

The Importance of Internal Pacification in the Development of Nation States: How the Internal Pacification Was Achieved and What Were Its Limitations? Rasheed Masood Khan

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Abstract

The traditional states of the world are in a fix to settle their disputes and issues internally and externally, ultimately becoming bone of contentions in their respective regions. The western world particularly the European states turned out to be more progressive and composed internally and externally and are termed as proper Nation States in the very recent times. This paper is contextualized mainly in the concrete concepts of famous political sociologists; Anthony Giddens (1985) and James Scott (2009) who drained their ideas from the discussions of various towering Nation-State Theorists like Max Weber, Karl Deutsche, Norbert Alias and Eric Hobsbawm and others]. The focus tilts from pure political-scientist or any other perspective to a more political-sociologist perspective of the development of nation state, laying an impetus on the importance of elements of 'Internal Pacification' as the major factor behind the abrupt emergence and transformation of traditional states into Nation States resulting in enhancement of the capabilities of states, hence making them; (i) more sovereign internally and internationally, (ii) more peaceful and secure, (iii) proactive towards development, and finally (iv) turning them up as welfare states delivering best public services. The paper will also spotlight the steps towards achievement of Internal Pacification and the limitations of Internal Pacification in this whole transformation process of states.

Keywords

Traditional States, Internal Pacification, Nation States, Welfare States, Security and Sovereignty

Traditional States V/S Nation State

The word ‘Traditional states’ is normally reflected in different connotations; as in the sociological context it is taken in the concept of agrarian or pastoral societies (Scott 2009: 43; 62)²³, whereas in the politico-sociological definition it refers to class divided societies having traditional basis of states. Giddens holds traditional states as the non-modern states having class divided or tribal societies reflecting segmental characteristics. Eisenstaedt²⁴ conglomerates all state systems into traditional states, while explicitly distinguishing between city states, patrimonial empires, feudal systems, nomadism, conquest empires, zomian concept of James C. Scott²⁵ and the Weber’s²⁶ authority of eternal past and bureaucratic state concept. Further stressing Giddens maintains that in traditional states, ‘the administrative reach of the center is low, such that the members of the political apparatus do not govern in the modern states. Traditional states have frontiers, not borders’ (Giddens 5). According to Giddens, the modern human history witnesses the abrupt evolution or transition of the traditional state societies, passing through absolutist states into a more compact and cemented nation state concept in the modern social theory. Discriminating the traditional states from modern and nation states, James Scott uses the terms ‘State Space and Non-State Space’ (Scott 49) which shows that the traditional states usually lack the control of power over the state space, hence reflecting more non-state space within the states’ zones of sovereign (Scott 2009: 60).

Comparatively, the Nation States are multifaceted in nature and appeared as diverse functioning entities. In Gidden’s views the traditional states of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries transformed themselves suddenly into nation states on the road of Internal Pacification, and in between this transformation process, there came also the absolutist states’ phase (Giddens 1985: 5). Although the phenomenon of emergence and existence of Nation States prevailed from the 1860s onwards, the strict definition of nation states differentiating with the welfare states appeared since 1970s when Margaret Thatcher criticized the predecessor Labor Party’s welfare programs and withal the Ronald Reagan’s neo-liberal agendas in 1980s (Opello and Rosow 2004: 1). Neo-Liberalism, achieving a global consensus within a very short span, gave new dimensions to state’s definitions in terms of going beyond the ideological and historical interpretations of political scientists into more

²³ See pl. http://www.socialsciencedictionary.com/TRADITIONAL_STATES

²⁴ Refer to S. N. Eisenstadt’s *The Political System of Empires*, by Free Press in 1963

²⁵ Refer to James Scott book *The Art of Not Being Governed*, 2009, Preface-ix, also see pl. Willem Van Schendel, “Geographies of Knowing, Geographies of Ignorance: Southeast Asia from the Fringes,” a paper for the workshop locating Southeast Asia: Genealogies, Concepts, Comparisons and Prospects, Amsterdam, March 31, 2009.

²⁶ Refer to Max Weber’s *Economy and Society*, vol.2, p-1036, also pls. see Max Weber’s “Rationalism and Modern Society,” translated and edited by Tony Waters and Dagmar Waters, in 2015, by Palgrave Books. P.129-198.

functionally responsive states focusing on the fundamentals of emergence of civilizations. These Neo-Liberal Democratic States, which were ultimately termed as Nation States²⁷, accumulated the economic and authoritative power resources with multi-tasking approaches towards human development and governance, started to emerge globally across Europe and this fact is also endorsed by political scholars like Francis Fukuyama²⁸ and Samuel Huntington²⁹ (Opello and Rosow 2004: 2).

