Chapter 4: Historical Justice: An Interplay Between Colonialism and Capitalism

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Introduction

This chapter aims to dig into the interplay between capitalism and colonialism (ICC), exposing the historical injustice imposed on the colonised peoples. The exploration involves the combination of Walter Benjamin's "angel of history" with Rosa Luxemburg's concepts of "accumulation of capital" and "accumulation of power". By examining empirical examples from Africa and the Arab world, the aim is to examine how the coloniser could accumulate power and capital, and how this accumulation left the colonised in a state of struggle even in the aftermath of colonisation.

This chapter argues that historical injustice can be observed through the accumulation of power and capital by the coloniser. Moreover, there are limitations on the subjectification capacities of the colonised people, as they develop a reactionary consciousness in reaction to the image of the colonised portrayed by the colonisers. Therefore, research in this field should investigate how colonialism not only diminishes the consciousness of the colonised, but also shapes a mode of consciousness that persists in the post-colonial era. Thus, the research should uncover the problematic aspects of this consciousness within the framework of ICC.

The main goal of this chapter is to reveal how the ICC contributes to historical injustice. To do this, it is required to examine the obstructive forces that structure historical injustice, such as dependency and wealth extraction from the colonised lands. Thus, the central question in this chapter is: How do these obstructive forces hinder the colonised people from eliminating the continuous impact of colonisation?

The formation of the incidental and substantial consciousnesses

The concept of the angel of history refers to the 'prefere[nce] to free men by taking from them, rather than make them happy by giving to them' (Handelman 1991: 345). Benjamin explores that historical advancement does not provide people with happiness or fulfilment by providing them with something constructive. This is implied by the previous statement. Freeing men can be made by removing things, usually through pain, loss or devastation. This sheds light on the price of advancement, which is frequently harsh and agonising, rather than uplifting. Moreover, the first insight emerging from this perspective is the supposition that men in history, reading from the angel of history's eye, find no fulfilment in taking from others, but rather in challenging their circumstances and understanding their pains that shape their awareness of their freedom and the end of subordination.

The achievement of those men's happiness is obstructed, and their happiness continually searches for a place to embody itself, where it can become more realistic and they are finally happy. That angel of history seeks to be happy, however, that happiness carries within its essence an obstruction that prevents this angel from being content. Additionally, the angel, caught between the past and the future, suffers from a sense of loss and remains trapped between the past's 'empty repetitive unfulfilled moments and the future's utopianism' (Handelman 1991: 347). In other words, the angel of history, that attempts to be happy, remains obscured by uncertainties illustrated in the future, and remains burdened by the pains of the past. This obstruction indicates an error in consciousness, especially when shaped by past incidents, which serve as the lens through which the future is prescribed, with all its pains, deficiencies, alienation, and exploitation.

Accumulation of capital is the result of accumulating the surplus profits. Specifically, accumulation occurs as the bourgeois class sells their products, enabling them to achieve their surplus wealth in the form of "money". That accumulation is generated by 'additional labour power and constant capital' (Sweezy 1967: 476), which was referred to as the surplus. The surplus arises

from growing capital, especially among its private owners, who emerged without any prior plan for that development (Luxemburg 2003). One might conclude from this that emerging capitalists pursue their self-interest individually, however, the general rule is that there must be capitalists with more capital than others. In other words, there must be disparity to allow competition, and this requires a perpetual state of conflict: a war of all against all (Arendt 1958). Moreover, and most importantly, one must not overlook the existence of non-capitalists. Luxemburg (2003) classifies the world into capitalist countries alongside non-capitalists (Sweezy 1967), which helps one understand how they coexist, despite their contradictory positions (that is, capitalist versus non-capitalist), enabling the survival of the global capitalist system. The former exploits the latter, who also serve as a useful market for the capitalists. The non-capitalist, in this context, reflects the angel of history, specifically in how their position is revealed within the process of accumulation. If accumulation occurs on the side of the capitalist, then deprivation is the result for the non-capitalist.

The concern within this theoretical framework centres on the implications of deprivation for the non-capitalist, especially in comprehending how colonialism, as a historically bounded process experienced by the colonised, has shaped the colonised consciousness as non-bourgeois and subordinated it to the historical challenges created by colonialism, such as dependency, geographical fragmentation and backward consciousness. Thinking of both concepts of the angel of history and Luxemburg's accumulation, it is possible to view accumulation as a means of pain, torture and disorientation experienced by those exploited nations, who aspire to independence and struggle to develop free ideas, cultures and political programmes independent from any colonial impact.

Juxtaposing the angel of history with Luxemburg's theory of accumulation, shows that the consciousness of the colonised people is formed not only through historical events and memories of oppression, but also by their dissatisfaction with the bourgeois accumulation of wealth, which simultaneously deprives the non-capitalist class. This absence bars the colonised from autonomous self-evolution because their awareness is circumstantial, decided by destructive historical circumstances and periods of hardship. Understanding the interplay between capitalism and

colonialism in these paradigms smooths a superior understanding of how colonialism, supported by capitalist agendas,[1] still influences the colonised during the post-colonial era through indirect remnants of colonialism.

