to the level of a competitive force. Nkrumah (83-178) opines that a neocolonial state is reduced to the status of the protector of global business monopolies.

The second mechanism for economic exploitation, according to Nkrumah's study (*Neocolonialism* 4-14), is the establishment of unequal trade between the capitalist center and the underdeveloped postcolonial states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The poor industrialization and manufacturing power of these countries, inaugurated by colonialism and sustained by neocolonialism, make them exporters of cheap raw materials and importers of expensive manufactured products. The prices of both products are determined by the advanced capitalist countries which keep them minimum for the primary resources and maximum for the manufactured ones. The process orientates towards the benefit of the Euro-American states and to the detriment of the neocolonial Third world states. The neocolonial states are unable to establish fair prices for their raw materials in the world market which can help them accelerate industrialization. Deindustrialization causes the export of primary resources such as iron, coal and minerals to the developed industrial center in raw form, impoverishing the countries of origin. In addition, the prices of raw materials tend to fluctuate frequently which aggravate the situation further. Even if these countries raise the volume of exports, their earnings decrease due to falls in the value of primary resources (*Neocolonialism* 241).

According to Nkrumah's study, the third and strongest economic mechanism by which "neocolonialism is made attractive" is "the illusion of raising the living standard through innumerable aid programs" (*Neocolonialism* xv, 242). Aid to any country from the developed capitalist center of Europe and America is invariably accompanied by a whole chain of conditions for the aid-receiving political economy which restricts its growth. The aid-receiving country is bound to supply raw materials for the donor country, buy its manufactured products, lower trade barriers for it and protect its private ventures and investments. In addition, the aid receiving country gets bound in political and military agreements with the donor country which always work to the detriment of its political stability and economic growth. He views "multilateral aid through international organizations, having US capital as their major backing" as "yet another neo-colonialist trap on the economic front" (*Neocolonialism* 242-43).

From Nkrumah's standpoint (*Neocolonialism* xv-23), the most detrimental out of all the aid to the neocolonial state is military aid. "Military aid is the last stage of neocolonialism", and its repercussions for the receiving country are disastrous and far reaching (xvi). The neocolonial states ruled by one section of the elite class or another are rife with internal instabilities in the form of regional and class-based inequities. The neo-imperialist powers provide a large scale of advanced weaponry to the neocolonial states not only to repress internal mass insurgencies but also to help fight regional proxy wars for the protection of their economic interests. Imperialist military aid aggravates social misery and economic deprivation like no other form of aid. In fact, military aid is a direct payment for the installation of military bases and the mercenary proxy wars the neocolonial state fights for the capitalist and neo-imperialist strategic objectives. Multilateral aid from the global monetary organizations such as IMF and World Bank also signify an abysmal incorporation into the capitalist world system and further economic dependency (*Neocolonialism* 242). The postcolonial states receiving aid and loans cannot implement independent national policies since these have to function under policies imposed by these organizations run mainly by US Capital.

Nkrumah's incisive analysis of class division in the postcolonial regions (*Class Struggle* 9-26) points out that the socio-economic and political structures of individual states in Africa vary according to the pre-dominance of the agricultural or industrial mode of production. On the same lines, he argues that each state of the colonized continents of Asia and Latin America has its own specific historic context and a generalization of situations within a continent or across the continents would be ahistoric, unpragmatic and erroneous. However there are certain characteristics shared by the decolonized states and continents as a consequence of the experience of colonialism in the past and present-day neocolonialism. The genesis of various sections of national bourgeoisie during the colonial era and the perpetuation of the formation in the post-independence milieu is one of the most prominent and decisive of these common features. The class rift as well as the fact that indigenous bourgeoisie are the main vehicles of capitalism and neo-imperialism in the postcolonial societies is almost universally exposed. As per his critical study, the widening gap between indigenous bourgeoisies and the oppressed majority lies at the core of the dilemmas generated by capitalism and neocolonialism in these countries.

Nkrumah highlights (*Class Struggle* 10-12) that during the movement for freedom from colonialism, it appeared that all classes had united and class rift within these societies was blurred. However, it surfaced soon after independence when it became evident that the national bourgeoisie originating and thriving under colonialism had their vested class interests vitally linked to neocolonialism. The class remains on the side of the metropolitan bourgeoisie and global monopolies with stakes in the continuation of the capitalist system. The education of these sections of the elite class, their indoctrination to Western ideologies and their privileged status during colonialism drive them to preserve the colonial socio-economic pattern in the new states. They are the ‘hidden hand’ of neo- imperialism and capitalism in their respective societies (*Class Struggle* 12).

In the pre-capitalist and pre-colonial economies, the class division was in a nascent state which was sharpened and deepened by the process of colonization, resulting ultimately in the emergence of distinct bourgeois and proletariat classes. Nkrumah informs that colonialism integrated the pre-capitalistic economies into the capitalist world system and accelerated the initiation of private enterprises in the form of production of cash crops and commodities for export to European market (*Class Struggle* 9-26). The growth of capitalism in these economies, under the patronage of the colonial administration, created five distinct sections of the bourgeois class supporting the colonial and capitalist system. According to Nkrumah, these cliques which exist till date are: the indigenous intelligentsia, feudalists, bureaucrats, top rank military officers and national traders. However, during the colonial era, the agricultural and industrial labourers regarded the colonizers, foreign business and trading corporations as the main exploiters and the class struggle took the twisted shape of resistance only against the metropolitan bourgeoisie in which the indigenous privileged sections were considered as allies.

Among the five distinct components of the national bourgeoisie which have their interests linked with the process and establishment of neocolonialism in the new- found states, the first one is what Nkrumah terms as “the indigenous intelligentsia” (*Class Struggle* 36-40). This section of educated groups of natives originated from landed aristocracy and other rich sections of society which was groomed in the colonially established local institutions or in the metropolitan center. The section imbibed the curricula, discipline and ideologies of the West and became alienated from traditional culture, seeking “political power, social position and

professional status” (33). The colonial administration patronized a small number of such bureaucrats, professionals and technocrats to help it run the colonial government and serve as a bridge between it and a vast sea of local masses. In the postcolonial milieu, the main body of intellectuals and experts consists of those who support other sections of the national bourgeoisie as well as the neo-imperialists.

Nkrumah points out military oligarchy as the second significant member of national elite class crucial to the continuance of capitalism and neocolonialism in postcolonial states (*Class Struggle* 41-6). The armed forces in postcolonial states “came into existence as part of the colonial apparatus” and the top ranking officers of these were “trained by colonialists or in military colleges of the West” to serve as the most consequential cog in the imperialist wheel (*Class Struggle* 41). During the colonial period, they worked in collaboration with imperialist bureaucratic apparatus and the practice continued after official decolonization. Officers within military institutions, like other bourgeois sections of *nouveau riche* and bureaucrats, assimilate Western ideologies and norms as the most advanced and ideal ones. In the postcolonial states, high ranking military officers ally with various groups of national bourgeoisie because their wealth and privileges stay secure only within capitalist economy supported by neo-imperialist machinery. The dependency of postcolonial military institutions on training, equipment and military aid binds these in subservient and mercenary pacts with the core capitalist countries.

These forces, the maintenance of which expends a huge portion of national budget, are not neutral politically as is generally assumed and propagated but play a decisive role in class struggle within these societies (43-4). The discipline, armory and technical expertise of the institution grant it momentous value in balancing social forces. Giving particular attention to the nature and objectives of military coups d'état in postcolonial countries and the specific conditions in which these are carried out, Nkrumah examines: “Reactionary, pro-imperialist coups signify that imperialism and its internal allies, being unable to thwart the advance of the masses by traditional methods, have resorted to the use of arms” (47). Coups are generally carried out by top military officers backed by cohorts in the intelligence agencies of the capitalist centre. The rank and file of armed forces, who are picked up from peasantry, are paid low and their docile training within the institution makes them act against their own class interests. The

overarching objective of military coups is invariably the repression of masses organizing from below.

The third vital party to national ruling class, according to Nkrumah (*Class Struggle* 61-63), is bureaucratic oligarchy. Bureaucratic oligarchies originated during colonial administration and developed close links with metropolitan “financial politicians” in the period (33). In fact, local bureaucracies, guided by British administrators at the top, formed a ruling class in the colonial era. The privileged status and pivotal role of bureaucratic oligarchy as administrators, planners and decision makers continued in the post-independence era when the new states initiated national planning and socio-economic development. For the preservation of its privileges, it allies with landowners, capitalists, military officers and neo-imperialist apparatuses to safeguard capitalist economy and neocolonial political system. In particular, this section sides with military coups for which it takes up the charge of running administrative machinery.

Nkrumah’s inquiry establishes landed aristocracy as the fourth pillar of ruling class in majority of the postcolonial states in Asia, Africa and Latin America (*Class Struggle* 55). The feudalization of these pre-capitalist economies has been another legacy of British colonialism. The colonial administration granted lands and titles to local landlords, influential in rural areas, for facilitating extraction from the agrarian economies and keeping the peasants subjugated to the system. Landed aristocracies allied with British imperialist government to secure their large landed estates during the colonial period. The colonial legacy continues in new-found states where feudal or semi-feudal structures prevail in countryside. These feudal cliques hold powerful positions in postcolonial political economies and back other ruling oligarchies to sustain their own privileged social standing.

The fifth yet the most significant vehicle perpetuating capitalist and neocolonial system in postcolonial states, according to Nkrumah, is the capitalist section of ruling class (*Class Struggle* 56-63). During colonial period, indigenous capitalists remained petty bourgeoisie because trade, industry and banking were controlled by colonial administration. Growing need for capital extraction during the Second World War compelled British imperialist centre to allow indigenous capitalists to accelerate private enterprises, albeit in a restricted and patronized manner. The other objective of the move was to placate this section of national bourgeoisie, constricted by imperial tariffs and trade barriers, in its demand for national liberation. Local

capitalism remained weak and dependent on foreign capital during the period of British colonialism and the situation persists in the post-independence milieu. In his words: “The local bourgeoisie must always be subordinate partners to foreign capitalism. For this reason, it cannot achieve power as a class or govern without the close support of reactionary feudal elements within the country, or without the political, economic or military support of international capitalism” (57). Since independence, postcolonial states have been governed mainly by these capitalists who act as the strongest defenders of capitalist and neocolonial political economy, out of which they manage to gain colossal personal profits, within their respective nation-states.

Nkrumah (*Class Struggle* 64-88) concludes that the interests of all these sections of elite ruling class are tied to global capitalism and neo-imperialism which these facilitate in making inroads into the national economy for their own kickbacks. In collusion with metropolitan elite, these groups build their own stakes in multi-national ventures, to the detriment of national development. The bourgeois neocolonial government, by any of the above-mentioned sections, works as a shield for global capitalistic interests. Internally, it is repressive in character because of class conflict in these societies while externally, it is perpetually exposed to interventions by neo-imperialist powers.

In the final discussion, Nkrumah (64-88) casts a critical glance at the other side of this class conflict as well and briefly takes into account the situation of working class in the context. As per his evaluation, the integration of colonized regions into the capitalist world system gave birth to a proletariat class and also to communist parties under the influence of international socialism. Working class and peasants played a significant role in national liberation movements through strikes and rebellions. Lack of large scale industrialization and high unemployment rates, however, keep working classes in beleaguered conditions in postcolonial states. The low education and skills of workers add to the misery of their situation. In the present socio-economic scenario in majority of postcolonial states, urban proletariat is more conscious of its exploitation as a class. Peasantry is comparatively less aware due to prevailing illiteracy and semi-feudal oppression. In Nkrumah’s view, only a united struggle of workers and peasants against rule by these sections of elite can challenge class-based inequities generated by capitalist and neocolonial system.

The theory of Neocolonialism and Class Struggle posited by Nkrumah is vitally connected with the World System and Dependency theory and is an extension of the theory to a rigorous scrutiny of the common social dynamics of postcolonial societies. The theory explains the politico-economic modes and classes which, on the internal level, bolster the dual operation of capitalism and neocolonialism. Like the World System and Dependency theory, the theory of Neocolonialism and Class Struggle has also been subjected to scathing critiques on various grounds. Rao (141) evaluates that the phenomenon of neocolonialism in postcolonial regions has been blown out of proportions and that it has not been a crucial factor in determining the underdevelopment of the postcolonial Third World. The classic and more enduring critique of the theory has been offered by proponents of Modernization theory. According to Rostow, one of the major exponents of the theory, the internal factors within postcolonial periphery have been solely responsible for its underdevelopment and dependency instead of the external phenomena and international connections. The postcolonial states have traditional, static and less productive social formations which will transform only after these go through various necessary phases of development and growth in the process of evolution (4-92).

Endorsing the postulations of Modernization theory, Green asserts the positive and significant contribution of foreign aid, investments and even political interventions to the growth of postcolonial periphery (2-12). According to him, influx of foreign capital and consequent class-based social gap are crucial components of the process of initiating development and directing these entities on the path of maximum industrial production, technological advancement and economic liberalization. Similarly, he regards programmes devised by IMF (International Monetary Funds) for underdeveloped postcolonial states such as Structural Adjustment programs and policies of deregulation, liberalization and good governance as ones meant to propel these societies to higher stages in the process of developmental evolution.

In his classic glorification of the process of neocolonialism rooted in Modernization theory, Molner expounds that both neo-colonialism and the evolution of national bourgeoisies have been imperative for the social, political and economic growth of postcolonial social entities which were highly orthodox, primitive and unproductive on all levels at the time of decolonization (177-95). His arguments appear to reason that the colonized regions did not merit

decolonization; instead, colonization was a valid and justifiable political process incurred by non-European societies on the basis of the same demerits he recounts above.

After a comparison of the arguments posited in Nkrumah's theory of Neocolonialism and Class Struggle and those offered by the critics of the theory, the researcher reaches the conclusion that Molner's thesis on the colonized regions being "hastily decolonized" (183) and national bourgeoisies standing in perpetual need of political and economic supervision from advanced capitalist countries is an essentially Euro-centric and imperialistic argument. It is not dissimilar from the arguments of the civilizing mission of Europe or the notion of the white man's burden propagated during the period of European colonization of the globe. These arguments supporting foreign patronage appear particularly one-dimensional and deficient in a comprehensive cognizance of postcolonial social formations when compared with Marx's evaluation of the impact of British colonialism on the Indian subcontinent in the middle of 19th century. In his famous New York Daily Tribune article, though he interpreted Indian society to be a "semi-civilized" community based on a "peculiar combination of hand-weaving, hands-spinning and hand-tilling agriculture", he did not overlook and dwelled at length on "all the civil wars, invasions, revolutions, conquests, famines through which England has broken down the entire framework of Indian society".

In brief, contrary to Rao's evaluation (165-184), satellite and dependent status has been a permanent feature of majority of postcolonial states rather than an exception. The positivity and inevitability associated with foreign investments, aid, loans and monopoly over national production by global corporations have been effectively contested by Nkrumah's elucidations of the crippling impact of these elements, compromising not only the political sovereignty and endogenous economic growth of postcolonial states but also embroiling these in detrimental alliances and proxy wars (*Neocolonialism* 83-178).

2.5 The Postcolonial Context, Emergence and Role of Twenty-first Century Socialism

Within Marxist Postcolonial Studies, theorists have not only engaged in incisive critical analyses of the functional dynamics of neoliberal capitalism and neo-imperialism on the global and class conflict as well as specific modes of neocolonialism on the national level, as has been shown by the works of Samir Amin and Kwame Nkrumah, but they have also been positing modified and reinvigorated models of socialism better suited to the new social dynamics of the contemporary context. The formulation of 21st century socialism has been one such theoretical development within the field and Marxist Postcolonial theorists have appraised the social, economic and political conditions giving birth to this new socialist struggle, the features differentiating it from the 20th century socialist movements and its successes and failures in challenging the neocolonial and capitalist order in postcolonial context, in this case that of Latin American countries.

Gwyn Williams expounds in his book *Struggles for an Alternative Globalization* (1-19) that there had been passive opposition to the global implementation of neoliberal policies in the last two decades of the twentieth century when capital started moving more freely across the globe due to huge advancements in electronic technology. Yet two events triggered a dynamic and confrontational alter-globalization movement: the Zapatista uprising in Mexico in 1994 and the Seattle protest in 1999. Ali, however, differs on the issue with Williams and contends that the mass riots in Venezuela in 1989 against the implementation of neoliberal reforms initiated an organized militant struggle of masses from below (*Pirates of the Caribbean* 58). The slogans spoke against the exploitation of indigenous resources by Euro-American global companies, the withdrawal of government subsidies at the dictation of IMF, deregulation of market and privatization of key national economic sectors: all of which are the *modus operandi* of US-led global neoliberalism.

Petras and Veltmeyer (18-26) enumerate five grounds which form core of the critique of neoliberal global capitalism from across the globe, in particular the postcolonial societies: a free and deregulated market following its own logic, supremacy of finance capital over capital invested in productive sphere, decrease in tariff restrictions, privatization of public sectors and

subjugation to foreign capital and global monetary organizations. They elucidate that neoliberal economic measures are devised by neo-conservative Euro-American economists for the purpose of establishing the political New World Order formulated in Washington Consensus: the code of economic prescriptions devised by global monetary institutions for underdeveloped states which, instead of aiding, facilitate the exploitation of weaker economies by the developed ones.

Highlighting the miserable social conditions of the contexts generating these movements, Harnecker expounds that the implementation of neoliberal economic policies generated horrific poverty, inflation and unemployment. Dilapidated economic conditions gave birth to social fabrics ridden with opportunism, corruption and crime. Neoliberal measures brought about reduction in the sovereignty of nation-state and aggravated gap between the rich and the poor. Privatization of major economic sectors accelerated the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few individuals excluding majorities. In her estimation, majority of marginalized people viewed globalization as the universalization of global corporations run by big capitalists instead of globalization of human rights, ameliorated living conditions or the basic necessities of life (*Rebuilding the Left* 3-28; *Ideas for the Struggle* 24-25).

Woods scrutinizes the same global economic scenario affecting the majorities of postcolonial states in statistical terms. He contends that monopolist multi-nationals based in the capitalist and neo-imperialist centre, which own staggering amounts of money and manipulate policies of nation-states as well as global market, are the only beneficiaries of the global capitalist system (210-211). These determine the prices of commodities as well as the terms of international trade and exchange. The fact, according to him, is that:

The entire world economy is now dominated by no more than 200 giant companies, the great majority of which are based in the USA. The process of monopolization has reached unprecedented proportions. In the first quarter of 2006, mergers and acquisitions in the USA amounted to ten billion dollars a day and the speed of monopolization does not diminish but increases. Takeovers are a kind of corporate cannibalism that is inevitably followed by asset stripping, factory closures, and sackings; that is by the whole sale and wanton destruction of means of production and sacrifice of thousands of jobs on the altar of profit. (211)

Harnecker succinctly defines the whole operation of globalization being driven by capitalist and neo-imperialist interests as “Neo-liberal policies carried out by big transnational capital backed up by huge military might and media power – whose hegemonic centre is the United States” (*Rebuilding the Left* 28).

Gwyn recounts how these anti-neoliberal movements engendered global support: students, trade-unions, peasants, women, environmentalists, and many other strata of societies across the world joined the protests. According to Burbach (1-14) and Lebowitz (*Build It Now* 88-90), these mass insurgencies were essentially post-capitalist and post-imperialist, demanding change in the world economic system and global interconnectivity driven by the interests of the capitalist-imperialist center in the North. Lebowitz witnessed that the protestors called for the substitution of the logic of capital based in a few with the logic of fulfillment of human needs and posited a socialist world economy as the only viable anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist alternative for a better world (*Build It Now* 11). Connected with the global insurgency, the mass movements in the Latin American countries of Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador gained momentum and culminated, after trials and defeats, in the establishment of radical left governments in these countries.

Petras elucidates that the economic crises of the 1970s and 1990s sparked off the formation of social forces which struggled against the existing system and enabled left parties to appropriate state power not only in Venezuela, Ecuador and Bolivia but also in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Chile (42-43). According to Burbach’s analysis (1-14), radical parties formed governments in Venezuela, Bolivia, and Ecuador at the beginning of the Twenty-First century and the governments have been the outcome of these anti neo-liberal and anti-imperialist movements fermenting among the masses in these countries. Hugo Chavez, the Venezuelan president (1998-2013) defined these mass struggles and consequent left governments as based upon a new version of socialism i.e. the Twenty-First century socialism which differs markedly from the socialist practices of the 20th century. Out of Marxist postcolonial Theorists writing on the subject of 21st century socialism such as Michael Lebowitz, Alan Woods and Roger Burbach, the works of Chilean Marxist theorist Marta Harnecker provide a comprehensive picture of the background and evolution of the theory of 21st century socialism based on the appraisal of the practice of 21st century socialism in these Latin American countries. All these theorists share the

belief that the 21st century socialist model is circumstantial, pragmatic and inclusive of all the oppressed sections of the society.

Defining the basic tenets of 21st century socialism, Harnecker explicates that 21st century socialism grasps Marxism as a critical weapon and not a universal formula (*Rebuilding the Left* 39-53; “Democracy and Revolutionary Movement” 60-73). She highlights the absence of universal, static and eternal prescriptions of socialism, applicable to all times and conditions, in the writings of Marx and Lenin. In her view, the founding premise of 21st century socialism is that struggle for socialism takes place in specific historical, socio-economic and political conditions and, therefore, tactics as well as strategies to achieve socialist goals vary with place, time and character of the subjects involved. The standpoint correlates with Marx’s statement emphasizing that it is through concrete practice that the workers learn their lessons and “the class in itself becomes a class for itself” (*The Poverty of Philosophy* 113).

Highlighting the specific socio-historical context of the origination of 21st socialist movements, Harnecker clarifies that toeing the Soviet socialist model or the European one would have been an irreparable blunder in the case of these Latin American countries as it has been in the cases of other postcolonial states. These countries are dependent capitalist economies instead of feudal formations. Moreover, majority of the population of Latin America are indigenous people and in their case “language, customs, religious beliefs and cultural norms” cannot be overlooked in any kind of social struggle (*Rebuilding the Left* 49). Lebowitz’ citation of Hugo Chavez’ assertion that the 21st century socialist model is the flexible Marxist map suited to the socio-economic conditions of Latin American countries while other countries need to chart out the plan according to their own local, national and international conditions and exigencies seconds Harnecker’s explication (*The Socialist Imperative* 135-137).

In her appraisal, the left governments of Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador have posed an alternative to neoliberal and neo-imperialist enterprises by regulating private property and free market ventures. Based on broad social support from below, these governments have drawn up socialist constitutions, established communal councils and cooperatives deciding participatory budgets, nationalized key economic sectors and have revolutionized social conditions in the spheres of housing, health, education and energy through regional collaboration and fair trade policies (*Rebuilding the Left* 39-53).

Petras (1-4) outlines the differences, both in theory and practice, of 21st century socialism with the socialist political movements of the 20th century. The 20th century socialist struggles ended up in one-party states whereas 21st century socialism follows a more inclusive and plural public representation system. It functions with a multi-party framework in which diverse ideologies are not excluded but are granted liberty to make political struggle. The second difference is that 21st century socialism carries out socialist struggle through parliamentary and electoral system rather than by a complete overthrow of the existing system. The third difference is that the 21st century socialist stance adopted by the three Latin American countries with left governments has neither abolished private property nor blocked market forces. Market, as Burbach (6) points out, is regarded as a positive force for the production and distribution of goods as it functioned in the pre-capitalist societies. However, within the 21st century socialist framework, market operates in a regulated mode where it works for the betterment of social conditions instead of being orientated towards the multiplication of the wealth of a few individuals and monopolist cartels.

The fourth difference from 20th century socialism, according to Petras (1-4), is that 21st century socialist governments have curtailed the power of bureaucratic structures so that these do not block social development by authoritarian and corrupt practices. Political and economic power is placed in the hands of local assemblies and communal councils which are democratically organized from below. In this way, the 20th century focus on central planning is also discarded since power is diffused across localities and communities. The fifth difference is that 21st century socialism is not rooted in a dogmatic vision that merges all social elements into one force i.e. the working class. Harnecker (*21st Century Socialism* 6-19) points out that it is more inclusive and pluralistic uniting varied social forces across the collective spectrum. Petras terms it a fine combination of the ideologies of nationalism, populism and Marxism.

The sixth difference is that 21st century socialist governments do not stress on maximization of production at the cost of democracy, culture and intellectual diversity. In this instance, Harnecker observes that neither religious practices are abolished altogether nor is an atheist state imposed from above. Instead, 21st century socialism lays emphasis on respect for various communal beliefs and cultural practices (*21st Century Socialism* 6-19). Following the case of religious beliefs, the new Bolivian constitution grants liberty of religion to all citizens

while declaring the state independent of religious influences (Postero 72). The present Ecuadorian president Rafael Correa publicly professes to be practicing catholic and stresses time and again that religion does not clash with socialist goals because both underline struggle for social equality and justice (Ellner 106-7).

A defining characteristic of 21st century socialist movements in Latin America is that these are spurred by diverse victims of neo-liberalism and neo-imperialism rather than being centered upon the proletarian class. Burbach explains that these socialist movements have been striven for by “plebeians” and the plebeians are: students, religious groups, indigenous sections, middle classes, petit-bourgeoisie, soldiers, women, environmentalists and all kinds of progressive segments and forces (3). Harnecker reaffirms that the alliance between workers and peasants is looked at as a strategy of the past (*Rebuilding the Left* 32-104). New historic conditions have created new classes and groups the active social role of which would be lethal for current socialist struggles to ignore. In Harnecker’s estimation, this catchall approach is thoroughly pragmatic in the context of Latin America where ethnicity, religion, culture, language and gender are significant social factors to be taken into sensitive consideration in the process of social transformation (*Rebuilding the Left* 22-49). Other groups of social actors are also large in number and are economically exploited in the same way as working class. They are, moreover, discriminated against in the name of religion, race, gender, ethnicity etc. Addressing the grievances of and allying varied social subjects is of utmost political significance in constituting a common front against the all-pervasive capitalist order which has fragmented societies on these lines.

In this regard, the new Left parties in these three countries eschew class-reductionist policies and purely workers and peasants’ slogans for the sake of social unity. According to Harnecker, the New Leftist parties PSUV (United Socialist Party of Venezuela), MAS (Movement for Socialism) and PAIS Alliance (Proud and Sovereign Fatherland) currently in power in Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador respectively are neither exclusively working class parties nor communist in the sense that the word compulsorily makes a part of the party title. These changes go along the 21st century socialist canon that a broader and more inclusive social force is to be built against the capitalist world system rather than mere political opposition (*Ideas for the Struggle* 10).

The 21st century socialist process has placed trust in the electoral process and the left alliances in Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador have striven to attain majority in their respective parliaments. The aim is to gradually overcome capitalism and its concomitant parliamentary democracy rather than ousting both in a single overthrow. Radical changes in the political, economic and social spheres have been brought about through a constitutional, reformative process and established structures of representation. The socialist measures taken by these parliaments are many and notable: drawing up new constitutions, nationalizing major economic sectors, universalizing education and health care, passing Land Reform Acts and Communal Councils Acts, legislating social welfare programs, allotting local budgets and holding frequent referendums on issues of national concern.

In Harnecker's estimation, the drawing up of new constitutions or bringing socialist reforms to the already existing ones has been a significant development in this regard (*Rebuilding the Left* 96-140). This step is indispensable keeping in view the facts that parliamentary democracy has been kept intact and ownership of private property permitted. It was a viable option to alter legislation and make room for the socialist policies. Harnecker cites the case of Venezuela where President Hugo Chavez voiced that radical economic reforms were not possible without constitutional changes. Therefore, after victory in general elections, a constitutional assembly was elected to write a new constitution guaranteeing the primacy of the interests of society over those of the capitalist oligarchy. Foster et al. inform that in the new constitution of Ecuador drawn in 2008 "the rights of nature" were introduced, endorsing the concept that a good social life also necessitates the well-being of nature (419). The legislation renders private industrial enterprises, which exploit nature in all possible ways for the maximization of profits, accountable to the state. It grants each citizen the right to sue any economic activity that endangers or violates the rights of nature. Such policies of grant of legal protection to non-human beings and pragmatic measures for preservation of nature have been unprecedented in human history.

Another distinguishing feature of the 21st century socialist practice is collaboration with neighboring and regional countries to circumvent economic dependency on the capitalist powers and consequent embroilment into neo-imperialist political interventions. The vision of economic regionalism anticipates regional assimilation in finance, trade, industry, health, education and

other public sectors. The integration challenges the neoliberal inequitable global division of labor imposed by the capitalist world system and helps build a multipolar world with blocs of nations forming strategic alliances on the basis of equality and solidarity (Ramirez 147-170; Mandonca et al. 177-196; Ellner 96-114). Griffiths identifies these as counter-hegemonic and anti-imperialist regional partnerships founded upon the concept of unity and assistance instead of cut-throat competition and conflict. He enumerates some of the consequential collective enterprises among the Latin American and Caribbean countries: “the signing of a constitutive treaty for the union of South American Nations (UNASUR) in Brazil in May 2008; the development of ALBA (Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas) as an alternative to the US backed ALCA (Free Trade Agreement for the Americas); and the creation of a “Bank of South” as an alternative to World Bank and IMF” (612).

The 21st century socialist economic models are hybrid in the sense that these have not broken free of the capitalist world market and private property completely. Griffiths terms them as “mixed capitalist economies” (611) while C.P. Harnecker defines them as a combination of “statist, marketist and managementist” policies (116-120). Though key economic sectors are nationalized, private property and enterprises are not abolished entirely. Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador have nationalized major services, resources and energy sectors. The act has promoted national development and curtailed the interests and benefits of the capitalist oligarchies. The cooperatives run by the communities are also a basic unit where the workers determine the modes of production, distribution and consumption. Private ventures and corporate holdings are also supported yet these are regulated to produce for the domestic market, boost employment opportunities and also contribute to communal programs. Thus, the state, the communal councils and cooperatives as well as the capitalists (both national and foreign) are allotted their roles in the running and development of economy (Ellner 96-114; Postero 59-78; Becker 43-62).

Lebowitz evaluates the enormously significant role played by communal councils in empowering citizens within the mixed economic model. According to his analysis, each community elects a representative body and this body is termed as communal council. Communal councils are vehicles through which the people of a certain community decide in an egalitarian way the social and material requirements of the community according to a priority-based framework. In fact, communal councils are the “schools of socialism” which educate

people and bring transformation to their daily life (*The Socialist Imperative* 127). Harnecker elaborates the case of Venezuela which “passed the Communal Councils Act in 2006 and instituted approximately 52,000 communities out of its 20 million people” (*Rebuilding the Left* 144). Burbach and Pineiro regard these communal councils as “institutions for local self-government” (184).

Woods (202-212) also regards nationalization of key economic sectors as a crucial component of the mixed economic model of 21st century socialism. His critical evaluation finds that though nationalization and planned economies led to repressive measures in the 20th century socialist systems; yet it remains an effective tool for the curtailment of free market ventures and capitalist monopolies. According to his study, the intervention of state in the form of nationalization protects masses against deficits, global recessions and inflation. Another substantial reason he offers in favour of nationalization is that Euro-American states had protectionist economies when capitalism was in the nascent stage of its evolution in these countries. The first world countries propagated free market ideology once their economies developed and stabilized in advanced state. The same rule of state protection needs to be applied to the social context of the postcolonial states of the three underdeveloped continents which are making slow progress to development.

Twenty-first century socialism offers a fresh outlook on the functioning of the institution of armed forces as well. It reinstates the role of army as one which fights for the rights of people instead of being an apparatus of the bourgeois state utilized for suppressing masses. In Bolivia, Venezuela and Ecuador, armed forces have been reorganized to make them more inclusive of various classes, ethnicities and races (Rochlin 1336). Hugo Chavez directed the professional expertise of soldiers towards socio-economic development and utilized it in construction of the infrastructure as well as provision of health and other social services to public (Aviles 1552-1561). The aim is to keep army socially integrated, radicalized and participative in socialist policies. In the case of army and police, Woods (185) recommends transition to the communist stage where defense related jobs would be carried out more democratically, efficiently and with less expenditure if mass militias are organized and maintained under the guidance of local councils. Following the vision, one million civilians are trained in military exercises in Venezuela as a reserve force to be utilized against any imperialist onslaught.

Land reforms and land redistribution have been the backbone of socialist practice and 21st century socialism does not forego this basic issue. The distribution of land to cooperatives and communities and regulation of land ownership in poor localities have been accomplished in Venezuela (Ramirez 151). Bolivia has redistributed 20 million hectares of land to the landless and generated funds and donations for the peasants by 2011 (Rochlin 1332). Woods stresses that these measures need to be followed by the expropriation of feudally owned lands (367). According to Ramirez, the agricultural sector is protected by the governments and there has been focus on growth for the domestic market. Land, home and food security have been the major concerns of these socialist governments. For instance, in Venezuela nearly 15,000 markets and 6,000 community kitchens operate under government's supervision and offer not only subsidized rates but also provide food stability to the poor (147-70).

The important sectors of health and education have been regulated and both the prices and quality of the services brought under government supervision (Ramirez 159-161). Bolivia has universalized health facilities and generated loans for housing: a measure which has generated thousands of construction jobs. In 2008, it reduced poverty by 31% (Mendonca et.al 180-182). New health facilities provide low cost services and aim at building institutions for the training of doctors and the development of diagnostic centers. The objective of educational missions in Venezuela is to provide free elementary education and college and university education at a low cost to all. The new educational programs focus attention upon knowledge and skills that can be incorporated into society and utilized in meting out better social services. Therefore community service has been an integral part of the training of the students. Ramirez tersely sums up the 'five motors' of 21st century socialism as: "enabling law, constitutional reform, popular education, reconfiguration of state power, and an explosion of communal power" (164).

The socialist and communist conceptions and visions of society have been consistently criticized since their inception and rigorous exposition by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the second half of the Nineteenth century. The classic and most widely read renunciation of socialist ideas, however, is still offered by the works of Friedrich Von Hayek, the renowned Austrian philosopher and economist of the twentieth century who is also the founding father of economic neoliberalism. In his book *The Road to Serfdom*, Hayek criticizes the totalitarian, monopolist,

coercive and unpragmatic dimensions of socialism. Firstly, he argues that a socialist government has tendency to revert to the formation of a totalitarian state which devises a central planning system and imposes it on the whole social formation. According to him, the monopoly over resources and their distribution which a socialist system aims to eradicate remains intact since the central planning body starts exercising monopolist practices instead of the big cartels of the free market (91-104).

In Hayek's evaluation, the exercise of coercion is an inevitable concomitant of the large-scale implementation of centralized policies. Unlike a liberal social formation, a socialist state has no room for individual freedom which has been the foremost gain of liberal humanism, Enlightenment, democracy and civilizational evolution spanning over the two millennia (33-44). To him, the utopian idea that socialist or communal modes of production will generate unprecedented social development and production lacks conviction since in the absence of individual initiative and competition, the utilization of resources and human labour turns stagnant negatively affecting innovation, production and growth (207-224).

On the same lines, the 21st century socialist theory and practice has also been subjected to rigorous denunciation and critique on multiple grounds by theorists and analysts. Petras views 21st century socialism as "a merely symbolic, rhetorical exercise" and raises serious questions about its originality and revolutionary claims. He finds contradictions between its theoretical claims and ground practices, substantiating his observations with instances of private monopolies, lack of implementation concerning land reforms and repression of trade unions in the three countries (3-7). Kohl (113-117) objects that 21st century socialist theory fails to address concrete real life situations such as the leftist workers lacking in professional qualification and training to fill up the higher and intermediary positions in the state structure. In his evaluation, many government projects are stained with corruption and authoritarianism, manipulating social forces to dictations from above. Becker (49-51) criticizes the concessions made to the capitalist oligarchy and free market, particularly in Ecuador. He cites that the processes of nationalization, formation and funding of local bodies and mobilization of social forces at the grass root level have been particularly low and weak.

The Brazilian scholar Dagnino regards the union of liberalism with communitarianism as contradictory and terms it a "perverse confluence" (qtd. in Postero 61). Rochlin (1332) evaluates

that in the course of transition to socialism, the enormous politico-economic power of global corporate capitalism, which can strike back any time to gain the front seat of political power, is underestimated. According to Woods, the expropriation of land and nationalization of key industries have not been completed which threaten the future progress of socialism in these countries (192-402). He also views free market, private property and capitalist enterprises as potential threats which must be surpassed if socialist policies are to sustain in these countries and grow internationally. He foresees the resumption of power by the big monopolist corporations supported by the “imperialist bullies” if a radical break with capitalism is not made (408). All of these theorists, however, regard the 21st century socialist turn in these countries to be a clear break with global neoliberal capitalism and neocolonialism. In their view, the present attempt in the socialist direction has pitfalls when executed on ground yet the pros decidedly outweigh the cons.

After an evaluation of the respective merits and demerits of the theory and practice of 21st century socialism, the researcher derives the conclusion that neoliberal policies to which the globe has been subjugated neo-imperialistically have been plainly directed at making the rich richer and the poor poorer in the form of promoting private capitalistic interests and the deregulation of major economic enterprises which leave the nation-state with little resources for projects of public welfare. The current theory and practice of 21st century socialism not only inherit the flaws of authoritarianism and corruption from the Marxist-Leninist model but are also inherently flawed since half of the mechanisms and institutions adopted on the road to socialism, such as free market, parliamentary system and constitutional reforms, have been appropriated from the Euro-American model of liberal democracy. Notwithstanding the flaws, the reformative process initiated by 21st century socialist practices has undoubtedly curtailed the rampant impoverishment and exploitation generated by global neo-liberalism and neo-imperialism. A new formulation of socialist policies to bring about social pluralism, constitutional reforms, regulation of private capitalistic enterprises, hybrid economic activities, devolution of political and economic power to the local level and regional solidarity is both a reinvigorating theoretical development within Marxist Postcolonial Studies as well as a fresh pragmatic direction towards countering global capitalism and neo-imperialism.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The chapter explains the theoretical framework and research methodology adopted for the present study. For the purpose, it briefly discusses the major Marxist Postcolonial theorists and the key theoretical concerns expounded in their seminal works the delineation of which is investigated in the selected fictional and non-fictional texts of Tariq Ali. The delimitation of the study to themes specified in the light of the theoretical concepts, the deductive nature of methodology and the application of the qualitative method of analysis suggested by Miles & Huberman for the study of the thematic content of selected texts have been duly explicated.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

The present study employs Marxist Postcolonial theory for the analysis of the selected texts of Tariq Ali. Postcolonial Studies intersects with other theories and utilizes their theoretical paradigms for the critical analyses of the processes of colonization and neo-colonization. The interstice of Postcolonial Studies with Psychology, Cultural Studies, Postmodernism, Feminism and Marxism has led to a diverse and deep-ranging exploration of both colonialism and neo-colonialism and their impacts on the (neo) colonized. The defining feature which differentiates Marxist Postcolonial theory from numerous interchanges of Postcolonial Studies with other theories, according to Bartolovich, is that it does not “focus solely on the issues of subjectivity, cultural fragmentation, and dispersion of power typical of much postcolonial analysis” but uncovers and criticizes the “leaden-footed path of political economy”; i.e. the economic and political exploitation of the colonized and neo-colonized societies by the imperialist and neo-imperialist powers (5-6). The critique of capitalist modes of production and class division, therefore, occupies the center stage in the theory in its appraisal of the period of European colonialism from 1770 to 1945 and the contemporary era of American neo-imperialism since 1945 till date.

Marxist Postcolonial Studies is a vast theoretical domain, therefore, the researcher has delimited the study to the application of three theoretical concepts, elucidated in the works of three major Marxist Postcolonial theorists, to the selected texts of Tariq Ali. The three theoretical subjects are the concomitant global operation of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism, class struggle and major politico-economic modes through which neo-colonialism functions in the postcolonial states and the emergent resistance in the form of 21st century socialism to neoliberal global capitalism, neo-imperialism and class-based inequities in the same context. The three above-mentioned theoretical components are expounded in the light of the seminal works of three key Marxist postcolonial theorists Samir Amin, Kwame Nkrumah and Marta Harnecker respectively.

The theoretical concepts are discussed in a logical order, as has been previously highlighted in section 2.1 of the first chapter titled "Theoretical Background to the Study" and sections 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5 of the Literature Review chapter, which grants coherence to the theoretical framework. The first theoretical concept of the coordinate global operation of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism is studied in the light of the theory of World System and Dependency as explicated by Samir Amin, the acclaimed Egyptian-French Marxist Postcolonial theorist (1931-2018). Amin's theory postulates that "imperialism is not a stage of capitalism but the permanent feature of its global expansion" (*Beyond US Hegemony* 4) and places the postcolonial societies within the peripheral formations "created by the expansion of the polarizing capitalist world system", aided by European colonialism, dividing the globe into the capitalist core and periphery (*Empire of Chaos* 7).

Amin links the perpetuation of the peripheral positioning and consequent underdevelopment as well as dependency of the postcolonial states, in the contemporary era, to the "globalization of neoliberal capitalism" backed by the neo-imperialist power of the United States of America (*Beyond US Hegemony* 5). He elucidates and substantiates with facts, figures and instances the monopolization of the resources and trade of the neo-colonized regions by the neo-imperialist powers and the role played by neoliberal policies, transnational cartels and global monetary organizations in aiding the capitalist and neo-imperialist exploitation (*Unequal Development* 9-384).

The second Marxist Postcolonial theoretical concept of neocolonial politico-economic modes and class division in postcolonial states, applied to the analysis of Ali's selected works, is

discussed under the rubrics of the theory of Neocolonialism and Class Struggle posited by Kwame Nkrumah, the Ghanaian Marxist postcolonial theorist whose works occupy a pivotal place in Marxist postcolonial theory. The theoretical underpinning of Neocolonialism points to the peripheral status of postcolonial states in the capitalist world system and their neo-colonization, persisting in the contemporary era, by the neo-imperialist power. According to his study, “Neo-colonialist control is exercised through economic or monetary means”; thereby, the neocolonial order in the postcolonial states is sustained through the politico-economic modes of the acceptance of foreign economic and military aid, foreign investments, unequal trade and loans from international monetary organizations (*Neocolonialism* ix, 11-242).

