

# The Evolving Methods of Domination and the Structure of Open Containment Theory

By

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A thesis submitted to the Department of English and Humanities in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of  
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## **Declaration**

It is hereby declared that

1. The thesis submitted is my own original work while completing degree at Brac University.
2. The thesis does not contain material previously published or written by a third party, except where this is appropriately cited through full and accurate referencing.
3. The thesis does not contain material which has been accepted, or submitted, for any other degree or diploma at a university or other institution.
4. I have acknowledged all main sources of help.

**Student's Full Name & Signature:**

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## Approval

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## **Abstract**

This paper explores how the coercive methods of mass manipulation has evolved with time to new and more sinister forms that are well suited for use in the modern globalized world of nation states that is dominated by capitalism. It carries out an analysis of the history of domination methods and their evolution from the colonial era to the modern world along with exploring some patterns and ideas in fiction regarding the portrayal of control and power. The paper also analyzes military literature for concepts and theories relevant to the topic to provide an additional perspective. In addition, the paper will also present and explain the Structure of Open Containment theory that I have formulated while doing this research to explain the effectiveness of modern methods of clandestine coercion. For this purpose, literary theories such as Saussure's semiotics and Marxist ideas of ideology and superstructure will be utilized.

**Keywords:** Capitalism; Neocolonialism; Dystopian fiction; Military theories; Semiotics; Structure of Open Containment Theory.

## **Dedication**

Dedicated to the noble souls in Palestine, Iraq and all over the world who have faced a cruel and unjust form of vilification under cunning and deceitfully forged narratives despite being the victims of violent imperialist aggression and other forms of injustices. Some still continue to do so as they endure immense suffering and vicious mockery while holding out for hope or valiantly fighting for justice in the face of overwhelming odds.

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## INTRODUCTION

While attending a seminar organized by BRAC University that had Professor Jon Wilson as the primary speaker, I witnessed a number of guests point towards how the actions of the United States could be considered as imperialist while on the topic of the replacement of empires by the nation-state model. As expected, the professor replied by noting how the United States did not fit the definition of an empire due to lacking some key characteristics. While his logic appeared sound in theory, I felt like the discussion did not approach from the angle of seeing imperialism as a means to an end rather than an end itself. It made me ponder about whether or not the same goals of imperialism could be achieved through different means in the modern world and that served as an inspiration for my dissertation topic.

Through my research, I intend to highlight how the goal of imperialist wealth accumulation has largely remained the same while the methods to serve that purpose has evolved over time into newer and more effective forms. These methods defy popular notions of domination owing to their inherent subtlety and put many fictional dystopian regimes to shame with the level of cunning behind their conception as well as effectiveness. In addition, I also managed to formulate the Structure of Open Containment theory while doing my research. The theory presents the hypothetical structure of a system designed around achieving its core objectives effectively while making it as unlikely as possible for its occupants or other observers to grasp its true nature or purpose due to the ingenuity and subtlety of the methods employed.

While the application of my theory aligns with Marxist ideas of the superstructure, its application can also be for purposes other than that of a tool of mass coercion in society.

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

This paper primarily employs qualitative research methods with some minor quantitative elements with an emphasis on theory and analysis of texts. For this purpose, a number of existing literary theories would be employed. One of the most important theories for this paper would be semiotics. Semiotics is the study of signs, symbols and the meaning they convey. The reason I want to make use of semiotic reading is due to how it is associated with language and quite relevant for the topic of this paper. Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, who invented many important concepts of semiotics had divided into two parts. Signifier refers to the words, symbol or image that make up the observable sign. Meanwhile, the signified conveys the meaning of the signifier. Citing the arbitrary characteristics of language, Saussure argues that the relation between the signifier and signified is simply a result of conventions set by cultural agreement like how the word cat is used to designate the feline animal that we know as the cat (Storey, 116). It shows how meaning in language is artificially derived. This is also why structuralists claim how language is capable of organizing and constructing the very way we perceive or sense reality with different languages being able to produce different mappings of real in effect (Storey 118). It highlights just how language and signs can be employed as a means of control. Furthermore, French literary theorist Roland Barthes would employ Saussure's concepts regarding semiotics to explain the creation of myths. According to him, myths cannot be objects, concepts or even an idea. Instead, it is a message or a system of communication. Or a mode of signification (Barthes 107).

Interestingly, he claims how the function of a myth is not to hide something or make it disappear but rather distort (Barthes 120). Moreover, myths can be quite complex to read due to the duplicity of the signifier and Barthes proposes three ways to do so. One such way that is relevant to this paper is to see the mythical signifier as a hard to comprehend whole due to how it is forged by the meaning and form. This third type of reading is what one can employ

to understand how a myth is used to support the interests of definite groups and reveal the essential function of said myths (Barthes 127-128).

And while discussing about semiotics and how one's perception of reality can be influenced; ideology is no doubt something that must be brought up. Ideology is defined as a system of ideas and beliefs promoted by specific individuals or groups. A different definition claims that ideology is concealment, masking or distortion due to how ideological texts and practices would facilitate the creation of a false consciousness. The powerful often deploy this aspect of ideology to serve their interests against that of the powerless. Karl Marx would argue how the culture of a society would form based on its means of production and ideology would create the false consciousness in order to safeguard it and keep it functional (Storey 2-3). Similarly, Althusser would define ideology as how the relation between humans and the world around them is expressed and is the unity between their real condition of existence and the harmony of the real and the imaginary (Storey 75).

In addition, the Marxist notion of base and superstructure is important for this paper as it is closely tied with my theory of structures of open containment. The superstructure is what forms around the economic base or mode of production of a society. It consists of not only institutions like the political, legal, educational, cultural etc. but also the definite forms of social consciousness generated to achieve its goals such as religious, ethical, philosophical, cultural etc. (Storey 62).

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Due to the wide scope of this paper, I shall be utilizing a wide variety of sources ranging from research papers, books on literary theories, political science, military theory as well as a number of works of fiction that range from novels, short stories to films, video game and Japanese anime to understand how methods of domination have evolved as well as how such methods and their nature has been perceived by people, which is reflected in their cultural products.

To begin with, I would like to utilize some of the selected sources to analyze the view of experts on the matter of domination and its use throughout history as well as how capitalist ideas of wealth accumulation had acted as a driving force. To begin with, Blaut in his research article “Colonialism and the Rise of Capitalism” highlighted the relationship between colonialism and capitalism and how the former had contributed to the rise of the latter in many ways such as opening up new markets as well as empowering the bourgeoisie as well as creating the proletariat in colony by force (Blaut). This forced proletarianization process would also be highlighted by Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o in his work *Decolonizing the Mind*. An important work of post-colonial studies, it approaches the topic from the perspective of language and culture being used for imperialism. One such way he highlights this is through sharing how schoolchildren are molded into disliking their own culture and trained to become a part of the colonial system (Thiong'o). Even the fictional novel *Heart of Darkness* by Joseph Conrad would depict the brutality of the colonial system in its wealth extraction through the eyes of Marlowe in Congo while he was tasked to relieve the ivory trader Kurtz of his duty (Conrad). It highlights just how brutal colonial wealth extraction was in practice since a European like Conrad ended up seeing the violence in a negative manner.

But with the rise of the working class and Marxism in the 1800's, imperialism found itself facing a threat from within. It became more apparent after the Russian revolution that

had established the Soviet Union. In response, the bourgeoisie would use their money and influence to fund those that would become fascists in order to preserve their interests.

American Marxist Michael Parenti in his book *Blackshirts and Reds* explores the capitalist motivations behind the rise of Mussolini and Hitler. In both cases, bourgeoisie elites who were afraid of being ousted from power by a populist working class revolution had funded the rise of fascism to have the fascists secure the interests, which is how fascism had acquired its anticommunist nature. But Parenti also goes further to show how the legacy of fascism was inherited by the capitalist United States who had perfected more covert methods of control compared to that of the past (Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds*). But the most extreme case of fascism exercising capitalist ideas would be its operation of the concentration camps. According to historian Mark Buggeln in his work *Slave Labor in Nazi Concentration Camps*, which contains detailed research on the Neuengamme concentration camp system, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and his SS had used the concentration camps as a plan to acquire money and power by serving as a provider of slave labor to various industries in Germany such as Porsche, Krupp and Thyssen to name a few (Buggeln). This makes the holocaust appear as a process more similar to male chick culling in the egg industry as the ones who cannot be used as slave labor such as young children, elderly and the crippled are killed so that extra costs of keeping them alive and imprisoned no longer need to be fulfilled.

While colonialism eventually met its end, capitalism and its principles of wealth extraction that had acted as a driving force still managed to thrive using different methods such as neocolonialism. Gilles Deleuze in his article "Postscript on the Societies of Control" described how societies were changing from the Foucauldian disciplinary society to what he described as societies of control whose mechanisms are fluid in nature and capitalism plays an important role in it. He also claimed how the modern corporate elites would relegate production to the third world (Deleuze). John Smith in his book *Imperialism in the 21<sup>st</sup>*

*Century: The Globalization of Production, Super-Exploitation and the Crisis of Capitalism* would describe how the neocolonial system allows the major powers to exploit the Third World for cheap labor in the globalized system. For example, Bangladesh would be a popular choice to outsource production of readymade garments due to cheap costs that came from excessive exploitation of labor (J. Smith). In addition, the research paper “Imperialist appropriation in the world economy: Drain from the global South through unequal exchange, 1990–2015” depicts how the capitalist global system dooms third world countries to poverty through unequal exchange in addition to addressing how foreign aid actually offers no help as the imperialists would appropriate even more wealth for each dollar they send (Hickel et al.). But subtle methods are not always employed in the modern world as the use of direct military force is still noticeable. Journalist Naomi Klein in her book *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. The titular shock doctrine is the method the US had been using since the cold war to forcibly liberalize the economic structure of foreign countries. While it was first employed in Chile in 1973, it would later be used on Russia after the Soviet collapse along with its most infamous case that was after the 2003 US invasion of Iraq. Moreover, she had also cited how Israel profited from the conflict with Palestinians (Klein). War profiteering would also be visible in the article “Lessons from the Collapse of Afghanistan’s Security Forces” from Combating Terrorism Center at West Point. The dependency on contractors as well as forced sale of US made equipment that the Afghans could not maintain was one factor responsible for the defeat of the Ghani regime in the hands of the Taliban (Schroden). However, the concept of making profits from war is not entirely new as former US Marine Corps Major General Smedley D. Butler had pointed this out in the book adaptation of his speech *War is a Racket* during the 1930’s. Based on his own experiences in overseas deployment, he expresses how US military power was abused to secure profits for US elites.

In addition, some of the works also explore the role of mass media in manipulation of the mind. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* by Herman and Chomsky would present the concept of the propaganda model along with how the profit-oriented nature of US media makes them tools for manipulation by US elites (Herman and Chomsky). Michael Parenti would also share similar sentiment regarding the profit-oriented nature of media in *Inventing Reality: The Politics of the Mass Media*. Parenti would go on to further describe how the US media is more effective than the dystopian mechanisms depicted in Orwell's 1984 and maintains a false image of neutrality to cover up its true nature (Parenti, *Inventing Reality: The Politics of the Mass Media*). Furthermore, Edward Said has also commented on the power of US media in *Orientalism*, stating how it produces simplified cultural images of the Orient that makes the mass television audience accept Orientalist beliefs due to uncritical consumption (Said 325).

Moreover, another perspective in the use of power for domination can be acquired by observing theories from martial theories. Famed Prussian military theorist Clausewitz would aptly describe war as a means to an end in his magnum opus *On War*. And in more recent works of military theory, one can notice a change in paradigm towards a new form of warfare that differs from the traditional force application that is associated with the military. For instance, Katoch in his master's thesis *Fourth Generation War: Paradigm for Change* would elaborate the concept behind Fourth Generation Warfare where the lines between civilian and military are blurred and methods such as the use of media, culture along with the use of NGO's are all viable options (Katoch). A similar sentiment is shared by the two PLAAF Colonels in their work *Unrestricted Warfare: Two Air Force Senior Colonels on Scenarios for War and the Operational Art in an Era of Globalization*. They too would deem alternative methods to be more effective such as law, politics and economics (Qiao Liang and Xiangsui Wang). Meanwhile, former British Army General Rupert Smith would call this new form of

warfare as “war amongst the people” in his book *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*. He would attribute the rise of unconventional warfare used by guerrilla forces to the failure of powerful conventional military forces in numerous historical cases such as the French in Algeria or the US in Vietnam (R. Smith). General Smith’s idea of conventional forces struggling against guerrillas was not something unheard of as Mao Tse-Tsung had pointed out when he had described the poor performance of Imperial Japanese troops against Chinese guerrillas in his work *On Guerrilla Warfare*. That being said, the notion of using unconventional or extraordinary methods in war had been described in the past by Sun Tzu in *The Art of War*.

Lastly, the theories of German political philosopher and jurist Carl Schmitt regarding the nature of the political in *The Concept of the Political* offers some interesting insight regarding how the core of politics is a simple case of us vs them where the main function of the political is to identify and act accordingly against a designated enemy (Schmitt, *Concept of the Political*). Perhaps one of the most well-known examples of this concept in practice would be the theory of Orientalism by Edward Said which states how the West forged a narrative of an inferior Orient to rationalize domination. Said himself has claimed how Orientalism is fundamentally a political doctrine imposed over the Orient that associated the weakness of the Orient with its differences with the West (Said 204).

Hence, one can observe from the literature review how there is a growing trend towards the idea that the methods of domination and force application has been changing along with the prevalence of capitalism as a driving force.



**CONTROL, COLONIALISM AND CAPITALISM: PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE**

*The Relationship Between Colonialism and Capitalism.* In order to properly understand the nature of the postmodern neocolonial system and its capitalist driving principles, one is required to also observe the relationship between capitalism and colonialism in its historical form. This is due to the fact that Capitalism had a link with colonialism due to how the latter had always served as a means of pursuing the economic goals of the former. With the start of the age of exploration, the European powers set out to discover new trade routes as well as trading partners, leading them stumbling upon continents of America and Australia as well as coming into contact with other non-European cultures. And through the colonization of the Orient, the European powers ended acquired access to a vast number of resources as well as cheap labor, thus accelerating development and eventually leading to the industrial revolution. The immense generation of capital by 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Century colonialism was facilitated by a number of methods. One was the accumulation of precious metals like gold and silver through mining as well as plundering. Another method was plantation-based agriculture, especially in Brazil. Furthermore, productive and commercial enterprises in the colonial world also brought immense profits. This includes profits from services like production for local use in the colonial territories as well as imports and exports. Lastly, there was also slave trade and piracy. Blaut notes how most of these methods were typical capital accumulation rather than vaguely defined primitive accumulation that is supposed to predate capitalism. Value came mostly from production rather than trade while there was also surplus value coming from the wage labor involved in the process, often employing forced labor. Hence, one cannot deny the involvement of capitalism in colonial enterprise given the massive scale of production, exchange and capital accumulation that was involved with it (Blaut 280-281). Plantation colonialism is noteworthy due to how the cultivation of sugar, tobacco, cotton and other crops in overseas colonies brought immense profits. Not only that, slave trade was also

crucial to plantation colonialism as it provided cheap labor for plantations in places such as America and the Caribbean (Blaut 284-286).

Such an outcome was expected given how the accumulation of capital was the purpose of colonial enterprises from the very beginning. Regardless of whether or not elements of feudalism were present in legal and land granting systems, the governments also received their share of the profits accumulated by colonialism. Barring the clergy who were seeking to convert more Oriental heathens to their faith, the goal of all European individuals and interest groups was to make money. This colonial effort was spearheaded by a proto-capitalist class that not only consisted of merchants and industrialists but also shopkeepers, shipowners, landlords seeking profits and other who would benefit from the process of colonialism (Blaut 280-281). Hence, colonialism would facilitate the transition to capitalism through the empowerment of the class that would be later known as the bourgeoisie by the Marxists.