Technique of investigation (qualitative)

Through critical analysis, this chapter investigates how colonised people face neo-imperial influences,[2] particularly during the post-liberation phase of self-building.[3] The analysis engages with scholarly articles, chapters and academic essays, constructing intersectional arguments and historical data on colonisation, which will be cited throughout the chapter. The study focuses primarily on examples from Mali, while briefly referencing colonial experiences in Congo, the Arab Gulf and German Southwest Africa. These examples, such as the case of Mali, demonstrate how elements like the expansion of Western capitalism continue to influence colonised people in the post-colonial era. For instance, these states may employ irrelevant techniques to solve their societal problems, as seen when privatisation is used to address economic crises that may stem from tribal or sectarian divisions. In other words, some societies remain influenced by values of tribalism and sectarianism, which are sometimes claimed to have resulted from colonisation (Ali 2023); as a result, privatisation, which may not align with the economic conditions of these societies, only complicates the self-building process.

Furthermore, the case of Mali should help understand why Malian political thought remained trapped in crises related to territorial security, internal divisions leading to military coups, and the lingering implications of French colonialism and the global capitalist system. This argument underlines how political consciousness in Mali is shaped by historical colonial experiences and their continued influence. The claim addresses the issue of how consciousness is designed to respond to incidents shaped by

1 Such as the unlimited profit, expansion of markets, reproduction of the system (capitalism) or more.

2 Neo-imperial influences can be perceived in the way capitalist powers exert indirect dominance over non-capitalist societies, shaping the latter's dependency on the former.

3 Self-building is a post-colonial phase, and the aim in this period is to achieve social stabilisation, independence of economic production, political independence, etcetera.

historical colonial experiences and how these incidents represent dangerous moments in contemporary Malian history, such as the lack of territorial integrity caused by operations of non-state armed groups in Sahel.

These examples also explore the specific challenges colonised people face regarding consciousness required for self-building, that is, why do colonised nations struggle to establish a resilient political economy? Addressing the issue of the colonised people's dependency and political concentrations may offer new perspectives to tackle the issue at hand. To understand this more thoroughly, we may examine the role of discontinuity between pre-colonial productivity and post-colonial resource utilisation and widen this investigation.

The case of Mali also explores the specific challenges faced by colonised people in terms of consciousness required for self-building. That raises the question: why do the colonised people struggle to establish consistent political economy? Moreover, addressing the issue of colonised people's dependency and political concentrations may offer new perspectives to tackle the problem in question. To ensure a deeper inquiry while answering it, this chapter seeks to explain the role of the discontinuity between pre-colonial productivity and post-colonial resource utilisation, aiming to broaden the scope of the investigation.

A theoretical inquiry into these three concepts (the angel of history, accumulation of capital and accumulation of power) demonstrates the consciousness burden faced by the other side (the weaker party) of the accumulation process, marked by traumatic historical events and deprivation. This chapter is, therefore, structured as follows: first, in Part I (concepts of angel of history, Accumulation of capital and Accumulation of power), the chapter establishes the correlation between the three concepts to assist in comprehending the evolution of the history of the colonised with a new insight: by applying these concepts to the colonised people's self-building process. More precisely, we will examine how colonised people, in the post-colonial era, are trapped between reflecting on the past and interpreting the future based on their incidental consciousness.[4]

4 Incidental consciousness is a form of awareness that is generated as a by-product of historical events, namely those of colonisation, that shape the awareness of those who suffer from these incidents. These incidents are in the past, and they are what shape the lens used to perceive the future.

In Part II, the empirical application will continue based on three points: A) Utilising examples that explain the creation of dependency of the colonised—in the case of Mali, there are several symptoms to note vis à vis incidental consciousness, such as the failure of peace-making, the overbearing presence of armed groups and the role of the colonial past that still complicates the contemporary political context there. This, in part, provokes the question of why Mali has faced several military coups, and whether military violence is a prerequisite for the end of Malians' self-building? B) Connecting dependency to the coloniser's accumulation of wealth, achieved by dominating the resources of the colonised, and thus, historically hindering the colonised self-building on the post-colonial level. C) Any discussion on the dependency of the colonised should reveal how dependency is rooted through what is here called incidental consciousness, rendering dependency a defining symptom of historical injustice committed against the colonised. This incidental consciousness is again shaped by obstructive forces[5] that impose a reactive nature on the colonised, trapping them in the pursuit of liberation, transitioning into social stabilisation, independence of economic production, political independence and so on. Lacking these on the post-liberation level denotes to a set of difficulties. These difficulties emerging from the inability to build the self are due to a situation of historical injustice that can be understood by comprehending the obstructive forces that are laid in the colonised nations' historical paths of self-building. First, dependency, rooted in obstructive forces, forces the colonised people into a reactive state, hindering self-building efforts. Understanding these forces is essential for addressing the difficulty of self-building in colonised nations, including the defect in resource utilisation post-colonisation.

5 An obstructive force arises due to the passage of time, without diagnosing the effects of colonialism on society. These obstructive forces appear when a state of dependency between the colonised and the coloniser emerges, where the colonised is unable to achieve either economic disengagement or independence at all levels, and remains struggling within its orbit even in the post-colonial period.