Opell and Rosow (2004: 7) further quoting Charles Tilly (1975) exfoliates this way,

Increasingly, in reaction to pluralism, policy analysis, and crisis theory, certain political scientists began to focus explicitly and look more favorably upon the state. These scholars examined how the state had functioned historically both as an organization of domination and as a promoter of reforms that might make good on the promises of the welfare states....However, while statist have been attuned to the historical nature of particular states, they assumed an ahistorical and reified concept of the state; states are historical, but the state as a form of politico-military rule is not.

After 1980s constructivists finally came up giving new dimensions to the pluralists and realists ideologies of state by highlighting the significance of other factors which contributed towards the development of state; like war, violence, economic strengths, regaining of territories, and attaining the sovereignty alongside the historical definitions of state. This shift finally changed the priorities of the state transforming them from welfare mongering state to nation states ensuring welfare at later stages.

In recent times, the political and social scientists embodied the concepts of Nation-State under the impetus of development of nationalism within the states, either bringing the states prior to nations or nations prior to state, e.g. Karl Deutsche³⁰ (1961: 493) leading in this case terms the nation states as a result of process of ‘Social Mobilization’ which includes factors/changes like urbanization, industrialization, population growth, transportation, technological advances, mass media and literacy development etc.. In the same way Max Weber in 1919 in his essay ‘Politics as a Vocation’ which was

²⁷ In the second edition of the book “The Nation State and Global Order: A Historical Introduction to Contemporary Politics”, Walter C. Opello, Jr. and Stephen J. Rosow attached a list, showing the Nation States of the world from the source of United Nations Member States, 2004.

²⁸ Francis Fukuyama, in “The End of History and the Last Man” 1992, p.3-18.

²⁹ Samuel P. Huntington, in “The Clash of Civilizations?” 1993 p.22-49.

³⁰ Refer to Karl W. Deutsche’s “The Growth of Nation: Some Recurrent Patterns of Political and Social Integration”, in World Politics, 5, January 1953, p.169-180. Also pls. see. Karl W. Deutsche, “Nation and World” paper presented at the 1966 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, p.7 and his paper “Social Mobilization and Political Development,” in American Political Science Review, 55, 3 in September 1961, p.493.

published in the third edition in English in 2015 by T. Waters & D. Waters³¹ (2015: 136), featuring nation states, emphasized on the ‘monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force (*des Monopol legitimem physischen Zwanges*)’ by the state only. Norbert Alias and Eric Hobsbawm³² came up with similar concepts defining the nation states. In the same continuity, deliberate debates shifted the political concept of nation states i.e. a population living in a confined territory under a sovereign government including elements of nationalism and nationhood, to currently a more politico-sociological approach of development of nation-state through “elements/features of internal pacification” which owes a unique broader scope, and is a very little explored dimension, driving its historical background from the logical models of European nation states as manifested by Anthony Giddens and James Scott in current studies. Throwing a light on the historical background of ‘Internal Pacification and its Processes’ (which can also be termed as the features of modern nation-states), can serve a heliograph for the traditional developing states towards transformation into modern nation states. This beacon can help the traditional states covering their internal and external problems/issues to appear as a developed states at a fast pace. The paper is focused on the element of Internal Pacification, which according to James Scott paved way towards enriching the ‘state power’ enhancing the ‘state space’, and finally giving the today’s new modern states a new dimension and recognition in the world. These states which are termed as nation states competently appeared as welfare states and are successful models for the developing democratic states.

An analysis of the tools of Internal Pacification Process is very important, which derives its academic sources from the theoretical rationalization of historical knowledge of development of modern nation states, propounded by political sociologists Anthony Giddens (1985), and James Scott (2009). This paper hence describes these tools; (i) by turning to the factors which strengthen the elements of internal pacification and can impact the strengthening of the modern democratic states, and (ii) the limitations of the Internal Pacification-which can hamper this process and ultimately the processes of transformation of today’s traditional democratic states into nation states.

Internal Pacification

“Pacification”³³ is the act or process of pacifying or the state of being pacified or a treaty of peace. It is the act of forcibly or persuasively suppressing or eliminating a population considered to be hostile.

