



**A STUDY ON NEO-COLONIALISM IN GRAHAM
GREENE'S *THE QUIET AMERICAN*, *OUR MAN
IN HAVANA*, AND *THE HONORARY CONSUL***

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A STUDY ON NEO-COLONIALISM IN GRAHAM GREENE'S *THE QUIET AMERICAN*, *OUR MAN IN HAVANA*, AND *THE HONORARY CONSUL*

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THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that in my opinion, the thesis submitted by Mustafa CANLI titled “A STUDY ON NEO-COLONIALISM IN GRAHAM GREENE’S *THE QUIET AMERICAN*, *OUR MAN IN HAVANA*, AND *THE HONORARY CONSUL*” is fully adequate in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Ph.D.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own work and all information included has been obtained and expounded in accordance with the academic rules and ethical policy specified by the institute. Besides, I declare that all the statements, results, materials, not original to this thesis have been cited and referenced literally.

Without being bound by a particular time, I accept all moral and legal consequences of any detection contrary to the aforementioned statement.

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FOREWORD

This dissertation explores neo-colonialism in selected novels of Graham Greene that has gained a great deal of momentum across the world since World War II. Although the year 1950 marked the official date when colonialism ended, the former colonizing countries have never left their legacies in the former colonies but still strive to pursue their exploitive desires under various guises, in which neo-colonial powers carry on controlling and exploiting poor and previously occupied countries. This work has consumed the researcher much time and energy to do research and complete the dissertation.

During the research and writing processes, my supervisor Prof. Dr. Ali GÜNEŞ helped me enormously; he has given me insight into the core arguments and contributed profoundly to discussions. Without his help, this dissertation would not come true. I also would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. A. Serdar ÖZTÜRK, the head of the department of English Language and Literature at Karabuk University, for his continuous support and help. Finally, I would like to thank my family for their endless support and patience; I hereby plead guilty for the time I have stolen from them.

Mustafa CANLI
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ABSTRACT

Graham Greene's novels selected for analysis in this study, *The Quiet American*, *Our Man in Havana*, and *The Honorary Consul*, take place in different countries such as Cuba and Vietnam after the Second World War, representing shifting aspects of colonization and decolonization. In this respect, this dissertation examines how colonialism comes to an end and how its legacy tacitly continues in the formerly colonized countries – the legacy that has come to be known as neo-colonialism. In so doing, the dissertation explores neo-colonial practices in the formerly colonized countries through Greene's representation of his characters, their world views, and practices. This is achieved in two ways. First, Greene represents his characters in these novels as intent, through their action, on conducting and maintaining, in disguised ways, the legacy of the former colonial ambition of colonizing countries in different ways. Secondly, Greene also portrays his characters in a way that makes them seem very much bored and frustrated within the complexities of modern metropolitan cities. This sense of ennui and frustration drives them to that; they travel to the former subjugated countries where they not only get into an intricate relationship with local authorities but also question what their countries did in the past and what they do right now in newly independent countries. In both cases, Greene illustrates the workings of neo-colonialism in formerly colonized countries. In this way, the dissertation demonstrates how the perceptions of the Western heroes whose countries used to directly colonize other nations in the past, have changed their policy after the Second World War, in which they disparage the neo-colonial activities of their countries in formerly colonized countries such as Vietnam and Cuba. This dissertation examines how Greene's works above subvert the imperial codes of Western Civilization, in which he artistically not only represents how the former imperial habits are still equivocally in practice one way or another but also strives to decode and deconstruct the deep imperial structures of neo-colonial writing.

Keywords: Colonialism, Neo-colonialism, Graham Greene, Vietnam, Cuba.

ÖZ (ABSTRACT IN TURKISH)

Bu tezde İngiliz yazar Graham Greene'in *The Quiet American*, *Our Man in Havana* ve *The Honorary Consul* adlı romanları, İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonraki dönemde sömürgecilik ve sömürgeyle mücadelenin değişen yönleri açısından incelenmektedir. Siyasi durumları karışık olan Küba, Vietnam ve Latin Amerika ülkeleri gibi farklı mekanlarda kurgulanan bu romanlar, alışlagelmiş sömürgeciliğin bittiği düşünülmesine rağmen, sömürgeleştirilmiş ülkelerde başka şekillerde nasıl zımnen devam ettiğini ayrıntılı olarak gözler önüne sermektedir. Ortaya çıkan bu yeni siyasi durum teorisyenlerce yeni sömürgecilik olarak adlandırılmıştır.

Bu çalışma; romanlardaki dünya tasviri ve karakter temsili aracılığıyla eskiden sömürgeleştirilmiş ülkelerdeki yeni sömürgeci uygulamaları araştırmaktadır. Romanların yazarı Graham Greene bu kurgulamayı iki şekilde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Öncelikle, Greene romanlarında yayılmacı ülkelerin eski sömürme hırslarını farklı şekillerde sürdürmek ve muhafaza etmek için üstü kapaklı şekillerde hareket etmeye çalıştıklarını resmetmiştir. İkinci olarak ise, Greene hikayelerde sömürgeci ülkeleri temsil eden ve romanların baş kahramanı olan karakterleri modern metropol şehirlerin karmaşıklığı içinde bunalmış ve buhran içerisinde olarak tasvir etmiştir. Bu sebeple bu karakterler kendi ülkelerinin eskiden sömürgesi olan ülkelere farklı nedenlerle göç ederler ve yine kendi ülkelerinin çıkarları için eskiden sömürgeleştirilmiş olan bu ülkelerdeki yerel yetkililerle karmaşık bir ilişki içine girerler. Aynı zamanda bu karakterler kendi ülkelerinin geçmişte onlar aracılığıyla ne türlü sömürme ve zulüm uyguladıklarını itiraf eder ve sorgularlar.

Sonuç olarak, Greene'nin ve romanlarının Batı medeniyetinin emperyalist yargılarını eleştirdiği ve eski sömürge alışkanlıklarının uygulamada hala üstü kapalı bir şekilde devam etmekte olduğu kanısına varılmıştır. Aynı zamanda Greene'nin şahsında, yeni sömürgeci yazının/edebiyatın da bu alışkanlığı yerdığı ve okurlarına yeni bir anlayış inşa etme çabası içerdiği kanısına varılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sömürgecilik, Yeni Sömürgecilik, Graham Greene, Vietnam, Küba.

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ARŞİV KAYIT BİLGİLERİ (in Turkish)

Tezin Adı	Graham Greene'nin <i>Sessiz Amerikalı</i> , <i>Havana'daki Adamımız</i> , ve <i>Fahri Konsolos</i> Adlı Romanlarında Yeni Sömürgecilik Üzerine Bir Araştırma
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ABBREVIATIONS

CIA: Central Intelligence Agency

EU: European Union

FNA: Algerian National Front

IMF: International Monetary Fund

MI6: Military Intelligence Section 6

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

OED: Oxford English Dictionary

OMH: Our Man in Havana

PMC: Permanent Mandates Commission

THC: The Honorary Consul

TQA: The Quiet American

UK: United Kingdom

UN: United Nations

US: United States

USA: United States of America

WWII: Second World War

1. CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

1.1. A Shift from Colonialism to Neo-colonialism

Colonialism is a contentious term that has occupied the minds of politicians, economists, intellectuals, writers, and artists mainly since the sixteenth century when Western powers took control of peoples and territories across the world, including Africa, Asia, Far East, North and South America, and today it is still the topic of many intellectual discussions and academic research projects because its various aspects continue in different and subtle ways in international power-relations, thus keeping their freshness intact to absorb minds, as well as debates, in politics, economics, and academia (Ashcroft et. al., 1995; Cooper, 2005; Deane et. al., 1990; Quayson, 2000). Thus, colonialism does not have one definition but various ones depending on the area involved, e.g. politics, economics, international relations, arts, culture, identity, and so on (Barker, 2012; Stoler, 2002; Young, 2001). What all these definitions have in common is the fact that colonialism as a concept immediately evokes perceptions of control, domination, hegemony, imperialism, and exploitation in the minds of those who employ it in their debates and studies (Ferro, 1997; Sartre, 1964; Loomba, 2015; Cooper, 2005; Memmi, 2013). As for its definition, the *OED* states that the word “colonialism” derives from the Latin word ‘*Colonia*’, which means a settlement or farm:

a settlement in a new country ... a body of people who settle in a new locality, forming a community subject to or connected with their parent state; the community so formed, consisting of the original settlers and their descendants and successors, as long as the connection with the parent state is kept up.¹

¹This definition is a very naive one and avoids meddling with the difficult views in which Britain as a colonizing country is often accused of applying its imperial, dominating and exploitative policies towards its colonies worldwide. In terms of the definition above, however, Ania Loomba argues that the *OED* definition is a biased one and that colonization “locked the original inhabitants and the newcomers into the most complex and traumatic relationships in human history” (2005, pp. 7–8). In her view, Loomba seems correct in the sense that these “traumatic relationships” are saliently linked to the conquest of foreign territories, the political and economic control of other peoples’ lands and products, as well as their culture and identity, sometimes through the use of military force and sometimes through other means. As for “traumatic relationships”, Loomba’s view is closely connected to the imperial aspect of colonialism. Although these two concepts differ from each other in their meanings, they are used interchangeably because imperialism, according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (2018), means: “a state policy, practice, or advocacy of extending power and dominion, especially by direct territorial acquisition or by gaining political and economic control of other areas. Because it always involves the use of power, whether military force or some subtler form, imperialism has often been considered morally reprehensible, and the term is frequently employed in international propaganda to denounce and discredit an opponent’s foreign policy”. As to their difference in meaning, colonialism mainly focuses on demographics and existing motivations and aims, whereas imperialism covers all of these along with

Furthermore, colonialism is a vicious system of oppression and pacification of the peoples of colonized lands involving inhumane reasoning and violent atrocities. A number of well-known thinkers and activists inside the Western world recognise these crimes, and one of the more popular among them, Jean-Paul Sartre, writes that they should “hide nothing, and denounce all the war crimes committed before their eyes: pillaging, rape, reprisals against the civilian population, summary executions, use of torture to extract confessions or information” (1964, p. 24). There are intelligent accounts and records of this violence in military and espionage reports and even in newspapers.² Sartre labels them as unbearable to read and continue from one line to the next, yet he wants everyone to read about and witness their armies’ crimes across the African continent and elsewhere.

Regarding colonialism and its development, after the Mediterranean Sea and its surrounding regions were controlled by the Ottoman Empire, the Continent – that is the new Western World as they put it – started looking for new ports and seas for commerce, trade and wealth beyond the borders of Europe, from the sixteenth century onwards (Baker, 1948; Brand, 2017; Gilbert, 2013). Among these nations were the Portuguese and the Spanish who were the first to try setting sail to distant waters and discovering new lands. The Portuguese first discovered the Cape of Hope in South Africa and reached India and the Far East, while the Spanish set sail to the West with the same intentions and discovered the continents of America – south and north. Christopher Columbus discovered the Caribbean waters in 1492, but he believed he was on the Indian territories that the Portuguese had tried to reach. The explorations of Columbus and other sailors and conquistadors (discoverers) paved the way for a fierce and bloody competition among the colonizing countries wanting a share of the newly found lands and their resources (Ferro, 1997). For instance, Pope Alexander Borgia VI divided the new lands, which were rich in raw materials and livestock, into two by assigning a red line between the loyal Catholic Portuguese and the Spanish (Tiryakioğlu, 2018, p. 66). Explorers like Columbus, Nunez de Balboa and Cortez discovered the extent of the continents of America (the Americas), where they went a

some other aspects, such as economy, politics and even other governmental and social institutions, which are later used as subtle devices for colonization or for what is called neo-colonization. Loomba states that the main difference between the two definitions is that “[i]mperialism can function without formal colonies (as in United States imperialism today) but colonialism cannot” (2005, p. 12).

²Referring to the legally documented and internationally accepted atrocities of the Spanish and Portuguese on the American continents, Belgium’s maltreatment in Congo, violent acts by the British in India, French massacres in Algeria, Italian atrocities in Libya and many more.

step further and engaged in bloodshed, ethnic cleansing and assimilation (Fenn, 1940; Wood, 2002). They reached almost all parts of Chile, the Philippines and Colombia. Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese explorer and navigator, took on the unfinished tours of Vasco de Gama and Colombo and travelled around the world by sea (Innes, 2013).

As seen above, the first discoveries and world tours around were financially driven and sponsored by kings and queens for their profitable returns in gold, raw materials, new food, clothing and machinery products and, most importantly, humans, which later came to be the main issue known as slavery (Ferro, 1997; McAlister, 1984). As to the motivations behind European expansionist policies, there were two main reasons: missionaries and colonization (Ferro, 1997, pp. 45–46). Driven by these motivations, the invaders and governors that colonized a territory committed many atrocious massacres, for example in Africa and the Americas, and mercilessly forced indigenous peoples to leave their lands or accept the hegemonic policies of colonizers in all aspects of life. There were even conflicts between the colonizers who fought to rule over areas where there were rich raw materials and potential profits. For example, Spain, Portugal, Britain, France and the Netherlands were always in fierce competition, and they even waged wars on one another to get the biggest share of the cake, as seen in the Middle East today. However, at times they made peace and formed alliances, ironically against their interests, to occupy lands by stealth and influence local leaders. In this way, for instance, Spain gained much more than any other nation by bringing back the riches from the countries it occupied, especially gold from South and Middle America. Along with gold, other valuable ores such as silver were brought into the country from Peru and Mexico. In this way, the Europeans had all commerce under their control in the newly discovered lands, either through the use of military force or through their imposition of European culture, language and religion on indigenous peoples (Armaoğlu, 2016; Ferro, 1997, Heller & McElhinny, 2017; Loomba, 2015).

France, Britain and the Netherlands joined the colonization race later. France started establishing companies under the reformer Richelieu (Boucher, 2018), while Britain focused on India and North America, and the Netherlands turned its attention towards India and Far East countries like Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines. These countries started getting rich through their colonial and exploitative involvement in countries beyond their borders. Especially, Britain secured its position in India

through the East India Company, which enabled Britain merchants to be engaged naively in business activities at the beginning, but the company became a means to colonize and exploit the richness of fertile Indian lands and resources. The traditional system and the culture of the Indians were submerged by British pressure and social attacks. Different from classical colonial tactics which included military force, the British found new ways to govern vast areas of land. By creating allies with certain religious, economic or ethnic groups in the region, they tried to govern the land without being noticed. British colonial governors bribed and manipulated local leaders and groups to legalize their rule and eliminate all national or religious-based revolts and independence attempts (Tharoor, 2017; Poddar et al., 2008).

As seen in the discussion above, colonization is a process of control and domination of another country, land and its people, but it is not a uniform process, for it might take various forms. By and large, two main forms have prominence. In his book *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, Robert C. Young explains these two main forms of colonization “motivated by the desire for living space or the extraction of riches” and two kinds of colonies as “the settled and the exploited, the white and the black, which would be treated very differently” (2001, p. 19). Those in settlements have certain privileges as they are called dominions which have some economic freedom, trade ports and posts which they can operate themselves unlike enslaved indigenous people who are used as workers without any rights. There are other types of colonialism, such as settler, planter, exploitative, extractive, trade and transportation, all of which can be brought together under the former two headings and are simply different versions and combinations of other types of colonialism.

However, a new type of colonialism occurred after the 1870s which can be labelled neo-colonialism. According to Marc Ferro, there are three steps from the old type of colonialism to the newly emerging neo-colonialism (Ferro, 1997, p. 48). For instance, Algeria, occupied in 1830, is the last example of exploitative and expanding colonization, but invasions after 1871, such as the invasion of Morocco by France, are regarded as neo-colonization since they rely heavily on economic capitalism and industrial exploitation, different from the former colonial practice. Another form is non-settler colonization (such as the annexation of Egypt from the Ottoman Empire), which was the next step in *the shift from colonization to neo-colonization*, which sends no settlers to new lands but occupies them with the minimum of soldiers, aiming for

maximum financial and capitalist exploitation. Ferro underlines the fact that this type of colonization has survived to the present day, despite the independence movements and declarations which debunked decolonization as a myth and newly formed countries that were in worse condition than before due to ongoing unbreakable economic links to the colonizers (2005, p. 49).

Neo-colonialism, in very general terms, is defined by Encyclopaedia Britannica as the administrative, territorial or military control of less-developed countries by developed ones through indirect means. The initial usage of this term dates back to the 1950s, after WW II, when most of the colonized countries started to gain their independence from the colonizer countries, one by one. The term was first used in an All African Peoples Conference (AAPC) in a session entitled the “1961 Resolution on Neo-colonialism,” where the term neo-colonialism was given its first official definition:

It was described as the deliberate and continued survival of the colonial system in independent African states, by turning these states into victims of political, mental, economic, social, military and technical forms of domination carried out through indirect and subtle means that did not include direct violence. (Afisi, 2018, p.1)

As the name asserts, this form of colonization is new in accordance with the conditions of the period which condemned military occupation: staying away from direct involvement and preferably using power in the form of economic, political and diplomatic influence (Vakhrushev, 1973). This is a new form of colonization different from those in the previous centuries, it can be called “colonial-like” exploitation and indirect colonization rather than bloody and crude as in the past. In this form, the imperial powers or neo-colonizers, using hideous tactics, aim to evade the law and any accountability for the crimes they commit.³ The new ongoing globalization and capitalist agenda has had a great influence on the development of neo-colonialism, which has come to be regarded as a negative term and has also led to an understanding that the term means the covert and vicious indirect rule of an underdeveloped or less-developed country (Ferro, 1997; Mwaura, 2005; Pierce, 2009; Vakhrushev, 1973).

³Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, an Indian scholar, literary theorist and feminist critic, openly labels post-colonialism (in a reference to neo-colonialism) as the continuation of colonialism with a new face: “Neo-colonialism is not simply the continuation of colonialism; it is a different thing. That is what I call ‘postcoloniality’ and I find the word postcolonialism just totally bogus” (1995, p. 7). Spivak points to the futility of a new concept as the old one is still in operation.

The multinational corporations that now exist and dominate the political and economic arena and international relations are regarded as central to this indirect influence over and exploitation of weak and competitive countries. Kwame Nkrumah, a prominent theorist of neo-colonialism, states that these countries are “client states” that appear to be independent with their flags and national anthems, but they are pawns and underlings of the colonial powers that guarantee their independence (1965, p. x). Out of Nkrumah’s definition and concepts, it can be inferred that Nkrumah is pessimistic about the independence of new states formed after the colonizers left formerly colonized countries. He asserts that this new situation is not compatible with the reality that is still experienced in these countries. Likewise, Nicholas J. White considers this kind of independence of formerly colonized countries to be “only pseudo-independence” (2005, p. i), because those countries formerly colonized especially in Africa are not truly independent in political and economic matters, even if they have their borders, institutions, flags and national anthems. Thus, critics support the idea that economic independence comes first, and, without it, political and physical independence is but a futile effort (Mehmet, 2018; Mwaura, 2005).

For a clear, comprehensive and brief definition of neo-colonialism, Kwame Nkrumah, the African leader and first founding president of Ghana, writer and intellectual, argues that “the essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality, its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside” (1965, p. ix). Like Mark Ferro, Nkrumah also mainly focuses on the financial dimensions of this theory while remarking that the era they are in, the 1950s, is now the last stage of imperialism called neo-colonialism which, he emphasizes, is its most dangerous stage. Traditional colonialism is not possible anymore but there is a new insidious strategy for the imperial colonial powers that has come to be implicitly called “new colonialism”. The methods of these fresh tactics vary – direct garrison control of territories with a small strategic military force and, most of the time, power exerted through the economy, obliging the former colony to buy manufactured products made from raw materials taken from the colonies by imperial countries, control of government policy by paying the costs of the state, with civil servants who are in key positions and can influence policy, or the imposition of a banking system controlled by the imperial power (p. ix). A significant consequence of this system

which enslaves the newly formed independent country is that the foreign capital in that country is used for exploitation rather than the development of the less developed parts of the world or colonies. Therefore, investments aim to make the rich richer and the poor poorer (p. x). Nkrumah's solution to this problem is that the fight against neo-colonization should be a financial, rather than military, struggle, not to get rid of the currency but to prevent the imperial powers from using it as a weapon to crush less developed countries, regions or groups. Under a neo-colonial regime, the destiny of a country is not in the hands of its indigenous people but in the hands of an imperial power; and thus, neo-colonialism is more dangerous than nuclear bombs. Nuclear weapons and the fear of mass destruction led the imperial blocks to have "limited wars". That is how neo-colonialism was able to evolve and spread (p. xi). The first step in this transformation was the mandate system.

As a first step, the neo-colonizers offered mandate programmes to their ex-colonies. The most important event behind the emergence of the mandate system was the gradual weakening of colonial policies in the wake of the First World War (Armaoğlu, 2016; Ferro, 1997). The war profoundly undermined the basis of colonial ideology and shocked and demoralized the Western colonizing powers. The Ottoman and Germanic empires lost vast areas of land, and people in those lands found themselves without order and a centre to obey and hold onto afterwards. Also, this was a challenge to the European powers because they not only lost many of their colonies, unlimited sources of income, wealth and prosperity, and markets, but also their prestige and fame (Duara, 2003; Shipway, 2008).

However, the colonizing powers did not want to lose their colonies all at once but desired to keep their former colonial legacy intact, one way or another, in places they used to control. To achieve this end and keep their presence and interest alive, they invented new strategies. For example, the former colonial powers came to a general conclusion that it was no longer possible to impose previous colonial imperial practices on formerly colonized countries as they did in the past (Andrew & Kanya-Forstner, 1981, p. 182). Instead, they first wanted to put into practice a mandate system by which these colonial territories and peoples would be controlled by colonial powers on the grounds of sacred faith of society and the well-being and prosperity of the citizens. This relationship would be supervised by the League of Nations, to which the mandatory powers were to report annually about countries' progress, and they were

members of a supervisory body formed as the Permanent Mandates Commission (PMC) (Chin, 2018).

The method proposed was a mandate system for colonized lands depending on the diversity, race, ethnicity and religious affiliation of the population. Colonies and mandates classified as group A are those of the Ottoman Empire's former Middle Eastern territories and lands where it was predicted that mandatory authority would provide the citizens, who were theoretically near self-government, with specific administrative guidance and advice so that they would not have problems with the transformation process of the society (Sluglett, 2014). Colonies and mandates in group B would be given an economic exemption so that they could continue to trade overseas and provide protection for their citizens. These countries and territories were Togo, Cameroon and Rwanda. Category C was for remote areas that had little connection with European colonial forces and were mostly at odds with little chance of independence. Through the mandate system, the concepts of colony and colonization were softened and changed into acceptable ones for the world public. The intention was to avoid any reaction that would put the interests of the former colonial powers into peril. The mandate system⁴ aimed to help problem areas that needed guidance, but it was an unethical way to reverse developments that would lead to the independence of many former colonies of the imperial powers in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Pugh, 2012).

The early decades of the twentieth century witnessed an increasing decline in the colonial system, particularly due to the impact of the First World War, which weakened and devastated the political and economic power of imperial powers such as

⁴In addition to the mandate system, the former colonizing powers had established the League of Nations that came to be known as the United Nations after the Second World War. The United Nations aimed to serve and cherish the process of neo-colonialism at the international level. For countries in the League of Nations, the keyword for the process was a time limit for mandates which imposes a certain time limit for the duration of the mandate process, which was to be a different form of administration from the 19th century conventional forms of imperial rule: little has changed for peoples who are colonized and under social, political and economic suppression by the colonizers. Researchers and analysts have often called and regarded the mandatory programme in the years of the interwar period as nothing more than a colonial alternative, which offers a degree of global recognition but does not in fact make any difference for colonized peoples. Nevertheless, as Susan Pedersen (2006) has suggested, the administration of mandates is exceedingly difficult to generalize because territories and their ways of administration and social conjuncture were so varied. Among examples of these futile and ill-intentioned processes could be listed Britain's land reforms in Middle and South Africa and France's efforts in her African colonies, and the Syrian conflict as well. Divisions labelled mandates did almost nothing to limit colonial rule's arbitrary and often violent nature that had been applied in those lands as they had governments appointed or heavily influenced by motherland administrations or monarchies.

Britain (Roshwald, 2002; Pierce, 2009). Furthermore, the great economic recession towards the end of the 1920s across the world caused the colonizing powers severe and overwhelming shock and grief, and the rate of unemployment increased and demoralized the already-declining colonial powers (Brendon, 2010). The First World War and economic recession, along with many other reasons, paved the way for the outbreak-out of the WW II, which officially not only ended the colonial period but also opened the door to a period called neo-colonialism (McIntyre, 1998).

The shift from colonization to neo-colonization in the world's colonial system mostly applied by the Western world was not a quick and sudden transformation but one that has layers slowly turning into a new formation and skin, especially after the WW II (Kennedy, 2016). The movements of armies and administrations during the world wars and other regional conflicts saw massive mobilizations of armies and agreements among countries. This included exchanges of colonies and territories or other agreements and pacts resulting in a new concept or understanding of controlling another region or country in non-standard ways; that is, methods latently applied by the former colonizing powers (Betts, 2004).⁵

Despite all the attempts made by the colonizer empires to ensure peace and welfare in the colonized lands and their attempts to increase the living standards and incomes of their settlers, the system of colonization was not working well, and the colonizing powers found themselves increasingly faced with problems such as racism, quarrels and riots, with small-scale fights being common among the peoples of

⁵After the Second World War, especially the British and French empires were largely scattered all over the world, having a lot of bases, armies, equipment, workforces and other services which led to a new method of colonization, with fewer expenses and less attention from world public opinion, that came to be globalized faster than ever. Staff overseas who worked for former colonizing powers required more attention, rights and gains from this process of colonization, which slowly turned into a global economy and international trade links. As an example, Indian people who worked for the British Empire inside the country had specific rights and sought reforms to have a better position in the administration. In 1917, the Indian administrators were granted self-governing enactments and institutions that would lead to their regional and local power upgrades, but still as part of the Empire (Darwin, 2009, pp. 347–351). The debates of such attempts continued until the mid-1940s in both the colonizers' parliaments and cabinets and colonized countries local and limited units of administration. These were not the indigenous people of colonized areas but settlers who came there from the motherland to exploit, earn money and have a better income. In parallel, the French Empire applied the same tactics and gave rights to its settlers, as well as money for their services to the colonial empire in times of war and peace. The settlers gained the right to citizenship of the empire in the motherland, and at the same time the financial and civil rights to have lands, houses and companies headquartered in the motherland, thus letting them trade overseas and gain more rights and money. In colonies such as Senegal and Algeria, the French mainland government was forced to give rights to its settlers as well as allow representative offices and institutions in those lands to control both the administrative and financial spheres of the country (Thomas, 2008, p. 26).

colonized areas (Home, 1993; McIntyre, 1974). Such problems led the colonizing powers to weaken their administration, strength and ability for a peaceful and unified rule. To provide security, however, the colonizing powers strove to apply harsh methods to suppress uprisings and separatist movements in places such as Western Africa where tribal representations or other systems aimed to achieve self-determination and rule themselves. Instead, the colonizers sent their imperial governors, as well as advisors and companies from the mainland, to maintain order and control the settlers or indigenous people. This form of governance did not change anything but continued to keep settlers or indigenous people as labourers, lower-working class and third-class citizens having barely any rights at the institutional and constitutional levels (Srinivasan, 2005). Although this new world order suggests for many a world that enjoys advancement, democracy and human rights, it is clandestinely related to the Western hegemony of culture, politics and economy, in which formerly colonized countries or underdeveloped nations are controlled once again, not in the former colonial way but in a new way.