According to Nkrumah, these modes of neocolonialism are sustained by internal class division within postcolonial societies created by integration into the capitalist world system during the period of European colonialism and perpetuated in the present era by the globalization of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism. The central thesis of the theoretical argument of Nkrumah’s class struggle is that the five sections of the national ruling class, inherited from British colonialism, have their vested, class-based interests in the maintaining the capitalist and neo-colonial order:

A bourgeoisie tied up with foreign finance capital and business interests; an elite of bureaucrats with practically unlimited power; an intelligentsia completely indoctrinated with western values; a professional army and police force with an officer corps largely trained in Western military academies and a chieftaincy used to administering at local level on behalf of the colonial government. (*Class Struggle* 15-16)

The third theoretical concept the delineation of which is investigated in Ali’s works is the emergence of the new and contextual model of 21st century socialism in the backdrop of innumerable socio-economic and political predicaments generated by the globalization of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism as well as by class conflict and politico-economic modes bolstering neo-colonialism in postcolonial states. The theoretical notion is studied in the light of the theory of 21st century Socialism by Marta Harnecker, a contemporary Chilean Marxist Postcolonial theorist. Harnecker offers a view of the deteriorating social conditions giving birth to movements termed as 21st century Socialism in the three postcolonial Latin American countries of Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador and attributes the “dramatically

increased misery and social exclusion, and concentration of wealth in increasingly fewer hands” to the implementation of neoliberal economic policies “devised by officials of IMF and World Bank, essential adjuncts of the imperialist state system” (*Ideas for the Struggle* 26).

Her works also elucidate the lines on which 21st century socialist movements and governments are formed as distinct from the 20th century ones and evaluate the effectiveness of this new model of socialism in transforming these societies which are, broadly speaking, representative of the postcolonial contexts in general (*Rebuilding the Left* 3-151). In her appraisal, 21st century socialist movements have forged a broad front constituted of diverse sections of societies to challenge the all-pervasive neoliberal and neo-imperialist order through the adoption of nationalist and communal policies.

The three subjects constitute the central debates of Marxist Postcolonial Studies. The analysis of the selected texts of Tariq Ali in the light of these theoretical issues will provide answers to the research questions of how Ali’s fiction depicts and critiques the pertinent subjects of global capitalism, American neo-imperialism, class conflict and the 21st century socialist movements in the postcolonial context. The analysis will also lead to a holistic understanding of Ali’s position as a literary writer, in particular, in relation to Marxist postcolonial theoretical concerns.

3.2 Research Methodology

The present research is qualitative in form and based on a close textual study of the six selected works of Tariq Ali, the primary sources of the study. The analysis is delimited to the discussion of major themes in the works, excluding focus on characterization and linguistic aspects. Since the basic objective of the research is to explore how Tariq Ali’s fiction represents the three contemporarily consequential concepts of Marxist Postcolonial theory, the core analytical chapters of the research are divided accordingly. One theoretical debate is applied to and analyzed in two of Tariq Ali’s texts, maintaining a balance of fiction and non-fiction in each chapter of Analysis the exact details of which are outlined in section 1.8 titled as Structural Organization of the Study provided on pages 40-43 of the first chapter.

In the course of the textual analysis of the selected works of Tariq Ali, the present study focuses on the categorization of themes delineated in the texts under scrutiny. The categorization

of themes within the selected texts is done on the basis of the theoretical paradigm comprising three concepts, derived from Marxists postcolonial studies. The specification of theoretical issues lead to a clear planning and ordering of the thematic map of the texts selected for analysis.

The thematic categorization on the basis of which the content of the texts is scrutinized is structured by the selection of particular subjects from Marxist postcolonial theory delimited to the discussion of Samir Amin's concepts of the globalization of capitalism and American neo-imperialism, Nkrumah's class struggle and modes of neo-colonialism and Harnecker's theorization of the role of 21st century socialism in transforming politico-economic landscape of three Latin American postcolonial societies, sharing features common to the broader postcolonial context functioning within the global neocolonialist and capitalist order. The textual data consisting of two plays, one novel and three non-fictional works is thematically coded and analyzed on the guidelines of the specified theoretical concerns within Marxist postcolonial studies.

Since the scope of research is delimited by the theoretical framework, the sub-themes relevant to the major themes are incorporated and connected. However, the sub-categories of themes bearing no link to the theoretical paradigm are excluded from analysis. The analysis of the themes, in accordance with the theoretical framework, is carried out leading to the conclusion of the research. The analytical approach is, therefore, deductive in methodology since answers to the research questions and conclusions are deducted after a detailed scrutiny and citations from the text.

3.3 Method of Qualitative Analysis

In qualitative analysis, the focus is on a rigorous and repeated process of interpretation of available or collected data. Thematic analysis is a kind of qualitative scrutiny which categorizes themes relevant to the topic of research and research questions through a detailed study of data. All qualitative methods of thematic analysis involve the basic stages of coding, categorizing and noting patterns (Alhojailan 41). Coding signifies the broader classification and labeling of all data into themes. It is followed by further categorization of themes on the basis of similarity and relevance as well as casting aside of categories different in nature. Maxwell and Miller define the process as based on analytical strategies that focus on syntagmatic or relationships of similarity

(462). The phase of noting patterns involves observing links among categorized themes and their arrangement in a coherent chain of evidence. The systematic organization of relevant themes helps in determining links between thematic categories and objectives of study.

The present research adopts the methodology of qualitative analysis explicated by Miles & Huberman for the scrutiny of thematic strains in the selected works of Tariq Ali. The method is simple in approach yet involves an in-depth study of and subsequent systematization of complex and diffused data or content. The Miles & Huberman method of qualitative analysis consists of “three concurrent flows of activity” and comprises three inter-linked and cyclical stages of the examination of content among which a researcher moves back and forth in the process of qualitative analysis. These nodes are: Data Reduction, Data Display and Conclusion Drawing and Verification.

1. Data Reduction

According to Miles and Huberman (10-11), the first phase in the process of qualitative analysis is data reduction which “sorts, focuses, discards and organizes data” (11). The phase involves multiple readings and interpretations of content and numerous episodes of reducing content in the form of “writing summaries, coding, teasing out themes, making clusters, making partitions, writing memos” (10). These sequential and elaborate steps lead to the identification and codification of themes significant to study while a simultaneous exclusion of those not relevant. Multiple readings and investigations into the text/data help the researcher in the formation a holistic picture and lucid categorization of themes as well as the establishment of substantial links between thematic codes and textual details.

According to by Miles & Huberman, reducing content for analysis is a continual process in qualitative study and begins in an anticipatory mode before the content is collected and selected. The theoretical framework and research questions play major role in selection of content for thematic or any other kind of qualitative analysis. Similarly, a researcher has multiple “analytic choices” for coding thematic categories from the content and choosing ways of summarizing them since “qualitative content can be reduced and transformed in many ways: through selection, through summary or paraphrase, through being subsumed in a large pattern” and does not signify quantification (11).

The phase of content reduction also involves selection of sentences and paragraphs i.e. excerpts from text to serve as textual evidence and validate thematic categories. Textual excerpts

help not only in authenticating thematic categories but also in providing verifiable answers to research questions. The final part of data reduction is constituted of associating textual excerpts with right thematic codes and another comprehensive reading of text to search for any left-out content. Sub-themes bearing explicit and implicit connections with major thematic codes are also linked and incorporated. Various stages of the process of condensation of content lead to a clear formulation of themes predominant in text and pertinent to research questions as well as to a well-ordered tabulation of relevant textual content.

2. Data Display

In Miles & Huberman method of qualitative analysis, the second phase comprises display or organization of content into drawn-out text. According to them, this process is meant to “assemble organized information into an immediately accessible compact form for drawing justified conclusions” (11). In the case of qualitative study based on thematic analysis, thematic codes and collated details are organized in a coherent order. The interrelationships among thematic categories supported by textual details and selected excerpts is clarified further, with one idea logically leading to other. The data thus organized and displayed is reviewed in the light of the research questions to determine the nature of relationship between the two. According to Miles & Huberman, content can be displayed using a variety of techniques such as making of charts, graphs, tables etc. (11). In a qualitative analysis, however, the commonly applied technique is descriptive in which narrative text is arranged in order. When diffused and multifarious content is organized in a coherent order, it facilitates a focused analysis and deduction of verifiable conclusions.

3. Conclusion Drawing and Verification

The last phase of qualitative analysis in Miles & Huberman methodology is that “meanings emerging from the data have to be tested for their plausibility and confirmability” (11-12). The method of qualitative analysis, applied in the present study on thematic level, involves the deduction of findings and conclusions from unified thematic codes and supportive textual data, in the light of research questions and assessment of the validity of findings. A detailed thematic description of text provides rich and complex yet interconnected information of all major themes within a work. Each selected quotation and detail contributes to the understanding of relevant themes, building a comprehensive image of whole work both for the researcher as well as the reader.

CHAPTER 4

The Coordinate Global Operation of Neo-liberal Capitalism and American Neo-imperialism in *A Banker for All Seasons: Bank of Crooks and Cheats Incorporated* (2008) and *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity* (2002)

Introduction

The chapter focuses on detailed thematic analyses of the two selected works of Tariq Ali for the delineation of the first theoretical debate of the research lucidly outlined in the theoretical framework for the study given in Chapter 3. The Marxist Postcolonial debate pertains to the coordinate functioning and globalization of American neo-imperialism and neoliberal capitalism negatively influencing the socio-economic and political conditions in the postcolonial states. The thematic depiction of the salient features of the subject is first examined in the fictional text *A Banker for All Seasons: Bank of Crooks and Cheats Incorporated* (2008) and later in the non-fictional text *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity* (2002).

4.1 *A Banker for All Seasons: Bank of Crooks and Cheats Incorporated* (2008)

The play *A Banker for All Seasons* (2008) by Tariq Ali is set mainly in Pakistani social context though it also touches upon the larger global milieu, particularly the politico-economic situations of the United States of America, Britain and the Gulf Kingdoms. The action of the drama spans over a period of two decades i.e. the period between 1970 and 1990 and covers significant events commencing with the rise of Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) to global stature and concluding with the collapse of the bank in 1991. Agha Hasan Abedi, the mind behind the development of Pakistan's United Bank Limited (UBL), Habib Bank Limited (HBL) and the founder of the first Pakistani global bank BCCI is portrayed as the 'larger than life' protagonist of the play. In the analysis of the play, an effort is made to examine how Ali looks at the founding and collapse of the global bank both from "a radical point of view" i.e. a Marxist perspective (Ahmed 417) and a postcolonial angle, unearthing the subtle links of operation and

coordination between global American neo-imperialism and neoliberal capitalism bridged and bolstered in the postcolonial states by the national bourgeoisies. In the broad canvas of portrayal and delineation of historical developments from a Postcolonial and Marxist viewpoint, the literary text accords with King's appraisal, posited in his review of *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree*, that Ali's fiction has "epic like subject matter and is a useful reminder of history as seen from other than European eyes" (112).

The play represents a real-life social issue of financial corruption in the recent history of Pakistan in particular and the globe in general. It offers a realistic depiction of contemporarily momentous figures and affairs which, in Kaya's view (22-25), is one of the major merits of Ali's plays. On the basis of this fictional portrayal of real-life events and characters, as is the case in *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) as well scrutinized in section 5.1 of the study, the play falls within the category of the literary genre of 'Faction' which offers a fictional account of factual events. Yousef's analysis (33-34) of the genre of Faction as a contemporary literary form carrying the Post-postmodern sensibility of engagement with the real and significant issues of the time is highly pertinent and applicable in the case of *A Banker for All Seasons* (2008) which tackles the same. The drama is a political satire and, like the rest of Ali's plays, possesses "high theatrical potential" by virtue of the same characteristic (Sakelleridou 144).

Prior to the accentuation and critical analysis of the theme of the coordinate global operation of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism in the play, it is pertinent to place Agha Hasan Abedi's plans as a banker and the founding of BCCI in 1972 in Karachi within the specific socio-economic and political context of Pakistan which, in its turn, has to be located within what Amin terms as "the polarization of the world into centre and periphery nations by the capitalist world system" (*Empire of Chaos* 7). According to Scott, situating both the bank and its founder within their particular historical backdrop is significant because "BCCI's conception, growth, collapse, and criminality are inextricably linked with the personality of its founder, Agha Hasan Abedi, who in turn was a product of the unique conditions of Muslim India in the final period of British rule prior to partition, and the first years after partition" (3-4).

The study of the history of the political economy of Modern South Asia conducted by Bose and Jalal sharing affinities with the Marxist Postcolonial rubrics of Samir Amin's World System and Dependency theory, in the light of which the theme of the coordinate globalization

of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism is scrutinized in the play, proves to be enlightening and succinctly pertinent in this regard. Bose and Jalal (71-146) inform that the Indian subcontinent, out of which the nation-state of Pakistan was carved, was “organically linked to a wider capitalist world from the early nineteenth century” during the British colonial rule (6). A century and a half of colonization transformed Indian economy into a perfect peripheral structure marked by industrial underdevelopment and dependency on the export of raw materials as well as import of manufactured goods from the metropolitan center. Indian economy, of which Pakistan formed a part, was methodically impoverished through a monstrous extraction of revenues and wealth drain.

In sequence, the distinct structure of the socio-economic and political formation of Pakistan and the foundation of Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) in 1972 within the context is also linked with “the world market restructured under the hegemony of United States” in 1945 (Amin, *Empire of Chaos* 8). According to the analyses of the post-independence Pakistani context by Marxist Postcolonial analysts such as Alavi (“India and the Colonial Mode of Production” 1235-1262), Ahmed (“Building Dependency in Pakistan” 17-20) and Gardezi (“Neocolonial Alliances” 3-6), post-independence Pakistan was integrated extensively into the capitalist world system and transformed into a re-colonized state retaining all the colonially inherited structures, only drifting to the client status of a new empire. By comparison, the process of the deeper incorporation of the postcolonial states into the capitalist world system has been viewed not as integration into but “domination by the world market” by Amin (*Neocolonialism* 228). In Gardezi’s evaluation, “there is a continuity of role in the workings of the neo-colonial state, although the methodology of this process changes with the changing configuration of imperialism” (“Neocolonial Alliances” 4).

In the appraisal of all of the above-mentioned writers, the neocolonial formation of Pakistan has been clearly linked with the rise of the United States to the status of the world capitalist and imperialist center. At a very early stage of the state’s inception, Pakistan’s downright dependency on aid and investments from US made it easy for the donor country and the allied global monetary networks to determine Pakistan’s internal economic and political policies. Contemporarily, the neocolonial and peripheral capitalist configuration of the

postcolonial state perseveres, with key politico-economic policies dictated by global capitalism functioning under the auspices of the United States.

The story of Agha Hasan Abedi and the foundation of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International or ‘Bank of Crooks and Criminals Incorporated’ as Ali terms it in the title and its employees call it in the course of the play, begins within this postcolonial Pakistani backdrop. The linking of the Bank’s title with corruption is not exclusive to Ali’s fictional work as it has been a practice adopted in other historical and political documents as well. For instance, Scott denominates it as “Bank of Crooks and Corruption International” (4), Kerry and Brown brand it “Bank of Sleaze International” (16) while Engdahl and Steinberg label it as “Laundromat International” (15).

A Banker for All Seasons traces Abedi’s employment in the country’s banking system and his rise to powerful positions which led to the conception and inauguration of BCCI. The play depicts that Abedi’s father was a *munshi* or steward to the estate of a Muslim *Raja* (state ruler) in the east of pre-partition India (80-87). It suggests that during the sub-continental struggle for independence from British colonialism, the Muslim Raja joined the political bandwagon of the Muslim League, and after the partition of the Indian subcontinent, migrated to Pakistan with Abedi accompanying him. According to Ali, the new-found state and its founding political party Muslim League were, at the outset, hegemonized by “nobles, ministers of various states and great landowners” (*Can Pakistan Survive?* 29). As a member of the elite and influential landowning class, the Raja was requested to be one of the patrons to the newly established banks in the nascent state.

The play delineates that the Raja procured a job for Abedi in Habib Bank Limited and the description underscores the fact of the landed aristocracy maintaining its influential role in the post-independence milieu (87). The trail points to one of the four common features marking the dependency and underdevelopment of the postcolonial/neocolonial peripheral economies within the capitalist world system elucidated by Amin (*Unequal Development* 333-45) and discussed in section 2.3 of Literature Review. The feature pertains to “the predominance of agrarian capitalism” in the postcolonial states which results in the multiplication of “eviction of surplus farm labor, number of landless peasants and the proletarianization of masses” due to their

inability to find employment in a poorly industrialized national sector (*Unequal Development* 333).

In his research on the BCCI affair, Walker (2-10) informs that Abedi was an astute and ambitious banker who, soon after migration to Pakistan, founded another bank titled United Bank Limited (UBL), and “with considerable political patronage” shot to the position of its president (2). His capitalistic outlook on and plans for banking were noticeable in the beginning of his career in UBL. He introduced profitable innovations into the banking system; made links with the industry and expanded the bank’s services globally. Under his supervision, UBL turned into the second largest bank of Pakistan.

In the early 1970s, the government of Pakistan was compelled to look to the finance capital of the Gulf kingdoms for specific historical and economic reasons explained by Ali in *Can Pakistan Survive?* (124-189). The play portrays that Abedi, like other capitalists and financiers in the country, picked the clue and cultivated close financial ties with the Gulf kingdoms, particularly the United Arab Emirates. He anticipated accurately that the booming oil economies, ensuing petrodollars and the global prevalence of neoliberal policies of privatization, deregulation and drop of tariff barriers could boost both the capital of the private sector in Pakistan and his own personal account. The patronage and investments of the president of UAE (United Arab Emirates), Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan, were procured for BCCI (94-99). Ali’s thematic delineation of the links between Pakistani capitalists, in this case Abedi, and those of the oil-rich Gulf States is substantiated by Pederson’s perusal: “BCCI was among the first private banks organized explicitly to take advantage of both the rapid influx of oil money and deregulated financial markets on a worldwide level” (248).

Walker (2-10) also verifies Ali’s literary delineation of Abedi’s character displaying a capitalistic, pro-privatization and, therefore, pro-globalization mindset right at the dawn of his banking career. Kerry and Brown identify the proclivity towards globalization in Abedi’s character as a quintessential post-colonial desire of attaining a status equal to the institutional caliber of the former colonizer (28). Abedi planned to globalize UBL in the early 1970s while “Pakistani Prime Minister Ali Bhutto, typifying the socialist cast of much of the former colonial world in this period, was threatening to nationalize the banks” (Kerry and Brown 28). Bhutto

suspected Abedi's moves, charged him with being a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) agent and put him under house arrest.

The depiction of this initial clash between Abedi's and Bhutto's goals in Ali's play represents the procedural clash between globalization and nationalization embedded in the ideological clash between capitalism and socialism respectively. Marxist Postcolonial theorists view the present-day globalization as a historical development entrapped in global capitalism and neo-imperialism. Amin regards globalization as the expansion of free market in the competition among the imperialist powers for profit (*Unequal Development* 172). In his evaluation, the race of the postcolonial states for globalization as "remaining trapped in the bourgeois concept of 'closing the historical gap' through participation in the international division of labour" (*Beyond US Hegemony* 91). In contrast, nationalization is considered as the anti-thesis of an asymmetrical and exploitative globalization driven by global capitalism and neo-imperialism within Marxist Postcolonial theory. In the words of Woods (202-212), nationalization is "the only way of ending the anarchy of the market, of taking away all the levers of economic power from the small unelected groups of wealthy people- the boards of directors of the banks and big companies" (212). Abedi's penchant for global capitalist ventures, spurred by the ulterior motive of multiplying his own wealth, aroused Bhutto's suspicion and as the functioning of BCCI unfolds in the play; Bhutto's suspicion of his involvement with CIA proves not to be ill-founded (199).

A Banker for All Seasons (2008) delineates Abedi's links with the neo-imperialist power United States, crucial to the global foundation of BCCI, through the character of Mr. Henry Shaft, the former member of Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) who had served in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during the Second World War (193-211). When Amanda's character, a reporter for *The Financial Times* on the BCCI scam, inquires Shaft concerning the institution of BCCI and the role Abedi played in it; his responses are enlightening. Shaft informs about the context for the recruitment of Abedi and the foundation of BCCI by CIA for the protection of American capitalistic interests in the region. In his words, he was sent to Pakistan in the early 1960s to restructure the country politically and economically on lines compatible with the political 'New World Order' after, "we'd got rid of the Pinkos and put a General in power in 1958" (197). Amin defines the 'New World Order' as the political restructuring of the globe after 1945 into zones of American influence and a global order in which "United States is seen

as the defender (if necessary the military defender) of common capitalistic interests” (*Beyond US Hegemony* 4).

In the play, Shaft apprises Amanda that America was extremely annoyed with Bhutto’s rise to premiership in Pakistan and his plans for nationalization. He communicates: “When Bhutto came to power, he tried to play games. Nationalized the banks. Played footsie with the Chinese and the Russians. Hated us. That was when I met Abedi and put him on the payroll” (198). American neo-imperialist interventions to intercept popular nationalist governments in the peripheral postcolonial states, through installation of pro-US and pro-capitalist individuals and institutions in key positions is clearly linked to Nkrumah’s theory of Neocolonialism and Class Struggle discussed in section 2.4 of Literature Review. One of his elucidations is extremely pertinent in the present instance of Abedi’s installation as the founding father of BCCI by the neo-imperialist power in Ali’s play: According to Nkrumah,

Indigenous capitalists are still the junior partners of imperialism. They receive the crumbs of investment profits, commercial agencies, commissions, and directorships of foreign-owned firms. In these, and many other ways, they are drawn into the web of neocolonialism. The African capitalist thus becomes a class ally of the bourgeoisie of the capitalist world. He is a pawn in the immense network of international monopoly finance capital through which the chosen policies are filtered on to the world scene. (*Class Struggle* 33).

The capitalistic interests of the new Empire and the postcolonial banker run parallel in Ali’s play. Nationalization was a sore point with Abedi as he aimed to found a bank which extended globally, out of the bounds of restrictive regulations of the state. The Washington Consensus, “the agreement among Wall Street bankers about the best means to procure global economic growth” and “the philosophical terrain of neoliberalism” also dictated a world market free of nationalist welfare agendas and open to American multinationals and their monopolies (Bill et al. 218-19). Shaft found Abedi to be likeminded and laced with the self-seeking vision of a skilled global banker who could very well serve the neo-imperialist capitalistic interests. He, therefore, put forth the proposal to Abedi in unequivocal terms: “is it possible to set up a truly multinational bank? Responsible to nobody but its shareholders? Secure from the prying eyes of any state, including mine?”(153).

A Banker for All Seasons (2008) depicts that BCCI was founded in 1972 in Karachi with the help of CIA and what Ali terms as one of the “continental relays” of US: the Saudi Arabian monarchy (*Can Pakistan Survive ?* 126). The narrative conveys that when Abedi was an employee of HBL, he had misused his position to help Kamal Adham get a two and a half million dollar loan from the bank for the acquisition of shares in BCCI (113-15). Kamal Adham was not only Washington’s key man in Riyadh; he also belonged to the Saudi royal family and had remained head of Saudi military intelligence. He was the main agent of CIA in the Gulf, and as per plan charted out by Shaft, Adham and Abedi; Adham was transformed into one of the originators of BCCI.

BCCI was inaugurated in Europe with a branch in Luxembourg which, according to Walker (2-10), is notorious for its low regulation. Ali discusses, in Appendix A to the play, that in late 1980s BCCI shifted its center to another auditless and deregulated place i.e. the Cayman Islands (221-47). The expansion of the capitalistic and neo-imperialist venture was facilitated by the global implementation of the neoliberal policies of free trade and deregulation of the market explicated in Went’s illustration of the Bretton Woods model of global economy, discussed in section 2.3 of Literature Review. Ali’s fictional delineations of these factual developments are substantiated by Senator John Kerry and Senator Hank Brown’s voluminous report of more than six hundred pages titled “The BCCI Affair” submitted to US Senate in 1992 (37-38) which has been published in the form of a book in 2011. The authentication of Ali’s literary portrayal based in real-life events also validates Ahmed’s appraisal that in “Ali’s works there is no evidence of any attempt to distort the facts in order to suit his argument” (417).

In the context of Pakistan, the play reveals the comprador role of the national bourgeoisie in the scam. Ali portrays that BCCI, since its inception, was allied with Pakistan’s military-bureaucratic oligarchy and later on with the military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq. During the play, the character of Abedi clinches his standing in relation to the top brass in the government tersely: “I own the cabinet and the army” (171). The character of Shaft also endorses the political significance of Abedi’s position in the country in the 1980s in conversation with Amanda: “Abedi was a key player in Pakistan. General Zia was on his payroll as was half the high command” (204).

As mentioned earlier, the global concomitant operation of American neo-imperialism and neoliberal capitalism is bridged in the postcolonial states by the national bourgeoisies. Amin terms these elite classes in the postcolonial states as “comprador fractions whose interests are bound up with the expansion of global imperialist capitalism” (*Beyond US Hegemony*107). Abedi’s manipulative role in the play on the national level has also been attested to by Kerry and Brown in the section of the report titled “Abedi As Pakistani Political Paymaster” which states: “Abedi's earliest successes were largely the result of his having recognized the importance in Pakistan of providing payoffs or other under-the-table services to Pakistani officials, especially the leadership of Islamic "puritan" General Zia” (27). The comprador character of the elite ruling classes comprising the bureaucratic, military, feudal and capitalist oligarchies in Pakistan is a subject discussed comprehensively and substantiated with citations of historical events and facts by Ali in the books studied for the present research in addition to other non-fictional works such as *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power?* (1970), *Street Fighting Years: An Autobiography of the Sixties* (2005) and *The Duel: Pakistan on the Flight Path of American Power* (2008).

The significant role played by “Metropolitan bourgeoisie”, the nomenclature Alavi uses for the capitalists of the center (“Bangladesh and the Crisis of Pakistan” 304), in the global capitalistic and neo-imperialist enterprise of BCCI has also been highlighted in Ali’s play. The transnational bank successfully avoided the regulation of the weak states in the Third World it mostly did business with. Having secured the accounts of most of the Third World elite and the royal clans of the Gulf, Abedi is keen on multiplying his money and power. He believes that every place has its price and, since the biggest banking fraud in recent history ran successfully in the periphery, he decides to widen its operation to the capitalist centers of Washington and London (121-124). Through CIA’s brokerage, the Bank of America had helped found BCCI by buying 25% of its shares. The investigation of Kamal Adham carried out by the District Attorney of New York reveals that a group of American ex-presidents, ex-generals, politicians and CIA officials effectuated the job of making inroads into the American banking system for Abedi and Adham (165-81).

According to the plot of the play, a bank holding Company titled First American Bankshares was instituted in Washington with Clark Clifford (former US Defense Secretary) and Bob Altman (a renowned Democrat leader) as Chairman and member of the board respectively. These publicly respected politicians, senators and congressmen, capitalists in fact, piled their

accounts and shares in the First American and, by earning credibility for the venture, served as front men for BCCI. These big names served to secure the money of the public in general who suffered losses while the richest safeguarded their capital and surplus in the event of the bank's collapse.

Kerry and Brown acknowledge that “the political influence and personal contacts of those it hired had an impact in helping BCCI accomplish its goals” and establishing its “elaborate corporate spider-web” (37-38). They also verify the concealment, deception and corruption exercised by their own colleagues i.e. these American public office holders in relation to BCCI's establishment and successful global operation (349-404). The play's representation of political alliances among those in power in the Gulf, the United States and Pakistan stipulates to the existence of a single driving force at the back: the shared objective of multiplying personal capital, regardless of cost to the national and public interest. It validates Amin's assertion that globalization tends only to multiply the capital of the rich (both of the center and the periphery) invested in global companies (*Unequal Development* 163-87).

In unearthing the BCCI scam originating in Pakistan and spanning over the globe, Ali delineates characters and events from what Ahmed terms as “a radical point of view” (417). The perspective, according to him, is rarely adopted in contemporary Pakistani English fiction. Ahmed (417) regards this explicit display of “partisanship” and delineation of social issues in terms of class division on the national as well as global level as a key merit of Ali's fiction and non-fiction as has been discussed in section 2.1 of Literature Review. Ali's dramatic portrayal criticizes the elite ruling classes and class division in societies to be playing role at the back of social, economic and political ills. He depicts the major historical characters responsible for the execution of crucial measures in these events, yet the personalities or ethnic, national and religious factors do not play a decisive role. Class division and class-based interests are the determinants of seemingly isolated happenings in the social spheres of life in his fiction.

The play also points to the pivotal role played in the global capitalist operation by the neo-imperialist instrument for clandestine operations i.e. the CIA or what Nkrumah terms as “Wall street's suction cups” in the form of “various intelligence services dubbed the invisible government” (*Neocolonialism* 240). The New York District Attorney and the whole team investigating the BCCI scandal are shocked at evidences that the CIA initiated the BCCI project

and green-signaled every step taken by the bank. In Adham's words, the real founding father of BCCI was Henry Shaft, a senior member of CIA, who recruited Abedi and guided the whole operation (164). Adham's response to the shock is that buying the ex-white house presidents and politicians is possible only with the authorization of CIA (164-170). Adham also adds sarcastically that CIA helped them manipulate rules and exercise fraudulence not only across the globe but also within the Empire itself. Scott's study authenticates Ali's portrayal based in factual events and identifies that "BCCI was just one major player in the CIA-linked, complex multinational intelligence game of drug-trafficking, arms sales, banking, and corruption" (4).

The subtle links of operation and coordination between neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism on the global level are unearthed nowhere better in *A Banker for All Seasons* (2008) than in the conversation between Shaft and Amanda in scene 145 of the play (200-203). Amanda inquires Shaft why CIA needed to found the global banking enterprise of BCCI with Abedi as the lead man when there were already many other private global banks to serve American economic and strategic interests. Shaft clarifies that the global political backdrop of the late 1970s added to the operational significance of BCCI for America.

He informs Amanda that the biggest American ally in the Persian Gulf, the Shah of Iran had lost power, and in Latin America the world witnessed the resurgence of revolutionary movements inaugurating with the fall of Nicaragua to Sandinistas. With the strategic need to keep communist China and Soviet Union under surveillance, the Gulf States became central to the New World Order. BCCI's links with the neocolonial state of Pakistan and the Gulf Kingdoms added to the expediency of the tool (199-210). The conversation informs explicitly not only about the ideological clash between capitalism and communism but also about the fact that global capitalist ventures bolster neo-imperialist political hegemonies and vice versa i.e. "the imperialism of modern times is the product of the immanent logic of capitalist expansion" (Amin, *Beyond US Hegemony* 4).

Shaft adds that America was carrying out covert operations throughout the world at the time to counter the threat from communist movements across the globe generated and strengthened by the Vietnamese resistance against both the superpower and the global free market. The character of Shaft has no qualms informing Amanda that his country had to pay its local and international secret agents along with the military dictators in the postcolonial states for

establishing pro-American governments who would facilitate the implementation of neoliberal policies (201). Shaft's dialogues with Amanda accord perfectly with Enghdahl and Steinberg's evaluation (15), that BCCI served as a "slush fund" for the new empire. Shaft drives the point home finally and declares to Amanda that BCCI was established by CIA:

For covert operations, my dear. For us, the best bank is not a listening bank but a no questions-asked bank. See no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil. Abedi was our three wise monkeys rolled into one. Once we'd set it up, other services saw the advantages. If you're running a worldwide operation, it means you have to pay your operators in the field or local agents. I mean, pay them regularly. We paid the BCCI in, say, London. Our employees were paid the same week all over the world. There was no need for extensive paper-work. The Israelis, South Africans, Brits and, I regret to say, military dictators everywhere, found the bank very convenient. (201)

The play delineates consistently that the global neoliberal economic policies of deregulation bolstered the operation of the apparently Third World global bank BCCI which, in its turn, facilitated the accomplishment of neo-imperialist objectives. According to Enghdahl and Steinberg, though BCCI was founded in a Third World state, it was "anything but a Third World bank" (15). The details concerning money deposits, the sources and destinations of it and the identity of people it was distributed to were kept secret. The whole process went unregulated and unmonitored as BCCI effectively evaded regulators everywhere (216-221). BCCI not only aided in money laundering and the circulation of black money for clandestine political operations but also facilitated the establishment of American technological services in the Gulf States; one instance of which, provided in Ali's narrative (201), was the telecommunications company CAPCOM. In Shaft's words: "the beauty of it was that BCCI, CAPCOM, all of them, were accountable to nobody" (201-2). The above-mentioned two details in the play clearly relate to Amin's postulations that in the era of globalized neo-liberalism, "technological monopoly is increasingly adequate to accomplish the task of maintaining the international order in which the structures of the periphery are shaped so as to meet the needs of accumulation at the center" (*Unequal Development* 189-90).

The provision of factual details in Ali's plays, like the above-mentioned detailed reference to the American telecommunications company CAPCOM, makes critics such as

Sakelleridou (141-152) comment that his dramatic depictions are journalistic accounts and documentary-like representations rather than creative literary fiction. However, in the researcher's view, the play under discussion can hardly be considered as a journalistic reporting of factual historical events since it blends the personal and social with the economic and political and particular attention has been granted to adding a tinge of irony and wit to the dialogues. The depiction of the idyllic life in pre-partition India, of brothels and gay life in the United States and that of the romantic relationship between Amanda and Chuck are aspects incorporated into the narrative as the underbelly of the bigger politico-economic sketch which renders the play a holistic and pluralistic representation rather than a mere journalistic account of the rise and fall of BCCI.

The play also substantiates the coordinate and interlinked global functioning of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism through the detailed delineation of BCCI's entry into England BCCI the credit for which is given by Shaft to the implementation of neoliberal policies by Margaret Thatcher (199-200). Coghill et al. view the entry as BCCI becoming the "crown jewel" in the British financial system (29). In the play, BCCI is shown to have nurtured links with the Bank of England though its documents were insufficient and sketchy according to the law. (124). The portrayal shares parallels with the argumentation in *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (2002) where Ali regards the imposition of neo-liberal policies by the American Empire and its European allies as responsible for economic havoc across the globe (312-15).

A Banker for All Seasons (2008) shows Abedi paying off influential people on all levels, including the governor of the Bank of England, declaring; "we have unofficial employees in the Bank of England" (135). The character of Amanda comments that Abedi managed to both bribe and deceive regulators all over the world including England for twenty years (27). The delineation corresponds to and is substantiated by Amin's theoretical analysis of "the minority constituted by the business world" being above the law, the governments' regulations and the determiners of all other social and political spheres of life in the contemporary neoliberal order (*Beyond US Hegemony* 124). The magnitude of BCCI's value for the metropolitan elite is represented by the portrayal that even in the face of its notoriety and imminent collapse, the Bank of England tries to reshuffle the personnel and reorganize the bank (13-16) i.e. "not to

close down this fraudulent entity but instead find ways to prop it up and prevent its collapse” (Coghill et al. 29).

When the retired senior intelligence officer Sir Richard Hyslop denies the corrupt involvement of the British capitalists and British Intelligence agency M16 in the successful operation of BCCI, Amanda bursts out:

Bribery. Corruption. Drugs. Murders. Money laundering on a gigantic scale. Misuse of deposits. Knowledge in this case surely indicates approval? Some regulators were bribed. But for the Bank of England to have remained passive in the face of a sewerful of evidence! - That’s not inertia. It’s someone else behind the scenes, pulling the strings. (218)

A Banker for All Seasons (2008) paints in detail (21-40) the mental agony, social harassment and subsequent suicide of David Morton, the chief officer of Labor Council in Newcastle, England. Just a few days before the collapse of BCCI world over and its closure by the Bank of England, David deposits ten million out of the tax payers’ money in the bank at the behest of his colleagues. He is unable to cope with the shame the deed brings along and the injustice he metes out to the poor and unemployed in his area. Suicide seems to him the only way out of the two moral crises. His death touches upon the unethical dimension of BCCI where it destroys the lives of common people both physically and economically.

The delineation of the horrific social and economic impact of this global scam contrived by capitalists all over the globe on the lives of common people, at the local level both in the capitalist center and periphery, testifies to another merit of Ali’s fiction underscored by critics such as Ahmed (416-417), Waterman (157) and King (112). These critics evaluate that Ali’s fiction represents significant contemporary events in relation to their influence on the ‘other’, which, in the researcher’s opinion, are the common people in the present play. According to Gamal (30-32), the depiction of the social and material struggles of the marginalized adds diversity and complexity to Ali’s fiction and, in Waterman’s assessment (157), it challenges the hegemonic Euro-American narratives. In the present text, Ali’s delineation focuses on the deconstruction of those Euro-American narratives which present capitalistic and neo-imperialist enterprises as the natural course of history.

Nkrumah highlights that “the methods of the neo-colonialists are subtle and varied and operate not only in the economic field but also the political, religious, cultural and ideological spheres” (*Neocolonialism* 239). The statement is relevant not only in the case of the imperialists and capitalists of the center but also applies to the capitalists of the periphery who facilitate neo-imperialist operations for their private vested interests. In the specific postcolonial context of Pakistan, politicians, dictators and businessmen have frequently exploited religious ideology to hide ulterior motives connected to money and power and the fact has been delineated by Ali in most of his fiction and non-fiction, particularly in *Can Pakistan Survive?* (138-45).

In *A Banker for All Seasons* (2008) as well, Abedi plays upon religious sentiments and exploits the Third World rhetoric to develop credence and links for his banking empire. BCCI exudes the image of radical politics and sympathies with the underprivileged. Within Pakistan and the Arab world, the mask of religion helps him build allegiances. In the play, both Abedi’s manner and terminology have a mystic strain. He tells his employees that the bank was protected by the divine power and that he was “Allah’s banker” (4). The business and banking language merges with the religious one. Within the internal meetings of BCCI, he tries to inspire the employees with a divine purpose:

Our bank is not an aggregate of branches, a set of facts and figures. Our bank is a power, a spirit, a DESIRE, which encompasses and enfolds..... Our bank is linked to cosmic power and wisdom, which is the will of God...OUR MAJOR FUNCTION: to have a desire, improve its volume and quality. Make others have such a desire, merge this in the pool of corporate desire. Make the purpose of this desire our major purpose. That is the identity of the bank. That is why we are like none other. That is why we shall last forever. That is why we are the biggest bank God ever created. (5)

With these slogans, he develops a cult that paves the way for the bank’s favored status with the Muslim employees and Muslim shareholders. Kerry and Brown also substantiate Abedi’s adoption of a mystic manner in relation to banking affairs as a dexterous act on his part which helped cover his corporate fraudulence with many. They assert that “there was an important link between the philosophy and BCCI’s strategy of asset growth” (41-42).

The self-proclaimed Allah's banker establishes the global bank to steal money from his small clients. The divine and cosmic vision he boasts of turns out to be the logic of capital and the cosmic vision of the global elite, in particular those of the neo-imperialist center, who are paid billions of dollars as select shareholders. The narrator comments:

Allah's banker, alas, turned out to be a thief: he filched money from his depositors. Billions were stolen. High returns were paid to select shareholders and cronies many of whom are now wanted men. And, of course, he paid himself. But he never deposited his own money in the bank. The scale of fraud grew and grew and grew. The looters prospered. They mixed in very high society. Mr Abedi acquired the coolness of a master confidence-trickster. (4)

At the end of the play, when the worldwide media exposes BCCI's dealing in money laundering, covert intelligence operations and drug money, Abedi utilizes the same twofold sentimental rhetoric as a cover-up (187-190). After the bank's collapse, he censures the West for plotting against a bank instituted for the poor of Asia, Africa and Latin America and accuses the Jewish Lobby in New York for dismantling the first Muslim global bank because he knows his Third World customers will buy the story. He claims to be innocent when the disadvantaged depositors protest in the streets demanding compensation from the bank for their hard earned money and when conscientious people like David Morton in England commit suicide (47). Juxtaposing the present context with that delineated in *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) analyzed in section 5.1 of the present study, one finds strong parallels between General Zia's and Abedi's exploitation of Islamist rhetoric. Both the military dictator and the global banker, backed by the neo-imperialist power, make sordid use of religion for the legitimization of their illegal and immoral practices and acquisition of personal power.

Though Ali's play is not character-centered and the major focus has been on the progression of plot, the critique posited by King (112) and Erol (341) that Ali's fictional characters are not developed fully and are often insipid and one-dimensional does not apply to the character of the protagonist, Abedi, in the play under discussion. The center-stage of the play is occupied by the development and unfolding of the BCCI scam, yet Abedi's childhood, his social background, his manipulative rise to power in Pakistan, his illegal associations with brothels, criminal links with assassins, exploitation of religious rhetoric and the establishment of

connections with global capitalists succeed in painting a multi-dimensional and fully developed image of his character. The utilization of Islamist and Third World rhetoric for ulterior motives, in particular, makes his character both amusing and engaging.

Similarly, Erol's criticism (341) that Ali's characters are unreal and hyperbolic is also invalidated in the case of the portrayal of Abedi's character in the play, in the researcher's view. The subtle and apparently religious yet fraudulent character of Agha Hasan Abedi, a renowned Pakistani Banker, is as close to reality as possible. There are historical accounts of his charitable donations to religious and social causes in the country but simultaneously, the whole BCCI project turning out to be a scam with Abedi at the helm of affairs proves the case of fraudulence which has been well-documented as well.

A Banker for All Seasons (2008) portrays the coordinate global functioning of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism not only as the force behind the institution and organization of BCCI but also as the power determining the moment and mode of its collapse. The play opens with the global bank BCCI at its pinnacle, supported both by neo-imperialist agents and neo-liberal policies. Abedi's pictures with politicians, rulers and American presidents are displayed in all offices of the bank. The branches of the bank operate in 73 countries, have over 400 branches and claim assets of 25 billion US dollars employing 14000 people (3-4). It has brokers who bring in large accounts for huge commissions (63).