³¹ Weber, Max. *Weber's Rationalism and Modern Society: New Translations on Politics, Bureaucracy, and Social Stratification*. Eds. Tony Waters, and Dagmar Waters. Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. p.136.

³² See pl. in cited works the reference of E. Hobsbawm, ‘The Nations and Nationalism since 1780, Myth and Reality’ 1992 and “Some Reflections on Nationalism” 1972.

³³ Pacification term was first used in 15th century, to increase the state control of law and order, as defined by Webster Dictionary.

It is the act of appeasement or the practical measures in terms of policy leading to submission. In context of political and social sciences the term pacification is directly related with the states and their control, or submission of all elements of states to its control.

Internal Pacification is a similar political term which is in fact the internal composition of states. It is the development of states through internal appeasements and submissions. It leads to internal integration of the states. In modern times the term internal pacification is associated with the concept of Nation States, which discriminate themselves from the absolutist states on the basis of this major element. Internal Pacification is a process of expansion of administrative control of absolutist states making them a nation state (Giddens 1985: 160). As Giddens further elaborates,

The process of what - for want of a better phrase - can be called the internal pacification of states is an inherent part of the expanding administrative coordination which marks the transition from the absolutist state to the nation state (1985: 160).

James Scott and Anthony Giddens' concept of internal pacification is more organized and realistic. It is more or less a solution of the problems of traditional states in their transformation into nation states. In the development phase the nation states pass through a temporary phase of absolutist states (Giddens 1985: 5), and this transition is not an evolutionary step rather a sudden/abrupt change. Internal Pacification is the major feature of development of rationalized states, whereby through internal pacification of their population these states can defend their territorial autonomy (Scott 2009: 197).

The major difference between the traditional states (or class divided states) as Giddens term it is the consolidation of frontiers of the traditional states into borders and boundaries, which means, increasing the influence or space of the states (Giddens 1985: 5-6). This factor in fact denominates the concept of territorialisation of the state. Subsequently, the major purpose of internal pacification is to decrease and control the violence of the groups which challenge the writ of the government or sovereignty of the state and try not diffusing into state or trying to take the power or control of the states (Giddens 1985: 187). Generally for a united and well-knitted state, it becomes difficult to accept the existence of another means of violence either from within its boundaries in the form of some state or non-state actors, or from outside laying a threat to the borders of that particular state from any other state or non-state actor. To overcome such situations and challenges, Giddens proclaims, that, 'Internal Pacification involves several related phenomena, all to do with the progressive diminution of violence in the internal affairs of nation-states (1985: 187)'. Thereof the

concept of internal pacification has a pivotal role while integration of the nation states is discussed. The dialectics of nation states formation namely the rise of the nation state results from internal pacification. Internally pacified nations have strived hard to accumulate their powers through different resources, which helped them imparting a very clear impression of their existence as coherent and unified states internally as well as globally.

Steps towards Internal Pacification for Development of Nation States

For states to justify their existence, power, sovereignty, and domination, they must have a complete administrative control over their territories and the populations particularly living on frontiers or in their peripheries. In this process of consolidation and conversion of frontiers into borders or boundaries (also termed as territorialisation of states), the traditional states usually faced several problems and resistances, for which they remained engaged in several ways. Those who competed successfully, have increased and enhanced the State Space as James Scott (2009: 4) terms it. Sometimes the states turn absolutist in this phase to have a complete control to pacify all its boundaries by abolishing the local sources of violence, from the areas and populations to bring them under its submission and supervision. Establishment of such a monopoly over the means of violence was also necessary to control the internally diverged populations and hard areas. 'Zomia' for instance was an exemplary region in Southeast Asia, according to James Scott, wherein the Southeast Asian tribes used to live in a non-state space mostly out of the control and administrative reach of states, hence exploiting their mountains for their own interests and tribal controls. Out of many political sociologists' suggestions, Anthony Giddens and James Scott come up with a concrete and historically more realistic concept of this social and political transformation process mentioning very optimistic factors and methods which contributed previously in the achievement of internal pacification. Although the rationale for each factor may vary in different time and space, yet the below factors may help to analyze as to what tools can be checked while pacifying a state transforming it from traditional into a nation state.