As mentioned above, the term neo-colonialism first appeared in the definitions of African territories and their neo-colonization by the Western superpowers (Nkrumah, 1965; Vakhrushev, 1973; Mwaura, 2005, Sartre, 1964). At first, it was the coinage of the politics of the “main continent”, which came to mean Europe. In 1957, a meeting was held in Paris by several European countries, which later formed the forerunner of the European Union, even though at the time it was called an economic trade league. This summit, which soon became a habit and routine of the European powers, aimed at retaining the former colonies of European countries, such as the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Italy and Germany (White, 2002). These countries all had colonies on the African continent and wanted to retain their rule over the continent with a new format determined by the USA after its decisive victory in the WW II (Armaoğlu, 2016; Ferro, 1997). Rather than direct colonization with military and territorial power, the new format required undercover power along different dimensions, such as political influence, economic aid or pressure, intelligence operations, international groupings or international non-governmental organizations such as the IMF, UNESCO, Amnesty, the UN, the EU, NATO, etc. (Nkrumah, 1965, pp. xvii-xviii). Especially, the meeting aimed to pursue economic progress under the name of the European Common Market which seeks to retain the economic gains of

the colonizer countries in Africa (Nash, 1997). Therefore, the new agenda required a new type of control, especially to avoid international criticism and evade international or national media, which later, problematically, became a tool for the neo-colonial powers. There were smear campaigns suggesting that the former colonies were not ready for and capable of independence and self-governance; therefore, the colonial countries offered “help” to these newly emerging countries, a state which came to be known as neo-colonization.

After the introduction of banking and financial systems in the wake of the WW II by the USA, there was a covert shift in the role of capitalism in its colonial pursuits⁶ (Harvey, 2003; Quijano, 2000). As Özyay Mehmet argues, Eurocentric Capitalism was disguised under the blanket of the US; the “third world” was discovered but the remaining capitalist exploitation continued in this recently emerged neo-colonial atmosphere (2018, p. 12). This system was an updated continuation of the ideas expressed by Adam Smith in his very influential book *The Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776 (Bassiry & Jones, 1993). This book, which had a vicious, positivist and unforgiving outlook on human nature and economic relations in both society and the international sphere has since been used as a guidebook for the upper classes and even the upper-middle classes who led international trade and later formed multinational companies (Smith, 1996). Until 1914, the ideas the book asserts were used by the United Kingdom in its world empire; and after 1945, it became the system of US economic administration (Acs & Phillips, 2002). This cruel system, which asserts the rule of survival of the fittest and the wealthiest, was later described as “wild capitalism” by academics. Despite all this progress, it must not be forgotten that the West is not homogenous in its practices. Social injustice, problems with payments, modern slavery and related problems appear in the West, along with the East or the third world. On the other hand, the top one per cent of the income pyramid in the world still powerfully and effectively influences politics and the economy (2018, p. 12). In the same vein, Christian Fuchs, in his influential article “New Imperialism”, gives us concrete numbers and ratios for the share of the largest 2,000 corporations in developed and developing countries, showing that these top corporations own more

⁶Education also became a target and element of exploitation of the colonial powers with racial motivations (Carr, 2016).

than 80 per cent of all industries, including the media industry with 98 per cent of all shares (2010, p. 49).

The neo-colonial strategy introduced the term “Third World” to the literature to schematize its exploitation and invoke a subliminal message that the third world is an underdeveloped place that looks like the exotic world of the colonial era (Bauer, 1981; Escobar, 1995; Mehmet, 2018). The term arouses ideas of exotic greenery, primal and indigenous tribes and societies, old religions, tyranny and undemocratic rule where people are enslaved. In so doing, the Western powers put forward their ideas of “plan” and “development” that endorse “economic development” as the way they required these countries to act (Bairoch, 2006). These plans, looking useful for the third world, were later turned into threats and caused countries to drown in more debt and chaos (Bauer, 1981; Escobar, 1995; Mehmet, 2018). Mehmet claims that although none of these plans to develop other countries worked, “Western technicians [made an] incorrect diagnosis” of the third world either by mistake or by intention (p. 13). As for this view, Ania Loomba summarizes the capitalism-imperialism link that works in the Third World debate in a clear way:

Colonialism involved flows of profits and people, involved settlements and plantation as in the Americas, trade as in India, and enormous global shifts of populations. Both the colonized and colonizers moved: the former not only as slaves but also as indentured laborers, domestic servants, travelers and traders, and the colonial masters as administrators, soldiers, merchants, settlers, travelers, writers, domestic staff, missionaries, teachers and scientists. The essential point is that although colonialism involved a variety of techniques and patterns of domination, penetrating deep into some societies and involving a comparatively superficial contact with others, all of them produced the economic imbalance that was necessary for the growth of capitalism. (2005, p. 9)

All the economic aid that has Europe at its centre both ideologically and physically turned out to be colonialism which aimed to increase the capital and income of Europe which needs raw materials and labour from the third world or less developed countries (Bauer, 1981). The classical concept of *laissez-faire*, the “invisible hand” theory, the idea of “full competition” and rational behaviour in the economy as expressed and coined by Adam Smith, led to the collapse of the good intentions and equal rights in economic relations and transactions between countries and even among the layers of one society (Mehmet, 2018, p. 7). These facts label the Westernization of the colonies and the third world as a project that aims to design the rest of the world according to Western norms and institutions. In short, Western economic theories

contradict each other, and they are aware of the insufficiencies of their economic theories on the Third World (p. 20). In addition, a Neo-colonialism theoretician and leader of African decolonization, Nkrumah, stated:

[t]he struggle against neo-colonialism is not aimed at excluding the capital of the developed world from operation in less developed countries. It is aimed at preventing the financial power of the developed countries being used in such a way as to impoverish the less developed. (1965, p. x)

Another critic, Sardar M. Anwaruddin, adds the combined tactics of the World Bank to influence the education of neo-colonized countries (2014). He mainly focuses on the fact that the World Bank promotes neoliberal ideologies, lends money and asks for the enforcement of policies. In return, it tries to control knowledge and its distribution, influence other aid institutions and non-governmental organizations and promote a monoculture in education and its development. Anwaruddin claims and exemplifies “how the World Bank contributes to the global project of educational neo-colonialism” which “operates as a Master explicator who taps into students’ “inability” to learn by themselves” and through terms such as “development” and “educational reform” implies that the “Third World is unable to identify and solve its problems” (2014, p. 143).

The efforts for development and progress in the colonies are constantly hindered and destroyed by the colonizers as they educate and upgrade the colonized in a way which may result in their ability to fight back against systems of exploitation (Clignet & Foster, 1964).⁷ Especially, good education and industrialization are what the colonizer fears most, because it may lead to capital flows from other countries, causing the colonizer to lose its economic advantage over the colonized country. Jean-Paul Sartre (1967, p. 17) explains the hidden intentions behind pseudo education and advancement offices for Algerian peasants:

This institution, created on paper and in Paris, had no other aim than to improve slightly the productivity of the fellah: just enough to prevent him from dying of hunger. But the neo-colonialists of mainland France did not realize that it went directly against the system: for Algerian labor to be abundant, the fellah had to continue to produce little and for high prices. If technical training became widespread, would the agricultural labourers not become scarcer, more demanding? Would there not be the threat of competition from Muslim landowners? And then, above all, education, whatever it may be and wherever it

⁷Specific examples can be found in Thomas Clayton’s (1995) article “French Colonial Education” which gives facts and opinions from the French colony of Cambodia. Another critic, David Ruddell (1982), debates the fact that education in the colonies heavily depends on race and class in his article “Class and Race: Neglected Determinants of Colonial ‘Adapted Education’ Policies”.

may come from, is an instrument of emancipation. The French right-wing governments are so aware of this that they refuse to educate our own peasants, in France. So spreading technical know-how among the natives is surely not the thing to do! Unwelcome and attacked everywhere – insidiously in Algeria, violently in Morocco – the offices remain inoperative.⁸

The reasons for the underdevelopment of the colonies is are only financial but also related to the leaders they place in covert ways into key positions in the newly emerged so-called independent countries (Burimaso, 2014; Nzau, 2011). These people take their power and support from neo-colonial administrations and masters; therefore, they are not interested in development, education, their people or anything else that “would challenge the colonial pattern of commerce and industry, which it is the object of neo-colonialism to preserve” (Nkrumah, 1965, p. xv). The so-called aid from powerful countries is taken from neo-colonial rulers only to pay them back with interest, boosting their profits (Price, 1996). The leaders of neo-colonized lands only put on non-functional and eye-washing performances to hold onto power and privileged positions.

Neo-colonial powers also employ the media effectively to manipulate almost every aspect of life, such as politics, economics, and elections and so on to achieve their goals (Boyd-Barrett, 2015; Chadha & Kavoori, 2000; Tunstall, 1977). Today, the media, mainly controlled by either governments or businessmen, are powerful means of propaganda and brainwashing to subvert news, facts and eventually create the public opinion desired by manipulators for the sake of their own interest (McChesney, 2001). Through the media, neo-colonizing powers covertly hide behind magical propaganda phrases such “the freedom of speech”, “democracy”, “journalism” and “human rights” to implement their plans to have great influence over the country’s public opinion. Newspapers, TV and radio stations, websites and journals are important vehicles for directing, influencing and changing the public’s perceptions and thus obtaining the psychological and mental result that the neo-colonizing powers require (Poole, 1999).

Creating anti-governmental thoughts and making the public believe or even doubt are the main aims of such exercises which are directed through mainstream

⁸In his article “Colonial Legacies and Economic Growth”, Robin Grier (1999) opposes the idea that colonial education was successful; however, his data are limited to the schooling of the population and do not discuss the fact that colonizers use ideology in teaching and education to pacify development and anti-colonial movements.

channels, shows and even personas (Happer & Philo, 2013). Some influential journalists and, most importantly, chief editors and executive editors, are recruited by intelligence organizations to subtly or openly publish, write and report on behalf of and for the benefit of the neo-colonizing powers (Boyd-Barrett, 2015; Griffiths, 2015). Mass media groups and owners play an important role in such operations whose reporters, journalists, newspapers and news channels work in parallel with the aims and interest of neo-colonizing powers (Griffiths, 2015).⁹ Similarly, Jerry K. Domatob gives concrete numbers about the news produced by such reporters in the Sub-Saharan struggle after the WW II which was produced by mass media organizations such as Reuters, AFP and AP, according to which almost 70 per cent of foreign news stories are produced and presented by these mass media companies (1988, p. 159).¹⁰

One of the functions of the media under the control of a neo-colonizer country is to conceal the facts and lie about anything to get the public ready for disturbing news such as violence perpetrated by their army leaders or the deaths of many soldiers (Keeton & Scheckner, 2013). Sartre's example from French colonialism is a perfect illustration of this function of the media (1964, p. 25):

To ensure our peace of mind, the solicitude of our leaders goes as far as quietly to undermine freedom of expression: they hide or filter the truth. When the fellagha massacre a European family, the major newspapers spare us nothing, not even the photographs of mutilated bodies; but when the only means of escape a Muslim lawyer can find from his French tormenters is suicide, the event is reported in three lines in order not to upset our sensibilities. Concealing, deceiving and lying are a duty for those who inform France; the only crime would be to disturb us.¹¹

⁹It was reported (TRT World, 2018) that during the 1950s and '60s, the CIA bought 40 per cent of a newspaper called *Rome Daily American* in Italy and used it against the communist parties for USA propaganda and interests; interestingly, a former CIA official said that "it's easier to buy a reporter, which we've done, than to buy a newspaper".

¹⁰Dabashi's article, "Western Media and Mass Deception" (2018), offers insights into specific facts about Palestinian news in the media.

¹¹In the chapter "From One China to Another" in his book *Colonialism and Neocolonialism*, Sartre looks at a different point – the role of the media – for the development of neo-colonialism. He questions the role of the media and photography in the generation of perceptions of the Eastern world in Europe with reference to the fabrication of mythical facts and ideas; and Orientalizing the discourse (1964, pp. 1–8) which Azzedine Haddour claims as a pre-figuration of Roland Barthes's "Myth Today" and Said's Orientalism (2001, p. xx). Sartre remarks that the photographers "seek out a Chinese who looks more Chinese than the others; in the end they find one. They make him adopt a typically Chinese pose and surround him with chinoiseries. What have they captured on film? One Chinaman? No ... the Idea of what is Chinese" (1964, p. 1). The fabrication of a deliberately misleading image to be shown to the public in Western cities is to convince people that these people are the Other, to be feared, the "Crowds of Asia", like a plague of locusts ready to destroy (p. 4). This proves that fear is invented by the power of the media and the art of photography to enrage the minds of people and justify any colonial or inhumane action taken against these people. A fact Sartre reminds us of is that "such lies can deceive the

Peace of mind is what the media and its subdivisions seek in such events. To prevent much criticism and unrest in the public, the media use skilled psychological and subliminal messages to direct the people's attention in certain directions so that the news does not have much influence on the application of the colonial system in colonized countries (Mirrlees, 2013; Mosime, 2015).¹² As for media manipulation, the neo-colonizers and their media use always raise questions in the minds of the reader and the public over events (Huhtinen & Rantapelkonen, 2003). Sometimes, violent massacres are spread orally without documents or verification; and in such cases, questions are asked and there is speculation in the mainland media: Are these only tales? Why should we believe them? Is there any evidence? Are there witnesses? Where are they? And so on.

The criticism of neo-colonialism mainly came from three thinkers: Nkrumah, Vakhrushev and Sartre, while Fanon, Spivak, Mwaura and Ngugi WaThiongo'o offer secondary insights into and discussions of theory. In his book *Neo-colonialism: Methods and Manoeuvres* (1973), Vasily Vakhrushev argues that the world is no longer similar to the one before the WW II concerning the situation of standard imperialist hegemonies. He points out that the former colonizers formulated sly new strategies in the wake of WW II to retain their previous colonial legacy. Vakhrushev (1973, p. 48) also argues and accuses the capitalist system mainly practised by the former Western colonial powers, because their greed has caused them to enforce their new strategies one at a time to exploit their previous colonies:

[n]eocolonialism is the colonial policy of the era of the general crisis of capitalism and the transition to socialism implemented by the imperialist powers in relation to the former and existing colonies by means of more subtle methods and maneuvers so as to propagate and consolidate capitalism and impede the advance of national-liberation movements, extract the largest possible profits and strengthen the economic, political, ideological and military-strategic footholds of imperialism.

As for the impact of capitalism on neo-colonial strategies, Vakhrushev further points to the importance and indispensable role of industrialism, capital as a financial weapon, international corporations, loans and credits and the use of financial institutions as means for oppression and exploitation that have strengthened the

credulous or indifferent inhabitants of France, but the fellah knows full well that the south is not irrigated" (p. 13).

¹²A specific example of such activity can be found in Yilmaz and Sinanoglu's article entitled "The Effect of Dominant Ideology on Media: The Syria Case" (2014).

practices of neo-colonialism.¹³ Other ways he suggests for the new system of exploitation are blocking the political independence of former colonies, and also the establishment of military bases and alliances, hindering international democratic relationships of developing countries, creating ethnic conflicts in line with and for the benefit of the interests of the newly emerging neo-colonialist policy (p. 48).¹⁴ Also, Peter Childs and Patrick Williams draw attention to the fact that post-colonialism is an obscene new tactic for the usual imperialists to take under their hegemonic control the theoretically newly independent countries in political and economic aspects:

In the period after decolonization, it rapidly became apparent (to the newly independent nations, at least) that although colonial armies and bureaucracies might have withdrawn, Western powers were still intent on maintaining maximum indirect control over erstwhile colonies, via political, cultural and above all economic channels, a phenomenon which became known as neo-colonialism. (1997, p. 5)

Famous African novelist and thinker Ngugi WaThiong'o is a strong critic of the new phenomenon dubbed post-colonialism that the colonialists invented to maintain their ruthless and vicious exploitation of the former colonies: "Independence which at the very least should have meant the liberation of a peoples' productive forces from foreign control was in most case merely a change of form from the colonial economic and political arrangement and practices to a more vicious neo-colonial arrangement" (1987, p. 62).

However, Frantz Fanon, a French West Indian psychiatrist and political philosopher from the French colony of Martinique looks at a different aspect of decolonization, anti-colonial resistance, and neo-colonialism – an aspect related to the colonial impact on the human psyche. In his book *Toward the African Revolution* (1969), for example, he argues that the colonial period not only damaged the psychology of colonized peoples but also crippled their confidence and ability to decide their own political life and political future. Fanon proposes that neo-colonialism emerged from societies exploited by imperialists, as well as from crippled social and

¹³For details and specific information see Chapter III of Vakhrushev's book entitled "The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development – A Tool of Capital and Neocolonialism" (pp. 139–201) and Chapter IV "The IMF as the Safeguard of the Imperialist Monetary System and Champion of the Monopolies' Interests in the Developing Countries" (pp. 202–338).

¹⁴As for "blocking political independence of former colonies", Vakhrushev states that the neo-colonialists offer no more than formal independence; that is, on the surface, they produce a puppet government on paper and in fact the country is under control in all aspects (pp. 107–119). Related to the "establishment of military bases and alliances", he points to the organization of aggressive military pressure, alliances with political opponents and overseas bases to remind that the threat of occupation is always there as an option (pp. 119–136).

mental abilities paralyzing a sense of identity and national awareness, together with the development of illiteracy and an inferiority complex among local people. Hence, postcolonial and neo-colonial studies mainly focus on identity conflicts – a position of in-betweenness – and try to restore this debilitated identity along with a sense of political sovereignty. However, it is interesting that neo-colonial tactics partially make use of these chaotic conditions to exploit and mislead the people to ban groups in those countries. That is the indeterminacy and confusion of the previous colonized individual feed and empower neo-colonialism (p. 121). Fanon here admits that the national consciousness of the formerly colonized is weak and therefore the sovereignty and freedom they have is fake and pseudo. Unity is stressed in such matters to find a way forward for a truly independent state with the help of the rich upper classes. Fanon stresses the economic help of these classes to struggle against the new colonizers. On the other hand, Fanon also highlights the danger that if these classes choose to keep their status and profits rather than support the political and economic struggle for independence, anti-colonial activities may be hindered and lose a lot of sponsorship (pp. 159–160).

Another important point in the discussion of neo-colonialism is the fact that the rich bourgeois classes of the same nation are handed the job of colonization either intentionally or unintentionally; that is, rather than helping anti-colonization processes, they may choose to exploit their people by collaborating with the neo-colonizers or by taking advantage of the current chaotic atmosphere and declaring their interests as a new direction for both themselves and formerly colonized people (Cooper & Stoler, 1997; Burimaso, 2014; Nzau, 2011). They generally tend to choose to boost their wealth rather than help the nation to have a separate state of its own in which the poverty and exploitation of the people will be solved. Fanon makes a bold claim stating that for the bourgeois class “its mission has nothing to do with transforming the nation; it consists, prosaically, of being the transmission line between the nation and a capitalism, rampant though camouflaged, which today puts on the mask of neo-colonialism” (p. 152). Even the economic aid of the neo-colonizers through the hands of these bourgeois classes was an attempt to continue the economic dependency of these countries on the neo-colonizing countries (Serequeberhan, 1998).

Besides, Ndiranga Mwaura points to similar issues raised by Fanon about the new system of colonization on the African continent. In his book *Kenya Today*, he

claims that the new colonizers try to maintain their influence by choosing and determining new puppet states to maintain their economic and political interests:

Within Africa, the collapse of European rule meant that “reliable” Africans were selected to take over the artificial states that were carved out. Those who were chosen could be trusted to subvert their own people’s interests in favor of the old colonial power. Therefore, at independence, a majority of Africa’s new rulers were, in a sense traitors, pretending to a false patriotism — one that never promoted domestic interests over foreign ones. (2005, p. 6)

Mwaura realized that the new colonizers were using and sustaining their former allies in the former colonies to pursue their own objectives. Moreover, as to the discussion of nation-states, the states newly formed after 1900 are artificial ones whose borders are drawn, whose administrators are determined and bought. These people worked for the interests of both old and new colonizers, and they could be labelled by the local people as traitors, because they are held responsible for their political chaos, terror, corruption, tyrants, coups and civil wars that have always kept newly independent countries weak, unstable and undeveloped, causing them easily to fall victim to the control of neo-colonial powers (Nzau, 2011).

Furthermore, Ngugi WaThiong’o’s *Writers in Politics* (1981) is another influential book about the issue. It discusses the issue of neo-colonialism in general with references to the situation on the African continent. Kenya is his point of focus in discussions of the frame of social problems resulting from colonialism and neo-colonialism that applied inhuman practices to the people. In his book, Thiong’o defines the term as a continuation of the same economic exploitation of the continent’s resources along with the people themselves by an allied Western and international monopoly employing weak economic structures and a native ruling class loyal to themselves (pp. 24–25). Thiong’o openly blames the ruling class for being the puppets of the neo-colonial powers and states that they rule by tyranny, murder and imprisoning those who are against them. Thiong’o states that the former colonialists – now neo-colonialists – used cultural imperialism to take the elite class under control by colonizing them in cultural and ideological aspects; thus, the hybrid next-generation belongs to the neo-colonialists’ culture rather than their own culture. Thiong’o vividly remarks that neo-colonialism is thus “a very powerful instrument of oppression because it distorts people’s vision of history and the reality of the world around them” (p. 37).

Against all these new tactics of the neo-colonizers, some true decolonization movements arose around the world at a political level. The decolonization process has taken place not only in the administrative, political and economic realms, but also shown itself in art, writing and intellectual activities to raise awareness of the issues of identity, culture, history, politics, economics and so on in formerly colonized countries, as well as the attitudes of the former colonizing countries towards their former colonized nations (Bakshi et. al., 2009; Betts, 2004; Cesaire, 2001; Hargreaves, 2014). What is also very important is that artistic and intellectual activities have brought to people's attention how the former colonizing powers now act in spaces they controlled before. Thus, there have been several philosophers, intellectuals and writers who have supported the decolonization process through their writings and debates. For instance, Jean-Paul Sartre, the prominent French philosopher and writer, plays a significant role in colonial and post-colonial studies. Focusing on the anti-colonial aspects of theories, Sartre analyses psychological and individual reflections on this anti-colonial resistance. His writings are a continuation and explanation of prominent writers like Frantz Fanon, Antonio Gramsci and Karl Marx. In general, Sartre focuses on Third-World issues about colonization and decolonization processes from 1948 onwards. He is involved in the debates of themes such as racism and negritude, as well as in political debates and intellectual struggles in Indochina, Morocco and Algeria, where anti-colonial movements were in progress. Sartre mainly creates his argumentation of colonialism and anti-colonialism around the issue of freedom.

Unlike Marx, Sartre is very much concerned with individual psychological aspects and the effects of anti-colonial resistance in groups or individuals. In his ideas and personality, two important points draw one's attention. First, as a Westerner, Sartre not only criticizes his nation and culture for its colonial practices, which, he considers, curb the independence and identity of colonized nations, but also chooses his side in the struggle against colonialism and the dominance of one nation by another, and thus helps oppressed colonized peoples with his writings. As Sartre argues, "it is not the Jewish character that provokes anti-Semitism but, rather [...] it is the anti-Semite who creates the Jew" (1964, p. 152). This statement is in parallel to what Edward Said wrote in his *Orientalism* (1978) concerning the construction of the "Other" from a Western point of view, in which the West produces knowledge, which enables it to define and name the situation, people and events happenings in a place

that is not the West. In this construction and definition, the “Other” has no choice to speak and use the terminology they coined to struggle or oppose colonial or anti-colonial thoughts and ideas. Similarly, in his oft-quoted book *Black Skin, White Masks*, for which Sartre wrote an introduction, for instance, Frantz Fanon states that “it is the settler who has brought the native into existence and who perpetuates his existence” (1965, p. 30). This is a starting point for the academic and intellectual riot against the terminology and intellectual discussions that had been taking place in the Western media and press about anti-colonial resistance in places such as Morocco, Algeria and Libya. Sartre and like-minded thinkers wanted colonized peoples to take responsibility for their existence and become active agents instead of displaying passive obedience and acceptance of the ongoing exploitation and colonization in physical and mental dimensions.

Sartre’s most valuable and recognizable work for discussions opposing exploitation and colonialism is his *Colonialism and Neocolonialism* (1964). In this work, he mainly examines the psychological effect of colonialism and its aftermath, the crippling consequences for colonized peoples, their culture and identity, whereby colonized countries were exploited, dominated and intellectually defined by the colonizers for a long time. While Fanon mainly talks about the fact that colonialism creates an inferiority complex among colonized people in the psychological layer, and they see themselves as objects remote from the mainstream of ideas and being, Sartre, in the book above, accounts for progress from the numbness of colonized people under colonialism to self-realization from the perspective of their otherness. Sartre here suggests that oppressed and colonized people started “to feel, as I, the sensation of being seen [,] for the white man has enjoyed for three thousand years the privilege of seeing without being seen” (1976, p. 7). The keywords “seeing without being seen” underline the main idea that it was the West that defined and named everything for colonized peoples in the intellectual life for ages, whereby colonized people were shown to be inferior, uneducated, uncivilized, backward and so on, as depicted in Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* (1899).

This self-realization enabled them to see their degraded situation and exploitation. Therefore, they had the chance to define the other side without criticizing or analysing themselves. The early 20th century was a reaction to this rotten tradition by philosophers such as Derrida, Foucault and Sartre, who looked deep into the subtle

structures of the West to find out the perceptions of the West regarding themselves and the interaction with the Other to identify the effects of and motivations for the four-century colonization, exploitation and plunder at both the physical and psychological levels. Here, Robert J. Young recognises the main contributions of Sartre and Fanon to the anti-colonial struggle by stating: the “colonial subject constantly oscillates between the two states, internalizing the colonial ideology of inferiority and being less than fully human – until he, or she, assumes responsibility and chooses authenticity and freedom” (2001, p. xi).

For Young, who works on Sartre’s anti-colonial perceptions in his writing, argues that Sartre, unlike Marx, “denied that individuals had to be wholly determined by circumstance, economic or historical, suggesting rather that they possessed a responsibility or themselves and their way of being in the world which in certain ways was always chosen” (p. ix). It does not mean that Sartre cannot be considered a complete Marxist, but he had different feelings about and solutions to the problems created by Western oppression and colonization. Sartre had a different formulation of his own experiences of war, oppression and anti-colonial struggle, which are in parallel with his political and philosophical stance, a stance which is strongly determined by ethics rather than political, religious or racial concerns or disputes.¹⁵

Sartre always associated anti-colonialism and individual struggle with violence. His close contact with contemporary writers, philosophers and activists made him realize the lived picture of colonized people and what they get at the end of this process. His meeting with Che Guevara (Gadea, 1972, p. 36) and intellectual transactions with Fanon and Simon de Beauvoir made him believe that violence was an alternative solution to fight against the colonizers which was a left-wing tradition and a concept of struggle. Here, the influence of de Beauvoir is clear as can be seen in her statement that the result of the struggle of the colonized is a “happiness that had been attained by violence” and Sartre “realized the truth of what Fanon was saying: it

¹⁵Sartre’s contribution was not limited to these issues; his ideas and especially the terminology he created have given the intellectuals of colonized countries a chance to fight mentally, politically and artistically against the political, economic, cultural and academic hegemony discourses of discussions relating to colonial and anti-colonial issues. His ideas based on Hegelian dialectic gave him a chance to re-define the academic struggle against the colonizers by coining such binary oppositions as torturer and tortured, colonizer and colonized, empowered and disempowered. Sartre viewed colonization and exploitation as a Manichaeian system of cruel inhumane actions. Driven primarily by racist motivations and a lust for wealth and power, this system has relegated the colonized to the status of sub-humans portrayed by their ‘discoverers’ as nothing other than animals that need to be tamed and Christianized.

is only in violence that the oppressed can attain the human status” (1968, pp. 503, 606) – a statement which history challenges as it shows us that it gives birth to more violence and pain rather than a humane solution. The effect of Fanon is also apparent from his words which defined “violence [as] a cleansing force [that] frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction” (1965, p. 73). Sartre’s involvement in the Algerian liberation and anti-colonial struggle gave him first-hand experience of applying his theories to real life and seeing the results of such propaganda and motivation in the individual sphere.