The play ends when BCCI collapses in 1991 and becomes the center of a global financial scam with involvement in all kinds of illegal activities ranging from money laundering, bribery, arms trafficking, facilitation of tax evasion, smuggling, illegal immigration and the illicit purchases of banks and real estate. It depicts briefly the District Attorney office in New York indicting BCCI and four of its subsidiaries for engaging in defraudment of billions of dollars but also outlines that Abedi has been given a safe passage with evidences and documents and will never appear at court (177-179). The major reason behind the collapse or 'closure' of the colossal capitalist enterprise, the triumph of the economic and political ideologies of the new empire over the globe, has been stated succinctly by Engdahl and Steinberg: "When the last of the Red Army troops pulled out of Kabul in February 1989, the massive British-devised and American-led covert action program began to wind down. BCCI lost its *raison d'être*. The

money was siphoned out, a diversionary scandal was manufactured, and its doors were shut” (15).

At the end of the play *Amanda*, the chief reporter investigating the BCCI scam, is killed by unknown men for getting to know too much about the affair and the names involved in it. Shortly before her death, she remarks to a reporter that they will never get complete details of the scam because the richest of the five continents are involved. When the News Editor of *The Financial Times* inquires of Amanda if Abedi was the cornerstone of the BCCI operation or just the nominal head; her response is quintessential of the whole BCCI affair:

..... But there were others in positions of real power. Here and in the States. They kept him going. Without Washington and London, the balloon would have burst years ago. ...We will never find out here. Oh yes, there will be a public inquiry. Knuckles will be rapped. The Governor of the Bank of England is made to feel slightly uneasy. Full stop. The End. Thank God for America. (141)

The researcher finds no substantial reason or evidence in the text to agree with the critical evaluation, posited by Kaya (22-25), King (219) and Sakelleridou (141-152), that Ali's fictional works, plays in particular, are hurriedly written and, the plots of these works are muddled and incoherent. The dramatic action in *A Banker for All Seasons* (2008) covers a period of two decades and spans over three continents which proves it to be a fictional work of an epic scale, as observed by King in the case of *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree* (112). However, all major characters and events in the play are drawn comprehensively and do not convey the sense that these are hurriedly portrayed. The plot follows a logical and coherent course in terms of events since the play begins with BCCI at its pinnacle yet confronting issues concerning its deregulated operations and corruption which lead to the logical conclusion of its downfall at the end of the play.

The third person omniscient narrative voice in the play is unmistakably Ali's as it criticizes the capitalistic operation from a radical angle. In this case the critical evaluation posited by Hattori (243) that the narrative voice in Ali's works is not strictly objective as Ali's political convictions speak through it seems justified. The voice of Amanda, the *Financial Times* reporter on the BCCI affair, is especially representative of the author's incisively critical and radical outlook on social issues. Nevertheless, Sakelleridou's argument (145) that the dominant

narrative voice suppresses the multiple voices of diverse characters cannot be substantiated in the case of *A Banker for All Seasons* (2008). In fact, the capitalist and neo-imperialist concerns articulated through Abedi's and Shaft's characters respectively are granted better representation than the issues of a common man voiced through Amanda's character.

The researcher's conclusion, after a comprehensive scrutiny, is that the fictional work reveals the supreme quality of Ali's writing in terms of scholarship as well as literary sensibility and expression. The play *A Banker for All Seasons* (2008) is rich in literary merits as it portrays the characters vividly, particularly those of the protagonist Agha Hasan Abedi and of the *Financial Times* reporter Amanda. The plot is compact with each scene bearing impact on the development of the whole. The dialogues are extremely witty and keep the reader engaged and amused. The subject of the play i.e. the exploitation and corruption carried out by big capitalists on a global level is both grave and heavy yet multiple perspectives on the same offered by the writer such as those of the reporters, common citizens, employees of BCCI and those involved with it on the highest level help in grasping the global nexus between neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism in a subtle and holistic way. Ali's deconstruction of Euro-American narratives centered on the glorification of neo-liberalism and globalization from a radical viewpoint is also a significant contribution of the fictional work.

4.2 The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity (2002)

The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity (2002) is a non-fictional work written by Tariq Ali in 2002. The critical analysis offered by the book on the socio-economic and political levels is both extensive and intensive: it touches upon the affairs of a substantial geographical chunk of the globe (Europe, United States, South East Asia, China, Russia and Latin America) while focusing a detailed and incisive attention on the historical development and the current state of the Islamic world (Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Middle East, Gulf states and Indonesia, in particular). In this regard, the book offers what King terms as the "epic scale of representation" in Ali's fiction and non-fiction in his review of *Fear of Mirrors* (219). The principal argument binding the narrative as a compact whole, however, is that the post- Second World War world confronts a single colossal threat: the neo-imperialist dominance of the United States of America over the planet and the globalization of capitalism it both entails and enforces.

In the book, Ali adopts an incisively critical yet informal and autobiographical style of narration peculiar to his non-fiction. He mixes up personal experiences and conversations with historical accounts and, as Hattori observes (242-243), this blend of memoir, history and criticism renders the work engaging, pluralistic and informative. Ali's analysis of the nationally as well as globally significant happenings remains factual and is supported by historical documents, speeches of renowned public figures and journalistic accounts. Ali's critique of contemporary social, economic and political processes is based in Marxist perspective yet his narrative, as Ahmed evaluates, does not manipulate facts and figures to propagate his political agenda but presents multiple viewpoints on situations rather than being dogmatic (417).

The Clash of Fundamentalisms (2002), in Ali's words, is "an attempt to explain why much of the world doesn't see the Empire as good" (xi). The book picks up the thread of argument from the event of 9/11 but instead of stretching the details of it, emphasizes the need for placing the event in its historical backdrop and raises some fundamental questions in relation to it (1-11). The first and foremost question is: why were there celebrations across the continents of Asia, Africa, South America and even Europe at the sight of the Twin Towers hit by airplanes? According to the argumentation of the book, the resentment that the majority of people belonging to various geographies, nationalities and creeds cannot be explained naively by the argument that the United States of America provokes a world-wide envy bordering on animosity because of the riches it possesses and civil liberties it has acquired over the years. Neither should a critique of American political and economic ideologies be interpreted as instances of anti-Americanism, Occidentalism or simply hatred for secular ways of life.

Ali argues that the strained relationship between the American empire and the rest of the globe did not spring up all of a sudden from nowhere but has been the most marked political development of the last one and a half century. The masses of the Second, Third and Fourth World, considered by Amin as "the four-fifth of the world periphery- a reserve army of labor", see the First World of the United States and its European allies as the imperialist flag bearers and enforcers of the capitalist world system launched by the European empires in the 16th century (*Empire of Chaos* 12). The economic system, implemented neo-imperialistically by the United States, has created an apparently global free market yet rigidly segregated societies into classes

and the globe into what Amin terms as “bourgeois nations and proletarian nations” (*Unequal Development* 359) and “apartheid on a world scale” (*Beyond US Hegemony* 122).

The have-nots of the system, the majority on continents other than North America and Europe, outraged by the deprivations and inequities triggered by the system, attempt to transform the national and global status quo through acts of violence and frustration on individual and communal levels. The central thesis of the book is that the concomitant neo-imperialist and capitalist exploitation of the globe by the United States has resulted in violent confrontation between the empire and its subjects and the present clashes are to be the rule rather than exception till the US-led global political and economic system is substituted by a world order which, in Amin’s words, is “polycentric, negotiated and equitable” (*Beyond US Hegemony* 114).

Ali traces the inextricable links between the parallel universal progression of American neo-imperialism and neo-liberal capitalism to its roots and *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (2002) provides a lucid and comprehensive background to the rise and strengthening of both. Ali (285-90) elucidates that by the end of the nineteenth century, America grew abundant in raw materials which helped agriculture and industry thrive equally. Both demography and geography served as factors conducive to its capitalist growth. American neo-imperialist enterprises, however, began and turned particularly dynamic at the turn of the twentieth century. Political and military influence was exerted to pave the way for American fruit companies, oil and sugar industries as well as American international banks to monopolize markets in Central America, Latin America and the Pacific.

These early developments pertaining to the rise of the United States as a global capitalist and subsequently neo-imperialist power explicated by Ali concur with Marx’s interpretation of capitalism as a world system with a universalizing tendency (*Grundrisse* 533-540). The analysis carried out by Ali also observes complete accord with Samir Amin’s theoretical stance that “imperialism is not a stage of capitalism but the permanent feature of its global expansion, which since its earliest beginnings has always produced a polarization of wealth and power in favor of the core countries” (*Beyond US Hegemony* 4). Both Ali’s historical narration and Amin’s theoretical analysis converge on the point that the monopolization of the trade and industry of the peripheral and neo/colonized regions by the core imperialist countries remains a defining characteristic of the all the phases of the evolution of the presently globalized capitalist system.

The rise of the “imperialism of modern times” i.e. American neo-imperialism is no different and has been “the product of the immanent logic of capitalist expansion” and accumulation (Amin, *Beyond US Hegemony* 4-5).

Both Ali’s fictional and non-fictional works persistently pursue and trace signs of the connected growth of American capitalism and imperialism. A political event narrated by Ali in *Pirates of the Caribbean* (2006) points to and provides historical evidence to substantiate that the contemporary status of the United States as a capitalist and neo-imperialist power was presaged a century before it actually embarked on the dual expansion. Ali quotes from the “astonishingly prescient” memorandum of a Spanish Count who warned the Spanish monarchy in 1783 of the impending threat to Spanish imperial holdings in South America from the gradual growth of American political economy (153). The Spanish Count estimated the US to be undersized and weak, in comparison with the vast British, Dutch and Spanish empires, yet also fore-warned that it was strengthening as a political and economic power because of the freedom and opportunities it provided its citizens in both the spheres. In his words: “That pygmy republic (US).... will one day grow into a colossus..... and the time will come when we shall painfully feel the tyranny of the giant” (qtd.in Ali, *Pirates of the Caribbean* 153) The principal part of the danger to the Spanish empire came from the geographical proximity of the United States to the Spanish colonies on the Latin American continent. The Count advised the Spanish monarchy to relinquish some of its colonies and maintain a hold over them through indirect means and alliances in order to strategically avert their fall to the rising empire.

Ali’s present study points out that the First World War served as a prelude to the emergence of United States of America as a superpower in terms of political, economic and military prowess on the global scene (287). During the war, it acted as the major supplier of money, ammunition and raw materials to the Allied forces. Direct involvement in the war provided it with ground for vigorous conscription and institution of the armed and naval forces on advanced and sophisticated lines. The economic growth and rise to power were significant in themselves; yet, the ideological and strategic motives which spurred it to join the War were more momentous for world history.

Ali’s in-depth examination of the War backdrop disproves the popular belief that American engagement in the First World War was instigated by German aggression (287-88). It

corresponds better with Amin's study which asserts that all political acts on both the national and global level, since the beginning of the twentieth century, have been determined by the ideological and material clash between capitalism and socialism (*Beyond US Hegemony* 126). In Ali's estimation, it was the first conscious and calculated move towards becoming a dominant capitalist and imperialist power. Wilson's declaration of war against Germany on 6th April, 1917 coincided with the communist insurrection in Russia and the overthrow of the Tsar. The turn of events signified the spreading out of Russian communist insurgence and political influence to a Europe already beset with social unrest and revolutionary uprisings. The threat to the capitalist world system and imperial hegemony was foreseen; hence the decision to coalesce with the European capitalist empires and take on the leading role.

As discussed previously in the Section 2.3 of Literature Review, Lenin provided ample details and statistics in *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (45-53), written during the same period, to highlight the potent rise of the United States of America as the center of the capitalist world and its hulking possession of finance capital along with a swelling utilization of the world's raw materials. He pointed out that the outward growth of capitalism, originating in Europe, was the basic reason for European colonial expansion and predicted that America, being the emerging capitalist power, would head in the same direction.

Substantiating the evidence that the Marxian theorists and critics were the first to enquire into the historic transition, Ali quotes from an address delivered by Trotsky to a conference in 1924 which also drew attention to the capitalistic evolvement of America and the imperialist expansion that such growth necessitated (288). According to Ali, Trotsky observed that the American military-industrial complex consumed two-thirds of the world's oil production. Such consumption could not sustain without a widening out of market control and usurpation of others' share of oil; tasks for which US possessed the necessary technological and military supremacy.

According to the book, the Second World War verified American economic, military and industrial power which strengthened its hold on global political economy as the new center of the capitalist world (289-90). It stood as the sole victor of the War as the old imperialist order crumbled down. The French and British empires collapsed; German power was defeated and divided into two parts whereas imperial Japan was held hostage by the Allied forces. Andre

Gunder Frank adds to Ali's argument by specifying that the rise of US as the major capitalist power around 1945 also set in motion the latest neo-imperialist phase of capitalism (qtd. in Hout 62-68). According to Nkrumah, the development inaugurated the substitution of colonialism by neocolonialism (*Neocolonialism* 1-33).

The coordinate global functioning of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism was, however, restricted, if not halted, in the post-War era. As maintained by Lazarus ("Epilogue" 529), and Lazarus and Varma, (310), it was the only period in history which managed to clip American neo-imperialist enterprises and put the capitalist world system on the back foot. On the same lines, Ali expounds that the major threat to American politico-economic global hegemony came from the communist Soviet Union (291-92). The ideological battle between the two opposite globally expanding systems of capitalism and communism hung in balance in the post-War scenario. American fears of a global communist insurgence materialized in the aftermath of the War as Soviet Union expanded over East Europe, occupied East Germany and its communist establishment sparked off both socialist revolutions and nationalist liberation struggles across the globe. The cold war period, as it is termed, offered the world a choice between international communism and global capitalism, socialist democracy and liberal democracy, neo-imperial expansion and universal solidarity (Amin, *Empire of Chaos* 89).

Ali (290) explores meticulously the specific efforts carried out by the United States to reorganize the political world and "recreate the market" on lines that offered no challenge to its capitalistic domination or what Amin terms as "the world market restructuring itself under the hegemony of United States" (*Empire of Chaos* 8). According to his investigation, the Marshall Plan or the European Recovery Program (ERP) of 1948 for the economic and infrastructural rebuilding of Europe was one of the strategies devised with the same objective: to defend the capitalist, imperialist order against international communism. The Marshall Plan was followed by military alliances with Europe and other regions in the form of The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949, not only to safeguard these against the communist regimes but also to utilize the allies as collaborators in pursuit of American capitalistic interests on the globe. Ali's analysis corroborates with the basic theses of World System and Dependency theory posited by Lazarus and Varma (309-32), Arrighi (21-42) and Amin which assert, in Amin's words, that the new American empire "manages the economic dimension of capitalist

globalization through the institutions at its service (WTO, IMF, World Bank), and the political–military dimension through NATO, which substitutes itself for the United Nations” (*Beyond US Hegemony* 8).

The interdependence and intertwining of the expanding capitalist economy and neo-imperialist machinations of the new empire have been illustrated perfectly by Ali in the post-War scenario (290-91). Ali examines that American self-sufficiency in raw materials, which had propped the huge industrial structure, turned deficient after the Second World War. The military-industrial mass production which provided the Allied forces during the wars heading them to victory outgrew the scale of domestic raw materials. Capitalistic growth signified political interference in and economic manipulation of those at the periphery of the system: the new-found states of the postcolonial Third World. Need for oil impelled political, military and intelligence services’ interventions in Latin America and Middle East. Requirement of iron ore demanded the exploitation of West Africa and the same of other minerals brought about the neo-colonization of South Africa, Canada and Australia. Though colonialism had given way to neo-colonialism, the perpetuation of peripheral economies as exporters of raw materials remained an applicable mode of exploitation during both the industrialist-imperialist phase of capitalism and the neo-imperialist one, as explicated in the light of the works of Amin (*Unequal Development* 144 -45) and Hout (59-66) in section 2.3 of Literature Review.

According to Ali’s critique (292-95), despite these developments, in the period between 1945 and 1975, the progression of the capitalist Empire was curtailed by the communist regimes in Soviet Union and China, welfare and social democratic states in Western Europe and popular national governments in the decolonized countries. However, the inauguration of neoliberal economic policies and Washington Consensus by Ronald Reagan in the 1980s sounded the death knell for the three adversary ideological developments. In Lazarus and Varma’s evaluation “a savage restructuring of class relations worldwide was set in train, under the sign of neoliberalism” (310). Ali observes that the whole political, economic and military might of Euro-America was put behind the universalization of the neoliberal agenda of free trade, privatization, deregulation and structural adjustment policies imposing an asymmetrical capitalist globalization on the world from above. Lazarus and Varma’s study sums up Ali’s elaborations rather

succinctly: “From 1970 onwards, thirty years have been marked by the global assertion of US political hegemony and what Amin has tersely called ‘the logic of unilateral capital’ ” (310).

Ali’s analysis of the multi-faceted predicaments of the postcolonial contexts in terms of the progression of capitalism and American neo-imperialism has been criticized rigorously and denounced as a propagandist, essentialist and one-dimensional representation by various critics. Feinberg terms Ali’s critique as the voice of an “old school theoretician” who presents a bleak picture of the global scenario since social conditions, both on the national and global levels, fail to meet the “stern Trotskyite super high standards” set by Ali (150). Ali’s central argument in the book concerning the current phenomenon of globalization being driven solely by capitalistic evolution has been particularly viewed as based on the same “economic reductionism” and “base-superstructure dichotomy” which Chapman considers to be the marked feature of a persistent Marxist Materialism in postcolonial literary texts (9). However, Marxist and Postcolonial critics such as Ahmed (416-417), Gamal (30-32), Waterman (157) and Ali et al. (61-68), appreciate the rigorous critique and deconstruction of Western narratives of neoliberal capitalism, globalization and the apparently messianic role of the global monetary organizations in helping the postcolonial regions, assessing his works to be the representative of the marginalized and exploited in these processes.

Ali also produces evidence from the very quarters of the Empire to validate his stringent critique of the on-going nexus between American capitalistic interests and its imperial wars and neo-imperial operations. Ali quotes US Generals, historians and political analysts at length who have written on the subject either in a confessional manner in memoirs and autobiographies or who currently justify their pro-empire stance blatantly on academic and journalistic forums. The book *War as Racket* written in 1935 by Major General Smedley Butler of US Marine Corps, pertinent to an early stage of American capitalistic expansion and neo-imperialist exploitation, is one such document Ali brings to the fore (285-86). In the book, Smedley critically reflects over his military career and comes to the conclusion that all the wars and military operations he took part in were executed at the expense of the majority in America and other parts of the world. Smedley elaborates that instead of fighting for national defense or a humanitarian cause, he served merely in offensive wars against other nations in order to promote the capitalistic interests of the elite oligarchy which has been the driving force behind all American aggression. He

declares that “he would never again become a racketeer for capitalism” as carrying on those onslaughts was killing for the bankers and Wall Street; it was more like being “a gangster for capitalism” (286). The specific instances cited by the writer lay bare the link between American capitalistic interests and its neo-imperialist interventions in other states across the globe:

I helped make Honduras ‘right’ for American fruit companies in 1903. I helped Mexico, especially Tampico, safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in. I helped in rapping half a dozen Central American republics for the benefits of Wall Street. The record of racketeering is long. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. In China I helped to see to it that Standard oil went its way unmolested. (286)

Ali (312) also cites Friedrich Hayek, the pioneer of the neoliberal economic policies, supporting presumptuously the neo-imperialist wars abroad for the fortification of American capitalistic interests. The evidence produced by Ali, out of Hayek’s own statements, confirms the neoliberal economist’s advocacy of the American war on Vietnam, support for military coups in Latin America and military assault on Iran, and hence makes it easy even for a layman to see the connection between neoliberal capitalism and neo-imperialist operations. According to Ali’s analysis, the states opposing the scheme of neo-liberalism are politically isolated and denied global economic integration and the analysis is substantiated by Went’s illustration (337-355) of Bretton Woods’ model of global economy discussed in section 2.3 of Literature Review.

According to Ali, military interventions in Vietnam, Balkan states, Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria, sponsorship of military Coup d’états in Latin America and interventions in most of Asian and African states through secret CIA operations are evidences to the fact. Ali’s perusal is corroborated by Amin’s thesis that the current neo-liberal global integration is militarily enforced by the neo-imperialist US (*Unequal Development* 79; *Beyond US Hegemony* 122-155; *The World We Wish to See* 15). The coordinate functioning mechanism of global neo-liberalism and neo-imperialism has been outlined in unequivocal terms by the renowned New York Times Columnist Friedman quoted by Ali, whose stance is not dissimilar from that of Hayek’s cited earlier:

For globalization to work, America can't be afraid to act like the Almighty super power that it is. The hidden hand of the market will never work without a hidden fist. MacDonald's cannot flourish without McDonnell Douglas, the designer of F-15 ,and the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technologies called the United States Army, Air Force, Navy and the Marine Corps. (286-87)

Amin gauges that the American empire will not "tolerate" the reconstitution of any economic or military power capable of challenging its global capitalist domination" and for the purpose, it will wage wars to capture more markets (*Beyond US Hegemony* 10). Nkrumah's study adds to Amin's evaluation by stating that neo-imperialist wars are to be no different than imperialist occupations. These are fought under the banners of "civilizing mission, export of democracy and human rights", however, "all the pious clap trap" fails to conceal the fact that these wars are fought for the "re-division of the world by monopoly capitalism" (*Neocolonialism* 39-40). In Ali's analysis too, slogans of wars for humanitarian causes serve to legitimize American political and military interventions in other states. When unearthed critically, the ulterior motives behind the Empire's interventions are, invariably, linked with the promotion of its capitalistic interests. Ali authenticates, with concrete historical evidences, that the Empire's much flaunted zest for liberal democracy in Iraq died out in no time and the country was handed over to an interminable civil war once Iraqi oil was privatized and sold to American companies (311).

In the same context, Ali elucidates that though Euro-American media propogandized US invasion on Iraq as a war for the destruction of chemical weapons and the deposal of a dictatorial government, the real objectives were hardly concealed by the supporters of the neo-imperialist war. He cites the same writer again declaring blatantly that American assault on Iraq is carried out for oil and not for the reason that it possesses chemical weapons or has a dictatorial government (xvi). Ali quotes Friedman's words:

Is the war that the bush team is preparing to launch in Iraq really a war for oil? My short answer is yes. Any war we launch in Iraq will certainly be-in part- about oil. To deny that is laughable .I say this possible Iraq war is partly about oil because it is impossible to explain the Bush team's behavior otherwise. Why are they going after Saddam Hussein with the 82nd Airborne and North Korea with diplomatic kid gloves-when North Korea

already has nuclear weapons, the missiles to deliver them, a record of selling dangerous weapons to anyone with cash, 100,000 US troops in its missile range and a leader who is even more cruel to his people than Saddam? (xvi)

In *Pirates of the Caribbean* (38-125), Ali substantiates the evidence unearthing the coordinate global functioning of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism further by citing a US Admiral who announces the readiness of the US military force to be used against those countries which have managed to stay out of the course of neoliberal globalization or, in Amin's terms, have followed "the imperatives of internal development" (*Empire of Chaos* 14). In the same vein, the reason provided for NATO's attack on Yugoslavia was the infamous one-liner: "Kosovo must have a market economy" (125). All these statements verify that for the globe in general and the Third World Postcolonial states in particular, a clientelist relation to the empire is a pre-condition for survival in the present-day world.

The book supports the argument maintained by Hout that the global monetary system and the entire exploitative mode of circulation of capital devised by it benefit only the US Empire and its bourgeois allies both in the center and periphery (312-15). It also corresponds with the appraisal of Lazarus and Varma that the neoliberal policies of privatization, deregulation and Structural Adjustment Programs have become effective means of perpetuating the peripheral, dependent and underdeveloped status of postcolonial states (311). In Ali's words "the fundamentalist neo-liberal prescriptions handed down by the Ayatollahs of the IMF and World Bank" multiply private capital and benefit only the imperial capitalists (195).

Ali substantiates his argument with concrete evidences in the case. He analyses that when profits from industrial production decrease, the Euro-American multinationals, supported by the policies of privatization and deregulation endorsed by the World Trade Organization, seek profits from national public sectors in the postcolonial states. The once major national public services sectors of health, housing and education are privatized and sold to Euro-American multinationals. Public schools are bought by "Shell Oil, British Aerospace and MacDonald's" (314) and the basic right to education becomes an unaffordable commodity for masses, as has been highlighted through Tikly's work (151-77) in section 2.3 of Literature Review.

In Ali's view, the postcolonial states are mired in debts and keep on reducing expenditure on social services as dictated by IMF. As Amin's (*Empire of Chaos* 14) and Lazarus and Varma's work (311-12) point out, these states fail to delink themselves from the world system and are, therefore, unable to attain a position of economic parity or political power in the face of the exploitation carried out by the new empire and its allies. In the case of ruling classes meeting imperial dictates rather than popular demands, national and local welfare remain ever at stake. Ali asserts emphatically:

Imperial power is sustained by the creation of satrapies that accept its economic priorities and strategic control. Neo-liberal economics, imposed by the IMF mullahs, have reduced countries in every continent to penury and brought their populations to the edge of despair. The social democracy that appeared as an attractive option during the Cold War no longer exists. The powerlessness of democratic parliaments and the politicians who inhabit them to change anything has discredited democracy. Crony capitalism can survive without it. (xxviii)

According to Ali's evaluation, the triumph of the neo-imperialist, capitalist world system is complete with the two former bulwarks of communism i.e. Russia and China taking up the capitalist road and integrating in the global free market (294-97). However, Ali finds the social repercussions of integration into the so-called Free World to be starkly bare in both instances. To him, the country achieving full employment during the Soviet Union era has been rapidly ridden with economic inequality, poverty, unemployment, corruption and crime. China is another communist case in point brokering capitalistic deals and joining the international financial institutions (IFIs). With the communist party rule still intact, "market-Stalinism" and a "massive outlet for its goods" in America have so far done good for the national economy of China (295-96). Nonetheless, the consequences have not been dissimilar to those in Russia. On the global scale too, China has made too many the political concessions to the Empire with calamitous ramifications for the undeveloped parts of the world. It has supported the imperialist war in Vietnam, military coups in Pakistan and has raised no opposing voice in United Nations against the humanitarian interventions, military assaults and CIA managed operations in the other countries. With Russia and China having been Americanized, competing ideologies appear to

have been thrown into the dustbin of history and the pro-imperialist thesis of the End of History by Francis Fukuyama seems largely justified.

The rise and contemporarily burgeoning significance of the capitalistic interests of a military industry, termed as military-industrial complex, in fueling American neo-imperialist enterprises and its global as well as local social repercussions have been recent subjects of concern and debate across multiple disciplines. According to Pavelec, “the confluence was born of war” but it is persistently developing and “fed by American industry” (xv). With a sense of alarm for global future, Ali also highlights the evolution of this colossal industry of arms within the United States and its role in setting off neo-imperialist overt and covert military operations across the globe (291-306).

Ali appraises the formation of a formidable link among the oligarchies of heavy industry, top-ranking military officers and ruling politicians into what he terms a “powerful military-industrial-political nexus” as ominous for both American people and the world at large (291). He observes that with Pentagon’s arms sale to the world soaring, the monopolies of weapons industry secure huge profits both nationally and internationally accounting for a quarter of GDP. The defense budget of the new empire standing around 300 billion at the threshold of the twenty-first century, the institution of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and expenditure on more than hundred military bases in various countries across the globe testify to the fact that the new empire aims to assert its political and economic hegemony over both its ideological allies and foes.

Ali reminds that this development was foreseen and criticized by Eisenhower in 1961 in his final speech to the American public. Eisenhower voiced that the military-industrial complex had assumed unprecedented power in the American politics and economy the impact of which was felt on the social level as well. He termed it as “the disastrous rise of misplaced power” which acted constantly as a potential threat to the process of democracy and the rights of people (292). In Ali’s evaluation, the apprehensions have come true since the capitalists investing in the defense sector have been creating new enemies and generating new conflicts for profits. Ali’s rigorous study of the social development of a military-industrial complex within US and the consequences of this capitalistic enterprise for American society as well as for the globe invalidates Hattori’s appraisal that Ali’s “critique of the United States is a critique of an

imperialism that he describes as capitalist and fundamentalist but whose inner workings he does not otherwise explore” (244).

Keeping the focus of analysis centered on economic and consequent political asymmetries, Ali out rightly dismisses the two theories disseminated universally in the aftermath of 9/11 to provide justification for American wars in Afghanistan and Iraq: the theory of a civilizational conflict between the Islamic world and the West and that of American humanitarian interventions for installation of liberal democracy in the region (299-315). Ali emphasizes that the American Empire, guided solely by “economic self-interest”, perceives the Islamic world as huge oil reserves (283). Nkrumah had appraised the capitalist and neo-imperialist wars in the Middle East as “the frenzied battle for oil monopoly” (*Neocolonialism* 42) and , in the same strain, Ali views the direct occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan and military interventions in the Middle East as products of the symbiotic development for strategic interests and control over oil resources.

In its dismissal of the predominant notions of civilizational clashes, Ali’s stance corresponds with Amin’s Marxist Postcolonial thesis which asserts that: “the true ideological/cultural conflict of the twenty-first century is not a Huntington-style ‘clash of civilizations’ but the clash between the political culture of capitalism and the political culture of socialism” (*Beyond US Hegemony* 126). Both writers believe that the narrative of the supposed clash of civilizations serves to mystify the real debates of economic and political inequities and differences. Ali substantiates his evaluation with concrete historical instances and adds that religions and cultures generated no conflicts when the empire formed alliances with Islamist fundamentalist forces against the economic threat posed by communism and popular nationalism (with *Jamaat-e-Islami* in Pakistan against Bhutto, Muslim Brotherhood against Nasser in Egypt and *Jihadis* against communist Najibullah in Afghanistan, to name a few) in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War.

In Ali’s analysis, both the violent act of 9/11 and the sense of worldwide jubilation at the spectacle displayed symbolic value merely, being the responses of the weak who have been unable to challenge American neo-imperialist and capitalist exploitation in material terms (2-4). In Ali’s view, the present-day world is marked by the search for ideological alternatives to the ubiquitous global administration of American neo-imperialism and neoliberal capitalism. The

enforcement of asymmetrical neo-liberal globalization through IMF policies prepared by the elite group of ten and overseen by 120 American military bases across the planet is a totally new and unprecedented brand of “ultra- imperialism” (303). It is the horrific deprivation generated at all levels by neo-liberalism which makes the majority across the globe resent the empire and rejoice at the spectacle of World Trade Center in flames.

To him, the Muslim-majority countries have been struggling to counter the double-edged phenomenon with popular nationalist governments, socialist struggles and religious fundamentalism. Ali expounds the present-day religious upsurge in particular in the Islamic world in material terms, linking it to economic conditions: “the rise of religion is partially explained by the lack of any other alternative to the universal regime of neo-liberalism” (338). He deduces, however, that without offering resistance to the global capitalist economy, the Islamic societies and other nation-states would not succeed in countering American neo-imperialist ventures in the social and political realms. Another momentous conclusion drawn in the book is that the problem does not lie with the desperate responses but the neo-imperialist and “neo-liberal fundamentalism” exercised by the United States of America (314). The subject is contemporarily one of the most significant and pertinent ones and fully validates Hashmi’s assertion that Ali’s works have “a sharp focus on the contemporary world” (210). The central contention of the book also affirms Kaya’s critical evaluation that Ali’s works are always “situated politically vis-à-vis current affairs” (24).

Ali’s negation of the role of religious and cultural factors in determining social conditions within the postcolonial states and the relations between the developed and underdeveloped countries serves as another major reason for many negative and depreciatory appraisals of his works. According to Hashmi (251), Ali’s themes are grossly neglectful of the enormous significance religious, cultural and ethical codes hold in the shaping of social conditions. In his view, Ali disregards the fact that the civilizational clash between Islamic societies and the West can also be a consequence of the cultural threat sensed by Muslims in the face of Western culture dominating the globe gradually.

Nevertheless, as the researcher has argued previously in the introductory chapter, Ali’s fictional and non-fictional works neither deny the value of philosophical, ethical, theistic and cultural elements in determining the shape of a social formation nor do these consider the factors

as insignificant in deciding international links. Nonetheless, being based in Marxist critical outlook, his works represent economic realities and relations to be the chief determinants of philosophical, moral, cultural and political interactions. For that reason, the critique of capitalist economy and its degenerating impact on intellectual, cultural, moral and civilizational aspects has been the core theme of all of his works. Cilano succinctly sums up Ali's fictional works as cultural products working on the same plane but taking their root from the material realities of his time out of which his themes originate and which are, in their turn, attempts to negotiate with those material conditions. In her words, Ali's works "foreground the close connection Ali sees as operating between the cultural work his fiction does and the hard, material conditions and histories from which they arise and to which they speak" ("Highlighting the Sceptical strain" 189).

Ali's concluding stance corresponds to the gist of the works of Amin, Lazarus and Varma, and Arrighi discussed in section 2.3 of Literature Review. All these theorists authenticate that each sphere of life in the contemporary era is determined by the coordinate globalization of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism i.e. by the interlinked operation of US-centric regional and military alliances and US-centric global monetary system. Their prescient works forecast that the empire is bound to strike back with varied alternatives as American historian Chalmers Johnson prognosticates in his book *Blowback*: "the American empire is overextended and the longer it struggles to maintain this status, the more painful the retribution will be" (qtd. in Ali 303). Eqbal Ahmad sums up the whole issue pertinently that if the United States does not redefine its capitalistic interests in the postcolonial regions, clashes between the neo-imperialist power and movements for social transformation will persist in Asia, Africa and Latin America (71-84).

The Clash of Fundamentalisms (2002) focuses on the critique of the same significant and pertinent subjects which *A Banker for All Seasons* (2008) depicts thematically in the genre of fiction i.e. the contemporary concomitant operation of global neo-liberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism and highlights other substantial dimensions to the same subjects. The thematic affinity between the fictional and non-fictional works attest to Cilano's assertion that the themes of Ali's "literary production are clearly inextricable from those of his other political writings" ("Highlighting the Sceptical strain" 190). Both the texts amalgamate the "universalist

approach” i.e. the depiction of events and characters on a global scale with a sharp focus on specific contexts which is highly informative and engaging (Shamsie “South Asian Muslims” 151). *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (2002) is incisively critical of the contemporary global phenomena of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism and the critique appears logical and convincing since it has been supported by concrete historical instances and evidences. To sum it up in Hattori’s words, the book is “a provocative and stimulating diagnosis of our times” rendered more enjoyable by “Ali’s informal but rich and informative mixture of memoir, history, and cultural criticism” (243-244).

The next chapter will examine the internal class division in the postcolonial nation-state of Pakistan responsible for economic modes of operation which perpetuate the country’s integration into the capitalist world system as an underdeveloped and dependent entity and its client status to the new American empire.

CHAPTER 5

Modes of Neo-colonialism and Class Struggle in the Postcolonial Context as Depicted in *The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy* (2007) and *Can Pakistan survive? : The Death of a State* (1983)

Introduction

The chapter examines the depiction of the colonial legacies of politico-economic modes of operation and class conflict perpetuating neocolonialism in the postcolonial state of Pakistan in the two texts *The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy* (2007) and *Can Pakistan survive? The Death of a State* (1983) by Tariq Ali. The textual analysis is delimited by the parameters of the theoretical framework which is based in Nkrumah's works and sketched out in Chapter 3. The discussion of the play *The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy* (2007) is followed by the scrutiny of the non-fictional text *Can Pakistan survive? The Death of a State* (1983).

5.1 *The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy* (2007)

Appendix A to *The Leopard and Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy* (2007), which is a report from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), classifies the play as "faction" i.e. a literary rendering of characters and events from real life (171). It is essential to highlight here that the two literary texts *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) and *A Banker for All Seasons* (2008) selected for critical analysis in the present research also merit study on account of the contribution these make to the evolution of the literary genre of faction; a literary form hitherto granted little attention in the studies of contemporary Pakistani English fiction. Though the literary genre of faction was originated by the 17th century writers of the Historical Novel, the form has remained marginalized throughout the history of English Literature. The fact that the term 'faction' itself was first used in 1967, according to Oxford English Dictionary, informs about its recent prominence and recognition. The genre is pertinent and useful in the contemporary advanced

civilizational context where readers prefer to be entertained by the story as well as informed by the content.

According to Yousef's analysis (33-44), the hybridity of faction connotes a revivification of the genre of fiction generated by the postmodern stylistic innovations which blur the boundary between facts and fiction. However, the form also carries the post-postmodern sensibility in its engagement with the real and relevant social, economic and political issues of the time, as it is the case in Ali's faction. The researcher is of the opinion that the literary genre of faction assumes more significance in the postcolonial context where both the form and content of a literary work hold enormous value for the writer as well as the reader. The amalgamation of facts and imagination brings to life significant historical or contemporary socio-political figures and events in a creative, defamiliarized way and simultaneously offers the readers crucial insights into these characters and affairs. In the case of Pakistani English faction, these narratives drawing into new stories while recounting historical social realities merit study in their own domain.

The play documents history and the terms "Leopard" and "Fox" in the title are symbols for two of the most significant figures in the political history of Pakistan. The term leopard represents the moral strength and courage of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the former President and Prime Minister of Pakistan (1971-77) while fox stands for the duplicitous and conniving nature displayed by General Zia-ul-Haq, the military dictator who deposed Bhutto and ruled over the country as President between 1977 and 1988. Ali's choice of these two prominent political figures as the protagonist and antagonist of the play respectively validates Kaya's assessment that Ali's dramatic characters are, invariably, renowned public figures holding positions of enormous social significance in their concerned contexts (22-25). Similarly, due to its political theme, *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) can also be classified as part of "the literary sub-genre of political fiction" which King appraises to be the exact genre Ali's fiction should be categorized within (219).

Tariq Ali explains in the preface that the play was originally written in 1986 for BBC but could not get enacted and aired due to the political content of it concerning which the State Department and British Foreign Office had reservations (*vii-xi*). In his view, a portrayal of Pakistan's Chief Martial Law Administrator General Zia-ul-Haq responsible for the country's

engagement as an American proxy against communist Soviet Union, from a radical perspective, was considered detrimental to Euro-American strategic interests in the region. In addition, the literary image of the United States of America involved in toppling an elected government and backing a non-elected one in Pakistan was equally unacceptable to both the departments. Therefore, the project file had to be closed. In his non-fiction, Ali refers time and again to this suppression and sidelining of dissenting and critical voices by mainstream literature, media and publishing houses. In Appendix to the play *Snogging Ken* (2001), he defends his politically satirical dramas and reiterates the need for more critical fictional works in an era of “cultural productions” dominated by those acquiescent to the prevalent Western ideologies and practices (201).

Subsequently, the play became part of a Channel Four project titled *The Assassination Quartet* and a shortened version of it was published in 2007. The drama is based on a momentous period in the history of Pakistan spanning from June 1977 to April 1979. It covers events connected with the dismissal of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s popular government, his trial, subsequent judicial killing and the establishment of Zia’s military dictatorship in the country. It depicts critically the economic and political modes through which neocolonialism perpetuates itself in the country as well as the self-seeking and comprador character of the military oligarchy, industrialist class, clerical elite and professional upper crust as well as the autocratic practices of the feudal gentry: sections of the elite ruling class formed during the British colonial period and pitched against one another in the play in the struggle for power.

The play also delineates graphically how the neo-imperialist power of the United States of America maneuvers the ruling oligarchies and exploits the politico-economic conditions to bring about a change of government in the satellite state by playing upon its peripheral economic status dependent on foreign trade, investments and aid. In 1965, Nkrumah, elaborating upon the various facets of neocolonial conditions in the post-colonial world, summed up the specific historical situation focused on in the play in these words:

Asia, Africa and Latin America have begun to experience a round of *Coups de'tat* or would-be-coups, together with a series of political assassination which have destroyed in their political prime some of the newly emerging nations’ best leaders. To ensure success in these endeavours, the imperialists have made widespread and wily use of ideological

and cultural weapons in the form of intrigues, maneuvers and slander campaigns. (*Neocolonialism* 245-46)

For a comprehensive understanding of the political conflict portrayed in the play, it is necessary to provide a preliminary to the historical context in which the events take place. The play centres on the tragedy of the fall of Bhutto from power, a dynamic which requires to be studied in the light of the political powers and ideologies in play at the time when both he and his party attained state power. The personal and political life of the first elected prime minister of the country as well as the successes and failures of his government (1973-77) are subjects well researched and documented in various disciplines. However, the account of Dr Mubashir Hasan, the leftist founding member of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and a close associate of Bhutto who also served as the secretary general of the party and the finance minister of his government, remains the most insightful and factual study in this regard. His book *The Mirage of Power* (2000) provides both a Marxist insider's glance, required by the present study, at Bhutto's political personality and his government's performance as well as an outsider's critical evaluation of both since he relinquished his position in the party and government well before 1977. Like all the other leftist members of the party, he felt disillusioned with Bhutto's policies and the party's abandonment of the socialist manifesto it was founded on.

According to Hasan's account (1-18), Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was handed over the presidency and the Martial Law administration of the country by the military regime of General Yahya Khan in December 1971 when Pakistani armed forces suffered an ignominious defeat at the hands of the Indian armed forces followed by the secession of East Pakistan from the Western wing in the form of the independent state of Bangladesh. Bhutto's party was widely regarded as the rightful political instrument for the formation of a democratic government because it had played a central role in the overthrow of the military dictatorship of General Ayub (1958- 1969) and had also won 81 out of the 121 seats of the constituent assembly of West Pakistan in the general elections of 1970.

The list of the achievements of Bhutto's government provided by Hasan is substantial and attested to by historical documents and facts (19-120). His government faced innumerable odds in the aftermath of the 1971 disaster with the social morale low, the armed forces defeated, the country torn apart and economy at its lowest as one of the repercussions of the war. Bhutto

stabilized international relations, in particular with the USA, Soviet Union and China. The Islamic summit held in 1974 went to his credit not only as a symbol of the political unity of the Islamic states but also but also as a pragmatic means to make the rich Gulf states invest in the economic development of Pakistan. His government built peace with India through the Simla Accord, drafted a new constitution, initiated economic growth, brought about land reforms, nationalized banks and basic industries and established democratic institutions. The institution of the nuclear processing plant through technological support agreement with France leading ultimately to the country's nuclear capability has also been a product of his government's labor and determination.