Through Development of Modern Nation State System (Transformation of frontiers into borders)

In arguing for how the internal pacification can be achieved, Giddens is in favor of modern nation states system, because the modern nation states are a set of defining and integrating institutions of social system, which the traditional states lacked due to poor administrative setups and administrative powers. The polyarchic nature of modern states in terms of their administrative dialectic of control

makes nation states eligible to ensure their internal pacification to exert their power and domination within the state and among the states (Giddens 1985: 5). Giddens refers to Western Nation States as an example of Modern Nation States. Scott here supports the Gellner's analysis of Berber-Arab relations, saying that,

...the "barbarian periphery" is a diminishing remnant, drawn sooner or later and at varying speeds into the light of Arab civilization. In Southeast Asia and the Maghreb this view gains credibility because, in the past century, the ungoverned periphery has increasingly been occupied by the modern nation-state (1983: 30).

This in fact refers to increasing the state space which means that the primary focus of the state is to enhance its territorialisation, meaning thereby increasing the control and reach of the state in the peripheral areas, where it gains and sustains its control over its borders. James Scott further elaborates on the development of nation states, "the hegemony, in this past century, of the nation-state as the standard and nearly exclusive unit of sovereignty has proven profoundly inimical to non-state peoples. State power, in this conception, is the state's monopoly of coercive force that must, in principle, be fully projected to the very edge of its territory, where it meets, again in principle, another sovereign power projecting its command to its own adjacent frontier (Scott 2009: 11)".

In the dialectic of control when the state tries to increase its control on the peripheral areas and the populations living in the peripheries, at the same time the states also face great resistance from the same non state space, which actually are efforts to challenge the monopoly of the state and to restore the status quo, this ultimately leads to the porous borders of the such states. Hence for states to establish its control over the peripheral areas, it needs to counter all such weak areas of the states near the frontiers, finally transforming these frontiers into borders. Scott further adds,

As a practical matter, most nation-states have tried, insofar as they had the means, to give substance to this vision, establishing armed border posts, moving loyal populations to the frontier and relocating or driving away "disloyal" populations, clearing frontier lands for sedentary agriculture, building roads to the borders, and registering hitherto fugitive peoples (Ibid).

Through Power and Domination

According to Giddens the modern nation states are power containers and power is the capability to change (Giddens 1985: 7). It is the intervention in the existing set of events. It comes from two major sources; the allocative resources and authoritative resources, which he collectively terms as

institutional clusters. Power remained a fundamental part of social theory. In a social system, when states show domination to justify their powers in a particular time and space that is termed as a power system. Based on agent and structure relationship, this power system or domination is bound to some rules which have their specific scope and intensity allowing these rules or laws to put some particular sanctions. These rules are implemented by powerful states with their strategies of control also facing the counter strategies, and the same process is unitedly termed as dialect of control (Giddens 1985: 8-12). Thus at times the states use these powers to show their domination over the peripheral areas and hostile populations of the peripheries to pacify them into their administrative control to achieve internal pacification. James Scott refers to the colonial style of internal pacification, by saying that,

The early colonial regimes, in their pacification campaigns, used forced settlement, the destruction of swiddens, and the concentration of subjects. It was only gradually that all-weather roads, railroads, telegraph lines, and a reliable currency allowed a greater dispersal of population and production with little loss of control. Only in counterinsurgency strategies do we see, in miniature, the attempt to closely concentrate a feared population in legible space, occasionally to the point where it comes to resemble an actual concentration camp (2009: 85).

The domination is one of the permanent feature of the control and hegemony of the state. Nevertheless the domination is the tool of power, which helps states to show its existence with in the state boundaries as well as outside the state boundaries.