The chapter entitled “Colonialism is a System” in Sartre’s book *Colonialism and Neocolonialism* presents a capitalist and economical perspective that looks at the issue of colonization and anti-colonial movements. He follows Marx’s idea of naked capitalism that fiercely enslaves and exploits other humans without pity and ignorance of their psychological damage, which leads them to passive obedience and mental problems, as Fanon argues in his book *Black Skin, White Masks* in general. Sartre lists the aspects of the problem in Algeria in three steps and organizes his anti-colonial strategy by taking account of these elements and their potential relevance to each other. First, Sartre states that Algeria’s problems are economic – a state providing food for nine million people (1964, p. 9). Secondly, they are social in terms of the lack of doctors and schools as the people there need humanitarian help and health facilities. Finally, they are psychological, referencing De Man’s theory of an “inferiority complex” and underlining that Algerians too have an inferiority complex since the “native character” of the colonized has always been “maltreated, malnourished and illiterate”, as organized by their masters (p. 9). Robert Young briefly argues for the place of Sartre in discussions of decolonization:

Sartre’s example as an intellectual committed to social and political transformation, on a global scale, suggests that while much of the role of post-colonialism as an academic practice has been to challenge the basis of established, Eurocentric knowledge in the cultural sphere, it must also continue to work in the spirit of the anti-colonial movements by further developing its radical political edge, forging links between its engaged intellectual activism and specific, often local political practices designed to end oppression and enforce social justice. (2001, p. xvii)

Despite the activities of the neo-colonizers, the anti-colonial movements and their leaders and intellectuals were aware of this newly emerging system. Sartre and Fanon worked for journals and radio stations during the struggle in Algeria and the Moroccan fight against colonial French power as a weapon they invented used against

them. Anti-propaganda and intellectual theorization took place in such newspapers, journals and radio stations. Another leader who was aware of this phenomenon and foresaw the coming of Neo-colonial rule and media was Kwame Nkrumah. He called a united press force against the colonizers and defined the media as a weapon and an educator:

Our revolutionary African press must carry out revolutionary purposes. This is to establish a progressive political and economic system upon our continent that will free men from want and every form of social injustice and enable them to work out their social and cultural destinies in peace and at ease. [...] The African newspaper is a collective educator – a weapon, first and foremost to overthrow colonialism and imperialism and to assist total African independence and unity. (Ansah, 1993, p. 86)

As observed in this quotation and the activities of other anti-colonial thinkers, journalists and leaders, the media emerging with technology were a tool for both neo-colonization and the struggle against it. African newspapers like the *Nigerian Guardian*, *The Analyst*, *Cameroun Tribune* and *The Zambian Times* all united to explain the newly emerging Neo-colonial strategy of the ex-colonizing powers to the peoples of African countries.

After the First World War and more apparently after the Second one the colonial empires started to crack down and disperse. However, they were not willing to share their incomes and profits that they gathered from colonized countries; therefore, although they seemed to dispense with their hegemonic relationships and structures, they kept their influence on newly emerging nations and states that were neo-colonized. One of the key roles in this structure and format is the new media and their apparatuses to keep the former colonial influence active in those countries for their choices by generations within them of leaders, policies and directions. Via propaganda and subliminal messages, the new media, which are a web of relationships and collaborations all over the world, tried to gain new supporters and believers for the sake of the former mother country, i.e. the colonizers.

This dissertation examines shifting aspects from colonialism to neo-colonialism in selected novels by Graham Greene – *The Quiet American* (1955), *Our Man in Havana* (1958) and *The Honorary Consul* (1973). In so doing, the dissertation explores in these novels neo-colonial practices in formerly colonized countries through Greene's artistic representation of his characters, their world views and practices. It is achieved in two ways. First, Greene represents some of his characters in the novels

above concerning how they act in disguised ways to conduct and achieve the former colonial ambition. Secondly, Greene also shows his dissatisfaction with neo-colonial practices through his representation of some of his characters in a way that they seem very bored and frustrated within the complexities of modern metropolitan cities so that they travel to former subjugated countries where they not only get into an intricate relationship with local authorities but also question what their countries did in those colonized countries. In both cases, Greene illustrates the workings of neo-colonialism in formerly colonized countries. In this way, he demonstrates how the perceptions of Western heroes, who were used to colonize countries directly in the past, changed after the WW II. The methods which the dissertation pursues are as follows: first, it examines the social, political, cultural, economic and religious conditions in the country where each novel takes place after the WW II, which brought colonialism to an end: the postcolonial situation. Having debated the postcolonial situation, the dissertation also explores how the former colonizing countries strive to retain their former colonial ambitions and interests in different ways, even though the formerly colonized countries had nominally gained their independence. Secondly, the dissertation discusses how Graham Greene represents this new form of colonialism with reference to the novels above, along with non-fiction works.

As for the scheme of the dissertation, Chapter II analyses *The Quiet American* in terms of the political, social and psychological aspects that the former colonizers and now neo-colonizers strived to put into practice in Vietnam to control the country in a way that would serve their interest as in the past. As discussed in this chapter, Vietnam becomes a playground for France, Britain and the USA in the wake of the WW II where they long to act as in the past to keep the country under their control. Chapter III examines *Our Man in Havana* in terms of two neo-colonialist strategies which the imperial powers, as Greene satirically represents them, strive to put into effect for the sake of their interest in Havana – limited war and intelligence. Through these strategies, the imperial powers aim to reduce the cost of war and its risks, as opposed to the past, while trying to apply their neo-colonial desire and interest. Chapter IV studies Greene's *The Honorary Consul* within the neo-colonial and political situation represented as the new age of chaos and terror warfare on the Latin American continent. As these events indicate, the novel presents the political chaos and rivalry in the rural Argentinean town on the local level resulting from the political

corruption due to the neo-colonial exploitation system. The analysis presents insights into discussions of political chaos and its psychological aspects, coups, accomplices and colonized women within a neo-colonial framework. The conclusion, Chapter V, lists the results of the study in order: the relationship of neo-colonialism and literature, neo-colonialism and Greene's writing and the specific results of the novels.

The dissertation, via the discussions in the above chapters, aims to serve not only as a primarily theoretical approach tool for the study of neo-colonialism but also as a means to explore Greene's stance on, view of and reaction to neo-colonialism through the views and attitudes of his characters, along with the settings of his novels. His selected novels re-inscribe but at the same time subvert the imperial codes of Western Civilization to the extent that they become lethal tools for critics to use against colonial and neo-colonial strategies. His fiction and writing are strongly related to the campaign against the imperial pressure of the West on the cultures of the Other, the East, the Third World or whatever name that the rest of the West has. Therefore, Greene constructs and deconstructs the deep imperial structures of Western Civilization not only in the above novels but also with first-hand information as a journalist, writer, reporter, agent and many more.

The dissertation has scholarly value and importance in the field for two main reasons. First, Spivak (1995) argues that the role of literature in the cultural hegemony of the West cannot be underestimated so that it is crucial to study literary works which give artistic accounts of the period and the human condition in places where they take place. Also, Greene inserts factual reports in some of his novels as sources for characters, story and plot. Therefore, the novels may also be regarded as both history and non-fiction, representing neo-colonial situations. Secondly, there are only two PhD dissertations in Turkey about Greene and his works, yet neither of them examines the political views in his works. In this respect, this dissertation is an original study that revisits Greene's novels above and brings them to the attention of the public regarding neo-colonial aspects in the wake of the WW II which seem to govern the world today under the name of globalization.

2. CHAPTER TWO: Neo-colonialism and Its Transformed Tactics in *The Quiet American*

“The hurt is in the act of possession: we are too small in mind and body to possess another person without pride or to be possessed without humiliation” (Greene, 2004, p. 110).

Graham Greene’s most popular novel *The Quiet American* (1955) is a literary piece of work that represents the signs of neo-colonialism, power conflicts and international competition in Vietnam after WW II¹⁶. *TQA* is an example of the literary text inspired by real events, with the author as a reporter witnessed and published concerning the overt and covert actions of the former colonial powers in the area after the WW II¹⁷. As represented in the novel, imperial powers such as Britain, France and the USA seem to have changed their exploitation tactics which they use to control the Vietnamese people not only by causing chaos, political instability, economic impoverishment and exploitation but also by interfering in the internal affairs of the country via hidden tactical ways.

This chapter examines these neo-imperial tactics and elements in *TQA* through Greene’s representation of his fictional characters, their political, economic, social and psychological views and actions. As *TQA* represents, characters from former colonising countries strive to practice the former imperial legacy of their countries but in new and different ways. As for this perspective linked to the study of neo-colonialism in the novel, this chapter adopts a different and new approach, in which Greene’s use of new imperial practices such as proxy forces, third force policy, chaos

¹⁶Indochina, once a colony of France, is the peninsula that includes today the countries of Vietnam, Laos, Thailand and Myanmar. Indochina War or French Indochina War was the French-Vietnamese conflict between 1946 and 1954, which was later taken up by the USA after the 1950s lasting till 1975. Vietnam was a protectorate of France between 1883 and 1939 as they conquered it in the 19th century. After 1939, France directly controlled the area as its land until 1945 when a communist leader Ho Chi Minh declared independence which France did not accept and launched an assault on the northern parts of the country. This ended at a battle called Dien Bien Phu in 1954 when the guerrilla armies led by Ho Chi Minh were victorious over the French forces (Windrow, 2003, pp. 3-4). In spite of these victories that helped each other to form socialist governments, a third Indochina War started in 1972 (to 1979) among the socialist powers of China, Vietnam and Cambodia, marking the dissolution of the communist brotherhood and the Asian internationalism (Goscha, 2006).

¹⁷Greene emphasized the fact that being a correspondent and a writer at the same time is invaluable stating that he hated the war and describes the scene after the bombing as “wounds of murder” (2004, pp. 140-142). Therefore, Greene made use of these experiences in his novels. Respectively, Graham Greene used many of his real-life reports in his novels and other writings; in specific his novel *TQA* blends reportage with fiction.

and media manipulations become the main focuses of neo-colonial debates in *TQA* that Greene's critics have not analysed in detail.

Literary critics have had varying attitudes towards *TQA*. They are divided into two groups based on the interpretation of Greene's life, religious, artistic and world views. The first group has focused mainly on Greene's Catholicism and religious aspects in *TQA* (Adamson & Shechner, 2016; Baldrige, 2000; Bergonzi, 2006; Bosco, 2005; DeVitis, 1968; Kulshrestha, 1977; Brennan, 2010). For example, Anthony Angelo DeVitis (1968) states that Greene's religious and Catholic views were still conservative at the time, and he gives specific examples from the novel to show that the issue of faith is the main determiner in the novel related to overall aspects, enabling the reader to fully comprehend the writer's intentions. Also, he continues to remark that "innocence", "pain" and "suffering" are underlying motivations and emotions in the book that shed light on the issue of religion (pp. 42-60). However, Philip Stratford (1967) contends that the novel does not have an explicit religious tone but claims that it is strictly political. For him, the relationship between faith and politics is not problematic, though they complete each other. Moreover, Barbara L. Thomson (2009), bringing the arguments of DeVitis and Stratford together, expresses that these are two sides of a single coin - both are ways to realize one's human potential and likely to cure the psychological injuries caused by the isolation from the community life of a person since the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

The second group of Greene's critics also looks at the political aspect of *TQA*, but these critics do not link their arguments to colonialism that Greene shows as one side of the story in the novel (Currey, 1998; Gordon, 1997; Hoffman, 2019). For example, Haim Gordon (1997) sheds light on the malevolence of the neo-colonial aspects without defining and acknowledging what neo-colonialism is. He focuses on the traditional perception of the conflict between good and evil.¹⁸ Stating that the issue of political evil in the book resembles the ideas of Chomsky on this issue, Gordon proposes that "impersonal idealism" is at the centre of the novel and views the novel as failing to perceive the negative and political injustice in Greene's novel via their "sublimely warped mental lens" (1997, p. 35). To make up for these inconsistencies, he states that "despite the myopia of scholars who deal with Greene's writings, it is

¹⁸Many critics that rely on the issue of evil in the book. For example, a prominent and popular example is the Greene biographer Kulshrestha's book *Graham Greene the Novelist* (p. 157). Some even start the discussion from innocence and moves towards the evil of Pyle and Fowler (Meyers, 1990, pp. 165-168).

evident that Greene saw and described many of the horrors of political evil in the twentieth century”, which were represented in his novels written mainly after the 1930s:

[The novel] described the political evil of existing fascist, communist, and supposedly democratic governments, as well as of the leaders of the so-called capitalist elite and the heads of transnational corporations. He also indicated that the fascist governments in non-Western countries and the major capitalist corporations are almost always firmly supported by the governments of so-called democracies. By always describing the political evil that prevails and by pointing out who supports this evil and how Greene’s novels are a major truthful testimony about much of the sordid history of the twentieth century. (p. 35)

Besides, Paula Martin Salvan suggests another point in *TQA* – a point related to the ethical aspects. According to Salvan, the ethical aspect is closely connected with the practice of colonization and its horrendous results in the colonized countries, so he argues that Greene is “very much committed to ethic themes” that he tries to bring to the readers’ attention in the novel (2015, pp. 94-99).

Judith Adamson and Mark Shechner (1990), and Robert Hoskins (1999) analyse the relationship and the identical aspects between Greene and his character and particularly establish a connection between Greene’s views and those of the main character Fowler, British journalist, in *TQA*. They emphasize that Greene was haunted by his visits to Vietnam and its war scenes, and similarly, they claim that Fowler is also “haunted” by the atrocities he witnesses and activities he does there, which makes him a melancholic and problematic character in terms of psychology and emotions in the novel (1990, pp. 133-135). According to their analysis of the novel, Fowler is disgusted by the American occupation both at the military and economic level, the shipments of guns and arms they carry into the country, the fake and ineffective hospitals and restaurants, the conditions that created the social life of Saigon, as well as by the nightlife and “murderous officials”, and of course, by Alden Pyle, an American CIA agent, whom he detests (p. 134). Hoskins points to the idea that Fowler and Greene are identical in that there are specific biographical similarities between Fowler’s life and view and that of Greene that pave the way up for the basic idea of the novel’s “very narratives” (1999, p. 156).¹⁹ As to the narratives of *TQA*, Miriam Allott

¹⁹Graham Greene toured around the world and most of the countries he visited were former colonies; thus seventeen of the novels he wrote were set outside Britain, which according to Maria Couto, led to the criticism of exotic, unreal and somewhat oriental prejudices against his writing (1988, p. 111). However, besides vast travelling experience, Greene was not away from the dazzling ability to describe

talks about various layers together in her criticism and applies an interdisciplinary approach to the novel. Her interdisciplinary analysis focuses on the fact that Fowler is political in both his love and religion so that he never stays uninvolved in the war and politics in Vietnam. She predicts the common maxim, “personal is political” when she implies that the interaction could be made anywhere else than in the political realm (1963, p. 205).

Greene’s *TQA* has recently been popular in the debates of the Democratic Party in the 2020 USA Presidency elections when Pete Buttigieg, the Democratic Party ex-candidate, tried to explain his views on the USA foreign policy by referring to the novel on which he had an undergraduate thesis. In his views, Buttigieg states that for the political processes to be legitimate in the USA, they must have moral, and most importantly, religious justifications, and it is clear that the American mindset of the early founding religious and historical doctrines are still active to this day affecting the political and international behaviour of the Americans (Rodriguez, 2019). Buttigieg refers to the Puritan and Protestant founding principles and the conservatism in the USA (Ziff, 1973): The effects of these two concepts have prevailed over the foreign relations and military law-making of the country so far. However, critics, like Phil Hoffman, claim that Buttigieg is misreading the novel and its main message because the novel does not show Americans how to be constructive in foreign relations but puts the blame on its intelligence agencies and so-called well-intentions that caused the bloodshed in Vietnam. Most importantly, according to Buttigieg, Pyle is a misguided optimist and has blood on his hands because his zeal “represents a Protestant moral certainty that guided U.S. policy during the Cold War and evolved into the evangelism behind the 2003 Iraq invasion and the “Global War on Terror” (Hoffman, 2019, p. 1).

The quiet American in the story, Pyle, is portrayed on the surface as an innocent man who works for his country with good intentions. However, this view is contradicted by Zadie Smith. She states that such people do not mean to hurt anyone, but because of their “fundamentalism” and idealism, they eventually damage people and their lives (2004, p. xi). Pyle strongly commits to the single idea and has a strong belief and follows it to the end whatever the costs might be. On the other hand, Fowler is the opposite of Pyle in such matters. Fowler characterizes Pyle as a good fellow

and depict the neo-colonial world as he observed it in detail enough to give illustrative references which also unleashes his outlook on the colonized worlds of the Eastern territories.

working and studying his work in the Far East beforehand and being absorbed in “the dilemmas of Democracy and the responsibilities of the West; he was determined [...] to do good, not the any individual person but to a country, a continent, a world” (Greene, 2004, p. 10). As the story of the novel slowly unfolds, Fowler gradually starts to realize that Pyle is not simply an officer for economic aid, but he is a well-trained private soldier or a CIA agent:

He looked, more than ever out of place: he should have stayed at home. I saw him in a family Snapshot album, riding on a dude ranch, bathing on Long Island, photographed with his colleagues in some apartment on the twenty-third floor. He belonged to the sky-scraper and the express lift, the ice-cream and the dry Martinis, milk at lunch, and chicken sandwiches on the Merchant Limited. (p. 12)

This starts from the first time he sees him with a pack of “military backpack” and unloads them in a house after surviving from the field full of gunfire and dangers (p. 48). Thinking that Pyle is a diplomat of the colonial administrations, Fowler contemplates that Vietnam is not a place for him. Judging from his photo album, Fowler reflects that he belongs to urban West cities of luxury rather than the muddy fields of Vietnam.

Critical views debated above are right and invaluable and seems to have contributed profoundly to the different interpretations of *TQA*, which obviously makes the texture and understanding of the novel rich. As to the discussion of neo-colonialism in *TQA*, four salient aspects attract attention - neo-colonizers and their representatives, proxy forces, chaos and media manipulation. As for the first aspect, neo-colonizers and their representatives, Greene presents characters in *TQA* in a way that they stand for the old colonialism and thus try to keep its legacy in Vietnam as Fowler confesses to it. He detests colonization and neo-colonization, war and chaos, along with their other miseries inflicted, yet ironically, he is also unaware of the way he acts as a neo-colonial figure in the novel. For example, Fowler is in close contact with characters like Mr Heng, Vigot and others who serve the interest of neo-colonial powers in Vietnam. He technically orders and causes the murder of Pyle willingly when he declares to Mr Heng (the hitman) that he is not cool with the murders of Pyle against Vietnamese people. After this meeting, Fowler gives Heng his meeting venue with Pyle allowing Mr Heng and his men to murder him (Greene, 2004, p. 166). Being objective and not being involved in violence were Fowler’s ideals and a stance he defends from beginning to end; however, after giving the decision to trap Pyle in a

meeting, he also accepts that he has a side now in the war as an actor of neo-colonizer trying to stop a “third force” formation of Pyle the opposition agent (p. 175).

In *TQA*, Thomas Fowler is working as a pressman for an English newspaper writing reports, articles and news about the Indochina struggle in Vietnam. As a member of the Western block²⁰ in that country, he can be listed under the colonizers’ team as the others and his party accepts that he is one of them. As a neo-colonizer, it may be said that Fowler is sincere in his comments about the war and the ongoing problems in the area. He doesn’t consider himself a colonizer, rather, he is there for his job and trying to earn his money for himself and his family. His psychology is not well as he sees horrible things of and about war enough to tell what is going on in the area regarding the perspective of the colonizer and the colonized. His first confessions and observations about this issue are about Pyle and his character, which turns out to be disappointing for his evaluation. For Fowler, Pyle’s romantic outlook and ideas turn out to conflict with reality. Pyle seems a pure and trueborn colonizer who tries to put his horrific and evil ideas into action causing deaths and miseries in Vietnam; he sees colonization as a “heritage” rather than colonization and exploitation as Sartre remarks for the mindset of such people (1964, p. 58). Therefore, democracy meant something different for such a country that came to use diplomacy only for their benefits.

Similarly, in *TQA*, it is not only Fowler who is involved in the neo-colonial aspiration in Vietnam under the disguise of a journalist, but it is Pyle, who is also engaged with the neo-colonial practices under the disguise of both economic attaché and defender of democracy. What Pyle pretends to bring to Vietnam is how today neo-colonial powers strive to cheat and control the people in the Middle East, Asia and Africa: the promise of democracy.²¹ Democracy, however, is cynically employed by neo-colonial powers as a means of control. The advancement of “interest-based diplomacy in the global order” leads to the weakening of democracy in imperial dictatorial regimes in neo-colonized countries (Lee & Paine, 2019, pp. 488-490). According to Neve Gordon, in the aftermath of gaining their sovereignty, the former British colonies were even more liberal than other nations, but in the post-Cold War

²⁰The country was occupied by France at the time though there were the USA and French military personnel and control points at the time. They were the Western block.

²¹Diana Haag states in her essay “Mechanisms of Neo-Colonialism” that the African countries Cameroon and Ghana are still influenced heavily by France and Britain relatively in terms of economic, political, financial and military issues because they are the former colonies of the related countries: especially France’s relationship with Cameroon is heavily neo-colonial, while Britain’s relationship with Ghana is mainly economic to underline any neo-colonial ties (2011, p. 3).

era, the political transition was mostly overcome (Gordon, 2010). There are also differing heritages and declining accomplishments that describe dominant British society or new imperial establishments. The countries sent their diplomats, correspondents and agents that tried to keep the benefits of their own country in the region. In their discussions about the colonization history and the current situation in Vietnam, both Pyle and Fowler refer to the fact that the official history books gloss over the Limoges massacre of the British legendary commander Black Prince which took place in their colonization of France in the middle ages. This event is rarely found in books as it is a massacre but forgotten by the public (Diefendorf, 2008). Similarly, as multi-nationalist history books hideously distort the facts and declines involvement, Pyle reacts wildly when the reality does not match his illusionary and self-determined ideas, and he opposes with his colonial heritage accumulation (Greene, 2004, p. 66).

In the novel, the narrator tells us how Pyle defends democracy and dies for it: “Grieved to report your son died a soldier’s death in cause of Democracy” (p. 23). These are the words on the lip of Pyle when he is murdered. However, as witnessed many times across the world, the “cause of [Western type of] Democracy” is a disguise and a false promise.²² By hiding behind the disguise of “Democracy”, Pyle provides his local proxies with bombs and arms not only to create chaos and confusion but also to kill innocent Vietnamese. One of the main clandestine tactics of neo-colonial powers is to create chaos and instability in a country, and eventually, this country easily falls prey to the trap of imperial powers. Simply, they take advantage of chaotic unstable situations and then claim that it is only through democracy that order, and stability could be achieved. Pyle’s words signal the understanding of the colonizers for their actions that refer to national duties and further democracy which was used as a vehicle of interfering with problematic places of the world militarily and politically. More than duty, the colonizers also see this kind of work as academic and have careers in such matters. As represented in *TQA*, Pyle is a professional neo-colonizer and agent who takes the necessary education to carry out his new duties in any countries such as Vietnam which the USA longs for control. In his library, for instance, he keeps and constantly reads the *Advance of Red China*, *The Challenge to Democracy*, *The Role of the West*, and *War in Philippines* to understand the philosophy behind the colonizing act, as well as the meaning of his job (p. 21). The books he reads trigger the idea of

²²See Richard Youngs’ *The Puzzle of Non-western Democracy* (2015) for more detailed discussions.

paramilitary and ideological warfare on communism and keep the interests of the West at all costs in theory and practice.

In the novel, Greene represents Pyle and Fowler in a way that they have mixed feeling about democracy; thus, he discusses the function and meaning of democracy both for the West and the East with its connotations to the current situation in Vietnam, as well as their roles as a reporter and as a CIA agent under the cover of economic aid. The discussions focus on the education of Pyle and his books that promote a certain kind of ideology that supersedes the humanist ways of struggle with violent ones that risk the lives of the colonized people, as well as the Western fellow citizens more than anyone. As a summary of the transactions of Fowler and Pyle, the former claims that the latter is in a futile attempt to get his proxies into the fight for democracy especially against the Chinese communism as the people are not interested in communism, democracy or a fight against it, but they look for food and security first (p. 86). Fowler states this problem as such: "I know that record. Siam goes. Malaya goes. Indonesia goes. What does 'go' mean?" (p. 87). According to Fowler, the discussions and fear of communism have become an obsession for the Western democracy fighters who seem to be interested in the continuation of their influence in the region more than the lives of the people there, especially their collaborators.

As a proper example for a neo-colonizer, Pyle's thought about the colonized people in Vietnam is quite different from that of Fowler because he thinks that he can decide on behalf of these people and assumes that they are not given the proper voice to speak. Even if they have voices, he believes that they are not allowed to speak but oppressed because of their culture and rulers. This is a paradoxical situation as he says they are not given the chance to speak for themselves so that he finds himself as an authority to be their speaker. On the other hand, Fowler thinks the opposite for Pyle. For him, thought is a "luxury" for these people who are not able to think of "God and Democracy" when they work inside their rice fields full of mud at night (p. 87). Pyle flatly contradicts this opinion stating that the country is not only made up of peasants but there are also the educated people who have time to deal with such things inside the country. Fowler's answer to this proposal is harsh and revolutionary as he states that these elite people are educated with the Western ideology and they have learnt the "dangerous games" of the Western world allowing them to kill their enemies – the Westerners (p. 87). Fowler proposes that he would like to see Pyle's idol York

Harding²³ acting in Vietnam in the middle of the war and being killed as he believes they deserve this end with their sins.

Immediately, the discussion of Pyle and Fowler on democracy shifts and turns into that of colonialism versus neo-colonialism. For instance, Fowler and Pyle take a journey together deep into Vietnamese frontlines and talk about colonization, as well as the new forms of colonization after so much time. While Pyle keeps on giving novel suggestions of neo-colonial strategies and their reasoning from his idol York Harding, Fowler thinks that colonization is still in progress until Pyle brings new concepts of neo-colonization into discussions. When Fowler states that the Vietnamese people would not interfere with their journey because they look like the French, Pyle states that Fowler “should not be against York but the colonialism of the French” (p. 87). However, Fowler does not believe these new strategies of the West which seem identical to former classical colonialism in a new outlook that gets complicated with ideologies. Also, he does not believe in “isms and ocracies” (p. 87); he wants facts, and thus he considers colonialism as an issue limited to individuals who apply the orders of the upper administrations like the minister (governor) of the colonies, planters who beat their slaves and wives, priests that get on well with the colonial rules.

Fowler is not happy with Pyle’s submission to the ideals of a fictional author named York Harding and his ideology of neo-colonial exploitation through a force secretly controlled by the imperial power. Fowler ironically states that York should explain why the Vietnamese and all colonized people are killed easily. When Pyle reminds Fowler of how he laughs at York Harding, Fowler replies that he “laugh[s] at anyone who spends so much time writing about what doesn’t exist - mental concepts” (p. 85). Despite all the disagreements with Pyle, Fowler’s ideas about the uselessness of Western democracy and its application in the colonized territories do not seem to change:

I’d rather be an exploiter who fights for what he exploits, and dies with it. Look at the history of Burma. We go and invade the country: the local tribes support us: we are victorious: but like you Americans we weren’t colonialists in those days. Oh no, we made peace with the king and we handed him back his province and left our allies to be crucified and sawn in two. They were innocent. They thought we’d stay. But we were liberals and we didn’t want a bad conscience. (pp. 87-88)

²³York Harding is the fictitious author in the story that Pyle reads and get inspired by his ideas of neo-colonialism and new strategies.

Fowler states that unlike democracy, which is a mental concept for him, the death of French soldiers is real. He reasons that they are not good at making policies in those areas as a nation, the liberals and their infected policies are giving damage more than good, and they sacrifice anything not to have a guilty conscience of the atrocities they committed.

