Terrorism against Biopower:  
The Study of Post-panopticism and Liquid Surveillance in  
Edward Bond’s *The Under Room*  

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Introduction  
The cataclysm of September 11 was a turning point in the history of terrorism due to its extreme violence, vastness and the implementation of high technology which was utilized by the terrorists. Such high-tech indiscriminate violence provoked many sociologists and political thinkers to study its reasons and analyze the ways the Western postmodern establishments form the global citizens’ subjectivity. Accordingly, Baudrillard theorizes the processes within which capitalism is globalized and the global citizens are atomized. Besides, Hardt and Negri speak of the Empire/Multitude dichotomy as a framework of power relations within which the Western postmodern governments define the global citizen. The global powers, the Empire in Hardt and Negri’s parlance, expand their control over the postmodern world by utilization of informational technology, electronic surveillance and liquid modernity. If panopticism, in Foucault’s thought, was the ways and means of establishing carceral archipelago in western society, post-panopticism in postmodern world is an apparatus for defining and subjectivizing the global citizens.  
Not only are the political thinkers and social theorists concerned about the omnipresence of the Empire and its homogenizing consequences, but also the contemporary British playwrights have reflected such concerns in their plays. Among these playwrights is Edward Bond. In his plays, Bond studies the prevalent  

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violence in postmodern society. Such violence according to Bond, is a consequence of the development of aggressive capitalism, its economic and political institutions and its institutionalized surveillance (Bond, 2000, 191). In The Under Room, Bond stages a dystopia within which surveillance and capitalistic administrations have devastated the social communication, and terrorism has impinged on the citizens’ lives. In this dystopia, panopticism and surveillance are conveyed by informational technologies and data control. Therefore, in this research the concepts of post-panopticism, liquid surveillance, and terrorism are examined in The Under Room. To meet such objective, the concept of biopower, the binary opposition of multitude/people and the socio-cultural impulses of terrorism are put forth by utilizing Foucault, Baudrillard and Hardt-Negri’s ideas.

**Theoretical Framework**

1. **Post-Foucauldian Power**

   The world has been made up of diverse cultures. Multicultural identities comprise a robust lifeworld and sustain the society. However, Neo-capitalism and neoliberalism try to homogenize the peoples’ lifestyles and cultures for expanding their hegemony all over the world. Such global mechanism of power, according to Hardt and Negri, has a post-Foucauldian structure. By introducing the dichotomy of power/multitude Hardt and Negri maintain that the Western cultural and economic power is “exercised through machines that directly organize the brains (in communication systems, information networks, etc.) and bodies (in welfare systems, monitored activities, etc.)” (Hardt and Negri, 2001, p.62).

   Therefore, the Empire defines and subjectivizes the multitude. This notion implies on the Foucauldian idea that “it is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power” (Foucault, 1972, p.52). The global powers, the Empire in Hardt and Negri’s parlance, expand their control over the postmodern world by utilization of informational technology, electronic surveillance and liquid modernity.

2. **Terrorism Against Biopower**

   By employing biopower, the globalization of the Empire extends the process of self-enslaving among the citizens (Hardt and Negri, 2001, p.62). While the global power monopolizes the World’s cultural arena and public sphere, “the singularities
(species, individuals and cultures)” that are marginalized by a single power take their revenge through “terroristic situational transfer” (Baudrillard, pp. 8-9). In other words, the marginalized ‘Other’ is antagonized and provoked to take action by terrorism.

Discussion
In this part of the article the concepts of surveillance, post-panopticism and biopower are examined on the symbolic social milieu of the play. The spread of social terror, the predominance of electronic surveillance (dataveillance), and the policing of the society are the elements which are studied in The Under Room’s atmosphere.

The researcher, then, analyses the influences of such atmosphere on the behavior of the play’s characters. Therefore, the trauma of being a young refugee in Dummy’s behavior is studied. The murder of Dummy’s parents by terrorists in an unknown country has traumatized him. While the terrorists have put a knife in the Dummy’s hands, they have forced him to murder one of his parents. As a refugee, in the postmodern setting of The Under Room, Dummy always carries the knife as a symbol of contagiousness of terrorism: “I want my knife, … The knife is to tell me who I am it is my pass to myself” (Bond, p. 194). Now, Dummy has inevitably become a member of the multitude eradicated from his culture and homeland. Accordingly, the researcher utilizes Baudrillard’s ideas about the terroristic situational transfer in the postmodern world for the analysis of the characters’ behaviors in The Under Room.

Also, the signs of the contagion of this trauma to Joan’s mind which are represented in her histrionics, are analyzed. At the end of the play the petrified and paranoid Joan stabs Dummy’s effigy and tears it into pieces because she considers him the source of all her terrors. It is, in fact, an act of violence which performs like a virus and infects the body that has produced it. As Baudrillard believes, terrorism, like a virus, acts as counter-apparatus against the automatic and homogenizing power which has produced it (Baudrillard, p. 10).

Conclusion
By staging an apocalyptic dystopia in The Under Room, Bond symbolizes his futuristic ideas about the consequences of aggressive capitalism. In The Under
Room, biopower uses post-panoptic technologies to control the people’s social lives. Such control has led to retaliatory violence and the spread of terrorism in society. Therefore, the researcher shows that the socio-political concepts of biopower, post-surveillance, and terroristic situational transfer, are germane to Bond’s socio-political perceptions in The Under Room. In a nutshell, it is concluded that post-panopticism and liquid surveillance are the governmental authoritarian means which result in the development of aggression and terroristic retaliations in the symbolic society of The Under Room.

Key words: Edward Bond, Postpanoptic, Terrorism, The Under Room, Liquid Surveillance, Biopower.
Discourse Construction and Counter-Hegemonic Discourses in *The Beloved* By Toni Morrison

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In contemporary American society the dominant discourse of the white contend to suppress ethnic minority cultures. Throughout the American history, Euro-Americans have devised their own discourse in order to legitimize their colonization and suppress Native and African Americans as it is evident in Toni Morrison’s *Beloved*. In order to reach the goals, the white people attached certain meanings to the signs which privileged the white culture over other ethnic minorities. How they have tried to articulate their discourse, its effects on the mentioned minorities and how this dominant discourse is resisted are the sole concern of this essay. Laclau and Mouffe’s theory on discourse is used to show how opposing cultures have tried to articulate their discourse in the mentioned novel and also how the ethnic minorities in the mentioned novel try to attach different meanings to the floating signifiers in order to construct a discourse specific to their own culture. In this sense, Alan Sinfield’s theory of faultlines and Raymond Williams’ theory of Dominant, Residual and Emergent and also theories of Michel Bakhtin, Louise Montrose, and Antonio Gramsci are used to show how the minorities channelize their resistances against the dominant Euro-American discourse. The outcome of such resistances is not the focus of this essay, what is most significant is to find ways, according to the

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