And as profits kept empowering the bourgeoisie, their power and influence kept growing as well. Joseph Conrad's novella *Heart of Darkness* captured this phenomenon quite well with how it depicted the character of Kurtz. Despite being a mere ivory trader with an ex-military background who works for a Belgian company, Kurtz commands great influence both in his workplace as well as his home. In his workplace in Africa, Kurtz manages to acquire a godlike status among the natives through the brutal efficiency of the means he employs to extract ivory. His success would make many others envious but despite acknowledging his brutality, his company would not take drastic measures to remove him from his post instantly as they cannot deny his usefulness to their colonial enterprise. Meanwhile at home, Kurtz is held in high regard by many for his success in his business, with some like his white mistress being unaware of his atrocities. After seeing his brutal methods at work first hand, Marlowe comments how "All Europe contributed to the making

of Kurtz.” (Conrad 81-82). Marlowe’s statement not only highlights the vile nature of European colonial exploitation in the Orient but also how Kurtz represents the mindset and practices that have become common among the colonial powers. The case of Kurtz and Marlowe’s commentary reflect the rising power of the European bourgeoisie that was facilitated by the rise of capitalism. It was backed by colonial enterprise that was on the rise since the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century. Colonialism had removed the constraints on capitalism and provided it with the resources needed to increase its scale and political power. It empowered the European bourgeoisie legally, politically and militarily to rip apart the very fabric of society for the pursuit of accumulation. Forced proletarianization on a massive scale had become feasible, as was government support for capitalist strategies which also includes intensive social investment in colonial expansion projects (Blaut 290-291). Some aspects of the process of forceful proletarianization after establishing colonial control is discussed by Kenyan author Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o in *Decolonizing the Mind*. In his work, Thiong'o mentions how the military aspect of colonization of Africa that was done through sword and bullet was followed up by the chalk and blackboard of the classroom under the colonial education system. He describes it as a form of psychological violence that is aimed at the soul. It conditions native schoolchildren to dislike their culture and language by punishing its use. Meanwhile, they are made to accept the language and cultures of the colonizers through rewards as positive reinforcement (Thiong'o 8-17). While such methods of weaponizing education for colonial purposes have a psychological and cultural aspect related to the assimilation of natives into the culture of the colonizer, it too possessed a materialist motive acting as a driving force. The colonial education would prepare the learners to be properly integrated into the workforce of the colonizer. Language had an emphasis not only due to its power to act as a carrier of culture and identity but also to ensure the colonized functioned properly in their intended role of cheap proletarian labor. They were taught the language of

their colonizers as it would allow them to understand the orders and instructions that they would receive from their colonial capitalist overlords and carry them out.

Hence, it is difficult to deny how the principles of capitalist wealth accumulation served as a driving force behind colonialism.

*Fascism: The Capitalist Response to Communism and Working-Class Mobility.* While the colonial practices of old imperialism served as a tool for achieving the goals of the bourgeoisie for centuries, they would soon find themselves threatened by the rise of Marxism and the working class becoming increasingly aware of their rights during the late 1800's. The Success of the Russian Revolution of 1917 that overthrew the Tsarist regime would be a cause of concern for the bourgeoisie. The success of the revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Union that followed Lenin's Marxist principles proved that it was possible for the working class to overthrow the ruling elite class that controlled the means of production. As such, there was a growing fear among the bourgeoisie class of losing their power due to a potential mass uprising of the proletariat. As a result, they opted to take some precautions that would end up creating what we know as fascism to preserve their interests.

While numerous definitions of fascism exist that typically describe it as an authoritarian Right-wing ultranationalist ideology that is driven by irrational xenophobia, such a view often ignores the capitalist aspects of fascism entirely. American academic Michael Parenti notes how a number of writers put emphasis on the irrational aspects of fascism and ignore the rational politico-economic functions it served such as class control through rational manipulation of irrational symbols and emotional appeals (Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds* 11). This is true as most popular depiction of fascism and especially Nazism is mostly focused on depicting them as evil incarnate that does evil for the sake of being evil. Atrocities such as the holocaust and other war crimes are highlighted but the

materialist objectives they served is largely ignored for the most part. To understand the true nature of fascism, one needs to simply look at how Mussolini and Hitler rose to power.

Before becoming the Italian fascist strongman, he was well known for, Benito Mussolini was a socialist before the First World War. While he served as the editor of the official newspaper of the Socialist party, his comrades suspected him of using the post to further his own personal goals rather than having any devotion to the socialist cause. Thus, it was hardly surprising that he switched sides without hesitation the moment the Italian elites tempted him with the promise of power, money and fame. And by the end of the First World War, Mussolini was no longer the man who organized strikes for the working class and instead broke said strikes as a fascist serving landowners and financiers. Using the money he received, he rose to power in the national scene as the leader of *i fasci di combattimento* that led ex-military blackshirts and others who believed in militaristic patriotism and harbored a conservative hatred towards socialism. These blackshirts would then go on to violently attack socialists, communists, trade unionists and farm cooperatives. And after securing political power, they would go on to impose austerity upon the proletariat to serve the interests of the capitalists as post World War 1 recession caused decrease in investment, exports and profits. While the working class had their unions, political organizations and other democratic rights taken away by the blackshirts, the capitalists received subsidies, tax exemptions and other forms of corporate welfare. And during this time, the working class saw tax increases as well drastic cuts to welfare expenditures and social services (Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds* 2-3). Furthermore, the rise of Hitler and Nazism in Germany also showed similar patterns of cooperation between capitalists and fascists. Just like their Italian brethren, the German working class had acquired rights such as the right to unionize, unemployment insurance and eight-hour workday. However, austerity would soon be employed to revive profits for the big industries. And just like the Italian blackshirts, the brown shirted Nazi *Sturmabteilung* or SA

were funded by businesses as a paramilitary force that served the purpose of violently terrorizing workers and farm laborers. And by the 1930's, most of the elites came to the conclusion that the Weimar Republic could no longer serve their interests effectively as they were more focused on the working class. As such, they started increasing their funding to Adolf Hitler and it would help the Nazi party rise to the national stage. An example that illustrates the amount of funding Hitler had received was how he had enough funds to fly to fifty cities in the last two weeks of the July 1932 campaign (Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds* 4-5). And once the Nazis rose to power, Hitler carried out measures similar to Mussolini such as brutal crackdown upon organized labor movement, eradication of elections, independent publications and opposition parties along with violent repression of political opponents. And just like Italy, communists were noteworthy targets of fascist violence (Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds* 8). What made such fascists so different compared to typical right-wing autocracies is the revolutionary aura they attempted to cultivate. Parenti notes how they attempted to steal the Left's thunder in various ways such as mass mobilization, rallies and parades. They would also promise great changes that would replace the old with the new that would revitalize the society. For this reason, many writers would view fascism and communism as ideological twins even though working class people in that era would easily be able to tell them apart. The same goes for industrialists and bankers who supported fascism out of fear and hatred of communism (Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds* 16-17).

The case of Hitler and Mussolini both illustrates how the function of fascism was to serve the materialist interests of the bourgeoisie. This cold and calculated materialist nature of fascism also extends to the Holocaust and the German use of concentration camps. While one might believe that they merely served the purpose of utilizing Jews and others deemed as undesirables by the Nazis as scapegoats, there was also an industrial motive behind the cruel process that saw the organized slaughter of millions. Aside from the political implications,

the concentration camps served to provide cheap and exploitable labor for various German industries. German historian Mark Buggeln in his book *Slave Labor in Nazi Concentration Camps* provides extensive details regarding various aspects of the Neuengamme concentration camp and its subcamps. He highlights how materialist motivations acted as a driving force behind the use of concentration camps that had come into existence following the Reichstag Fire Decree in 28<sup>th</sup> February, 1933. Aside from using forced labor as a form of punishment, they were also used for wealth accumulation by Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and the infamous Schutzstaffel or SS. Himmler wanted to establish an empire of his own within Germany and his acquisition of the industrial site at Dachau as well as construction of workshops there would lay the foundations of his SS empire. The forced labor was used in Dachau was to help reinforce the SS as a major economic and political player. Himmler would later collaborate with Albert Speer who had become the head of the General Construction Inspectorate for the Reich Capital on January 30, 1937. The two would come to an agreement where Himmler would provide Speer with inmate labor for the production of granite and bricks, which Speer could not acquire due to German emphasis on military buildup at that time. And this cooperation ensured that all criticism of the concentration camps were silenced by Himmler and Eicke along with the SS having control over the camp labor force. To act as official proprietors, German Earth and Stone Works or DESr as per its German abbreviation would be formed by in 1938 by two SS Sturmbannführers Arthur Ahrens and Dr. Walter Salpeter. In reality it was under the de facto control of Himmler and his chief administrator Oswald Pohl. Not long after its founding, DESr would sign a contract with the General Construction Inspectorate to supply Speer with 120 million bricks each year for ten years and the SS would receive RM 9.5 million as advance payment. The SS would also create numerous other concentration camps in various locations close to important industrial structures. For example, the Sachsenhausen concentration camp just two kilometers

from the Oranienburg brickyard which was the largest in the world at that time. Meanwhile Neuengamme concentration camp would be established in the Neuengamme district of Hamburg where DESr acquired a new brickyard in August 1938. The harsh inmate labor at these quarries and brickyards would fuel the growth of SS business enterprises (Buggeln 13-14). Moreover, the concentration camps would also provide cheap labor to numerous German corporations such as Volkswagen, Krupp, Thyssen, Rheinmetall-Borsig and Daimler-Benz to name a few. A number of subcamps of Neuengamme were used by such companies for this purpose. For example, one subcamp at Bremen-Blumenthal that had 929 prisoners would be contracted by Krupp-Konzern and others to do shipyard works. Meanwhile, Volkswagen would use men and women from a subcamp in Fallersleben for construction work and armaments production respectively. Another subcamp at Hanover-Mühlenberg that had 500 prisoners would be contracted by Hanomag and Rheinmetall-Borsig for manufacturing anti-aircraft shells (Buggeln 292-295). And these are just a handful of examples with many more companies utilizing forced labor from Neuengamme concentration camp network that had over 85 subcamps. Furthermore, many other concentration camps existed such as the infamous Auschwitz, Dachau and Buchenwald to name a few.

While the materialist motivations behind the use of concentration camps as a source of cheap labor is obvious by this point, the Holocaust appears as a different matter entirely. The use of gas chambers and other methods for the organized murder of Jews and others deemed as undesirables seems more ideological and irrational rather than materialist. However, according to the official website of Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, Jews who were deemed unfit for labor due to age or physical conditions would be immediately exterminated upon their arrival at the camps without even being registered (Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum). One can understand the materialist principles at work behind such organized slaughter as those who cannot be utilized as labor bring additional costs for the



camps when kept alive. After all, these prisoners would occupy the finite space of the camp along with requiring food and clothing to be kept alive while being unusable as labor. Hence, extermination was a logically sound option to remove such costs from the concentration camps that were built for the purpose of wealth accumulation through forced labor. Moreover, the Nazi way of exterminating those deemed unsuitable for use as labor bears striking similarities with the process of male chick culling that is used by modern day industrialized egg production. These farms employ specialized breeds that are optimized for egg production and produce relatively less meat while reaching slaughter age much slower compared to breeds used in the meat industry. As a result, they are deemed as undesirable bi-products and are killed to reduce costs. Culling is typically carried out through the use of gas chambers utilizing carbon dioxide or by maceration where these chicks are dumped into high-speed grinders to be shredded. In the European Union alone, around 330 million chicks that are a day old are killed each year in hatcheries (Vinci). Despite the differences, the principle of reducing excess costs to maximize profits from production is present clearly visible in the mass slaughter carried out by Nazi extermination camps of the past and modern-day industrialized egg production.

While the Allied victory in the Second World War put an end to the fascist regimes of Hitler and Mussolini, fascism still managed to survive. While many Nazis and some industrialists like Alfred Krupp were put on trial in Nuremberg, there were a number of Nazis and other war criminals of the Axis powers who were given shelter in the West. Some scientists and other skilled people deemed useful by the West were secretly taken in by Operation Paperclip. One such person was German rocket scientist Wernher von Braun who would go on to serve in NASA and designed the Saturn V launch vehicle that would facilitate the Apollo 11 moon landing. Moreover, many former fascists would also be employed by the West in Germany and Italy during the Cold War. In Italy, the Marxist partisans who had

fought fascism would be soon viewed as unpatriotic suspects with hundreds being jailed. At the same time, all Italian fascists were released within a year of the conclusion of the Second World War. Furthermore, many who had served the Nazis or were ideological recruits would be employed in the police, courts, military and bureaucracy under the protection of U.S. occupation authorities. Moreover, many fascists fleeing from Soviet controlled territories like East Germany would be given shelter by the West. The Soviets had carried out a harsh crackdown upon Nazi collaborators with communists in East Germany, removing eighty percent of them from various positions as well as imprisonment and execution of numerous war criminals (Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds* 18-19). Thus, the specter of fascism managed to survive even after the war ended their regimes.

The study of fascism and the holocaust highlights the lengths the bourgeoisie can go in their seemingly mechanical pursuit of wealth accumulation. It reaches a point where millions are killed in an organized and industrial manner as a part of the process to pursue materialist goals.

*Globalization: The New Frontier of Colonial Accumulation.* After the end of the Second World War, the world would greatly change. There would be a decline of colonial empires with many of their colonies becoming independent along with the rise of a globalized world system that exists even to this day. What still remained the same was the dominance of capitalism and the power they wielded that was exercised in more different forms that suited the new world. According to French Philosopher Gilles Deleuze, the Foucauldian disciplinary societies of monitoring and judgement were giving away to newer societies of control. Deleuze describes societies of control to be free floating and dynamic in its structure compared to the rigid and enclosed nature of disciplinary societies (Deleuze 4). Furthermore, he also mentions the active role of corporations and how they contribute to the progressive

and dispersed installation of a new system of domination. In fact, the rise of corporations is noticeable in the fact that they have largely replaced the factories where production was centralized since the industrial revolution. Institutions like the family, the school, the factory etc. do not converge towards a single centralized owner like the state or specific private figures but rather towards coded figures in a corporation with only stockholders that are deformable and transformable (Deleuze 6-7). Deleuze's statements perfectly describe the power private corporations can wield in the modern world and all spheres of life, be it the dominance of social media networks in personal life such as Meta's Facebook, widespread adoption Israeli NSO group's Pegasus spyware by numerous states and organizations or widespread popularity consumer items of specific brands such as Coca Cola to name a few. There are hardly any sectors left that are outside the reach of corporations and with it the bourgeoisie are able to spread their influence on scale never seen before. While the old colonial system being long gone, the capitalists now had more insidious methods at their disposal.

And with globalization, the scale of neocolonialism can extend well beyond the empires and their colonies to encompass the entire world. There was a decline of capitalism in the 1970's due to overproduction, decreasing profits along with class struggles in the West and anti-colonial revolutions in the Orient. But capitalism managed to bounce back by using advances in ICT and transportation technology to extract surplus value by outsourcing their work to poorly paid workers in the Third World (J. Smith 314-315). This is a common practice among modern international corporations who relegate production to the third world (Deleuze 6). Such practices benefit both the Western corporations that get access to cheap labor while the local bourgeoisie that own factories in the third world now find a new market overseas to acquire profit. But it comes at the expense of the labor force that is severely exploited to maximize profits. For example, in Bangladesh, a popular choice for outsourcing

the production of readymade garments, factory wages are the lowest of any major exporter even after a staggering 77 percent pay increase in November 2015. And this excludes poor working conditions, violent crackdown of unions as well as locking workers in factories, which lead to disastrous incidents like the Rana Plaza collapse where over a thousand workers had perished (J. Smith 9-10). The case of Bangladesh highlights how capitalism enables surplus value extraction without the need of direct colonial expansion. Such practices have led to the creation of the dependency theory where resources from poorer third world nations held enrich the more developed first world through the global market system As Western imperialist countries develop, they become increasingly dependent on the exploitation of labor in places like Bangladesh, Vietnam and Mexico (J. Smith 314). In addition, Edward Said also commented on the relationship between capitalism and Orientalism that contributes to neocolonial proletarianization while discussing the role of the US in Orientalism. Due to the Western market economy and its consumer-oriented nature, it facilitates the creation of a class of educated people whose intellectual development is focused around meeting the market needs. Dominant orientalist beliefs paint them as modernizers but in reality, their role as intelligentsia is secondary to serving market needs while promoting Western orientalist ideas related to modernization, progress and culture that it receives from the United States. Unsurprisingly, one can observe a heavy emphasis on engineering, business and economics from the said class (Said 325). This is something I have witnessed firsthand in Bangladeshi middle-class culture where anyone pursuing a career path other than an engineer or a doctor tend to be looked down upon for the most part and in recent years, business has become more popular.

Furthermore, the Western capitalists also take drastic measures to forcefully integrate Third World nations into the capitalist global system. One method employed is the economic shock therapy where policies are employed to quickly liberalize the economy of a country

into one that enables privatization and free trade. The policies of Boris Yeltsin in Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union are a good example where state-controlled economy was liberalized, causing the rise of oligarchs that acquired power and wealth through privatization. Journalist Naomi Klein also reported the employment of shock therapy in Iraq right after its invasion by the West in 2003. While the people were busy with the emergencies caused by war, Western-backed economic policies auctioned off their resources to the West through privatization as a part of a new economic model to spread Western influence in the Middle Eastern markets (Klein 326-328). In this way, the global capitalist system enables the siphoning of wealth from other nations without the need of colonization. And in 2022, one can observe how the West responded to the Russian invasion of Ukraine by seizing the assets of oligarchs to weaken Russia economically, something that would have been impossible for the less liberal Soviet economic system. The case of Russia illustrates how the capitalist redistribution of wealth also makes nations vulnerable by creating an opportunity for Western powers to take away wealth without the use of direct military power.