In *TQA*, another character that gives us insights into the Western concepts of mind and their views about colonization and exploitation is the French war pilot Trouin whom Fowler joins to interview when his plane dives and drops bombs on the Vietnamese lands several times. Fowler mentally and physically feels very uncomfortable in this fighter attack as he witnesses the bombs dropped on the people and sees the lands, houses and fields of the Vietnamese people burning. He sympathizes with the way innocent Vietnamese people suffer due to the ferocity of imperial activities. Fowler's ideas are stirred by Trouin who especially talks about his disgust for the napalm bomb, a modern bomb that chemically burns everything on its way and destroys the forests and houses of the Vietnamese made of wood which is vulnerable but cheap (Westwell, 2011).

Greene stays loyal to the historical events in Indochina War (Logevall, 2012); in the novel the French drops these bombs to destroy the forest that enables the Vietminh²⁴ soldiers to hide and organize a militia and guerrilla attacks on their soldiers with their tangled and vast system of underground tunnels that can only be tracked by an informed Viet Minh soldier. Uttering that he detests it, the French pilot Trouin gives a detailed picture of the bombing: it is made from 3000 feet safe from the machine fire, the forests catch fire and people are burned alive, the flames are like waves finishing that it is not his fault but it is the all the West that made the scene: "I'm not fighting a colonial war. Do you think I'd do these things for the planters of Terre Rouge? I'd rather be court-martialled. We are fighting all of your wars, but you leave us the guilt" (p. 143). He highlights the fact that he is only carrying out orders blaming the

²⁴The First Indochina War started with the British and Japanese withdrawal and French occupation in 1946 when France sent troops and took control of the capital Saigon while in the northern parts the Vietnamese soldiers (Viet Minh) responded to the French's bombardment of civilians with guerrilla attacks (Logevall, 2012, pp. 113-116). Vo Nguyen Giap and Ho Chi Minh were the leaders of the anti-colonial resistance who were supported by the communist powers in the world at the time and who formed the guerrilla forces called Viet Minh. But Viet Minh had some problems like all irregular anti-colonial armies which had hardships of finding weaponry and comprised of untrained soldiers without discipline (Llewellyn et. al., 2018).

Vietnamese people who tortured their people when they lost Hanoi. Trouin claims that they cannot win this war since the politicians at the mainland order them to go on fighting and killing until they have an agreement which they could have signed at the beginning without this bloodshed; they lose a generation of young graduates every year (p. 144). As Fredrik Logevall (2012) argues, the reason why the French assault, kill and torture many innocent Vietnamese citizens is because the anti-colonial movement Viet Minh hides inside the public. He reports that the “French use of torture, napalm and attacks that often-killed civilians, fuelled insurgent recruitment” (pp. 177, 271). As the war intensifies and the French troops begin to lose positions, they get cruel and start cleansing both the people and the forests as this make fighting easier for them. Beforehand, fighting in such territory against the Viet Minh was harder and impossible in the sense that they try “guerrilla tactics” and terror attacks to demoralize and halt the French occupation (pp. 255-275). To continue the occupation and assaults effectively, the French try to form armies made up of Vietnamese who are loyal under their rule and sympathize with colonization. The purpose behind this is to easily interfere and be effective in the Vietnamese rural areas where the Viet Minh’s support is strong.

What France does in Vietnam and its impacts worry Fowler as the partially anti-colonial voice of Greene in the novel. Fowler becomes critical of the horrific situation of neo-colonial practices, as well as the psychological trauma inflicted on Vietnamese people. He points out how the devastating results of French neo-colonialism cripple the dignity and humanity of both the colonizer and the colonized. Fowler’s monologues are mostly about his psychology and outlook on these issues. After a bombing in the city centre, he puts out the fact that his girlfriend was warned and all that matters is her safety. Nevertheless, Fowler’s mood is one that scrutinizes and criticizes his ideas on that matter which undermines the value of human life he remembered when he sees the dead torso in the square and the dead baby on its mother’s lap:

They had not been warned: they had not been sufficiently important. And if the parade had taken place would they not have been there just the same, out of curiosity, to see the soldiers, and hear the speakers, and throw the flowers? A two-hundred-pound bomb does not discriminate. How many dead colonels justify a child’s or a trishaw driver’s death when you are building a national democratic front? (Greene, 2004, p. 155)

Greene summarizes the ruthless tactic of the neo-colonizers stating that it causes bloodshed of a cruel type killing many innocent civilians. With the aim of killing a few soldiers and creating chaos, the bomb kills many innocent civilians who have nothing to do with what is going on. To form a so-called democratic resistance, many are sacrificed to this ideal.

Greene also lists the soldiers of the neo-colonizers under the category of the victims who do not have a detailed knowledge of what is going on and what the real motives of the neo-colonizers are. Pyle is one of these pawn soldiers who is at the bottom of the list and command chain that carries out their duties. Upon his death, Fowler thinks of Pyle and his activities without letting the reader know that it was Fowler who lured him into the murder scene. Fowler expresses his anger about the Western type of men with their private hospitals, fancy cars, Coca-Cola and modern machinery causing his death by getting him involved in such military action, giving him ideological books, money and education. A neo-colonizer transforms into an anti-colonialist when the top managers of neo-colonizers tell him to “Go ahead. Win the East for democracy” (p. 24). Despite the costs, he looks like a fool and a pawn soldier that has no personal value according to their grand strategy. The pseudo-innocence of Pyle is stressed by Fowler who states that he wanted to protect him from this monstrous and violent environment calling innocence “a dumb leper who has lost his bell, wandering the world meaning no harm” (p. 29). However, much innocent he is, Greene represents Pyle as an idealist neo-colonizer who believes his motivations behind his actions in that country. However, Fowler and other characters describe him as a pure guy that has no intention of hurting others. Fowler thinks he is incapable of hurting himself or realizing that his actions may cause troubles, yet he believes what he is doing and “he was sincere in his way” (p. 53). After all, Fowler thinks that Pyle is a pawn to be sacrificed and has no value or importance for the colonizers and their strategy. He says, if he dies, he would be “Private 23987”, a worthless “unit in the global strategy” that lost everything (p. 89). The issue of being a pawn for the neo-colonial forces brings us to the discussions of proxies and proxy warfare.

According to Chris Loveman, proxies are the outcome of the interaction between a beneficiary who is an actor outside the interaction of an emerging confrontation and the proxies appointed who is the lead to arms, mentoring and financing for that beneficiary (2002, p. 30). In brief, proxy wars are the practical

substitute for counties pursuing the furtherance of their policy objectives while simultaneously avoiding immediate, expensive and brutal conflict. However, Candace Rondeaux and David Sterman claim that the opposite can also happen:

Proxy wars often escalate into brutal conflicts that spill across borders. Rival sponsors commonly employ strategies that support the use of ever more questionable and lethal tactics by their own proxies. In each instance, murky sponsor motivations and covert proxy connections raise barriers to attributing actions to actors. Intelligence sharing, air campaigns, battlefield detentions, joint strikes, and targeted kill/capture operations supported by principals and executed by agents blur lines of command responsibility. (2019, p. 8)²⁵

Therefore, the term proxy means representative or deputy of someone or somebody, while the term is used in modern warfare as groups of fighter who willingly but most of the time unknowingly, fight for the interests of another country, nation or a group of power holders. This theme is a common one in *TQA* where many groups fight for themselves and others at the same time for money, power or other religious, political or ideological missions. Fowler states that groups and hijackers like Cao daists, Hoa-Haos²⁶ or the Binh Xuyen²⁷ are somewhat like special armies (mercenaries) who sell their men, power and service for money, power, ideology or just for revenge (Greene, 2004, p. 17).

In *TQA*, one of the subordinate tactics of the neo-colonizers inside the proxy-warfare schemata is a secondary force which is carried out through bribing and aiding a local force leader with money, power, men and information so that he uses all these for the interest of the neo-colonizers. Greene presents us this vicious tool in the novel as the “Third Force”²⁸ which Pyle follows; he is influenced by the fictitious author York Harding who coined the idea that a proxy force and a leader should be adopted by the neo-colonizers to put their theories in practice in the region as one of the local power holders. In the story, while Pyle supports this view and puts it into practice by

²⁵Anthony Pfaff (2017) offers ethical rules for the use of Proxy in modern warfare in his report entitled “Proxy War Ethics” as the use of proxies became a common tool for the 21st century.

²⁶HoaHao is a religious Vietnamese Buddhist group established by the Buddhist religious intellectual Huynh Phu So in 1939. Groups like these who started armed conflicts against the French and, later, Japanese colonizers, the HoaHao and the other religious sect Cao Dai were among the first (Gobron, 2008).

²⁷Schrock’s book *Minority Groups in the Republic of Vietnam* (1966) lists all groups that were in the war and lists BinhXuyen as the special unit of the Viet Minh like the Gestapo of the Reich and other secret organizations whose actions could not be followed or inspected, and thus their names are mentioned in unsolved murders and assassinations (such as Pyle’s murder in *TQA*).

²⁸The term is also used by Sartre as well mentioning the legendary French President De Gaulle whom he says is trying to find a Third Force for himself in the deserts of Algeria from the Bedouins – a group expected to have been formed out of the Muslim bourgeoisie that he could never find (1964, p. 73).

smuggling materials for bombs for his “Third Force”, Fowler is a quite harsh critic of it as he believes this is an evil act causing the murder of many innocent lives. When Fowler asks Pyle about the workings of this hypothesis, Pyle declares that to counter the Vietminh “a Third Force could do it. There was always a Third Force to be found free from Communism and the taint of colonialism — national democracy he called it; you only had to find a leader and keep him safe from the old colonial powers” (p. 115). Pyle sees Communism and the communist people of Vietnam as an enemy to counter with all available ways; on the contrary, Fowler states that they are innocent people who have to find their ways to continue living even though they have to shop, trade and share with the communist ideology. When Pyle accuses a bishop of teaming up with the communists, Fowler defends him stating that they only trade with the communists selling cows and buying bamboos for their buildings; he tells Pyle to stop interfering with innocent people’s business and emphasizes that they are certainly not the Third Force Pyle looks for: “Go to your Third Force and York Harding and the Role of Democracy. Go away and play with plastics” (p. 125).²⁹

Greene does not fail to stress the fact that the foreign people, press or soldiers may find this atmosphere a good one and beneficial for themselves. He says there is nothing entertaining or beautiful in treachery and distrust, as the proxies may turn on each other, their people or their allied if needed. Fowler also states that General The³⁰ is a leader of the Caodaists but he fights against the French and Communists at the same time. Pyle, the American official in the story, uses him as a proxy. Borrowing from York Harding, Fowler speaks: “what the East needed was a Third Force. Perhaps I should have seen that fanatic gleam, the quick response to a phrase, the magic sound of figures: Fifth Column, Third Force, Seventh Day” (p. 17). Pyle strongly believes in working for the benefits of his own country in the neo-colonized areas while Fowler

²⁹Nkrumah points out that the third force is “power without responsibility” and “exploitation without redress”: “In the days of old-fashioned colonialism, the imperial power had at least to explain and justify at home the actions it was taking abroad. In the colony, those who served the ruling imperial power could at least look to its protection against any violent move by their opponents. With neo-colonialism neither is the case. (...) Neo-colonialism, like colonialism, is an attempt to export the social conflicts of the capitalist countries.” (1965, pp. xi-xii)

³⁰The Vietnamese General Trinh Minh The, depicted as General The, is a real-life personality who carried out terrorist acts and collaborated with an air officer and CIA spy Edward Lansdale “whose mission consisted in part of sowing dissent in North Vietnam” (Rodriguez, 2019). It must be stated that Edward Lansdale can be associated with Pyle in the novel because of his intelligence activities and spying though he is not a direct personification of Lansdale. Cecil B. Currey’s book *Edward Lansdale: The Unquiet American* (1998) is a book that gives the life of Lansdale and his actions in Vietnam and the Philippines where he got famous with his spying and successful secret operations in which he collaborated with the proxy groups in these countries at the direction of the CIA and USA governments.

thinks this is dangerous although his job there is similar. With this aim in mind, Pyle has a strategy of cooperating with General The; using him and his organization as a proxy, he tries to rise him to power and benefit from their previous collaboration regardless of the human right violations General The and his gang committed with the bombs brought in by Pyle as economic aids to the country (p. 168). General The was a tool for dividing the country into fractions.

One vicious and perfected technique of the old and new colonizers to rule a colonized territory is the same old divide-and-rule strategy that had been tried and carried out almost all around the world regardless of the strength, race, culture and mentality of the colonized people who fell into this trap almost with no exception (Morrock, 1973). According to Felix Bethke, several neo-colonial leaders have depended on the divide-and-rule diplomacy in neo-colonial politics to thrive (2012, p. 1). The divide-and-rule principle proposes a process for leaders to keep control by dividing rival power concentrations into bits with little strength left independent. Such activities also aggravated the issue of joint action for future enemies and thus prevented all competing forces. The repercussions of this policy of dividing and ruling as a policy of political ambitions remain after all transparent and are not even broadly perceived experimental. Although Leonardo D. Arriola (2009) claims that the hegemony of power usually contributes to more stability, Philip Roessler (2011) points out that these systems are exceptionally vulnerable to violence.

The neo-colonizers keep using that strategy which Fowler humorously refers to in the novel while he was trying to get out of a crowded brothel stating that he “had learnt a technique – to divide and conquer” (Greene, 2004, p. 30). This tactic turns into a new formation with the introduction of proxy warfare which enables the neo-colonial powers not to be openly against a group or a country but they do it with the help of their accomplices inside the country which will gain them the legacy to interfere with the issues inside the colonized countries. Greene writes that “the innocent is always involved in any conflict. Always, everywhere, there is some voice crying from a tower”: among this hustle and quarrel of the elephants, the weak are always oppressed and damaged (p. 110).

As the story progresses in the novel, Fowler continues to warn Pyle against the dangers of his struggles to find the Third Force as it is like playing with bombs and may cause the death of Pyle at any moment. Fowler warns Pyle stating that they are

the old colonial peoples, they know some realities, they learned “not to play with matches” and General The is not an option for an assignment of “national democracy” with his few thousand men because he is only a bandit (p. 149). When Fowler finds out that some bicycle bombs exploded in the city centre were brought in by Pyle under the cover of economic aids, he hints to Pyle that he is aware, but Pyle plays dumb and does not respond. Fowler openly talks about the bombs and tells Pyle to stop because these will not save the East from communism and he says: “if someone has got to make a mess of things in your outfit, leave it to Joe. Go home with Phuong. Forget the Third Force” (p. 149).

The second proxy in *TQA* to implement neo-colonial policies is Pyle’s “Third Force” made up of Mr Muoi, Mr Chao and Mr Heng who take arms and military materials from Pyle and detonate them to the advantage of General The and his army. They occupy a secret place as headquarters – a messy and untidy place where the moulds and other stuff is spread around as Fowler describes it (p. 136). He walks into the shadowy places and decides that the Third Force that Pyle quotes from the fictitious author York Harding is what he sees. Although Pyle finds men to work for him, they are following him just for his powers and money; with money and power, you can buy soldiers and men but cannot recruit sincere fighters if they do not believe it. As Sartre states, you “can create psychological units and counter-guerrilla schools” though can you “change hearts?” as the Viet Minh and their followers are fighting with some metaphysical motivations (1964, p. 54). To overcome this unity among the anti-colonial resistance, the neo-colonizers have a stealth tactic: creating chaos.

Creating and forging chaos with terrorist and proxy activities inside a country is another strategy employed by neo-colonizers in the formerly colonized countries to interfere with the region and take military or political control of the problematic place without any or minimum physical interference. The colonizers deliberately leave places in chaos and disorder so that they will have a chance to be invited back to the region and they could stay there for a long time to continue exploitation. In his book *Colonialism by Proxy*, Moses E. Ochonu states that by creating proxies and especially by provoking ethnic violence, the colonials bring out violent chaos which most of the time works for their benefits (2014, p. 218). Through oppression and ethnic categorization, the country turns into a boiling pot where no law can be implemented; therefore, welfare is at stake and the streets are dangerous.

Likewise, in *TQA*, the roads and streets especially at night are a place for chaos, murder, espionage and even terrorist attacks with grenades and bombings as it happened in Vietnam. Fowler states that the “French control the main roads until seven in the evening: they control the watch towers after that, and the cities — part of them. That doesn’t mean you are safe, or there wouldn’t be iron grilles in front of the restaurants” (Greene, 2004, p. 17). The level of security is very high in the cities due to government buildings. Concerning this chaotic environment, Fowler has many conspiracies which approve of the chaos inside the country: Pyle could have been murdered by the Vietminh because the crime scene is their territory; he could have been murdered by Vietnamese Surete because they do not like him; he could have been murdered by the Caodaists only because he knew General The; he could have been murdered by Hoa-Haos for trespassing their territory or just because someone wanted to rob him (p. 19).

Besides, the cities of Vietnam sliced into ghettos each controlled by a neo-colonizer, a proxy group or another fraction that acts like a mafia or government rather than a political party or civil organization. During the day and at night, the streets are shared by the soldiers and groups of the country in which walking means sudden death, the source of which is not known. Fowler describes the chaotic city in a speech stating that the “French armoured cars went by, each with its jutting gun and silent officer motionless like a figure-head under the stars and the black, smooth, concave sky” (p. 29). In addition, the gangs or special armies, some of which are the and tools of the neo-colonizing powers, are sharing the local districts each of which has a source of income for the guns, weapons and other needs that are mostly sold by the cover-up agents of the colonizing powers. Fowler guesses that there is trouble behind a group “the Binh Xuyen, who ran the Grand Monde and the gambling halls of Cholon” (p. 30): districts ruled by gangs are inhabited by the income from drugs, gambling, prostitution and other malpractices.

Besides murders, assassinations, unsolved murders, the complex web of espionage, money and love relationships contribute to the chaos which frightens people but helps give opportunities to the powerful side for maintaining their interest. Chaos combined with proxies is the best atmosphere for colonizers and their proxies in the region as Fowler expresses:

I knew a man who had suddenly and inexplicably lost his cook [...] Perhaps he had joined the communists; perhaps he had been enlisted in one of the private

armies which flourished round Saigon- the Hoa-Haos or the Caodaists of General The. Perhaps he was in a French prison. Perhaps he was happily making money out of girls in Cholon, the Chinese suburb. (p. 8)

The city is dangerous for unarmed civilians, women and children, even for an armed man who may be shot dead for no reason or for a reason which wouldn't be discovered as the police may cover it up if the murderer is on their side and the murder is for their or their partners' benefit. There is no safety for the civilians in the streets of city zones and especially the military territories.

A big picture of panic and chaos is caused by the bombs that Pyle brings into the country under the cover of economic aids for his "Third Force" Mr Heng who carries out actions for the advantage and interest of General The who is a bandit leader in the country. In addition to bicycle bombs, the other kinds of bombs are produced and detonated, one of which is explained by Fowler in detail that adds proof to the proxy and chaos theory of the neo-colonizers: There is a huge cloud of smoke, burning cars, parts of car pieces everywhere, a man without his legs is laying aside, crowds of people, policemen, sirens, ambulances – a perfect picture of hell and chaos that would make the country a war table for each neo-colonial power.

A specific result of chaos is the upholding of legal implementations and lack of discipline and order in all branches of the governments if there is any. While Fowler states that "legality was not essential in a country at war," he means that the people are after saving their lives and families more than anything, and this situation gives a chance to bandits and proxies led by the neo-colonial powers to implement their policies (p. 7). The warlike chaos may turn into violent protests and curfews taking international attention and even causing coup attempts or a coalition of Western powers to interfere with the process there as so-called saviours. The hard situation in such places offers great environments for illegal actions such as bribery, corruption, assassinations, coup attempts, military takeovers, annulment of parliaments and laws or other factors that reduce the country from a functioning democracy to tyranny or tribal administration.

This chaotic condition is also nourished by religion because it is a sensitive issue that may easily be manipulated and fuelled (Morrock, 1973). Although religious affiliations vary, countries with different religious and ethnic groups may manage to

live in order and peace³¹. However, disturbance of this cohesion creates a chaotic atmosphere resulting in violent killings and acts of vengeance³². In the new settlements they held, the long-time colonialists recreated the oppression of religious minority groups inside of their single nation narratives, and thus historical, social and cultural distinctions of many colonized were “forcibly eclipsed by the federal harmonization” (Ndeda, 2009, p. 118). Similarly, George L. Beckford shows the Anglican favour of Britain over other religious groups and states that the neo-colonial powers all used the same tactic in their neo-colonies for the creation of chaos (1999, p. 27). Given this fact, the conspiracy of chaos in a colonized country works almost perfectly with the provoking and misleading of the religious people and producing rumours that cause uprisings among the religious people and their sacred leaders. Most of the time the chaos is created and put into play through assassination of a religious leader, destruction of a sacred temple, cursing a sacred belief, character and tradition or a rumour that will provoke an ethnic and religious group of people against one another.

Likewise, there are some examples of this tactic in *TQA*, in which religion is employed to fuel chaos in Vietnam. One of them occurs when the American Economic Attaché Joe (Pyle’s boss) claims to hear a rumour that the Vietminh soldiers invaded the sacred temple and city of Phat Diem and forced the bishop of the cathedral out of the city expecting a backlash from Fowler and other local individuals there to do something about it (Greene, 2004, p. 27). Not only are the Christians and Buddhists there, but there is also even a “Freemason, Lieutenant Peraud of the French army”, who is engaged with the events in Vietnam if Freemasons are considered a religious group rather than a gentleman club or a lobby of the Zionist order (p. 39).

Another religious problem related to a chaotic atmosphere is depicted by Fowler when he visits Phat Diem, a sacred city in the novel, and analyses the situation in the country now. He says that General The has declared his intention to fight against both the French and the Vietminh and he kidnapped a cardinal (p. 76). However,

³¹Jerusalem, Andalusia and Istanbul under Muslim control are the cities and civilizations that managed to bring together its citizens of varied religion, ethnicity and race and prosper with the highest level of civilizations during their timelines.

³²There are many horrific examples of religion-fuelled massacres in history: The Inquisition in Spain in the Middle Ages against the Protestants, the riots against Muslims in India, the religious clashes in Nigeria (Ojo & Lateju, 2010; Okafor, 2007). The Islamophobic speeches of the president of the USA Donald Trump and the president of Emmanuel Macron can be considered such attempts (Laurence & Vaisse, 2007). After their speeches in that quality, attacks against the mosques and Muslims have intensified in these countries.

Fowler states that there are rumours that he may collaborate with a higher-ranking religious authority. The sensitivity of the Cao daists against their religion and religious class is hindered by General The as he seems to take orders from religious authority and has good relationships with them. The people in the cathedral Phat Diem is full of visitors like Catholics, Buddhists and even pagans to be safe from the war zones where it is not easy to keep warm, find food and other daily needs of the infants and the elderly (p 42). They are stuck between the neo-colonizers and violent groups of gangsters, proxies and other problems; they just try to save the sacred places, the bishops, nuns and other people who seek refuge in the cathedral. But such chaos is needed to tire people in the area of war and force the colonized people and freedom fighters to stop resistance, which helps neo-colonizers reach their aims easily. This is akin to the current situation in the Middle East today where sectarian conflicts and religious wars between the Sunnis and Shias, as well as between Al-Qaida and ISIS, which are contemporary versions of such proxies in the post-modern world today³³ that have destabilized the region and given rise to the death of millions of innocent people. What Greene insinuates in *TQA* is that such religious chaos is also used by the colonizers to create radical psychologically problematic terrorist people who see their families' death and go through other unspeakable violence and torture transforming them into monsters that could be easily used by the colonizers via a third party and agent.

In *TQA*, Greene makes it clear that all the dimensions and applications of chaos woven by the proxy groups and secret services work for one greater aim directed towards the involvement of a neo-colonial power into this region or country with its military force to cause them to control everything there. If this does not work as a neo-colonizing strategy, the proxy forces or the bourgeoisie working for them substitute the roles of the Western powers and enable them to achieve what they want most - international support, political and economic privileges and so on. This is how a proxy

³³A contemporary commentator on these issues, Phil Hoffman (2019), states in his article that one of the presidential candidates in the 2020 elections in the USA, Pete Buttigieg, refers to the subtlety and use of a "Third Force" by the American foreign affairs diplomacy in his speeches stating that Graham Greene's *TQA* offers an insight into the use of intelligence agencies in neo-colonialism issues. Hoffman thinks that the US tried to form an optional and shadow government in Iraq with a cover group of diplomats who couldn't speak Arabic and had little information about the country. There the idea of a "Third Force" (a proxy force or leader) was always an option for the US government and State Department from Vietnam to Iraq, to Syria, to Afghanistan to Libya, while many innocent people have died at the hands of current cover agents.

group operates: permanent acts of provocation, constant killing through bombing and shooting, as well as smear propagandas, through which neo-colonizers pump hatred among two communities against each other, and this enmity results in chaos, massacres and other atrocities that will lead the French army into the area to undermine the self-determination or the full independency of the possible new country to be born out of this former colony (Sartre, 1964, p. 74). In fact, neo-colonization itself is the mechanism that causes terror and chaos to profit from this unstable chaotic atmosphere of civil war. This requires advanced neo-colonial tactics to prevent criticism and control the minds of people, and one of these tactics is international media manipulation.

Mass media - their news, photos, stories, interviews and so on - deeply affect the people and their ways of understanding, perception and interpretation as they read, hear and see the news. Mass media is a means of propaganda, and the power and ideology behind mass media decide what to deliver and how to manipulate facts and information in line with the expectation of who controls it. Thus, the news media forms the norms, values and behaviours of the people with its powerful shaping and socializing functions. Therefore, it is inevitable that the mass media significantly influences the thoughts and actions of the people when they see the world through it (Pedersen, 2002, p. 303). After the invention and widespread use of civil and military cables, as well as the radio and television, were invented in the first half of the twentieth century, the media has become a tool for power and influence around the world making it a field of power shift and conflicts (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 28). As the West discovered it, they have also made the international laws and regulations that govern media, journalism and publication to such an extent that the journalists became like untouchable diplomats in the field allowed to write and comment on anything sacred, private and taboo under the cover of freedom of speech and the right to communicate making them a “dominant elite ideologists” (Kuo & Nakamura, 2005, p. 394).

Likewise, Greene represents media in *TQA* in a way that neo-colonizers employ it not only to establish their control but also to continue keeping their exploitative interests in Vietnam. Greene himself knows journalism is as a powerful weapon as the bullet when he unalterably writes that “what a mess you make behind the scenes. The other kind of war is more innocent than this. One does less damage with a mortar.”

(Greene, 2004, p. 110). Mortar, as Greene claims, is sometimes a less dangerous weapon than the pen itself because the things you write and report to your newspaper and nation may lead them to the truth about reality or mislead them to other results, causing loss of millions of lives or other disastrous endings. Fowler gives insight into this job and how it is used by the neo-colonial powers as a means for power holding, propaganda and other information conflicts among the colonizers. He is aware that the media is choosing and picking up news that will work for their interest at all times, even at some point Fowler says to Pyle that if the Vietnamese communist groups win the war, they “will be reporting lies” (p. 88).

The Western media deliberately failed to cover news such as civilian bombings and other problematic issues which will damage the interests of their country in the area or on the international level. Fowler accepts this fact, stating that “they never made the European press” (p. 10). What the Western press looks for in each country is their glory and victory in the region unless they compete with another colonizer force. Even, the press is not allowed to send telegrams through the cables unless there is a victory as Fowler writes in the novel: “This was a defeat: no journalists were allowed, no cables could be sent, for the papers must carry only victories” (p. 40). Hence the way the West always favours the freedom of press and democracy is just fallacy, hypocrisy and cover-up, in which they strive to make the people outside the West believe and accept voluntarily what they do and what they say.