The adoption of some of the above-mentioned radical economic measures triggered opposition to the government from the national bureaucratic, military and industrialist elite because their accumulation of capital through private ventures and international investments was curtailed. The nationalist policies adopted by the government were inharmonious with the monopolist operations of the global cartels and policies of the loan granting global monetary organizations. Bhutto's fall from power, contrived by internal as well as external forces or "unity between the interests of neocolonialism and indigenous bourgeoisie", turns into a tragedy when viewed against this particular backdrop of his achievements for the underdeveloped Third World postcolonial state of Pakistan (Nkrumah, *Class Struggle* 9).

The play opens in a Rawalpindi street in June 1977 where supporters of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) are demonstrating against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government and results of the general elections held that year. They are demanding re-elections, shouting that the recently held polls were rigged by Bhutto-led Pakistan People's Party. Ali describes the protestors as "bearded, indicating their Islamic loyalties" (4). The police uses tear gas shells and aerial firing to disperse them. At many points in the play, it is hinted that these anti-government demonstrations are funded by the United States. The character of Benazir Bhutto remarks to the CIA station Chief Paul Turner during the buffet dinner at the Prime Minister's house: "my father believes that your government is destabilizing our government" (14). In scene 14, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Prime Minister, tells General Zia, the then Chief of Army Staff, that he intends to lift Martial Law imposed on six cities and initiate negotiations with the foreign-sponsored opposition responsible for the anarchy (22-23). Thus the theme of multi-layered neo-imperialist

interventions, facilitated by the neocolonial and dependent modes of economic functioning of the postcolonial state, is underscored at the outset.

The Marxist political theorist and historian Lal Khan (223-26) attests to the fact that American imperialists, national capitalists and feudalists, and Saudi Arabian government had been propping reactionary religious forces to counter the communist influence in the country affirmed by the socialist mass upsurge of 1968. Bhutto, in the absence of a strong and nationwide socialist political party, utilized both socialist slogans and the massive movement to his advantage and came to power backed by the charged people. At the historic juncture portrayed in the play, he is still popular among the masses who expect a socio-economic transformation of the country from him.

Amin appraises that American strategy for keeping the neocolonial modes of operation intact throughout the postcolonial part of the globe was remarkably homogenous: “the radical national populism initiated by national bourgeoisie was modernist, secularizing and carried potential for democratic development but these projects conflicted with the dominant imperial interests and the latter fought them relentlessly and systematically mobilized declining obscurantist forces for this purpose” (*The World We Wish to See* 90-91). The situation is also referred to by Ali in *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (2002) where he asserts that the post 9/11 rhetoric of Islamist fundamentalism being a threat to American liberal democratic values is a hoax devised to conceal American plans of monopolizing oil resources in the Islamic regions (299-315). The same religious fundamentalists America is currently waging the War on Terror against were heavily buttressed by it in the aftermath of the Second World War against communist and progressive nationalist governments.

Ali’s portrayal of the subjects of Bhutto’s rise to power on a socialist manifesto and American financial support to the religious parties against his government is both enlightening and deconstructive of the Western narratives of the “West-Islam encounter today”, according to Shamsie’s appraisal of Ali’s fiction (“South Asian Muslims” 151). In Chambers’ evaluation, Ali’s fiction provides a context to and “documents the rise of various Islamist groups to fill the void left by Marxist politics” which is exactly the case evolving in the play under discussion (127).

As the plot of the play progresses, the narrative depicts other events which highlight American role in orchestrating the formation of a multi-party opposition against Bhutto's government. Bhutto refers to the CIA station chief Paul Turner's meetings with the opposition in conversation with the American Ambassador during the buffet dinner at the Prime Minister's house: "Mr. Turner (looking at him) has been busy touring the country. He knows the mood well, especially of our opposition. (Laughs) You better watch it, most people think he is the real Prime Minister" (9). It is underscored further when Bhutto agrees to concede to the demands of the opposition and delivers a speech in the parliament for the purpose (51-54). He unfolds that the American Secretary of State has sent him a letter of invitation to hold talks in which the secretary would negotiate on behalf of PNA and settle the political crisis. In a bitter tone, he tells the parliament that all conflicts between the government and opposition can be resolved within hours if there is no foreign hand involved in the affairs.

Similarly, the rally in Scene 3 with a group of pro-Bhutto demonstrators chanting "Long Live Bhutto" and "Death to US imperialism", also draws attention to American intervention in the local context (5). The crowd hits the American ambassadorial car with stones and the act testifies that the man in the street is fully cognizant of the neo-imperialist involvement in political developments in the country. In Khan's analysis, the masses had been protesting against the country's neocolonial modes of operation exhibited by its economic dependence on American aid and its pacts with the US-led military coalitions since 1950 (220-40). The inspiring gestures of the CIA Chief in response to the ambassador's concerns about the politically tense situation are highly suggestive. These indicate his complete knowledge concerning the circumstances and what they would ultimately lead to. The delineations prove Nkrumah's analysis of economic aid as one of the modes crucial for the operation of neocolonialism in the postcolonial states (*Neocolonialism* 242-243) and Ahmed's argument concerning the aid donor country shifting the social and political balance of power in the client state in accordance with its own economic and strategic objectives ("Why Pakistan's Unity was Jeopardized?" 4-6).

The details of the neocolonial modes, in particular economic ones, the sustenance of which was threatened by the political measures adopted by Bhutto's government have also been underscored during the course of the play. Discussing the reasons why Bhutto's government falls

out of favor with the American government, the CIA Station Chief in Pakistan, named Paul Turner in the play, informs the American journalist Cherry that all top-level government departments in America like the CIA, The Pentagon, the DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency) and the State Department want Bhutto out of power (29-30). Bhutto infers, in conversation with the same journalist, that the cause could be the one he was warned about by the American Secretary of State Henry Kissinger: “if you do not give up your plans to build a nuclear reactor, we will make a horrible example out of you” (31). The Army Generals plotting to topple Bhutto’s government also allude to American concerns regarding the safety of Pakistan’s nuclear weapons under civilian supervision (35).

The popular nationalist measures of the initiation of nuclear program, nationalization of major banks and industries and land reforms adopted by Bhutto’s government posed threat to American economic interests in the country. The sources of surplus for the center from the peripheral economy, reckoned in detail by Amin (*Unequal Development* 200-345), were jeopardized. According to Amin, the new monopolies for the capitalist core and neo-imperialist power of the United States are “technology, access to natural resources, communications and information, control of the world finance system and weapons of mass destruction which have been replacing the ordinary industrial monopoly of earlier times” (*Beyond US Hegemony* 34).

Therefore, the nuclear programme spelled a compromise on imperial technological supremacy; land reforms portended a curb on agrarian capitalism and export of raw materials while nationalization signified curtailment of free market and global monopolist enterprises backed by Washington Consensus. Ali’s dramatic delineation implies that the empire interpreted these policies as serious gestures of defiance while, at home, the economic reforms were scathingly critiqued for being insubstantial and poorly implemented. The defense objective was likewise targeted for its heavy cost and aggravation of the prevalent economic crisis. At the end of the play, the point is driven home by Bhutto when he is about to be hanged. He articulates that he is to be hanged not for the many detrimental political policies he implemented but rather for the few progressive steps he took for the welfare of his countrymen (161).

The book *If I am assassinated* written by Bhutto in his death cell in 1979 also substantiates the fictional account of the collusion between Pakistani clerical and capitalist elite and the neo-imperialist power to bring down his government. He writes that detailed reports on

the institution of the oppositional alliance and its set objectives had been given to him by the ministers, intelligence agencies and in particular by the foreign office long before the military coup took place. He was advised to abandon the project of the nuclear processing plant in order to avert the formation of PNA which could transform into a serious threat for him (134-199). Zahid's scrutiny of the context enlightens further by adding that the movement against electoral rigging was gradually manipulated by the religious leaders, backed by the industrialists and landlords, into the *Nizam-e-Mustafa* movement later intercepted by the military dictatorship to legitimize its rule (15). In his view, a single common interest united all the divergent ideological forces with one another as well as the neo-imperialist power: the overthrow of a popular government which threatened their politico-economic monopolies.

The class struggle and contradictions stemming from class-based affinities in the postcolonial context are represented in the play through the inconsistent and insufficient character of populism. Laclau defines 'Populism' as a heterogeneous political movement in which masses are united by nationalist socio-political demands and a charismatic leader which, however, does not signify a revolution i.e. does not lead to any ultimate reconciliation of the two poles of the elite and the proletariat (223-250). *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) is a reflection on the failure of the bourgeoisie-led populist governments and democratic progression, during the Bandung era in the 1970s, in liberating the postcolonial states from the exploitative world system of capitalism and imperialism. The literary portrayal of this failure in the context of Pakistan evokes mixed feelings of admiration and denunciation by juxtaposing the heroic aspect of the struggle with the flawed one, the internal debilities with the external exploitation. The character of Bhutto and various events associated with the politico-economic measures his government takes are representative of the class conflict inherent in populist movements led by national bourgeoisie. He, therefore, cuts an ambivalent figure as both his successes and failings in the capacity of a popular national leader and Prime Minister of the state are foregrounded.

It is largely the character of Habib, an old fellow of Bhutto and member of his party, which unearths the class conflict in Bhutto's person, his class-based politics and the consequent deviations of the popular movement in conversation with a foreign journalist. He accuses Bhutto of allying with the feudalists, capitalists and clerical elite after attaining power when he had

mobilized the masses with slogans of waging a war against these elite forces. Habib deserts Bhutto and his party because according to him:

He promised the people the moon. Food, clothes and shelter for all. I remember telling the crowds on his behalf that our People's Government would build schools and hospitals for the poor in the large mansions of the rich. (Smiles at the memory) People believed us Lily. He couldn't deliver. He could have but it needed a revolution. Your papers called him our Fidel Castro but he wasn't. So, finally he made a pact with the very politicians we defeated and destroyed. He lifted the people to the skies, then dropped them to the ground. Confiscated their aspirations. (24-25)

The character of Habib, criticizing the class conflict in Bhutto's character as well as his abandonment of the socialist agenda and allegiance with the feudal and clerical aristocracy serves as a mouthpiece for Ali's own critical outlook on the class-based character of the national bourgeoisie and class affinity among the elite. Ali's satirical portrayal of the populist character of Bhutto's government, voiced through the character of Habib, might appear to justify to some extent Sakelleridou's critique (151) that Ali's plays are dogmatic and disapproving of any social development less than a socialist revolution. However, if the aspect is scrutinized closely, the fact is that Habib's character is granted minor representation in the play while the feudalist and authoritarian character of Bhutto as well as the manipulative character of General Zia as representative of the military oligarchy are represented on a larger scale. Moreover, a sense of negotiation between these differing voices, their respective ideologies and the consequences of the pursuit of those ideologies is displayed which, instead of being dogmatic, permits the reader to judge for himself. In this instance, therefore, Sakelleridou's appraisal that the omniscient narrator or major characters of Ali's plays propagate the author's dogmas is certainly controvertible.

In Ali's fictional delineation, Bhutto's *Hamartia* lies in his inability to shun the outlook and affiliations originating from the class he belongs to and herein rests the internal contradiction of a populist movement having its root cause in the class conflict. According to Khan, the commitment of a populist leader and movement vacillates between the elite classes and the masses resulting in long-term social gains for none of the two (277). Bhutto is the son of a feudal lord, in local language a *Wadera*, and his privileged brought-up in the feudal social background

makes him imbibe the traditional characteristics of the class. Nkrumah describes the practices of rural aristocracy or landed gentry in detail: “the feudal and semi-feudal strata maintain a strong hold over the peasant masses and live on the exploitation of peasants who not only have to pay them tributes and taxes, but who also have to do forced labour” (*Class Struggle* 55). According to Zahoor, the most prominent traditional characteristics of the class in Pakistani context are: acceptance of a hierarchical order, demand of unqualified loyalty from subordinates, tyrannical treatment of adversaries and personalization of events (101). The feudalist approach forms his political behavior and becomes one of the major reasons for his downfall. Ali describes his feudalist behavior as “a refusal to share power within his party and without” (68).

According to Habib’s character in the play, the populist leader rallying the workers and peasants has transformed into an egotist and autocrat who favors only the obsequious flatterers within the party by turning a blind eye to their corruption. The dialogues between the foreign journalists and Bhutto also highlight the class-based vision of Bhutto, which Nkrumah terms as “elitism” (*Class Struggle* 30-35), guiding his totalitarian political career and government. Cherry, an American journalist and confidante to Bhutto, interrogates him bluntly concerning his dictatorial and tyrannical suppression of both dissenters within the party and external political opponents. Bhutto’s confession of the fact that he has difficulty tolerating dissention is highly revealing in this regard: “I suppose it’s the Sindhi Landlord in me. We are a terribly primitive class of property owners, you know. Feudal. Let me shock you, Robert Cherry. I have, in time, exercised all my rights as a landlord. Yes, even the *droit de seigneur* (33).

Similarly, the character of Lily, another foreign journalist in the play, also serves to underscore the theme of class conflict in the postcolonial context. She tells Bhutto to his face of his ideologies being shaped by what Nkrumah terms as “class interests and class consciousness” (*Class Struggle* 23) and his feudalist incapacity to share power. The argument she posits is that he has imposed martial law on six major cities merely to suppress political opposition (10). In her view, the autocratic attitude typical of the feudalist class, has not only damaged the cause of democracy but has also alienated the masses. Habib rightly predicts that the masses are disillusioned with his government and will not come out on the streets for him in the case of a military coup (24-25). Ali’s portrayal of Bhutto’s feudalist character and his political failures due to affiliation with the elite class not only distinguishes the play from other fictional works

centered on Bhutto's person but also validates Ahmed's appraisal that Ali's fiction represents social issues in terms of class division within society instead of in relation to socially significant personalities or cultural events (417).

Tariq Ali's literary portrayal of the character of Bhutto as an ambivalent figure, stemming from a Marxist viewpoint, is neither negated by historical facts nor by the delineations of other Pakistani writers. In fact Bhutto's political behavior has been a subject of consistent interest to Pakistani literary writers, scholars, biographers and political analysts. Anwar Syed cites the works of eminent writers on Bhutto, mainly Shahid Burki, Lawrence Ziring, and Khalid Syed who attribute his authoritarian political practices to his feudal background (249-262). Anwar expresses his own bewilderment at the odd combination of Western education, socialist ideals and lust for absolute power in Bhutto's person. His assessment in the end is that later learning and experiences failed to undo the formative influence of the early life spent in a feudal familial and social background. Despite passionate commitment to the national cause, empathy for the marginalized and path breaking achievements in foreign policy and national development, Bhutto remained a prisoner to the feudal ethos of his time which has been a consequence of the "social stratification" inaugurated by capitalism and imperialism (Nkrumah, *Class Struggle* 35).

The fictional character of Habib is based on the person of J.A.Rahim, the founding member and secretary general of Pakistan People's Party who also served as political advisor to the government and Minister for Presidential Affairs from 1971 to 1974 in Bhutto's cabinet. The character, however, is less representative of the individual and more of the radical socialist character of the party on which it was founded in 1967. Habib's desertion of the party and critique of the leader's conduct as well as that of the government's policies in the play originate from his Marxist viewpoint. In this aspect, he serves as a mouthpiece for "the author's partisanship" and his "concise account of Pakistan's political developments, interpreted from a radical point of view" (Ahmed 417).

Hasan's account also substantiates Ali's portrayal of the radical viewpoint from which the character of Habib critiques developments during Bhutto's government (100-206). He informs that the founding members of PPP who drafted the party manifesto were staunch leftists. They were middle class, highly educated and self-made men who were serving in the government in various distinguished capacities and J.A.Rahim was one of them. In the early

phase of the party's development, the leftist group, with its diligence and dedication to the socialist cause, rallied the masses and raised the party to power. Initially, Bhutto shared the socialist vision of his comrades and took pride in their dissensions. Nevertheless, around the middle of his term in office, Bhutto started reverting to his feudalist mindset and began dissociating from the hardline leftists within the party. Following the typical norms of his class, he not only ousted Rahim from the party but also brutally tortured him through his Federal Security Force.

In the play, the character of Habib voices that Bhutto replaced the socialists with the landlords, bureaucrats, industrialists, religious leaders and members of intelligence agencies who thrived in the party by flattering the chairman (24-25). Hasan's analysis seconds Habib's assertion by adding that these sections were granted party tickets to compete in the general elections held in 1977 and, later, lead ministries in the government (187-221). To Habib, the socialist foundation of the government was demolished and the basic needs of the population were left at the mercy of landlords and bureaucrats who hired gangs of criminals to run black markets, smuggling, land-grabbing and killings for them. These are the "goondas" and their illegal activities which Zia's character refers to when he talks to the Generals about the complaints of the opposition and common people against Bhutto's government (80). The above-mentioned detailed delineation of class struggle in the postcolonial context in which the character of Bhutto affiliates with the feudal class despite the initiation of his political career on socialist objectives affirms Nkrumah's thesis that the indigenous bourgeoisie must be seen as a whole and not in isolation either from one another or from neocolonialism and "international monopoly finance" to which they provide means for economic and political exploitation (*Class Struggle* 63).

The Leopard and the Fox (2007) also portrays that class conflict is also the major reason for the ideological opacity of the national bourgeoisies which results in perpetuation of neocolonial modes of operation in postcolonial societies. Elaborating on the context of Bhutto's government in another work, Ali informs further that Bhutto's party was founded on a socialist manifesto and won majority in the parliament on the basis of the agenda (*Can Pakistan Survive?* 100-132). However, the brand of Islamic socialism Bhutto propagated was a confused mixture of the contradictory ideologies of Islam, nationalism and socialism which proved to be seriously

committed to none. Instead, in practice, he regressed to “popular Bonapartism” i.e. the use of centralized personal authority in the effort to reconcile the interests of conflicting classes of society (Khan 276). The play reveals that initially it served the movement well by bringing the party to power but the practice proved to be untenable within no time. Socialism was sidelined to make room for the elite and the secularization of the state was disclaimed after alliance with right-wing Islamists. Therefore, the meagre economic reforms turned ineffective when the dominant feudalists and capitalists within the party manipulated them to their advantage with the help of bureaucracy (24-5).

The pathos and ambivalence evoked by the narrative of *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) are also products of the class conflict created by capitalist economy in postcolonial societies which is also termed as “class cleavage” by Nkrumah (*Class Struggle* 10). The play develops along the lines of a Shakespearean tragedy and the downfall of the protagonist and the movement he rallied evoke mixed emotions as does the end of a Shakespearean hero. The ambivalent response elicited by Bhutto’s merits and demerits is expressed perfectly by Habib when he shares his mindset with Lily: “You know, I--- (pause) I don’t want him to fall. Despite everything” (24). The essence of the tragedy lies in a strong sense of loss because of the respective merits of both the leader and the movement. The character of Bhutto does not represent a saga of shortcomings and failures. Rather, as the pivot of the populist movement, it exhibits exceptional qualities of mind and heart as the play proceeds.

The character of Bhutto is represented to possess a sharp intellect which grasps global politics and local conditions equally well. His bold and empathetic speeches promoting common people and their causes gain him massive public support. According to Ali in *Can Pakistan Survive*: “In Pakistan, no major political leader had ever argued that the interests of the common people were paramount....he encouraged the downtrodden to speak their bitterness. That was novel” (151). The sheer fact of his being the prime minister, “the only one ever to be elected in our entire history” distinguishes him from the rest of the politicians (74). The economic reforms and defense measures are widely regarded as the progressive political achievements of the government as well. His political opponents fully realize that they will not be able to hold their ground if the masses come out on the streets in his support (55).

The army generals in the play worry about resistance from the soldiers who hold Bhutto in high esteem because he freed 90,000 of them from the Indian prisoners of war camps after the 1971 debacle (55-6). Contrasted with the moral bankruptcy displayed by the Judiciary and the Generals during the forged trial, his person comes out far superior. His candid critique of neo-imperialism in the National Assembly exalts his character in the eyes of those present. He tells them: "This is a letter from Mr Cyrus Vance, the American Secretary of State. He has the nerve to write to me and suggest a meeting between us to resolve the political crisis in Pakistan. As if we were a pliant satrapy. My answer to Vance is simple. No!" (53-54). His frank confessions of his government's failures in the play ennoble him further:

For five years this government has tried to build a new Pakistan. Our vision was of a country whose social standards could become comparable to parts of Europe. We wanted, and still want, a society engaged in a permanent war against illiteracy and ignorance, prejudice and obscurantism. A society in which men and women are equals. We have sought to mobilize the collective energies of our people, to give them education and medical aid, to clean the towns, to improve the villages, give every citizen a dignity that is his due. Of course, we haven't achieved this. (51)

The symbolic usage of leopard for the character of Bhutto is justifiable on all levels and enhances the tragic impact of the play. He defies all sorts of internal and external coercion heroically and refuses to broker a deal with the military dictatorship and the neo-imperialist power (144-63). What he is required to do to please the neo-imperialists and retain his power is to sacrifice the national interest for the imperialist one i.e. to discard the national project of the nuclear processing plant and reverse the nationalization of industries. He responds by informing them that as the head of a sovereign state, he is authorized to prioritize national interest and public demand (31). His hunt is tragic because he has no ill-gotten wealth to protect and, therefore, makes no squeamish plea for his life. He does not accept the offer of exile which could spare his life (92-95). Instead, he exhorts his wife to face the disaster courageously and his daughter to lead people against the military dictatorship sustained by coercion and foreign money:

Benazir, a lot will depend on you. Never flinch from the truth. Tell the people that the Generals have killed me because I spoke for the poor. I don't believe that Zia and his

gang, even with countless millions of dollars, can hold this country indefinitely together. Five, 10, even 15 years. Then? Then? You will be here Benazir. That will be the time.....You must continue what we started. Finish the job. (160-61)

He remains steadfast and unyielding in the face of the false accusations and unjust demands of his opponents and embraces death in the struggle. The pathos of the play lies in the fact that all the remarkable aspects of his person and merits of his achievements are eclipsed by his class origin. Bhutto's death in the play becomes a tragedy on both the personal and the national level. On the personal level, he fails in overcoming his feudalist behavior and resorts to the colonially established institutions for political support instead of pursuing the socialist dictum of empowering the masses. On the one hand, he embarks on the process of social reform due to which the elite sections stopped regarding him as one of them. On the other side, he abandons the revolution in the middle which dissociated the masses from him. Left standing in the middle of the bourgeoisies and the proletariat, he meets an end predicted by the foreign journalist Lily at the outset of the play: "Those who make the revolution half-way dig their own graves" (25). King in his review of *Fear of Mirrors* (219) and Feinberg (150) assess, however, that this sense of tragedy is peculiar to Ali's fiction and is directly linked to the sense of social disillusionment caused by the loss of the socialist goals.

The depictions of *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) are not confined to the critique of the feudalist class and its class-based interests, in the form of Bhutto's character and his government's policies, which play a significant role in the persistence of class conflict and functioning of neocolonialist modes in postcolonial societies. Ali represents the "reactionary cliques among armed forces" as another section of the ruling elite class which forms a major component of the elite vs. proletariat class struggle in the postcolonial context and serve as the major "internal allies" of neocolonialism (Nkrumah, *Class Struggle* 41). Nkrumah also appraises military aid as one of the key modes by which neocolonialism functions in the postcolonial states and analyzes: "Military aid is the last stage of neocolonialism, nothing increases social misery as war" (*Class Struggle* xvi). In the specific postcolonial context of Pakistan, Alavi ("Bangladesh and the Crisis of Pakistan" 289-317) and Saif ("Pakistan and SEATO" 19-45) evaluate that American military aid to Pakistan since 1954 has done twofold damage to the country: externally it has obligated the army into providing military services to the superpower and internally the

money has helped form an oligarchy of the top military brass with political and economic interests of its own.

Looked at from this Marxist postcolonial angle, the play represents the military oligarchy as comprador in character and servitor to American dictates and interests rather than the national ones. The neo-imperialist stance concerning the military ruling class is best expressed by the American journalist Cherry who tells Bhutto: “we believe the free world is best defended by military dictators” (33). Cherry’s comment is seconded by Saif’s assertion that American championship of liberal democracy across the globe is hollow and duplicitous as it backs military dictatorships where these offer comparatively stable progression to American economic and military objectives (“Pakistan and SEATO” 19-45). In the play, the military attaché at the American embassy is shown to be fully informed of all details concerning the top level meetings in Pakistan’s Armed Forces. He has complete data of the personnel within the army who dissent from the neo-imperialist agenda and occasionally drops a word of caution to them, as he does to General Azad (35-36).

As the play proceeds and the background shows the interior of the military General Headquarters (GHQ), the Generals discuss the political crisis generated by clash between the ruling Pakistan People’s Party and the oppositional party termed as Pakistan National Alliance. The discussion is marked by a clear division in their assessment of the situation (27-28). Three Generals i.e. General Nizami, Iftikhar and Azad support the continuation of democratic political process with the argument that the riots are subsiding and the government is willing to hold talks with opposition. The other two Generals, Zaman as well as Chief of Army Staff General Zia, opt for deposing Bhutto and imposing Martial law on the country. These two opine that foreign investments, “another neo-colonialist trap on the economic front” in Nkrumah’s view (*Class Struggle* 242-43), are pulled back due to the political volatility in the country and the army must intervene to stabilize the situation. The Operation Wheel jam/Final Phase top secret file lies on the table before them and the situation hangs in balance. The instructions from the American embassy, however, tilt the balance towards an army takeover.

In scene 17 of the play, General Zaman informs the present assembly plainly that whether the country or the army wants a *coup d’état* or not, the United States wants it and they cannot afford to displease it since American economic and military aid as well trade and investments

run the country. His point-blank clarification is: “General Azad, you know who supplies our army. Where we get the latest military equipment? Who authorizes it? They are not pleased with the situation. They have put an embargo on military aid” (28). The delineation is analogous to Nkrumah’s study which posits that the institutions of armed forces in the postcolonial states “are dependent to a large extent for supplies, equipment and training on foreign help- most of it from the capitalist world” (*Class Struggle* 46).

According to Nkrumah, the top brass armed forces of the postcolonial states are not only trained in the military academies of the capitalist center and indoctrinated in Western ideologies but are also allied to capitalism and other the elite sections because of “their shared experience and enjoyment of positions of privilege” (*Class Struggle* 12). The play portrays that the Generals are cognizant of the threat the embargo poses to their institutional and individual privileges. To protect their class-based interests, they conspire the dismissal of the democratically elected government through various means and the fabrication of a trial against the Prime Minister, in collusion with a corrupt judiciary. The two-way connection between the Generals of the armed forces and the new empire of the United States had been elucidated earlier on to Bhutto by Cherry: “Listen, my friend. Zia may have been created by you but he belongs to the Army. This army, like many others, is loyal first of all to those who keep it supplied. The Pentagon. And the Army offers Pentagon stability” (34).

In the *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010), one of the central characters Dara terms the elite rulers of his country as ruthless, inhuman creatures building their own piles of ill-gotten money on the corpses of the people (164). In the play under discussion, the military oligarchy is portrayed as one of the groups of the national ruling class, inherited from the era of the British colonial rule in India, which constantly seeks power and privileges and thereby perpetuates class conflict in postcolonial society. The use of the symbol of fox for the head of the military oligarchy and the depiction of his corrupt practices enlighten about the nature of this component of the bourgeoisie. The cunning and power-seeking character of General Zia, the Chief of Army Staff, wears a perfect mask of humility and subservience in relation to Bhutto’s person and his government which is in power at the time. His hypocritical behavior is shown to be illustrative of the compromising mindset and low morale of the military institution in the aftermath of the country’s defeat at the hands of the Indian army and the Bengali secessionists in 1971. The

temporary dormancy and servility woos Bhutto into harboring the illusion that he has tamed the Generals and curbed what he calls “Bonapartist” tendencies in them (23).

The play not only underscores class struggle between the elite and masses but also the strife among the elite ruling sections against one another for power. The duplicitous role of the military oligarchy during the specific period and historical events is represented by Zia’s reiterations of the institution’s loyalty to the constitution and the readiness of the armed forces to help the government in maintaining political stability in major cities which reinforce Bhutto’s misapprehension (14). The play begins with Bhutto’s expressions of gratitude to Zia for his fidelity: “Your loyalty is the best thanks I have. All your predecessors were Bonapartes. Sulking in the bushes. Always eyeing the throne. Waiting to pounce on the politicians. They never gave democracy a chance” (23).

He boasts of Zia being his man, the one he sidelined seven Generals for, to promote to the present rank (33). Ironically, it turns out to be the biggest mistake of judgment on Bhutto’s part which costs him his life. Forgetfulness of the perpetual struggle among the various sections of the national bourgeoisie for the attainment of state power, a fundamental feature of postcolonial nation-states, proves to be fatal for the student of history. From the scrutiny of the play, it is evident that the multiple and complex dimensions of Bhutto’s and Zia’s characters in their political, social and familial interactions are vividly brought into light. The delineation of these characters, therefore, succeeds in engaging the reader’s interest and invalidates King’s critique that Ali’s fictional characters are insipid and one-dimensional (112). In addition, Ali’s fictional depiction stands verified by evidence from other texts, referred to by the researcher in the analysis, negating Erol’s critical assessment of Ali’s characters being hyperbolic and unreal (341).

During the course of the play, it becomes evident that the military elite class has not settled permanently for an absolute acceptance of the supremacy of the civilian, democratic rule. The firm manner in which Bhutto dismissed the services of the chiefs of three armed forces as soon as he came into power in 1971 had struck a chord of insecurity in the heart of this elite section. The feeling is vented by Zia to Bhutto in the course of the play (23). The true colors of both Zia’s personality and intentions of the military oligarchy are, however, revealed soon. The conspiracy and execution of the military coup, the connivance with the judges to forge a murder

case against Bhutto and finally his assassination are events which fully expose the retrogressive, autocratic and self-seeking nature of the military elite. The plan devised by the two Generals and the Chief, utilizing cricketing terminology, is portrayed thus:

Zia. He will not compromise. He will not retire hurt. He will not accept your decision of leg before wicket. So we have to bowl him out. Clean bowled.

All Laugh.

Zaman. Good idea, sir. But he has a good bat. He will not be bowled out.

Zia. So?

Zaman. The ball has to be hurled at his head. One bumper after another.

Nizami. And don't forget, we appoint the umpires as well.

More laughter, then silence. (96)

The military elite class lies to both the public and the Supreme Court that it will conduct general elections within ninety days when internally the Generals laugh at the very idea of elections (77-146). The constitution is regarded as a piece of paper which can be torn apart any time and replaced with another i.e. the Martial law. Instead of feeling or exhibiting any pangs of conscience, the oligarchy calculatingly explores incriminations against Bhutto and produces fake witnesses in the court (113). It tortures Bhutto to make him sign a false statement declaring him responsible for the breakup of the country in 1971 and the present inability to quell the political turmoil which compelled the armed forces to take over. The brutal and coercive dimension of this elite class is confirmed when the workers of a Multan textile mill protesting against the dismissal of Bhutto are opened fire at resulting in a colossal loss of life (121).

The military elite class, like other sections of the indigenous bourgeoisie, "came into existence as part of the colonial coercive apparatus" and maintains a retrogressive political outlook in the post-independence milieu (Nkrumah, *Class Struggle* 41). This repressive aspect in the context of Pakistan is highlighted in the play by the discussion of the Generals on the Baluch insurgency. The Generals strongly disagree with Bhutto's decision to release the Baluch prisoners. They label them as "gangsters" challenging the writ of the state (59). The state,

according to Zia's parochial interpretation, is synonymous with the armed forces instead of the people. Zia's Islamist rhetoric also sounds doubtful when juxtaposed with his support for the neo-imperialist argument that civilian governments in the postcolonial Third World are too politically unstable to be trusted with the empire's strategic and economic interests in the region (35). In the end, the military oligarchy succeeds in toppling the elected government and wooing the clerical, feudalist and industrialist elite to its side by offering these positions in the government. According to Zahid's elaboration, it repays the imperialist support by embarking on the project of denationalization (15-27).

Keeping the above-mentioned development in view, the theory of coup-gemony formulated by Bhutto appears extremely pertinent and significant in the postcolonial context (*If I am Assassinated* 196). To him, coup-gemony signifies the undemocratic and coercive assumption of state power by armed forces in the postcolonial Third World. He regards military dictatorships as a form of "internal hegemony" which poses the strongest threat to national progress. The internal hegemony functions as a carrier belt for foreign hegemony in these lands. According to him, the utilization of brute force by military leads to the disintegration of national territory and the balkanization of national territories. Once people submit to an ill-founded internal hegemony, their acquiescence to a more systematic external hegemony is ascertained. Nkrumah examines military coups in postcolonial states to be just another manifestation of class struggle between elite classes and masses. In his view:

Reactionary, pro-imperialist coups signify that imperialism and its internal allies, being unable to thwart the advance of the masses and to defeat the socialist revolution by traditional methods, have resorted to the use of arms. They reveal the desperation and weakness of the reactionary forces, not their strength. They are the last ditch stand by the indigenous exploiting classes and neocolonialists to preserve the bourgeois reactionary status quo. (*Class Struggle* 41)

Nkrumah points out "intelligentsia", the top ranks of professions, as another significant section of indigenous bourgeoisie which eyes "political power, social position and professional status" and aggravates class conflict in postcolonial states (*Class Struggle* 36). In the play, the judiciary of the country and its topmost functionaries i.e. the judges and Chief Justices of the High Courts and the Supreme Court, are portrayed as a part of the elite class which exercises

opportunism to maintain its privileged status. The military elite section overthrowing the elected government relies on the support of the judiciary to pursue with the political victimization of Bhutto. The character of Bakhtiar, Bhutto's lawyer, tells the judges on face that the court had been entirely partial in the case and antagonistic to his client: "For two months he tried to defend himself. The Bench of the High Court made this task impossible. The behavior and bias of the Chief Justice of the High Court was a scandal and a disgrace" (140). In the cricketing terminology used by the Generals for their face-off with Bhutto, the term "umpires" refers to the judges who are to manipulate judgment in their favor (96). A complete picture of the institution of Judiciary in Pakistan, which unscrupulously supports the unconstitutional and autocratic measures adopted by both military dictatorships and elected bourgeois governments, drawn previously by Ali in 1983, goes in tandem with the present scenario:

It enjoyed very little respect amongst the population as a whole. Very few judges were regarded as upholders of the law. When their lordships of the Supreme Court invoked the dubious 'doctrine of necessity' to provide the army coup with a judicial seal of approval, few observes expressed surprise. The Supreme court had a long history of legalizing regimes which violated every tenet of the Constitution which the judges were sworn to defend". (Can *Pakistan Survive?* 135)

The mean and power-hungry character of Mushtaq, the Acting Chief Justice of Lahore High Court in the play, is representative of the sordid role played by this section of the elite class in engineering and executing a forged trial against the deposed Prime Minister. When the conspirators of the military coup fail in finding substantial evidences of corruption against Bhutto, it is Mushtaq who suggests the idea of filing a charge of murder against him. He informs Zia that a case of murder which was closed three years back due to lack of evidence could be opened anew and pursued successfully with the help of forged evidences and witnesses (104). In other words, he assures Zia that every legal tool will be utilized and manipulated for the execution of Bhutto. During the trial, he blatantly overlooks the flimsy basis of the evidences produced and overrules all the objections raised by the defence lawyer. The journalists and ordinary people witnessing the trial are shocked by the crude display of judicial hostility to the former Prime Minister. Mushtaq's character exceeds his juridical limit when he labels Bhutto as a liar and unbeliever in an off-hand manner in the court (126-132). Bhutto publicly protests

against the biased and disgraceful treatment meted out to him by the Chief Justice, during the trial, exposes the secret meetings between the Chief Martial Law Administrator and the Justice.

In his last writing, Bhutto provides the reason behind the animosity nurtured by Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain, the real-life Chief Justice of Lahore High court at the time of Bhutto's trial (*If I am Assassinated* 97). The basis of the prejudice, according to him, was not connected with the fact that he was a childhood friend of Zia hailing from his Indian home town of *Jalandhar* or the reason that he apparently shared in the orthodox religious outlook that Zia flaunted. The cause originated from Bhutto's refusal to promote him to the rank of the Chief Justice of Lahore High Court in 1971 when Bhutto assumed the presidency of the state. Bhutto recalls that his manner at the point of time was obsequious yet business-like in the statement of his ambition and of the mutual benefits it would lead to, if fulfilled. He harbored resentment against Bhutto for the refusal. Between Zia and Mushtaq or the military oligarchy and the judicial oligarchy symbolized by both respectively, however, it is a fair and square deal motivated by economic interests: Zia needs death sentence for Bhutto for the retention of state power and Mushtaq wants a promotion. The service Mushtaq renders Zia is enormous and for it he is awarded double benefit in the form of the offices of the Chief Justice and Chief Election commissioner of the country in the play.

The portrayal of this professional elite group shows that class-based interests play a more powerful role in determining their behavior than professional or moral principles (141-145). The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court grants privileges to the judges who agree to be accomplices to the forged trial. For instance, he informs one of the judges, referred to as the "tall judge" in the play, that his nephew in the army will be promoted to a higher rank if he supports the verdict of Bhutto's execution. Apparently, he tries to lure the judges to his side by invoking the spirit of national interest and the doctrine of necessity but, alongside, offers lucrative positions to them and their relatives on behalf of the military dictatorship. Zahid documents that the same court went ahead and granted the military dictator the right to amend the constitution and postpone the general elections for an unlimited span of time (9).

Ali depicts individual, social, moral and institutional corruption in the postcolonial context of Pakistan to be driven by class dichotomy in the society originating from capitalist economy and the neocolonial politico-economic modes of operation. The delineations are

criticized by Chapman (7-20) and Hashmi (210-211) on the ground that economy is represented as the sole determining factor in shaping society while other powerful social factors such as institutional codes and religious as well as moral values are allotted secondary status in Ali's works. The researcher, however, observes in this particular instance of *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007), that Ali's depiction is more realistic and valid since religious, ethical and institutional codes appear to be completely acquiescent to and are determined by material, class-based interests and do not, in any way, challenge or negotiate with the profit-centered values generated by the capitalist and neocolonial system. All the developments in the play involving individuals and institutions, the details of which are authenticated by other documents and texts as well, lead to the same conclusion which makes Ali's portrayal more convincing than its criticism.

The final lesson which Bhutto learnt from the coup and the death sentence awarded to him resonates with Ali's Marxist appraisal of the economic and political dilemmas afflicting the postcolonial states. Bhutto writes that social transformation in the underdeveloped countries is not possible without a resolution of class conflict (*If I am assassinated* 185). There can be no national progress and self-sufficiency until the working class attains triumph against the elite sections in this struggle. Temporary negotiations and settlements between the proletariat and the bourgeoisies can offer a semblance of peace for a short period, however, a permanent compromise or long-term alliance is illusory.

Bhutto's own theses and conclusions, in his written works, on the political and economic context of postcolonial states do not differ markedly from Nkrumah's or Ali's Marxist Postcolonial analyses and depictions of these contexts, as his ideas on class struggle mentioned above demonstrate in the case. Bhutto also terms decolonization as "the myth of independence" in an eponymous work written in 1969. His study sums up that the politico-economic sovereignty of the postcolonial underdeveloped states has been severely delimited by the neoliberal policies of the global capitalist economy to which these economies are tied. According to him, the basic problems of these regions endure since imperialist occupation has been substituted with neo-imperialist political and economic interventions (115-123). Eqbal Ahmed, another contemporary Postcolonial Marxist critic, has been more scathing in his critique of the political independence of the colonized regions. He challenges the very phenomenon and process of decolonization which, according to him, has never historically substantiated for the colonized.

In his view, the decolonized states retain the oppressive and discriminatory class structures created during the British colonial period. After independence, the bourgeois political forces have been largely unsuccessful in finding creative, original and contextual alternatives to the political and economic ideologies and practices of the imperialist-capitalist powers. The postcolonial state, therefore, remains “a bad version of the colonial one” in which poverty and underdevelopment reign supreme (130).

According to the researcher’s conclusion, the play *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) is a political satire based in a realistic portrayal of events leading to the downfall of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the first elected prime minister of Pakistan. It depicts a contemporarily pertinent subject, as is the case in most of Ali’s plays according to Sakelleridou’s analysis (145-152). The plot begins with a chain of events undermining his government and ends with his execution, with each dramatic action being integrally connected to the downfall. The fact serves to refute Kaya’s (22-27) and King’s evaluation (219) that the plots of Ali’s fiction are diffused and incoherent.

Ali’s satire on the class division in Pakistani society and its neocolonial modes of political and economic operation is stringent yet moving. His delineation of the characters of Bhutto and Zia is highly imaginative, multifaceted and engaging. The progression of the plot is centered on Bhutto’s fall yet minor incidents interwoven into the story such as Bhutto’s flirtation with the journalist Lily and his witty remarks on Zia’s domestic life bring comic relief to the tragic tale. The wit and humor displayed by the character of Bhutto and the duplicitous mannerisms of Zia’s character render the play an entertaining piece of fiction, contrary to Sakelleridou’s critique that Ali’s plays are journalistic representations of real happenings (145-152).

Thematically, the play is a critique of the class division and neocolonial conditions prevalent in society, from a radical angle. The elite ruling classes of the feudalist and capitalist elite as well as the military and bureaucratic oligarchies are represented as allied to the neo-imperialist center for the protection their class-based interests and privileges. The sycophantic role of bureaucratic apparatus and intelligentsia, another section of indigenous bourgeoisie in the light of Nkrumah’s works discussed in section 2.4 of Literature Review, is represented by the top ranks in judiciary in the literary part. The play reflects the postcolonial socio-economic and political context to be subservient to American neo-imperialist interests and, therefore,

dependent and underdeveloped. Aid and trade are depicted as the major tools used for the neocolonial project. Nevertheless, the play also depicts the minor theme of the rise of religious fundamentalism in the country as a by-product of the pursuit of class-based interests by the national elite and neo-imperialist sponsorship of reactionary socio-political forces, thus deconstructing the currently prevalent Euro-American narratives of the clash between Islam and the West. According to Gamal's critical appraisal, Ali's deconstruction and "rewriting of Eurocentric history" represents the postcolonial dimension of his fiction (30).