But perhaps the most infamous example of Neocolonialism would be the Zionist state of Israel and its domination of Palestine that sees widespread Western support under the narrative of Israel being “the only democracy in the Middle East.” This contradicts facts such as Israel’s discriminatory attitude towards non-Jews such as only Jews allowed in specific settlements or excluding displaced Palestinians from returning while allowing any Jew to become citizens (Pappe 112-121). Moreover, Klein had also commented on how Israel’s economy is designed to benefit from endless conflicts as Israeli companies can test and develop security and monitoring system to sell in the global market after 9/11. This is reflected in Israeli foreign minister Sholmo Ben-Ami’s view of peace with Palestine being a neocolonial one based on “a situation of dependence, of a structured lack of equality between the two entities.” (Klein 444-454). Israel not only highlights the use of Orientalism to justify

atrocities through depicting Israel to possess “superior” Western values like democracy that in only possesses at face value, but also the rampant corporate pursuit of profits through neocolonialism and other means even at the expense of lasting peace.

While the colonies becoming independent freed them from their former colonial rulers on paper, Western imperialist appropriation still managed to maintain its momentum in the globalized world to maintain their wealth at the expense of what they have come to terms as the Third World. This is because of how countries that become wealthy during the colonial era make use of their economic dominance to reduce the cost of labor and resources from the economic South to what is below the global average level. The geopolitical imbalance of power that favors these countries is quite obvious when one observes how they maintain a monopoly over various international institutions of economic governance. For instance, the economic North holds majority of the votes in the World Bank and International Monetary Fund or IMF, with the US in particular holding the right to veto. This allows the countries of the economic North to greatly influence key economic policy decisions of the global economy. Moreover, the bargaining power of nations in the World Trade Organization is determined by market size. As such, higher income nations can set trade rules designed to serve their own interests (Hickel et al. 9). According to the research done by Hickel et al., there is a great disparity in the trade flows between the advanced economies of the global North and the global South that consists of the rest of the world. The research analyzes the flow of resources between the countries which is divided into four categories: materials measured in raw material equivalent, land measured in million hectares, energy measured in Exajoules and labor for production of goods which is measured in million person-year equivalents. The research shows the disadvantageous position of the global South. For every unit of raw material equivalent imported by the global South from the Northern nations, they have to export five units as payment on average. The average ratio for land is 5:1 while it is

3:1 for energy. Meanwhile, labor shows the highest disparity at a ratio of 13:1 (See Appendix A). This net appropriation through unequal exchange adversely affects the global South as they have to spend these resources to meet the demands of the global North rather than using it to fulfil their own human needs and develop their own self-sufficient industries. Not only that, net appropriation and excess consumption in the economic North has also created negative ecological consequences that adversely affect the South more than the North. In 2015 alone, the North had consumed 26.71 tons of materials per capita that was around 4 times greater than the sustainable threshold of 6.80 tons per capita. While the economic North is responsible for 92% of Carbon-Dioxide emissions, the economic South has to endure its consequences through great social and economic costs. These countries have to pay 82-92% of the costs of climate change along with having 98-99% of the deaths associated with it. The results clearly indicate how the global North relies on patterns of net appropriation from the South in order to support its high and unsustainable levels of resource consumption. In this way, the developed economies of the global North are benefited at the expense of the global South who are negatively affected (Hickel et al. 3-5). In addition, overseas development aid that is provided to poorer countries by richer ones give the impression that the latter is providing benevolent monetary support. However, the research done by Hickel et al. tells a different story. From 1990 to 2015, for every dollar of aid a country from the global North would provide, they appropriated resources worth 80 dollars through unequal exchange. And from the perspectives of the aid recipients, they lose 30 dollars' worth of resources through drain for each dollar they had received (See Appendix B). The empirical evidence surrounding unequal exchange highlights how poor countries stay poor due to their exploitation in the hands of the global economic system. It contradicts the dominant narrative that the condition of poor countries is due to their own fault rather than external factors (Hickel et al. 8).

The above study illustrates how capitalist principles of wealth accumulation still remains a dominant driving force for the bourgeoisie with its methods drastically changed to suit the modern world in order to efficiently achieve the same goal that had remained unchanged for centuries.



## **MILITARY THEORIES: WAR AND THE EVOLUTION OF FORCE APPLICATION**

One of the oldest methods of achieving desirable objectives through the application of force has always been the military. And with the evolution of the nature of the means of imposing one's will over another, it is hardly surprising to observe theories and practices within military forces reflecting that. The relation between war and control has been aptly defined by Prussian military theorist Carl Von Clausewitz in his magnum opus *On War*. According to Clausewitz, war is an act of force for the purpose of imposing one's will upon the enemy or to counter opposing force by using the inventions of art and science (Clausewitz 75). Furthermore, he also stated that social conditions of states and their relations with each other can result in war between civilized nations to be less cruel and destructive compared to war between savages (Clausewitz 76).

While the devastation caused by the two world wars as well as the various military interventions of the major superpowers contradict his statement about wars between civilized nations being less violent, I still find it being relevant in the modern world to understand the concept of Fourth-generation warfare. Compared to the mass use of manpower, industrial wars of attrition and fast maneuver warfare that make up the first, second and third generation of warfare respectively, fourth-generation warfare differs greatly in the sense that it can defy how an ordinary person views warfare as violent conflict between armed forces. Katoch in his master's thesis describes fourth generation warfare as the antithesis of the traditional concept of war. The distinction between war and peace as well as the lines between what separates civilian and military disappears with the nature of war becoming extremely non-linear with no definable battlefield compared to previous generations of warfare (See Appendix C). Instead of traditional conflict arising between military forces of nation states, transnational and non-state organizations can also carry out such wars such as insurgent groups and private military corporations. Any space occupied by the participants can see

action, including the society they live in. And in this new form of war, a combination of political, social, economic and military methods may be employed to defeat the enemy. Due to its non-linear nature, population support for war and enemy culture can also become targets of war (Katoch 17-21). Katoch also notes how the media plays an important role in fourth-generation warfare as it can be used to undermine the will of the opponent by targeting both enemy populations or decision makers. As globalization allows for the media to have a wide reach, he considers media management to be as important as terrorism in fourth-generation warfare. Moreover, Non-Governmental Organizations can also become important with Private Military Enterprises seeing increasing use in fourth-generation warfare (Katoch 27). Former general Rupert Smith of the British army also shares a similar sentiment regarding the evolution of warfare as he described in his treatise *The Utility of Force*. He presents a new paradigm of warfare that he terms as war amongst the people and holds it responsible for defeats of major powers like France during the Algerian revolution, the United States in the Vietnam war as well as the Soviets in their war in Afghanistan. General Smith's descriptions of the paradigms of this form of warfare echo characteristics of fourth-generation warfare such as the fight being among the people than the traditional battlefield or non-state parties being participants. He further mentions how difficulties are arising among Western soldiers fighting this new form of war in Iraq and Afghanistan at the time of writing due to being equipped and trained for traditional conflicts between armed forces (R. Smith). But the acknowledgement of this new form of war is not just limited to the West. One can observe similar discussions in Mao Tse-Tsung's book, *On Guerrilla Warfare* that was published in 1937. Mao discusses how winning the hearts and mind of the local population is an important factor and cites the failure of Japanese occupational forces in China in doing so as a factor that could allow a Chinese victory (Zedong). Moreover, Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui, two colonels from the People's Liberation Army of China, described the changing

nature of warfare in their book *Unrestricted Warfare: Two Air Force Senior Colonels on Scenarios for War and the Operational Art in an Era of Globalization*. They too pointed towards alternative means of warfare such as the use of law, economics, technology and terrorism along with technology being an important factor. Furthermore, they also criticized the US military at that time to be vulnerable from attacks coming from economic and legal methods (Liang & Wang). While the concept of fourth generation warfare has become more prevalent after the second world war and especially in the post 9/11 world due to conventional armies increasingly facing revolutionary guerrillas and insurgents, the idea of waging war through rather unconventional means had existed for centuries. For example, the famed Chinese general Sun Tzu had stated in *The Art of War* how the normal use of force can be used to engage the enemy in battle while the extraordinary is used to win. He also adds how those skilled in the use of extraordinary force can have access to resources that are “infinite as the heavens and earth; as inexhaustible as the flow of the great rivers.” (Sun Tzu and Griffith 91).

Despite how general Smith and the two PLA colonels had echoed similar sentiment regarding conventional armies not being prepared for such warfare with the example of the United States, my view of the matter differs somewhat due to what Michael Parenti and Noam Chomsky highlighted regarding the US media whose characteristics and role falls within the definition and scope of fourth-generation warfare. Moreover, the increasing use of private non-state entities like NGO's and PMCs as a part of warfare highlight the increasing power of corporations that Deleuze was referring to. Such changes can further turn wars into a medium of wealth accumulation to the point that victory might not even be necessary in certain cases. For example, one of the reasons that contributed to the fall of the Ghani regime in Afghanistan to the Taliban is how the Afghan military had become overly dependent on the US. Despite the Afghan forces being able to properly maintain their fleet of Mi-17

helicopters of Russian origin. However, the US pressured Afghanistan to scrap their Mi-17 fleet and buy American UH60 Black Hawk helicopters from them. This not only required the retraining of numerous pilots and maintenance crews due to being unfamiliar with the new equipment but also forced the Afghans to become dependent on US contractors for maintaining the helicopters. Inevitably, the Afghans could not keep their fleet of Black Hawk helicopters operational once the US contractors pulled out of the country (Schroden). While Afghanistan can be considered a military defeat for the US and its allies, the profit opportunity the conflict had provided cannot be ignored. Not only did the US manage to sell their military equipment to the loyalist Afghan regime but also created opportunities for private military contractors to earn money through contractual deployments. The prospect of accumulating wealth through war is something that has existed for a long time. In fact, United States marine corps Major General and a veteran of multiple wars Smedley D. Butler had criticized the imperialist profit driven motivations of American warfare during the early 1930's. He expressed how the conflicts that he had participated in such as that in Mexico, Haiti, Cuba and China were all to satisfy the capitalist greed of US elites that he had compared to a racket (Butler 10). In his book *War is a Racket*, he pointed out how a small group in the United States had greatly profited from the First World war which resulted in the rise of at least 21000 millionaires and billionaires (Butler 23). Butler also highlights the sheer number of profits made by steel companies, shoemakers, airplane and engine manufacturers along with many others. For example, steel companies in the US earned 6 million US dollars yearly on average between 1910 to 1914. But when the company Bethlehem Steel began production of munitions for the US military during the war, they averaged 49 million US dollars on average every year between 1914 to 1918 (Butler 28-31). The accounts of Major General Butler highlights how wars provide opportunities for capitalist wealth accumulation. And in the modern battlefield with the advent of 4<sup>th</sup> generation warfare and the increasing use

of contractors and NGO's, there is even more incentives for some to seek out profits in wars and conflicts. Swed and Burland in their research paper that studied trends with private military corporations on behalf of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights provides a number of details regarding the growth of private military corporations. The paper highlights how there have been a steady increase in the number of private military and security companies or PMSC's since the end of the cold war as private entrepreneurs acquired the opportunity to offer their security expertise more widely with the success of those like Executive Outcomes in Africa along with others encouraging further privatization of warfare. And this increased further with the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq (See Appendix D). These two conflicts in particular created opportunities for private contractors due to how the United States and its allies were quite reliant on them. The paper mentions how the number of contractors employed by the US in these conflicts was often equal to or had exceeded the number of regular troops. While a general decline can be noticed with the conclusion of the Iraq war, PMSC's have nonetheless proliferated across the globe (Swed and Burland). The paper demonstrates how the market for private military contractors increases with conflicts that provides them opportunities to sell their services.

As such, I believe that the new methods this new form of warfare brings to the table and its wide scope offers newer and more effective ways of subjugating the masses without the overt application of brute force. Let us not forget that fourth-generation warfare was born out of the need to combat revolutionaries and insurgents employing guerrilla tactics against a better equipped conventional force that is often exercising power on behalf of oppressive regimes. And when combined with the prospect of war profiteering and increasing use of private entities like contractors, it is truly a matter of great concern as many aspects of fourth generation warfare are not deemed illegal by the Geneva Convention or other international laws.

## **PATTERNS IN FICTION: POPULAR VIEWS ON CONTROL AND POWER**

*Orwell, Ayn Rand, Heinlein and the State as the Ultimate Evil.* The genre of dystopian fiction is perhaps more synonymous with control and domination than any other genre of fiction. A wide variety of works in the genre often explore how novel forms of domination can bring about untold levels of subjugation of human beings. And no discussion of domination in dystopian fiction would be complete without the mention of Orwell's *1984*. Arguably the poster child of the genre, it tells the tale of Outer Party member Winston Smith and the brutal totalitarian superstate of Oceania that he resides in. What makes *1984* so widely known is the techniques and concepts related to control that is depicted in the novel with Oceania maintaining control of its citizens through a wide variety of ways. The sophisticated telescreens are present in every household and can not only ensure a steady supply of party propaganda to its citizens but also act as monitoring devices that only those from the Inner Party are allowed to deactivate. Meanwhile, any ideas or beliefs that do not align with the party's dominant Ingsoc or English Socialist ideology are branded as thoughtcrime with those accused being detained and brutally punished by the thought police. But perhaps the most thought-provoking concept would be doublethink or how the citizens of Oceania can be molded to accept contradictory ideas without any form of cognitive dissonance or internal conflict. Other methods are also present in the novel. A form of modified English language called newspeak is promoted by Oceania to make it impossible to convey or express any ideas at odds with the ruling ideology. Moreover, falsification of historical records is also carried out by the ministry of truth that serves as the propaganda ministry. In addition, the people are divided into three social classes. The Inner Party are the elite rulers while the Outer Party makes up the skilled manpower employed to handle administrative affairs. Meanwhile the proletariat or proles that make up the majority of the citizens serves as the low skill workforce for carrying out menial labour (Orwell *1984*). The cunning mechanisms of

totalitarian domination tied with the grim and pessimistic tone of the novel is what makes it one of the most influential and widely known works of the genre. It is regarded as a cautionary tale of how oppressive totalitarian domination can be. Hence, it is not surprising to see *1984* being highly influential in public and political discourse. It gave birth to the term Orwellian, an adjective that describes policies and conditions akin to dystopian themes and concepts depicted in *1984*.