Part I: Concepts of angel of history, accumulation of capital and accumulation of power

A. Political suppression in Mali and the formation of consciousness

Benjamin's concept of 'angel of history' refers to an active entity interpreting history by considering dynamic elements like 'oppression' and 'historical materialism' from the past (Benjamin 1969: 257).[6] These essential components of the angel of history are dynamics in themselves, and they affect the trajectory of those engaged in history-making, shaping their image of the future. Benjamin, when investigating the impact of decisive factors (for example, oppression) in the past, refers to a moment of 'danger' in history (Benjamin 1969: 255),[7] and conditions of 'catastrophe', 'struggling, oppression', and 'messianic power' (Benjamin 1969: 254-260). These challenges inspire the making of history[8] and affect the oppressed people's "image" toward both the past and future. The failure of the Malian regime to consider Northern Mali's demands of development and equalisation with the South, deepened the complexities in resolving disagreement and distrust between southern and northern territories (Boutellis and Zahar 2017). What do colonialisation and capitalist production have to do with this issue? The answer is that the French colonial investment and concentration of industry was more focused in Southern Mali, creating a situation of dependency[9] for the north. Understanding France's crucial role in forming Malian incidental consciousness requires examining Mali's natural geography. Cities like Taoudenni, Timbuktu and Gao, located in Northern Mali, are in the desert while the southern cities benefit from the

6 Benjamin views oppression and the historical material conditions in which humans live as forces that greatly influence the course of human history, and these are elements, among other elements, that shape his concept of the angel of history.

7 'The danger affects both the content of the tradition and its receivers.'

8 It inspires the collective will to create a history that matches the magnitude of suffering, honours the dignity of the self, and drives resistance to shape a truly deserved future.

9 Dependency is a state of inability to develop and build oneself due to imposed restrictions. These restrictions result from following rules imposed by the strongest, least vulnerable to internal conflicts, those with better technical capabilities and socio-economic conditions, and other situations.

Niger River and lush greenery. The colonial experience in Mali reveals how France, as the colonial power, exploited the south's natural resources,[10] creating an additional disparity between South and North and increased dependency of the whole country (Ibrahim *et al* 2018: 10).

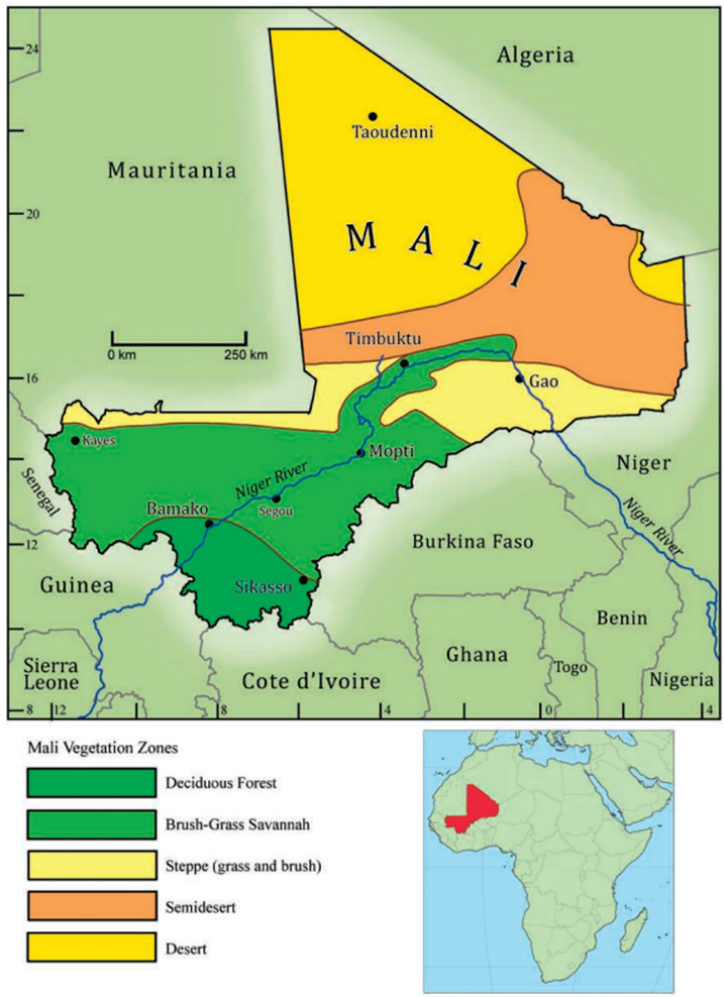


Image 4.1: Map of Mali –
Source: (Ibrahim *et al* 2018: 10)