5.2 *Can Pakistan Survive? The Death of a State* (1983)

Tariq Ali's *Can Pakistan Survive? The Death of a State*, published in 1983, is a non-fictional study of the social, economic and political conditions of Pakistan from 1947 to the midpoint of General Zia's military regime. Looking at the time period and the range of momentous events encompassed by the book, the work is of an "epic scale" as King observes to be the case in Ali's fiction in his review of *Fear of Mirrors* (219) and *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree* (112). Adopting a stringent critical perspective, Ali dismantles the class-based foundation of the state and the economic as well as political modes by which its neocolonial status is perpetuated. In the light of Ahmed's review of Ali's works discussed in section 2.1 of Literature Review, the book is "a concise account of Pakistan's political developments, interpreted from a radical point of view" (417). Ali's narrative style in this non-fictional work as well is autobiographical and a "mixture of memoir, history and political critique" which Hattori assesses to be Ali's "informal approach" in most of his non-fiction (242-243). The non-fictional work highlights the background and elucidates many significant aspects of the major themes of class conflict and the process of neocolonialism in the postcolonial Pakistani context delineated in the fictional work *The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy* (2007).

Ali begins the book from the very beginning and links the genesis of the class structure of Pakistani society and its uncomplicated drift to a neocolonial character to the country's colonial past. He argues that it is difficult to envision the existence of Pakistan as a sovereign political entity outside the historical event of the British colonization of the Indian subcontinent (15-16). Therefore, the initial subject of his investigation in the book is the class-based and pro-imperialist formation of the political party, the Muslim League, during the British colonial era which led the struggle for the creation of Pakistan. His method of study corresponds with the

general theoretical lines put forward by Marxist Postcolonial theorists such as Nkrumah (*Class Struggle* 11-88, *Neocolonialism* 11-258), Bose and Jalal (97-157), Alavi (“Bangladesh and the Crisis of Pakistan 289-317) and Gardezi (“Neocolonial Alliances” 3-6), who also link the present-day class conflict and operation of neocolonialism in the postcolonial states to the formation of elite classes of feudalists, capitalists, bureaucrats and military officers as well as to the continuation of the political and economic modes and structures by which the British colonial government operated. The class-based formation of Muslim League and its links with the British imperialist center, scrutinized by Ali, are subjects rarely highlighted in the works of “professional political scientists who speak of an abstract nationalism” in their works on the subject (Ahmed 416-417).

As per Ali’s appraisal (19-21), three major factors caused the origination of the Muslim League in 1906: guardianship of the British aiming to subdivide the synthesized force of the Indian liberation movement, the religious and communal politics of the Hindu majority-based Indian National Congress and concerns of the Muslim landed gentry and emerging bourgeoisie regarding their class interests in a changing economic scenario. A united All-Indian political force would have shortened imperial reign on the subcontinent, and as Khan puts it (58), the development of a revolutionary class-based alliance between the proletarian Hindu and Muslim masses would have dealt a heavy blow not only to the imperialist capitalist system but also to the vested interests of the elite classes of both the communities involved. In Ali’s view, collaboration between British civil service and Muslim landed aristocracy as well as bourgeois upper crust and the foundation of Muslim League have been trite instances of the “client-relationship” between the metropolitan and native bourgeoisie, described by Banerjee (202) to be crucial to the sustenance of interests common to both.

The book substantiates the client relationship between the British Empire and the bourgeois-led Muslim League with citation of specific historical events. Ali examines that Muslim League backed the imperial World Wars; refused to join major anti-British movements and suppressed the joint Hindu and Muslim peasants and workers’ rebellions against the state of which the Moplah Revolt of 1921 and Naval Mutiny of 1946 are two major instances. The British, in their turn, instituted separate electorates for the Muslims which benefitted the landlords mainly and guaranteed a share in government jobs (23-25). The functional equation of

the alliance was barefaced: the Muslim landlords and rising capitalists needed the assistance of colonial administration to guarantee the protection of their assets against the Hindu elite and the British required a comprador elite class as a vehicle for both the pre-partition and post-partition imperialist and capitalist domination of the region.

On the aforementioned plane and on the lines of Nkrumah's scrutiny of the elite ruling classes in the postcolonial states (*Class Struggle* 9-88), Khan (21) also examines that one of the ironies of the Indian independence movement was that most of its feudal and emerging bourgeois leaders were educated in Britain and indoctrinated in the political and economic ideologies of liberal democracy and capitalist free market which they sought to materialize in their own context. In Ali's view, the self-description "we the nobles, Jagirdars, Taluqdars, Zamindars, lawyers and merchants, subjects of his Majesty the King-Emperor in different parts of India" of the deputation which met Lord Minto to found the Muslim League is evidence to the feudal and capitalist nature of the party (19). The manifesto of the party pledged allegiance to the British Empire in undisguised words. Both religion and communalism served as useful rallying cries for the preservation of class interests during the struggle for independence.

Nkrumah had pointed out that "class division had become blurred to some extent during the pre-independence period when it seemed that there was national unity and all classes joined forces to eject the colonial power. But the exposure of this fallacy followed soon after independence" (*Class Struggle* 10). Ali observes a similar situation in the post-partition social context of Pakistan which exposed both the weak mass base and the class-oriented configuration of the Muslim League. Ali explicates (41-50) that the United Provinces where it garnered support from lower and lower-middle class Muslims became a part of India. In the North West Frontier province and Baluchistan, nationalist parties essentially anti-League in character held sway. The Muslim League was strong only in the rural areas of Punjab and Sind where the peasantry backed it under the influence of the local landlords. The landed aristocrats who acted as religious heads (*Pirs*) as well in these regions exercised an inordinate hold over the material and social lives of the peasants. In the absence of a strong capitalist class, the feudal lords dominated the political stage and made up the command of the founding party.

The repercussions of the feudal class dominating the political party running the nascent state in which the agricultural sector accounted for more than 60 per cent of the economy were

disastrous. Ali draws a vivid and factual image of the rural context of the nascent state: “6000 landlords owned more land than the 3.5 million peasant households. Many of these were also political and/or religious leaders in their regions. Their adherence in large numbers to the League, on the eve of and following Pakistan’s creation, meant that the country’s major political party was paralyzed from birth” (43). The country required radical land reforms for an equitable distribution of wealth in the countryside and growth of the agrarian economy. The class of landlords controlling the ruling party rendered it impossible to bring any change to the existing primitive social relations of production. The above-mentioned detailed study of the geographical entities in pre-partition India forming support base for the founding party and the provision of statistics pertaining to land ownership in the nascent state attests to Shamsie’s assessment of Ali’s fiction as highly informative, based on exhaustive research and “strong on historical details” which applies to his non-fiction equally validly (“South Asian Muslims”151).

Ali highlights (41-53) another aspect of class struggle and hegemonic dimension to the ruling class in the new-found state. A large number of bureaucrats, military officers, landed gentry and industrialists concentrated in West Pakistan while majority of the population lived in the Eastern wing. The landed and capitalist elite, in the early years of the state’s institution, embarked upon a process of internal colonization not dissimilar to the colonial model they had lately been liberated from. The maintenance of the power and privileges held by these classes necessitated the political and economic exploitation of the massive Bengali population. In a quintessentially imperialist and capitalistic fashion, the market of East Pakistan was transformed into an exporter of raw materials dependent on manufactured goods from the comparatively better industrialized West Pakistan. The revenues generated by the export of resources from East Pakistan were monopolized by the Punjab dominated central government and little was allotted to development in the province. Providing the exact statistics, Ali states: “By 1956, at least 300 million rupees were being extracted annually. Between 1948 and 1951, a sum of 130 million rupees was sanctioned for development. Of this only 22.1 per cent went to East Pakistan. Three years later the gap had increased further” (46). To make matters worse, the Bengali people were virtually denied representation in every significant state institution such as the bureaucracy and the armed forces. Demands for regional autonomy and economic parity met with state repression, a practice also adopted from the days of the British Empire.

Ali's examination (59-61) of the foregoing politico-economic crisis of Pakistan in the first decade of its existence has been supported by similar analyses from Alavi ("Bangladesh and the Crisis of Pakistan" 289-317), Gardezi "The failure of capitalism in Pakistan" 310-26) and Khan (83). All of them reason, along similar lines, that the feudal and bourgeois elite instituting the Muslim League failed in establishing all the prerequisites of a stable democratic system: grant of provincial autonomy and regional economic equality, drafting of a constitution, organization of a general election, utilization of national resources, creation of an independent capitalist market and directing the country on the road to progress. The incompetent political instrument was utterly discredited by majority of the population in the provincial elections of 1954. The idea of conducting general elections was anathema to the classes in power as it would have jeopardized their vested interests together with those of the new patron empire. Isolated and ridden with insecurities concerning its interests, the ruling elite tried all option to maintain status quo.

Ali's study informs that the feudal and bourgeois elite first allied with a manipulative bureaucratic oligarchy and helped it take over state power (59-63). However, the bureaucratic ruling elite failed to withstand the mass upsurge of radical forces pressing for the establishment of a democratic political government for long. For the sustenance of shared interests guaranteed by status quo, this elite section paved the way for the military oligarchy which usurped political power and the first epoch of military dictatorship was ushered in with assistance from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). This class-based alliance also instated, in order to gain leverage for staying in power, the country's client status to the United States by signing economic and military aid pacts elucidated methodically by Saif ("Pakistan and SEATO" 19-45). According to Amin's perusal, "Aid, technical assistance and various types of financial contribution" from the center to the peripheral postcolonial states are modes through which neocolonialism operates and prolongs the dependency of these social entities (*Neocolonialism* xii). Ali's analysis is realistic and close to historical facts, as is verified by Saif's study cited above.

The legacy of colonial structural organization and class-based approach of the dominant classes in the new-found Postcolonial states have been thrown ample light on by Nkrumah (*Class Struggle* 10-88) in general, and Gardezi ("Neocolonial Alliances"3-6), Washbrook (479-508) and Bose and Jalal (206-235) in the particular case of Pakistan. However, Ali unearths another facet

to class dichotomy and class preservation: a subject rarely broached in fiction or non-fiction focused on the capitalist and neocolonial social context of Pakistan. Ali foregrounds (63-67), in the backdrop of the military takeover of rule in 1958, the class dichotomy in the armed forces created by the British and rigorously preserved by the post-independence institution. Ali examines that under British colonialism, the officer ranks were picked up mainly from the rural gentry of Punjab and partly from that of N.W.F.P while lower class peasants from the two regions made the rank and file of soldiery, to the exclusion of other regions and ethnicities. The class segregation, which became a ground for ethnic discrimination as well, was kept intact in the postcolonial era as these had been in the colonial times.

He emphasizes that had the class background of the officers in the institution been variegated after the state's inception, significant reforms pertaining to social transformation could have been brought about by the military government which took over (66). Entrenched in the class division and operational modes inherited from British colonialism, the top ranking military officers shifted under US patronage after independence. Ali's study in this specific case is analogous to Nkrumah's generalized proposition in the broader postcolonial context: "The class which thrived under colonialism is the same class which is benefitting under the post-independence, neocolonial period. Its basic interest lies in preserving capitalist social and economic structures" (*Class Struggle* 10).

Ali's appraisal corresponds with the general Marxist Postcolonial perspective and specifically Nkrumah's analysis (*Neocolonialism* 83-178) that each section of the national bourgeois class which came to rule over the postcolonial states has widened class gap between elite and proletariat, intensified class conflict and adopted all the neocolonial modes of political and economic functioning such as dependency on foreign investments, products, economic and military aid, and loans from global monetary organizations. He analyzes that the military oligarchy leading the self-seeking bureaucracy and pliant politicians joined by class interests during General Ayub's regime (1958-69) did away with any semblance of democracy the country laid claim to in the first decade (67-71). The government exercised a primitive form of autocracy by banning the political activities of all sections of the society, in particular those of the communist students, trade unions and peasants. In the details of the government's suppression of the Communist party, Ali's "partisanship" is unconcealed, yet there is no

evidence of any attempt to distort facts to suit his argument (Ahmed 417). In the researcher's view, by analyzing the regime's policies from the Marxist angle, Ali adds multiplicity and complexity to the existing dominant narratives on the subject by incorporating the hitherto marginalized voice of the 'other' (Gamal 30-32; Waterman 157; Ali et al. 61-68) which is the political Left in the present case.

In Ali's estimation, the land reforms General Ayub's regime implemented were insubstantial and did not bring any change to the lot of millions of peasants with little or no land. In turn, the state sponsorship of capitalist farming through subsidies and tax waivers benefitted the elite section of landlords only (67-8). Ali regards the measures taken by General Ayub's government to invigorate capitalistic investment in the industry as acceptable; nevertheless, he appraises their consequences to be disastrous for society on three levels (69-71). Firstly, the state's aid in the development of industrialization did lead to economic growth and strengthening of the urban capitalist class but it also caused an obscene accumulation of capital by a few tycoons, widening the class gulf between the minority and the majority. In Ali's words, 60 per cent of the wealth went to the bank accounts of twenty families while living conditions for the largest number of population deteriorated. Secondly, the small capitalist class grew dependent on favors from the military oligarchy and bureaucracy which resulted in a shady coalition among the three classes based on the principle of mutual profitability.

The third jaundiced aspect involved the dependence of the capitalist class on aid and investments from the world capitalist powers, one of the means facilitating neocolonialism which, in Nkrumah's view, "is made attractive through the illusion of raising the living standard (through innumerable aid programs) while in reality, it is not in the interest of the underdeveloped country" (*Neocolonialism* xv). Ali views the dependent capitalist growth in the country as part and parcel of the neocolonial status of the country persisting till date. A report by Harvard students in 1969, cited by Ai, portrayed the situation aptly:

A succession of capitalist governments, operating with DAS (Development Advisory Service) advice, have done nothing for the people of Pakistan. Income inequality, between classes and East and West, shows no sign of decreasing. Repression and corruption are as common today as when Harvard first intervened in 1950s. Capitalism in Pakistan is not an independent, developing system, but a very dependent client of the

major capitalist powers, unable to finance its investment plans without massive foreign aid. (71)

In the researcher's view, the tone of Ali's narrative shifts from its critical and denunciatory ring to an approbatory and triumphant one whenever he describes a mass movement which challenges social class division and dependent politico-economic structures created by a capitalist and neocolonial order. Ali highlights that General Ayub's military regime sought to legitimize itself through various means: the institution of a new party backed by politicians and bureaucracy and negotiation of pacts with communist China which gained it support from the Pro-Peking left at home (73-82). Nonetheless, the government's blatant suppression of democratic rights, the aggravating economic crisis and the misadventure of the 1965 war with India frustrated the masses. A mass movement led jointly by the population of East and West Pakistan brought about the downfall of General Ayub's eleven years of military dictatorship. According to Ali's evaluation, the nation-wide rising in which students, women, workers, peasants, middle class professionals and petty bourgeoisie participated has been a socialist movement unprecedented in the country's history. However, in the absence of an organized socialist mass party, the struggle assumed a populist character and soon lost its class orientated force as is elaborated by Khan (153-212) and K. Ali (241) in their discussions of issues pertaining to the failure of the left in Pakistan. The details of the mass movement are based on first-hand experience and are autobiographical because Ali was an active member of the Communist Party of Pakistan at the time and a part of the students' protests against General Ayub's regime in the 1960s.

In the book, Ali focuses his critique not only on the bourgeois sections of the ruling class and their comprador character but also appraises the various facets of mass movements, whether popular or socialist in nature, challenging their hegemony. Ali's assessment (83-85) of the years 1969-71 stipulates that the political consciousness and morale of the masses had been raised high by the anti-Ayub struggle and the fall of the military regime. However, the communist groups mobilizing and leading the mass movement suffered from ideological parasitism and factionalism. The division of the Communist Party into Pro-Peking and Pro-Moscow wings and the support of the Pro-Peking group for the military dictatorship besides its reactionary response to the demand of East Pakistan for regional autonomy rendered the communist ranks bewildered

and emasculated. Moreover, both the wings, on a refusal of their demand for postponement of the general elections of 1971, boycotted participation in it. The act, at such a crucial juncture, has been labeled as a historical blunder in annals of the country's communist struggle by Marxist critics and historians (Khan 215). The above-mentioned rift and failures of communist mass movements in Pakistan are subjects recapitulated by Ali subsequently in *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (186).

Though Ali's fiction and non-fiction have been criticized for propagating socialist political agenda and representing capitalism as the sole root of all social ills by critics such as Chapman (7-20), Ali's equally scathing criticism of the theoretical and practical flaws of leftist movements make his representations and analyses more nuanced and holistic than these assessments consider them to be. His works not only criticize the capitalist system and class division of societies on the basis of economy but also the left parties and mass organizations challenging the system and its polarizing operation, thus offering the other side to the picture as well. In Feinberg's terms, Ali also "recognizes the organizational and intellectual weaknesses of his 'pirates' and the long difficult roads they face" (151).

Ali's exposition informs that in the backdrop of the fall of Ayub's military dictatorship in 1969, the bourgeois popular parties PPP (Pakistan People's Party) and AL (Awami League) adopted the socialist slogans of radical land reforms, nationalization of major economic sectors and fair distribution of wealth to tilt the momentum of the mass struggle in their favor (84-98). However, the class-based institution of these parties was evident right from the time of their formation. The Bhutto-led PPP in West Pakistan, in particular, was dominated by landlords from Sind and Punjab in addition to the feudalist and autocratic outlook of the leader himself.

According to Ali's radical study of the context (84-98), it was class conflict which caused the balkanization, "the break-up of large political entities into small market states" in Nkrumah's words, of the postcolonial state (*Neocolonialism* 14). The ruling elite classes of West Pakistan with their "corporate interests" had feared the democratic rise of the Bengali majority to power and had used innumerable tactics to delay general elections since 1947 (Bose and Jalal 218). Their nightmares materialized when this majority, protesting for control over its regional resources and expenditure in conjunction with an even-handed share of representation in the state apparatus, won the highest number of votes in the country and the right to form the central

government. The capitalist class feared the dispossession of a colonized market and the militarily oligarchy the loss of a colossal defense budget. The bureaucracy was apprehensive about its kickbacks from the two as well as from the metropolitan bourgeoisie in various forms since the provincial assembly of East Pakistan, elected in 1954, had already challenged the influence of the United States in the country by voting against economic and military pacts with it (Ali, *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* 182).

Ali's assertion of American economic and military aid playing a crucial role in strengthening the ruling classes in West Pakistan and exacerbating regional inequality has been attested to by Ahmed's analysis ("Why Pakistan's Unity was Jeopardized?" 4-6). Ali assesses that instead of granting the Bengali majority the right to govern, military operations were carried out by the Western wing in East Pakistan mass killing peasants, workers, students and women (90). The suppression of the Bengali population orchestrated by the two oligarchies in collusion with the feudal-cum-bourgeois politicians of West Pakistan and the neo-imperialist power caused the break-up of the country verifying Nkrumah's theoretical stance that in the capitalist world, state apparatuses are "instruments of the ruling class for maintaining bourgeois power" (*Class Struggle* 45-6). In Ali's words, the class-based character of the state was asserted once again: "the state machine that attempted to enforce the 'unity of Pakistan' was the repressive weapon of a landlord-capitalist-bureaucratic ruling bloc against millions of workers and peasants. It was a shock-force of imperialist-trained and Pentagon-backed coercion, an integral component of SEATO and CENTO" (97).

In this instance, Ali's analysis of the division of the country as triggered by class conflict and the role of neo-imperialist aid in exacerbating the crisis brings back Feinberg's critical evaluation that Ali's works direct the blame for the multi-faceted socio-political predicaments of the postcolonial states to US imperialism. Such approach, according to him, is "full of factual errors and over-simplifications" (150). Many other studies of this particular historical context allot a greater share of significance to geographical, linguistic and cultural gap between the two parts of the country in causing the 1971 partition which are aspects granted little attention in Ali's works, according to Hashmi's scrutiny (210-211). However, the researcher's evaluation differs from these appraisals and corresponds to Ahmed's and Phillips' positive critical assessments of these themes in Ali's works. Ahmed examines that in Ali's works dealing with

Pakistani context, “for the first time, Pakistan's history has been taken out of the arena of Bengali versus Punjabi tug-of-war and egotistical bickering of the individual political personalities” and analyzed with focus on “ the class basis domination of the economy”(416). Similarly, Ali’s critical unveiling of the various facets of US imperialism can be viewed approvingly in the light of Phillips’ estimation that Ali’s works promote an anti-imperialist critique (qtd. in Cilano “Highlighting the Sceptical Strain” 191).

Ali (85-98) deplores the same historical fact, the loss of the socialist struggle and its objectives, which could have challenged and transformed the class- based division of society and the neocolonial modes of its operation. The same sense of loss was later transformed by him into the literary tragedy of *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007). He expounds that the divided half of the country came to be ruled, for the first time in the twenty four years of its existence, by an elected political party and government. Hopes for radical social and politico-economic transformation ran high because Pakistan People’s Party had mobilized masses around the socialist manifesto of food, clothing and shelter for all. The situation was ripe for such change as the institutions hitherto in power were completely discredited by the debacle of 1971. Ali, nonetheless, criticizes the high note of optimism among the masses in relation to the party and its leader. He opines that the class- based authoritarian and feudal attitude had already been attested to by Bhutto’s refusal to share political power with the democratically elected majority of representatives from East Pakistan, costing the country half its part. The feudalist approach of the leader had been evident when he acted as a colonialist in relation to the demands of the East province for autonomy and politico-economic rights.

Ali highlights the class contradictions in the party manifesto and actual practices at the outset: “Bhutto promised a regime which would guarantee ‘Food, Clothing and Shelter’ to every Pakistani. The PPP promised radical land reforms, extensive nationalizations, an end to the economic power of the twenty-two familiesthe party leaders, however, consisted of an unholy amalgam of landlords, racketeers, lawyers and bandwagon petty bourgeois” (84). The landed gentry, termed as “rural bourgeoisie” by Nkrumah (*Class Struggle* 57), dominated the PPP and, therefore, the government failed in trimming down the power of this elite section in both the rural regions and the country’s political arena (99-106). In Ali’s view, though the land

reforms of 1972 and 1974 substantially reduced the size of land holdings, the law provided room for manipulation in the form of land being used for other purposes being excluded from the limit.

In Ali's appraisal, constitutional measures for empowerment of the peasantry and amelioration of living conditions for them were crucial to bringing change in the prevalent relations of production in a largely agrarian economy (99-106). The major sector of agriculture being untransformed, the nationalization of banks and major industries remained ineffective. With multinational companies not brought under the state's regulatory system and national capitalists transferring their capital abroad, the public sector was unsuccessful in boosting production. However, in Ali's view, it was the rampant corruption exercised by the landowning class in the government and other sections of the elite class functioning under it which marred any prospect of the material betterment of the workers' plight. In Ali's words: "the regime attempted to tinker with the system, but did not challenge the effective power of property-owners, the army or the civil service" (107). Consequently, the capitalist economic system and the class gap it had perpetuated stayed intact during the bourgeois government.

Ali's outright and stringent criticism of the accomplishments of Bhutto's government strongly contrasts with the positive aspects of it highlighted in Dr Mubashir Hassan's account incorporated in the discussion of *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) in section 5.1 of the present study. Ali's critical analysis also appears to validate Feinberg's appraisal (150) that Ali's works express disillusionment with all social conditions, no matter how progressive, which fall short of meeting the socialist political objectives. However, according to the researcher's observation, Ali grants due appreciation to the achievements of Bhutto's government in both *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) and *Can Pakistan Survive?* (1983) though the sense of the tragic loss of socialist vision and waste of the apt historical moment for the materialization of the vision subdue to an extent the representation of those positive aspects in his works.

Ali studies that the ruling party PPP dominated by feudalists and its leader who also belonged to the same class displayed an undemocratic, manipulative and repressive political behavior to maintain power (107-114). For the purpose, it also forged alliances with other sections of the national bourgeoisie it had previously fought against, in particular the clerical elite. Instead of building the base of the party at the grass-root level among students, industrial workers and peasants, whose support raised him to power, Bhutto treated the party as "a family

heirloom” (108). He ran the party and the country with the outlook of as a feudalist, instituting state police forces such as the Federal Security Force to repress political opposition. In Ali’s words: “He frowned upon dissent, treated his colleagues as inferiors and established a party regime which was blatantly dictatorial. He clearly believed that the country’s entire political system could be a replica of the PPP” (108). Khan’s study of the period attests to Ali’s analysis and scrutinizes the whole episode of authoritarian governance from a class-based perspective terming it as the “intrinsic weakness of populism which causes it to appease and bend to class pressures” (277). Bhutto’s statement “I am the People’s Party and they are all my creatures” (109) perfectly exhibits the class-based attitude and which has been illustrated in detail in *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007).

Ali explicates that the bourgeois government, labeled as “the most advanced political representative of feudal, bourgeois, bureaucratic and military interests” intensified the struggle for power within the elite ruling class itself through various acts instead of bridging the gap between the rich and the poor (122). The feudalists dominating the party offered the subdued military oligarchy an opportunity to reassume its repressive role by deploying it in Baluchistan and imposing Martial Law on six major cities. Ali views the ruling party as a class-based instrument which maintained the hierarchical organization of society and thus the economic and political status quo. Instead of organizing a structural and functional transformation of the institution of the armed forces and directing it to play a constructive role in society on socialist lines compatible with the manifesto of the party, Bhutto succumbed to class pressure and ended up with a few changes in military titles and top positions within the institution on the criteria of personal preference and affiliation.

According to Nkrumah, “indigenous bourgeoisie can never become a really safe governing class, and the need arises from more and more forceful intervention from external interests and repression from within” (*Class Struggle* 71). Nkrumah’s theoretical analysis is validated by Ali’s study of this particular context in which the autocratic bourgeois government exercised military repression against the Baluch demand for autonomy and pushed the country to the brink of another civil war (115-123). According to Alavi’s Marxist interpretation, “the symbolic demands for the recognition of the separate cultural identities were expressive of material inequalities that were really at issue” in the case of various regions in Pakistan

(“Bangladesh and the Crisis of Pakistan 299”). In this regard, Ali also finds no difference in the political attitude of the military-bureaucratic oligarchy ruling over the country in 1971 towards East Pakistan and that of the popularly elected and democratic government of feudalists towards the political dilemmas of Baluchistan.

The Marxist Postcolonial study of Gardezi postulates that “from the moment of their formal independence after the Second World War, few if any colonized countries were able to make a clear break from their former colonial structures and have retained a much stronger imprint of their colonial past and have to be understood as neocolonial formations” (“The Failure of capitalism in Pakistan” 311). The case of postcolonial Pakistan has not been dissimilar and its neocolonial modes of political and economic operation i.e. dependency on American aid, investments, manufactured products, technological assistance and loans from US-centric global monetary organizations since the 1950s, which Ahmed’s Marxist Postcolonial study terms as “instruments of imperialist domination and exploitation” (“Why Pakistan’s Unity was Jeopardized” 4), have been elucidated comprehensively in the works of Ahmed, Gardezi, Alavi, Bose and Jalal, and Saif referred time and again to in the present study in the analysis of Pakistani social context.

Ali reiterates the argument (123-32) that the neocolonial and satellite status of Pakistan in relation to the United States has been a permanent feature of the country’s foreign policy though other external players have also kept emerging and exerting their politic-economic influence. He adds that in the wake of the economic crisis set off by the 1965 war with India and the subsequent loss of East Pakistan, the government sought economic engagement with the Middle Eastern countries and oil-rich Gulf kingdoms which has tilted the internal social and political balance of power in favor of these states as has already been discussed in the details of the financial patronage offered by these to The Bank of Credit and Commerce International in the analysis of *A Banker for All Seasons* (2008) in section 4.1 of the study.

Ali’s critique of the class-based and neocolonial structure of the postcolonial state is affirmed further when the country once again returns to “a state of affairs strikingly similar to that which operated in colonial times, when the colonial government depended on the civil service, on the army and on the support of traditional rulers” (Nkrumah, *Class Struggle* 42). Ali informs that Bhutto imposed Martial law on major cities and authorized the state apparatus to

repress the street protests organized by the oppositional Pakistan National Alliance against the government's corruption, economic crises and large scale rigging in the general elections of 1977 (128). The military oligarchy, "another fraction of postcolonial elite" led by General Zia, the Chief of Army Staff at the time, manipulated the deteriorating political situation to his advantage and took control of the government with full backing from the United States which regarded the initiation of the nuclear program and nationalization of industries as threats to its imperialist interests in the region (Gardezi, "Neocolonial Alliances" 4).

In Ali's view, the first populist political experiment in the country's history ended up in failure and gave way to another long epoch of military dictatorship (128). According to his appraisal, the failure of populist political experiments in the Postcolonial Third world states, in general, is rooted in the failure of the popular leader to take side in the class struggle unequivocally: "A key element of all populist regimes is the 'man on horseback' who for a period reflects the hopes of both oppressor and oppressed classes, but who ultimately destroys the illusions of the latter and is then struck down by the former" (131). In the specific case of Pakistan, Bhutto tried to establish a popular government through merging the interests of the elite and the working classes, mainly through personal influence for a short period of time. However, the experiment proved to be unsuccessful and the short-lived balancing act soon gave way to the usurpation of power by the military oligarchy.

Commenting on General Zia's military dictatorship, Ali recounts that the top ranks of the country's judiciary had already allied with the military oligarchy during the fabricated trial against Bhutto (133-53). The military regime won the remaining sections of bourgeoisie to its side by offering the feudal and capitalist politicians lucrative positions in the military government which, according to Bose and Jalal, were the dominant social classes which had tacitly supported the military coup (232). Ali draws an image of the reign of this elite section which "American military aid has transformed into a paramount political power" (Ahmed, "Why Pakistan's Unity was Jeopardized" 5) in these words: "Pakistan's third period of military rule was designed to brutalize the population into passivity. Bhutto's execution, public floggings, routine torture of political prisoners (including women), harassment and intimidation of opposition politicians- all were designed to frighten the people and atomize any dissent" (143).

The picture firmly substantiates the portrayal of Zia's character and his style of government in as represented in *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) scrutinized in section 5.1 of the present chapter.

Shamsie reviews that in the wake of 9/11 and the ongoing War on Terror, Pakistan is at "the centre of geopolitical conflict" due to its multifaceted alliance with the United States. In her view, the predominant concern in contemporary Western as well as Pakistani fiction is an engagement with "the Islam-West encounter today" to which Ali's Islam Quintet is a significant contribution ("South Asian Muslims" 151). However, according to the researcher's appraisal, Ali's treatment of the contemporarily pertinent subject differs from other writers of fiction and non-fiction due to its deconstruction of the Euro-American narratives of the civilizational and cultural clash between Islam and the West. He traces and unearths the roots of this not-so-civilizational clash in the politico-economic collaboration between the West and Islamist forces in Pakistan during Zia's regime which is the next subject of critical appraisal in the book. The devastating impact of a huge inflow of arms, drugs, refugees and American aid on the social fabric of the country on account of General Zia's decision to fight a proxy war against Soviet Union in Afghanistan are subjects highlighted in most studies on Pakistan as well as in Pakistani English fiction, though few works bring to light the economic and, hence, political coalitions and conflicts on the global level involved in triggering the civilizational clash.

Ali links the present rise in Islamist fundamentalism in the country as well as across the globe resulting in the 9/11 attacks to one of the most regressive social developments during the yet another convergence of the elite class for the preservation of class-based privileges in the form of Zia's regime (133-52). It was the crystallization of the clerical elite, rightist religious elements and their political instrument, the *Jamaat*, which had materially and ideologically benefitted from American patronage as a major member in the oppositional alliance PNA (Pakistan National Alliance) against Bhutto's government. In addition, semi-industrialization in the 1950s and 1960s had caused the expansion of the urban centres and amplification of the petty bourgeois layer of the society. This section, both recruited by the armed forces and influenced by the *Jamaat*, formed a substantial number of the military institution.

General Zia readily appropriated the political tool not only to combat the populist and leftist political forces among the masses at home but also utilized it as a para-military force and ideological weapon to combat the Soviet infidels in Afghanistan when "the United States

funneled billions of dollars of military and economic aid as reward for Zia's support of the Pakistan based Afghan resistance movement” (Jalal, “Pakistan” 21). Ali’s depiction of the rise of religious extremism in Pakistan accords with Chambers’ appraisal of Ali’s works that these “document the rise of various Islamist groups to fill the void left by Marxist politics” (127).

The most distinguishing feature of Ali’s fiction and non-fiction on Pakistan is that these view the nationalist struggle of Baluch people from a radical perspective; an angle missing from both Pakistani English fiction and non-fiction representing the subject. Both the fictional and non-fictional works of Tariq Ali tenaciously bring up the theme of the division of Pakistani nation into distinct ethnic groups which claim to be nations in their own right. In the book, Ali perceives the development to be a product of the class-based inequities prevalent in the state (115-23). In his view, the various nations in question also exhibit consciousness of the root cause of the national fragmentation and seek a resolution to the prevailing class conflict which can lead to solution of the national problem as well.

Can Pakistan Survive? : The Death of a State (1983) ends with Ali’s incisive critique of the class-based and neocolonial structure of the postcolonial state of Pakistan during General Zia’s military dictatorship; however, his fictional delineations and non-fictional analyses of subsequent politic-economic formations and governments follow the same strain. In *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (190-202), he adds that the two major political parties in the country i.e. Pakistan People’s Party and Pakistan Muslim League and their governments in turn between 1990 and 1999 and onwards imbibed and followed what Bose and Jalal term as the capitalist “logic of functional inequality” and class division (217) in which the client relationship defined by Banerjee (205) as “the alliance between a superpower and the dominant coalition of society” also remained intact.

The non-fictional text *Can Pakistan Survive?* (1983) highlights additional and detailed aspects of the major themes of the critique of capitalism and neo-imperialism portrayed in *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007). The text is autobiographical in tone yet incisively analytical, rigorously critical and highly focused on supporting each argument with facts, figures and concrete historical instances. It offers a critique of the capitalist economy of the country, the class conflict based in it and the neocolonial modes of operation, economic in particular, from a radical angle which distinguishes Ali’s text from other writers who “while attempting to analyze

the social structure, dwelt mainly on the superstructure of the society” (Ahmed 416-17). The analytical perspective adopted in the book is postcolonial as well in its “refusal to accept official, dogmatic versions of history” (Waterman 157), its rigorous anti-imperialist critique and “the movement from hope to disillusionment” which King considers to be a common feature of postcolonial political fiction and non-fiction in his review of *Fear of Mirrors* (219). The text also incorporates the account of the socialist struggle in the country in the postcolonial milieu which has remained a marginalized subject in other texts based on the socio-economic and political history of Pakistan. However, the text, by being critical of the leftist struggle in the country for its inability to chart out its own intellectual and contextual map to challenge the dominant ideologies and systems, invalidates King’s appraisal that “there is none of the considered criticism of communism” in Ali’s works (219).

The next chapter focuses on the analysis of the thematic delineation of the socio-economic and political conditions generated by global capitalism and neo-imperialism in the postcolonial contexts of Pakistan and the Latin American countries of Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador and the appraisal of the 21st century socialist movements springing from the latter context in two selected texts of Tariq Ali.

CHAPTER 6

The Postcolonial Context, Emergence and Role of Twenty-first Century Socialism in *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) and *Pirates of the Caribbean: Axis of Hope* (2006)

Introduction

The chapter is focused on a comprehensive thematic scrutiny of the novel *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) and the non-fictional text *Pirates of the Caribbean: Axis of Hope* (2006) by Tariq Ali. The analysis is carried out in accordance with the third theoretical paradigm of the research which highlights the socio-economic and political dilemmas of the postcolonial/neocolonial context within the neo-imperialist global capitalist system and the origination of new socialist movements on the Latin American continent within the same. The analysis of the socio-economic and political conditions in the capitalist and neocolonial context of Pakistan depicted in the novel *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) is followed by the discussion of the same and the themes relevant to the theoretical subject of the emergence of 21st century socialism in Latin America in the non-fictional text *Pirates of the Caribbean* (2006).

6.2 *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010)

Tariq Ali's novel *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) is the last of his Islam Quintet, a series of fiction based in Islamic history. The novel has garnered little critical and academic attention in comparison with the first four novels of Islam Quintet which have been hailed within Postcolonial Studies in particular as deconstructions of European narratives of Islamic history and reclamations of the marginalized voices of the Muslim 'other' (Waterman 157; Gamal 30-32 ; King 112). It is against this rich backdrop of critical appraisals exalting the first four texts as representative of the pluralistic Islamic culture and depictive of the presently pertinent theme of the clash between Islam and Christianity that Shamsie regards *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) as "comparatively slight" ("South Asian Muslims 151). However, as mentioned earlier in section 2.1 of Literature Review, the researcher considers *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) as

the most contemporary and pertinent of all novels of Islam Quintet as it delineates the socio-economic and political context of present-day Pakistan placed in the broader global scenario. The researcher aims to study the novel from a Marxist Postcolonial theoretical angle and explore the critique of capitalism and neocolonialism/neo-imperialism in the novel, as has been done in the case of the other selected texts, rather than the rise of Islamist fundamentalism in Pakistan which, according to the researcher's hypothesis, is one of the multiple social issues generated by the globalization of the two interlinked historical processes and forms a minor component of the larger thematic content of the novel focused on momentous economic and political developments in the country.

The major themes of the present novel, like those of the other fictional and non-fictional texts examined in the present study, are the critique of capitalism and neo-imperialism, though Ali foregrounds slightly varying aspects of these two major subjects in various texts. For instance, in *A Banker for All Seasons* (2008) and *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (2002), Ali's critique is directed at the globalization of neoliberal economic policies and American neo-imperialist operations, linked with its capitalistic projects, across the globe and in particular in the three postcolonial continents of Asia, South America and Africa. In *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) and *Can Pakistan Survive?* (1983) the subjects of critique remain capitalism and (American) neocolonialism in Pakistan, with specific focus on class conflict in the society created by capitalist economy and the dependent as well as underdeveloped politico-economic modes of operation under neocolonialism. In *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) again, the capitalist and neocolonial functioning of the society is scathingly criticized with focus on the self-seeking and comprador nature of the industrialist, feudal, clerical, bureaucratic and military sections of the elite class and the dependence of governments by these sections on American political and economic backing. The country's engagement as a proxy in the ongoing War on Terror is specifically highlighted as one of the many instances substantiating the client status of the postcolonial state. However, the present novel also incorporates characters from all sections of society depicting a holistic image of the social milieu and represents the impacts of the capitalist and neocolonial order on the cultural domains as well such as the education system of the country, the production of art and literature and the psyche of majority of the country's population struggling for immigration to the global North.

The novel has contemporary Pakistan at its center and its delineations are in perfect accord with Hashmi's appraisal that Ali's fiction has "a sharp focus on the contemporary world" (210). It depicts characters which are born and raised in Pakistan; though later on they move between the homeland and the West. Individual lives are sketched, in their personal, interrelational and professional capacities, yet these are intertwined with and exist in a dialectical relation with the socio-economic and political developments in the country. Ali's angle of narration in this work of fiction as well is a collective one, presenting a comprehensive image of Pakistani society in all of its diverse dimensions. In this regard, the narrative observes the principle outlined by Trotsky for a socialist and progressive literary work that it should grasp the manifold realities of a society in synthesis and not in its individual, seemingly fragmented entities (31-38). In addition, keeping in view its critique of the elite ruling classes and the authoritarian structures of governments run by these sections, the novel also forms part of the postcolonial literature which, according to Lazarus, represents the subjects of "on the one hand, the state, and state violence; on the other, class relations and class violence" and the issues implicated by these "two massive objects of representation" ("The Politics of Postcolonial Modernism" 781).

The historical developments recounted in the novel expand over a span of almost half a century i.e. the period from the early 1960s to the first decade of the 21st century. The historical period of five decades the novel encompasses and the broader social panorama it represents validates King's appraisal provided in a review of the first novel of Islam Quintet, *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree*, that Ali's fiction "has a large canvas" portraying "epic like subject matter" (112). The narrative is a subtle and stinging depiction of the six decades of economic and political depredation the country has undergone in parallel with intellectual, moral and institutional degeneration. The description of events by the first person narrator, named Dara, is unmistakably autobiographical in character as it projects Ali's radical outlook on national and global affairs.

At the outset in the first chapter, Dara who is incontrovertibly a literary representation of Ali's own person, projects Ali's Marxist outlook on the nature and production of literature (1-5). He explains his motive for writing the novel under discussion and informs that he is doing so on the demand of his friend Plato who wants him to write about his life and artistic work. Plato

migrated from East Punjab in India during the partition bloodshed; settled as a mathematics teacher in post-partition Lahore and is presently a world renowned painter. When Plato puts forward the entreaty for a fictional narrative centered on his life, Dara outlines his conception of a literary work in response, and indirectly that of Ali's, being rooted in a socio-historical perspective. He enunciates that the composition of a literary work is a painstaking task because it does not portray only an individual and his accomplishments but the whole social milieu the character is situated in. To him, individuals do not exist in isolation but are the products of specific material conditions. The story of Plato's life, therefore, has to be set against the social backdrop of Pakistan as well as within the contexts of the foreign cities he interacts with.

Dara declares therefore: "The period would have to be evoked, the social milieu excavated, and navel-gazing resisted. I reminded him of Heraclitus: "Those who are awake have a world in common, but every sleeper has a world of his own" (5). He adds that even the private romantic relationship between a man and woman does not develop arbitrarily but is impelled as well as limited by the historical conditions they live in. The outlook reminds of Marx's thoughts on social existence determining individual consciousness and men making their own history only under given circumstances, expressed in preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (xiv). The Marxist approach to literature prepares the reader for a narrative that glances at different facets of individual and collective lives utilizing that lens.