While the novel has some notable merits that are praiseworthy, there are some aspects I find questionable and problematic with regards to the focus of my thesis topic. Marxist reading of *1984* and other works of Orwell would not only require analysis of the content of the text from a Marxist perspective but also the author himself along with his personal and social background. And in case of the latter, Orwell's anticommunist past is something that should be taken into account. Orwell during the Cold War had collaborated with the Information Research Development or IRD, which was an anticommunist propaganda office serving the British Foreign Office. Ironically, the IRD's employment of political language was exactly what Orwell had expressed concerns about in his essay "Politics and the English language" where he had pointed out how political language can be used as a deceptive form of control (Deery 219-223). During his involvement with the IRD, Orwell would compile a list of 38 individuals for the propaganda office to target as a part of its anticommunist agenda. The names on the list not only included communist writers and journalists but also Jews, homosexuals and those who protested against the mistreatment of black people (Day). Furthermore, Orwell's works also have noticeable anticommunist influence. For instance, *Animal Farm* would be a favorite of the CIA who would launch millions of ten-foot balloons containing copies of it over communist Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia between 1952 to 1957 as a part of an operation codenamed aedinosaur. Not only that, the animated movie adaptation of *Animal Farm* would be entirely funded by the CIA (Day). It should be noted

that Orwell's opposition to the Soviet Union predates the Cold War. During the Spanish Civil War, he had witnessed how Stalinists and NKVD agents brutally suppressed libertarian socialists and attempted to falsify history, which Orwell claimed to oppose as he favored pursuing socialism through more democratic means. While this makes his opposition to the Soviet Union understandable, Deery notes that Orwell nonetheless became a servant of the political forces that he had opposed in his life due to his involvement with the IRD (Deery 224) As such, the contents of his works require more scrutiny. Given his past, it is unsurprising that Jones Manoel would criticize the depiction of the animals representing the working class in *Animal Farm* as dumb, illiterate and unable to self-govern. According to him, Orwell deliberately promotes a form of elite theory in this way where a section of elite should rule due to the people lacking the capability to rule themselves (Day). This would also be similar to how the proles are depicted in *1984*. Despite making up over eighty percent of the population, the proles or working class of Oceania are the least monitored and regulated by the dystopian state apparatus as they are kept in a sedated condition by a steady supply of alcohol, gambling and pornography. Due to their nature, very few proles would actually harbor any thoughts of resistance with the very few that do being quickly dealt by the thought police (Orwell 1984). Such depiction of the working class raises further questions regarding the protagonist Winston Smith. By function, he falls under the definition of the working class as he is employed by the ministry of truth to dispose of historical records as directed by his superiors and is not of the ruling elite. But *1984* makes it clear to the readers that Winston is different from the Proles. Not only is this reflected by how his official position is that of the outer party that handles administrative affairs but Winston is also able to understand the dystopian nature of his society and attempted to resist. This is something the proles are shown to be incapable of. Orwell seemingly justifies this view even further with how the novel depicts those from the outer party being more oppressed than the proles with more



surveillance as well as stricter regulations such as not allowed to have sex except strictly for procreative reasons. It presents the argument that it is the outer party who are more likely to start a rebellion rather than the proles despite their majority population. Such depictions seem illogical due to the fact that it would be more logical and efficient to sedate the more threatening outer party than to employ openly oppressive methods, especially considering how methods of control have become more and more subtle. It also reinforces the idea that Orwell had indeed looked down upon the working class as illiterate rabble incapable of freeing themselves along with the notion of his support for elite theory or that only certain elites are capable of mounting any form of organized resistance and self-determination movement. It was this depiction of people under oppression in *1984* that the science fiction author Isaac Asimov would criticize. Asimov would note how Orwell's cynical depiction of people under tyranny is ignorant of human virtues and how numerous brave people have resisted tyranny till death. Furthermore, he would also highlight the depiction of women in *1984* as stereotypical and misogynistic due to how the novel depicts the promiscuous Julia and a prole washerwoman as the only two notable women of significance (Day). The argument regarding Orwell ignoring the bravery of people in the past do hold merit given the history of numerous rebellions all over the world, whether it is the slave rebellion of Spartacus against Rome, Wat Tyler's Rebellion in England in 1381 or the successful Haitian Revolution in Saint-Domingue against the French colonial rule. Furthermore, Karl Marx would also see potential in the working class in his time due to its level of organization and consciousness. Compared to the those of the past, the current working class centered around areas could not only revolt like the peasants of old but also had the capability to create an egalitarian and non-exploitative social order to replace the existing system. Marx saw the emergence of a new working-class system in the clubs, political organizations and

newspapers of a British working class that was rapidly growing (Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds* 127).

But my real issue with *1984* lies in how it depicts the nature of the elites that control the dystopian superstate of Oceania. Orwell's anticommunist ideals resonate once more in the novel as the ideology of the ruling party is described as Ingsoc or English socialism. Aside from that, the structure of the government seems to be that of a typical nation-state with the elites of the inner party being similar to high-ranked politicians of a sole ruling party. While most details regarding the inner party and many aspects of the world of *1984* is enigmatic due to Winston serving as an unreliable narrator, a number of interesting details regarding Oceania's elite ruling class and its beliefs are revealed when Winston is interrogated by O'Brien. The inner party member expresses how the purpose of revolution has always been to establish a dictatorship. According to him, the true purpose of the totalitarian system was the pursuit of pure power for its own sake rather than to achieve certain goals like wealth or luxury. Power is the end rather than the means. He also adds how the German Nazis and Russian Communists came close to Oceania in their methods but lacked the courage to recognize their own motives due to believing in the possibility that they can use their powers to create a utopia of equality. Moreover, O'Brien also remarks how the proletarians are incapable of rebellion of any form and expresses how reality can be manipulated since it exists within the mind (Orwell *1984*). Aside from exploring some philosophical ideas related to totalitarianism and control, there are certain things that I want to focus on. Firstly, the view that Orwell was an anticommunist with a cynical view towards proletariat revolution is quite obvious. The statement about German Nazis and Russian Communists being similar is reminiscent of Western narratives that paints them as similar despite obvious differences and historical enmity. Furthermore, the idea of Oceania's elites pursuing power as an end is also something I find problematic. While it is likely that Orwell was trying to highlight the

obsession with power through the statement of O'Brien, it contradicts how power has always been a tool to serve specific goals. As we have observed earlier, the concentration camps were utilized as a means of wealth accumulation by acting as a provider of cheap labor. Because of this, I find the depiction of Oceania's elites to be quite unrealistic and almost akin to antagonists in children's cartoons who are evil merely for the sake of being evil, akin to how the inner party pursues power merely for the sake of power. But more importantly, I have the impression that the lasting popularity and impact of *1984* has greatly shaped the belief of ordinary people regarding what an oppressive totalitarian regime and its methods of control can be. Granted, I still believe that *1984* still has merits in some of its concepts despite the issues I had pointed out earlier. Yet, I cannot help but notice how the popular perception of totalitarian or oppressive regimes is that of one where the government led by a dictator or politicians that employ methods of mass surveillance along with open use of force. I find this problematic because it seems to reinforce the capitalist notion that less government involvement is ideal.

To understand my issue with how capitalist methods of control are less represented compared to popular view of politician-ruled state, the next work of fiction for analysis would be Ayn Rand's controversial yet highly influential novel *Atlas Shrugged* which promotes the capitalist idea of limited governance as a part of her philosophy that she calls objectivism. The author had claimed how the essence of her philosophy is the concept of man being a heroic being driven by reason whose moral purpose in life is the pursuit of his own happiness along with productive achievement being his noblest activity (Rand). In the novel, a long speech delivered by the enigmatic John Galt at one point serves the purpose of presenting objectivism to the readers as Rand herself had claimed how it was the shortest summary of her philosophy (Kelley). To analyze Rand's philosophy in *Atlas Shrugged*, I will analyze the content of John Galt's speech in a standalone manner before further context from

the novel's plot is added to properly understand from the perspective of both principle and practice. While observing the speech of John Galt, one can observe some ideas in favor of liberty and justice that is not far from what Marxists pursue. The speech advocated against the use of force to oppress, describing it as an irrational act and how forcing one's will upon another is a defiance of reality for taking away one's ability to act in his own rational interest. A dictator is described as a mystic who makes others submit to his will by making them surrender their consciousness to his beliefs as his consciousness is also surrendered to them. It also expressed how property rights are laws of causality as it is man's mind and labor that produces property and other wealth. Because of this, Galt argued how one cannot acquire products created by one's mind by trade or volitional consent without it being on the terms of the owner that created it. The speech also opposed physical violence, claiming how physical force through the use of muscles and numbers cannot become a substitute for reality, truth and justice (Rand). The concept of control through influencing one's consciousness is quite similar to the method of manipulating reality described by O'Brien in 1984 and is reminiscent of ideology in practice.

However, despite how John Galt's speech seemingly promotes such positive elements, there are also parts that I found problematic and contradictory with the positive ideas. The objective part of objectivism comes from what Ayn Rand believed to be the objective truth in reality that is constant and unchangeable. In John Galt's speech, this is represented by statements such as "A is an A" or how "existence exists" and nothing can alter or take precedence over this truth. It presented a black and white view of reality with the claim of how there are only two sides like good and evil or right and wrong. And as objectivism advocates for the one to pursue materialist goals for their own sake, it is hardly surprising that the speech of John Galt presented greed as a part human nature. It shunned traditional and religious views on morality due to negative views on greed and called the concept of the

Original Sin as a “monstrous absurdity.” Galt argues that the Original Sin deems man as evil since birth for simply following his nature that includes selfishness and greed. And those who do not believe in the objectivist notion of greed being a part of human nature are mocked repeatedly in the speech, repeatedly being called savages who seek to escape from pain and punishment compared to the men of the mind who accept objectivism and pursue happiness and reward. The speech also asserts the superiority of the men of the mind by a number of comparisons such as that between a Hindu working hard on the shafts of a hand plow for rice and an American using a tractor or that between the “germ eaten hovels on the shorelines of the Ganges” and the Atlantic skyline of New York. Not only that, the speech also attributed all achievements in society to the men of the mind and claimed how the ones opposing them were living off of what the former had created. In addition, Galt also claimed how the objective of a government was to “protect man’s rights from acts of physical violence” and how the will of the majority employing violence is a brutish notion (Rand). And when looked at through the context of the novel’s plot, the implications of objectivism become even more clear. The speech given by John Galt was to announce a bourgeoisie revolution against the state that believed in collectivist ideas not different much different from Marxism. The novel paints the government as an irrational and incompetent system that fails simply due to caring about the welfare of the greater population, which resulted in bourgeoisie who wanted to pursue their own happiness began disappearing one by one due to the plan of Galt who wanted the government to collapse. The proletariat are vilified as a vile and savage collective that is described as looters (Rand). This is where the contradictions of objectivism start to become apparent with how *Atlas Shrugged* claims to give value to physical and mental labor but only give credit to the bourgeoisie while ignoring the proletariat. In fact, the tone of Galt’s speech makes it quite apparent that Rand too believes in elite theory with the proletariat being considered unable to rule compared to the apparently superior men of the

mind or bourgeoisie. In addition, the way the speech had shunned violence appeared hypocritical considering how methods other than traditional definitions of violence can achieve the exact same goals, as highlighted earlier with the examples of neocolonialism and fourth generation warfare. This when tied with shunning of the collective will of the majority makes it appear as if Ayn Rand had wanted to vilify revolutionary violence while deliberately ignoring how the same goals could be achieved by the bourgeoisie with other means such as money and influence, thus maintaining the status quo. This contradicts how the author had promoted the idea that man should be free to act upon his rational interest rather than being prevented due to force. And lastly, the novel portrays the typical government of a nation state as the villain due to prioritizing collectivist beliefs rather than what Ayn Rand had termed as objective. By this point, it is well evident that *Atlas Shrugged* portrays a pro-capitalist sentiment that it deems as objective aspect of human nature alongside greed.

The analysis of Orwell's *1984* and Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* is quite fascinating due to the fact that despite being fundamentally different works of literature in terms of genre, both of them share a number of similarities such as a socialist government being the primary antagonizing force, the belief that consciousness or perception of reality can be influenced to alter minds along with portraying the mass people in a negative light as per elite theory.

Another highly influential yet controversial novel from the United States that is to be analyzed is the military science-fiction novel *Starship Troopers* by famed science fiction author Robert A. Heinlein. While the novel had great influence in the genre due to popularizing concepts such as powered armor and space marines, it nonetheless faced criticism for promoting militarism and accusations of supporting fascism. It depicted a futuristic and advanced Earth that is ruled by the Terran Federation that was formed by disgruntled veterans of a third world war. It is noteworthy that the Terran Federation divided its people into two classes, namely the civilians who have all rights barring for voting and

participation in politics and those who have become citizens after doing federal service and have earned the right to vote and hold office for doing so. The plot at first glance appears to be a bildungsroman for the protagonist Juan “Johnny” Rico during his time serving the mobile infantry that is deployed against alien enemies like the proto-arachnids and the skinnies. However, the plot explores philosophical themes associated with violence and power through flashbacks of History and Moral Philosophy courses that Rico had participated in during school. And this is where the complicated nature of *Starship Troopers* becomes apparent. In one of the classes, teacher and military veteran Mr. Dubois claimed how it was the use of violence or naked force that had settled more issues in human history than any other method along with the fact that those who forget this basic truth would pay dearly with their lives and freedom. In addition, Mr. Dubois had criticized the idea of inalienable rights, such as how he described the idea of the pursuit of happiness as not a right but rather a universal condition. It cannot be taken away by tyrants or restored by patriots. Nor would one be stopped from pursuing happiness as long as their brain lived even if they were imprisoned, executed or made the king of kings. In addition, one of the reasons for the establishment of the Terran Federation aside from the war was how there was an outbreak of chaos due to rising crime and juvenile delinquency due to governments being lax on regulating them, which is attributed to democratic values during the author’s time. This serves as a reason to justify why the Terran Federation employs corporal punishment like public flogging as a means of discipline, which Rico himself experiences due to disobeying directives during a simulated training exercise that would have otherwise killed a fellow soldier had it been real (Heinlein).

While it may seem like the novel promotes a might is right mentality along with denying the idea of basic rights, Heinlein’s philosophy in the novel is far more complicated. The novel explores the idea of force application in quite a nuanced manner. For instance,

voting is considered as a use of force during a class held by Major Reid in one History and Moral Philosophy class. He explained how political authority is force and hence voting too is the wielding of authority (Heinlein). Moreover, Major Reid also expressed in class how wars were fought for materialist reasons related to people, citing how the Crusades were due to factors related to trade routes, birth rates along with others as proof. In addition, a previous class by Mr. Dubois defines war as not merely bloodshed and death but rather controlled violence for a purpose such as using force to support the decisions of the government. He explained how the purpose was never to kill the enemy just for the sake of it but rather to make him do what one wanted him to do (Heinlein). This highlights how the novel portrays force as a means to an end with the definition of war being highly reminiscent of what Clausewitz had described in *On War*. The novel also shows this in practice when Rico and the mobile infantry are sent on a mission against aliens known as the skinnies that had supported the enemy proto-arachnids against humanity. In that mission, the soldiers were given specific rules of engagement to limit the loss of enemy lives as much as possible while prioritizing property damage to force the skinnies to cease the support of proto-arachnids and ally with humanity instead, a plan that had succeeded. Furthermore, an explanation of why only citizens possess voting rights was provided by Major Reid. He mentioned how the citizens had proven through voluntary and difficult service that they are capable of placing the welfare of the group ahead of personal interest, thus being worthy to exercise the power of voting. It should be noted that the Terran Federation was described to be a highly-stable democracy where anyone can win sovereign power through Federal Service and no discrimination is made on the basis of gender, race, skin color, convictions or wealth. In addition, revolution against the system of Terran Federation is described to be impossible despite the existence of complaints. The reason that is brought up is how successful revolutions require aggression alongside dissatisfaction. A revolutionary is useless if they are



not willing to fight and die. But since the aggressive ones would be employed by the Terran Federation akin to being employed as sheep dogs, the sheep would not be able to cause trouble, as one student had noted during a History and Moral Philosophy class (Heinlein). Despite the controversial elements in the novel, *Starship Troopers* provides a realistic perspective on the nature of force and its application as a means to an end. Ironically, the novel that is accused of supporting fascism manages to provide a more honest perspective regarding the use of power and violence compared to *Atlas Shrugged* that claims to provide a liberating philosophy with objectivism. That being said, *Starship Troopers* also has some anti-communist elements due to the era it was in. For instance, the proto-arachnids are described as communal beings who blindly follow their top hierarchy as an analogy of communism (Heinlein). But it too depicts the Terran Federation as a disciplinary society ruled by a centralized government created by veterans, albeit in a positive image compared to the previous two novels that have been analyzed.

Returning to the genre of dystopian fiction, another noteworthy novel is *The Handmaid's Tale* by Margaret Atwood. In the novel, the Theomonocratic republic of Gilead openly utilizes heavy handed means to control the people to follow the seemingly Christian patriarchal ideology of the nation. Its nature as a disciplinary society is reflected through various methods it employs such as public executions called salvaging as well as the regimented structure of the society that divides both men and women into different classes with distinct roles. For instance, the handmaids clad in red are women who are forced to become surrogate mothers involuntarily while the Marthas in green uniforms carry out household chores. This is a classic case of a disciplinary society that follows laws based on a modified interpretation of Christianity. However, Atwood does depict the regime coming to power using fear of terrorism as an excuse along with using influence over banking system to lock women out of their money in the meta-fictional commentary in the historical notes

segment of the novel. It is said that a CIA pamphlet on destabilizing nations was used by the Sons of Jacob to plot their rise to power. Furthermore, private entities responsible for the repatriation of Jews had dumped them on the Atlantic few times to maximize profits by reducing fuel costs according to some historical records (Atwood). *The Handmaid's Tale* stands out due to how Atwood crafted the dystopian world of Gilead by utilizing real-world demographic characteristics of the region and factors like the threat of declining fertility rates and pollution as the basis for the rise of the regime which makes her work more grounded compared to *1984*. Despite the more realistic manner of the rise of Gilead, its social structure is still that of a classic disciplinary society that is ruled by a theocratic military dictatorship and employs more overt means of coercion.