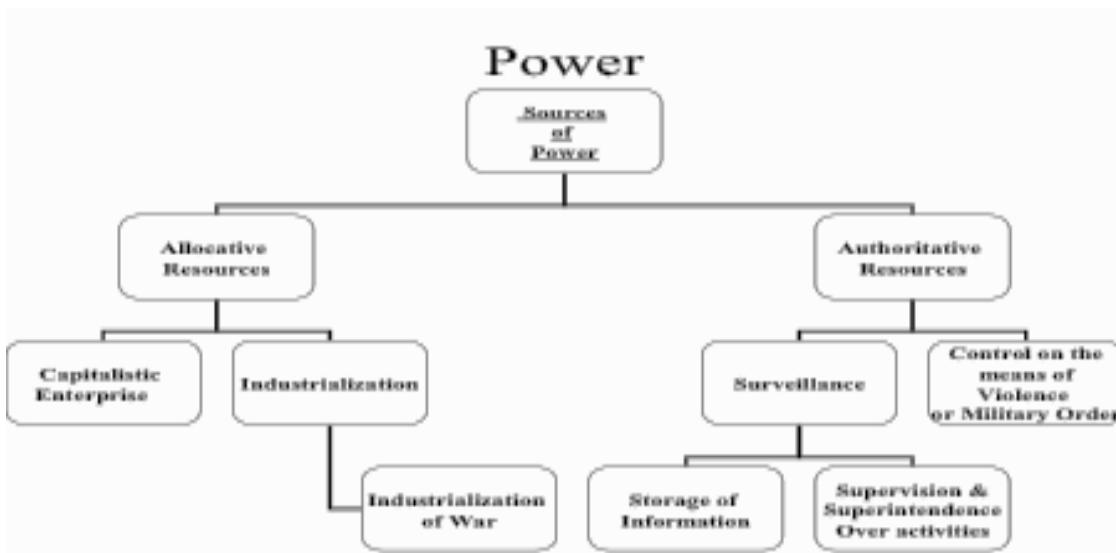
The Role of Four Institutional Clusters contributing to Internal Pacification

The four institutional clusters which Giddens (1985: 7-12) describes in his explanation of allocative and authoritative resources are very important in the development of modern nation states. The allocative resources include the Capitalistic Enterprise and the Industrialism, whereas the authoritative resources are Heightened Surveillance and the Control of means of Violence as shown in the figure³⁴ below.

All the above four factors in institutional clustering have a direct role in internal pacification of the state. For instance, two of them (Surveillance and Military Violence) contribute directly into powers of nation state, and similarly the other two (Capitalist Enterprise and Industrialism) contribute in the

³⁴ The figure is made to show the concept of Giddens' sources of Power mentioned in his book, Nations States and Violence, 1985, from page 8-12.

development of nation state. While explaining the *allocative resources*, Giddens admits the contribution of Karl Marx's towards the idea of Historical Materialism and particularly the idea of development of capitalism which laid the foundation of capitalistic enterprises in the modern nation states, but at the same time Giddens also criticizes Marx for relating the authoritative roles with the class struggle, whereas Giddens considers the authoritative aspects as a predominant factor in the internal pacification of the state and in the formation of the nation states. The industrialism though being thought as the outcome of capitalism is in fact, also the ultimate aim and pursuit of capitalism (Giddens 1985: 2).



Source: Anthony Giddens, (1985, p.7)

Figure 1.1 Prepared by the author on the model of Internal Pacification, devised by Anthony Giddens for the Nation States

Another aspect of internal pacification is ... the eradication of violence, and the capability to use the means of violence, from the labour contract — the axis of the class system. Closely integrated with, and dependent upon, the other forms of internal pacification, it is a major feature of the separation of the 'economic' from the 'political'... In industrial capitalism — in contrast to pre-existing class systems — employers do not possess direct access to the means of violence in order to secure the economic returns they seek from the subordinate class. Marx entirely correctly laid considerable emphasis upon this, even if he did not pursue its implications. 'Dull economic compulsion', plus the

surveillance made possible by the concentration of labour within the capitalistic work-place, replaces the direct possibility of coercion by the use of force (Giddens 1985: 190-1).

Hence in Giddens' four institutional clusters, the capitalistic industrialism is the major factor which helped in development of allocative resources for a state, enhancing its powers and leading it to become a developed modern world. While elucidating the importance of capitalism/industrialism in the development of modern states, Giddens brings the sociologists like Webber, Durkheim, Nietzsche, Hintz and Hegel in conjunction with economists like Karl Marx and non-Marxists to justify the significance of materials which accentuated the capitalistic society giving rise to modern nation states. This point however agreed by many philosophers that for the developmental states in order to protect and promote themselves, it is important for them to promote their economic growth through industrialization (Leftwich 1998: 17-51). Jeffery D. Sachs exemplifying the drastic boost in the economies of world due to the industrial revolution says, that "Britain had the unique industrial breakthrough in the world in early nineteenth century, that increased the political power of British Empire expanding its control over one sixth of humanity" (Sachs 2005: 33) and there is no single factor explanation to this development. Jumping further into differential diagnosis of different supportive factors accentuating the Britain's industrial development, Sachs pinpoints; firstly the British society was more open towards individual initiative and social mobility compared to other societies globally, diminishing the roots of feudalism, when serfdom was still being practiced though out Europe, Secondly the development of institutions of political liberty like British Parliament having freedom of speech with open house debates protected the individual and property rights, thirdly Britain gathered, discovered and progressed in scientific revolution & technology and became of hub science and technology in Europe, fourthly the geographical advantage to Britain- location wise supporting its transportation of Industry/trade, and these sea-side interventions also saved it from wars etc. strategically (Sachs 2005: 34-35). All these factors helped Britain to transform its traditional or feudal society into a capitalist society, and this all happened through industrial revolution. Hence, the political development through gathering of Authoritative Resources by the development of political processes (institution of liberty e.g. parliament etc.) and the economic development through gathering of Allocative Resources by the development of industrial setups have helped small Britain to become a bigger Empire throughout the world.