Having formulated his theory of literature as representation of individuals and societies acting and reacting under specific material conditions, Dara moves to spell out his Marxist perspective on the role of art and literature in the transformation of society. Plato is hopeful and insistent that his last painting triptych and the rendition of its message by Dara in a novel based on his life would challenge the dilapidated material conditions in Pakistan. He proclaims it be to a "call to arms" which would transform the economic and political realities by prompting his countrymen to action and thus reverse a historical defeat into triumph (5). In Dara's estimation, conversely, visual art and literature are components of the superstructure of a society and as such are incapable of altering the economic base of it: "Artistic consciousness, even at a high level, could never roll back the realities imposed on a society after a historic defeat... the world of visual art and the realm of literature remained tiny islands. The sharks still controlled the oceans" (5).

The historical defeat they talk about refers to the mass uprisings of students, workers and peasants against the military dictatorship of General Ayub in 1968-9 which, though spurred by a socialist agenda, couldn't evolve into a socialist revolution overturning the politico-economic system of the country. The developments pertaining to the period and the movement such as the absence of a strong leading socialist party, the left's incorporation into popular leftist political parties which soon relinquished the socialist cause and the issue of factionalism within the left dividing its ranks are discussed in detail by Ali (*Can Pakistan Survive?* 76-82), Khan (129-163) and K. Ali (236-276). In this regard, in the dialogue between Plato and Dara on this particular development in Pakistan's history termed as "historic defeat" (5), the novel follows a trend which Lazarus views as the "materialist orientation in postcolonial literature" engaging itself with questions such as "What had gone wrong? How had the revolution been subverted? How had the masses been demobilized? How could progressives have allowed themselves to be so easily coopted?" ("Great Expectations and After" 55).

Dara agrees that artists and literary writers in Pakistan have kept igniting the imagination of the masses and motivating them to remodel the existing social structures but these creative efforts have remained, at best, merely a "cultural prop" unable to bring any change in the real living conditions of masses at any historical juncture (5). In his view, real and practical social transformations are brought about by political action, not through works of art, which is the reason why despite the scathing critique of the status quo carried out by the poets and painters, the capitalist and neocolonial formation of Pakistani society has remained intact.

According to Chapman's critique (9), postcolonial literature drawing the utopian image of a socialist world promises "little more than a return to economic base/superstructure rigidity" and Dara's pronouncements on the secondary role of art and literature in transforming social conditions might be criticized on the same lines. However, the researcher considers it crucial to keep in view the fact that Plato is the central character around whose life and last painting the story revolves and, therefore, his outlook on the significance and determining role of art in society which is given pivotal representation in the novel cannot be neglected. A balanced interpretation of the two key voices in the novel, i.e. Dara's and Plato's, debating the base/superstructure relation, would be to see Ali's portrayal of this relationship in a dialectical and negotiating form in which influences flow in both directions. In this instance, Amin's

emphasis on the study of the exact nature of this interaction which varies in differing contexts is illuminating and helps in comprehending Ali's delineation better: "the economic instance is the determining one in the last analysis, if we accept the fact that material life conditions all other aspects of social life; however, it is important to distinguish between this determination in the last analysis and the question of whether the economic or the politico-ideological instance is the dominant one in a given case" (*Unequal Development* 24-25).

Dara also unveils the dilemmas of creating art in the neocolonial Third World state and highlights what Griffiths terms as the "social costs" of capitalism and neocolonialism (61). When Plato solicits Dara to write a novel based on his life, the first thought that comes to Dara's mind is that Plato needs his paintings to be written about and admired by a Pakistani writer based in London. In Dara's view, the art and culture scenario in the country is determined plainly by the dictum: "praise abroad, profits at home" (4). The statement is a subtle reflection on the neo-colonized art market in the country where the value of an artistic endeavor is determined not by its quality but by the fact of how it is received in the New York and London press. Ali's depiction accords with Nkrumah's evaluation that the cultural dicta and values of the imperialist center prevail in the postcolonial societies since the bourgeois ruling over these states "slavishly accepts the ideologies of its counterparts in the capitalist world" (*Class Struggle* 25).

Ali is strongly critical of the corporate values and commercial considerations generated by the global prevalence of the capitalist economic system which have penetrated the domains of art and art criticism. Both writers and artists from the Third World Postcolonial state of Pakistan and a host of European writers and critics in the novel decry the decadence of art in the contemporary epoch. Alice Stepford, a painter and art critic based in London, shares thoughts with Dara on the degenerating global art culture and the commodification of art works (143-44). Comparing the artistic worth of Plato and I.A.Malik, another world renowned Pakistani painter, Dara observes that I.A.Malik's work is of low artistic quality yet it sells better because he caters to the trends of the market. In his view, conformity to the capitalist consumerist culture is appreciated and original as well as critical insights are sidelined since the business world determines the value of art. Commenting on the dismal scenario of music production, Alice sums up the situation: "The ability to discriminate is disappearing fast in the Western culture. People like what they are told to like, and since they have paid a high price for it they convince

themselves that what they have seen and heard was good... Any serious criticism is regarded as disloyal". (142).

This rigorously critical portrayal of capitalist economy as the major factor affecting all spheres of social life is the defining characteristic of most of Ali's fiction and non-fiction. Ali's depiction in this case is in harmony with the Marxist Postcolonial appraisal of Lazarus positing that the cultural developments in the postcolonial states and across the globe are the social repercussions of "American mid-century hegemony over both economic and cultural realms in the global system" (*Nationalism* 51). According to his scrutiny, the prevalence of consumerist and commercial values in the domain of postcolonial cultures in particular are to be seen as part of the "hegemonic phase" of capitalism and imperialism, relying on the consent of the dominated, within which "the natives accept a version of the colonizers' entire system of values, attitudes, morality, institutions, and, more important, mode of production" (*Nationalism* 89).

The plot of the novel unfolds in London with Dara receiving Plato's request for the book but within no time takes the reader forty-five years back, in retrospect, to the Lahore of the 1960s (1-71). The country has been under a long spell of General Ayub's military dictatorship and the entrenchment of a capitalist and neocolonial order has gradually altered the intellectual landscape of society as well. Lazarus and Varma regard these social implications of capitalism and neocolonialism to be "the structuring effects of this system upon consciousness, culture and experience as well as upon material conditions of existence" (313) which Ali delineates in the context of the post-independence Pakistani society. In the novel, the first generation of Pakistanis displays signs of the trauma of partition and the post-partition disillusionment. They are nostalgic about the pre-partition multicultural character of the city and try to readjust to the monolithic nature of the metropolis with a sense of loss. The political repression exercised by the government is taking its toll on the cultural zeitgeist and the liberal atmosphere experienced in the early 1950s is gradually giving in to one of orthodoxy and docility.

Ali portrays that most people of both the old and the new generation have given in to a low kind of individualism with no intellectual rigor and vision for collective progress. Dara views the hypocritical, narcissistic and sycophantic attitude of literary writers and critics as symbols of the moral abyss the society has plunged into under the imperialistically imposed authoritarian regime (3). Their servile and hyperbolic praises for the military dictatorship in

power are followed by a worm-like cringing in front of pseudo intellectuals and artists who succeed in grabbing high sales for their publications in market. The logic of profit has permeated the realm of art and budding literary writers try to accomplish in the art business what their industrialist counterparts do in the corporate world i.e. make and accumulate money out of the system. The intellectual, literary and social scenario Ali depicts is “the construction of a general mode of social organization based on an alienating submission to the exigencies of capital accumulation”, in Amin’s words (*Beyond US Hegemony* 34). A similar intellectual acquiescence and servility of politicians, bureaucrats and media personnel during the same period have been underscored by Ali in *Can Pakistan Survive?* (1983) as well where he elaborates on the economic despair taking root in the heart of common Pakistanis when twenty-two families start owning a lion’s share of the country’s means of production (75)

On the same lines, *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) portrays that the educational system of the country is dichotomized along class lines, with elite private schools and colleges accessible only to the scions of the landlords and *nouveau riche* traders who spare no occasion to display a snobbish and callous attitude towards their social inferiors (34-35). The class-based education system within the postcolonial states following the model of the “mercantilist education agendas” of the capitalist and imperialist core has been one of the subjects at the center of Marxist Postcolonial criticism (Muhr 8). Amin assesses the class division within the education systems of the postcolonial societies to be “a victim of economic alienation” which tries “to treat the formation of human beings as a cost” (*Unequal Development* 71). Similarly, Harnecker appraises class-based discrimination in postcolonial educational planning as a part of the overall “fragmenting strategy of neo-liberalism, which knows that a divided society – where diverse minority groups are unable to form themselves into a majority which questions existing hegemony – is the most appropriate formula for reproducing the system” (*Rebuilding the Left* 22).

Ali’s portrayal of the same period informs that aware of the growing power and wealth of the bureaucracy in the country, one out of the five main sections of national bourgeoisie in Nkrumah’s analysis (*Class Struggle* 60-62), a substantial number of students aspire only for lucrative jobs in the civil services though the disrepute of the institution is commonly acknowledged by the student body. The corrupt practices of the bureaucratic clique are

illuminated best in the novel by a single remark made by the lower-middle class Plato to his fellows: “I am going to change my name to Diogenes so that I can light a lantern in daylight and go in search of honest civil servants” (2).

Ali’s delineation of the socio-economic and political power of the bureaucratic elite observes accord with Harnecker’s Marxist Postcolonial evaluation of the role played by this ruling elite section in postcolonial societies. According to her study, the postcolonial bureaucracy is a component of the “unelected institutions of a permanent character, and which therefore are not subject to changes produced by electoral results” (*Ideas for the Struggle* 24-25). In her view, the oligarchy inherited its privileged position from the colonial administration and retains social and political power in the post-independence period due to the underdeveloped and dependent nature of the national capitalist class. In addition, Ali’s delineation of the social and ethical values being determined by economic considerations is again vulnerable to the flaw of economic reductionism pointed to by Chapman (9-12). However, since Ali substantiates the argument by providing concrete instances of the politico-economic power and influence of this section of the elite in the text, his point of the material domain influencing the rest of the social spheres appears more convincing than not.

In the portrayal of Pakistani society in the post-decolonization era under General Ayub’s regime, the novel not only delineates the class-based, repressive and comprador character of the bourgeois elite governing the country but also gives voice to a hitherto marginalized section of the society i.e. those among the masses with Marxist political beliefs who are represented in the narrative by a group of young students. The depiction validates Waterman’s appraisal that Ali’s fiction is marked by “its refusal to accept official, dogmatic versions of history, preferring instead a critical approach” which attempts to approach history “in all its diversity and complexity” (157).

The novel illustrates the dynamism and optimism of a tiny segment of the young generation which stand in contrast with the general bleak social scenario (37-38). The intellectual and political vibrancy of the young student body is marked by the enactment of Punjabi translations of Shakespearian plays, poetry sessions and literary debates carried out in cafés, tea houses and lunch places. According to Dara’s narration, the young students are also members of clandestine Marxist cells and aim to topple the Washington backed government and transform

the socio-political system on the Chinese lines. Dara recaptures the infectious nature of the Chinese revolution and the exuberant ambition it inspired among Pakistani youth in the 1960s: “We, too, wanted to make revolution and take the Chinese road. It was difficult to be living in the vicinity and remain unmoved by what was being achieved” (37-38). The narrative voice here has a strong autobiographical ring to it since Ali himself was an active member of the Communist Party of Pakistan and a mobilizing agent of the students’ protests against General Ayub’s regime in the 1960s.

Hanercker examines spiritual wretchedness, social alienation and consumerist practices to be some of the most profound social crises generated by the capitalist economy (*Rebuilding the Left* 32). Muhr reviews the profit-driven social activities in the postcolonial societies to be the products of the “cultural imperialism” exercised by the capitalist center (8). In the same vein, Ali’s novel is strongly critical of the dominant capitalist ideologies and practices, and promotes a non-conformist and critical attitude on both the individual level and the social. His regard for such a mindset and non-capitalistic ways of living is expressed through an appreciatory portrayal of Plato’s character (29-77). Plato is critical of official dogmatism and publicity of intellectual and artistic merits even during his teaching career which precedes his global renown as a painter. The behavior stems from his disregard for market and money-driven values which, in his view, have resulted in the commoditization and commercialization of all kinds of human endeavors (2-3). He does not advertise his paintings because he believes that an original artistic work will be recognized even without these money-based processes being involved. According to Dara’s narration, Plato remains an excellent scholar of history, art, literature and mathematics without caring for high academic degrees.

Unlike his contemporaries who make money by selling comparatively worthless paintings in the market, his character does not exhibit any keenness for accumulating money. The basic dictum guiding his artistic attitude is that one should not be exercising creativity for monetary benefits or for pleasing others. He tells Dara, Zahid and his friends: “Once you live to please others, you live in fear of their displeasure, and fear makes one stupid” (34). His undisguised, satirical caricatures of the politicians and religious figures of the country are motivated by the same conviction. Dara expresses the general regard felt by everyone for Plato: “The country we grew up in was permanently swathed in cant, and the most tiresome forms of

hypocrisy flourished. That was why Plato became so special for us. He urged us to ignore religion, renounce state-sponsored politics, pleasure ourselves in whatever fashion we desired and laugh at officialdom” (24).

Plato’s defiance of the dominant trend of the commercialization of art is a theme permeating the whole narrative of the novel. The subject of the commoditization of culture caused by the conformity of globe to Euro-American cultural model is highlighted in all of Ali’s works, particularly in the novel under discussion (127-157) and in the non-fictional text *Pirates of the Caribbean* (3-4). In the same strain in the novel, Dara criticizes the present-day celebrity culture which targets quick but shallow money and fame (227). Serving as a mouthpiece for Ali, Dara asserts:

The insatiable desire for publicity has become, for so many, the transplanted heart of an empty world. Celebdom is the summit of ambition today and is pursued at whatever cost. It’s a world peopled by actors and sportsmen and a few writers and certain politicians who are devoid of any principle except an insensate obsession with multiplying their wealth and fame. (227)

The gist of Ali’s narrative on the social repercussions of a capitalist and neocolonial system in the country, mainly voiced through the character of Dara, is that an uncritical acceptance of Euro-American political and economic models has inevitably affected the cultural sphere too, particularly the domains of education, art and information media. Ali views the universalization of Euro-American ideologies and homogenization of the world in all social spheres from a radical angle and regards it as a kind of consumption promoted globally in order to benefit the capitalist and imperialist center which has assumed the status of the cultural center too.

Ali also highlights consistently, both in his fiction and non-fiction, the theme of the suppression of the leftist sections within the capitalist and neocolonial system of the postcolonial states. The repressive nature of the military-bureaucratic oligarchy ruling the country, a legacy of “the direct military-bureaucratic rule of England” (Woods 311), is highlighted through the clampdown exercised by the state apparatus in relation to the left activists. Dara narrates that the communist party is banned by the government and the underground political activities of

communist students are kept under strict state surveillance. The development was a consequence of the Rawalpindi conspiracy case of 1951, a failed coup attempt to overthrow the government, the minutia of which are illuminated by K.Ali in the chapter “The State Strikes Back” (163-205) in his seminal work *Communist Politics and Class Activism in Pakistan 1947-72* published in 2015. Those involved in the activities regarded as subversive by the state are tortured brutally by the police in the Lahore Fort. That is the reason Tipu, Dara’s Bengali communist friend, flees to country side when police comes to know about his political activities. Standing at the end of the first decade of 21st century, Dara assesses the social scenario in the 1960s to be better than what follows in the later decades: “An old world that has since changed so much and for the worse, a world in which expectations for a better future were always high and in which the ultra-Wahhabi beard, gangster politics and cancerous corruption had yet to appear and drown all hope” (68).

Struggling within the capitalist and comprador economic order generating money-based social values, many characters let go of their socialist ideological past and become part of the prevalent system (11-18). These characters join the class-based modes of exploitation in order to climb up the social ladder in the manner of those in the higher echelons of power. *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) is critical of such characters, and in this characteristic it shares with the other two texts *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (2002) and *Pirates of the Caribbean* (2006), texts selected for analysis in the present study, where Ali “directs his strongest polemics against social democratic renegades” (Feinberg 150).

Zahid’s father, once an active communist, reverts to being a capitalist and sets up an import and export business which thrives by managing to get the patronage of the bureaucracy. Jamshed, another communist friend of Dara and Zahid, turns into a corrupt businessman by allying with both the military and the bureaucratic oligarchy. Tipu, the Bengali student who once took pride in the fact that every college worth the name in East Pakistan harbored a communist group, becomes an arms dealer smuggling illegal arms to China and other countries (20).

Ali depicts the personal and familial aspects of life to be affected by the widening class rift in the new-found state and the delineation is peculiar to both his fiction and non-fiction which, in Ahmed’s view, highlights social issues “in terms of class contradictions in society” (417). Zahid falls in love with a General’s daughter and his proposal of marriage is rejected

straightaway because of the family's socialist political affiliation in the past. Dara's sketch of the social situation runs like this:

Zahid's political bent and his father's rejection of honours had made him out of bounds for daughters of army officers and bureaucrats, the two groups that ran the fatherland in those days, presiding over the kind of tyrannies that break a people's heart and their pride. The boy had no future. How could he expect to marry into privilege? (14)

In the course of events in the novel, Zahid undergoes a shift in his class status and rises to the upper strata from the middle one after making money as a renowned surgeon in the United States (7-21). Change of class guarantees access to elite sections and promotion of social links. He who could not marry a military General's daughter and was emotionally wrecked by the failure, marries off his daughter to a renowned military General of the country. Rise in class status is inevitably followed by a metamorphosis of his politico-economic ideologies and practices. Zahid, who is a staunch believer in social equality and justice in his youth, converts into a Republican supporter in the United States which implies a tacit approval of the imperialist wars waged in Afghanistan, Iraq and other parts of the world by Ronald Reagan's government at the time (153-55).

The reason offered by him to his wife for the political conversion is that the doctors who have built their professional careers and invested their capital in the United States believe that the Republican government serves their business interests better (153-55). Following the logic, he invests his money in real estate across the globe instead of establishing a productive industry or business in his homeland. Jindie, his wife, plainly regards this reversion of political ideology as a debased act. She informs him that she has lost respect for him since he betrayed his social and political principles for money. The critique of Left intellectuals, media experts, literary writers and radical political activists deserting socialist ideology and converting into advocates for neo-imperialism and neoliberal capitalism is a theme which resonates throughout Ali's fiction and non-fiction.

In the novel, the story of Zaynab's life foregrounds the regressive role played by two other sections of the national elite class: the feudal class termed as "rural bourgeoisie" by Nkrumah (*Class Struggle* 57) and the orthodox religious cliques or clerical elite in the rural areas

(126-46). According to Dara's narrative, Zaynab comes from a family of landowners in Sindh who:

Were the most primitive lords in Fatherland, where competition in the field remains high. To add to the woes of their serfs, for that is what the peasants were, some of the landowners were hereditary saints or *pirs*, which meant that their word was not simply the law but came directly from the special relationship they enjoyed with God. Challenge this status and they will fight like devils possessed. (130)

Zaynab, daughter to a rich, landowning family in interior Sindh, is married off to The Holy Quran by her eldest brother Samir Shah before she reaches the age of puberty. In the conversation between Zayab and Alice, Zaynab comments that the practice is not uncommon in the rural areas of Pakistan and stems from feudal calculations concerning the family's landed property and other wealth (132-36). Zaynab's share of property, in case of her marriage in family or outside it, would have reduced the holdings of her immediate family substantially. Therefore, the eldest brother, in connivance with the local religious clerics and family elders, arranges for the marriage and manages to keep her share of the property in his custody.

Zaynab informs Alice: "If I married and had children, my share of the estate would be divided among them, diminishing the family holdings. Even if I married a cousin, my brothers would lose my share. There was one remedy, a scheme devised many moons ago: a female whose right of inheritance threatened her family's estate could be married to Koran" (135). The saga of feudal oppression in the narrative does not remain confined to only Zaynab's marriage to The Holy Book. The story of Samir Shah's hound victimizing the villagers and killing a child on the master's orders illustrates yet another dimension to the tyrannical and authoritarian nature of the feudalist section of the elite class (136). Dara's recital of the history of the big family hall in Zaynab's house stamps the point yet further (263-4). He informs the gathering that the place was utilized for slaughtering and hanging the peasants who dared rebel against the oppression of Zaynab's feudal ancestors.

In the course of narrating Zaynab's story, Dara remarks that the single overriding concern of the feudalists in the country has been the protection of their landed estates and holdings, both in the colonial and postcolonial period (129-46). The narration relates to the analysis of the

creation of the feudal class in the subcontinent by the British Empire and its class-based involvement in the affairs of the country in the works of Gardezi (“Neocolonial Alliances” 3-6), Alavi (“Bangladesh and the Crisis of Pakistan” 289-317) and Washbrook (479-508). Dara informs that during the era of British colonialism in the subcontinent, this class took no time in grasping the reality that any opposition on their part to the imperial rulers would only incur a loss of their properties and privileges. When the imminence of British departure became politically visible to them, the feudal class founded the political party of All-India Muslim League for the purpose. The formation and the class structure of the party have been discussed comprehensively in the analysis of *Can Pakistan Survive?* in section 5.2 of the study. In *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010), Dara consistently refers to the feudal elite being a dominant social class in the country which adapts successfully to the needs of the time by allying with other classes in power since Pakistan’s inception in 1947 to the present day.

According to Dara’s narration (130-139), in contemporary Pakistan, the feudal class collaborates with the military-bureaucratic oligarchy and capitalists to whom their class interests are tied. Confronted with threats posed by industrialization and urbanization to their power, the landed families train their progenies professionally to form the top ranks of the armed forces and civil services as well as ministries in the government. Dara regards it as the basic reason why no government in Pakistan has been able to implement substantial land reforms to curtail their economic power. Their dual role as both landlords and *pirs* (religious heads) serves to enhance their economic strength in a twofold manner: it helps them command the loyalties of their serfs in elections and it facilitates wooing the religious political factions to their side. On the whole, the feudal class manipulates each significant section of the society in its favor and safeguards its interests resiliently (130-39).

The shallow and profit-centered nature of the flaunted devotion of clerical elite is exposed in the novel by the fact of the local *Pirs* (clerics) facilitating the economic exploitation carried out by the feudal lords (135). The self-seeking character of the clerical elite becomes transparently visible when, bribed with huge sums by Samir Shah, they improvise religious injunctions and decree in favour of Zaynab’s marriage to the Holy Book. It is hinted at in the narrative that in the case of legal intervention by the state in the matter, the moneyed and politically powerful feudal lords, who are their collaborators in such crimes, will safeguard their

lives and financial assets. Dara states that death sentences and other primitive retributions awarded to serfs by landlords, on various pretexts, are also conveniently warranted and seconded by these moneygrubbing clerics (138).

Jindie's narration (86-106) of the internal imperialism exercised by the Qing dynasty in Beijing in relation to the Hui (Chinese Muslim ethnicity) and the suppression of their rebellion serves to highlight, by analogy, the internal colonialism practiced by the ruling elite class in Pakistan in the case of various ethnicities and regions forming part of it since 1947. The issue has been highlighted and discussed in detail in the analysis of both *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) and *Can Pakistan Survive?* (1983) as well in section 5.1 and 5.2 of the present study respectively. The classic study and definition of the phenomenon of internal colonialism has been offered in Michael Hetcher's work on the subject which views internal colonialism to be modeled on the stratification system of colonial cultural and class division of labor (30). According to his thesis, the practice of internal colonialism is based on economic reasons rather than ethnic and is to be viewed as a "political conflict between core and peripheral groups as mediated by the central government. The backwardness of the peripheral groups is aggravated by a systematic increase in transactions with the core. The peripheral collectivity is seen to be already suffused with exploitative connections to the core, such that it can be deemed as an internal colony" (32). Jindie's Chinese ancestors migrated to South Asia as a consequence of the above-mentioned episode of oppression in Chinese history. Jindie is born and raised in Lahore where she observes Pakistani society, in particular Punjabi culture, from a certain proximity. Her theoretical knowledge of the Chinese history of the 19th century and her practical experience of the social milieu in Lahore qualifies her comparison of the two historical situations. In her letter to Dara, she declares the Han domination of China as equal to the Punjabi domination of Pakistan excluding Sindhis, Baluchs and Pathans from all significant state institutions (84).

The politico-economic hegemony of sections of the elite class from one province and the denial of economic parity by a state run by these to various provinces and ethnicities resulting in the secession of East Bengal as Bangladesh and the problem still afflicting the country in the 21st century is a subject broached throughout the present research in discussion of the works of all major theorists dealing with the social context of Pakistan. In this regard, Ali's depiction, in Cilano's words, is "critical of the state" which is a common characteristic of contemporary

Pakistani English fiction (“Hybrid tapestries” 852). The character of Zaynab in the novel expresses her fears related to the ethnic wars in Karachi where the military elite from Punjab is deployed to quell the battles for economic equality between the capitalist immigrants from India and the working class Sindhis (164).

Plato’s settlement in the biggest metropolis in the country i.e. Karachi invokes reflections from Dara along the same lines (125). He deliberates on the rise of religious fundamentalism in the city after the state sponsorship of religious groups during General Zia’s regime and of the economic strife between working-class Pathans from the North and immigrant Urdu speaking capitalists and white-collared workers, creating a persistent civil war like situation in the city. In Dara’s view, Plato’s satirical and mocking paintings of *Mullahs* would have cost him his life in the city but he manages to survive by playing on the economic interests of the warring factions i.e. by paying other gangs to protect his house against any onslaught from the religious extremists:

The bearded subjects of his clandestine caricatures had established a strong base in Karachi, and getting rid of Plato would have been part of a day’s work. So Plato bribed the secular gangsters who ran the town, who found him a large house on the outskirts of Karachi where he grew old comfortably and was regularly visited by aspiring painters. Naturally the gangsters wanted a cut on each painting he sold, but then everyone does that to someone or other in Fatherland. (125)

The rise of religious extremism and ethnic conflicts in Pakistani society have been consistent themes, though of a minor scale, in Ali’s works as highlighted in the discussion of *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) and *Can Pakistan Survive?* (1983) in section 5.1 and 5.2 of the present study respectively. However, Ali’s portrayal of the subjects differs from other fictional depictions as it unearths the economic and political factors responsible for the rise instead of viewing these as purely socio-cultural developments. His delineations correspond better with Amin’s appraisal which regards these internal conflicts apparently based on religious, cultural and ethnic differences as “civil wars generated by the disintegration of states and societies that have followed the recipes of neoliberalism” (*Beyond US Hegemony* 124).

Most of Pakistani fiction writers in English are diasporic with dual nationalities, residing either in Europe or America. Even a cursory glance at Pakistani English fiction brings home the knowledge that majority of characters in these works are either diasporic or local residents striving for a supranational, largely, Western experience. *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) is no exception in this case and all the central characters in the novel either get settled in Europe or America or tend to visit the continents for a variety of reasons such as education, publication, recreation and exhibition of their artistic endeavors. However, unlike most other writers, Ali represents this dimension of Pakistani social context not only as it is but also delves deeper into the socio-economic reasons behind the migratory mind-set. The novel depicts, in a subtle and implicit manner, how various sections of ruling elite class and the capitalist and neocolonial system these have perpetuated make it impossible for intellectual dissidents and ethnic minorities to wage struggle for politico-economic change. The established status quo also denies basic rights to other marginalized groups such as women and homosexuals. Dara speaks to Zayanb “of the country where people were spewed out, and forced to seek refuge abroad, where human dignity had become a wreckage. Her own life was a living-death example of a human being putrefying in the filth that was our Fatherland” (163-164).

Dara leaves the country in the 1960s to pursue his academic career in London because the intelligence agencies are about to hunt him down. His communist political views and his participation in demonstrations against the military dictatorship as well as American interventions in the political affairs of the country make him a *persona non grata* for the establishment (61-71). Zainab keeps visiting Europe and buys a house in Paris in order to avoid the feudal tyranny of her brother and the hypocritical social behavior expected from her in her backward village as a woman wedded to The Holy Book. She abandons her house in Karachi due to the ethnic conflicts in the city which, according to her, could erupt into drastic forms of violence any moment (164).

Anis also arranges tours of Europe for himself but finally commits suicide because he fails in openly declaring himself a gay and in leading the kind of social life compatible with his sexual orientation. Society constantly pressurizes him into heterosexual engagements which he keeps on maneuvering to maintain his secret. The frustration caused by the rigidity of societal and familial norms ultimately takes away his life (77-79). Zahid forsakes homeland out of the

despair caused by inability to marry a military General's daughter and settles for a professional career in medicine in the United States. Initially, Plato also starts working as a teacher at an elite school in Lahore with the purpose of improving the intellectual and moral character of his rich disciples. However, he soon feels disillusioned with the social scene when most of his radical intellectual friends have to leave the country and the educational as well as moral level of his students keeps deteriorating instead of improving. Moreover, the old food stalls in the city run by simple and loving workers he associates with are demolished to be replaced with modern, commercial cafes owned by profit-driven managers. He escapes to London and builds a career as a painter when, according to him, the society at home sings in praise of the military dictator in power (112-113).

The reason at the back of the fact that a large number of Pakistanis either live abroad or keep struggling to migrate to global North is elucidated more explicitly and in concrete material terms by Ali in *Pirates of the Caribbean* within a broader postcolonial context (131-35). Highlighting the achievements of the 21st century socialist governments in Latin America, Ali analyzes that the progressive measures of the development of indigenous resources, industries and human capabilities, in countries where left governments formed, are steps towards bridging the sociological and industrial gap between the North and South. The gap has been the core reason of the Third World's inequitable trade and exchange connection with the First World, elucidated clearly by Samir Amin's World System and Dependency theory in section 2.3 of the Literature Review Chapter.

Ali argues that the qualitative gap on the intellectual and artistic levels as well as on the level of living conditions is caused by the economic divide which drives people in the postcolonial states to escape from economic poverty generating all other varieties of social conflicts and repressions (*Pirates of the Caribbean* 131-35). The economic gap between the capitalist centre and periphery also provides reasons to the bourgeois sections of postcolonial states to invite aid, investments and imports from the developed, neo-imperialist core which serve only as avenues of extraction and accumulation for them. Thus, in his view, the whole phenomenon of international relations is reduced to filling the wealth gap between the national and metropolitan elite. Even human exchange between the developed and underdeveloped

countries is unequal in its essence and the treatment meted out to Muslims and Africans by Europeans in *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) bears testimony to the fact (161-162).

The situation of Khalida Lateef known as Naughty Lateef in the novel serves to foreground both the class-based and comprador character of the military oligarchy and American neo-imperialist enterprises in the country and across the globe (175-236). Naughty Lateef is a woman exploited by her husband for promotion through the military ranks and by the Generals within the armed forces for sexual gratification. The major events of her life in the novel highlight the moral corruption rampant within the military elite in the form of all sorts of underhand dealing of women and prostitutes. Nkrumah values the high ranking officers of the armed forces in the postcolonial states as a significant “part of national bourgeoisie, with a stake in the capitalist path of development” (*Class Struggle* 41). The financial monopoly and corruption of this elite ruling section are underscored in the novel when the Chief of Staff offers the lucrative headship of a commercial enterprise within the military-industrial complex to General Rafiq.

General Rafiq is forced to resign as a result of his revelation of the “amorous exploits” (176) of his boss to Naughty Lateef during one of their rendezvous. Despite the breach of information, General Rafiq’s economic interests are safeguarded by the pivotal “institution of capitalist bourgeois society” (Nkrumah, *Class Struggle* 42). The Chief offers him “a sinecure: head of a key commercial sector of the military-industrial complex where he would have double the salary he had enjoyed as a serving general, with regular kickbacks from potential contractors in the West” (177). He would incur no responsibility and could secure the adjacent land property at a nominal price. General Rafiq’s pension, according to Dara, is already sufficient “to feed a hundred poor families in fatherland each month” (177).

Dara’s description of Naughty Lateef’s added exploitation at the hands of Euro-American media as propaganda material for the justification of the War on Terror narrative is both revealing and critical of American capitalistic and neo-imperialistic enterprises (187-189). When the story of Naughty Lateef’s domestic and sexual exploitation is exposed, she is whisked away by the French Intelligence agencies and masqueraded in Europe and America as a woman maltreated by a primitive and fundamentalist Islamic society (211). Dara remarks that Euro-American market abounded with anti-communist memoirs and biographies a few decades ago.

Once the socialist societies were made to collapse and, in Woods' words (220), "brought back to the old model of free market capitalism" under the hegemonic dominance of the new American empire, new wars were waged to capture new markets and, as Amin analyzes, imperialism was exercised "in the name of civilizing mission, export of democracy and human rights" (*The World We Wish to See* 9).

In Dara's view, the most sought-after market for the capitalist and imperialist center in the contemporary era is the oil and resources rich Islamic world; a subject highlighted in detail in the analysis of *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (2002) in section 4.2 of the study as well. Commenting on Naughty Lateef's case, he observes that individual accounts of oppression are manipulated and blown out of proportion to prove to the global audience in general and the Western one in particular that the War on Terror is another humanitarian intervention to shield liberty and democracy globally: "Now it was open season on Islam. Any piece of rubbish was fine as long as it targeted the followers of the Prophet, preferably rubbish from women with pleasing exteriors, who would be easier to market in the West" (189). Naughty, in her turn, benefitted financially from the launch of a book based on a falsified account of her victimized life and the celebrity status she was accorded in the West.

In the account of Naughty Lateef's encounter with Euro-American media, the present novel shares an attribute common to all the novels of Islam Quintet. It challenges and deconstructs Euro-American historical narratives; in the present case the narrative of the War on Terror as a humanitarian intervention waged for the safety of liberty and democracy against the primitive and fundamentalist Islamic societies (Gamal 30-32; Waterman 157; Ali et al. 61-68). Ali depicts that the hype in Euro-American media surrounding the person of Naughty Lateef, as a woman wronged by an essentialist and patriarchal Islamist society, is created solely to justify yet another global war waged for the sustenance of the Empire's interests. This particular incident of the class-based exploitation of a woman is publicized in a propagandist way to force it reflect on the nature of the religion and culture she belongs to (188-227). In this instance, the novel can also be categorized as part of postcolonial fiction that has "a dual agenda of contesting colonial textuality and stereotypes and simultaneously constructing native agency" (Gamal 32). Naughty Lateef deciding to utilize the opportunity to make money out of the celebrity status

granted her by Euro-American media is an example of the exercise of agency by a native character from a postcolonial context.

American neo-imperialist interference in and manipulation of all spheres of life in the country has been one of the main motifs in Ali's novels, plays and non-fictional works focused on Pakistani social context. In *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010), Dara mentions in the beginning of the narrative that the military dictatorship of General Ayub (1958-69) was established with backing from Washington (30). He refers to the regressive trends in society in the form of religious extremism and a profuse use of drugs and arms as a legacy of the US-backed military dictatorship of General Zia (1977-88) and Pakistan's involvement in the war against the communist Soviet Union in Afghanistan (147). There is constant reference in the novel to the on-going War on Terror and Pakistan's engagement as a proxy in yet another war on its own soil against its own people only for the procurement of American economic and military aid to maintain the privileged status of the elite classes. Dara states that American drones drop bombs on the northern border of Pakistan where streams turn red with the blood of the civilians (175).

The novel also portrays the division of the military oligarchy between pro-American and pro-Islamist officers as one of the byproducts of the dependent capitalist and neocolonial status of the country to the United States (177-79). The narrative traces the origin of this development to the patronage of religious sections by General Zia's regime serving as US proxy in the Afghan war against Soviet Union in the 1980s; a subject expounded at length by Ali in *Can Pakistan Survive?* (123-53). In *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010), the pro-West and pro-Islamist rift in the armed forces is shown through the conflict between General Rafiq who commands the Special Services Assault Battalion against the Taliban and General Baghlol and General Rifaat who leak secret information concerning the assaults to the Taliban. It is illustrated that the Generals seek the final word in all matters from DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency) because imperialist aid props the privileged class status of the military oligarchy (177).

According to critics such as Feinberg (150), Ali's critical portrayals of US imperialism as the main factor responsible for the economic and political problems afflicting postcolonial states is unjustified and exaggerated. Nonetheless, Ali's depictions link the rise of religious fundamentalism, proliferation of drugs and weapons and the persistent civil war like situation in

Pakistan to neo-imperialist interventions, providing minute details and instances to support the thematic depiction. The elaborate, coherent and factual representations thus serve to refute Feinberg's criticism of the theme being groundless.

It is Plato's last painting triptych which makes the core reason for the composition of this fiction and sums up, in the researcher's view, all the major arguments posited in Ali's fictional and non-fictional works focusing on the socio-historical context of Pakistan in its artistic illustration (265-75). In Dara's opinion, Plato's last painting is a scathing critique of the socio-economic and political realities of Pakistan by an artist who never bowed to the established system: the capitalist and neocolonial order of the country. Plato intends this painting triptych to be his final message to his countrymen. He expects this work of art to set the country on fire by inspiring people to a revolutionary transformation of the present society. He informs Dara of his belief in the beginning of the novel by enumerating the names of "painters and poets whose work, in bad times, had lifted the people to unimagined heights. A setback could be transformed into a victory through a work of art" (5).

Dara is exhorted to elaborate upon the various aspects of the painting to the spectator company of Plato's friends. According to him, the first panel conveys the whole message and can be titled as "The Four Cancers of Fatherland" (266). There is no attempt at subtlety or abstraction and the message is painted explicitly, as Dara puts it: "This was the Fatherland panel, the one he told me might trigger an upheaval in the country. The cancers destroying it were painted as living organisms with tentacle-like attachments that were competing with each other to occupy the whole body" (265). All the cancers are painted in "blood red and pus yellow" yet each form is distinguished from the other due to its specific features (265). The biggest of the cancerous organisms gripping the country and the one which gives birth to the other three kinds is in the form of an eagle. The eagle is unleashed on the body of the country by Uncle Sam having the face of Barack Obama and covered in stars and stripes. Plato's portrayal conveys the message that the principal hurdle to the development of Pakistan is its neocolonial and client status in relation to the United States and its reliance on American aid, loans and investments which grant the empire opportunities to exploit the country both economically and politically.

The painting by the protagonist of the novel is a reassertion of the theses of most of Ali's fictional and non-fictional works in the case of Pakistan. According to Plato's painting and Ali's

analyses, there are four fundamental issues which act as colossal blockades to the progress of society. The external and the internal dynamics are intertwined and operate in symbiosis to the detriment of the country. In the first instance, Ali has been scathingly critical of Pak-US relations and persistently emphatic about the reorientation of the links between the satellite state and the imperialist power since neocolonialism, as Akhtar puts it, “remains a major impediment to the long-term democratization of state and society” (28). Harnecker asserts that “imperialism has extended its economic grip and thereby its political compulsion by the artfulness of neocolonialist insinuation” (*Ideas for the Struggle* 34) and the same historical developments in the postcolonial context of Pakistan are critiqued by Ali in the present novel as well as in the other works included in the present study such as in *Can Pakistan Survive?* (188-194) and *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (166-202). Ali’s narrative and the protagonist’s painting appear to deplore the fact that throughout the 70 years of its existence, the country has followed the strategic, military and politico-economic dictates of the United States and has been ruled by bourgeois governments backed by the capitalist and imperialist center. In addition to the economic and political damage, Ali also traces the roots of all other social evils in the country such as the rise of religious fundamentalism and proliferation of arms and drugs to the country’s engagement as a proxy force in neo-imperialist wars (124-25).

The second cancer afflicting the body of “fatherland” in Plato’s last painting is tinted in red and earth brown, devouring large parts and in a posture of salute to the eagle (266-267). The organism has the faces of all the military dictators who have ruled over the country. Plato’s depiction is in consistence not only with the narrative as a whole but also with Ali’s appraisal of the subject in all of his works. In both his fictional and non-fictional works on Pakistan, Ali has been critical of the dependent capitalist economic system in the country and the class division it has created on the social level. The military oligarchy, in his analysis, is one of the sections of the national ruling elite which is equally repressive and comprador, maintaining monopoly on economic and political power of the state (*The Clash of Fundamentalisms* 166-202; *Can Pakistan Survive?* 134-162).

The third cancerous creature in Plato’s painting is tinted in green color and constitutes of bombs with beards. This life form originates from the first two but is shown to be developing an independent existence (267). This part of the painting represents and criticizes the *Jihadis* or

religious fundamentalists who, according to Ali's examination, were created jointly by the US and Pakistan for the war against Soviet Union in Afghanistan but, presently, have matured into a significant non-state actor with a political agenda and vested interests of their own (*The Clash of Fundamentalisms* 195-202). Eqbal Ahmed's perusal follows the same line of argument and considers Zia's Islamization of the society, the global recruitment of *Jihadis* by the CIA, the establishment of seminaries by the Pakistani state for these sections on its own soil and the birth of an armed social force turning against the state itself as the most disastrous social repercussions of the neocolonial alliance between the postcolonial state and the new empire (109-110). The ultimate political objective of the fundamentalists, according to Ali, is to take the society back to the medieval ages and impose stringent and brutal Islamic laws which are in complete contradiction with the tradition of the early Islamic history (*The Clash of Fundamentalisms* 195-202).

The last cancerous organism in Plato's painting is made up of five stuffed figures each of which holds his neighbor with one arm while outstretches the other to catch the gold coins dropping from his buttocks. The face of the last body is lathered as he tries to eat the gold shit rapaciously (267). In Dara's view, Plato intended these figures to represent the self-seeking and comprador bourgeois political rulers of Pakistan. As highlighted in the discussions of *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (2002), *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) and *Can Pakistan Survive?* (1983) scrutinized in sections 4.2, 5.1 and 5.2 of the study respectively, the privileged sections of feudal, industrialist and bureaucratic politicians ruling over the country have been driven by private capitalistic interests for the preservation of which these connive and ally internally within the elite class and externally with the neo-imperialist metropolitan bourgeoisie. In Ali's view, the neo-liberalization of economy has provided them with innumerable opportunities to buy national assets at nominal prices or sell these at the same to global companies for huge kickbacks (*The Clash of Fundamentalisms* 191-195). This disparaging portrayal of the elite ruling classes of the country is not only in accord with what Ahmed views as the avowed subject of most of Ali's works which is "an unabashed and straightforward polemic against the feudal and capitalist class of Pakistan" (417) but is also highly convincing and substantiated with historical accounts and facts cited in Ali's works.