On the international media, the Vietnam war becomes a psychological battle and moral ground for the neo-colonial powers. For instance, the French side claims that the USA is losing with many casualties; the USA media claims that Vietnamese communist forces are about to lose, and they are torturing war prisoners and their people recklessly to win the war. This war of misinformation is designed to ensure their rule in the aftermath of the war whatever the result may be. A similar debate on the authenticity and accuracy of the news is carried out both by the soldiers and defending anti-colonial forces at the time inside the public affairs of France where the media and its independent members blame the current leadership for covering up the facts in Algeria and Vietnam to hide violations of human rights and violent acts. Sartre was among these thinkers who thought that the administrators of the country had much power, but he argued that they misused their power and evaded legislative control and balances enabling themselves to act on their agenda and internal feuds (1964, p. 52).

He calls them “Princes” and “War Lords” who made France a colonial fighting power all over the world in its colonies, bombing cities and breaking up peace agreements in colonized lands. Regarding the Indochina conflict, Sartre also states that one of these warlords, Thierry d’Argenlieu, the governor/commander of the French at the time, bombed Haiphong while the parliament was negotiating with Ho Chi Minh on a deal, causing the talks to come to an end, and eventually the violence started (p. 52).³⁴

The psychological aspect of the war of news and casualties is another dimension of the competition among the colonizers seen at their press meetings and other formal gatherings. For example, in *TQA*, in a press meeting with all the correspondents and military personnel, the French spokesman and an American correspondent connotatively force each other to admit the fact that the news at hand is for the interest and use of their agenda. The spokesman points to and underlines the fact that in a late attack the Vietnamese side loses many men, and it is documented. However, when the American correspondent asks about the French losses, the answer keeps its ambiguity: “our losses have not been heavy. The exact number is not yet known” (Greene, 2004, p. 55). The American correspondent Granger ironically asks whether the colonel did not count his death and casualties.

The struggle and fight in the war are not limited to military or physical aspects but also there is a war of intelligence, news and media coverage. Each side tries to make use of the news and turn it to their advantage on their side. This tells us the importance of contemporary undercover soft fight over the press, media and other means of communication which may turn the public opinion on your side and have national or international support for your actions and activities in certain countries, colonies or other subjects. As a matter of fact, in the colonization process, the French realizes the importance of cinema and visual arts as an element of neo-colonization and transforming the point of views of the colonized peoples (Brocheux & Hemery, 2011, pp. 232-233).

The media and its role in the Vietnamese conflict were a popular debate among the journalists at the time of the conflict. Debates about the function of the media in politics and war became a matter of discussion in the academic world since then. The

³⁴After the WW II, the legendary leader of the Vietnamese people Ho Chi Minh declared independence using western terminology (Young, 1991, pp. 12-13) aligning with the communist forces of the time as the royalty in the country stepped down and gave way to a new government (Dommen, 2002, p. 112). These new governments to be formed in formerly colonized lands were always led by the local military leaders as they led the people through hard times (or they do not want to lose their grip on power).

press conferences of the USA Army are known as The Five O’Clock Follies which includes the word “folly” as a sarcastic representation of the fake news given by the officials and diplomats. Interestingly, the man in charge of the USA based Associated Press in Saigon is Richard Pyle (resembling our Alden Pyle of the economic aid) who calls the conferences a long-lasting tragicomedy (Times, 2014). In *TQA*, the press meetings are the representation of the real events where the credibility of the officials and spokespersons are questioned; the journalists and reporters make fun of the fake news and shout at each other. The briefings of the USA are held in Rex Hotel of Saigon (the Continental hotel in the novel) where a public affairs officer Barry Zorthian stated once that “where the US government’s word was once true until proven false, in Vietnam, it would be questioned until proven true” (Martin, 2011, p. 1).

A recent example of the fact that diplomacy and the army officials hide the facts from the public to continue the war and disable public backlash is the Afghanistan Papers released by the Washington Post on 9 December 2019 by a senior investigative journalist Craig Whitlock. The news dropped like a bomb which released the information that the officials lied to continue with the operation in Afghanistan and the fact that they are losing the war with the title “At war with the truth”; as Whitlock said to the officials, and repeatedly declared, they were making progress while they were not, and they were well aware of it (Whitlock, 2019).

A fictitious Western newspaper in *TQA* is called “Extreme Orient.” As the name suggests, it is a biased paper that tries to show that the East is a place of death, murder, uncanny, evil and all other concepts that shape and control the minds of the Western public. Fowler knows about this newspaper, and after the explosions of bicycles, he says that “Bicycle Bombs” would be a good headline for this journal which calls the bombings an “outrage” as they would only give it a place for making fun of this affair (Greene, 2004, p. 134). Fowler also announces that his message to his journal that the bombings are a show on the side of General The is altered and manipulated by his editors, proving that the independence and democracy of the press is nothing more than a big fat lie and a stamp of Western hypocrisy.

A crucial element in the neo-colonizers’ strategy of media hegemony and manipulation is the elite type of journalist such as the imaginary character York Harding in *TQA* whom Fowler describes as a “diplomatic correspondent” showing him

as responsible for the murder of Pyle indirectly as implied in his book *The Role of Democracy* (p. 160). Journalists like Harding produce and theorize ideas to fit the neo-colonial interest and put it under the magical words like democracy and progress with a sponsored book with almost all the means of the colonizers.³⁵ Walter Cronkite was such a journalist who affected the fate of the Vietnam war and changed the ideas and mindsets of millions of Americans who listened to his CBS news. This kind of journalists was such effective that US President Lyndon B. Johnson stated that if he lost Cronkite, he would lose Middle America and their support for the Vietnamese war (Spector, 2016). The continuation of the war depended on public support that seemed to have been heavily affected by the brutalities and casualties of war which caused the death of their sons, husbands and brothers.³⁶

A horrid fact *TQA* presents about the neo-colonization and war is the fact that the death tolls have become a statistic and a regular view that moves no one's heart anymore as they get used to this kind of violence and murder scenes. As a reporter of war, Fowler goes to the frontlines inside the country and witnesses many attacks and scenes of war where the innocent and the soldiers lay on each other combined with the smell of the corpses and the heavy rain of the Vietnamese peninsula. In one such scene, Fowler describes the severity of the moment resembling it to food made of too much meat: "The canal was full of bodies: I am reminded now of an Irish stew containing too much meat. The bodies overlapped: one head, seal-grey, and anonymous as a convict with a shaven scalp, stuck up out of the water like a buoy" (p. 43). Murder, mutilation, death, corpses and other stuff related to these concepts have become a daily scene and regular for both the colonizers and the colonized in Vietnam to such an extent that no one is surprised at the death of an important person. Vigot, the French constable in *TQA* and Fowler look over the dead body of Pyle, Vigot says it is his daily job to make reports and as "it's an act of war – well, there are thousands killed every year" (p. 20). After hearing the news about Pyle and seeing that neither Vigot nor Phuong seems to care about it, Fowler wonders if it is only him that cares about Pyle. Fowler is engaging himself with another Western man who helped him, and this is emotional support for a colonizer. Accepting that a new era in colonization

³⁵I think Samuel Huntington's popular book *The Clash of Civilizations* is a contemporary example that forges misinformation and includes deliberate provoking.

³⁶Today, the 45th president of the USA, Donald Trump uses the same arguments to pull soldiers out of Syria and other problematic areas.

begins, Sartre outlines the definition of modern warfare and what neo-colonialism is made up of:

If, on the other hand, a global conflict were to erupt, our military would not stand much chance because of the poverty of our resources. Missiles, intercontinental rockets, remote control devices, in a word push-button warfare, have made conventional armies redundant, as semi-automatic machines have made skilled workers redundant. The technician will prevail over the serviceman, and atomic death will bring soldier closer to civilian by striking both without discrimination. (1964, p. 54)³⁷

As Sartre comments on Fanon's views of neo-colonialism in *The Wretched of the Earth*, if the revolutionary forces win, there will be a nationalist socialist government; on the other hand, if the war is lost, the bourgeoisie will take the power and the newly born state "remains in the hands of the imperialists" despite the formal and on-the-paper sovereignty (p. 77). Therefore, for the public and the ordinary people of the colonized lands, there is no escape from suppression.

The new concept of neo-colonial warfare includes fewer direct military clash and more effect via economic and diplomatic manoeuvres towards the target country. Therefore, the imperial powers face fewer losses and financial burdens. What Sartre criticizes is not only French politics but also international politics after WW II as well. He thinks that WW II resulted in a different world politics, in which the countries have become polarized with their economic tendencies triggered by Malthusianism and the political urges of the Marshall Plan leading to conflict all around the world especially in the former colonies. Sartre claims France became the pawn of the West in Vietnam defending the Christian and Greco-Latin values against the communist bloc (pp. 53-54).

Other than the functions of its main characters like Fowler and Pyle, a pessimist outlook on humans and their actions are the prominent features in *TQA*. It must be pointed out about Greene and his works that human nature has no bright or heavenly side but only a melancholic composition. However, this aspect, as Zadie Smith puts it, is not a single-sided or an ordinary observation but one with "marvellous variety" (2004, p. viii). In the story of *TQA*, the cynicism and evil sides of the main characters are contested and measured with Greene's scale of pessimism. The dreams, deeds and professional and personal failures of Pyle, Fowler, and Phuong, young Vietnamese, are compared and contrasted with results but without the commentary or judgment of the

³⁷The next chapter in the dissertation analyses and exemplifies this new concept broadly and in detail.

author. Uncertainty and pessimism are critical features of this novel and Greene's writing (Kulshreshta, 1977; Meyers, 1990; O'prey, 1988). He does not foreshadow any events but writes through the viewpoint of various dimensions by which we see the other characters through the eye of another and hardly can guess the real motivation and intention. Each main character has his/her version of the story about the other one, shadowing and covering their true identities until the end of the book.

In conclusion, *TQA* is an illustrative example of a neo-colonial literary piece of writing. It was inspired by the real events in this region visited and written about by a correspondent and an author. This fact defines best what happened to the colonizing strategies after WW II when the colonizers changed their strategies with the public and international pressure. The USA and other imperial involvements, as well as their modified tactics of the old system, can be labelled as neo-colonialism. The novel is a close-to-real representation of the Indochina-French conflict to the levels of both the colonizer soldiers and colonized lower classes explaining their motivations and psychologies as well. As Fanon argues and Sartre elucidates, violence breeds violence and the colonized people assumed in their reasoning to have the right to react as they get rid of colonization and become free individuals and feel the national soil under their feet.

3. CHAPTER THREE: Limited Wars and Espionage as Neo-colonial Strategies in *Our Man in Havana*

As a literary work that covers the themes of espionage and workings of the international intelligence services worldwide, Graham Greene's *Our Man in Havana* (1958) is set in Cuba before the notorious event in the near history called the Cuban missile crisis.³⁸ The novel is a comedic tale that ridicules the intelligence services that believe the fabricated fake reports from local informants without confirming them, thus putting themselves in a foolish situation. Since Greene was part of the secret intelligence service of the United Kingdom, the MI6, his experience allowed him to depict the back-scene espionage antiquities that make up the bulk of the novel both realistically and absurdly (Brennan, 2010).³⁹ Since the theme of espionage has attracted attention for centuries, the novel was also adapted into a film of the same title in 1959 with Carol Reed and Greene as scriptwriters to represent what was behind the Cuban revolution, which caused the dictator Fulgencio Batista to flee the country and Fidel Castro to take power (Adamson, 2016).

This chapter examines “espionage” and “limited war” that Greene depicts in *OMH* as two prominent neo-colonial strategies to show the reader how these strategies are put into practice for keeping the former colonial legacy in Cuba. Secondly, the chapter reviews what the critics have said about the novel, its possible connotations and political aspects, as well as its colonial/neo-colonial aspects. Finally, the chapter examines four main aspects of *OMH* employed by imperial powers as their neo-colonial strategies. The first one is the concept of “the limited war” which includes small scale but effective clashes between the imperial sides without heavy losses and international attention (Osgood, 2019). Secondly, the chapter, as Greene represents in the novel, discusses the accomplices inside the neo-colonized countries that are used as puppets and tools for espionage. Thirdly, the discussions of the complementary link between torture, neo-colonization and accomplices inside the story will be expanded as to the perspectives of neo-colonialism. Finally, the chapter examines Greene's

³⁸See pages 67-68 for extended historical background.

³⁹Greene was given a position at the Ministry of Information in the MI6 department (foreign intelligence service) to West Africa. Greene had an actual spying post in an operation in French Guinea where he had to collect information on industrial diamond smuggling acting as an MI6 counter-espionage spy (Brennan, 2010, p. 74).

relationship with the neo-colonial world and his visits to Cuba during his career as autobiographically exemplified in *OMH*.

In October 1962, the USA and Soviet Russia came close to nuclear warfare due to the fact that US intelligence reported missile sites and heavy bomber planes in Cuba, built and supported by Soviet Russia. Against this move, the USA responded by placing nuclear long-range missiles in Turkey which elevated the clash to a nuclear confrontation between the two superpowers. This event was a turning point in the Cold War which included heated intelligence, diplomacy and economic rivalry between the two sides (White, 1996; Trachtenberg, 1985). This event included the USA and Soviet Russia threatening each other's allied countries with nuclear missiles - a new aspect of neo-colonial strategy and element under the category of Limited War. While Cold War required no direct clash between two powers, Limited War gave every usable, flexible, and cheap tool for the sides at war without legal responsibilities and sanctions (Allison, 1969).

As in the case of what the USA did in Cuba to restore the Batista administration, Greene uses "limited war" and "espionage" as neo-colonial strategies in *OHM* to represent how imperial powers employ them to continue their former colonial legacy and desires in the wake of WW II. The new age of the limited war relies on technology and settling in with the modern world of international economic links and reducing the costs of war with the least costs but the highest effect and concentration (Osgood, 2019). According to Lawrence Freedman,

The concept of limited war has an even longer history than that of crisis management. It requires that belligerents choose not to fight at full capacity, in order that a conflict neither gains in intensity nor expands in space and time. This is different from accepting those natural limits imposed by resources and geography, and also from circumstances in which a strong state employs only limited forces to deal with opponents with inferior capabilities. (2014, p. 8).

It can be also called the atomic age⁴⁰ in which the threat of nuclear warfare will shatter the defence of the possible enemy with only a push of a button. The limited war tries to reduce the risks, and especially for the governments, it is a tool not to attract too much criticism from the public for fighting or losing too many soldiers, resources, and lands (Schelling, 1957). The idea is to save the face of the country.

⁴⁰As a character in *OMH*, Dr. Hasselbacher asserts: "We live in an atomic age, Mr. Wormold. Push a button – piff bang – where are we?" (Greene, 2004, p. 5).

As for the four aspects employed by imperial powers as neo-colonial strategies, Greene's *OMH* has received different critical views since its publication focusing on different perspectives (Hitchens, 2006; Hulme, 2008; Yaffe, 1958). For example, Peter Hulme in his article "Graham Greene and Cuba: Our Man in Havana?" focuses upon the political features and the current situation in Cuba that are worth studying to make the point clear. Although it is a research work on the film version of the book, Hulme strives to find out the differences between the film script and the written text of the novel through various background stories of the film production, politics, corruption, mafia and other details about Cuba and Havana. The most important point Hulme stresses are that Greene unintentionally and surprisingly "foresees the real Cuban Missile Crisis" (2008, p. 187). For Hulme, Greene also becomes realistic in the novel when he bases his representation of his fictional character Captain Segura on a real-time leader of the police force in Havana.

In addition, Michael G. Brennan, a commentator of Greene's novels, looks at *OMH* from a different perspective. Although he focuses on various aspects of the novel and the author's life mainly with a political emphasis, like Hulme, Brennan explores the motif of Catholicism in the novel and examines Greene's fictional character James Wormold's daughter, Milly, as a female character throughout her devotion to the Catholic faith. Also, Brennan (2010) sees *OMH* as a brilliant comic novel that aims at creating a satiric thriller on a wartime espionage experience. As Brennan suggests, for instance, "the morally decadent world of pre-revolutionary Cuba is transmuted into a playground for human folly", and his work argues that this situation is called a limited war strategy used by the neo-colonial powers such as British Empire, France, USA and Soviet Russia (p. 110). The way Brennan approaches *OMH* suggests political features and the tactics of the limited war ideology, yet he does not expand these political aspects to a point that satisfies the reader.

In his book about Greene, Bernard Bergonzi (2006) argues that Greene seems willing to render imperial passion in many places around the world, which soon becomes the centres of turmoil as represented in Greene's *A Burnt Out Case* (1960)⁴¹. Bergonzi claims that the book guesses and portrays real-time happenings during the cold war, in which Fidel Castro took power and washed away the Batista government

⁴¹A Greene novel that was set in Congo – a country that becomes autonomous from Belgium's sovereignty before the Civil War ended inside the country.

in Cuba the year after Greene published *OMH*. Eventually, Cuba under Castro's reign finds itself confronting the United States due to the fact that Cuba challenges the imperial US policy in the region. However, Bergonzi thinks that *OMH* is not a political work. According to him, Greene acknowledges that the oppressive world takes a more simplistic view so that "comic fiction is the kind of thing" to make fun of this situation (2006, p. 171). For Bergonzi, the novel suggests Greene's psychotic urges, and the outcome becomes highly intelligent humour that is never quite surpassed.

Besides, from a different perspective, Brian Thomson writes in his work about the parallel dimensions of Greene's fiction and films entitled *Graham Greene and the Politics of Popular Fiction and Film*:

Our Man in Havana's first half seems to be the story of an author struggling to assert ownership of the rights to his own life. [...] In other words, throughout the first half of the novel the narrative communicates Wormold's creative talent largely as a natural one—precisely the sort of talent valorized by the auteurist: one that stems from the indomitable force of personality. (2009, p. 138)

As suggested in the quotation above, *OMH* provides examples of Greene's success in auteurism, which means that a film or fiction "should mainly disclose the director's or writer's feelings and beliefs" openly showing that s/he has written it himself/herself (p. 138). This theory is used especially in the art of cinema (Maule, 2008); however, Thomson states that this is a general term that can be applied to Greene's *OMH*. Thomson's idea that the novel strongly resonates with the ideas of Greene supports the main argument of the dissertation in the sense that Greene's representations of his fictional characters, their ideas, feelings and approaches in his works markedly mirror the strategies of neo-colonialism after the 1950s.

Finally, like the narratology theories in Greene's novels, Robert Hatch's criticism of *OMH* indicates that the author "needs confusion to be controlled rather than addressed" (1960, p. 156). Hatch hopes to delay the moment that eventually needs a decisive action in finding where the story will fit into the conventional scheme that prevailed in the 1960s by overlooking the role of the reader in both the question and resolution of the past. Regarding the role of the reader, Greene uses undertones in the story instead of suspense. Greene is direct in his message to be conveyed by the novel – in this case, it is a warning of the results of colonialism and neo-colonialism:

That is, a political philosophy, portentous in tone but easy to follow, is blatantly set forth at the end. It is expressed in a nutshell by one of the characters: 'Would the world be in the mess it is if we were loyal to love and not to countries?'

Famous last words, to be murmured piously as the bomb falls. (Yaffe, 1958, p. 19)

James Yaffe's analysis points to the fact that Greene's writing style has clear underlying messages for anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism. This view could derive from the fact that Greene himself worked in the Foreign Office of the British Empire where he witnessed, reported and watched many dreary things that the media never heard of.

These critical views above represent how Greene employs rich and diverse subjects, ideas, and views in *OMH*. These critical opinions are consistent in their discussions and useful to see the novel from various perspectives which contribute to what this dissertation is trying to do. Unlike the critics above, however, this chapter argues different points linked to neo-colonialism that Greene represents through his fictional characters, their ideas, feelings and approaches in *OMH*. As for neo-colonial strategies artistically represented in the novel, Greene includes two main concepts mentioned above: "limited war" and "espionage" that imperial powers put into practice to control the weaker countries to achieve political and economic interests as in Cuba. Before the discussion of these concepts, as well as the others, it will be useful to outline the historical background of the Cuban crisis and the conditions of the country at that time that paved the way for the creation of the novel. This will help contextualize the understanding of the neo-colonial discussion in the novel.

A strong link exists between the political history of Cuba and the novel itself since Greene visited Cuba many times, and this book unintentionally foresees the coming of the Missile Crisis (Adamson, 2016). In the book, the main character Wormold's fictitious agents try to gather information from the Eastern parts of the country where a missile base was rumoured to be built by the government. The Cuban Missile Crisis was sparked by the conflict between the USA and Soviet Russia over the CIA intelligence of the installation of nuclear missiles by Soviet in Cuba. The incident is also seen as the nearest to a total-scale nuclear conflict in the Cold War.⁴² The Soviet president Nikita Khrushchev accepted Cuba's proposal for a nuclear missile to be placed on the mainland in rebuttal to the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs Invasion in 1961

⁴²"The Cold War in its original form was a presumably mortal antagonism, arising in the wake of the Second World War, between two rigidly hostile blocs, one led by the Soviet Union, the other by the United States. For nearly two sombre and dangerous decades this antagonism dominated the fears of mankind; it may even, on occasion, have come close to blowing up the planet" (Schlesinger, 1967, p. 22).

(Jones, 2008).⁴³ The USA reacted to this move by placing Jupiter missiles in Turkey and Italy (Criss, 1997). In 1962, a joint summit between Khrushchev and Castro reached a consensus and eventually many missile-launching systems began to be built (Dobbs, 2009).

The Cuban crisis resulted from the problematic relations between Cuba and the USA after Fidel Castro⁴⁴ displaced Batista⁴⁵ who was known for being a close ally to the USA. The USA wished to destroy the administration of Castro because they were communists and close to the Soviet's ideology and policies. They initially tried to do so through the joint action within the Organization of the United States of Latin Americans (OAS). This organization was founded in Bogota at the eighth congress of the States of the Americas and comprised mainly Latin American countries; its goals were to "settle disputes peacefully and to enhance continuous security" (Sander, 2016, p. 323). However, from the very first time it was established, the organization was under the pressure of the USA; therefore, it could not act freely. Although the USA wanted OAS support and to act in unison to participate in military action in Cuba, the organization's leaders were unable to find any interference against the administration of Castro, but they were only contented with condemning the administration of Castro on bad terms (Sanders, 2016). After failures to overthrow him, the neo-colonial forces use their new concept "limited war" strategy and try to strangle the government there with sanctions and other diplomatic ways.

The most blatant proof that the idea of limited war is present and applicable in the analysis of the novel is expressed during the confrontation between Captain Segura⁴⁶ and Wormold when Segura frees him from custody. Captain Segura pompously reveals that he knows everything about Wormold, his dirty business, and his web of imaginary spies. Not surprised at all, Wormold asks ironically that what a

⁴³In his book *The Bay of Pigs* (2008), Howard Jones gives a succinct, insightful, and dramatic account of the USA attempt to overthrow Fidel Castro in April 1961 depending on the recently declassified CIA documents.

⁴⁴Although he wanted to begin working on a military base attack in 1953, Castro's plan could not succeed, and a lot of his friends were killed. Castro was imprisoned by Batista (Armaoğlu, 2016, p. 308). When Batista proclaimed Amnesty, Castro was released in 1955 and moved to Mexico. After training for approximately a year in Mexico to overthrow the pro-American Batista government in Cuba, Castro waged an armed struggle against the Batista government in 1956.

⁴⁵A social movement called July 26 helped Fidel Castro to end Fulgencio Batista's dictatorship in Cuba. Batista was a soldier political leader who ruled Cuba at intervals from 1933 to 1959; he silenced harshly and jailed his opponents and he was a close ally of the USA, so that his dictatorship disgusted Cubans and, they wanted to get rid of him.

⁴⁶The character who is controlling the security forces inside the country, loyal to the dictator and his other allied superiors as well.

secret agent in Cuba would be used for, pointing to the futility of the job in that country. The honest answer of Segura is underscoring the new strategy of neo-colonialism that the new era of international warfare has transformed into something else, and it aims at creating greater effects with small numbers or actions: “Of course we are only a small country, but we lie very close to the American coast. And we point at your own Jamaica base. If a country is surrounded, as Russia is, it will try to punch a hole through from inside” (p. 154). Therefore, the new system of international conflict and competition can be deduced to the level of small-scale countries. A single nuclear bomb or a random spy carrying very important information about a technology or information that may lead to a political scandal and change the power centre inside any country. However, when he is offered the job by the British envoy, Wormold does not hold the same idea, for he says, “What use I would be – or Dr. Hasselbacher – in global strategy? A man who sells vacuum cleaners. A retired doctor” (Greene, 2006, p. 154). He does not seem to be convinced by the questions of limited war strategy or Dr. Hasselbacher’s (the character who works for another country) position and use in the global strategy.

Similarly, in *OMH*, Greene’s fictional character Wormold also points to a deadly limited war weapon and threat - the hydrogen bomb which can “wipe out Cuba in a second” (p. 6). He says there is more to dream and catch in the new world order as he finds it impossible to face this new age which may bring about total destruction in the countries like Cuba and others (p. 7).⁴⁷ As the weapon is speculated to be beyond its time, he claims that it has “something to do with the sun, sea-evaporation” (p. 80). Hawthorne states that producing “H-bomb” is expensive but what if the Cuban government had found a way to produce an alternative which is cheap and short-ranged that could reach the US shores (p. 164). That is why the British agency shows an interest in the region and the constructions which Wormold speculates about all the time in his reports to continue his role-play.

When Hawthorne, a high ranking British agent, meets with Wormold after he accepts the job, he lists the procedures and equipment which Wormold needs for his new post: learning how to send coded messages via a random book, secret ink, salaries, “sub-agents” whom he will need for information and “small delivery works”

⁴⁷These were countries that were closely allied with the neo-colonial powers of the USA and Soviet Russia. For example, Cuba was closely allied with Soviet Russia while Turkey allied with the USA during the 1950s and 1960s.

(pp. 39-41). When Wormold seems reluctant, Hawthorne rhetorically asks whether he is refusing to serve his country since Wormold is a British subject living in Cuba. However, Hawthorne's web of espionage and spying is not limited to Cuba. Rather, he is responsible for recruiting members, organizing a web of spies and setting up a system that looks for the interest of Britain in "Jamaica, Martinique and the whole Caribbean" (p. 43). This will reduce the costs of a hot conflict military clash and enable them to carry out effective activities unrecognized without the strings of legal obligations of the international law and public attention. When Hawthorne meets with his superior in London at the beginning of the story, he utters "we've got the Caribbean sewn up, sir" (p. 43). The superior points at some counter-intelligence activities of the French in the region and states that they must work with the USA against them until a point because they are the leading power there.

The Cold War brought about a sharp rise in intelligence activities in the USA and Europe mainly against the communist Soviet threat and its enlarging economic and political relationships with other countries which will negatively affect the Atlantic neo-colonial powers abilities and hegemony (Andrew, 2010; Garthoff, 2004). Relevant to this issue, Wormold in *OMH* expresses this fact to his assistant Lopez, one of his first recruitments for his web of spies, that he has to bring intelligence about things such as "possible Communist infiltration in the armed forces. Actual figures of sugar and tobacco-production last year" (2006, p. 57). He sends Lopez to bribe the officials and buy all the possible government documents about sugar and tobacco industries for an economic report requested by the headquarters in Havana and London respectively.

The neo-colonial strategy of the limited war made it possible for the imperial countries to free themselves from legal obligations, penalties and retributions. When the identity of an agent is revealed, the governments and the consulates legally pretend not to acknowledge them as their officers. This fact is clearly explained by the British consulate members in Havana when Wormold visits them and mentions Hawthorne's offer while he was interviewed by the consulate officials. Another factor is that the new strategies brought about a competition among the neo-colonizers about intelligence gathering, staff, and equipment. This is another theme in the novel as the upper administrations of the intelligence agencies interfere with these lands to pursue their interests and find out the secret actions of their rivals in those regions to take actions beforehand and counter activities. They try to gather information about the

political, social, cultural and economic activities of each other to prevent if that is not for their interest or to have collaborations if the activity is for their interest (Garthoff, 2004).