10 See the following map for the salient geographical features of Mali (Ibrahim et al 2018: 10).

The colonial power exploits those lands in that way because colonisation operates as a foreign power focusing on exploitation without any strategic considerations to develop the colonised lands themselves. The impact of French colonisation is crystallised in the colonial remnants, such as the disparity between the North and the South, in the post-colonial level, certainly, the inequalities between the rich South and the underdeveloped North. Unfortunately, the Malian regimes followed the same colonial techniques, resulting in armed confrontations that reappeared in 2016 against armed groups from countries north of Mali. The usage of the same colonial policies of governance and the lack of trust between the ruled and the ruler appeared more in the military coups that took place in 2020 and 2021 (ISPIONLINE 2021). This presents the peak of the incidental consciousness when the colonised inherit the same plans, techniques and regulations of the coloniser without recognising they are alienated. This alienation (Marx 1977: 7-8),[11] in fact, is embedded in how the colonised lack the industrial expertise that the colonialists necessarily own. Besides, the colonised must be made aware of how this industrial experiment serves their different political agendas, which pursue socioeconomic constructions that are supposedly revolutionary and different from colonial ones, which are inwardly directed at the colonial pursuit of capital accumulation. Additionally, this alienation from the industrial system allows the colonial state to access the colonised lands even in the post-colonial era. That explains how Mali remained occupied by France in later years (Hoebeke 2013: 4-6). Analysing this situation clarifies how colonialism, as a destructive force, leaves the colonised in a structural void that results in the dependency of this colony.

Benjamin (1969) links the image of the past specifically to the

11 Alienation is often presented as a 'problem of estrangement' influenced by the philosophy of Hegel and Feuerbach. The concept was used to analyse the human "social relation", then narrowed to the focus of the working class and he connected the concept of "private property and the social system it engenders". In the context of this chapter, alienation is used in a broader sense, where it can apply to the feeling of inability to adapt to societal conditions and the need for disengagement and separation, which drives conflict, is strongly related to historical circumstances such as colonialism, as well as socioeconomic conditions that are inconsistent with the psychological conditions of society as a whole, the political ambition for independence and other factors.

working class's perception[12] of 'hatred and its spirit of sacrifice, for both are nourished by the image of the enslaved ancestors rather than that of liberated grandchildren' (260). Perhaps one might like to compare the imagined oppressed grands, who lived during the colonial era, not the free grandchildren to the Malian context.

In Northern Mali, which seems less developed compared to the Southern part, armed violence appears as a refusal of the unjust development concentrated in the South. Violence in 2006 in Southern Mali reflects the pains and the lack of trust in the South, despite the Malian government's attempt to distribute food and deepen people's productive powers throughout Mali. The cooperation that took place in 2003 was conducted between the government, Japan, Qatar and other countries (World Food Programme 2005).

The historical events, in the eyes of the angel of history, and the moment of danger, are to be understood as dynamics that construct the normativity that is driving people toward their historical goal (that is, salvation); in which historical events lead to a push towards progress. The claim is illustrated through the example of Social Democrats' concept of progression, as a political party they have a comprehensive vision on conceptions, like progression. Progression was illustrated as consequent to all humans not only 'men's ability and knowledge'. Progression is further inevitable and exists in a direct path (Benjamin 1969: 260). Benjamin (1969) uses this argument to tell how the image of seeing progression in the lens of the future appears dogmatic, even when it is viewed as straight to redemption.

Benjamin's concept of the angel of history is crucial, based on its central dimension that presents the role of the conditions like oppression and struggle in designing the image toward the purpose in the future, which becomes absolute and strategically rigid. The angel of history here facilitates understanding the image that guides the oppressed group's comprehension of reality. For example, when the colonised nations imagine liberation as a form of finalised redemption, limiting liberation *incidentally*

12 The working class was the only last class proposed by Marx to lead liberation and redeem the future of the oppressed. Hence, the image of the past is what shapes the oppressed people's vision towards the future, and it requires a mode of awareness of that image and the struggles in it, shaping the comprehension of liberation and how to achieve it.

to react to oppression without advancing to the post-liberation levels, including political independence from foreign influences and furthermore. In such a circumstance, oppression becomes a moment of danger in history, risking the colonised people's consciousness and tradition of emancipation. This limitation is done by achieving liberation only from foreign military presence. Consequently, they design their image of liberation in an obstructive way, specifically, they limit it to colonisation as an incident or as a moment of emergency in history, where they declare their independence, but remain under the colonial state's influence and fail to guarantee a solid economy. Benjamin refers to this state of emergency as an 'exception' to a 'rule' (Benjamin 1969: 257).

This limitation reveals an inability to comprehend the gap created by the obstructive forces in the path of their historical liberation. Proposing the principle of liberation at the wrong time or to the wrong practice can turn this freedom into an obstruction, such as when the colonised people suffer from exploitation, resource theft and subjugation to colonial policies restricting their independent progression, and when these sufferings result in the division of the colonised society. On this basis, one might notice that there is a deep need to establish a form of consciousness that surpasses the moment of emergency of colonialism in the history of the colonised and to make this consciousness comprehensive to resist any obstruction in the future. This is to be clarified in the next part of this chapter.