In addition, many other works of dystopia fiction also tend to depict characteristics of disciplinary societies or employ more overt means of coercion. For example, in the 1953 dystopian novel *Fahrenheit 451* by Ray Bradbury, books are openly incinerated by firemen working for the regime as means of censorship (Bradbury). Meanwhile in Yevgeny Zamyatin's *We*, the walled-off nation of the One State has a highly regimented society where individuals are designated by numbers instead of names and reside in glass houses for ease of surveillance (Zamyatin). Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* on the other hand was an interesting case. While it does depict a society where Henry Ford is revered as a godlike figure due to how his idea of assembly line revolutionized production, the seemingly Utopian society creates class stratification by conditioning very young children and uses a drug called Soma as a substitute for true happiness, which the protagonist Bernard Marx still lacked despite being in the upper Alpha-Plus caste due to his mentality being different from the other citizens and is exiled from the society for his non-conformist mindset (Huxley). Another work of dystopian fiction, *A Clockwork Orange* by Anthony Burgess follows the protagonist Alex and his gang of delinquent youths in their life of violent crime within a

dystopian city. During the course of the story, Alex is imprisoned by the law enforcers and is subjected to the experimental Ludovico Technique where he undergoes mental conditioning by being injected with nausea inducing drugs as negative stimulation while being forced to watch films containing violence in order to modify his behavior to ensure he negatively reacts to violence (Burgess). While not much detail is provided regarding the nature of the government, it appears to be the archetypal government that employs standard principles associated with a disciplinary society aside from the Ludovico Technique.

While the tendency of depicting dystopian regimes as disciplinary societies that openly uses force to rule has become a common practice in many works of dystopian fiction, I still do not believe that the genre has become stagnant. After all, many works such as *We* were written in a time when things like the massive reach of mass media was unimaginable. In addition, the depiction of the nature of repression being more overt is likely done intentionally by the authors in creating cautionary tales as the audience might be more alarmed in seeing the disastrous consequences more openly. Moreover, I still find the genre to be quite effective at providing interesting insight on numerous concepts. Many stories in the genre are not always centered around the haunting nature of repression but rather other topics ranging from environmentalism, social decline and the negative effects of scientific progress to name a few. For instance, *The Handmaid's Tale* uses the aftermath of severe environmental pollution causing a decline in fertility rate as one of the main factors in the rise of Gilead (Atwood). Similarly, the harsh conditions created by pollution and energy is what forces people in *Ready Player One* to flock to the virtual reality world of OASIS as a means of escapism (Cline). *A Clockwork Orange* by Anthony Burgess on the other hand focuses on exploring the inherent violent aspect of human nature with its protagonist Alex and plot despite the dystopian setting (Burgess). Meanwhile the dangers of automation through technology such as artificial intelligence is a frequent topic in fiction, be it the novel *Player*

*Piano* by Kurt Vonnegut or the *Terminator* franchise. Hence, I do not believe that the greatness of the genre of dystopian fiction comes merely from the attempts of cautionary tales in trying to predict the future, which is a common reason cited by most people when praising the works of Orwell, Atwood or Huxley in the genre. Instead, I believe that the true strength of the genre lies in the diverse scenarios the works of the genre manages to create in order to explore numerous thought-provoking themes.

But one aspect related to control of the masses through more subtle means that fiction does manage to explore is control through dependency. Sometimes, people submit not out of coercion or manipulation but rather voluntarily due to dependence on the oppressor in some form. While not being an example of a dystopian society ruled by an elite class in any form, Ursula Le Guin's *The Ones Who Walk Away From Omelas* is an interesting piece of philosophical fiction that highlights how material benefits can often make humans carry out evil deeds in exchange. In the story, the titular city of Omelas is a utopia where the people are blessed with joy of every form. But it comes at the cost of a single child who is to undergo abominable misery while perpetually locked inside a basement of one public building. Despite how many shows disgust towards the vile act with some even leaving the city, most accept it as it is as the terms dictate that the prosperity of Omelas would disappear at the slightest chance of happiness for the child (Le Guin, *The Ones Who Walk Away from Omelas*). While many aspects of the story are deliberately left unclear by the author, let us speculate for the sake of the argument that the people of Omelas made a deal with a demon for eternal prosperity. The demon for some reason wanted a child to suffer eternally so it offered the people of Omelas a state of endless happiness in exchange for untold suffering onto the child, which the people accepted. This action akin to a trade where material benefits is acquired by paying a price to the one providing it, which can include obedience. Furthermore, *The Giver* also depicts a case similar to *Those Who Walk Away from Omelas* where the people do not

question the means to force sameness through eugenics owing to the seemingly Utopian state of affairs that the regime, which also includes the murder of newborns (Lowry). More examples of this can be observed in Dimitry Glukhovsky's *Metro Series* of novels as well the video game adaptations. In the *Metro Series*, the survivors of the US nuclear attack on Russia that took shelter in the Moscow metro system are dependent on factions that can provide security such as the Hanseatic League or even oppressive radicals like the communist Red Line and the Nazi-inspired fascist Fourth Reich. This is because of how it is only these factions who possess a sizeable amount of military grade equipment as well as trained soldiers who could provide safety for the survivors against bandits as well as deadly mutants born from the nuclear fallout. Moreover, the protagonist Artyom also comments on how the inside of the Reich had better living conditions compared to the rest of the metro. This makes it more accommodating for civilians, barring those the fascists deem impure like non-Slavic people or people with mutations and injuries like missing more than one finger who are executed. Unsurprisingly, the capitalist Hanseatic League or Hansa are the most influential faction due to both their relatively tolerant ideology as well as being the greatest military power within the Moscow metro (Glukhovsky, *Metro 2033*). Despite this, the Hansa too are found carrying out atrocities such as in the game *Metro Exodus* where they had executed civilians coming outside of Moscow with the accusation of being enemy spies due to the goal of keeping the region isolated through the use of communication jammers. In addition, *Metro Exodus* also showed the consequences of such dependent relationships can result in with the case of the Novosibirsk metro and the fate of its inhabitants. The military unit known as OSKOM or Emergency Unit had managed to maintain a stable leadership of Novosibirsk for twenty years thanks to anti-radiation medicine that it had a large supply of along with control over the food supply. OSKOM would eventually abuse their power to segregate the survivors into clean and dirty stations with the latter class being used as forced labor on the heavily

radioactive surface along with less allocation of medicine, resulting in ninety percent fatalities. This led to massive unrest and massacres by OSKOM in response, eventually leading to the leaders of the unit to flee with the remaining medicine as riots reached its peak. The remaining soldiers and people stranded in Novosibirsk would engage in a violent war that ended with the OSKOM remnants flooding the metro with chlorine gas as a form of mercy killing that killed all but two people (*Metro Exodus*). The stories from the *Metro* series not only manages to highlight the evils humanity can do out of desperation but also how one can achieve control over others by possessing essential services or commodities that the other needs. This echoes Gramsci's idea of how hegemony is achieved through providing essential social functions rather than just brute force, which is especially true for the case of Novosibirsk and OSKOM. Another work of fiction that reflects this idea the most would be Hajime Isayama's bestselling manga *Attack on Titan* in its depiction of the societies of Paradis Island and the nation of Marley. The isolationist society of purely ethnic Eldians in Paradis Island is made to believe that they are the only humans left on Earth after the titans, massive man-eating humanoids, killed most of humanity with the survivors left stranded within the walled-off society with titans looming outside. The Eldian king of Paradis Island society enforces the status quo through using his power of the Founding Titan that lets him alter the memories of all ethnic Eldians on the island at will in case the censorship of historical information fails. Meanwhile, technology is kept at a stagnant state to prevent the truth from being discovered and the efforts are further assisted by a clandestine unit of the military police known as the First Interior Squad that covertly eliminates anybody who could potentially discover the truth. However, the king loses the ability of the Founding Titan and a conflict between the Interior Squad and the Survey Corps of the military which leads to the latter organizing a coup within the military that topples the regime. Meanwhile, the nation of Marley keeps a small amount of ethnic Eldians as second-class citizens in ghettos and are

looked down upon by non-Eldians. However, as the Marleyan military needs Eldian volunteers for its warrior unit to use special titans for its military campaigns as only they can become titan shifters. Marley would achieve this by promising the status of honorary Marleyan to the entire family of a titan shifter. This along with propaganda results in many Eldian youths enlisting in the warrior unit with the hope of a better life for themselves and their family (Isayama). The difference between Paradis and Marley is an interesting case study that highlights how methods of control that dominates by acquiring the consent of subjects through offers of services, rewards and utility are vastly superior to over means of direct coercion that is employed by disciplinary societies as the latter is likely to attract more resistance and hostility. It is the reason why the Monarchy in Paradis fell once the ruling class lost access to the power of the Founding Titan as their society without it was just one ruled by oppressive force. Meanwhile, Marley had maintained its power even with the discriminated second class Eldians being the only ones in their military to be able to use the power of titans. This echoes the reasoning provided by *Starship Troopers* regarding the seeming stability of the Terran Federation regarding how aggression or power is required for a revolutionary to act properly or they are rendered useless.

Hence, the study illustrates how works of fiction tend to mostly display more traditional use of coercion for the most part compared to more devious methods that the modern world can employ. And this is despite how many of them actually address or show an understanding of more advanced principles that can be employed for coercion but rarely showcase them in practice. In addition, the most common type of dominating power that is depicted seem to be the typical government led by politicians. I find this pattern problematic because it tends to reinforce the free-market capitalist idea of limited government regulation that those such as Ayn Rand advocated for. It highlights how people are more likely to see the government and politicians as the primary threat of dominance while ignoring how rich

elites can use their power and wealth to remotely influence the political system to secure their interest, as we have seen earlier with the example of fascism in Europe.

*The Understandable Antagonist: Acceptance of Status-Quo and Framed Portrayal of Violence.* The tale of heroes clashing against villains has existed for centuries with the former being used as a representative of good while the latter served as a representative of evil. However, the binary concept of hero against villain narratives started to be questioned by people with time and has led to the adoption of different perspectives on the old concept such as anti-heroes and anti-villains. In recent times, I have observed how a certain type of antagonist has become quite popular in modern fiction. This type of antagonist is what I would describe as an understandable villain. Compared to the villains of old that represented pure evil for the good hero to vanquish, the understandable villain differs due to a more humane depiction. They possess understandable motivations and a backstory one can sympathize with. Often, they are victims themselves who are striving for positive changes akin to a revolutionary. The general idea behind such antagonists appears to provide them with a human face compared to older depictions of villains that mostly portrayed them as inhuman evil. This allows for the exploration of themes that may not have been possible using the older form of antagonists. Take the Japanese story-driven video games *Tales of Berseria* as an example, a game that has greatly influenced how I look at the human condition due to how it presents its story that is described to be a conflict between emotion and reason. Set in the Holy Midgand Empire where a disease called Daemonblight transforms humans into violent and mindless creatures called daemons, it follows the protagonist Velvet Crowe in her quest for vengeance against her brother-in-law Artorius Collbrande for killing her younger brother Laphicet as a part of a ritualistic sacrifice that had also caused her left arm to undergo demonic mutation to turn into something capable of devouring humans and daemons



alike. Velvet throughout the story acts as an anti-hero who is solely driven by her desire for revenge and cares little about the devastation that she causes to reach her objective such as setting fire to a port as a diversion to escape exorcists pursuing her. As for Artorius, he becomes a messianic figure known as a Shepard and is seen as a savior to the people. He leads the Abbey and its exorcists to combat the threat of daemons by wielding the power of Malaks, a race of spiritual beings with potent magical powers that act as enslaved familiars for the exorcists. While the plot at first made it appear as if Abbey might be a front to grab power through faith, it is later revealed that the true motive of Artorius was to create a world of reason for humanity as daemonblight is caused by the manifestation of negative emotions like fear, rage and despair that would lie in the subconscious of a person. As emotions made daemonblight inevitable, Arthur seeks to make humanity fully logical beings. Moreover, it was also revealed that Laphicet was terminally ill and it was he who had convinced Artorius to sacrifice him in for that goal since he had a few years of life left and had wished to save humanity. The brilliance of Tales of Berseria lies in how it employs its well-crafted characters, concepts and themes in a manner that and defies the expectations of the player through deliberate misdirection and the clever use of framing. And the character of Artorius Colbrande perfectly highlights this. While initially appearing as a villain whose crimes are only known by Velvet and the player that experienced the event from her perspective, later revelations show how the man had the qualities of a hero with his noble goal to save all of humanity that was reinforced by a will of iron and firm belief in reason that was uncompromising. The later revelations make players reconsider their perspective as Velvet's own actions would appear to be less justified compared to before and truly ponder on the arguments and themes presented by the story. In addition, the story also highlights its themes regarding human nature through numerous examples within the story such as how a sailor would end up becoming a daemon after his guild had framed him to cover up their

contraband smuggling operations (*Tales of Berseria*). What the game does best with its story is how it encourages players to look beyond standard rigid and binary portrayals of good and evil to understand human nature in a more nuanced way, something that is achieved by using the main plot with Artorius and the concept of daemonblight to great effect.

While the example of Artorius Collbrande demonstrates what this new form of antagonist can achieve in terms of storytelling, my issue lies with not the concept itself but rather how it is employed at times. In such cases, it acts as an unjust form of artificial vilification that appears to be shunning the idea of revolutionary violence as a form of change in a deceitful way. To better understand my issue with such portrayals, let us look at the example of the character of Killmonger from Marvel's *Black Panther* from 2018. In the film, Killmonger is someone who was motivated by the suffering of the Black people that he had witnessed in the United States and wanted to start a Black uprising by equipping them with advanced weapons from the isolationist Wakanda. While he does manage to take over Wakanda using the right of challenge due to his royal blood and begins his plan, he is ultimately stopped by the Black Panther T'Challa who does not favor violence like Killmonger. After the defeat of Killmonger, T'Challa is shown to use his money for charity purposes in the United States to help blacks (*Black Panther*). While the idea of someone with good intention becoming corrupted and causing damage appears sound in theory for a story, it's the execution or how it is handled that I find problematic. In *Black Panther*, while Killmonger is given valid reasons behind his motivations, what the protagonist brings in response is lacking as mere charity cannot solve a problem that had persisted for centuries. Moreover, while Killmonger's violence is shunned, the same cannot be said for T'Challa and his allies. In one scene for instance, T'Challa's sister running over and killing an enemy soldier with a remotely controlled car is treated as comic relief (*Black Panther*). Similarly, many acts of violence by the protagonist and his allies are treated as spectacles. Meanwhile,

Killmonger's use of violence is treated as ominous and evil throughout the film despite acknowledgement of his motivation. This double standard in framing of violence not only undermines the argument brought by the protagonist T'Challa but also appears dishonest, as if the protagonist had a special privilege to employ violence without it being deemed negative by the narrative.

But *Black Panther* is not the only work of fiction that is responsible for such a framed and dishonest narrative that artificially vilifies the understandable villain as this pattern is quite repetitive. Such examples include Raul Menendez from *Call of Duty Black Ops II*, Pakshi Rajan from the Indian film *2.0* along with many others like "Pixy" from *Ace Combat Zero: The Belkan War* or Amakusa Shirou Tokisada from *Fate/Apocrypha*. While their human depiction and how their character often emphasizes various issues like war and racism make them a favorite among the mainstream audience, one can find more ulterior motives in their design through semiotic reading and analysis. Based on the common patterns I observed in such antagonists, I divided their presentation into two phases. The first is the Sympathy Phase where the villain is presented as a human and relatable character with understandable motives. In case of *Black Panther*, this is where the past and motivations of Killmonger is explored. Meanwhile in the vilification phase, things become problematic as this is where the antagonist is vilified by the plot. Here, the antagonist's use of violence would be presented negatively through framing it from the perspective of their victims of violence as well as presenting their plans as an exaggerated threat to all. In *Black Panther*, this happens right after Killmonger taking control of Wakanda after which he attempts to send vibranium weapons to Black people along with killing a number of Wakandan soldiers as well as threatening T'Challa's sister (Black Panther). A similar pattern can be observed in the other examples as well. In the Indian film *2.0*, Pakshi Rajan was an ornithologist who had a love for birds since he was a child. But with the increase of cellphone signal towers due to

widespread mobile phone usage, the radiation would start killing birds. Pakhsi Rajan would attempt to solve the issue in numerous ways such as through his research, protests in public spaces as well as filing a legal complaint in court regarding telecom companies emitting more radiation from their towers than what was legally allowed. However, all his efforts would be in vain as the general people would largely ignore him while the court rules in favor of telecom companies that had secretly lowered emissions right before the inspection to deceive the inspectors. This leads to the ornithologist to commit suicide by hanging himself on a cellphone tower and the radiation from the tower causes the negative energy in his soul to manifest as a ghost who then becomes vengeful after absorbing the souls of dead birds. But in the vilification phase, Pakhshi Rajan threatens to kill a stadium filled with people and is stopped by the robot protagonist Chitti who had activated his evil 2.0 persona from the previous film for more power and comes out victorious. And in the ending scene, the politician Vijay Kumar vows to pass a bill to regulate cell phone radiation after hearing about how Pakhshi Rajan was a victim of corruption (2.0).