In *OMH*, another high-ranking officer responsible for the limited war and intelligence strategies is Hawthorne. He recruits a team of agents in Havana to pursue and defend the interests of Britain within the rules of the limited war, which is to have a small scale and low cost but larger impact espionage activities. He outlines the rules which he looks for in recruiting spies such as patriotism, loyalty to motherland, living in the relevant place for many years and a respected job, emphasizing the fact that money is the primary necessity to keep people loyal and working: “submarines need fuel. Dictators drift together. Big ones draw in the little ones” (2006, p. 26). His main focus is patriotism and confidential profile, which he thinks are found in Wormold’s mild and inattentive character. The new war system also requires long-range weapons and economic warfare as Cuba is famous for its sugar, coffee and tobacco, as well as being in an important geographical position for trade routes. When Wormold states his disbelief in himself, Hawthorne tells the reason why he would like to recruit him. He mentions the fact that in his early years, he was “assisting a woman collecting waste papers” at the German embassy at the time of Alfred Dreyfus affair⁴⁸, then became the head of Caribbean office in the Foreign Office, something which Wormold could achieve according to him (p. 26).

Instead of direct conflicts between two neo-colonizers, this new age prefers to use effective strategies like intelligence organizations and economic sanctions which rely heavily on the coded messages that were also an effective way of fighting. As a novel technique in the 1950s, microphotography techniques were used by Wormold and Beatrice (his secretary) in their operations. In this age, for collecting information and carrying out espionage services, even a waiter or a doorman became important and indispensable. Ordinary people became involved in politics, espionage, murder and much more in the new era. In the novel, Dr. Hasselbacher and Wormold unintentionally cause the death of an innocent man named Raul because of Wormold’s fabricated list of spies in Havana which was uncovered by Segura. Hasselbacher’s

⁴⁸Dreyfus Affair was a false spy conviction story in history in which a Jewish captain in the French army in 1894 was accused of being a German spy and sentenced to a life sentence on a prison island. Because he was Jewish and the real traitor was a French officer the event divided France in public, not just over the fate of a man, but also over a variety of issues such as politics, anti-Semitism and national identity (Read, 2012).

phone is tapped by the Havana police led by Segura and they listen to his phone calls. When they listen to his phone call with Wormold, the security forces kill a man named Raul who was travelling from the east of the country. Wormold makes up an imaginary spy named Raul who brought him information about “the secret settlements in the east of the country” (p. 144). In addition to smuggling illegal stuff, blackmailing individuals in important positions becomes a regular tool for the neo-colonial powers due to the scandalous publicity of their private lives because of sex, drugs, bribery or corruption.

A negative outcome of the new system of limited war has created unsolvable problems especially for the neo-colonized countries that become a playground for the practice of the new limited war strategies and other intelligence and economic operations of the neo-colonial powers. This situation gives way to chaos and instability inside the country and stuns its governmental reflections against such assaults. As a result of this, coup attempts and coups are occasional in such countries especially with the inclusion of the marines, and armies of the country are almost always with a dictator on top. Indeed, Cuba has experienced a lot of coups, revolutions and foreign interference; therefore, Greene in *OMH* talks about the possible coup and uprising speculations in the Cuban army that turns out to be in real history as Fidel Castro took over the power in the real life.

Coups are profitable actions because the power that money can buy in the neo-colonized countries leads to clandestine cooperation among the powerful nations to stay away from actions that will damage their trade routes and high incomes which make them leading global powers in the new system (Dube et. al., 2011). Having substantial surpluses in budgets can influence the target country and lead to the necessary allocation of money to technological advancements inside the country that will make a neo-colonial power more advantageous in the race of colonization and world hegemony. In *OMH*, there is a clear point to this fact with the scenes and talks in the “European Trader’s Association” meal which tells a lot of things in the place of economy in the new world (2006, pp. 175-178). In this scene, the president of the association, an American, expresses that the importance of the “American aid to distressed countries which would enable them to buy more goods and by buying more goods strengthen the spiritual links” (p. 179). What is stated here is a neo-colonial strategy that makes a particularly disadvantaged country dependent on foreign goods

so that this country will not be able to develop its technology and means of production to stand on its own feet. This is a kind of slavery and exploitation in that the weak side is always consumer whereas the powerful side is always a producer. The idea of “the spiritual links” is of vital importance in that the “distressed country” will not only find itself in a position to be closer to the powerful side and follow its exploitative policies but also imitate some attitudes and manners of the other side. As seen, purchasing goods for an imperial country, though it may sometimes be normal, is not just a mere commercial activity between two independent countries but a way that may lead to a kind of dependence and exploitation.

Moreover, in this new strategy, the economic attaches and people in important positions for trade and international influence are unconditionally supported and protected by the local authorities in neo-colonized countries since they are a means of finance for the country (Verbitsky & Bohoslavsky, 2016). If they are not treated well, they might flee the country or influence the neo-colonial powers rather than keeping their interest and invest in the relevant country. In *OMH*, for example, the unexpected assassination of Dr. Hasselbacher may ultimately aim to provoke a change of the foreign opinion about the country and even enable a foreign or international intervention in the country. A man with such powers in *OMH* is the president of the European Traders’ Association who tries to poison Wormold through his gunman Carter, but he fails to do so. This man sees Wormold as the representative of a rival power. After this event, Captain Segura prevents Carter and the president from being arrested. When Wormold complains that these are the men who try to poison him and possibly murder Dr. Hasselbacher, Segura rejects to act and states: “we cannot doubt the word of the President of the European Traders’ Association, can we?” (2006, p. 197). These economic assassins bring about a new discussion in the neo-colonial strategy: accomplices and compradors.

The term “comprador” is one of the most flexible concepts to analyse the financial and political change in colonized countries in terms of neo-colonial issues. Nevertheless, they embody powers that came to be “more political than economical” (Gordon, 1973, p. 197). The comprador essentially represents or rationalizes the underlying concepts of the major issue of the political economy in a different environment to create wealth in the neo-colonized country. They are indigenous intermediaries or allies of overseas neo-colonizers that function in the regional politics,

culture, industry or military in other shapes. In their neo-colonial policies, imperial powers indirectly use or hire certain people or groups who sometimes deliberately and sometimes unknowingly act in favour of the interest of imperial powers in several ways. That is, imperial powers do not directly interfere with their presence in the country they wish to control and exploit; rather, they create and organize proxy agencies to serve their interest and aim. It is called the traitor inside or the comprador bourgeoisie which operates mainly through economic motivations and gains which s/he directs this money for political and social influences towards his/her patrons in the neo-colonial countries. When the traitor is inside, it “endangers the national struggle” and weakens the country’s power so that this kind of country falls victim to the exploitation of imperial powers (Leung & Kau, 1992, pp. 136-7).

In *OMH*, Wormold and Beatrice are British settlers in Cuba where they may be considered accomplices of the British Empire. However, their situations are complicated as to the fact that it is questionable and controversial whether they are settlers, neo-colonizers or accomplices inside the country. This is because Wormold is an English subject who settled in Havana and works there for a long time. He becomes a spy for his native country while being a resident of a colonized country. His words on that matter are complicated and do not give us a reckoning to pronounce him as a total, devoted neo-colonialist:

I wouldn’t kill for my country. I wouldn’t kill for capitalism or Communism or social democracy or the welfare state – whose welfare? I would kill Carter because he killed Hasselbacher. A family-feud had been a better reason for murder than patriotism or the preference for one economic system over another. If I love or if I hate, let me love or hate as an individual. I will not be 59200/ 5 in anyone’s global war. (Greene, 2006, p. 192)

Wormold refuses to kill for a country denying the patriotic motivations and unquestioned loyalty to a country, as well as any ideology that aims to focus on the welfare of the citizens using the wrong method. Wormold also realizes that he is only an expendable pawn in this game of global war only to become a statistical figure and get forgotten. It will be meaningless if he loses his life or any of his beloved ones like his beloved daughter Milly for whom he dares to swindle an intelligence agency with fake reports. Wormold bravely accepts his biracial heritage and denounces loyalty to any nationality:

I don't care a damn about men who are loyal to the people who pay them, to organizations.... I don't think even my country means all that much. There are many countries in our blood, aren't there, but only one person. Would the world be in the mess it is if we were loyal to love and not to countries? (p. 195)

Wormold further questions the meaning of race and blood stating that human beings may have different blood inside their veins. Since their parents are from different origins, they are not only one person with a single race and identity that belongs to only one country.

Wormold's secretary Beatrice has similar ideas about national identity, as well as about belonging to a certain country or ideology. When interrogated by the British authorities about the misdemeanours of Wormold in Cuba and one's loyalty to his or her country, she supports him by stating that this is a flag invented by someone two hundred years ago. She dislikes the parliament in Britain where "The Bench of Bishops arguing about divorce and the House of Commons shouting Ya at each other across the floor?" (p. 221). She also inquires the international economic motivations in the Caribbean Sea or elsewhere in the world, claiming that the new world order and the idea of the institution of international organizations like League of Nations, Atlantic Pact, NATO, UNO and SEATO⁴⁹ are given more importance by these people compared with their countries:

But they don't mean any more to most of us than all the other letters, U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. And we don't believe you any more when you say you want peace and justice and freedom. What kind of freedom? You want your careers. I said I sympathized with the French officers in 1940 that looked after their families; they didn't anyway put their careers first. A country is more a family than a Parliamentary system. (p. 222)

What may be inferred from the discussions about this issue of neo-colonial tactics so far is that the former colonizers changed their methods of occupying, controlling, and exploiting their former colonies. Instead of the territorial occupation, control and exploitation, now they hire proxies to carry out their previous colonial legacy and interest in the formerly colonized countries secretly and easily. These proxies may be individuals, a group of people, politicians, and military officers belonging to any race, ethnicity, religion or occupation. They work in their native countries on behalf of their neo-colonial bosses, who continue their imperial and neo-colonial aspiration without causing any scandalous disturbance in the public. In the

⁴⁹NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization; UNO: United Nations Organization (The first format of UN); SEATO: Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.

current conditions of the world, it is not so easy to continue imperial ambition and interest in the formerly colonized countries without getting help from the inside proxies and traitors. In *OMH*, Greene represents this neo-colonial tactic through his fictional character Captain Segura, the homeland security secretary of the state.

Peter Hulme acknowledges that Captain Segura in *OMH* is based on the infamous police chief of Batista regime Esteban Ventura Novo, who was blamed for almost all of “Havana’s murder and torture”, characterizing the dictatorship of Batista between 1956 and 1958 (2008, p. 190). However, Greene states that the new revolutionary government of Cuba after Batista was unhappy with the characterization of Segura, as they thought it “undermined the brutality and viciousness of the man”, thereby allowing the reader to sympathize with his position in the story (Greene, 1980, p. 249). The regime even assigned an officer from the Film Issues department of the Ministry of the Interior to represent and promote the interests and wishes of the new Cuban government, thus requesting some changes in the film version and they “wanted the character of Captain Segura to become more villainous, to correspond more closely to his model” (Hulme, 2008, p. 191).

Hence Segura is the perfect type of a neo-colonial collaborator who uses his authority in the direction of power and the outside forces regardless of the good of the society. His words enable us to understand his position and plan if any revolution takes place or there is any loss of power: “I have saved enough money, enough money to leave Milly in comfort if anything were to happen to me. And of course, enough for us to settle in Miami if there were a revolution” (Greene, 2006, p. 186). As understood from this extract, in which Segura tells Wormold that he wants to marry his daughter Milly, Segura works for the current dictator and also for the neo-colonizers who use him for their work and influence the people of Havana.

Captain Segura is a man of opportunities with little loyalty to his country and duty. He is after self-interest and power as he says that Wormold is a “wild duck” from another country and when he detects someone like that, he will have the chance to sell them and take bribes (p. 156). The cruelty of Segura is not surprising as he tells Wormold about that, and he can find a room for his assistant, Lopez, in his prison cells by having a few “executions of other prisoners” (p. 156). Segura thinks that as Lopez is from a third world country, he is in the torturable class for him.

Captain Segura reveals the fact that torture cannot be applied to all classes; as for some classes, you cannot touch them while some others are asking for it. Segura here claims that torture is used because the other party is ready for it and it is a “mutual agreement” according to him (p. 155). Wormold asks Segura, who does belong to this torturable class? He responds that the poor in Cuba and “in any Latin American country. The poor of Central Europe and the Orient” (p. 155). Segura also states that the things happening in the Western world’s prisons or maltreatments, in general, are not heard around the world and are not cared about. He says that “nobody cares [for] what goes on in our prisons, or the prisons of Lisbon or Caracas” (p. 155). What goes on inside prisons is torture which is a vicious method for neo-colonial oppression.

Torture is an auxiliary act for oppression⁵⁰ and assimilation, requiring a vicious chain of order and personnel violent enough to apply for this lamented job. Many types of torture have been administered to the colonized people systematically in camps or prisons throughout history (Fanon, 1994; Haddour, 2010; Sartre, 1964). Listing and naming these are not encouraging, but it is necessary to show how far the colonial viciousness and tyranny can go enough to psychologically damage and distort both the colonizer and the colonized. Sartre relates self-confessing dark inner monologues by the colonized and the colonizer to show their misery with questions such as “If they pull out my nails, will I talk?” or “If my friends, my brothers in arms or my superior officers, before my eyes, pull out the nails of an enemy, what will I do?” (1964, p. 31). Aside from its unbearable physical pain, torture offers few options to the victim, thereby leaving both the oppressor and the oppressed psychologically and mentally damaged: be violent and do the same to others or as Henri Alleg suggests in his book *The Question*: “All that’s left for you to do now is commit suicide” (as cited in Sartre, p. 33). Along with the colonized, the lower classes of the colonizer nation were also caught up in the system and became a member of this vicious circle.

⁵⁰Oppression is a must for colonialism as the colonizer sees and defines the colonized as non-human and as animals that talk. Neo-colonialism defines, describes, and portrays the colonized people as exotic and primitive. Colonialism is a system that denies and halts human rights with ignorance and violence especially by force and violence. Poverty is a natural result of this system which Marx defines as a state of sub-humanity. “The Declaration of Human Rights does not apply to them”, remarks Sartre who summarizes this dark and inhumane mechanical system as such: “Nothing demonstrates better the increasing rigour of the colonial system: you begin by occupying the country, then you take the land and exploit the former owners at starvation rates. Then, with mechanization, this cheap labour is still too expensive; you finish up taking from the natives their very right to work. All that is left for the Algerians to do, in their own land, at a time of great prosperity, is to die of starvation” (1964, p. 14).

Torture has two main objectives for the neo-colonizers. First, it betrays the colonized people, and second, it associates with a sub-human status that will last forever, thereby destroying the human qualities of courage, trust, willpower, loyalty and more (p. 36). Torture is not only a concept or a tool in the colonial system but an institution:

Disavowed – at times very feebly – but systematically applied behind the façade of democratic legality, torture may be defined as a semi-clandestine institution. Are its causes the same everywhere? Probably not, but everywhere it is a manifestation of the same malaise. Anyway, that is of little importance; and our task is not to judge the century. Let us put our own house in order first and attempt to understand what has happened to us, the French people. (p. 35)

Sartre shows that the torturer turns into a Sisyphus⁵¹ doing it repeatedly, and he became used to it and finds it useful to take everyone's secret by blood and useless violence. The reason for torture is the fact that the strugglers for freedom use terror against terror and it becomes a cycle and a reaction chain of violence against each other and humanity.

Greene had always been a socialist and a humanist; therefore, his ideas on torture and its kinds are all clear – he detests it. Greene states that there is hypocrisy towards the application and judgment of torture in the world because when other people administer it, it is called torture, but when administered by the Western powers it is called “ill-treatment”, which is a euphemism that reduces the act to a trivial misdemeanour (Greene, 1989, p. 154-56). Regarding the issue of torture in England against the Irish separatists, Hulme argues that it is also called “deep interrogation” which undermines torture with descriptions such as “long hours of enforced standing, hooding, permanent noise, sleep deprivation” (2008, p. 207). Similarly, for example, to lower the reactions of the media and the public against torture, the CIA changed the name to “enhanced interrogation” which they still use in their base in Cuba against the so-called Muslim radicals (Blakeley, 2011; Chwastiak, 2015).

Related to the discussions on torture and its dreadful results, Greene does not fail to mention the biased ideology of the international media when he writes in *OMH*: “perhaps in the past, he had depended too much on the New York Times or Herald Tribune for his picture of the world” (2006, p. 60): An expression and confession of a

⁵¹Sisyphus was a king in Greek mythology who was punished to roll a huge rock up a hill only for it to roll down every time it came on the top for eternity. His action is related to the futility and the nothingness of life and its objectives.

journalist for the people not to fully depend on and believe in the stories published by the mainstream media. Therefore, Greene says the news of the tortured innocent people did not mean anything for the international media as he says these people “suffered and died without benefit of Press” (p. 60). In the novel, the news about Havana is full of violence from the city. These exclude the actions of Captain Segura who is exempted from such negative news because he is bribed and used by the global powers when their interests require to do so. The involvement of Greene to anti-neo-colonial discussions should therefore be investigated through a comprehension of the novel, its message about neo-colonialism and its contents.

It is a fact that Greene knew a general atmosphere and the conditions of the postcolonial world and its unhinged realities that were storming around the world (Bawer, 1989). He knew that one of the dimensions of the limited war at his time is pushing out the military and political conflicts to neo-colonized areas in order not to disturb the mother country’s public and welfare. Therefore, along with *TQA*, Greene’s *OMH* shows the fact that the Third-World countries like Vietnam and Cuba can become a battlefield of the power struggle for the global neo-colonial powers as they push their fight into some other countries and their politics. As a result, the colonized country may develop some reflexes against this. Greene’s observations on this issue are reflected by Segura in *OMH*: “Of course we are only a small country, but we lie very close to the American coast. And we point at your own Jamaica base. If a country is surrounded, as Russia is, it will try to punch a hole through from inside (Greene, 2006, p. 188)”. In *OMH*, Captain Segura is permitted a certain level of admiration by Greene because he thinks that the superior evil minds are outside the country. Greene knew all these complications are due to his excessive travels to the country.

Greene travelled a lot out of sheer interest to these places and “to collect raw materials for his stories as a prolific writer” who was sometimes funded by newspapers he worked for or paid personally (Brennan, 2010, p. 33). The Caribbean was a popular spot at the time for the English literary circles where they investigated and witnessed the problem and lifestyle there.⁵² This was a common practice by the writers of the

⁵²Other than apparent reasons, the personal purpose for this excessive travelling is rooted in the fact that Greene considers this process as a “psychological self-discovery per a source of temporary relief from the anxieties of the human mind” (Brennan, 2010, p. 39). His journeys are a source for his memories and a highlighter for his psyche as represented in his works especially affected by the journeys to Cuba, Chile, Sierra Leone and Liberia. The journeys provided Greene also with a psychoanalyst talent which

period, but Greene specifically took it up with the effect of his friend Evelyn Waugh and a source of inspiration at the same time. Another factor for Greene's occasional travelling was his post at the Ministry of Information which he was probably triggered by his uncle Sir Graham Greene who was one of the founders of the British Naval Intelligence, also a personal friend of the prime minister at the time Winston Churchill" (p. 35). Greene was recruited by MI6 in 1941 because of his success in travels and writing reports as well as his successful literary career which may act as a cover for him in his travels and operations appointed by the organization. His travels to Cuba, Vietnam, Liberia and Sierra Leone⁵³ provided him with raw materials in some of his works.

A good reason for Greene's travelling and wanderlust, especially for Cuba, is Greene's fondness of "the brothels, cheap drugs [and] gambling saloons, all owned by Las Vegas" as he stated in *OMH* (p. 59). Entertainment venues, women and chaos take place in countries like Cuba as they become a holiday and entertainment spot for the mainland people of the colonizing powers. They have become the places frequently visited by deviant men who like entertainment. In *OMH*, Wormold and Beatrice visit Wormold's so-called agent, Professor Sanchez, with a prostitute at night. Sanchez utters these words about the understanding of adultery and sexual life in the colonies: "adultery is not a crime. I think it has seldom been regarded as that except in the American colonies in the seventeenth century. And is the Mosaic Law, of course" (p. 134). Sanchez regards sexual perversion as a regular attitude in the colonies since it is nothing offensive for him.

According to Judith Adamson, Greene started exploring the world and it became one of his obligations when he and Carol Reed were producing the thriller movie in 1959 "in a rather diverse environment in radical Cuba under Castro" (2016, p. 141). Especially after the 1950s, Greene became addicted to travelling especially to dangerous places where chaos, civil wars or international struggles are going on fast. His work *Ways of Escape* is a book which is the product of this continuous travelling frenzy caused by his increasing level of manic depressions and these journeys were a "means of controlling depression" for him (Greene, 1980, p. 219). These areas were

he uses to discover his childhood and imagination resources with dream analysis and the fantastic African and American soil.

⁵³In his work *Journey Without Maps*, Greene states that the glamour of Africa gave him the capability to associate with a "quality of darkness" and the "inexplicable" (1936, p. 8). This method of self-analysis in Greene's narratives became indispensable in his psychological and spiritual texts.

Malaya where there was an insurgency going on, Vietnam in the first Indochina conflict, Kenya during Mau Mau rebellion, Poland under Stalin control and Congo under Belgian control (Greene, 1980; Brennan, 2010).

Greene's involvement in politics is startling for a writer as he became a friend of the South American Latin presidents and dictators. In the 1970s and 80s, Greene engaged in some dangerous involvements in politics with his trips to Costa Rica, Belize and Cuba. He even acted as an intermediary between the kidnappers and governments in El Salvador and "got in Panamanian politics through the friendship of its dictator General Omar Torrijos Herrera" whom he speculated to be killed by a CIA bomb in a suspicious plane crash in his work *Getting to Know the General* in 1984 (Brennan, 2010, p. 153). Greene was known to have an overwhelming sympathy towards the guerrillas in Spain and South America.

Greene's post at the Foreign Office and throughout the world's most chaotic places during the most chaotic period of human history make him a dependable specimen to analyse the personal history and experiences. At this point, Zadie Smith states that Greene has seen some of "the messiest conflicts the world had seen" and people were still fighting with each other although their reasons have grown old (2004, p. viii). Chaos was the term for what Greene has found in such parts of the world.⁵⁴ As in all the neo-colonized states, Cuba has also become a country where it is not safe to travel and live because of the chaotic environment, uncertainty in politics and government rules, guerrillas, rebels, terrorists, uncontrolled police and security forces and international spies. These were all present in Cuba that made the country a perfect place of espionage and battlefield for the colonizing powers. An example in the story is when Wormold tries to travel to the east of the country where it is mountainous and full of rebels, he comes across hardship on the roads and many real dangerous spies in hotels and nearby places. They attempt to assassinate the Cuban minister of interior

⁵⁴A reason and a result of chaos inside neo-colonized countries is the illegal mafia groups. Mafia was sometimes used as a proxy and collaborator by the colonizing powers. The U.S. army collaborated with the Mafia in Sicily while a Mafia chief in Havana, Santo Trafficante, "played an important role in an assassination attempt to Fidel Castro" orchestrated by CIA in 1960 (Hulme, 2008, p. 191). An example is the use of the Italian mafia member Charlie "Lucky" Luciano who worked with the U.S. authorities to trap and capture German agents in dockyards. According to Hulme, Luciano also helped the U.S. invasion of Sicily while one of his men Vito Genovese became the most notorious and rich drug trafficker of his day who "ended up as official interpreter and advisor to the U.S. military governor in Naples" (2008, pp. 191-193).

witnessed by Milly, the only prominent female character in the novel⁵⁵; this is another example of a possible chaos-making by the intelligence agencies of the neo-colonialists.

In his autobiographical work *Ways of Escape*, Greene tells the background story for *OMH* which makes the connection of fiction with the reality that could be accepted as a basis for the argument that Greene's fictitious world reflects the neo-colonial realm almost as it is. Greene accounts that he worked for British intelligence in the 1940s in Freetown (in Sierra Leone, Africa). After this mission, he was sent to Spain to collect information in which he found that some of the spies were sending fake reports to their central units to earn more money via bonuses distributed by the agencies for successful operations and reports (1980, pp. 238-250). Christopher Hitchens reports that Greene also wrote some letters to the press which angered the Foreign Office of the British government because he blamed the officials for being unaware of the situation in Cuba and agreed to sell weapons and military equipment to the Batista government just before the revolutions which violate the human rights in the country with torture and other scandalous practices of homeland security (2006, p. xix).

At the end of the story, the reward for Wormold's achievements is ironic: he will be deported out of the country. He knows what the deportation will do for him: he will be removed from Cuba back to London. However, the Secret Service does not acknowledge his fault. Wormold is granted a national badge and a position as a teacher in the intelligence academy. He decides to marry his assistant Beatrice. Alfred Kazin points to the absurdity of the plot and its ending saying that *OMH* lends itself not to dread but to farce: "Our plight is now so universal and at the same time so unreal that the age of anxiety has turned into the age of absurdity" (1982, p. 159). However, *OMH* is not only a joke or comedy. Despite the amusing plot and happy ending, it arouses the feeling of fear.

Consequently, in *OMH*, Wormold often presents a dynamic type of male protagonist, taking a key place between comedy and tragedy. As a less violent character in the novel, the overwhelming sense of obligation for his duties leaves

⁵⁵The outlook on the women in the novel is condensed into this prejudiced analogy of Dr. Hasselbacher: "Girls grow up quickly in the tropics" (Greene, 2006, p. 4). In real life, Greene once got in trouble when he talked about a female teenager Hollywood star accusing her of using sexual urges to lure viewers and interest (Johnson, 2007). Captain Segura and Dr. Hasselbacher have a similar outlook on the young women of the colonized – a sexual object regardless of their age (because Milly is only seventeen).

Wormold stuck in the recollection of his vows to his Catholic faith and involved in illegal activities for profit and money. While he is agnostic and believes that he has betrayed for a very long time his Catholic beliefs, Wormold has a duty to support his beloved daughter Milly as a good Catholic. The core of the funny power of the first part of the book is this close friendship between the father and the daughter. The second part leaves the domestic sphere and moves to the neo-colonial world.

OMH and *TQA* reflect Greene's versatility in cultural perspective and tolerance for other communities, and his sincerity in understanding and honouring Asia and the Caribbean's originating traditions. His perception of social and military oppression is based on the peaceful people of the Caribbean and Southeast Asia. The results of neo-colonialism are characterized as unnatural integrations of both sides' culture and traditions that is a cycle which has led to the success of the neo-colonizer's countries and highly beneficial for their hegemony and rule. Greene's novel asserts that a biracial and bi-national education procedure weakens the native culture. The consequences are blatant materialism and uncontrolled dehumanization of two of the basic reasons for the degeneration in any society.

4. CHAPTER FOUR: Political Chaos, Women and Terror as Neo-colonial Elements in Greene's *The Honorary Consul*

“We three, you may say, are the pillars of the English colony” (*THC*, p. 39).

The Honorary Consul (1973), one of Greene's favourite⁵⁶ and finest novels, is set in an imaginary rural Argentinean town near the Paraguayan border⁵⁷, where an honorary British consul, Charley Fortnum, is kidnapped by Paraguayan terrorists who set out to fight against American interference at first but eventually become a tool for neo-colonial powers as chaos-makers and an excuse for interference in the country's domestic affairs as a threat of terrorism. The group is infiltrated by a neo-colonial double-agent Dr. Plarr, while the other main character Fortnum is mistaken for the American ambassador, which creates a kind of confusion among the public. Equally, the chief character in the novel, Dr Eduardo Plarr, tries to save him from custody as he serves as an intermediary between the revolutionaries and the authorities as well as a power player of the neo-colonial forces as an English descendant. As these events indicate, the novel presents the political chaos and rivalry in the rural Argentinean town on the local level resulting from the political corruption due to the neo-colonial exploitation system. Yet, it also has a worldwide implication since what is put into practice in the Argentinean town is more or less similar to neo-colonial practices on the international level. For instance, as the primary Greene biographer, J. P. Klushreshta, explains, the “novel emphasizes the relation of [Greene's] art to contemporary social and political phenomena” (1977, p. 168). The book, as this chapter argues, has the neo-colonial, political and social⁵⁸ features of the 1970s⁵⁹ – a comment and a claim uniquely different from that of literary critics of Greene. As the chapter contends, the neo-colonial and political situation in the novel represents chaos and terror-warfare⁶⁰ in the Latin American continent as neo-colonial practices of the imperial powers to control weaker countries for the sake of their exploitative interest.