B. Mali in the context of accumulations

The colonial focus on development, investment and production in the south of Mali resulted in a long-term disparity between North and South. This disparity led the people of the northern regions to resist to gain political representation and economic development. However, the long-standing neglect of demands of people in Northern Mali, along with the suppression of northern cities like Gao, Kidal and Menaka, contributed to the emerging autonomy in the North (Chauzal and Van Damme 2015). France played a significant role in the abuses and offenses committed in the north of Mali during 2012 and 2013 (for example, the war against anti-jihadist and Tuareg groups). Nonetheless, it did not address the local people's demands and

sufferings of lack of advancement. That explains how colonialism affected the power dynamics, focusing more on the abuse of the Malian people than on preventing the emergence of more armed groups (Human Rights Watch 2017). In this regard, the concentration of power in the South came at the expense of neglect, annihilation and the deprivation of the North.

The inheritance of colonial administrative procedures also influenced the Malian economic system, especially regarding private property. France attempted to modify legal aspects to further exploit Malian lands, transitioning from 'customary tenure precepts [to] Roman legal principles' (USAID 2010: V-2). In the post-colonial era, successive Malian regimes retained these laws to maintain the principle of state control (USAID 2010). While the French colonial approach to land production and usage relied on research, laboratories and professional techniques (Bingen 1988), Malian utilisation lacked such professionalism, which contributed to further poverty in Mali (Boutellis and Zahar 2017).

Marx (1904) emphasised the importance of the maturity of material conditions. This maturity can be viewed in the transition from an agricultural mode of production into a technological—industrial one, where people, if not alienated from their means of production, have better life conditions and more advanced conditions. Marx argued that, in modern bourgeois society, the bourgeoisie treats society antagonistically, which is pathological. This pathology must be addressed. However, treating this pathology requires that 'the productive forces in [the] bourgeois society [to] develop and create with that the material solutions of that antagonism' (Marx 1904: 13). Marx seems to emphasise that treating this pathology (that is, antagonism) can be by developing the society's material conditions, where there should be no poverty, exploitation, alienation, or even a class-conflict. In the context of this chapter, colonial practices (for example, exploitation and resources theft) were catastrophic until they became obstructive through accumulation, impeding the evolution of material conditions for the colonised. Moreover, since these colonial practices are systematic, they impacted the colonised peoples as forces in their own right.

Luxemburg's (2003) concepts of the accumulation of capital and power help deepen the understanding of transformation from the catastrophic to the obstructive. Expansion, as a basis for the accumulation of capital,

relies on the interaction of four elements. First, there must be a 'surplus value' to ensure the continuity and growth of capitalist profit. Luxemburg (2003) notes that this surplus value must be 'realised, converted into the form of money, so that it can be appropriated for the purposes of expanding reproduction' (16). Second, there must be a 'commodity market' (Luxemburg 2003: 15) where the exchange of commodities reveals how the risks created by surplus value may affect the future of reproduction. The third element must directly involve the accumulation of surplus value through 'its productive form of labour and inanimate means of production' (Luxemburg 2003: 16-17). Fourth, the new proportion of commodities and surplus value must be converted into money, a fundamental condition for both reproduction and expansion (Luxemburg 2003: 16-17), which are necessary for accumulation.

There are three factors that are central to the reproduction, expansion as well as accumulation of capital, 1- money, 2- the control of the commodities and their exchange market and 3- the surplus value. These factors in themselves function as a combination of powers that are essential to allow the continuity of the accumulation of capital. Besides that, Arendt argues that the absolute accumulation of power is conditional on the absolute accumulation of capital (Arendt 1958). Therefore, the accumulation of capital and power are mutually reinforcing, each supporting the existence of the other. Although these three factors are purely economic, their impact extends beyond the economic realm. This can be linked to Marx's claim about the transformation of the entire superstructure through changes in the economic base (Marx 1904), which underscores the importance of the economic dimension in shaping a constructive situation. This idea further clarifies why France's economic focus on the southern region of Mali distorted Mali's future and created a dependent consciousness and mechanical political practice among Malian elites. In other words, the elites continued the same colonial practices by neglecting and ignoring investment in the North.

The accumulation of capital, in one way or another, must be protected by accumulation of power, even if this condition requires laws to protect the accumulation of capital; as when the capitalist's interest symbolises 'the highest law' (Luxemburg 2003: 17) in society. However, the exchange

market for money and commodities must not be subjected to any laws (Luxemburg 2003). The accumulation of power by the capitalist, where there are no laws, mirrors the accumulation of power in the 'perpetual war of all against all' (Arendt 1958: 142). Thus, gaining more tools of violence is essential for fulfilling the thirst for power. In the case of capital accumulation, this pursuit becomes purposeful to gain unlimited profits. In both types of accumulations, the situation resembles an open 'competitive struggle' (Luxemburg 2003: 426), with the most powerful party being the one with the greatest potential to win!

Influenced by mistrust, the instrumental violence between the North and the South of Mali created political context driven by the logic of the war of all against all. Consequently, Mali experienced atomisation, and the North became divided to be controlled by various powerful groups that believe in mythological thoughts and reflect the influences in resulting in political instability. The Malian government even faced conflicting local agendas, revealing the magnitude of political disagreements (Chauzal and Van Damme 2015). This situation raises the question: How did colonisation make it so extremely difficult for Mali to keep pace with the current capitalist conditions and economic development? The relevance of this point can be illustrated in how colonisation plays a crucial role in complexifying the political situation and the colonial legacy remains even in the post-colonial times.