Likewise being the pioneer in the industrial revolution in Europe, British also laid a foundation of capitalism in European society. Capitalism though defined by many authentic authors of modern economics, yet lays its academic base in the great master piece of political economy, "The Wealth of

Nations" by Adam Smith (1776). Adam Smith (1776: 279) describes capital as a stock surplus to a man's personal needs, upon which he wants to derive some revenue. The same process of acquiring the revenue continuously is called the Capitalism. As a matter of fact, the capitalism itself is something prior to industrial revolution or industrialization process, yet the industrialism has strengthened the capitalism giving it concrete and organized shape which followed the pursuit of capitalism eventually (Giddens 1985: 2).

As far as the role of *authoritative resources* in the internal pacification is concerned, Giddens is more inclined towards the Max Weber's ideas that, state is a larger development of organization or institution or a set of institutions (Giddens 1985: 20). As Giddens claims state as a political organization whose rule is territorially ordered and this is also able to utilize the means of violence to sustain that rule. The two aspects of authoritative resources which contribute in internal pacification by increasing its administrative powers are Surveillance and the Control on the means of Violence. In surveillance the flow of information is very important. The control on the flow of information in the form of collection, storage, communication and control makes states eligible to keep a close eye (Supervision and Superintendence of activities) on its population and its internal matters particularly related to peripheries or boundaries, which can help state to pacify those areas through some appeasement, accord or any other policy of integration. The traditional states usually relying on their resources of flow of information believe on their sources as accurate and efficient, which invert at times of emergencies and issues related to state's internal sovereignty. This hence fails the traditional states to deal the problems and issues of special nature, particularly when these occur in the far flung areas from the state center in the peripheries or near the frontiers of the states. Thus the accuracy of information and its efficient flow is very important. Academically, in the words of David Lyon, "Surveillance" is defined as "the focused, systematic, and routine attention to personal details for purpose of influence, management, protection or direction" (Lyon 2007: 14). According to Lyon (2007: 15) the surveillance is a fundamental element of maintaining the modern society. In Allen Sheridan's translation of the famous French master piece book of Michel Foucault named 'Discipline and Punishment' (1975)³⁵, he adds in the translator's notes (1977: 8), that,

"Our noun 'Surveillance' has an altogether too restricted and technical use. Jeremy Bentham used the term 'inspect' – which Foucault translates as 'Surveiller' – but the range of connotations does not

³⁵ Michel Foucault's book 'Discipline and Punishment' with second subtitle 'The birth of the Prison' was originally published in French with the name 'Surveiller et Punir' was translated later by Allen Sheridan in 1977 is a masterpiece on the social development through control or discipline.

correspond. 'Supervise' is perhaps closest of all, but again the word has different associations. 'Observe' is rather too neutral, though Foucault is aware of the aggression involved in any one-sided observation. In the end Foucault himself suggested *Discipline and Punish*, which relates closely to the book's structure." (Foucault 1977: 8)

Foucault refers 'Discipline' as 'Surveillance' and terms it substantially a very forceful element in many aspects of social control, taking the support from Jeremy Bentham's' philosophy of Panopticism³⁶ (Foucault 1975: 200).