Meanwhile in *Call of Duty Black Ops II*, the antagonist Raul Menendez is a leader of the guerrilla movement Cordis Die that opposes US capitalism and fighting for those who became victims of poverty because of the United States. In the sympathy phase, the players learn how Josephina, the sister of Raul Menendez was badly scorched by a fire in the house they were staying that was started by its American owner who was attempting insurance fraud. After a few years, a CIA black operation in Panama results in the death of Josephina when the soldier Frank Woods tosses a grenade in her room that was aimed at Menendez (*Call of Duty Black Ops II*). As for the vilification phase, the game portrays Menendez carrying out acts of violence and slaughter from the perspective of his American opposition such as executing a number of comrades of the main protagonist David Mason along with orchestrating a drone attack on Los Angeles that the player character and his allies are tasked

to fight off (*Call of Duty Black Ops II*). While the game does allow the player to assume the role of Menendez in certain segments of the story along with having a number of endings, it is obvious that the narrative has an American bias in its perspective. For instance, the good ending that is awarded to the player for successfully completing specific optional segments and meeting certain conditions in the game has all the efforts of Menendez foiled and he is shown to be imprisoned in jail while a character mocks him on TV. As for the bad ending, Mendez becomes a martyr with his death and it would cause riots in Washington DC by Cordis Die that would portray burning of the White House in a negative manner, complete with ominous music playing in the background (*Call of Duty Black Ops II*). Despite the seeming morally gray and open-ended nature that the story of the game presents itself as, the bias towards a US perspective is quite noticeable as the issue of US imperialism is largely ignored in the final part as it portrays Menendez as the larger threat in a more negative manner.

Another example of this issue can be seen in the film *The Batman* from 2022 with how it depicts the Riddler. Despite being an enigmatic killer who orchestrates his acts of murder by transforming them into a violent yet creative puzzle befitting his name, the audience comes to know about the deeply rooted corruption in Gotham City as Batman solves the puzzles. For instance, the Riddler reveals not only how a number of corrupt police officers from Gotham serve the mob boss Falcone but even Bruce's own father Thomas Wayne also had hired the mob boss in the past to silence a journalist that inquired about his wife's mental issues while he was running for mayor (*The Batman*). The Riddler's vigilante justice, while brutal, acts as the sympathy phase due to how he exposes and eliminates the corrupt of Gotham through his actions. But in the vilification phase, his violence is once again framed from the perspective of the victims in a negative manner like how the scene where supporters of Riddler attempt to assassinate the mayor-elect of Gotham is shown as an

act of terror, with panicked screams with the sound of gunfire from the vigilantes creating an ominous scene as the Batman rushes in to save the day as the hero of the story (*The Batman*).

Other examples of understandable antagonists like Amakusa Shirou Tokisada from *Fate/Apocrypha* and Larry “Pixy” Foulke from *Ace Combat Zero: The Belkan War* also follow the similar format with them having understandable and noble goals but are vilified at the end of the day by the narrative that frames their violence in a negative way as a signifier.

In case of *Ace Combat Zero: The Belkan War*, Pixy is the former wingman of the player character who later joins an insurgent group that wishes to eradicate the concept of national borders as they blame it for the violent conflicts that had been happening in the setting. During the vilification phase, Pixy kills a pilot who was allied with the player character. Moments before the incident, the pilot claimed how he was eager to go home due to having a girl waiting for him that he wanted to propose to (*Ace Combat Zero: The Belkan War*). The case of *Fate/Apocrypha* is perhaps the one I find most problematic because of how its themes bear a lot of similarities with *Tales of Berseria* but differ greatly in execution. The story is set in a world where a vast society of Magus live secretly while practicing their magecraft that is kept hidden from ordinary people. The story takes place during a Holy Grail War in Romania where magi fight in a battle royale to have the wish of the victor being granted. To do so, they summon Servants, powerful spirits of historical and mythical figures, to fight on their behalf. The antagonist is Amakusa Shirou Tokisada, the young Christian Samurai that had led the ill-fated Shimabara rebellion and was summoned as a servant in a previous Holy Grail war. His wish was to bring salvation to all of mankind by making all humans immortal in order to prevent them from killing each other for reasons related to survival. The nobility of his character is depicted in one scene that shows how he had to witness the brutal massacre of his followers by the shogunate before his own execution. Yet he even forgave his enemies simply for being human and vowed to save all of humanity from its evil nature if given a

second chance. Yet, the plot not only tries to deem him as wrong but never brings up any valid argument to counter his beliefs and ideals. For instance, the protagonist Sieg brings up a hollow argument that most humans are good despite the existence of systemic evil and the kind that goes on unchallenged. What makes it worse is how the story by that point had shown more evidence in favor of Shirou's beliefs such as how the servant Jack the Ripper was a wraith born out of the amalgamation of the spirits of numerous aborted fetuses of prostitutes in Whitechapel that were dumped in the river Thames along with a number of acts of brutality done by the magi who participated in the Holy Grail war. Moreover, the second protagonist Jeanne D'Arc, a special servant who serves as an extra mediator in the Holy Grail war, simply shows opposition because of how Shirou's summoning was against the rules of the war. Ironically, she herself had broken the rules a number of times by helping Sieg, which was against her impartial role. And in the vilification phase, the defeat of Jeanne is portrayed from the perspective of a mourning Sieg who attacks Amakusa in anger and kills him before foiling his plan by transporting the Holy Grail to an alternate dimension to prevent it from granting the wish of the samurai (*Fate/Apocrypha*). This is perhaps the most problematic case out of all the examples due to the questionable quality of writing involved but nonetheless highlights how a bias in framing and narrative can render the understandable villain into functionally the same thing as the classic evil villain that is destined to be vilified. It also showcases the poor argument that the hero often brings in response but still being regarded highly by the plot for blind optimism regarding the current state of affairs in the story regardless of acknowledging problems.

With the emphasis on the negative portrayal of violence acting as a signifier, it exploits popular views on violence to present these antagonists as an inhuman other and an immediate threat. According to Carl Schmitt, the core of politics is the collective identification and action against a designated other that is antagonized regardless of their nature (Schmitt 27).

In this way, the hero's use of violence is portrayed as justified to stop the violent other regardless of their prior motivations. As Barthes notes, myths do not hide but rather distort (Barthes 120). And in case of how the understandable villain archetype is utilized, it is a myth that presents revolutionary violence as a negative threat through a framed perspective emphasizing on the negative aspects while justifying brutal means to stop it despite acknowledging issues through the antagonist. Coming back to *Tales of Berseria*, it differs in its use of the understandable villain as the narrative was willing to explore the themes of the story from multiple perspectives with all being held in equal regard. Just as how it highlights the evils of human nature through the concept of daemonblight and events in the story, it also provides equal counter-arguments. For instance, the protagonist Velvet shows kindness to a Malak child for resembling his deceased brother despite her usual stern and cold-hearted nature in most of the story, which serves as an important plot point. In addition, Artorius enacting his plan of turning humans into beings of reason in a limited scale had resulted in an otherwise bustling city becoming a dull and monotonous place. The citizens were shown to be acting like monotonous machines that assigned themselves to specific tasks without any form of emotion. The game in the end does not lean towards any side of the argument but rather accepts a more nuanced middle ground. The Malak child who acted as a third party in the emotion vs reason argument would accept the role of becoming a guardian deity in the end and would comment on the inherent duality of human nature, vowing to give humans respite from the daemonblight with his newfound power but not changing what remained in their hearts (*Tales of Berseria*). And this is where the other examples of the understandable villain and the stories they were in differed as it would eventually lean towards the side of the hero while simply acknowledging the issues brought up by the antagonist but not fully addressing them aside from the expression of some optimism that feels hollow in comparison.



Hence, I find such use of the understandable villain as problematic due to the dishonesty involved in such manner of execution in a number of cases. It not only shows a bias towards the protagonist in terms of narrative but also presents violence in a manner where the antagonist is vilified for using it but the protagonist is not. To me, this appears to be an argument that acts in favor of maintaining a status-quo with the right of violence only being given to specific parties that act akin to the police protecting what exists as it is regardless of the severe problems or flaws as it is the common euphemism that would be used to describe them. Meanwhile, the idea of revolutionaries who seek change through the use of violence due to having no other options left are vilified due to how their use of violence is framed. It is a narration which presents the argument that the current status quo is better regardless of the severe problems or flaws simply because the methods of the revolutionary are violent. Such use of the understandable villain forges a myth that shuns the notion of revolutionary violence by the masses despite its historical role as a force of liberation in places like Haiti, Russia, Cuba and more along with providing justification for state-sponsored violence like that the US employs using its police force and other methods.

## **THE STRUCTURE OF OPEN CONTAINMENT THEORY: THE POSTMODERN METHOD OF SUBJUGATION.**

*Concept of the Structure of Open Containment.* Based on how modern methods of control puts emphasis on subtlety and misdirection rather than the open use of force, I would call the hypothetical structure that effectively employs such principles to its fullest extent to be a Structure of Open Containment. While the term can appear contradictory akin to Orwellian doublethink, it makes sense in terms of functionality as it can be described as an enclosed structure that appears to those within it as an open system that allows them multiple paths. For the older methods of control through more overt methods of coercion, an analogy can be made with the idea of forcibly making someone tread a single specific path to reach a specific point at the end of said road instead of using other roads that go elsewhere. But in a Structure of Open Containment, the analogy becomes that of numerous roads all open for one to take as they please without any form of coercion like in the first case. However, all roads lead to the exact same point at the end of the day. This is where one can notice the key difference between older methods of domination with the more insidious ones employed by the Structure of Open Containment. The application of force in the first case was what influences one to take the select path that the one applying said force wishes and is openly visible and identifiable. But in the second case, there is no visible application of force that is coercing the person to tread any path they willingly choose. But in both cases, the person ends up in the specific designated point, which is what the one applying force wishes. This single point is the core objective of the system or the economic base in a functional state as the elites desire if we employ Marxist definitions. And by such relation to the base, a Structure of Social Containment can be considered as the superstructure that is formed due to its relation to the base and helps it maintain its functionality. This is where the open nature of the Structure of Open Containment lies alongside its closed nature in complete harmony. As Deleuze had

noted, enclosures are molds or rigid structures while controls differ due to being more dynamic in nature, being able to change its form one to another when needed (Deleuze 4). In the hypothetical structure I speak of, both the rigid enclosure and the dynamic control exist. The dynamic nature of control makes it harder to grasp the true nature of the system from within and makes it appear as if there are numerous paths to choose freely with no visible coercion. Meanwhile, the enclosure exists in the objective as it tries to ensure that all paths lead to it to make the system function.

And now, the method of coercion in a Structure of Open Containment can be understood. It is not the force that influences one's choice like in the more traditional methods but rather how all the paths that lead to the desired point or objective is created. And this is where some of the more subtle methods that the paper has discussed earlier comes into play. The use of force or the creation of the paths is how one's perception of reality is influenced to make them perceive it in a specific way. Or to be more precise, it makes the target think that they have freedom due to seeing multiple paths open for them to take by their own will and are not coerced into taking any specific path. But in reality, all paths lead to an end point that is predetermined and the target reaching them fulfils the goal of the one using the Structure of Open Containment for control, regardless of which path the target takes. And by this point, the methods utilized for such a purpose should be quite obvious. They are no different from the concept of manipulating reality through the manipulation of the mind that perceives it that O'Brien in *1984* had explained. These are methods such as propaganda, ideology and the media that shape how reality is perceived that forges all the paths. Take the example of media. According to Noam Chomsky in *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, Media in the US can be employed as a tool by the rich elites as they are profit oriented and have monetary interests (Herman and Chomsky). With control over the media, comes the power to influence how people perceive reality, hence the ability

creates the paths or the acquisition of coercive power in the Structure of Open Containment. Michael Parenti noted how the US media operates more efficiently compared to the totalitarian mechanisms depicted in Orwell's *1984* due to the subtlety of the methods. The US media maintains a pluralistic, neutralistic and voluntaristic facade that conceals its undemocratic nature (Parenti, *Inventing Reality: The Politics of the Mass Media* 23-24). The positive image of neutrality in media is what creates the false notion of no coercive force, thus making it easier to manipulate people due to being more trusting towards what they perceived as neutral sources.

As for the power that the media exerts as a creator of paths, one needs to simply understand what German jurist and political philosopher Carl Schmitt called the concept of the political. According to Schmitt, political motives and actions can be reduced to the specific political distinction that exists between friend and enemy (Schmitt, *Concept of the Political* 26). To simplify the definition, it means that the core of the political is that of a notion of us vs them where goals and actions are motivated by idea of identifying and handling the enemy accordingly. As Schmitt noted, the ability to treat, distinguish and comprehend the friend-enemy antithesis independently of other antithesis is where the inherently objective nature and autonomy of the political becomes visible (Schmitt, *Concept of the Political* 27). This is where one can understand the real nature of the power exerted by the System of Open Containment with its paths. If submission to the system is defined as treading the paths that lead to the objective, then freedom from the system would be to not take any of those paths visible and to create a new one that goes elsewhere. To oppose the designated paths and the systems means to consider them and associated factors as the enemy. But as the power of the media allows them to define who is the enemy and who is not, it convinces one to tread the designated path because it is not the enemy. Thus, the target herds themselves to the designated path and submits. And this is what makes the Structure of Open

Containment highly stable because it is capable of destroying any political momentum against itself with its ability to define the enemy. The political resides in the ability to be able to distinguish the real friends and enemies according to Schmitt. And in case of Marxists, they define their class adversary as the real enemy in their class struggles (Schmitt, *Concept of the Political* 37). But, without the ability to identify the true enemy it is not possible to exercise political power against them in any form. And if we employ martial theories and consider political action as an act of war against the enemy, the situation is akin to a fog of war where the participants experience uncertainty in situational awareness. According to Clausewitz, war is the realm of uncertainty where three quarters of the factors upon which actions in war are based on are shrouded by a fog of greater or lesser uncertainty where competent judgement and intelligence is needed to find out the truth (Clausewitz 101). With the more subtle forms of force application, it is possible to maintain a state akin to a fog of war by concept for those within the Structure of Open Containment. It is a fog that drowns its targets in uncertainty to hamper their ability to make effective decisions against the enemy. In practice, this manifests as the numerous multiple perspectives and narratives that a media in a seemingly free and democratic society can provide along with the different political parties with their own beliefs and ideals. The availability of numerous options makes it difficult to properly act with certainty. It effectively creates a postmodern quagmire with the lack of certainty and the harmonious coexistence of the numerous despite sometimes being fundamentally opposed, all of which are the designated paths in the Structure of Open Containment. As a result, one cannot properly act with certainty and organization and ends up submitting to the mechanisms of the system while its elites keep it functional due to the certainty and consistency of their own beliefs and objectives. With politicians on both the Left and Right being funded to secure the interests of the wealthy elites, the designated paths are forged that secure the interests of said elites regardless of how the citizens in a democracy

exercise their voting rights while differing political beliefs create divisions that prevent greater unity and organization among the people that can become powerful. In essence, a form of divide and rule. Hence, what Heinlein had described as the idea of wielding authority through voting in *Starship Troopers* is now rendered completely ineffective due to the element of authority being completely negated through the use of the authority provided by the money of the elites. With mass media associating politicians with politics and giving the impression that they are the source of power in the system, the elites secure themselves by maintaining a remote distance from which they exercise their power to influence politics while making it less likely to be designated as the enemy for the exercise of political power against them. And if the political system needs to perform any action that contradicts the image it had forged for itself, the concept that Carl Schmitt called the state of exception can be employed. In *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, Schmitt criticized liberal democracies in his time for being rigid akin to religion due to adherence to principles associated with democracy and argues that these political systems would fail to handle exceptional situations that their rigid principles do not account for. The state of exception is a condition created when dire problems arise and would allow the sovereign to disregard existing laws to take proper measures to resolve the situation (Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*). Despite the pragmatic nature of the concept, it is obvious how it can be utilized to misuse power in an unlawful way. To describe it in simple terms would be to say that a proper excuse can help maintain the image of the system when carrying out contradictory activities to justify them, which is what modern liberal democracies employ to justify actions such as invasion of foreign countries while still presenting themselves as respectful towards principles such as liberty and sovereignty. Whether if it was the US invasion of Iraq that claimed to liberate the country or the Russian invasion of Ukraine in the name of a special military operation to protect the prosecuted in

Eastern Ukraine, the concept of state of exception is quite prevalent in modern politics and its use in a Structure of Open Containment would hardly be any surprise.

In this way, a society that employs the Structure of Open Containment manages to exert its insidious might to dominate and render its human resources powerless to resist despite their domination being not openly apparent and achieves the objective of keeping the base functional.