The accumulation of capital, as constructed from surplus value or exploitation in Marx's (1977) sense, and the accumulation of power, as constructed from violence, are not sufficient on their own. Since they are two distinct forms of appetite and wealth, they must transcend the realms of violence and surplus value by morphing into imperialism. The two accumulations, now providing fertile ground for imperialism, are especially potent when capitalist and non-capitalist systems coexist, and the former seeks to extract surplus value from the latter (Luxemburg 2003). France treated Mali according to the principles of expansion and reproduction necessary to accumulate wealth for France and deprive Mali. Initially, specifically during the colonial times, Mali was viewed as a foreign land to be expanded for specific exploitative purposes, resulting in historical obstructions that prevented Mali from becoming independent.

Drawing from the angel of history, accumulation of capital and accumulation of power, the obstructive force is a complex component that arises due to historical—economic factors that aim to dominate. The domination is always functioning against the oppressed group, it could be the oppressed group's lens of understanding reality, or it could be the economic system that controls the lives of this oppressed group. In another instance, the post-colonial Mali showed incapability to understand the political reality because of 1- colonialism as a moment of danger in its history and 2- capitalism as a total obstruction governing the colonised people's efforts and resources.

In analysing the angel of history, Benjamin (1969) shows an indirect call for emancipating the oppressed consciousness from the constraints created heavily by the situation that this consciousness is subjected to. The correlation of the three concepts is to assist analysing the colonised consciousness shift from catastrophic to obstructive. By utilising these concepts, it becomes possible to explore how the colonised people's consciousness must surpass the limits made by the interplay through owning what is to be called here, substantial consciousness, rather than incidental consciousness. The incidental consciousness is what limits the oppressed people's consciousness to the constraints of the situation (for instance, the colonial governmental remnants) they are subjected to. Incidental consciousness is a factual result of colonisation, which is also a historical incident in the historical evolutionary path of the colonised people.

Part II: The colonised's dependency, the coloniser's accumulation of wealth and the colonised's incidental consciousness

A. Dependency of the colonised

The concept of dependency signifies one of the key elements in realising the incidental consciousness among colonised nations. It reflects the limited capacity of colonised people to engage in a process of self-building and self-determination. A structuralist view of dependency offers a

comprehensive diagnosis of the condition of colonised nations, where their economies are subjected to the needs of dominant powers rather than their own developmental goals. More precisely, the concept of 'dependent development' refers to a global political economy structured to facilitate 'the expansion of [the] dominant nations and [to be] tied to the needs of the dominant economy as opposed to the needs of the dependent economy' (Higgot 1987: 76).

While criticising the dependency theory, Andre Frank avers that colonised nations are 'peripheries' to the central 'European colonial powers' (Kapoor 2002: 649). Similarly, Latin American theorists, that is, Fernando Cardoso and Enzo Faletto explain the emergence of dependency on the internal class or social conflicts within the colonised society (Kapoor 2002), which find expression in the international relations between the coloniser and the colonised.

Zizek's (2009) analysis of Mali, in relation to European powers, offers a clear example of this dependency. Mali's economy is divided between the cattle farming in the north and cotton farming in the south. Although there are economic activities in both regions (North and South), Mali struggles to compete in the global market due to the technological advancements of Western powers. For example, cotton farmers in the United States receive financial support greater than the entire national budget of Mali, which makes it nearly impossible for Malian cotton producers to compete. Similarly, in the beef industry, the advanced production methods used by European powers make it unfeasible for Mali to compete with their beef and milk exports (Zizek 2009). Furthermore, due to historical factors such as colonial exploitation, Mali cannot bridge the technological gap and achieve industrial advancements necessary for competing in the modern capitalist system.

French colonial rule in Mali left lasting consequences, including a security burden that became increasingly difficult for Mali to manage, particularly after the rise of armed groups and military coups, such as the one in 2021. Despite the presence of French troops, insecurity remained widespread throughout the country, with the political landscape further complicated by the security challenges within the Sahel region (Haidara 2021). Mali, previously part of multinational forces fighting armed groups

in the Sahel, was unable to sustain the immense financial demands of these military operations (Al-Jazeera 2022).

Two dimensions appear from the previous description of the Malian case, first, the question arises: why do the French troops exist in Mali? These troops can be viewed as guardians of the French interests in Mali, such as the extraction of oil and uranium (Baig 2013). There is a signed agreement between France and Mali, which lays Mali responsible to ensure the security of its land; however, Mali proved to be unable to take the responsibility of security, either on its lands, or as a part of the responsible states for the security in the region of Sahel, and this needed 'the military intervention' from France and other countries (Baig 2013). Second, Mali struggled to show suitable management to all these internal and regional challenges, such as increasing its productivity to compete in the free market and strengthening its technical capacities that are essential to develop its socioeconomic conditions.

The Belgian colonialism in Congo serves as another clear example of how exploiting the colonised can lead into accumulating the coloniser's wealth. During this period, the Belgian colonial administration implemented brutal strategies to extract rubber from the Congolese population. Even those Congolese, who were more productive than the others, were receiving the minimum material return for their efforts, such as knives, salt and pieces of clothing. Some of these things were already given to be used for the labour itself (rubber extraction), such as the knives (Hochschild 1999). The coloniser does not lure the colonised into a new socioeconomic condition from zero, however, enforcement is what occurs when the former forcibly imposes that condition of exploitation on the latter.