The second major factor to pacify the states internally in authoritative resources is the monopoly of violence with the state. According to Giddens the traditional states also endorse this but hardly nation states are able to achieve it. The traditional states due to failure of a regular sense of administration usually get involve in internal wars, and ultimately had to resort to use of military force. He terms it as the militarization factor. This monopoly of violence through militarization takes part in three ways; increased changes in armament industry or the industrialization of war by technological innovations leading to further war games, the increased discipline among the military forces, and the increased development of naval strength. Military power gave dimensions to the control over the populations in a specific territory by the sanctions of the law which put a threat of the use of violence in case of non-cooperation to the law or the rule. According to the Tilly school, war and war preparations have been the major factor in the formation and development of the modern states in Europe, especially in increasing their powers externally. Cameron G. Thies in "State Building, Interstate and Intra-State Rivalry: A study of Post-Colonial Developing Country Extractive Efforts 1975-2000" states, that,

"The strengthening of the war-making state in Europe occurred through a multistage process that included (a) elimination of external rivals, (b) suppression or pacification of internal enemies of state, and (c) extraction of sufficient resources for state activities from the larger population and the territories it controlled through increasing taxation (Thies 2004: 55).'³⁷ Thus war and preparing for it led to important social changes: integrating, socializing, and leveling societies. (Porter 1994: 15-16).

³⁶ Panopticism is basically an idea of process of surveillance in a Panoptic structure prison, where from a guard can monitor and keep a watch and ward on whole of the prison. The idea later on in abstracts was adopted for having a social control in a social order. The idea was originated by towered utilitarianist-philosopher Jeremy Bentham in 1791 in his book 'Panopticon' and was later on expounded in an abstract idea by scholar Michel Foucault in his book '*Discipline and Punishment/Surveiller et Punir*' in 1975, pages.200-228, wherein he focused on the importance of Panopticism in human life and in bringing discipline in different sectors of society like health, education, industry etc. He declared Panopticism as an essential element of control. Michel Foucault is declared as the foundation thinker of surveillance studies by David Murakami (2003, p.235), laying a base for the mainstream social theorists to take surveillance as a serious discipline of social sciences as said by David Lyon (1994: 6-7).

All these factors led to strengthening of military or security forces further increasing the power of nation states, which helped nation states to achieve its goals of internal pacification. In modern nation states the military order however is very important in sustaining the deterrence and in influencing the populations of the nation-states alongside with the taxation systems which also played binding forces in nation states.

The Means of Urban Transformation, Regionalization and Sequestration along with the Fiscal Legibility

Few factors like transformation of cities into urban centers, the taxation systems and in response to that provision of services by the welfare / nation states in the urban setups like transportation, communication, commercial transits, security, health and education services, social services, economic benefits and other public services have attracted the pacification process and further facilitated the sequestration. James Scott further referring to the urbanization here adds that, 'a wealthy and peaceful state center might attract a growing population that found its advantages rewarding' (2009: 7).

At another place supporting the financial interests which helped the nation states in sequestration processes, he says, that, parallel to policies of economic, administrative, and cultural absorption has been the policy, driven by both demographic pressure and self-conscious design, of engulfment (Scott 2009: 12). Fiscal legibility is also one such supportive element, as, according to James Scott, the formation of taxation system on the objects of taxation like people, land and trade has brought a drastic change in the pacification process. At many a times the states became *self-liquidating*. Further reasoning, he adds that the registration of land and population has turned out to be an accessible resource for the nation states (Scott 2009: 91-4). Through registration process with simultaneous monetary benefits by the such states, the citizens of nation states were bound to be more responsive, controllable and accountable hence appearing as productive part of nation state societies.

Other Techniques of Population Control

James Scott has also considered the aspects of *slavery* contributing in the process of internal pacification in traditional or absolute states which have seen it as a key factor. However, in Nation States, it could be termed as a limit to internal pacification. Scott says that, all Southeast Asian states were slaving states and slaves "were the most important 'cash-crop' of pre-colonial Southeast Asia: the most sought-after commodity in the region's commerce" (Scott 2009: 85). Also the Max Weber's

view of warfare for slaves was important in the pre-modern states and slaves were considered as booty capitalism (Scott 2009: 88). In the same way, *nationalism*, particularly ethnic or tribal nationalism was also used as a pacifying element in the colonialism where in the states used these tribes to sustain their control upon them, as James Scott says,

The “tribe” might be called a “module of rule.” Designating tribes was a technique for classifying and, if possible, administering the non- or not yet-peasants. Once a tribe and its tribal area had been marked off, it might be used as a unit for tribute in goods and men, as a unit over which a recognized chief could be appointed and made responsible for its conduct, and as a military zone of pacification. At the very least, it created, however arbitrarily, a named people and their supposed location for purposes of bureaucratic order where an otherwise indistinguishable mass of settlements and peoples without structure had often prevailed (2009: 257).