*Ideological Iceberg and Ideological Euthanizing.* As the Structure of Open Containment exercises power in more subtle and devious ways, it is natural that ideology would be employed along with semiotics due to how both are capable of affecting the way one could perceive the reality around them along with the fact that they can be employed as a tool for manipulation of others. And given their similarities, it should hardly come as a surprise that semiotics and ideology can work in conjunction. And this relation is important due to how I view the modern employment of ideology in practice. If it possesses a form, I would call it an ideological iceberg due to the similarities that it shares with the frigid mass of the same name. Mainly, it is how the vast majority of the iceberg remains hidden from sight. American author Ernest Hemingway commented on how “the dignity of the movement of an iceberg is due to one-eighth of it being above water” to describe his minimalist writing style that provides emphasis on surface elements while not exploring what lies underneath explicitly. While it might appear to be omission of information, that is not the case as said information is conveyed through means such as indirection, suggestion and implication (Johnston 68-69). But unlike Hemingway’s iceberg theory, the purpose of the ideological iceberg is not to convey subtly but rather affect how certain reality is perceived through distortion and misdirection. In this structure, it is the constructed signifier and signified that lies in the surface and is clearly visible to all. As for what lies underneath the surface, it includes

information and factors that provide a more nuanced perspective on the matter. As such, they are deliberately concealed from the surface level without being omitted entirely. This process is what I would like to call denuancification. To understand how the ideological iceberg functions in practice, let us take the example of how nations often glorify militarism and heroism in war. In the surface level, a positive portrayal of war is presented with bravery of heroes, masculinity, pursuit of a higher noble cause and the vanquishing of an evil enemy act as signifiers. They carve the signified which is treating war as the pursuit of a higher cause for the nation that serves as a furnace that produces valiant heroes from men. But beneath the surface lie other realities of war such as its brutality and the devastation it leaves in its wake as well as how the enemy is also human beings just like any other and simply becomes the other for political purposes that sometimes do not benefit the actual citizens. These factors exist in reality and often are not fully concealed or denied. Instead, they are left out of focus that is shifted elsewhere to derive a different interpretation of reality that is made more dominant in an artificial manner. Nonetheless, the factors that are moved out of focus still exist and can be uncovered to properly understand reality that lies beyond the fabricated perspective. But in order to do so, one needs to look beyond the surface of the ocean that is deliberate denuancification instead of merely focusing on the tip of the iceberg containing the set signifiers and signified.

It is this idea of the ideological iceberg that allows a Structure of Open Containment to function properly as system that is open yet contained at the same time. How the system itself is viewed by those within it can be influenced by the ideological iceberg. The seemingly open nature of the system with no overt use of coercion being noticeable itself acts as a signifier which presents the signified meaning that there is indeed freedom in the system and no form of domination exists. But below the surface of denuancification, the fact that the Structure of Open Containment still manages to subtly exert force as well as the freedom



being functionally meaningless due to all paths reaching the same objective is kept out of focus in favor of the tip of the ideological iceberg.

And while I have discussed earlier some of the common patterns that I have observed in works of fiction, one might acquire the urge to mention that there are also works that indeed depict or draw attention towards aspects of capitalist domination and other factors that the works with the common patterns do not. While it is indeed true that such works do indeed exist, their presence also contributes to the ideological iceberg whose focus is to maintain an illusion of a free and just system lacking any form of overt coercion or censorship. In fact, Mark Fisher in his book *Capitalist Realism: Is there No Alternative* noted the claims of Slavoj Žižek regarding how creations and products containing anti-capitalist ideas have disseminated under capitalism such as Hollywood films where the antagonist is an evil corporation. For example, in the film *Wall-E* by Pixar, it depicts a world brought to ruin by the hyper consumption that was caused by a single mega corporation called Buy n Large. This phenomenon is dubbed as interpassivity by Robert Pfaller where such films allow us to keep consuming with impunity as it does our anti-capitalism for us (Fisher 12). After all, capitalist realism derives its power from its ability to subsume and consume all previous history as an effect of its system of equivalence where all cultural objects are assigned a monetary value. It converts practices and rituals into merely aesthetic objects while previous cultures are ironized objectively and are transformed into artifacts. Hence, when all beliefs have collapsed into the level of ritual or symbolic elaboration, capitalism is what is left along with the consumer-spectator that trudges through the ruins and the relics (Fisher 4). For example, in case of the specific use of understandable villain that was criticized earlier in this paper, the acknowledgement of issues through the antagonist provides the false comfort that the system sees such issues as problems to be solved, while the product itself is just another consumable item that generates wealth for its creator at the end of the day. As such, what

might have been a threat to the system due to revealing its true nature and thus requiring censorship is turned into something that benefits it. Instead, it not only helps maintain the image of the system being open but also supports its functioning by becoming just another product of capitalism that generates wealth. This is what a popular joke about how T-Shirts with the face of anti-capitalist guerrilla Che Guevara ironically becoming a product of capitalism perfectly illustrates.

Furthermore, the concept of the ideological iceberg is also used to suppress or rather euthanize any other notion that suggests any other alternatives from the current system. This is best reflected by the idea of capitalist realism or how capitalism is presented as the most realistic and practical system over any others despite its serious issues. The effectiveness of this notion is noted by Fisher, who explained how anti-capitalist movements themselves have submitted to capitalist realism due to not being able to provide an alternative economic model to capitalism and the actual aim becoming not to replace it but rather address its problematic flaws. Thus, their activities mostly employed the staging of protests than political organization (Fisher 14). He also stated how capitalist realism could only be threatened if it could be depicted as inconsistent and untenable or how its so-called realism is nothing of the sort (Fisher 16). In practice, the idea of capitalist realism employs the ideological iceberg in a specific manner to promote itself while shunning all other alternatives. To act as signifiers, it presents the images of success of capitalist countries while simultaneously placing images of the apparent failures of communist or socialist nations that signify the triumph and superiority of capitalism over them as the tip of the iceberg that is in focus. But beneath the surface of denuancification, a number of factors are kept out of focus. Parenti noted how the success of communism in successfully industrializing and improving the living standards of semi-feudal, devastated and underdeveloped countries had created unrealistic expectations among its population that could not be fulfilled. He also added how communist nations were

born into an openly hostile capitalist world that was eager to destroy them and thus had to endure wars, invasion and an arms race that took its toll on their productive capabilities and hampered their development. He presented the example of the Soviet Union and how it attempted to maintain military parity with the United States, which put a huge strain on the economy of the communist nation due to its relatively smaller industrial base compared to the USA (Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds* 74). The statements of Parenti highlights how such comparisons are often unfair due to ignoring many important factors. As an example, the geographical qualities of the United States prevented its mainland from being devastated by enemy attacks during the Second World War. This was because of how their enemies would have to cross the vast Atlantic and Pacific Ocean to reach the US mainland, which was a difficult feat with the military technology available at that time. Meanwhile, Nazi Germany was able to directly attack the Soviet Union and target its population centers, industrial hubs and other parts of it due to their proximity to each other along with the geography allowing a land-based invasion. Thus, the United States suffered less damage to its industry and population compared to the Soviet Union during the Second World War. In addition, the ideological iceberg of capitalist realism also avoids putting emphasis on how communist revolutions had liberated the people of many countries from emancipation. Furthermore, the problems and failures of capitalist countries are also put out of focus such as the brutal exploitation of garments workers in Bangladesh or how neocolonialism in the global capitalist system robs a country of its self-sufficiency and harms it through unequal exchange along with exploitation as per center-periphery relations. In this way, the employment of the ideological iceberg reinforces the myth of capitalist realism while keeping important factors out of focus. The way capitalist realism is presented as the only viable option by undermining all other alternatives in the narrative is a case of ideological euthanizing where specific beliefs and ideas are “killed” by making them appear to be impractical failures. As Barthes

noted, the purpose of a myth is not to hide but to distort (Barthes 120). As such, the employment of the ideological iceberg allows for the use of deliberate and highly organized misdirection to create the dominant narrative of capitalist realism while deeming all alternatives as unfeasible without the excessive use of censorship. In addition, the use of the ideological iceberg to conceal subtle forms of coercion also helps the Western powers forge the popular image of what a totalitarian or oppressive regime looks like, something that is routinely associated with their political opponents such as North Korea, Iraq under Saddam Hussein, Iran and China. Using Schmitt's concept of the political in a manner similar to Orientalism alongside the concealment of the subtle mechanisms of coercion employed by the West that has been discussed earlier, it creates the popular belief that the opponents of the West are all vile tyrants while the Western world are all democracies where people have freedom and face no coercion. What makes this popular belief dangerous is how it subtly influences the notions of people in order to acquire their support for the West against these countries. And as we have seen with cases such as Iraq, it can lead to disastrous consequences.

Hence, the ideological iceberg ideal as a method of force application in a Structure of Open Containment due to its subtle nature.

*Unraveling and the Additional Applications of the Theory.* While it may appear that the theory of the Structure of Open Containment is only applicable in case of societies based on how this paper had discussed the concept, I also wish to emphasize that the concept can have more use than just describing a specific form of a Marxist notion of a superstructure. In fact, some of them might be quite unexpected but nonetheless understandable. The use of the Structure of Open Containment establishes control through the subtle use of force that aims to render its target powerless to oppose or resist by manipulating their perception of reality through the creation of a sense of functional uncertainty that causes them to be indecisive,

thus leaving them at the mercy of the system to be employed to meet its objectives unknowingly. But the understanding of this theory could assist in unraveling the uncertainty promoted by the fog of war that is the postmodern quagmire by approaching it from the opposite direction. By actively seeking out the consistent elements of the system that serves as the core objectives, such as the effective and sustained wealth accumulation for the elites at any cost, it could in theory help one identify the designated paths in the Structure of Open Containment that manipulates those within it to secure its goals. While the process itself can be difficult in practice, it is not entirely impossible either if one were to give proper effort along with access to sufficient information and time. The process of unraveling is in essence an exercise of reductionism to understand the consistent elements to understand the greater function of the system as a whole. And through this process, it is possible to extract consistent bits of information from complex events, scenarios and ideas that are otherwise shrouded by one more subjective narratives and perspectives that surround it. Take the Bangladesh Liberation War of 1971 as an example. The general Bangladeshi perspective considers it a traditional conflict between good and evil where the heroic freedom fighters with Indian support had attained independence against the brutal West Pakistani army and its supporters. Meanwhile the Pakistani narrative is somewhat along the lines of a necessary military intervention to restore law and order but was bogged down and defeated by an Indian conspiracy. This along with the perspective or narratives of others like India and the United States often create an overall confusing picture of the event itself. But through the process of unraveling, one can end up with numerous bits of information such as socioeconomic and political and circumstantial factors that led to the conflict, the geopolitics surrounding the event as well as the driving motivations for all parties involved and the fact that the war saw numerous casualties along with war crimes perpetrated by both the West Pakistani government loyalist forces and the Mukti bahini like that the Biharis had experienced. While

far from being the sort of grand narratives that are opposed by postmodernism, the bits of constant information acquired can assist one to develop a proper and nuanced understanding of a matter if they wish to take a more fastidious approach. In addition, it also assists in seeing a clearer picture that might not have been possible due to the swirling layer of subjective narratives and perspectives surrounding it. Furthermore, it can also allow one to analyze and validate the subjective narratives as well. For example, the idealistic notion that the Mukti Bahini did not commit any atrocities can be debunked through documents and historical records like those that act as evidence of atrocities against Biharis. Alternatively, any narratives made to downplay the cause of the Bangladeshi guerrillas by using the war crimes against the Biharis as a signifier can also be invalidated by highlighting the atrocities of the West Pakistani government loyalist forces as well as the political and socioeconomic factors that led to the conflict. What one is left with is now a more nuanced understanding of the nature of the 1971 war for independence that differs from popular narratives that often places less emphasis or outright ignores many factors. In this way, unraveling of a Structure of Open Containment can help one achieve better clarity. It also highlights how information itself can become Structures of Open Containment due to the mixture of subjective viewpoints, interpretations as well as deceit that is often intentional. Because of this, the theory can also be employed in the creation of works of fiction as it can allow the author to control how information is presented to readers of their works. It can prove to be a useful tool for authors wishing to create stories where various aspects of the narrative are obscure to provide specific experiences for the reader. For example, in the *Handmaid's Tale*, a number of details are presented in an obscure manner such as details regarding the fate of Offred or the formation of Gilead. The little details come from what is discussed during an academic conference in the year 2195 (Atwood). This adds some immersion for the readers as they are

now observing the details being uncovered in a way akin to how real world historical records are found along with the scope for metafictional commentary.

Furthermore, the concept can also be applied to understand the function of various institutions. For example, the article “The ‘Magic of the Mall’: An Analysis of Form, Function, and Meaning in the Contemporary Retail Built Environment” by John Goss can allow one to understand how a mall can act as a Structure of Open Containment. Goss argues that despite the primary purpose of a mall being a place to facilitate shopping, the clever design that is employed while constructing the mall ensures that it appears as more than just a place for purchasing things. Not only that, those who design and construct malls also manage to increase profits through sales by designing the structural layout in a specific way that exerts power over others in order to influence them to purchase products from the mall (Goss). Due to how Goss depicts the true purpose behind the various design elements of a mall in the article, it is clear that a mall can act as a Structure of Open Containment by design to maximize its profits as the core objective while numerous designated paths give the impression that it is more than just a place for the selling of products.

Lastly, video games are perhaps the most prolific user of the Structure of Open Containment in their design. By nature, video games are fundamentally confined spaces as it is impossible to create a fully open ended and free virtual world whose scale matches the real world. This is due to a number of reasons such as hardware limitations due to virtual areas large in size and depth require more processing power to properly run, digital space limits such as specific requirements to fit the game within a disc or the limited scope of the game in terms of narrative or world building like a game being only set in very specific locations. Despite these limiting factors, skilled game developers are masters in the art of less is more with how they are capable of maximizing the utility from the little they are given to work with. Video game levels that are essentially linear corridors floating in an empty space can

give the players inside the game the impression of being present in a vast world thanks to the clever use of boundaries, skybox and background art along with how the enclosed corridor itself can appear open due to multiple branching paths within it. While they ultimately lead to the same place, it gives the player the impression of having more freedom to tackle the situation. This clever use of detail is why the most immersive video games are not the ones with the most area in terms of square kilometer but rather one that has more details within that makes it appear vast and richly detailed from the perspective of the player. As an example, take spy missions in the game *Warframe* where the player plays as beings of supernatural power that wield the titular biomechanical puppets for combat. In spy missions, players are tasked with breaking into and hacking one or more guarded data vaults to retrieve data. The level itself is simply a linear corridor with the data vault being a secure room with guards, security cameras, drones and laser traps that would raise an alarm if detected, resulting in a timer that causes the mission to fail if it reaches zero. Despite the linear nature, the vaults do offer multiple ways to reach the vault. Players can either take a direct approach that can be risky or use some alternate paths like ventilation shafts to bypass security in many places. In addition, the players equipment also affects the experience. A player with a standard warframe with simplistic abilities might need to play more methodically to avoid detection and touching laser traps while those using warframes that can turn invisible only needs to worry about touching laser traps and positioning as the guards and security cameras cannot detect them while they are cloaked. Although the warframe Ivara can use an augment mod to become immune to triggering laser traps while invisible, that comes at the expense of limited movement options compared to other warframes when cloaked. And players using the warframe Limbo can simply use its powers to destroy all cameras in an instant, isolate guards in an alternate dimension where time is frozen for them and simply go through laser traps by banishing themselves to said alternate dimension to become untouchable, thus trivializing the



experience and giving the impression of being a god among mere mortals (*Warframe*). The example of *Warframe* highlights how the concept of the Structure of Open Containment can be utilized in video game design to provide players with vastly different experiences while doing the exact same task. It is simply the clever use of space and how it interacts with players to greatly influence their behavior in order to provide them with different experiences. Compared to the gloomier applications of the theory in previous cases, video games offer a chance to use it for a more artistic purpose. Or at least when the intent is such.

Finally, I would like to add that the Structure of Open Containment is a tool or a means to an end and should be seen as such. While being highly effective in a number of cases compared to other methods, there are also cases where it would be less than ideal. Let us take the example of a warlord in a lawless and poverty-stricken country who only needs to force people to carry out menial labor like mining. They only need to have a sizeable force of armed men at his disposal to achieve his goal effectively through typical form of coercion if there is no risk of external interference. Trying to create a Structure of Open Containment for domination in that scenario is impractical due to the cost and investment needed while more primitive methods still achieve the same goal at a fraction of the cost, thus making the latter more suitable. This is the reason why I believe that such a method is not seeing widespread adoption in every sector all across the world as other methods can prove to be more suitable in many cases from a practical standpoint.