⁵⁶“Graham Greene spins one of his better “mysteries” in his other works: It is the tale of the genesis of his novel *The Honorary Consul* – the novel he “perhaps” prefers to all the others” (Lakin, 1986, p. 69).

⁵⁷This town is an imaginary one across the modern-day capital of Paraguay – Asuncion.

⁵⁸ Especially women and lower classes and their social, political and economic conditions.

⁵⁹From the 1970s onwards, English and American literature experienced the dominance of post-modern and post-colonial theories, criticism and writing (Douglas, 1998; Loomba, 2005; Quayson, 2000; Young, 2013).

⁶⁰I use this term in the direction that the concepts “War on Terror” and “Terrorism as Warfare” are used by the imperial powers as excuses in the interference to any neo-colonized country's interior systems, international relations and integrity.

That is, the novel artistically depicts the neo-colonial situation in South America through the representation of political chaos and terror-warfare as neo-colonial strategies as in the Middle East today. The chapter mainly proposes that neo-colonial tactics, as discussed in previous chapters, continued in the same fashion in the 1970s, but the exploitative tactics were transformed into something else that complicated the resistance to overt and covert exploitative politics of imperial powers. The chapter aims at giving insight into the discussions of political chaos and terror-warfare and its psychological aspects, coups, accomplices and neo-colonized women within a neo-colonial framework in *THC*.

Regarding *THC*, Bernard Bergonzi thinks that the novel is a reprise of Greene's other storylines, with great resemblances in the main characters as well. While Bergonzi states that the novel is set in Latin America,⁶¹ it has similarities to Greene's other two novels, *A Burnt Out Case* (1960) and *The Comedians* (1966) in the sense that they have as the main characters (Dr Plarr in *THC*, Dr Colin in *A Burnt Out Case* and Dr Magiot in *The Comedians*) doctors with binational parents and histories set in other parts of the world (2006, p. 159). Like Bergonzi, this chapter proposes some comprehensive similarities between *THC* and Greene's *TQA* and *OMH* – novels that were covered in previous chapters. From a negative perspective, Bergonzi's analysis does not deviate far from examining the novel according to a religious framework.

Cates Baldrige's chapter in his book *Graham Greene's Fictions* (2000), entitled "The Honorary Marxist", argues that the religious arguments in the novel focus on the fact that Greene has an appreciation of Marxist ideals and supports the Latin American revolutions and leadership, which Greene conveys through his depiction of ex-priest Rivas and Dr Plarr. Baldrige argues that "from his earliest days of writing, Greene was always drawn to the idea of a weak or even mortal deity" (2000, p. 87); for him, Greene disparages Catholic history⁶² and clergy in the country, this time with monologues and self-criticism of Rivas. Besides the theme of religion, Baldrige maintains that *THC* provides some of the clearest and most prolonged criticism of the aspirations of eroticism by Greene, with love, sexual emotions and objects "whose desire for our affections can never get lost" (p. 110).

⁶¹*THC* is set on the border between Argentina and Paraguay at the time of Alfredo Stroessner's reign of dictatorship, where he had full control over Paraguay under the 1967 constitution.

⁶²For a thorough analysis of Catholicism and religious themes in the novel, Mark Bosco's (2005) chapter entitled "Greene's Catholic Imagination in *The Honorary Consul* and *The Human Factor*" should be consulted.

In his book that discusses the evil characters in Graham Greene's fiction, moreover, Haim Gordon stresses the issue of political evil in *THC* with references to the character Colonel Perez (head of homeland security in the novel). This character orders the shooting of the main character, Doctor Plarr, who was killed for no reason at the end of the story, and he puts together a fake report of the case to save himself from trouble, keep his position and perhaps get promoted by his superiors. Gordon states that it is the "distortion of the factual truth that feeds the political evil"; Colonel Perez killed Doctor Plarr because he had access to "factual truth" in the story and may have disturbed Perez's plans and other interests (1997, p. 41). According to Gordon, what worries Colonel Perez and brands him truly evil in the story is that Doctor Plarr "might disclose the factual truth—about the kidnapers and their goals, and also about the actions of the police force which he commands, including its brutal methods" (pp. 41–42).

One of the earliest biographers of Greene, J. P. Klushreshta, focuses on the function of human unpredictability and irony in the novel. For Klushreshta, the basic reason for unpredictability in the story is "machismo,"⁶³ which causes the main male characters, Plarr, Fortnum and Rivas, to act randomly and instantly on male urges (p. 177). The irony in the novel is kidnapping the wrong official, but it turns into tragedy at the end when Plarr and Rivas are murdered unexpectedly because they were thought to be invulnerable, given the plot structure. In this regard, Klushreshta thinks that only Fortnum survives the physical and emotional struggle due to his age, experience and being a "merciful all-loving father", despite verbal and ideological challenges from Plarr, Clara and Rivas (p. 177).

Judith Adamson's criticism of Greene's *THC* hinges on the religious issues of Latin America through the character Rivas. Father Rivas is a character who quits priesthood and becomes a communist and an anti-religious terrorist, and this fact is taken up by Adamson and analysed in-depth in her book. Adamson thinks that Father Rivas leaves the priesthood because he believes that "the Church had lost touch with the world as it is by allying itself with murderous state leaders, he had been forced to take political action involving technically sinful acts to behave morally" (p. 174). She

⁶³According to Evelyn. P. Stevens (1973), machismo is a product of 16th and 17th century upper-class attitudes brought to the new world as a universal expression of male authority and domination applicable to all men with a desire to prove their sexual potency and male strength through the enforcement of power, especially over women, with a desire for the latter's submissiveness.

links this fact to criticisms of the Latin American leadership and the Church, thinking that Greene knew this while reporting from Cuba and Chile; social change through religion was likely to occur in Latin America via “a violent revolution” (2016, p. 173).

In his chapter, Murray Roston also focuses on *THC* and analyses the novel’s narrative techniques with a specific emphasis on religious affairs and other minor issues. He proposes that although Greene did want to be called a Catholic novelist, the issue remains in the novel. Besides, the excitement and tension in the novel are at the highest level, as he masters these in his “entertainments” (2006, p. 125). Similarly, Robert Hoskins’ chapter on *THC* covers the theme of the novel’s similarities and differences from some of Greene’s earlier and later works (2004, pp. 215–230). He also points to Greene’s story-inside-story technique, giving references from the fictional author Saavedra, his novel writing and self-analysis in the book.

The discussions above are valid and useful because they give the reader important insight into understanding *THC*, its diverse meanings and wider implications. However, although the arguments above are also often referred to, this chapter explores different aspects in the novel - aspects of the political chaos, women and terror-warfare - that imperial powers employ in their former colonies to carry out their former colonial legacy or in different countries to weaken and make them politically, socially and economically vulnerable to the outside influence and interference so that imperial powers will easily practice their interest and exploit these countries as in the Middle East, Asia, Far East and Africa. This chapter strives to contribute to the discussion of these points as an original new study in Greene’s novel.

THC starts with a strong dosage of neo-colonial themes, most of which can be illustrated and exemplified with post-colonial terminology. The first two pages of the novel depict and include well-cited examples of post-colonial concepts, such as hybridity,⁶⁴ diaspora, mother-country, the Other and other relevant themes, including immigration, nationality issues and nativity. First, the theme of hybridity (Bhabha, 1994) and the problematic discussion of where the next generation of immigrants feel attached is brought up by Greene with some keywords: “In public, Doctor Plarr touched nobody, his only book. It was a sign, like his English passport, that he would always remain a stranger; he would never be properly assimilated” (1973, p. 14). In

⁶⁴A fitting example of a hybrid generation in the story is Gruber, who is a Jew who escaped from Germany in the 1930s and whose story is told on page 75 in the novel.

this regard, Doctor Plarr is the child of an English immigrant who came to the country (which Greene tells us is “his adopted country” (p. 9)) at the age of ten. Greene questions where his loyalty lies because he is a character who is going to fall into a moral and racial dilemma between the kidnapped British honorary consul and the Argentinian terrorists. Greene says he is “perhaps a little foreign” and “considered himself in those days quite as Spanish as his mother, while his father was very noticeably English-born” (p. 9). As an immigrant, Doctor Plarr may have “few genuine memories of the land he had left at the age of ten” (p. 10).

Secondly, Plarr’s questioning of his father’s dual citizenship and being an exile in another country continues with the problems of paperwork nuisance and regular visits to governmental offices. Greene states that Doctor Plarr could not understand his father’s motives to come to Buenos Aires, and he claims that these “government places and regular paperwork issues”, to continue living in this land, are a heavy and unbearable burden on them (p. 10). According to the narrator of *THC*, peace of mind and living without problems is limited to those “who were native-born” and “those who could take the conditions of life, however bizarre, for granted” (p. 10). Here, Greene points to the fact that however much misery there may be, the natives in a country are not bothered by the psychological and legal problems of living there. Thirdly, the problem of being an exile is also discussed and brought up at the beginning of the novel as a neo-colonial theme. Interestingly, as a historical fact, Argentina at that time had become a popular place for exiles from different European countries (Bletz, 2016), and Greene talks about this fact in the novel, stating that Doctor Plarr’s father was an exile and Plarr realized that the place was “a continent of exiles – of Italians, of Czechs, of Poles, of Welsh, of English” later in his life (p. 10). Therefore, liberty and multi-culturalism became a concern for literary circles as well.

Critic Mario Couto states that Greene’s commitment to and interest in the liberation movements in Latin America “springs not only from sympathy with their politics of independence but has to do with their convictions that they should be left alone to work out their survival free from superpower interference” (1988, p. 183). The key phrase here is “superpower interference”, which underlines and supports the view that Greene and his novel have an anti-colonial outlook on such matters in these parts of the world at that time. Besides, his characterization and stories comply with this main ideological canon, which exposes and criticises neo-colonialism and its

ramifications for victim countries and their neo-colonized peoples who had to deal with political inconsistencies, scandals and problems in their lives.

Political chaos is a strategy of the neo-colonial powers to distort the integrity of the target country's politics and its capability to react to outer and inner threats efficiently. According to Arif Dirlik: "The urge to integrate the world into a system through colonization has given way to managing a world where those who are unable to integrate or seem superfluous are simply marginalized, and colonial management is replaced by the management of chaos" (2011, p. 440). There are mainly two ways of creating political chaos by the neo-colonial powers. The first one involves funding, organizing and leading the potential or existing oppositional democratic parties, religious or ethnic groups which have a chance to run the country after an election or a coup attempt (Blum, 2003; Shiraz, 2011; Weissman, 1979; Whitney, 1996). This can be considered a safe way to neo-colonize a country as the subject is not directly involved. Covertness and indirectness thus became the conditions which came to define the term neo-colonization. The fact that the neo-colonizing power overthrew the government is not a guarantee that they would succeed, however; the links they managed and the sphere of influence they achieved will be a lifelong alliance for them in the country and the region as well. An example of this tactic is the coup attempt that took place in 1963 in South Vietnam where the US secret organizations orchestrated the process to overthrow Ngo Dinh Diem (Ahern Jr, 2010). Moreover, Turkey's experiences in 1960, 1980 and 2013 can be considered examples of this vicious and effective way of neo-colonization, and most recently the coup attempt in Turkey in 2016 which was allegedly associated with the CIA and NATO generals as well (Yavuz & Koç, 2016). In *THC*, the political chaos is created by the kidnapping of a British consul who with his private life and links to other neo-colonial elements in the story distorts the political atmosphere of the country.

The second way is assassinations and kidnappings of the leaders or important figures whom they want to evade. Killing a leader will show their seriousness in their attempts and scare off and scatter most of the leader's supporters which will later keep them out of the way. Such attempts have always been in history. For example, the USA, via e the CIA, insistently tried to kill Patrice Lumumba who was an elected democratic leader of the Congo (Blum, 2003) which was later divided into two countries. Lumumba was assassinated in 1961 a year after the hanging of the Turkish

right-wing politician Adnan Menderes, which was always associated with the CIA and the US-backed generals at the time (Gunn, 2015). The lynchings of Saddam Hussein and Kaddafi could be good examples of such actions (or provoking actions) for the neo-colonizing powers to reach their aims. This chaos leads to civil war or violent killings creating marginalized terrorist individuals that creates a never-ending vicious circle that the neo-colonialists use as an excuse for the War on Terror. Showing terrorism as an excuse, the neo-colonialists interfere in the target country. In *THC*, a diplomat is kidnapped, triggering political chaos, international diplomacy and military actions follow deepening the chaos inside the country. Examples of these two ways are prevalent inside the novel.

Among the most common features of neo-colonized lands are chaos and disorder in cities and certain regions of the country that disable proper civil life and central authority which fails to penetrate the micro-units of the country with laws, law enforcement personnel and other governmental tools. It is worth mentioning that South America, already famous for dictators and guerrilla/terror warfare at the time the novel was written, is a place for such elements to linger and prosper (Wickham-Crowley, 1992).⁶⁵ Thus, Greene creates an atmosphere of danger and disorder among the public in the novel to point to a neo-colonial order, which usually helps the local dictator close the country to a foreign and international investigation and scrutiny. Greene gives us glimpses of such regimes, with wiretapping, kidnapping, guerrilla and terrorist activities, refugees and their ghettos, and border transgressions with neighbouring countries, thus giving way to drug and arms trafficking:

Never before had they telephoned him so openly and at such a suspect hour. There was no reason to believe that his line was tapped, but they had no right to take the smallest risk. Refugees from the north were often kept under a certain loose surveillance in the border region since the days of the guerrilla fighting, if only for their own protection: there were cases of men who had been dragged home to Paraguay across the Parana to die. There had been an exiled doctor in Posados ... Because he was a man of the same profession the doctor's example had been present often in Plarr's mind since the plans for the entertainment were first disclosed to him. This telephone call to his apartment could not be justified and except in a case of great urgency. One death among the entertainers – by the rules they had set themselves – was to be expected and justified nothing. (p. 25)

⁶⁵In his book *Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America* (1992), Timothy Wickham-Crowley surveys the terror (guerrilla) movements in Latin America since 1956, with personal histories of terrorists who took part in these events. The book explores the origins and outcomes of many rural insurgencies which takes us to the conclusion that they became an excuse for international interference and exploitation.

The extract tells us about the atmosphere and conditions in the surrounding city, country, people and their psychology, with strong wording such as “‘suspect hour’, ‘tapped’, ‘risk’, ‘refugees’, ‘surveillance’, ‘guerrilla fighting’, ‘own protection’, ‘dragged home’, ‘exiled’, ‘disclosed’, ‘urgency’, ‘death’ and ‘rules.’” All these are brought up by Greene in just a few lines to show us what we are getting into the neo-colonial setting. Similarly, setting up the atmosphere of the novel continues for some pages, where Greene adds “patrols”, kidnapping scene, home searching, border escape across the river, “roadblocks” and transport for an escape to raise cynical inaction into action (p. 28).

Chaos is a reason as well as a cause in *THC*. The country is divided because of internal violent clashes, and the people become each other’s enemies over trivial segregations, like class, race or political views. Torture becomes a tool for neo-colonial suppression that creates radicalized victims that turn into vandals and public enemies after the things they went through. Torture, chaos and killing are so common in *THC* that the story of Plarr’s long-lost father’s possible end summarizes the horrific atmosphere in the country:

His body was never identified among the corpses which were sometimes washed up on the Argentine side of the river with hands and legs tied with wire, but his might well have been one of those skeletons which remained for years undiscovered after they had been tossed from planes into the Chaco wastes. (p. 62)

A father, brother or son of almost every family is assassinated or their fate is unknown; they may be tortured or massacred by another group or military in the country.⁶⁶ Therefore, the role of torture in the emotional separation inside the country and its psychological effectiveness in military regimes and neo-colonial practices should be discussed for broader comprehension.

As an inhumane part of exploitation and colonization, torture is still part of neo-colonial tactics and is ominously present in *THC* and the background stories of its characters. Torture is used by neo-colonizers to produce people with hatred and violence capable of becoming a terrorist so that he becomes a tool and a reason for the neo-colonial powers to interfere in the internal affairs of the country. The supporting

⁶⁶Another chaotic vision of the country and the dark situation it is going through can be detected in the part where Aquino turns on the radio and listens to the news reporting only devastation, which shows what the country is like: people are expelled from certain parts of the country with violence, there are new duties levied on imports into Argentina, a few bombs have exploded in some parts of the continent, the football team and its violent hooligans storm around Europe, getting into quarrels and fights (Greene, 2006, p. 213).

character Aquino is tortured by the CIA and has three fingers cut off during his imprisonment and interrogations. Similarly, Doctor Plarr's father is shot dead after trying to escape from the prison where he was held for 15 years. Rivas is aware of such tactics, their cruelty, and the effects they have on anti-colonial and terror movements. Prison makes a man deteriorate rapidly as Rivas explains that Plarr's father was held there for 15 years, and because the General knows that it creates comradeship among prisoners he "plants his victims out in separate pots with insufficient earth, and they wither in despair" (p. 184). Aquino also points out that there is racism among the causes of torture because he says that the CIA does not torture Plarr's father as he is an Anglo-Saxon (p. 248). The character who administers torture in the story is Colonel Perez, who is the captain of the police force.

Regarding the application of neo-colonial strategy, one of the crucial elements in Greene's novels is the head of the police force in a neo-colonized country. Under the total control of the dictator, this character generally tries to strike a balance between the security of the people and the chaos created by neo-colonizers, thereby controlling and funding his superiors as well. Characters like Colonel Perez in *THC* and Captain Segura in *OMH* are figures who are essentially evil and looking after their interests and positions; therefore, they have the motivation to serve the interests of dictators and neo-colonizers. Such people do not work for the people of their country; rather, they want success, fame and a higher position in a dangerous world, where they can remain safe and well-positioned in society and politics.

In *THC*, Colonel Perez is the character who is the head of the security forces in the country, and he is found to be an antagonist at the end of the story as he deliberately shoots two innocent people and prepares a false statement for the legal investigation. He confesses that he wants to see issues settled because "unfinished dossiers take up a lot of room" (p. 149), thereby accepting his horrific dutiful nature to see things done and put things in order no matter what the cost is. Ironically, he also complains about the chaos in the cities and rural areas, listing them to Doctor Plarr regarding the kidnapping of Fortnum; he mentions a plane crash in which a hijacker detonated a grenade and there were 166 deaths, about which he exclaims angrily: "a hundred and sixty-seven Fortnums, and one of them a film star. No, Doctor Plarr, we have to admit that ours is a very small affair" (p. 149). He admits being a selfish and opportunistic man while he speaks about Fortnum's case to Doctor Plarr. Further, he is

not interested in “Fortnum or his well-being”, but in the kidnappers for whom he will be rewarded whether caught dead or alive (p. 174). Thus, he wants the blackmail attempt of these terrorists to fail because this would discourage other members of the group and will stop causing problems for him in the country.⁶⁷ In time, these people and events become a pretext for Perez and his superiors (dictators or juntas) to take over the governing of the country with coups.

Military coups had become the most effective indirect weapon of the neo-colonizing powers, which they order or support as a result of the chaos in the country that is their target. Chaos causes the military to take control of the country, using resurgence and instability in the streets as an excuse. In *THC*, coups are mentioned often. There are two coups in the country where Fortnum and Plarr live. The administrators and governors of neo-colonized lands are always in favour of the neo-colonizing power getting financial and political support on the international level. In the novel, Plarr is associated with a governor freshly appointed “by the newest president after that year’s coup d’état”, and there will be a “second military coup” in which the governor will be “dismissed from office”, so they have to cancel their plans (p. 41). An interesting statement here is that *that year’s coup d’état* signals that coups become a common practice in the region, which is true when thinking about the political history of Latin American countries.⁶⁸

Neo-colonizers support coups in any colonized country because they have a great impact on the dictator or administrator. They support such people with financial, military and economic aid, in return for which they take more than what they give. Proof of this in *THC* is found in the conversation among foreign diplomats after they hear about the kidnapping of Fortnum. They want someone to put pressure on the General of Paraguay and the President of Argentina to rescue and free Fortnum. However, when they consider help from the Americans, a striking fact comes up. In this regard, Plarr remarks that the Americans can put pressure on the General because

⁶⁷Colonel Perez does not stop there and threatens Plarr, telling him not to meddle in his business and way of dealing with such problems. In a conversation with Doctor Plarr, Perez implies that Plarr is keeping secrets about the kidnapping and he does not like secrets as he thinks like a policeman; they are trained like dogs against secrets, finishing the sentence thug-style “I will shoot first and send a wreath later” (Greene, 2006, p. 177). At the end of the story he does what he says; he shoots Doctor Plarr and Father Rivas when they go out of the hut to talk to him in a peaceful manner. Plarr blames him for being like Al Capone, a mafia leader, in reply to which Perez confirms that Al Capone had his own way of keeping order, whether right or wrong.

⁶⁸“Predictably, Greene attributed much of the culpability for Stroessner’s brutal regime to the United States, assisted by the tacit compliance of the British government” (Brennan, 2016, p. 145).

“he wouldn’t exist twenty-four hours in Paraguay without their help” (p. 135). This is accepted by all in the room, which shows us that the General⁶⁹ of the country is under the full control of a neo-colonizing country to whom he owes his power and he would probably be eliminated in violent ways if he failed to meet their requests.

Regarding the issue of dictators, one of the characters, Sir Henry, states that if Fortnum was American, the result would be different because the General is under American, rather than British, control: “The English are not very popular with the General. Of course, if Fortnum were an American, he would probably take a different view” (p. 135). These military men are the reason why coups can happen in neo-colonized countries; their ties are strong since they are trained and equipped by the Americans or another country. In the story, the relationship between the soldiers and the fact that aid is only given to a small group of accomplices of the regime and dictatorship are depicted by one of the terrorists who states that the soldiers surrounding them (the parachute legion) are “trained by the Yankees in Panama” (p. 250).⁷⁰

The General in the story is a typical dictator with opportunist and chauvinist attitudes. He is worried about his own life and position rather than the interests of his people and country. Even Perez is aware of this situation and he thinks that the General is not interested in any human life except his own, thus heavily and desperately depending on American aid, and acting like an anti-communist. It was the time of “hunting down communists” in South America, urged on by the Americans, against Russian and Chinese imperialism (p. 174). Therefore, people like Perez and his aides try to keep their positions by doing whatever is required to please the neo-colonizers and avoid disturbing them in any way. Officers in the country can be easily dismissed with a warning or a declaration from a neo-colonizing country’s embassy or representative. Crichton is the most direct and outspoken representative of such power;

⁶⁹The word ‘General’ has been commonly used for dictators who come to power in coups and by military force, having monarch-like power inside a so-called democratic country where elections are held.

⁷⁰The fact that there is support from the USA for dictators and military personnel in South American countries was also mentioned by Haim Gordon, who states that “Much is disclosed of U.S. support for the evil regimes and for greedy dictators in Paraguay and Argentina in *The Honorary Consul* and *Travels with my Aunt*. In addition, the remarkable Doctor Magiot in *The Comedians* is murdered by Papa Doc Duvalier to appease and satisfy the U.S. government. The U.S. government has instigated and perpetrated many evils and horrors, directly or clandestinely through the CIA and other organizations, on behalf of power-lustful and greedy dictators in Chile, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Vietnam, the Philippines, Panama, and many other places in the world in which corporate capitalists based in the United States rapaciously exploit the indigenous population” (1997, p. 28).

he meddles with things and vocalises stern rational political ideas about the situation of Doctor Plarr's death and Perez's lies about the situation in which he intentionally kills Plarr. He claims that Fortnum owes his position in this country to him, just because he "showed around some royalty to ancient ruins" in the country (p. 264). Hence, Crichton makes an off-the-record offer to Fortnum, threatens his luxury expenses and urges him to retire, thereby concealing his true intentions.

The fact that diplomats and officials of neo-colonial powers hide their real intentions behind other appearances is thoroughly shown by Greene in the following quotation: "The new Ambassador wants to create a good impression. Doctor Plarr said. Art and history. He can't be suspected of a take-over bid there. He wants to show scholarly interest in our province, not a commercial one" (p. 20). While chatting about coups and taking over efforts by outside forces inside a neo-colonial country, Doctor Plarr says that officials such as ambassadors hide behind social and cultural activities of arts and culture so that they offer a modern civilized outlook on the surface, but they hide their political and neo-colonial plans and programmes. The trio is well aware that they represent the neo-colonizing power in that country to such an extent that they believe that they are "a military headquarters" in the city with their offices which they use as space and their connections which they use as an organization (p. 40). At some points in the story, when Plarr sees Charley in a famous brothel in the city, he warns Charley Fortnum to keep a low profile and he reminds that he has "no business to be seen in a low dive like that" (p. 42). Plarr uses the cultural arena and other PR activities to hide and present his outer character as normal, outgoing and intellectual to hide his covert activities. However, he does not make very close friends that might endanger his mission, though he talks with novelists and literary characters such as Saavedra. On the other hand, he keeps in contact with mistresses and his patients, visiting the Governor of the province occasionally. He also goes fishing, and he is a well-known guest at some of the best "gentlemen's clubs" in the city (p. 62).

It is clear that one of the main features of the novel, which makes it a specimen of neo-colonial literature, is the quotation from the epigraph of the novel that strongly marks the novel as one that carries neo-colonial prospects: "We three, you may say, are the pillars of the English colony" (p. 39). This sentence is uttered by Doctor Humphries to Charley Fortnum while they are having a meeting with Doctor Plarr. All three are Englishmen living in Argentina with important positions and status in

society, as well as diplomatic missions. The striking fact is that, as members of this neo-colonial society, these three men see each other as pillars of the English colony. They consider themselves the most important representatives of the British government and its interests in this society. This could be inferred as a sign that Greene uses these three characters as the representatives of neo-colonialists in that country – not only in the military aspect (such as Pyle in *TQA*) but as soft power⁷¹ that operates in diplomacy, culture and high society to influence politics and economics in the direction of the interests of the party. Some additional people who are well-known to the public in the country meet in an organization called the Hurlingham Club: “Buller, the manager of the Bank of London and South America, Fisher, the secretary of The Anglo-Argentinian Society, and an old gentleman called Forage” (p. 63), whereby society and the business world are the leading powers in such groups.

The technique that Plarr and other neo-colonial people use can be called cultural imperialism⁷² because as the elements of neo-colonial soft power forces, they not only deal with politics and economy but also with affecting the target culture and social habits, as well as the tiniest details of food and dining. An example of this in the story is the meeting of neo-colonial upper-class people at a dinner table. Sir Henry Belfrage, Lady Belfrage, secretary Crichton and others are at the table discussing the fact that they are eating things that they are not used to in this country, making fun of the scrambled eggs and “the wine they had the night before at a reception at the American Embassy” (p. 131). These kinds of activities prove to be an example of the upper-class conduct in neo-colonized lands and the people they interact with who tend to pick up their habits, behaviours and tastes from the neo-colonizers lead to mimicry of their tastes and customs.

Also, the neo-colonizers have a prejudiced and degrading tone regarding people in South America. As they speak, their outlook on all South American countries reflects their thoughts and prejudices about so-called Third World countries. In a speech about the kidnapping of Fortnum to his secretary Crichton, the British Ambassador Sir Henry states that the kidnappers did the same to a Paraguayan consul,

⁷¹The academic who coined the term soft power, J. S. Nye, describes it as “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country’s culture, political ideals, and policies. When our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft power is enhanced” (2004, p. x).