The subtlest part of Plato's last painting is the wall of humanity forming the peripheral border of the country's shape as well as the canvas (267-268). The people on the margins, making a fence around the country, are the toiling masses of Pakistan with varying emotions on their faces: misery, disappointment, deliberation, anticipation, resentment and indifference. According to Dara's interpretation, they are the ones whose plight deteriorates with each successive rule of the capitalist, feudal and military-bureaucratic elite. Their strength lies in their collectivity as is symbolized by the wall like structure they form together in the painting. Dara also opines that their united effort can beat all the cancers away, only if they discard apathy and rise to action before the cancers devour and destroy them completely. Plato has painted some people with their hands behind their backs as if they were trying to hide weapons. Dara's response to this sight is: "will the last attempt to save fatherland come from below and sweep every malignancy away"? (268).

It can be deduced from both Plato's depiction and Dara's interpretation that both regard a united struggle of the masses from below as the only way to overturn the hegemonic rule of the elite classes and transform existing social conditions. The lack of objectivity in the narrative voice of Dara and the literary propagation of socialist political agenda through Plato's last painting are aspects in Ali's works which have been criticized as "propagandist" and "utopian" by Chapman (9), and King (219) in a review of Ali's novel *Fear of Mirrors*. However, in the researcher's view, it would be erroneous to dismiss Ali's delineation as purely propagandist since all other characters in the novel expressing different socio-political ideologies such as the character of Jamshed, Zahid, Zaynab and Naughty Lateef are also granted full voice in the novel making it a realistic and pluralistic literary representation of Pakistani society instead of a monolithic and one-dimensional portrayal.

The second panel of the triptych illustrates the liberal intellectual culture in the history of the Islamic world through the figures of renowned Islamic scholars and dissidents like Ibn Sina, Ibn Rushd, Ibn Hazm, Abu Ala Al Mari and Muhammad Idrisi (269-270). Plato intends the portrayal of the receptive, critical and broad-minded spirit of the past to highlight by contrast the present ritualism prevalent in the Islamic world and to put across the message that Islamic cultures require to go through a process of reformation and enlightenment if these are to progress on the present-day globe. The third portrait panel honors the Sufi poets, Bulleh Shah,

Shah Hussain and Warish Shah, who stood for the liberty of the common man in the practice of religion against the pedantic doctrines of the religious preachers or *Mullahs* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It also pays tribute to the socialist poets of the subcontinent: Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Sahir Ludhianvi whose poetry envisions a socialist future for the country and region (273-275).

The images of the second and third parts of Plato's painting and Dara's elaboration of the artistic content run parallel with Ali's socio-economic and political perspectives and portrayals. Contrasting it with the dogmatism rampant in contemporary Islamic culture, Ali strongly endorses the liberal, pluralistic and dialectical spirit which reigned in the Islamic world around the 11th and 12th centuries. In *The Clash of Fundamentalism* (314-338), he argues that debates on religion, society, politics, economy and sciences in those days were dynamic and progressive, generating a rich culture through the synthesis of orthodoxy and dissent which was more democratic in nature. In his view, the fundamentalist vision of the imposition of religious rituals on Muslim majorities is retrogressive and incapable of resolving the material problems of the postcolonial states containing them. In all of his books scrutinized for the present research as well as those outside its focus, he emphasizes on the process of reformation in Islamic societies and the separation of religion from politics which is the need of the new times and new challenges. What he depicts fictionally through the last painting of the novel's protagonist in *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) has been stated explicitly in the context of Pakistan in *Can Pakistan Survive?* (1983): "It is one of history's ironies that 'Muslim' Pakistan could only survive as a stable entity if it were a secular-democratic, socialist republic, with safeguards for all nationalities and religions. It is true that such a future appears utopian at the moment; but there is no other long-term solution" (150).

Casting a glance at the whole narrative, the critique posited by King in a review of *The Book of Saladin* (245), one of Islam Quintet, that Ali's literary depictions of history are marred by the incorporation of political jargon does not apply to the novel under discussion. Political subjects are narrated and discussed by the characters, however, these are integrated into the organic whole of the plot and constitute integral parts of conversations between the characters. In addition, the narration or dialogues do not, at any point in the novel, give the sense of a specialized political language being used. Neither are the characters and events in the novel

unreal and improbable as Erol (341) observes to be the case. Dara, Zahid, Plato, Zainab, Jindie and Jamshed are all real life characters belonging to various social classes with different political, career-related, artistic and familial aspirations.

In the researcher's view, *Night of the Golden Butterfly* is a contemporary novel which paints a holistic picture of Pakistani society highlighting all the multiple spheres of social life such as the familial, ethnic, religious, educational, literary, moral, institutional, economic and political, spanning over a period of half a century. The characters in the novel are diverse, multi-dimensional and round in nature, uttering dialogues which are highly witty and insightful. The character of Dara narrating the story represents Ali's radical postcolonial outlook on events and, therefore, remains critical of capitalism and neocolonialism exhibited in the narrative in the form of the corrupt practices of the elite ruling classes within the capitalist economic system, their comprador character in relation to the United States and the subsequent client status of the country. The narrative is focused on the social context of Pakistan yet it also encompasses the broader global scenario in which the cold war period and the post 9/11 milieu are marked prominently. The plot of the novel moves back and forth in time but stays centered on Plato's life and artistic work. The narrative ends with Plato's death and the last painting of Plato conveys Ali's personal hope, termed as utopian by many critics, of the socialist transformation of Pakistani society.

The critical analysis of *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) is followed by the thematic scrutiny of *Pirates of the Caribbean* (2006) and it is significant to expatiate the two fundamental reasons which connect the fictional account to the non-fictional text. The novel *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) is centred on Plato's character and his last painting triptych which conveys the message of a mass socialist movement as the only way to challenge the capitalist and neocolonial system in the country. However, in the novel and in the other texts analyzed in the present study, Ali has also referred to the failure of the Marxist-Leninist model of socialist revolution in the country in 1968-69 due to the lack of a popular and organized communist party; a situation which has remained the same till date, if not deteriorated. Moreover, according to his analyses, the movement failed at a time when, in comparison with the present context, the social conditions in the 1960s were more conducive for such a movement and organization: the society had not gone through a massive upsurge in religious extremism; the capitalist class in the country

was in the nascent period of growth and the country's neocolonial dependency had not been firmly entrenched. Therefore, it can be deduced from Ali's portrayals of the social conditions in the postcolonial context in general and in the case of Pakistan in particular that the ground realities in these are not ripe for a radical socialist revolution. Yet Ali's promulgation of the socialist cause in his fictional and non-fictional works on the postcolonial context persists and leads to questions concerning the nature of the socialist mass movement he envisions in the broader postcolonial context integrated into the capitalist and neo-imperialist world system. The answers to the questions are provided in the non-fictional text *Pirates of the Caribbean* (2006) in which Ali evaluates favorably the flexible and reformist model of 21st century socialism emerging out of three Latin American countries sharing political and economic similarities with other postcolonial contexts. The analysis of the non-fictional text contributes not only to a better understanding of Ali's thematic depiction of the postcolonial dilemmas generated by capitalism and neocolonialism analyzed in all the texts selected for the present study but also serves to elucidate the theme of socialist change persisting in Ali's fictional works centered on postcolonial conditions, in particular those of Pakistan.

6.2 *Pirates of the Caribbean: Axis of Hope* (2006)

Thematically, all of Ali's fictional and non-fictional works envision a socialist transformation of postcolonial societies; a characteristic which makes Hattori comment sarcastically that his works are "a useful addition to the bookshelf of the hopeful" (244). The texts analyzed in the present study are, thematically, critiques of the historical processes of capitalism and neo-imperialism, and social depredation caused by class division and neocolonialism in the postcolonial context, in particular that of Pakistan. In addition to the critical portrayals of these processes, his fictional and non-fictional texts also offer critical appraisals of the 20th century socialist movements in the same context, highlighting their merits and demerits. The present non-fictional text *Pirates of the Caribbean: Axis of Hope* (2006) brings his critique of capitalism, neo-imperialism and the socialist movements challenging these to a logical conclusion by focusing on the critical evaluation of the postcolonial politico-economic conditions in the 21st century, highlighted through a specific study of three Latin American countries, and the merits and demerits of the socialist struggle termed as 21st century socialism in challenging the concomitant global process.

In this regard, his works follow a pattern shared by the works of most Marxist writers which, according to Lebowitz, is “the necessity to go beyond anti-capitalism to a concept of socialism” (*Build it Now* 11). The predominance of this motif in his works leads critics to evaluate that his works are propagandist in nature and prone to “economic reductionism” in the sense that these portray the capitalist economic system to be the root of all socio-economic and political ills such as neocolonialism, class division and underdevelopment in the postcolonial regions (Chapman 7-10). However, such criticism is not uncommon in relation to fiction and non-fiction written from a radical perspective.

The book focuses on another “contemporarily pertinent theme” (Kaya 23) and examines the on-going 21st century socialist movements in Latin America, encompassing the strengths and weaknesses of these movements, in the backdrop of the social dilemmas of the broader postcolonial context in general and the Latin American conditions in particular. Analyzing historical developments from a Marxist angle, Ali places hope in the South American continent where the resurgence of mass movements leading to the establishment of social democratic governments in Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador has posed a politico-economic challenge and alternative to neo-liberalism and neo-imperialism in the form of a revised concept of socialism termed as 21st century socialism. The book provides knowledge about the dilapidated socio-economic and political conditions giving birth to these movements, the national and international threats to their existence and the failures as well as successes achieved by these in transforming living conditions for the majority in the three countries.

The narrative style of the book is again autobiographical and memoir-like making it an informal, engaging and authentic read (Hattori 242-243). The tone of the book is also exuberant and optimistic which stands in contrast with the “depressing reading” Ali’s other works make, particularly those focusing on the Arab world, according to Feinberg (151). The reason is, unequivocally, the hope he finds in the Latin American postcolonial context for social transformation. The text is rich in historical details highlighting various dimensions of the latest social developments in Latin America and, in this regard, it maintains the highly informative level found in other works by Ali.

Ali introduces the central argument of the book by picking a line of thought he developed in *Can Pakistan Survive?* (1983) and *The Clash of Fundamentalism* (2002), discussed

respectively in section 4.2 and 5.2 of the present study. The thesis maintained by him is that the present-day global scenario is marked by the development of two major retaliatory responses to the neo-imperialist and neoliberal capitalist exploitation led by the United States. These consequential blowbacks have emerged from within the Islamic world in the form of a political revival of religion and from the Latin American continent in the shape of socialist mass insurrections. Drawing a comparison of the two (*Pirates of the Caribbean* 38-41; *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* 3, 261-72, 309; *Can Pakistan Survive?* 160, 181-88), he argues against the religious revivalist movements within the Islamic world which have so far proved to be ill-equipped for combating the inequities spawned by the imperialist capitalist world system. To begin with, these movements are essentially violent in character and are infested with internal sectarianism. Secondly, these religious fundamentalist forces offer no comprehensive and far-reaching strategy for the socio-economic transformation of the concerned societies, targeting mere Islamization of the neoliberal status-quo. And lastly, the fact that these movements are based in political groups which have acted as cohorts to the neo-imperialist power in the past (Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and *Jamaat-e Islami* in Pakistan) reduces their anti-imperialism to shallow sloganeering (38-41).

Ali's depiction of political Islamist movements as socially ineffective has been contested by the critics of his works on two major grounds. The first major reason is a broader one and points to an intrinsic shortcoming of Marxist approach to the interpretation of historical events. In this case, Hashmi argues that "one of the weaknesses of Marxism and all other -isms descended from it has been a lack of understanding of ethics, morality, and, dare I say it, spirituality" (210). In the light of this critique, Ali's materialist perspective of analysis falls short of grasping comprehensively the rallying and organizing political force of cultural elements such as religion in actual human societies. The second counter argument posited by Hattori is directed at Ali's personal lack of in-depth knowledge of the complex and universal phenomenon of the present-day revival of political Islam. Hattori states in this regard: "Ali's understanding of Islamic fundamentalism is Arab and national whereas Osama Bin Laden has clearly grasped the political utility of a multiethnic and transnational vision of radical Islam" (244).

Nevertheless, Ali pursues his materialist argumentation and invalidates religious fundamentalism as an effective social strategy against liberal democracy and neoliberal

economy, the two mainstays of neo-imperialism (39). He dismisses the idea of socio-economic transformation in the postcolonial Muslim-majority states through a political revival of Islam. According to his evaluation, the alleviation in poverty and accountability of corruption expected from a theocratic state are better options when compared to the exploitation carried out under the capitalist and neocolonial system, yet such an alternative is bound to fail in the long run (38-41). The argument he poses is that the meagre reformative measures implemented by a theocratic state these fundamentalists envision will prove insufficient in tackling the acute poverty, mismanagement and neocolonial dependency afflicting these countries. A theocratic government would also lack radically transformative, re-institutive and democratic vigor because it functions within a capitalist economy and, therefore, is more prone to a reversion to the neoliberal and neo-imperialist order.

On the other hand, Ali reasons in support of the socialist governments instituted by the masses in Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador throughout the book and the positive portrayals of these Left governments validates Feinberg's critical appraisal that though "few individuals or political movements meet the stern Trotskyite's super high standards, but Ali revels in the new stirrings among the urban and rural poor in Latin America" (150). According to Ali's appraisal, these movements symbolize what Amin views as "the true ideological/cultural conflict of the twenty-first century" i.e. the clash between capitalism and socialism (*Beyond US Hegemony* 126) and point to the fact: "that the world was still confronted with old choices. Either a revamped global capitalism with new wars and new impoverishment, chaos, anarchy or a rethought and revised socialism, democratic in character and capable of serving the needs of the poor" (29).

Ali explicates that these governments have developed concrete new sets of social policies which curtail the accumulation of capital by local elite as well as by the multinationals of the neo-imperialist center, and grant the bulk of population made up of diverse creeds and ethnicities the right to decide on major national issues (3-49). They have put forward the vision of not only an economically stable nation but also that of an economically and politically integrated continent. The constitutional reforms devised and implemented by these governments have enhanced the role played by a sovereign state in the redistribution of wealth and provision of basic public services. In his overall appraisal, these socialist movements and the path these have taken present a pragmatic solution out of the impoverishment and divisions created by both

internal and external capitalist exploitation in the postcolonial states. Ali's analysis corresponds with Ramirez' evaluation which concludes that "these projects are more than just critiques of capitalism; they are real policies and lived experiences in the transformation of local, national, and hemispheric power relationships" (150).

According to Ali's elucidation, the history of the Latin American continent is punctuated with dynamic anti-imperialist struggles and radical insurrectionary movements which have honed the political consciousness of the populace (39-41). Along the same lines, Harnecker also examines that "the peoples of the continent have certainly never accepted the wretched lot that the dominant local classes reserved for them, and their struggles and revolts fill the history of the past two centuries" (*21st Century Socialism* 6). The constancy of Cuban revolution in the face of assaults from national capitalist oligarchy and imperialist economic sanctions has served as a source of inspiration and strength for the continent. Ali maintains, however, that the mass uprisings in Latin America at the turn of the new millennium must be viewed in the specific backdrop of the global unrest against the implementation of neoliberal policies by governments, particularly in postcolonial states. These insurrections make part of movements which Williams describes as struggles for an equitable and polycentric globalization (1-19). The rise of Sandinistas in Nicaragua in 1979, the Landless Workers Movement in Brazil in 1984 and the struggle of Zapatistas in Mexico since 1994 for indigenous control over local resources have all been parts of a chain of mass insurgence against neo-liberalism and neo-imperialism (41). Ali's analysis, in this regard, is attested to by Burbach (1-12) who evaluates these movements as demands for a post-capitalist and post-imperialist world order.

Delimiting his study to Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador, Ali recounts the specific events triggered by capitalist and neo-imperialist exploitation which first transformed mass unrest into mass movements and subsequently into socialist governments. In Ali's study, the implementation of the structural adjustment programs, measures demanded by IMF in return for loans, caused mass protests in Venezuela in 1989 (48-59). Petras and Veltmeyer add to Ali's description and denominate IMF, World Bank and WTO as "essential adjuncts of the imperialist state system" and "economic imperialism" exercised in the form of neoliberal structural adjustments of privatization, deregulation and liberalization through which "thousands of lucrative state- owned enterprises were privatized, handed over to a select group of private US

and EU- based multinational corporations and local regime cronies” (26). Ali highlights that the social movement and the government’s suppression of it through the repressive state apparatus of the armed forces, remembered as Caracazo, became the launching pad for the leftist Fifth Republican Movement guided by Hugo Chavez and the attainment of state power by the same in 1998.

Ali’s scrutiny does not find the anti-neoliberal and anti-imperialist social movements in Bolivia and Ecuador any different in character from that of their continental counterpart. In Ecuador, the indigenous people initiated protests against the corporate exploitation of local oil resources and destruction of Amazon carried out by US companies in collusion with the local elite. The anti-neoliberal and anti-imperialist movement grew into demand for a socialist state which could effectuate constitutional changes, land reforms, communal ownership of rain forests and nationalization of oil sector. It culminated in Rafael Correa’s rise to presidency and the assumption of state power by his party PAIS Alliance in 2007 (177-79). Petras examines that “the rise of 21st century socialism grew out of the crises of neo-liberal regimes” and accords with Ali’s exposition informing that, in Bolivia, the indigenous Aymara Bolivians came out on the streets against the privatization of water and electricity in 2000 and banished the US Company in control of local water. According to Ali, in 2003, the same movement from below protested against the privatization of energy resources benefitting only the transnational corporations owned by Euro-American elite and the national capitalists (108-112). In 2005, the socialist government of Movement Toward Socialism headed by Evo Morales came to power on the shoulders of this anti-neoliberal and anti-imperialist mass movement. Ali sums up the entire insurgency in the words of Evo Morales: “The cause of all these acts of bloodshed, and for the uprising of the Bolivian people, has a name: neo-liberalism” (282).

Ali also regards it crucial to cast a glance at the late 20th century political and economic developments in the three countries, in relation to capitalism and neo-imperialism, in order to grasp the 21st century processes initiated by the common people of these countries better. Ali’s adoption of a historical perspective and analysis of events in relation to their impact on masses make Ahmed comment that “Tariq Ali not only has the advantage of hindsight but of an analytical tool that focuses on the masses, i.e. the dialectical approach” (417). His placement of the 21st century socialist movements in the three countries against a continental backdrop makes

his work not only “strong on historical details”, as Shamsie observes (“South Asian Muslims 151), but also grants it what King appraises to be “a large canvas” with “epic like subject matter” in Ali’s works in his review of the first text of *Islam Quintet* (112).

From his detailed discussion of each context (53-114), it is easy to conclude in general that the recent histories of the countries have been replete with the neo-imperialist manipulations and capitalist extraction expounded in detail by Amin in the context of the basic structure of social entities situated on the periphery of the capitalist world system and Nkrumah in his study of the processes of neocolonialism and class struggle discussed in section 2.3 and 2.4 of Literature Review respectively. According to Ali, these countries had been trapped in the vicious cycle of export of raw materials, industrial and infrastructural underdevelopment and dependence on foreign investments. The political history of these countries had alternated between military dictatorships and what Woods (309) terms as “shareholders’ democracies”; yet the peripheral status as capitalist economies had remained intact. In Ali’s evaluation, the plunder of national exchequers by national bourgeoisie and rural elite in connivance with multinational corporations and the consequent negligence of land reforms as well as social services by governments marked the pre-socialist era in which regimes were throned and dethroned by CIA.

Ali’s portrayal of neoliberal capitalist policies and US neo-imperialist enterprises as the two major factors generating socio-economic and political ills in postcolonial countries is regarded as biased and one-dimensional by critics such as Feinberg (150). He assesses that Ali “blames much of the region’s problems on U.S. imperialism and the “fundamentalist” Washington consensus” (150) when, in the words of Petras, there is “a whole complex of internal social forces that conflict or collaborate in the subordination of peripheral society” (150-151). In the researcher’s evaluation, Ali’s delineations and critiques take into account both the internal social dynamics of the postcolonial societies, as has been evident from his critique of the internal class division and politico-economic modes facilitating neocolonialism highlighted in the analysis of all the texts included in the present study, as well as the external factors responsible for the peripheral capitalist and neocolonial formation of the postcolonial states. In addition, Ali’s critique of neoliberalism and neo-imperialism does not appear sketchy and dogmatic since his works invariably substantiate the links between historical events and the two phenomena with verifiable facts and instances.

Examining the socio-economic degeneration caused by capitalism and neo-imperialism in the late twentieth century Venezuela (53-63), Ali observes that the military dictatorships sold the country's oil to foreign companies and the revenues generated added only to the private capital of national bourgeoisie and military oligarchy. The subsequent liberal democratic governments shared an equal level of failure when it came to the transformation of the extravert orientation of the economy and dependence on foreign investments and loans. During the 1950s, the state granted control over oil resources and special subsidies to US companies while low wages and no-strike labor policies were implemented domestically. As a consequence, poverty, inflation and unemployment, seen as social wretchedness, exclusion and concentration of wealth in a few hands by Harnecker (*Ideas for the Struggle* 20), became rampant due to the inability of the capitalists-run-state to extricate itself from the loops of political and economic dependence and the ensuing social underdevelopment. Here too, Ali is as scathingly critical of the elite ruling classes of military, capitalist and landowning oligarchies and their comprador links to the neo-imperialist center as he has been of those in Pakistan in the discussion of *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007), *Can Pakistan Survive?* (1983) and *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) in section 5.1, 5.2 and 6.1 respectively of the present study.

In the context of Bolivia, Ali again explains social "crises in terms of class contradictions in the society" (Ahmed 417) and highlights the fact that political power rested with the Creole elite making up only 15 per cent of the population (93-114). The indigenous people not only formed more than half of the population but also the bulk of peasants and workers of the country. The Creole bourgeoisie supported by both rightist social forces and the United States succeeded in toppling governments which tried to transform social relations of production. Harnecker elucidates that the advent of neo-liberalism perfected the globalization of poverty and capitalist monopolization (*Rebuilding the Left* 3-28) and Ali observes the same exacerbation in the living conditions of majority caused by the launch of neoliberal policies in the country in 1984. In Ali's analysis, the capitalist and neo-imperialist exploitation in Ecuador was no different with privatization and deindustrialization as the order of the day. Since Ecuador has large oil reserves, US oil companies established a monopoly over extraction and supply with the help of local industrialists. The local people kept protesting against the exploitation on both levels. Their complaints voiced the fact that indigenous resources were plundered and local ecology was

devastated by foreign companies when these could have been utilized by local people in a balanced way to their own benefit (177-178).

From Ali's study of the recent histories and current happenings, a significant differentiating element between these three political entities and most of Asian and African postcolonial states can be deduced. The factor which has played a critical role in the setting up of social democratic administrations in the three countries, despite prolonged periods of military dictatorships, is the existence of substantial radical elements within the armed forces. Aviles' study affirms Ali's analysis by pronouncing the armed forces in the three countries as "the only institution that had demonstrated preoccupation with the situation of the poor and with undermining the implementation of neoliberal economic policies" (1552). In postcolonial states where military institution is generally rightist and willingly accepts the role of an oppressive apparatus in order to safeguard its institutional privileges, struggles by masses for socio-economic transformation are often brutally repressed.

Ali assesses that this feature tilted the balance in favor of the socialist movement and the establishment of a socialist government by Hugo Chavez in Venezuela in 1998 (62-9). The use of brute military force for crushing Caracazo proved to be the turning point for the group of officers led by Hugo Chavez and made them reflect over their own position in relation to the impoverished, protesting masses and in relation to the political elite which ordered massacre to pursue with neoliberal policies. The conversation with Luis Reyes Reyes, a lieutenant in the Venezuelan air force and a friend of Hugo, provided in Appendix Three to the book (215-49), testifies to Ali's narration of the Venezuelan socialist revolution being sustained by the alliance between armed forces and masses.

According to Ali's scrutiny (96-102), the presence of radical segments within the armed forces distinguishes Bolivia and Ecuador as well from other postcolonial contexts in which the armed forces are, in Nkrumah's analysis, "reactionary and pro-imperialist" (*Class Struggle* 47). In the case of Bolivia, the country witnessed the united struggle of the masses and army officers in 1936 to bring to power a contradictory and untenable kind of socialism termed as a "military socialist" regime which nationalized major industries, granted rights to indigenous people and strengthened workers' unions (96). The support of the socialist wings of the armies has been crucial to defeating the rightist political forces based in imperialism and neo-liberalism in these

countries. The history of the military institutions in these postcolonial contexts contrasts with Pakistan's situation where the institution of the armed forces is pro-capitalist and pro-imperialist, as highlighted in the analysis of *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) in section 5.1 of the present study.

Ali's radical perspective approves of the 21st century left governments in these countries directing the professional expertise of soldiers towards socio-economic development and the construction of infrastructure as well as provision of health and other social services to public. His appraisal corresponds with the works of Rochlin (1327-1342) and Aviles (1549-1564) discussed in Section 2.5 of Literature Review in underscoring the fact that the objective is to keep armed forces socially integrated, radicalized and participative in socialist policies. In Ali's evaluation, the concept of "Integrated National Defence" these postcolonial societies have adopted envisions the fortification of armed forces, development of coordination between armed forces and civilians for defense purposes and the training of common people for defense in times of war (277).

Criticizing the negative repercussions of the bureaucratic socialism of Moscow and Peking and the rift between the two for the postcolonial Third World in 1983, Ali had expressed optimism regarding the dynamic social movements in Latin America. He had predicted a new future for socialism on condition that these movements discard ideological dependency and creatively chart out their own avenues to the goal (*Can Pakistan Survive?* 194). In 2006, he enunciates in a tone of cautious triumphalism that the three leftist governments have clear political and economic strategies for the curtailment of US-led neoliberal and neo-imperialist enterprises and the prioritization of national interests (69). The slogan of 21st century socialism that the Venezuelan Bolivarian revolution raised is identified with and followed by Bolivia and Ecuador. In Ali's estimation, the concept and practice of socialism is modified in accordance with the new contextual and epochal demands and implemented in a vigilant and steady manner which Burbach and Pineiro view as one of "gradual overflowing or transcending capitalism" (196). The marked break from the 20th century Marxist-Leninist socialist model and the new continental vision was tersely put forward by Rafael Caldera in his presidential speech which Ali quotes from: "it is a change of epoch, not epoch of changes" (178). The three governments have allowed the basic structure of the system to remain intact while incorporating radical reforms

within the constitutions voted for by the diverse underprivileged sections or, as Burbach puts it, the “plebeians” of their respective societies (3). Ali advises a consistent development of social democratic institutions “as a real alternative to neoliberal democracy” with emphasis that “simultaneously continent wide structures need to be created as an alternative to the networks of northern global markets” (89).

Ali also enumerates the successes achieved by these movements and governments comprehensively (69-89). He informs that in 1998, the Bolivarian revolution triumphed and the support of plural social forces united against neo-imperialism and neoliberal capitalism brought the Fifth Republic Movement led by Chavez to power with majority in the parliament. Referendum was held concerning a new constitution guaranteeing socio-economic reforms and was implemented with massive public support. In a short span of time the benefits of grass root transformation brought about by 21st century socialism became apparent when millions of the marginalized gained access to health care and education. Providing statistics of improvement in the education system and its challenge to educational planning which Muhr (8) scrutinizes as class-based and mercantilist, Ali states:

Just under a million Venezuelan children from the shanty towns and the poorest villages now obtain a free education; 1.2 million illiterate adults have been taught to read and write; secondary education has been made available to 250,000 children whose social status excluded them from this privilege during *ancien régime*; three new university campuses were functioning by 2003 and six more are due to be completed by 2006. (82)

These details and statistics Ali provides in relation to 21st century socialist struggle to disseminate literacy are backed by the facts elaborated in the work of Ramirez (159-161), discussed in section 2.5 of Literature Review. Ali’s supportive expositions of nationalization of resources, industrial development, radical land reforms and provision of social services in these countries, in accordance with the 21st century socialist formulations, correspond with the treatises of most of Marxist Postcolonial writers on these social transformations. Harnecker (*Rebuilding the Left* 141-144), Lebowitz (*The Socialist Imperative* 111-127), and Burbach and Pineiro (184) add to these developments the institution of citizens’ assemblies, communal councils and cooperatives as politico-economic empowerments for people on the local level.

The statistical details Ali provides to support his arguments make Feinberg conclude that the book is largely “recycled journalism” (150). He also appraises that *Pirates of the Caribbean* is “a short, hurried work which is full of factual errors and over simplifications” (150). The critique of the book as a journalistic account is highly untenable and unconvincing because instead of just offering details of the developments in the three countries, Ali situates events in a global backdrop, connects these to the historical processes of the whole of 20th century, carries out comparative analyses with conditions in the neighboring countries and puts forward the views and situation of the social forces opposing these movements. Due to the same merits and the incorporation of facts and figures into the account, supported by other contemporary texts focused on the 21st century socialist formations in the three countries referred to in this section, the text cannot be termed as hurried or full of factual errors.

Ali finds the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist evolvments in Bolivia similar where the Movement Toward Socialism backed by the indigenous population, women, students, unemployed youth, peasants, miners and professionals attained state power in 2005 with Evo Morales as the president. The government has constitutionalized radical land reforms with Morales declaring time and again that the equitable redistribution of land and wealth is the priority of the government (94-114). The operations of national private enterprises as well as transnational corporations are regulated, as Ellner (96-114) has elucidated, to concede profits to public welfare projects. In Ali’s view, the victory of Rafael Correa and Alianza Pais in the general elections of 2007 in Ecuador completed the socialist triad on the continent. The government’s anti-imperialist and anti-neoliberal stance has been confirmed by its dissolution of free trade agreements and support for the growth of regional alliances. Correa’s government has, since then, acted on the same policies: use of legislation as a tool for reforms, nationalization of major economic sectors and regulation of the domestic and multinational capitalist enterprises to generate revenue for expenditure on the development of infrastructure and public sector (168-185).

Ali’s distinctive focus and approbation are directed at the policies these 21st century socialist governments have implemented in the field of education which have transformed the social landscape in far-reaching ways (53-114). The socialist measures have multiplied not only the number of school-going children but also the number of adults trained to learn reading and

writing. The objectives, according to Ali, are to ensure a state managed universal provision of education to all, to make people know about the deep and multiple layers of capitalist and imperialist exploitation they are confronted with and to raise consciousness concerning the value of the socialist vision these movements are trying to substantiate (246). The work of Thomas Muhr, a Latin American theorist on the multiple facets of the 21st Century socialist processes, authenticates Ali's positive assessment of these educational developments as the recognition of access to education as a basic human right, a primary responsibility of the state and an integral measure for social progress (47-54). He adds to it by highlighting the establishment and extension of HEFA (Higher Education for All), an educational policy initiated in Venezuela, to most of the member states of the Latin American and Caribbean regional alliances in 2009.

Ali contrasts the socio-economic and political transformation in these three countries to the neighboring countries of Chile and Brazil and views the latter as living symbols of the dilapidated social conditions generated by the neo-imperialistically installed neoliberal policies (40-49). Inflation, unemployment and poverty are rampant in Chile where neoliberal policies are in implementation. In Brazil, the ruling Workers' Party (PT) came to power on the basis of a socialist manifesto. However, it soon capitulated to the policy dictates of IMF and World Bank which has resulted in the escalation of a similar kind of social misery in addition to corruption and dependence on foreign capital. In Argentina, the economic collapse was complete under neoliberal capitalism and neo-imperialist interventions, resulting in nation-wide poverty and hunger. Ali's description of these postcolonial Latin American countries where neoliberal policies are in implementation and neo-imperialist political interventions are the order is similar to his portrayal of the dilapidated socio-economic and political conditions of Pakistan highlighted in the analysis of *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) in section 6.1 of the present study.

Ahmed evaluates, in the case of Ali's non-fiction, that "although the author makes no pretense about objectivity, there is no evidence of any attempt to distort the facts in order to suit his argument" (417). The assessment is validated by the fact that Ali does not paint the processes of the socialist transformation of these societies as smooth sail. He highlights the intrinsic weaknesses of these movements as well as the potential threats to these processes. The fact of these socialist governments facing overwhelming odds in functioning is, therefore, accentuated

throughout the book (54-185). Ali substantiates with instances that national and imperialist capitalists, with their class-based privileges and monopolist interests threatened, have been funding local reactionaries and rightist military generals to topple these governments through attempted coups, strikes and artificially created economic crises. On corporates-owned national and international media, the three leaders are portrayed as authoritarian dictators and their socialist policies as complete failures. In the face of an almost universal hostility, Woods (409) and Rochlin (1337-1342) also suggest perseverance in the implementation of radical policies if the two giants of global corporate capitalism and neo-imperialism are to be vanquished.

In Ali's view, the fundamental intrinsic flaw of these socialist movements has been reliance on a single leading person which needs to be removed permanently if these societies are to progress democratically (184). The transition to socialism needs to be centered on common people acting as the protagonists of national life and on the transformative mechanism to which the absence of Fidel, Chavez and Morales should not make any qualitative or structural difference. In his review of *Fear of Mirrors*, King posits the critique that in Ali's fiction and non-fiction "there is none of the considered criticism of communism often found in Europe, where, after examining what Marxism had produced around the world, the faults were inherent in the theory and utopianism"(219). The argument that Ali does not find any fault with Marxist theory is justifiable; however, his works have been scathingly critical of communist and socialist movements across the globe and he has been consistently and rigorously pointing to the shortcomings of developments whenever Marxist theories are put into practice in specific social contexts.

Like other Marxist writers on the subject, Ali does not understate the pivotal role of Cuba in inspiring and strengthening these movements and governments on the continent (117-146). According to him (121), Cuban progress in the face of "Yankee monopolies", military assaults and economic sanctions has served as a leading example for these countries, despite "the 21st century socialist practices being in contrast with Cuba's in the scope of societal change" (Azicri 105) The Cuban socialist revolution of 1959 followed the Marxist-Leninist model and seized power from military dictatorship after a long and hard militant clash. The revolution completely overthrew the capitalist and neocolonial politico- economic system and built a new social order

from the scratch. In Ali's estimation, the vision of classless, anti-imperialist and internationalist society that drove the revolution persists till date.

Looking at the inequitable interlinking between the global North and South from a Marxist Postcolonial perspective, Amin postulates that "the world will have to involve a process of regionalization if a polycentric and pluralist model of globalization is to be rebuilt" (*Beyond US Hegemony* 129). On the same lines, Ali evaluates positively the collaboration and solidarity between Cuba and the three postcolonial states and his analysis is also in concord with Muhr's appraisal of the links as the practice of "counter-hegemonic regionalism" challenging the economic and political domination of the North (39-57). In Ali's view, the universalization of education and health care in Cuba serves as an inspiring yet achievable model for these postcolonial states in the process of social transformation and appears a remarkable social achievement when contrasted with the status of education and healthcare as high-cost commodities available only to the elite classes in both the developed and underdeveloped parts of the world (131-132). He examines that such social measures and their extension to the continental plane will help bridge the gaps in the living conditions and industrial as well as technological growth between the North and the South.

In all of the texts analyzed in the present study, Ali has been rigorously critical of capitalist economy and neocolonial political status as the major factors affecting all spheres of social life in postcolonial states. Antithetically, *Pirates of the Caribbean* offers a view into the socio-cultural scenario under socialist politico-economic conditions in these three countries which have attempted a decisive rupture with the dominant political and economic ideologies of Europe and America. Ali rejoices in the fact that politico-economic dynamism has seeped into the cultural sphere as well and better social ambience is giving birth to new art forms and new experiments in literature.

Connecting the present with the past, he argues that unlike Asian and African histories, Latin American history exhibits a strong tradition of dynamic interlinking between literature and socio-political realities of the time (139-144). The prolific writings of Simon Bolivar, the political leader who guided the continental struggle for liberation from Spanish colonialism, established the tradition with usage of poetic and literary prose in his letters, declarations and other political documents. Continentally renowned poets, novelists and musicians actively

participated in the national movements for independence and some of them became heads of states or served their governments in other capacities. The two famous novelists Romulo Gallegos and Domingo Faustino who became presidents of Argentina and Venezuela respectively are the two most prominent instances in point. Throughout Bolivian history also, literary writers have engaged with and remained committed to social and political causes. Novelists have been writing narratives based on the living conditions of workers, farmers and political figures as well as on significant social events and movements.

According to Ali's perusal, the history of dynamic interlinking between art and socio-historical realities has been both maintained and boosted by the present dynamic social backdrop (139-142). He specifically highlights the instance of murals as the most popular present-day painting form for artists in these countries and explicates the socio-political ideology working at the back of the popularity of the art form. In Ali's view, the art form is practiced on the walls of public buildings and places to make it accessible to common people and thus deconstruct the market practices of advertising, buying and selling for profit. In addition, experiments in cinematic media have created innovative modes of collage in which journalistic, photographic and poetic pieces are aesthetically amalgamated. In the domain of literature, Ali cites the literary works of Uruguayan writer Eduardo Galeano, adopting non-fictional style for narration of stories, as the most significant experiment influenced by new social conditions (140).

In Ali's view, another noteworthy dimension of this social dynamism is the unwavering commitment of artists, intellectuals, critics and literary writers to freedom of expression and an all-encompassing exercise of thought, imagination, creativity and aesthetics (142-144). The argument posited is that truly democratic structures in all social spheres need to be accompanied by liberty to dissent in art, literature and other modes of creative expression. According to Ali, active debates will lead to the growth of culture and democracy instead of the stultification of both. In this regard, he observes that writers and artists have been critical of all laws of state censorship and have not only challenged the ideological dominance of the capitalist and imperialist center but are also skeptical of the didactic model of socialist realism the Soviet Union imposed on literary writers.

Tariq Ali's treatise on the recent histories of Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador and the ongoing socio-economic and political transformations in these countries is interspersed with

allusions to a vast array of literary works. The book not only contains numerous quotes from Latin American poetry and fiction but also offers reviews of past and contemporary Latin American literary works where these bear connections with the social context. Ali's prose itself is factual in details yet lyrical in the thrust of the argument where it conveys aspiration for a better world. The characteristic is defined by Hashmi as the "poetic fancy" working beneath Ali's "sharp focus on the contemporary world" and his Marxist narratives (210-211). By virtue of its strong literariness, the book holds a unique place in contemporary Pakistani non-fiction. The themes of the critique of global capitalism, neo-imperialism and the emergence of 21st socialism to challenge the two interlinked processes posited in the book are organically connected with the themes central to his fiction and serve to explicate and project in a concrete way the subject of socialist transformation his fiction highlights and promulgates.

In the final analysis, *Pirates of the Caribbean* (2006) is a text by Ali which not only criticizes global capitalism, American neo-imperialism, class division and neocolonial modes of politico-economic operation in the postcolonial states but also appraises a contemporary form of socialist resistance in the postcolonial context to the dual mode of exploitation. The text gives the reader a clear conception of the socialist struggle that Ali's fictional works accentuate thematically. It is also "very much a postcolonial book" looking at historical developments from the perspective of the marginalized, as King observes in the case of *The book of Saladin* (245). In King's estimation, however, such narratives have the tendency to present a stereotypical and essentialist image of Euro-Americans as capitalist and imperialist exploiters. The researcher differs with King's evaluation and finds Waterman's appraisal of Ali's fiction more plausible and pertinent in this regard. Waterman observes that instead of presenting and representing a thoroughly negative image of Euro-Americans, these postcolonial texts of Ali are attempts to "multiply the perspectives, the lenses through which we perceive an historical event in order to at least make an effort to approach the event in all its diversity and complexity" (157). The historical events, in the present instance, are the global progression of neoliberal capitalism, American neo-imperialism and the new socialist struggles against the two viewed from the postcolonial perspective.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Introduction

The present research originated from the researcher's engagement with multiple literary concerns in relation to Tariq Ali's fiction. The first one of these was the marginalized position of Ali's fiction amidst incessant academic debates and researches on the fictional works of the first generation of Pakistani English writers such as Bapsi Sidhwa, Zulfikar Ghose and Hanif Qureshi and a new generation of Pakistani English writers such as Mohsin Hamid, Kamila Shamsie, Mohammad Hanif and Nadeem Aslam, to name a few, though Ali's fictional works form a significant part of both bodies of literature. The second literary concern was the exclusive foregrounding of the first four novels of Islam Quintet as representative of Ali's fiction. Ali has penned seven novels and twelve plays but works other than these novels of Islam Quintet have remained lesser known texts and have been sidelined in literary reviews and academic research studies.

The third literary concern the researcher identified in relation to Ali's fiction was the general recognition that the themes of the first four novels of Islam Quintet were representative of the thematic subjects of all of his fictional works. From the available critical appraisals of Islam Quintet discussed in section 2.1 of Literature Review and the overview of the academic studies of the same provided in section 1.7 of the first chapter of the present study, it is evident that these four novels have been studied from a predominantly postcolonial theoretical angle and assessed approvingly as texts deconstructive of Euro-American narratives of Islamic histories and cultures and reclamatory of the marginalized voice of the Muslim 'other'. The unparalleled literary attention and value granted to these four novels and their basic thematic delineations is comprehensible in the post 9/11 milieu in which fictional narratives pertaining to the clash between Islam and Christianity or West and East dominate the mainstream market of literature. However, the above-mentioned developments lead to the erroneous assumption that the major

themes of all the Ali's fictional works center solely on representational issues such as the representation of Islamic cultures, histories and Muslim identities.

The researcher's contention with the focus of academic research studies and the general direction of critical reviews in relation to Ali's fictional works guided in the formulation of the hypothesis of the present study. The hypothesis was that, since Ali has been ideologically affiliated with Marxism and geographically as well as genealogically rooted in postcolonial Pakistan, the thematic content of his fiction would be rigorously depictive of the economic and political realities of the postcolonial context and critical of the multiple facets of capitalism and neo-imperialism in operation on both the national and global level than being solely focused on the representation of the religious, cultural and identity-based dimensions of Islamic societies. The researcher's objective to foreground Ali's fictional engagement with the material realities of the present-day national and global milieu created by global neoliberal capitalism and the political manifestations of these conditions in the form of the processes of neocolonialism played part in determining the theoretical paradigm of the research as well as in the selection of the primary sources of the study.