Colonisation caused a rupture between the colonised people and their traditional—precolonial over land and resources, forcing them to suffer alienation. Marx's (1977) concept of alienation can be adapted to explain this situation, albeit with a modification in its meaning. Marx (1977) used the concept of alienation to describe the separation between the worker and the product of their labour, a consequence of private ownership in capitalist economies. In the capitalist system, alienation is the reduction of the labour power into an 'object/product' (Marx 1977: 68). Hence, the labour power becomes measured based on the way the capitalist sells the commodity in

the market (the exchange value). Therefore, it explains the objectification of the human effort of the worker. On the same scale, alienation becomes relevant to the description of isolating the colonised from administrating their lands and resources.

This claim applies to the way colonisation in Africa meant to create distortions within the people's socioeconomic activity on their own lands; by turning the activity on the land from farming to 'heavy industry' (Mudimbe 1988: 16). This transformation in the mode of production separated the colonised people from the actual usage of their resources, contributing to the formation of an incidental consciousness. Over time, colonisation created an obstructive historical force that stifled the self-determination of the colonised.

Marx's theory of alienation (1977) describes the objectification of labour; differently, this theory, in the framework of the colonial experience, can add the concept of self-sufficiency to the view of alienation in the colonised people's historical experiences. In this case, theory of alienation can serve to understand the dependency of colonised people.

The accumulation of power and capital by the coloniser led to the creation of a dependent and inferior state for the colonised, who were forced to adopt a consciousness shaped by the coloniser's interests. The relationship between the coloniser and the colonised was parasitic, where the coloniser maintained control over both the political and economic systems, continuously accumulating wealth at the expense of the colonised people.

The result of the passage of time is constructing an obstructive force that becomes later historical,[13] and that is when liberation is achieved by the colonised or when the colonised is peacefully granted independence. The enjoyed unilateral accumulation of power presupposes the coloniser supremacist and more fitting for power and feeds the colonial capital ingredients (that is, the process of exploitation). Foucault's (2000) idea of power is relevant here, since it highlights how those who control wealth and resources are able to produce knowledge that legitimises their dominance. By perpetuating dependence and inferiority among the colonised, the coloniser could sustain its control, reinforcing the power imbalance and

13 That means this obstructive force becomes crucial and decisive in terms of its influence.

ensuring that the colonised would remain passive and subordinate. This theory is suitable to explain how the colonial power aims to maintain a continuous accumulation, but also aiming at creating an inferior and dependent personality to the colonised, since the process of accumulation contains two contradictory positions. For the coloniser, it is required to create dependence, stupidity and the incapacity to express the side of the colonised. This grants the coloniser a space to force the colonised to adopt to a top-down- pattern of dependent consciousness. Hence, the colonised does not own in the post-colonial era substantial consciousness that is created by the free self-made engagement between the colonised people and their socioeconomic—political reality.

Achille Mbembe (2001), in his analysis of the African colonial experience, views colonialism as a set of 'hollows' (177). In one hollow, the coloniser creates a self-consciousness rooted in the degradation of the colonised, and this is what Mbembe refers to as the 'coloniser's self-consciousness' (2001: 188). This consciousness presents the colonised as inferior as Mbembe (2001) demonstrates. In the postcolonial era, this inferiority of the colonised has been observed in the colonised people's incapacity to comprehend and confront the fact that their own socio-economic and political circumstances are diminished. This inferiority becomes entrenched even after liberation, as the colonised people continue to rely on the knowledge and guidance provided by the coloniser. Additionally, the post-colonial era does not automatically lead to a liberation of the colonised consciousness, as they remain shaped by the historical trauma of colonial domination.

The example of German colonialism in South West Africa further explores how colonisation sought to transform local modes of production, societal dynamism and people's conscious cultural relations. Wilhelm Hübbe-Schleiden argued that colonialism was an art form, in which the colonisers imposed their own cultural and economic strategies upon the colonised Africans, often resulting in immense suffering and exploitation (Matasci *et al*. 2020). This transformation, though it failed, disrupted the precolonial social order, and alienated the colonised from their own history and productivity.

Despite the failure of this German colonial attempt, this attempt to alter the African socio-economic situation had profound and long-lasting effects.

It hindered the colonised people's ability to understand the nature of their precolonial socio-economic structures and how they could have progressed without colonial interference. Colonisation replaced the fundamental knowledge of local systems of production with a new, colonial framework of dependency and inferiority.