However, this form of tribal nationalism was a source of internal pacification in colonialism, and may be a limit to internal pacification in nation states, for instance the Tamils' tribal movements and the tribal movements of separation challenging the nationalism in southern parts (Balochistan province) of Pakistan³⁷.

Limitations of Internal Pacification towards development of Nation States

The factors of internal pacification were different in time and space. Many supportive factors in absolute or pre-modern times also turned out to be the limits of Internal Pacification when it comes to nation states. Giddens and Scott throw a light on few of them.

Excessive Militarization

Though Giddens supports the surveillance more over militarization, yet for centralized control of violence, he is of the idea of use of militarization through a centralized and bureaucratized military but, he is quiet general in his approaches when it comes to the limits of use of force or industrialization of war. As Giddens says, that final characteristic of internal pacification, intimately connected with the others, but nevertheless distinguishable from them, is the withdrawal of the military from direct participation in the internal affairs of state. The consolidation of the internal administrative resources of the state dislocates administrative power from its strong and necessary base in the coercive sanctions of armed force.... In the nation-state, as in other states, the claim to effective control of the means of violence is quite basic to state power. But the registering of the

³⁷ For reference pl. see Bansal, A., 2010. *Balochistan in Turmoil*. New Delhi: Manas Publications.

more or less complete success of this claim, made possible by the expansion of surveillance capabilities and internal pacification, radically lessens the dependence of the state apparatus upon the wielding of military force as the means of its rule. The distinction between the military and civilian police is symbol and material expression of this phenomenon (Giddens 1985: 192).

For Giddens the increased trend of waging the industrialized war is a serious threat, because it is leading to militarized world of nation states having new-style war propensities as a solution to old military problems.

Economic Control

Generally, the three core principles of Immanuel Kant's concept of perpetual peace – democracy, economic interdependence and international institutions have helped a lot in the formations of nation states in the western societies (Russet and Oneal 2001: 5). In pre-modern states, while explaining the process of self-liquidation of military forces to fill its needs from the local resources, they often used to force the populations to pay tax and do labor works as is done by the military units in Burma (Scott 2009: 94-7). This pressure when increased excessively led to rebellion. As Scott claims, "...the greater the pressure exerted on it, the more likely it would simply flee out of range or, in some cases, rebel (*Ibid.*)". Giddens on this also supports the rights of freedom of disposal of labor power in liberal democratic states, for which the bourgeoisie also limit the economic powers of the employers, hence putting a limit in industrial style of pacification (Giddens 1985: 191).

Nationalism

Nationalism and the identity issue has also played great role in limiting the internal pacification. As Scott commends,

Ethnic and "tribal" identity, in the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth, has been associated with nationalism and the aspiration, often thwarted, to statehood. And today, the utter institutional hegemony of the nation-state as a political unit has encouraged many ethnic groups in Zomia to aspire to their own nation-statehood. But what is novel and noteworthy for most of this long history in the hills is that ethnic and tribal identities have been put to the service not merely of autonomy but of statelessness (2009: 244).

According to James Scott, 'E. J. Hobsbawm, in his perceptive study of nationalism,' took note of these important exceptions: "One might even argue that the peoples with the most powerful and

lasting sense of what might be called ‘tribal’ ethnicity not merely resisted the imposition of the modern state, national or otherwise, but very commonly any state” (2009: 245).

Conclusion

Thus as already stressed upon, for the states to compete in the modern globalized world of nation states, it is must for them to pacify their all borders internally. Only then the nation states can focus on the sustainable development activities materializing the concept of Marx’s capitalistic enterprise or the concept of Weber’s institutional development. Internal Pacification is a combination of several factors, which states’ administrations need to learn to achieve the ultimate goal of democratic nation states, as the Western Nations to a greater extent have achieved this goal. Scott emphasizes upon,

Whenever the crown was unable to replenish its population through a combination of capture by warfare, slaving expeditions, and the attractions of commerce and culture at the center, it risked a fatal erosion of its demographic and military strength (2009: 91).

A focus is required on all dimensions of states’ control and development, and on all the elements of national integrity which includes the economic stability and good governance along with the administrative controls. The control on the social order within the states by pacifying the situation, avoiding the staunch use of military power and focusing on the provision of opportunities and delivery of services to its masses and population through good governance like health and education services, securities, rights and social services, economic benefits and privileges in the form of jobs and social benefits etc. will lead the population to not rise and raise their voice against the governments, avoiding the civil wars, chaos and class struggles, which will ensure internal pacification within the states.

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