For the purpose, the researcher instead of conducting a Marxist analysis of Ali's fiction or carrying out a critical appraisal of it from a postcolonial theoretical angle, selected a combined and comprehensive theoretical paradigm out of Marxist Postcolonial Studies which has not been previously applied to Ali's fiction in any research study. In the light of the selected key concepts of Marxist Postcolonial Studies, a selected assortment of Ali's works was hence analyzed. The combination included two of Ali's plays which have not been previously studied in any research project, the hitherto little discussed last novel of *Islam Quintet* portraying present-day Pakistani society and three of his non-fictional works. The inclusion of non-fictional texts with the fictional ones was meant to make the selection more representative and holistic. In addition, the researcher found the themes of Ali's fictional and non-fictional works to be strappingly interlinked with the non-fictional works providing explicit additional information on the themes his fictional works, at times, portrayed implicitly.

The three key theories within Marxist Postcolonial Studies the rubrics of which helped form the research questions and in the light of which Ali's selected works were examined were: the World System and Dependency theory by Samir Amin, the theory of Neocolonialism and

Class Struggle by Kwame Nkrumah and the theory of 21st Century Socialism by Marta Harnecker. The major postulation of Samir Amin's theory of World System and Dependency was that the two contemporary developments of the globalization of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism are intertwined and function coordinately to mutual benefit and to the detriment of postcolonial states, perpetuating their dependency and underdevelopment. The first research question, therefore, concerned the depiction and critique of neoliberal global capitalism and American neo-imperialism in Ali's selected fiction. The delineation of the first theoretical concern was scrutinized in the play *A Banker for All Seasons: Bank of Crooks and Cheats Incorporated* (2008) and *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity* (2002) and the findings of the present chapter in relation to the first research question are based on the critical analysis of these two texts.

The second Marxist Postcolonial theory of Neocolonialism and Class Struggle by Kwame Nkrumah posited that the main vehicles of capitalism and neocolonialism in the postcolonial societies were various sections of ruling elite class which ushered in foreign investments, loans and economic as well as military aid: the mainstays of their privileged status. The second research question was linked to the portrayal of class division and various modes of neocolonialism in postcolonial societies in Ali's selected fiction. The representation of this second theoretical concern was examined in the play *The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy* (2007) and *Can Pakistan survive? The Death of a State* (1983) with both narratives centred on the socio-economic and political context of Pakistan. The findings of the present chapter in relation to the second research question are based on an investigation into the above-mentioned two texts.

The basic proposition of the third Marxist Postcolonial theory of 21st Century Socialism was that the new contextual and flexible modes of 21st century socialist movements in Latin America have been pragmatic and rewarding mass responses to the exploitation and decay generated by the implementation of neoliberal policies backed by neo-imperialist enterprises and national elite classes. The third research question was linked to the description of the prevalent degenerate socio-economic and political conditions in the postcolonial contexts of Pakistan and the Latin American countries of Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador and the evaluation of the 21st century socialist movements springing from the latter context in Ali's selected works. The

depictions of these theoretical concerns were analyzed in the novel *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) and the non-fictional text *Pirates of the Caribbean: Axis of Hope* (2006) and the findings of the present chapter in relation to the third research question are based on the critical analysis of these two texts. The critical analysis of selected texts of Ali was conducted in accordance with the Miles and Huberman method of qualitative analysis described in detail in section 3.3 of Chapter 3 titled “Methodology”.

The objective of a critical study of selected works of Tariq Ali was to find if the above-mentioned major Marxist Postcolonial theoretical concerns were depicted in Ali’s fiction and, if these were, to explore the details of these portrayals and the ways the various aspects of these subjects were delineated and interlinked. The major objective of the study and investigation in relation to the first three research questions was directly linked to the fourth research question based on determining Ali’s position as a Marxist Postcolonial literary writer. The significance of the study was located in highlighting the Marxist Postcolonial aspects of Ali’s fiction displayed through the engagement of his works with the political and economic realities of the postcolonial context in general and that of Pakistan in particular. The present study foregrounded Ali’s lesser known fictional works and their contribution to the representation of Marxist postcolonial subjects, thus contributing to a better and holistic comprehension of the thematic content of Ali’s fictional works.

7.2 Findings of the Research

i) The first research question and objective of the present study, based on the selected Marxist Postcolonial theoretical paradigm, concerned the depiction and critique of the contemporary globalization of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism in Ali’s fiction. The play *A Banker for All Seasons* (2008) and the non-fictional text *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (2002), the two texts analyzed for the purpose, focus on contemporarily significant developments, as most of Ali’s fictional and non-fictional works do and can be termed as political satires, according to Kaya’s evaluation (23). From the critical analyses of the two texts provided in Chapter 4 of the study, it can be logically concluded that though, on the thematic level, there are delineations of subjects such as the role of religion, culture and personal ambition, the clash between Islam and Christianity, rise in Islamist religious fundamentalism and the hegemonic

dominance of Western culture on the globe in the two texts, yet these themes remain minor on the scale of representation.

The hypothesis generating the present research was that since Ali has been ideologically affiliated with Marxism and has been geographically rooted in postcolonial Pakistan, his works would bear a strong connection with Marxist postcolonial subjects i.e. issues pertaining to the functioning of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism on both the national and the global level. In relation to the first research question, the hypothesis is affirmed as the two major themes of both the texts are the critical portrayals of the concomitant global progression of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism.

The play *A Banker for All Seasons* (2008) centers on the inauguration, operation and downfall of Pakistan-based global bank BCCI (Bank of Credit and Commerce International) and utilizes a compact plot for unraveling the darkest side to the contemporary phenomenon of globalization. In the play, the fraudulent global enterprise of BCCI was driven by neo-imperialist interests and backed by the neoliberal policies of privatization and deregulation in order across the globe since the late 1970s. The venture was initiated by the CIA, in collusion with capitalists from Pakistan and across the globe, to promote American economic interests by funding pro-US governments in postcolonial states implementing neo-liberal policies and opening up national markets to American industrial and technological monopolist cartels. In the course of the play, Ali supports his scathingly critical and satirical portrayal of global capitalism and American neo-imperialism with factual details and names of real-life figures involved in the scam.

The global financial fraud of BCCI resulted in loss of lifelong assets for small depositors all over the world, in particular in postcolonial Pakistan where the scam originated. Here, Ali looks at the BCCI enterprise from the viewpoint of not only the marginalized postcolonial other but also from the angle of the underprivileged other in terms of class, thus combining the viewpoints of both the have-nots of the neo-imperialist and the capitalist system.

On the same lines, the non-fictional text *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (2002) foregrounds the criticism of the neoliberal fundamentals of the new American empire while touching upon historical, religious, cultural and academic affairs in specific postcolonial contexts as well as on the global level. Ali traces the rise of the United States of America to the present

status of the center of capitalism and imperialism and labels its humanitarian interventions in the three continents to be neo-imperialist political and military interventions carried out for capitalist exploitation already bolstered by global monetary organizations working to keep the debt receiving countries politically subservient to the US. The autobiographical and informal yet highly informative narrative style makes it an engaging read. Ali quotes at length from the books, articles and speeches of American politicians, military officers and political analysts to substantiate his critique.

The work has been labeled as propagandist, as most of Ali's works are, by critics such as Feinberg (150) due to its support for socialist ideology and critique of capitalism as well as for its postcolonial essentialization of America as the neo-imperialist power responsible for most social, economic and political issues plaguing the postcolonial states. Nevertheless, Marxist theorists such as Ahmed (416-417) and postcolonial critics such as Gamal (27-48) value positively the critique of capitalism and neo-imperialism carried out from a radical postcolonial perspective in Ali's work. The major themes of both works are the critique of global neoliberalism and American neo-imperialism and the coordinate operation of the two which, in its basic aspects, fall in accord with the fundamental postulations of the World System and Dependency theory by Samir Amin.

ii) The second research question and objective of the study involved the representation of themes of class division and modes of neocolonialism, two other Marxist Postcolonial concepts, in Ali's fiction. The play *The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy* (2007) and the non-fictional text *Can Pakistan survive? The Death of a State* (1983) were the two selected texts scrutinized for the depiction of these theoretical concerns in Chapter 5 of the study. *The Leopard and the Fox* can be categorized as political fiction, according to King's appraisal of Ali's fictional works in a review of *Fear of Mirrors* (219), and is a realistic dramatic portrayal of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's fall from power and the establishment of General Zia's military dictatorship in Pakistan in the period between 1977 and 1979. A detailed critical analysis of the play results in the finding that Ali views the historical event not only from a radical, class-oriented perspective but also criticizes the neocolonial, client status of the country to the United States as the major factor in bringing about the downfall. The vivid and engaging delineation of characters such as those of Bhutto, Zia and the two military Generals Azad and Zaman, with

each expressive of personal peculiarities, is a strong aspect of the play and can be studied on its own from multiple theoretical angles. In addition, the play highlights other significant themes such as the 1971 partition of Bangladesh, institutional corruption in Pakistan and the role played by religious affiliations in the turn of events making the drama an excellent amalgamation of the literary devices of pathos, irony and wit.

Nevertheless, according to the researcher's analysis, Ali's depiction centers on the feudal character of Bhutto's government which adopts repressive policies towards political opposition making up the internal reasons for his deposal. The neo-imperialist interventions in the affairs of the country are brought to the fore through the portrayal of multiple events in the course of the play such as American funding of the oppositional alliance against Bhutto's government, suspension of US economic and military aid to the country and finally the Washington-backed installation of Zia's military dictatorship to halt the process of nationalization of economy and development of the nuclear program. The denouement of the play in the form of Bhutto's execution exposes the class-based collusion of the clerical, judicial, capitalist, feudal and military bureaucratic elite joining hands with the neo-imperialist power against national interest. The central thematic representations of the play have been authenticated by historical, political and biographical texts cited in the analysis of the work in section 5.1 of Chapter 5 of the study. The play proves to be both a fictional polemic against the elite ruling classes of Pakistan (Ahmed 416-417) and a vigorous fictional critique of neo-imperialism.

The non-fictional text *Can Pakistan survive?* (1983) is autobiographical in narrative style and has a large canvas touching upon a number of diverse yet interlinked themes: the partition of the Indian subcontinent and the creation of the independent state of Pakistan, the history of communist struggle in Pakistan, political situation in Iran, Afghanistan and India, and the international relations of Pakistan. The central focus of the text, however, remains the socio-economic and political developments in Pakistan in the period between 1947 and the early 1980s under various governments. The text further elucidates important aspects of the two pivotal themes of *The Leopard and the Fox*: the class-based division of Pakistani society and its client status to the neo-imperialist power of the United States. *Can Pakistan survive?* (1983) adds that the founding party of Pakistan i.e. Muslim League was dominated by landlords who ruled over the country in the initial years of post-independence milieu. Subsequent governments by

military, bureaucratic, feudal and capitalist oligarchies widened the class gap in society, entrenched the state in dependency on debts from global monetary organizations and perpetuated the client status of the country by signing military and economic pacts with the United States. Ali's analysis of the political developments during the period and critique of elite ruling classes as well as the state's neocolonial modes of operation have been attested to by other Marxist Postcolonial writers on the subjects, in particular by Lal Khan and Kamran Asdar Ali whose works are referred to in the analysis of the text.

The two texts deconstruct contemporary Euro-American narratives concerning the Islam-West encounter by depicting that the rise of religious forces in Pakistani society was sponsored by US during Bhutto's government and, in particular, during Zia's regime to serve as a proxy militant force in the Soviet-Afghan war. However, the theme is depicted as an outcome of the clash of economies i.e. the clash between Soviet communist and American capitalist economy as well as that between Bhutto's nationalist policies and American capitalistic interests. From the analysis of the two texts, it can be logically deduced that the Marxist Postcolonial subjects of class struggle and operation of neocolonialism, elucidated in Nkrumah's works, are represented comprehensively yet critically by Ali with themes of personal, religious, cultural, ethnic and linguistic dimensions granted secondary position in the narratives.

iii) The third research question and objective of the study concerned investigation into Ali's thematic portrayal of the socio-economic and political conditions of the broader postcolonial context, in particular that of Pakistan and Latin America countries, under the capitalist economic system and neocolonial political order and his evaluation of 21st century socialism originating from the latter. The novel *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) and the non-fictional text *Pirates of the Caribbean: Axis of Hope* (2006) were the two selected texts studied for the delineation of these theoretical concerns in Chapter 6 of the study. The novel *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) has what King terms as Ali's epic scale of representation in a review of *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree* (112) and encompasses the period between late 1940s and 2008 in Pakistan's history, drawing a complete picture of Pakistani society in all spheres of activity. The broader canvas of the novel renders it a literary work suitable for interpretation from multiple and diverse theoretical angles. Nevertheless, the novel has not been academically studied previously and Shamsie has highlighted its significance as "slight" in comparison with the first four novels of

Islam Quintet tackling the currently popular subject of Islam-West encounter (“South Asian Muslims” 151). The novel touches upon a variety of themes such as socialist struggle in Pakistan and its failure, the role of corporate media in disseminating disinformation, global celebrity culture, the rise of religious extremism in Pakistan, the migratory mindset of Pakistani society and the on-going global War on Terror.

The researcher’s conclusion after a detailed thematic analysis of the novel, however, is that the two major themes which are the subject of critique and from which originate all other social issues are capitalism and neocolonialism/neo-imperialism. The representation of these two themes is succinctly driven home in the last chapter of the novel through Plato’s last painting triptych which shows the body of postcolonial Pakistan to be assaulted by four cancers: the first one being Uncle Sam and the rest of the three born out of the first one are the military, feudal-cum-bourgeois and clerical elite working for and benefitting from the capitalist economy and neocolonial status of the country. All other social issues delineated in the novel such as the class-based education system and family connections, intellectual and artistic sycophancy and dependency on Euro-American center, gender exploitation and rise in religious extremism are depicted to be offshoots of a divided, dependent and underdeveloped politico-economic system. Ali’s unconcealed “partisanship” (Ahmed 117) is best evident through the message of Plato’s last painting which shows the disillusioned masses to be organizing for social transformation against all these ills. The novel can be criticized, as most of Ali’s works have been, for its “utopian” message of socialist struggle and “economic reductionism” which, in Chapman’s view (9), link all social ills to the root cause of capitalism. However, Ali’s portrayal and linking of diverse social issues to the primary causes of capitalism and neocolonialism is both elaborate and factual; hence convincing.

Ali’s depiction of the degenerate socio-economic and political conditions of Pakistani context in a neocolonial and neoliberal order are, broadly speaking, representative of most postcolonial societies. There are significant parallels between the delineations in *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) and Ali’s portrayal of the pre-21st century socialism Latin American societies giving birth to 21st century socialist movements highlighted in *Pirates of the Caribbean* (2006). In addition, *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010) ends with a general and implicit message of the need for socialist transformation of Pakistani society against the exploitative

capitalist and neocolonial system. The specific nature of this socialist struggle in the postcolonial context is also elaborated by Ali in *Pirates of the Caribbean* (2006) in which Ali analyzes the social conditions from which the 21st century socialist movements originate, points to the shortcomings of these socialist struggles, and, above all, focuses on the achievements of these movements in contexts similar to that of postcolonial Pakistan.

Pirates of the Caribbean: Axis of Hope (2006) is one of the latest non-fictional books of Tariq Ali and the book is incorporated in the present study due to the fact that it carries forward Ali's critique of global neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism and the general propagation of socialism in his fictional works to a clear and specific idea of the kind of socialist struggle he both envisions and promulgates as pragmatic in the broader postcolonial context. The book is written with the same quintessential historical and global glance Ali casts at contemporary events in all of his works. The text is rich in the history of Latin America, information on the personality and writings of Simon Bolivar who led the Latin American continental struggle against Spanish colonialism in the 19th century and flaws of the present-day movements based in political Islam. However, Ali's narrative focuses on the portrayal and critique of the dilapidated socio-economic and political conditions in Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador generated by neoliberal policies and neo-imperialist exploitation which resulted in the organization of mass movements termed as 21st century socialism. The movements brought left parties to power in these countries and empowered these to take the measures of economic nationalization, provision of universal health and education, regulation of private capitalistic enterprises and development of continental solidarity.

Ali also takes into account the positive influences of economic and political amelioration on other spheres of social life such as institutional functioning and production of art and literature. He views these historical developments from the viewpoint of the postcolonial marginalized masses and is approbatory of the struggles and achievements. In this sense, Ali's text attempts to "multiply the perspectives, the lenses through which we perceive an historical event in order to at least make an effort to approach the event in all its diversity and complexity" (Waterman 157). Ali's appraisal of these 21st century socialist movements also accords with the Marxist Postcolonial theorization of 21st century socialism in Marta Harnecker's works discussed in section 2.5 of Literature Review.

iv) The last research question and objective of the present study involved the evaluation of Ali's standing as a Marxist Postcolonial literary writer in the light of an investigation into the representation of Marxist Postcolonial themes in a selected collection of his works. The need for the assessment of this particular and pivotal dimension to his fictional works arose from the fact that within the domains of both academic studies and literary criticism, only a specific part of his fiction i.e. the first four novels of Islam Quintet have been critiqued and those also for the representation of Islamic histories and cultures: themes which, in the researcher's opinion, are secondary to the vast corpus of his work. This general perception and direction in the evaluation of Ali's fiction, based in the prominence of the first four novels of the Quintet among his fictional works, is summed up by Shamsie in her appraisal of the Quintet: "Ali's light, readable novels are strong on historical details which reflect and engage with the Islam-West encounter today" ("South Asian Muslims" 151). The line is followed in the works of reviewers, researchers and critics such as Gamal (27-48), Waterman (157) and Ali et al. (61-68).

The broad range of Ali's fiction, termed as the "large canvas" of Ali's fiction by King in the review of *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree* (112) in which each social development is incorporated and viewed within a historical and universal chain of events renders his texts open to multiple interpretations. However, the researcher's contention was that Ali's fiction was centrally representative of the economic and political realities of the postcolonial and global contexts due to his lifelong affiliations with Marxist movements and his roots in the postcolonial society of Pakistan instead of being focused mainly on religious, cultural or historical affairs.

The critical scrutiny of the six texts selected for the present study in which two plays, one novel and three non-fictional texts were included lead to the conclusion that most of the major and contemporarily pertinent theoretical concepts of Marxist Postcolonial Studies find expression and delineation as principal motifs in Ali's fictional and non-fictional work. The play *A Banker for All Seasons* (2008) and the non-fictional text *The Clash of Fundamentalisms* (2008) unraveled the exploitative functioning of and nexus between global neoliberalism and American neo-imperialism perpetuating the dependency and underdevelopment of the postcolonial regions. *The Leopard and the Fox* (2007) and *Can Pakistan Survive?* (1983) centered on a critical portrayal of class division and politico-economic modes of neocolonialism in the postcolonial state of Pakistan entrenched by the same dual process. The last two texts *Night of the Golden*

Butterfly (2010) and *Pirates of the Caribbean* (2006) were based on the representation of the social, economic and political dilemmas generated in the postcolonial contexts of Pakistan and Latin American countries by the globalization of neoliberal capitalism and American neo-imperialism. The latter text also explicated Ali's vision of socialist transformation in the contemporary postcolonial states, promulgated in both his fiction and non-fiction, by focusing on the achievements of the 21st century socialist movements in Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador in the face of the concomitant operation of globalized neoliberalism and neo-imperialism.

As mentioned earlier, Ali's fiction has a broad scope of representation and there is a variety of contemporarily pertinent social issues underscored in these texts highlighted and enumerated in Finding 1, 2 and 3 of the present chapter. However, these social and cultural themes are not delineated in isolation or represented to be developing on their own. Broadly speaking, these themes are portrayed as the outcomes of economic realities and interfaces which constitute the ground reasons for the political processes of neocolonialism/neo-imperialism and all other religious, cultural, intellectual and ethical crises. Due to this fundamental approach to social issues and the critique of capitalism at the core of his delineations, Ali's fiction has been criticized for its "economic reductionism" (Chapman 9), one-dimensionalism and lack of understanding towards religious beliefs and ethical codes (Feinberg 150; Hashmi 210). Nevertheless, as the researcher has previously argued in Chapter 4, 5 and 6 of the literary analysis, the interlinking between the economic and the cultural domains in Ali's fiction is more nuanced than these critics assess it to be. In this case, Cilano's appraisal that Ali's fiction "foregrounds the close connection Ali sees as operating between the cultural work his fiction does and the hard, material conditions and histories from which they arise and to which they speak" sums up the interlinking succinctly and proportionally (189). Summing up compendiously, the Marxist Postcolonial themes of neoliberal capitalist exploitation, class division and neo-imperialist political manipulations bolstered by the economic order on the postcolonial national level as well as the global level form the principal themes of Ali's fiction, as has been analyzed and discussed in the course of the present study.

7.3 Recommendations for Future Research Studies

The present research study is based in the exploration of major Marxist Postcolonial debates pertaining to global capitalism, American neo-imperialism and 21st Century Socialism as these are depicted in Tariq Ali's fiction and non-fiction. For future studies, the researcher strongly recommends investigations into the economic and political impacts of neoliberalism and neocolonialism on specific social groups such as women, youth, industrial workers, ethnic communities and religious sections in their everyday lives as portrayed in Ali's fiction or in the broader corpus of contemporary Pakistani English literature. In particular, the critical analyses of the economic dilemmas generated by neoliberal capitalism in the country functioning under the auspices of the global monetary organizations and the representation in current literature of resistances offered to these at the local level can be enlightening both theoretically and in relation to contemporary literature. Rigorous and detailed studies of the various forms of class struggle in Pakistan delineated in current English literature would also add to the on-going research studies which tend to focus more on enquiries into the literary representations of cultural and religious identity crises.

Works Cited

Ahmed, Aijaz. *Iran, Afghanistan, and the Imperialism of Our Time*. Leftword Books, 2004.

Ahmad, Eqbal. *Eqbal Ahmad: Confronting the Empire*. Interviews with David Barsamian, South End Press, 2000.

Ahmed, Feroz. "Building Dependency in Pakistan". *MERIP Reports*, no.29, 1974, pp 17-20.

JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/3011741

... "Why Pakistan's Unity was Jeopardized?" *Pakistan Forum*, Vol.2 no. 3, 1971, pp. 4-6. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2569081

... Review of *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power?*, by Tariq Ali. *Middle East Journal*, Vol.25, no.3, Summer1971, pp416-17 .JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/4324790

Akhtar, Aasim Sajjad. "21st Century Socialism in Pakistan?" *Economic & Political*

Weekly, Vol. 47, no.45, 2012, pp. 27-29. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/i40080930

Alhojailan, Mohammed Ibrahim. "Thematic Analysis: A critical Review of its Process and

Evaluation". *West East Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol.1 no. 1, December, 2012, pp. 39-46. www.google.scholar.com

Ali, Sajid, et.al. "The Secular Side of Islam: A Case Study of Tariq Ali's Islam Quintet". *Journal of Culture, Society and Development*. Vol.3, 2014, pp. 61-68. www.researchgate.net

Ali, Tariq. *Can Pakistan Survive? : The Death of a State*. The Chaucer Press Ltd., 1983.

... *Night of the Golden Butterfly*. Verso, 2010.

... *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity*. Verso, 2002.

... *A Banker for All Seasons: Bank of Crooks and Cheats Incorporated*. Seagull Books,
2008.

... *The Leopard and the Fox: A Pakistani Tragedy* .Seagull Books, 2007.

... *Pirates of the Caribbean: Axis of Hope*. Verso, 2008.

... *Snogging Ken: An After Dinner Entertainment*. Oberon Books, 2008.

... *Street Fighting Years: An Autobiography of the Sixties*. Verso, 2005.

... "After the War". *Masters of the Universe?: Nato's Balkan Crusade*, edited by Tariq
Ali, Verso, 2000, pp. ix-xviii.

Alavi, Hamza. "Imperialism Old and New". *The Socialist Register*, 1964, pp. 104-126.

www.google.com.pk

... "Bangladesh and the Crisis of Pakistan". *The Socialist Register*, Vol.8, 1971,
pp. 289-317. www.google.com.pk

... "India and the Colonial Mode of Production". *Economic and Political Weekly*,

Vol.10, no.33/35, 1975, pp. 1235-1262. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/4406909

Ali, Kamran Asdar. *Surkh Salam: Communist Politics and Class Activism in Pakistan 1947-72*.

Oxford University Press, 2015.

Amin, Samir. *Beyond US Hegemony: Assessing the Prospects for a Multipolar World*. Translated

by Patrick Camiller, Zed Books, 2006.

... *Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism*.

Translated by Brian Pearce, The Harvester Press Limited, 1976.

... *Empire of Chaos*. Translated by W.H.Locke Anderson, Monthly Review Press, 1992.

... *The World We Wish to See: Revolutionary Objectives in the Twenty-First Century*.

Translated by James Membrez, Monthly Review Press, 2008.

Arrighi, Giovanni. "The Rise of East Asia and the Withering Away of the Interstate System".

Marxism, Modernity and Postcolonial Studies, edited by Crystal Bartolovich and Neil

Lazarus. Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp.21-42.

Bill, Ashcroft, et al. *Post-colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. London: Routledge, 2000

Avilés, William. "Policy Coalitions, Economic Reform and Military Power in Ecuador and

Venezuela". *Third World Quarterly* Vol.30, no.8, 2009, pp.1549-1564. JSTOR,

www.jstor.org/stable/40388334

Azicri, Max. "The Castro-Chávez Alliance." *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 36, no. 1, 2009,

pp. 99–110. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/27648163

Banerjee, Sanjoy. “Explaining the American "Tilt" in the 1971 Bangladesh Crisis: A Late Dependency Approach”, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 31, no.2, 1987, pp. 201-216. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2600453

Bartolovich Crystal. “Introduction: Marxism, Modernity, and Postcolonial Studies”. *Marxism, Modernity, and Postcolonial Studies*, edited by Crystal Bartolovich and Neil Lazarus, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp.1-17.

Becker, Marc. “The Stormy Relations between Rafael Correa and Social Movements in Ecuador”. *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol.40, no.3, 2013, pp.43-62. doi: 10.1177/0094582X13479305

Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali. *If I am Assassinated*. Advent Books Division Inc., 1979.www.bhutto.org.
... *The Myth of Independence*. Oxford University Press, 1969. www.bhutto.org

Bilal, Mushtaq. *Writing Pakistan: Conversations on Identity, Nationhood and Fiction*. HarperCollins, 2016.

Bose, Sugata and Ayesha Jalal. *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy*. Routledge, 2001.

Burbach, Roger & Camila Piñeiro. “Venezuela's Participatory Socialism”. *Socialism and*

Democracy, Vol.30, no.8, 2007, pp.181-200. doi: 10.1080/08854300701599916

Burbach, Roger. "Two, Three, Many Transitions To 21st Century Socialism in Latin America".

Telesur, 1st July 2014, www.google.com

Chambers, Claire. "A comparative approach to Pakistani fiction in English". *Journal of*

Postcolonial Writing, Vol. 47, no. 2, 2011, pp. 122-134-20. doi: 10.1080/17449

855.2011.557182

Chapman, Michael. Postcolonialism: A Literary Turn". *English in Africa*, Vol. 33, no. 2, 2006,

pp. 7-20. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/40232378

Cilano, Cara. "Hybrid Tapestries: The Development of Pakistani Literature in English". *Journal*

of Postcolonial Writing, Vol.54, no.6, 2018, pp. 850-852.

doi:10.1080/17449855.2018.1509936

... "Highlighting the Sceptical Strain: Ali's Islam Quintet". *Journal of Postcolonial*

Writing, Vol.52.no.2, 2016, pp.189-194, doi: 10.1080/17449855.2016.1164964

Coghill, John, et al. "Failures of the UK Regulatory System in light of BCCI's Collapse".

Student Economic and Social Review, Vol. 3, no.4, April / May 2007, pp.28-33.

www.google.com

Davidson, Neil. "Is Social Revolution Still Possible in the Twenty-First Century?" *Journal of*

Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe, Vol.23, no.2-3, 2015, pp. 105-150.

doi.org/10.1080/0965156X.2015.1116787

Ellner, Steve. "The Distinguishing Features of Latin America's New Left in Power: The Chavez, Morales, and Correa Governments". *Latin American Perspectives* Vol. 39, no.1, 2012, pp.96-114. doi.org/10.1177/0094582X11425333

Engdahl, Bill and Jeffrey Steinberg. "The Real Story of the BCCF". *Executive Intelligence Review*, Vol. 22, no. 41, October 13, 1995, p.15.
larouchepub.com/eiw/public/1995/eirv22n41-19951013

Erol, Sibel. Review of *The Stone Woman*, by Tariq Ali. *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 55, no. 2, Spring, 2001, pp. 340-342. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/4329637

Feinberg, Richard. . Review of *Pirates of the Caribbean: Axis of Hope*, by Tariq Ali. *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 86, no. 3, May - Jun., 2007, p. 150. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/20032382

Foster, John Bellamy, et al. *The Ecological Rift: Capitalism's War on the Earth*. Monthly Review Press, 2010, pp.401-22.

Gamal, Ahmed. "Rewriting Strategies in Tariq Ali's Postcolonial Metafiction". *South Asian Review*, Vol.31, no. 2, 2010, pp. 27-50, doi: 10.1080/02759527.2010.11932748

Gardezi, Hassan N. "Neo-Colonial Alliances and the Crisis of Pakistan", *Pakistan Forum*. Vol.1, no. 2, 1971, pp. 3-6. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2569010

... “The failure of capitalism in Pakistan”. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Vol. 28, no. 3, 1998, pp. 310-326. doi.org/10.1080/00472339880000181

Green, Phil. *Modernization Theory*. 2008. University of East Anglia, MA Dissertation.

www.google.scholar.com

Griffiths, Tom G. “Schooling for Twenty-first-century Socialism: Venezuela’s Bolivarian Project”. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, Vol. 40 no.5, 2010, pp. 607-622. doi: 10.1080/03057920903434897

Grant, Cynthia and Azadeh Osanloo. “Understanding, Selecting, and Integrating a Theoretical Framework in Dissertation Research: Developing a Blueprint for Your House”. *Administrative Issues Journal*, Vol. 4, 2015, pp. 12-25. doi: 10.5929/2014.4.2.9

Harnecker, Marta. *21st Century Socialism: The Experience of Latin America*. Books for Change, 2014.

... “Democracy and Revolutionary Movement”. *Social Justice*, Vol. 19, no. 4 (50), 1992, pp. 60-73. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/29766714

... *Ideas for the Struggle*. Translated by Frederico Fuentes, Resistance Books, 2016.

... “On Leftist Strategy”. *Science and Society*, Vol. 69, no. 2, 2005, pp. 142-152. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/40404815

... *Rebuilding the Left*. Translated by Janet Duckworth. Zed Books, 2007.

Harnecker, Camila Pineiro. "Cuba's New Socialism: Different Visions Shaping Current Changes". *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 40, no.3, 2013, pp. 107-125.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X13476006>

Harriet, Friedmann and Jack Wayne. "Dependency Theory: A Critique". *The Canadian Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 2, no. 4, Autumn, 1977, pp. 399-416. JSTOR,

www.jstor.org/stable/3340297

Hasan, Mubashir. *The Mirage of Power: An Inquiry into the Bhutto Years 1971-77*. Oxford

University Press, 2000. www.bhutto.org.

Hashmi, Alamgir. Review of *Redemption*, by Tariq Ali. *World Literature Today*, Vol. 66, no. 1,

Winter, 1992, pp. 210-211. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/40148110

Hattori, Tom. Review of *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity*, by

Tariq Ali. *MELUS*, Vol. 31, no. 4, Winter, 2006, pp. 242-244. JSTOR,

www.jstor.org/stable/30029693

Hayek, F.A. *The Road to Serfdom*. 1944. Routledge, 2001.

Hetcher, Michael. *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development,*

1536-1966. University of California Press, 1998.

Hout, Wil. *Capitalism and the Third World: Development, Dependence and the Third World*.

Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 1993.

Kaya, Kağan. “Ugly Rumours: A Mockumentary beyond the Simulated Reality”. *International Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Studies* Vol.4, no.11, 2017, pp. 22-29.

www.google scholar.com

Kanwal, Aroosa. *Rethinking Identities in Contemporary Pakistani Fiction: Beyond 9/11*.

PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2015.

Khan, Lal. *Pakistan's Other story: The 1968-9 Revolution*. Aakar Books, 2009.

Kerry, Senator John and Senator Hank Brown. *The BCCI Affair: A Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate*. Booklife, 2011.

King, Bruce. Review of *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree*, by Tariq Ali. *World Literature Today*, Vol. 75, no. 1, Winter, 2000, p.245. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/40155547

King, Bruce. Review of *Fear of Mirrors*, by Tariq Ali. *World Literature Today*, Vol. 73, no. 1, Winter, 1999, p.219. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/40154670

King, Bruce. Review of *The Book of Saladin*, by Tariq Ali. *World Literature Today*, Vol. 74, no. 1, Winter, 2001, p. 112. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/40156367

Laclau, Ernesto. *On Populist Reason*. Verso, 2005.

Lazarus, Neil. "Epilogue: The Pterodactyl of history?" *Textual Practice*, Vol.27, no.3, 2013, pp.

523-536. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0950236X.2013.784031>

... *Nationalism and Cultural Practice in the Postcolonial World*. Cambridge University Press, 1999.

... "The Politics of Postcolonial Modernism". *The European Legacy*, Vol.7, no.6, 2002, pp. 771-782. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1084877022000029055>

... "Great Expectations and after: The Politics of Postcolonialism in African Fiction". *Social Text*, no. 13/14 Winter - Spring, 1986, pp. 49-63. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/466198

Lazarus, Neil and Rashmi Varma. "Marxism and Postcolonial Studies". *Critical Companion to Contemporary Marxism*, edited by Jacques Bidet and Stathis Kouvelakis, Brill, 2008, pp. 309-32.

Lebowitz, Michael. *The Socialist Alternative*. Monthly Review Press, 2010.

... *The Socialist Imperative*. Monthly Review Press, 2015.

Lenin, Vladimir. *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. 1917. Rough Draft Printing, 2014.

Loomba, Ania. *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. Routledge, 1998

Loomba, Ania and Suvir Kaul. "Introduction: Location, Culture, Post-Coloniality"

Oxford Literary Review, Vol. 16, 2013, no.1, 2012, pp.177-96. JSTOR,

www.jstor.org/stable/20448996

Malik, Waseem Hassan and Sadia Baby. "The Clash between Islam and Christianity: A Marxist

Analysis of Tariq Ali's *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree*". *ELF Annual Research*

Journal, Vol. 15, 2013, pp. 119-131. www.researchgate.net

Mandonca, Clayton Cunha, et al. "The National Development Plan as a Political Economic

Strategy in Evo Morales's Bolivia: Accomplishments and Limitations".

Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 37, no.4, 2010, pp.177-96.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X10372513>

Marx, Karl. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. 1859. Translated

by S.W. Ryazanskaya, Book Jungle, 2008.

... *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*. 1939. Translated

by Martin Nicolaus, Penguin, 1973.

... *On the First International*. McGraw Hill, 1973.

Maxwell, Joseph A. and Barbara A. Miller. "Categorizing and Connecting Strategies in

Qualitative Data Analysis”. *Handbook of Emergent Methods*, edited by Sharlene Nagy

Hesse-Biber and Patricia Leavy, The Guilford Press, 2008, pp.461-78.

Miles, Mathew B. and A. Michael Huberman. *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. Sage Publications, 1994.

Molnar, Thomas. “Neocolonialism in Africa?: An Analysis of Nature of Neocolonial Economy in Africa and its Positive Impacts”. *Modern Age*, Vol. 2, no.1, Spring, 1965, pp.177-195.
<https://www.iep.utm.edu>

Muhr, Thomas. “Counter-hegemonic Regionalism and Higher Education for All: Venezuela and the ALBA”. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, Vol. 8 no.1, 2010 pp. 39-57. doi:
10.1080/14767720903574041

Mushtaq, Hammad. *A Critique of Neo-imperial Interpellation in Tariq Ali’s Writings*. 2018.

National University of Modern languages, PhD Dissertation. www.google.scholar.com

Nkrumah, Kwame. *Class Struggle in Africa*. International Publishers, 1970.

... *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*. Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1965.

Pavelec, Sterling Michael. “Preface”. *The Military Industrial Complex and American Society*,
edited by Sterling Michael Pavelec, ABC-CLIO, 2010, pp. xv-xvi.

Pederson, David. “As Irrational As Bert and Bin Laden: The Production of Categories,

Commodities, and Commensurability in the Era of Globalization". *Public Culture*, Vol. 15, no.2, Spring 2003, pp. 238-259. Project MUSE, muse.jhu.edu/article/42971

Petras, James. "Latin America's Twenty-First Century Socialism in Historical Perspective". 10th November, 2009. <http://petras.lahaine.org>

... "Dependency and World System Theory: A Critique and New Directions". *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 8, no. 3/4, Autumn, 1981, pp. 148-155. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2633477

Petras, James and Henry Veltmeyer. *Social Movements and State Power: Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador*. Pluto Press, 2005, pp 1-28.

Postero, Nancy. "The Struggle to Create a Radical Democracy in Bolivia". *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 45, no.4, 2010, pp. 59-78. doi: 10.1353/lar.2010.0035

Ramírez, Cristóbal Valencia. "Hemos Derrotado El Diablo! Chávez Supporters, Anti-neoliberalism, and Twenty-first-century Socialism". *Identities*, Vol. 15, no.2, 2008, pp. 147-170. doi: 10.1080/1070289080190457810

Rahman, Tariq. *A History of Pakistani Literature in English*. Vanguard, 1991.

Rao, Nagesh. "Neocolonialism" or "Globalization"?: Postcolonial Theory and the Demands of Political Economy". *Interdisciplinary Literary Studies*, Vol. 1, no. 2, Spring 2000, pp. 165-184. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/41209050

Robin, Wikander. *Challenging Eurocentric Notions of History and Culture in Tariq Ali's*

Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree.2014. Lund University, Bachelor's Thesis.

lup.lub.lu.se/student-papers/record/4275528

Rochlin, James. "Latin America's Left Turn and the New Strategic Landscape: The Case of Bolivia". *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, no.7, 2007, pp.1327-1342. doi:

10.1080/01436590701591838

Rostow, W.W. *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge University Press, 1960.

Saif, Lubna.2007. "Pakistan and SEATO".*Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*. VXXVIII (2):77-90. <https://www.google.com.pk>

... "Neocolonial States & Economic Development: Comparative Analysis of

Underdevelopment in Pakistan and India". *Pakistan Vision*, Vol. 9, no.1,

2008, 19-45. www.google.com.pk

Sakellaridou, Elizabeth. "Interculturalism- Or the Rape of the Other: Some Problems of Representation in Contemporary British Theatre". *Gamma: Journal of Theory and Criticism*, Vol.3, 1995, pp.141-55. www.google.com.pk

Scott, Peter Dale. "Washington and the Politics of Drugs". *Variant*, Vol. 2, no.11,

2000, 2-5. www.google.com.pk

Shamim, Farhana. *Elements of Historiographic Metafiction in Contemporary Pakistani*

Historical Fiction: A Critical Study of the Selected Works of Tariq Ali. 2015.

International Islamic University, PhD Dissertation. www.google.com

Shamsie, Muneeza. "South Asian Muslims: Fiction and Poetry in English". *Religion &*

Literature, Vol. 43, no. 1, 2011, pp. 149-157. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/23049363

... "Pakistani-English Writing". *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Literature*,

2017, doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.013.69

Siddiq, Ayesha. *Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy*. Oxford University Press,

2007.

Slater, David. "Postcolonial Questions for Global Times". *Review of International Political*

Economy, Vol. 5, no. 4, 1998, pp. 647-678.

Syed, Anwar H. *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto*. MACMILLAN Press

Ltd., 1992.

Taoua, Phyllis. "The Postcolonial Condition". *The Cambridge Companion to the African Novel*,

edited by F. Abiola Irele, Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 209-26.

Taylor, Christopher. Review of *The Postcolonial Unconscious*, by Neil Lazarus. *Modern*

Philology, Vol. 112, no. 4, May 2015, pp.339-345. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086

/679355

Tikly, Leon. "Globalization and Education in the Postcolonial World: Towards a Conceptual Framework". *Comparative Education*, Vol. 37, no.2, 2001, pp.151-177.

Trotsky, Leon. *Literature and Revolution*, edited by W. Keach, Haymarket Books, 2005.

Walker, Lynne. "Corruption in International Banking and Financial Systems". *Transnational Crime Conference*, 9-10 March, 2000, Canberra, Australia.

Washbrook, David. "South Asia, the World System, and World Capitalism". *The Journal of*

Asian Studies, Vol. 49, no. 3, 1990, pp. 479-508.

JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2057768.

Waterman, David. "Power politics, Hobbesian Fear and the Duty of Self-Preservation:

Tariq Ali's *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree*". *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, Vol.52, no. 2, 2016, pp. 153-164, doi: 10.1080/17449855.2016.1164971

Went, Robert. "Economic Globalization Plus Cosmopolitanism?" *Review of International Political Economy* Vol.11, no. 2, 2004, pp. 337-355.

Williams, Gwyn. *Struggles for an Alternative Globalization: An Ethnography of Counterpower in Southern France*. Ashgate, 2008.

Woods, Alan. *Reformism or Revolution: Marxism and socialism of the 21st century*. Wellred Publications, 2008.

Yousef, Tawfiq. "Modernism, Postmodernism, and Metamodernism: A Critique". *International Journal of Language and Literature* Vol.5, no. 1, 2017, pp. 33-43.
doi: 10.15640/ijll.v5n1a5.

Zahoor, Muhammad Ibrar. "Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: Political Behaviour and Ouster from Power". *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society* Vol.30, no. 2, 2017, pp. 99-109.
www.pu.edu.pk

Zahid, Masood Akhtar. "Dictatorship in Pakistan: A Study of the Zia Era (1977-1988)". *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* Vol. XXXII, no. 1, 2011, pp. 1-27.
<http://www.nihcr.edu.pk>