In the case of the Arab Gulf countries, the emergence of the 'rentier state' (Beblawi 1987: 384) associates with the resources this state owns, such as oil and gas. The post-colonised states, the owners of the resources, rent the national resources to the coloniser for which they receive money. This applies to states in the Arab Gulf, which only enjoyed wealth granted from the coloniser and never experienced the self-independent creating of wealth. One of the phenomena that relates to renting resources is that only a small group in society manage the resource rental, while the majority merely benefits monetarily without engaging in collective national building efforts (Beblawi 1987: 385). For instance, British companies extracted oil from post-colonial Arab states and then monopolised both the production and the knowledge of the production. In contrast, Arab rentiers maintain a reactionary inactive role in the whole process without any engagement with production or refreshing knowledge. Consequently, the Arab rentier suffers from an immature knowledge of the territorial material conditions. This example should clarify how the coloniser creates a breakthrough in the history of the colonised, and this situation suggests a re-evaluation of the history of the colonised, and to rethink the historical development that was before the coming of colonialism.

The colonised's incidental consciousness: The Malian example

Colonisation aims to isolate the colonised from history, resources, other powers and precolonial social history, thereby, facilitating the coloniser's ability to impose a new political reproduction of the colonised in a way that varies from the character that the colonised had before colonisation took place. The coloniser does a dramatic shift in the operating history of the colonised. Isolation is not only frightful to the man as an individual (Mbembe 2001), it is too for the colonised nation as a whole; as the case

when the colonised nation's collective effort is alienated from the functional dynamics of the international market, which is managed by the coloniser. In other words, when the colonised nation suffers from dependency and has no opportunity to develop. One can notice the implications of this happening by noticing how the renter state in the Arab regions try to satisfy the historically known coloniser and allow it to have a foreign hand on its local oil or resources. This renter state never experienced a free leadership of its own resources, therefore, seeing those resources liberated from colonialism fears the colonised. This fear is accompanied by other imagined fears, such as the fear of international isolation that this colonial power may establish against the colonised.

The colonised people find themselves under the veil of historically unjust conditions. They find themselves within a system in which they do not fit. More precisely, when a freshly independent state finds itself required to engage in an international market that seems like a battleground between competing capitalist countries, it faces obstructions. This case reflects a type of historical injustice according to the law of the accumulation of capital since there is the capitalist that depends on the non-capitalist (Arendt 1958), and there is also the accumulation of wealth that automatically reflects the creation of the deprivation. The deprived party simply cannot follow the policy of competition in the global market like the coloniser, through its historically accumulated capital, which enables the coloniser to be ready for that competition! The position of the colonised is already predetermined as dependent, unfree and secondary. Such a position is an obstructive force to suppress the colonised in a self-developed way. This claim applies to the case of Mali, when the French colonials labelled security as a concern, and the European powers created the challenge of competing in the free market, hence, Mali found itself alienated in a totally unexpected world.

Behind that lies the lack of a conscious practice of self-building in Mali. The political efforts to manage the country's affairs are uncertain and fragmented, adding complexity to the situation. Under the rule of a military regime (Al-Jazeera 2022), the practice of self-building cannot develop in a sociopolitical sense. Instead, it is dominated by military priorities focused on surveillance, with a top-down, undemocratic approach. First, that situation is a simulating image of liberation that guides this current

regime in Mali to think that by cutting the French Malian relationships, the "neocolonial" impact can be ended (Al-Jazeera 2022). Second, it is led by the incidental consciousness that colonisation and its remnants are making Mali burdened with competition in the free market, political instability near the borders, the problem of security and other implications. Alongside this, when knowing that Mali has had a military system since 2021, a question comes to mind: can a purely military regime adjust to these challenges and crises? The short answer is no, and people must collectively own the required substantial consciousness that presents a constructive (specifically sociological and political) strategy to guide the self-building, rather than militarisation.

Conclusion

Colonisation is conceptualised here as a significant disruption in the history of the colonised. While it is an incidental, rather than a substitutional replacement in the historical path of the colonised, it carries its own set of implications that might act as substantial barriers to the historical development of these societies. By invoking Benjamin's (1969) concept of the "angel of history", there can be a better chance to understand why colonisation should not be regarded as the definitive endpoint in the historical process of the colonised nations in the post-liberation or post-independence period. In other words, the consciousness of the colonised must move beyond this historical incident of colonialism and return to the moment where a breakthrough or a rupture occurred in this collective consciousness. Despite the presence of monumental events like colonisation in the history of the colonised, these societies remain trapped in the present, often trapped by the traumatic legacy of the past. This is particularly observed due to the coloniser's impositions, such as deprivation, dependency and inferiority, all of which are consequences of the coloniser's pursuit of capital and power.

By adopting substantial consciousness rather than incidental consciousness, the colonised masses can employ a more productive mode of resisting neo-imperialism and pursuing a constructive process of self-construction as compared to one of militarisation or securitisation. The real

mode of such a process of self-construction is reflected in the employment of the colonised masses' socioeconomic consciousness, particularly their mode of production activity and use of resources.

Before examining the outcomes that emerge from these historical obstructions, it is essential to consider the accumulation of power and capital as central forces that shape the process of history-making. The accumulation of power and capital by the coloniser signifies the depletion of the colonised's resources and the creation of a dependent entity. Thus, the practices of dependency do not end with the achievement of independence or the fulfilment of liberation. In fact, such practices of dependency can persist even in post-colonial times. One must be cognisant of the potential challenge in casting liberation based on this historical hiatus, because liberation has the tendency to lead to self-imposed limitations within the colonised societies themselves.

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