## **THE NEED FOR NEOCOLONIAL STUDIES AND OTHER SOLUTIONS**

Due to how the methods of domination has evolved compared to the past while still retaining its sole objective of wealth accumulation at its core, one useful step that can be taken by academia is the introduction of neocolonial studies or make it an important addition to existing postcolonial studies. The focus of the subject would be to analyze how the old goals of colonialism and imperialism are still being achieved in the modern world through different methods in order to counter the dominant narrative of how the world has become a better place thanks to capitalism in the globalized stage, which tends to shift focus away from the harmful aspects of said system. Due to the scope of modern Neocolonialism under the globalized world system, it can allow numerous different perspectives and voices to come from all over the world, be it the suffering of Bangladeshi garments workers, migrants seeking refuge in Europe or Nigerians suffering from environmental damage due to oil extraction by the company Shell and its influence over Nigerian politics. And when used in conjunction with existing postcolonial studies, I believe that it can properly demonstrate how the specter of colonialism still thrives using more deceptive and subtle methods. However, I do believe that there is a high possibility of the prospect of such a step being shunned as simply the bashing of capitalism. Regardless, emphasis on the study of neocolonialism and its principles in academia has its potential as it might allow for more discussion of the topic in an academic stage as well as leading to better understanding of the matter. It can counter the use of the Structure of Open Containment by unraveling its core objectives that are largely the same as old imperialism, thus invalidating deceptively euphemistic claims of positive change that conceals the true nature of neocolonialism. Thus, I would encourage authors and scriptwriters to not only make works that focus on exploring neocolonialism and its principles but also to properly explore and depict the more subtle and insidious methods through which control can be achieved that I aimed to demonstrate with this paper. While I

have almost no expectation of such a step creating some form of mass enlightenment given how Fisher had described the quality of capitalism to assign monetary value to everything, it can still become a source of knowledge for a number of people that results in a potential paradigm shift. Just like what *Tales of Berseria* did for me when I first played it in 2018.

Furthermore, other methods could also be explored. For example, Major General Butler had suggested that one solution would be to take profit out of war (Butler 42). Despite the suggestion coming from someone in the 1930's, it does have merit since taking away the opportunity to make profit would directly target the core objective of elites that benefit from it, something that the Structure of Open Containment aims to prevent with its mechanisms. Advocating for laws that limit the amount of profit arms manufacturers and other companies can make from war could work in theory but in practice, the influence of elites, especially those in the United States, will prevent such a step from being implemented and enforced properly. A faulty implementation that makes exceptions could do more harms as it will limit the power of some while greatly benefiting others who are more influential while maintaining an image of a positive law. However, there is another method involving military strategy that might be useful to those who face the threat of war from a profit-driven global capitalist power like the United States or any other similar entity that exists or might exist in an unfortunate future. I would call this strategy market scorching and it involves targeting elements of the global market that the elites employ for profit so that in case of a war, their destruction is guaranteed to deprive said elites of parts of the global market that were crucial to maintaining their profit margins. For better understanding, imagine a hypothetical scenario where the People's Republic of China face the threat of war from the United States who have not only deployed their military in an aggressive manner but have also laid the foundations to ensure that in a regular war, China's fall would be imminent due to the toll it would take on its economy. In this scenario, the Chinese could use capabilities target not military bases but

rather important parts of the global market system such as sabotaging the Suez and Panama Canal to render them inoperable to hamper trade or destroy semiconductor production facilities that the West depends on such as TSMC in Taiwan with nuclear weapons. While it seems like a scorched earth policy that could bring untold devastation, the merit in it lies in the fact that the elites themselves are dependent on the global system being functional. With the fear of the global market being damaged, they could pressure the governments in their countries to pursue less aggressive policies to ensure that the damage to the global market does not harm their profit margins. It could serve as a deterrent that could prevent escalation of conflict or other methods of war from being used if the defensive party shows enough willingness to employ it. As war is a means to an end for some elites to be profitable, the severe losses caused by markets collapsing can turn their victories into a strategic defeat due to plummeting profit margins. And this fear could be exploited to force the elites to compromise.

And while the Structure of Open Containment tries its best to ensure the people are prevented from targeting the functional base by keeping them occupied elsewhere, it is nonetheless still part of the same system so it is not fully isolated and hence, possible to be targeted. Modern revolutions would need to find ways to threaten the functionality of such materialist systems and to render them inoperable if needed. This can involve sabotage of factories and storage facilities, obstructing roads and rail routes that the elites are dependent on for their business to cyberattacks on the online assets of those elites. Other methods can involve raising awareness of people to make them boycott the products and services of said elites to reduce their profit, similar to what the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement does to reduce sale of Israeli products as a form of opposition to their treatment of Palestinians. In addition, steps could be taken to hamper the image of the products of the elites to hamper their profits such as through the use of social media. In addition, simply

ceasing the payment of taxes can also help since such elites often depend on government subsidy that comes from taxpayer money. It also puts pressure upon the government, a tactic that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had employed against the West Pakistani government as a part of the non-cooperation movement of 1971. It had forced Yahya Khan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to come to the negotiation table before they had ordered a military crackdown when they found no other option to maintain their domination. That being said, one must keep in mind that the elites will not sit idly and will use their power and influence as countermeasures, a factor that must always be taken into account. But I do need to stress that despite many such solutions sounding good in theory, it is the execution or how they are implemented in practice that becomes the decisive factor that determines its effectiveness. To summarize, modern revolutions must have the capability to target and obstruct or neutralize the functioning of the oppressive system it aims to overthrow.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the goal of wealth accumulation that had driven old imperialism has largely remained the same even in the age of Nation-States and globalized capitalism and is maintained through the use of more subtle yet effective measures that are more difficult to detect and counter. In addition, the Structure of Open Containment Theory that the paper presents demonstrates how the modern principles of domination can be used to create a system of control that makes its inhabitants believe they are not coerced in any way while effectively acquiring their consent to submit to the system and by extension, the will of those that employ it. If there is any lesson to learn from this paper, it is this: The intent that goes behind the creation of a system and the functionality of said system is always consistent for it to work properly as intended. It matters not how the latter seems to appear different from the former as long as its functioning fulfils the intent of its creation.

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## Appendix A: Resource Drain from the Global South according to Hickel et al.

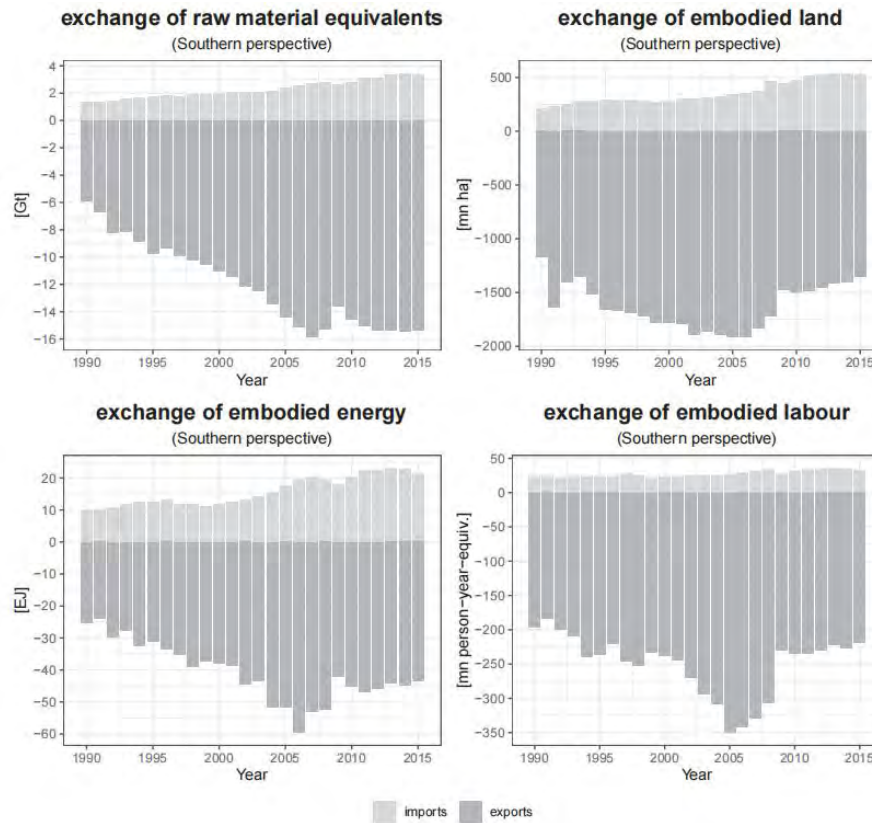


Fig. 1. Resource drain from the South.

**Table 1**  
Resource drain from the South.

Resource	North → South flows 2015	South → North flows 2015	Drain from South in 2015	Cumulative drain from South 1990–2015
Raw material equivalents [Gt]	3.37	15.39	12.02	254.40
Embodied land [mn ha]	527.42	1,349.01	821.59	32,987.23
Embodied energy [EJ]	21.55	43.51	21.06	650.34
Embodied labour [mn py-eq]	31.11	219.22	188.12	5,956.62

**Table 2**  
Drain as share of Northern consumption.

Resource	Northern consumption in 2015	Drain as % of Northern consumption in 2015	Northern consumption 1990–2015	Drain as % of Northern consumption 1990–2015
Raw material equivalents [Gt]	28.06	43%	676.77	38%
Embodied land [mn ha]	3,878.80	21%	112,416.80	29%
Embodied energy [EJ]	217.43	10%	6,137.42	11%
Embodied labour [mn py-eq]	630.06	30%	17,365.49	34%

## Appendix B: Value Transfer Compared to Aid Flows as per the research of Hickel et al.

**Table 5**  
Value transfer compared to aid flows (monetary values are given in constant 2010 USD)

Years	Official Development Assistance (trillions)	UE at Northern prices (trillions)	DAC gains as multiple of ODA disbursements	UE at global average prices (trillions)	ODA recipients' losses as multiple of ODA receipts
2015	\$0.13	\$9.46	71.11	\$4.00	29.84
1990-2015	\$2.66	\$211.33	79.46	\$78.36	29.46

**Appendix C: Diagrams Representing the Generations of Warfare in Martial Theory by Katoch.**

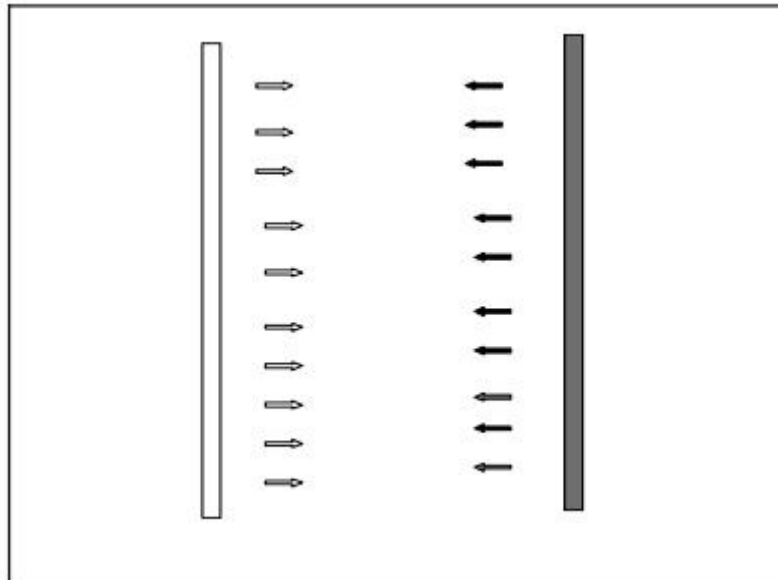


Figure 1: Linear First-Generation Battlefield.

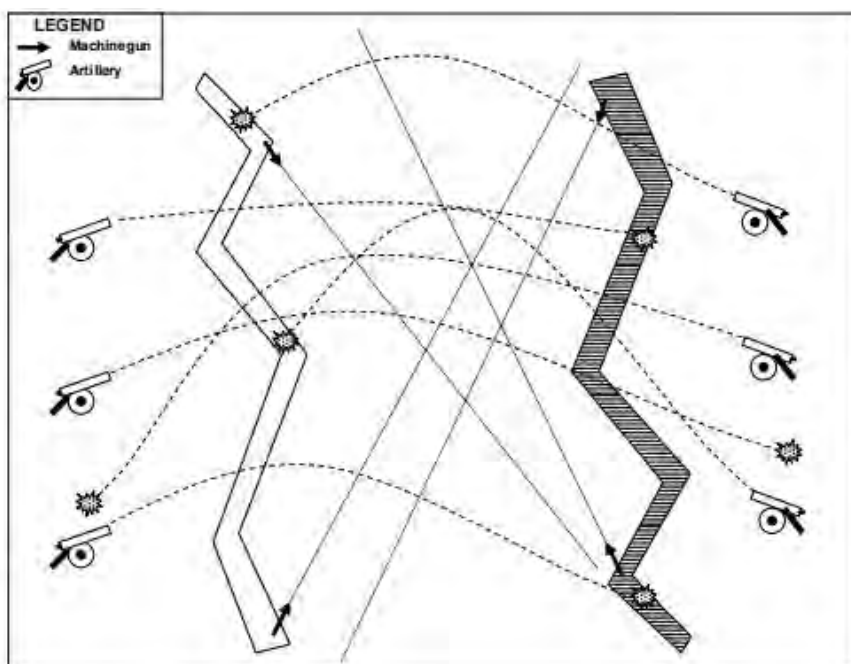


Figure 2: Linear Second-Generation Battlefield.

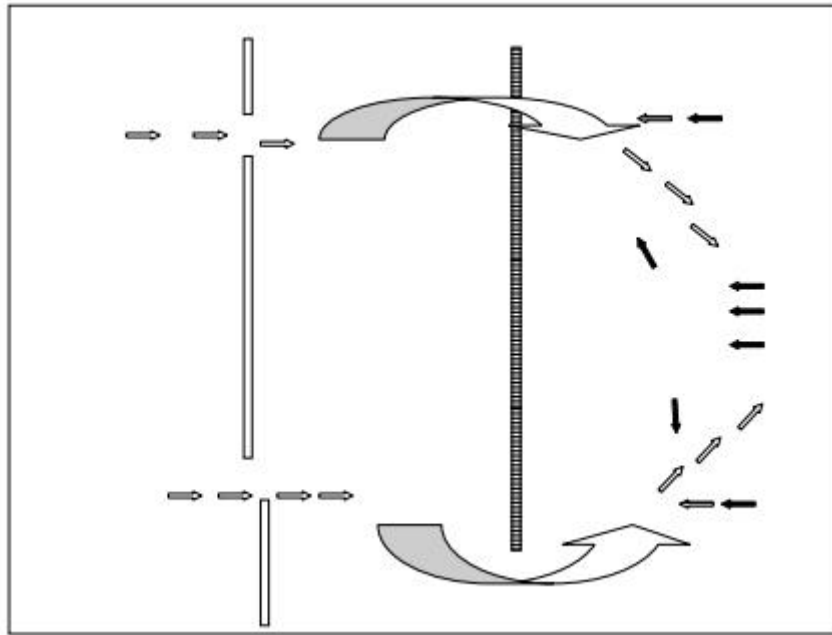


Figure 3: Non-Linear Third Generation Battlefield of Maneuver war.

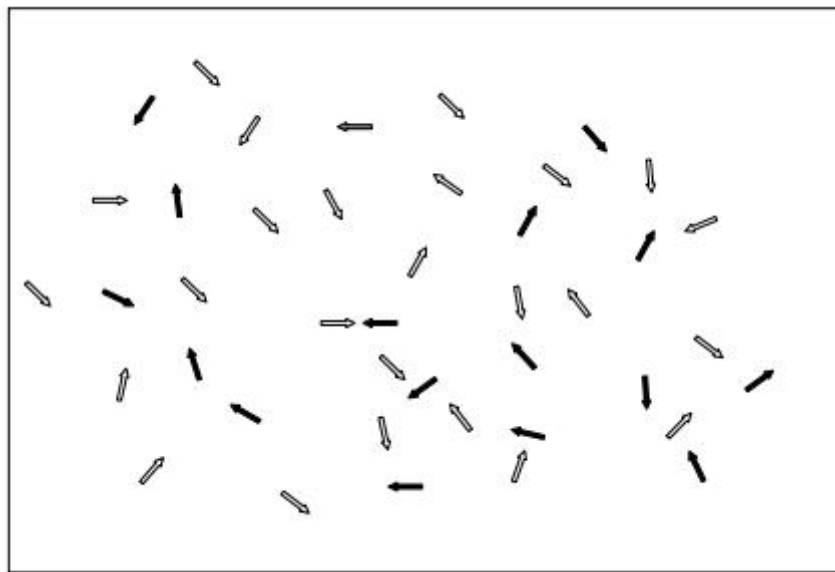


Figure 4: Extreme Non-Linear Fourth Generation Battlefield.

**Appendix D: Graph Representing the Growth of PMSC's by Swed and Burland.**

**Figure 1: The Number of PMSCs Across the Globe, By Year**