⁷²Cultural imperialism is a term that has been used to describe the notion of European, American or other imperial powers exercising cultural dominance on the rest of the cultures and countries of the world, with a specific reference to the Third World countries (Tomlinson, 1991).

but they did not kill him, which means that he does not care about the situation. He ridicules it: “this isn’t Uruguay or Colombia – or Brazil, for that matter. Or Bolivia. Or Venezuela. Or even Peru” (p. 133). Thus, he lists all the countries in South America in a group of countries where these things happen, and Crichton expresses that they are in South America with a hint of humiliation.

This prejudiced and biased outlook is recognized and experienced by members of the neo-colonized country as well. In *THC*, Aquino is aware of this problem and mentions this issue frequently inside the story. However, the most striking and effective speech by him is given after discussions of Charley Fortnum’s kidnapping. When Plarr forms the Anglo-Argentinian Gentleman’s Club to make their voices heard, Saavedra makes an offer and announces that he wants to be exchanged for Fortnum as a hostage. However, the offer angers Aquino who states that an Argentinian hostage is not worthy and no one will pay attention to a neo-colonized and a literary figure, neither the neo-colonizers, nor the world, nor the General, and their people as well: “What good is a novelist? Anyway, he is an Argentinian. Who cares if an Argentinian dies? Not the General. Not even our own President. Nor the world either. One less of the underdeveloped to spend money on” (p. 187).

Another technique of the neo-colonizers’ cultural expansion is forming gentlemen’s university or art clubs to support each other in the social, cultural, political, academic and economic sectors in the country to make their voices heard and be effective in the direction of their objectives. An example of this is the hastily formed Anglo-Argentinian Club by Plarr to save Fortnum along with the author Saavedra and Humphries. They form the club to influence the media by using Saavedra’s (non-existent) fame, Plarr’s and Humphries’ status as doctors and their English heritage. The club seems naive on the surface, but the real motivation is to put pressure on governments and other local groups in the direction of their interests. To lure Saavedra to be the president of the club, Plarr states that the club will carry out “cultural, literary and archaeological activities”; however, the first thing on their list is to issue a political statement on the Fortnum case to practice and see their effects on the public and diplomacy of the country (p. 154). Therefore, the use of the media as a tool of exploitation and political effect is nothing new for the neo-colonizers.

Media and their effect in terms of neo-colonial issues in *THC* are no different from those in *TQA* and *OMH*. More specifically, the conversations between Sir Henry

Belfrage and Plarr reveal the workings of the international and local media and their coverage tactics, which Greene already knows as he worked as a correspondent and reporter for British newspapers for a long time. In *THC*, discussions about the media and their effect on neo-colonizers and the colonized can be categorised as two topics: how the media affect international and local business and how biased the media is in handling and reporting news about people in the country. Sir Henry and Plarr discuss the probable coverage of specific papers upon hearing the news of Fortnum's kidnapping and how they should give information to them to control the situation and save Fortnum's life. For example, they think that if they give the detail that Fortnum is married to a prostitute, they may catch the attention of newspapers such as *The Sun* and *The News of the World* (p. 138). They want to draw the attention of respectable papers and try to use the prestige of the English Club to affect *The Times*. However, Sir Henry believes that prestigious papers such as *The Times* and *Telegraph* will not be interested in such a story.⁷³ He suggests that there is no harm in trying to send their stories to these papers as "the opposition members of the parliaments" might take it up and use it against the government and the party in charge (pp. 138–139). In this domain, colonized women are always used for evil and improper aims by neo-colonizers, and such a subject is given separate attention in Greene's novels and life.

In *THC*, the issue of women is also used by the representatives of the imperial powers as a neo-colonial strategy as well in the countries where they play to establish their hegemony over the indigenous people. In the novel, the issue is represented by the relationship among Clara, Charley and Plarr, while in Greene's *TQA* among Phuong, Fowler and Pyle. In this regard, three main issues arise. First, Phuong's and Clara's bodies are used as commodities and sex objects without making them aware of it. However, Phuong and her sister are aware that Fowler and other Western men want her for physical and sexual reasons, and so is Clara. Secondly, there is a superior and inferior relationship in which Western men represent money, luxury, power, modernity and freedom, whereas Vietnamese and Indian Latin American women are represented as being poor, backward and naive, as explained in the following paragraphs. Thirdly, Western men take advantage of their superiority and use Vietnamese women

⁷³While discussing the effect and use of American newspapers, Sir Henry relates dirty workings of newspapers and the media, showing that they might use striking headlines to lure a writer, or an anti-war correspondent will submit a story or most likely a business tycoon would do much better than Fortnum because he is, in his words, "such pitifully small beer" (Greene, 2006, p. 139).

purposefully for their own sexual needs. Simply put, Western men re-colonize both Vietnamese and Latin American women's bodies, minds and future because even if these women marry them and leave for another country, they are put into a position, in which they will always experience Western men's superiority over their bodies, minds and future.

The triangular relationship among Charley, Plarr and Clara resembles that between Fowler, Pyle and Phuong to a large extent. Phuong and Clara are young beautiful girls who are in search of better conditions of life by watching out for every marriage opportunity with foreign men. Neo-colonizer men compete among themselves to have a girl for her beauty rather than a sincere sense of love and commitment. While Plarr and Pyle are in the same position as lovers who try to take the girl away from older men, Charley and Fowler are elders who try to keep their women away from young competitive neo-colonizer men whose relationships are complicated by political issues that lead to death and kidnapping. For instance, Klushreshta states that this harmony of characters in various novels by Greene happens because he "places his characters in striking juxtapositions so that the characters become illustrative of one another" (1977, pp. 172–173) and "several themes and characters of Greene's earlier novels are worked into the texture of *The Honorary Consul*" (p. 178).

Furthermore, Zadie Smith claims that the main characters, Fowler and Pyle in *TQA*, have an "equally distorting, unavoidably colonial, story about Phuong" (2004, p. ix). That is, Charley and Plarr in *THC*, Fowler and Pyle in *TQA*, consider Clara and Phuong to be inferior and use them for sexual and emotional gain, especially in *TQA*. Moreover, the novel and Greene's writing style tend to combine the love of women and a country in a way whereby the struggles of Fowler and Pyle to gain favours represent the colonial struggles of the USA, France and Britain to conquer Vietnam, thus emphasizing the beauty of the women in the country with a specific emphasis on love and sexual relationships as portrayed by Greene. When he was asked about the reason for his visit to Vietnam, Greene said it was the "extraordinary beauty of the women" there (p. x).

In some cases, women may represent the country in such stories, which binds the fate of the women to the fate of the country as well. In the novels, Phuong and Clara can be considered to represent Vietnam and Latin America with these

arguments. More specifically, Pyle tries to take Phuong from Fowler, which can be symbolized as the colonial race between two countries that sent Fowler and Pyle to Vietnam. Similarly, Charley Fortnum tries to save Clara from the place she belongs to. Their contest over women is in sync with the race for sovereignty over Vietnam and Latin America. This race sometimes heats up to such a point that the essence of the aim becomes possessing and controlling the woman more than loving and being with her. Thus, Pyle and Fowler fight over her for the sake of their colonization of a woman or, in parallel, for control by their states over the relevant country.

The perceptions and ideas about women, love, sex and marriage in *TQA* and *THC* resemble each other since Plarr's and Fowler's ideals about women run in parallel with each other in their coarseness and lack of sympathy. However, the positions of Fowler and Plarr are different in the stories in which they steal the lover of their opponent. Plarr thinks that he cannot meet the requirements of love, he is not ready for such responsibility, and the word love is like a nightmare for him. Besides, he thinks there is always a price in return for love: "obedience, apology, kiss" which he always gives officially not passionately (p. 172). At one point in the story, Plarr exclaims that he paid Clara "with a pair of sunglasses" (p. 251).⁷⁴

In *THC*, the attitudes towards women and the stories of the main women characters run in parallel with those in *TQA* and *OMH*. Especially, Clara, Milly and Phuong are similar in their treatment as regards neo-colonial men as well as the portrayals of their characters, jobs and aims in life. They are after a good life mostly in their pursuit of rich neo-colonial men and prostitution.⁷⁵ Greene's attitude as reflected in his writing style is again harsh towards women, with obscenities and physical name-calling. As in *TQA* and *OMH*, Greene continues his machismo style of writing about women in *THC* as well.⁷⁶ Charley Fortnum utters a horrendous sentence talking about

⁷⁴Although a Catholic, thus inheriting a creed which is strict on single partnerships and adultery, Greene had a mistress in his life, whom his wife Vivien had to accept into their life after the mistress, Catherine Crompton, called Vivien and asked for her permission to let Graham be her godfather in her ritual conversion to Catholicism (Brennan, 2010, p. 82). During that period, there were also discussions of Catholicism which critics like Martin Stannard, Waugh's biographer and who also gave Greene a place in this work, thought was in crisis – the religion was claimed to be filled with paradoxes, heretical temptations and corrupt authorities (Stannard, 1992, p. 216).

⁷⁵In *THC*, Clara states that she sends the money she earns to a town called Tucuman where her family live (p. 80). Like Phuong she does her job to support her family and get a better life. She thinks that her family would starve if she were to die (p. 95). Milly is funded by her father but looks for probable picks.

⁷⁶In his books, Greene always uses love and sexuality as a theme and a motif either via descriptions of how beautiful a woman is or by giving voice to male lovers and their fantasies aroused by women characters. One such scene is in *TQA* where Fowler flirts with Phuong, asking if she had other lovers,

women's physiology, stating "Women's insides [...] Never understood them. One day you must draw me a diagram" (p. 33). Again, later, referring to a prostitute in Mother Sanchez's house, one of the characters says that she is "a friend of half of the men in this town" (p. 40). Plarr and other men at the scene think that the girlfriend that Charley sees from the brothel is "a whore like all the rest", whereas Charley falls in love with her and thinks the opposite (p. 42).

Greene's vivid but disturbing language about women is worth analysing in the novel. Regarding the new girlfriend of Charley Fortnum, he states that "a wife provided worse material for a scandal than a mistress," pointing to the fact that he married a prostitute, which Greene depicts with the obscene declaration: "the fragile body on Charley Fortnum's bed must have known hundreds" (p. 73). Raising the tone of the obscenity to vulgarity, Greene states that "her stomach was like the site of an old country battlefield where pale grass grew which had abolished the scars of war, and a small stream flowed peacefully between the willows" (p. 73). The narrator mostly relates these vulgar depictions and there are many instances in the novel, but this is one in which Greene states that the body of the prostitute is "scrawled over by so many men" (p. 90), so you can never find your signature, a horrific summary of the language used in the depiction of women and female bodies in the novel.⁷⁷

Interestingly, Greene's female characters are no different from their male counterparts in their verbal manner. However naive she may seem, Clara is explicit in her remarks about her life, status and relationships with other men, including Doctor

with a precise description of women symbolized with a fragile bird: "To take an Annamite to bed with you is like taking a bird [...] their bones too were as fragile as a bird's" (Greene, 2004, p. 5). Greene usually draws pictures of sexual engagement with the women in his novels, such as finding his hands between the legs of Phuong in the middle of the night when they delivered the news of the death of Pyle. Please see Chapters II and III for related issues.

⁷⁷In parallel fashion, Greene's depiction of women and their exploitation in *TQA* is similar in the three novels mentioned in this dissertation. For example, for the exploitation of Vietnamese women and their bodies is Pyle's opening statement that love will come after marriage; for him, security and making a living is much more important when he proposes to Phuong, while Fowler, her partner at the moment, was a translator for them: "Tell her I don't expect her to love me right away. That will come in time but tell her what I offer her is security and respect. That doesn't sound very exciting, but perhaps it's better than passion" (p. 70). At some point the conversation becomes too materialistic and earthly so that the issue of money and even blood groups for the birth of children are taken into consideration as Fowler argues in a speech where he awkwardly has to translate the marriage proposal of Pyle to his partner Phuong (p. 69). A bullet-point comment comes from Fowler who admits that their race for this woman is "A dollar love", pointing to the worldly and materialistic side of their desires and competition for a woman that should include feelings and sincerity instead (p. 54). Love for men and women becomes love for money and materialistic belongings as the world the characters live in becomes unbearable to live in and resist.

Plarr and Charley Fortnum, for whom she leaves the brothel of Mother Sanchez. She is obscenely outspoken and honest about her previous job:

Not very much. Not very often. It was boring, Eduardo. I have not words to tell you how boring it was. He was kind and careful of me. He never hurt me like you hurt me. Sometimes I say thank you to Our Lord on Our Blessed Lady that it is your child which is stuck in me here, not his. What sort of child would have come out if it had belonged to Charley? The child of an old man. I would have wanted to strangle it at birth. He cannot do one thing better than you can. (p. 171)

Clara talks about the sexual intercourse she had with other men, with Plarr and Charley. She claims that she does not want Charley's child and establishes the horrific capability of hating it to ensure Plarr to believe that it is him whom she loves and wants to continue her life with.

As seen in the use of derogatory language both former colonizers and neo-colonizers aim to dehumanize colonized women or, if possible, "reduce the inhabitants of the annexed territory to the level of a superior monkey", justifying their mistreatment of these people because they have established perception of colonized people in which "the colonized are not fellow human beings" (Sartre, 1964, pp. 78–79). These psychologically enslaved people are not shown respect, their traditions and language are destroyed, "rendered stupid by exploitation" to "fissure their character and shatter their personality" (p. 79). More obviously, Clara in *THC*, and Phuong and her sister in *TQA*, cringe before Western people for their interests rather than aligning with their people. Therefore, they lose their personality and are led by their desires. The main reason for creating such an identity is the vicious mechanism of identity disruption of the colonial power, from which they benefit as they render more and more people dependent on and loyal to themselves. The more easily they find people to work for their interests in neo-colonized lands, the more support they gain against other power centres and dominions that challenge them inside the country. Terrorism, far-left movements and their supporters became a common tool for the neo-colonial powers to infiltrate inside these movements and use them to their benefits.

Terror-warfare, or war on terror, is a term specifically used by the US military and public after the 9/11 attacks (Amoore & De Geode, 2008; Brzezinski, 2007; Holloway, 2008). Louise Amoore and Marieke De Geode's book entitled *Risk and the War on Terror* (2008) shows how far the insistence of war on terror creates risks at the global level. On the other hand, according to popular American political theorist Zbigniew Brzezinski, the USA's ability to effectively confront the real threats they

face from terrorists has been weakened by using this term. For Brzezinski an atmosphere of fear in America has been generated by the war on terror on purpose after the tragic events of 9/11, the Bush administration's elevation of these three terms into a national motto has had a pernicious effect on American democracy, on the consciousness of America and on the status of the USA in the world. David Holloway's book *9/11 and the War on Terror* (2008) clearly shows that like the concept of orientalism, for neo-colonizers, the term "war on terror" became an institution of the West to attack the target countries with excuses of communism, religious extremism, human rights and other radical religious labels.

The problem with guerrillas and their incorrect anti-colonial stance stems from their ideology and use of violence. As they resist the colonizers on the surface, they give excuses to the outer powers to interfere in the domestic affairs of the country because of their terror activities and association with far-left ideologies. They sometimes torture their own people who do not help their cause thinking the only solution is hard power. The neo-colonial traits of terror warfare in the story start with the events and conversations after the kidnapping of the British honorary consul, Charley Fortnum (rising action), who is mistaken for the American ambassador when being kidnapped. The kidnappers are so-called "guerrillas" of Argentina, who in their perception are freedom fighters for the country opposing the USA, other foreign powers and their allies, as well as the dictator of their country. As in many countries in other places of the world, the dictator of their country in power is an ally of neo-colonial forces, which is given in the novel after the kidnapping. Doctor Plarr and the kidnappers discuss the effects of their wrong move, and one of the members of the gang states that the British will ask the Americans to put pressure on the General in the region to rescue the consul. However, Plarr states that the Americans will do nothing because "they don't want to anger their friend the General for the sake of Charley Fortnum" (p. 34).

Doctor Plarr tries to convince the terrorists that Charley Fortnum is an honorary consul and will be of no use to them, so they should release him. Besides, Doctor Plarr is a friend of Fortnum and worries about his life as he believes he will be killed for nothing because the terrorists will gain nothing by kidnapping a British secondary and pseudo-official rather than an American first-class diplomat. However, one of the kidnappers, Rivas, is sure that it will work, and he is afraid that their supporters among

the public would be discouraged if nothing happened and they achieved nothing for their supporters. He states that even the kidnapping of a secondary consul is something: “It will be a warning to people who are most important. Perhaps they will take our next threat seriously. That is a small tactical point gained in a long war” (p. 34). The other group members support Rivas, thus disagreeing with Doctor Plarr, who tries to save Fortnum before he wakes up and sees Plarr, stating that even Charley Fortnum is an opposing force for them – a combatant of the Americans who “killed plenty of men in South America” (p. 35). Therefore, within the neo-colonial discussions, the terrorists and their position inside the transformative anti-colonial movements should be discussed attentively.

The terrorists react strongly towards the neo-colonial powers as they believe that they have no other option but to fight because they think that the neo-colonial powers have “reduced them to this” (p. 35). The important word here is “reduced” as it means that the terrorists are not happy with kidnapping and violence, but they believe that they are victims and thus forced into such a backlash. However, this is the solution of the far-left ideology with violence against violence⁷⁸ motto that distorts peace and the innocent are the victims. Also, Greene’s sympathy towards these people gives them this misleading mild-nature profile in the novel. While Plarr continues to try to persuade them that Fortnum is worth nothing, the group consolidate their power and ideas, stating that they are “responsible against their leader El Tigre” who wants to free 20 prisoners the Americans hold instead of Charley Fortnum (p. 35). Moreover, the gang suspect that even though Fortnum is innocent, he may have “interfered” with their wars or politics (p. 37).

The two leading terrorists, Rivas and Aquino, are not up to this job because one of them is a poet and the other a priest. Consequently, according to their perception, the guerrillas are not a bunch of vandals but sophisticated people with good education and an aim and are aware of what they are doing – a fitting example of a far-left group who believe in violence against violence (Forster, 1966).⁷⁹ They think they never mean serious harm to an individual, but they become embroiled in violence due to the conditions. In the novel, one example is that Rivas asks Dr Plarr to help them out by

⁷⁸Fanon’s ideas, Sartre’s solutions to the French-Algerian conflict; Marx, Lenin, and Stalin’s solutions have always been bloody and resulted in catastrophic deaths worldwide.

⁷⁹“If violence is the refuge of unreason, then we must never be greatly surprised to find violent tendencies far out on those political extremities of the Left and the Right which have exchanged reason for passion and mystical faith” (Forster, 1966, p. 142).

robbing an embassy; after Plarr declines, Rivas's boasts that "in a wrong society, the criminals are honest men" (p. 103). This is because hunger, chaos, nationality, human rights, freedom and such matters are questionable and given biased interpretations in their society. They believe they have no option but to fight violence with violence: as Greene says, "perhaps he was quoting Marx" (p. 103).

Father Rivas and Aquino use the concepts of nationality and brotherhood in persuading other members and sympathizers of the merit of their cause. For example, Rivas questions Plarr's loyalties and ideology after planning to kidnap the American ambassador: "South America is our country, Eduardo. Not Paraguay. Not Argentina. You know what Che said, the whole continent is my country. What are you? English or South American?" (p. 105). Plarr replies that he cannot murder Charley Fortnum, but Rivas states that he does not think of murder in those terms, thereby offering him an ideological explanation. Doctor Plarr says that murdering someone is not a matter of semantics; however, he tries to be an agent with undetectable and obscure influence in the country, thus working for both sides, for the guerrillas rather than the Anglo-Argentinian club.

As their situation becomes desolate and desperate in the operation, the terrorists lose their loyalty to their leader, El Tigre, blaming him for staying "in safety and eating" whatever he wants while they are out there risking their lives for the cause (p. 201). This also causes their belief in God to diminish and they denounce Him many times in the story (pp. 205, 218). While they have such arguments, we come to realize that the arguments among the terrorists are open to interpretation about patriotism, fighting against neo-colonizers and things they consider sacred. The terrorists' discussions about religion turn into an ideological conflict between religion and Marxism. In this regard, Plarr is in-between since he thinks that he is not a believer but not a fan of Marxism either, as he says, "the Bible is as unreadable as to him as Marx's *Das Kapital*" (p. 220). Father Rivas⁸⁰ also blames the clergy and the church for their

⁸⁰Greene uses the historical example of Father Torres, hailed as a martyr after his death in February 1966, to validate his portrayal of Rivas' revolutionary Christianity. Torres came from a wealthy Colombian family and challenged the traditional hierarchies of Church and State by calling for the creation of a revolutionary mass movement to seize power and, if necessary, using violence as a means of establishing an egalitarian socialist society. Even though Pope Paul VI had explicitly denounced violence in his *Populorum Progressio* (Progress of the People, March 1967) as a means of supporting the faithful poor, Torres provided Greene with tangible proof that the concept of a revolutionary socialist (and Marxist) Christian was a viable model for repressed Third World countries. A famous image of Jesus carrying a rifle across his shoulder, reprinted in the New York Times (12 August 1970),

support for neo-colonizers and dictators because they are wasting money on unnecessary things such as “candles” (p. 225). A true Marxist, on the other hand, Aquino, remarks proudly that “God is evil, God is capitalism” (p. 227). Hence the conflict of ideologies inside the neo-colonized country leads to other prominent problems such as chaos and authority voids.

As a result of the discussions in this chapter, considering the neo-colonial aspects of *THC*, the primary element is the fact that neo-colonial regions and countries are shown as places of danger, chaos, entertainment and drugs that attract the world’s lowlifes to them in the shape of tourism and immigration, similar to *TQA* and *OMH*. Covert ambassadors, kidnapping, chaos, coup-plotting, guerrillas and terrorism are all symptoms of a neo-colonial country. That is, the people in a neo-colonized country are left with few choices. More specifically, they are subjected to lower and criminal ways of life. For instance, Doctor Plarr, Father Rivas and Aquino are some examples of these people. Aquino, Plarr’s father and Clara tell a different kind of story; they are brought up and caught up in poverty and they lead miserable lives. Poverty is something forced by the neo-colonizer country upon the victim country, along with chaos and economic destruction of the infrastructure and trade routes, causing some parts of the country to be locked down and impoverished. Besides, dictators fed by neo-colonizers give aid and money only to their supporters, so the country becomes a puppet nation.

encapsulated this alluring concept of militant Christianity and recalled Torres’ most famous axiom: ‘the duty of every Catholic is to be a revolutionary’ (Brennan, 2010, p. 132).

CONCLUSION

Neo-colonialism, as the word indicates, is a crucial topic often tackled and discussed in international politics, economy and literary studies. As argued in detail throughout this dissertation, World War II and the end of the official/physical colonialism have led to new strategies practised by the imperial powers in international relations not only to continue their former colonial legacy but also to expand further the area of their interest. The definition of neo-colonialism, however, obviously poses some problems regarding constant changes in its usage which take various shapes. Thus, this complex situation of neo-colonialism must be taken into consideration before the term is discussed. An explicit distrust of essential words, like those above such as neo-colonialism, postcolonialism, colonialism etc. inhibits the empirical study of pressing problems in post-colonial landscapes; therefore, the use of secondary materials to explain them and elaborate on their connotations is also equally important. For a logical clarification, however, essential concepts such as neo-colonizer and neo-colonized are frequently invented, but sometimes they appear to be simplified and include meanings to the extent that their terminological vocabulary permits. Nevertheless, the condition of the current new world order can usually be regarded as neo-colonial for theoretical interpretation and clarification purposes of the terms, so these terms may have unique and novel meanings that replace their previous standard meanings. Conditions such as colonialism, imperialism and hegemony are generally related and suggest different modes of political activity and influence over other entities. The concept of neo-colonialism often implies someone's dictatorship or the use of power over other subjects with the re-emergence and re-evaluation of previous formats in covert ways, but homogenous polarizations, provoked by the colonizer, have led to increasingly varied types of dominance and subjugation that humiliate the colonized.

Neo-colonialism and literature may be closely associated with each other on the condition that the text at hand reflects simultaneously the social, economic and political characteristics of each sequential age. Since the time of Nkrumah, the president of Ghana's major introduction to the theory, it has been clear that the term "neo-colonialism" is an elastic one that can be linked to postcolonial theory and terminology. It is generally used in relation to imperial economic exploitation as the main aim of the old colonizing powers is now capitalist exploitation intertwined with

social and cultural exploitation. Without the need of territorial gain, neo-colonial forces avoided the problem of simultaneous economic and bloody clashes. Social and cultural results and problems are the focus of neo-colonial literature as it deals with these themes in a neo-colonized country with representations of characters and plot lines. The idea of a fake and fictionalized sovereignty of a colonized country lies at the origin of this situation, which gives way to psychological monologues of the characters, questioning the facts of pseudo-liberation or the pain of colonizing in literary works.

The link between neo-colonialism and literature focuses on the primary objective of overcoming the problem of underrepresentation of neo-colonized peoples and, most importantly, the colonizer characters' confessing malevolence, thus revealing the true motivations and thoughts of the colonizers. Therefore, neo-colonialism becomes an important tool and medium for the representation of lost stories, submerged cultures and characters that mainly help to reveal historical facts about the neo-colonized world that are suppressed by the ongoing social and cultural order, forcefully supervised by neo-colonizer powers. These nauseating circumstances also help us to distance ourselves from aspects of the political mainstream (capitalism, communism etc.) that dictate certain approaches to the postcolonial issue, which limits the point of view and meaningful comprehension of these problems. Therefore, the message of the writers' fictionalized works is best evaluated by considering the factual and living social circumstances in neo-colonized countries.

The compact definition of neo-colonialism could be formulated as such: the former colonizers changed their methods of occupying, controlling, and exploiting their former colonies. Instead of the territorial occupation, control and exploitation, now they hire proxies to carry out their previous colonial legacy and interest in the formerly colonized countries secretly and easily. These proxies may be individuals, a group of people, politicians, and military officers belonging to any race, ethnicity, religion or occupation. They work in their native countries on behalf of their neo-colonial bosses, who continue their imperial and neo-colonial aspiration without causing any scandalous disturbance in the public.

I think neo-colonialism should provide a conceptual and theoretical stance, by which the literature of the time can be extensively updated and revisited. It should not be underestimated that the study of literature by a foreign academic or non-native critic

contributes to the debate on neo-colonialism and its connotations. Neo-colonialism must be presented in contemporary literary studies concerning what authors and others feel or are perceived in the rest of the world, particularly in neo-colonial locations, where state and foreign priorities are frequently flouted with a consequent devastating impact on local communities. This also offers a vital context for examining works of literature based on the domestic façade of neo-colonial powers and international markets. Neo-colonial studies can help to maintain broader global political and economic coordination at a time when nationalist policies are a popular option for all governments. This will enable us to maintain political, social and economic relations and continuities at a time when struggles with colonial capitalism in the decolonized world continue.

It is certainly a fact that the mission narrative (quest of the protagonist) pervades Western conventions in the neo-colonial literature of Graham Greene. Moreover, Greene's novels concern the expansionist quest crafted by the forgery of Western imperial perceptions which Greene satirizes from time to time through his characters in the novels argued above, as well as his other novels. Despite this longstanding model, the novels are fundamentally satirical, demonstrating the capabilities of the author and the innovative characterization of Greene's modern style. These novels illustrate the interesting ways in which the deep metaphorical systems of Western culture and Western capitalism are both constructed and deconstructed. They depict the unfinished but transgressive struggle to remove imperialist convictions on colonized lands and peoples.

Graham Greene describes the internal realm of degradation and moral deterioration of the neo-colonizer in his books in general, filled with darkness and redemption, but eventually, he/she is rescued by the good side. This universe is not unique, it has the legacy of our universe and targets our dark fantasies. It centres on Greene's profoundly private, as much as unusual, view of the individual. These books are Greene's projects; thus, his protagonists are familiar because they fit into various psychological categories showing the driving forces in their life, inspired by Greene's real-life experiences. Some of the reasons for this are that human appearances inspire thought, love and sympathy, rather than an appreciation of the reader, using the qualities of human nature. Such characters are always exposed to infernal tensions aroused by the author. These characters and their adversaries are always overwhelmed

by an oppressive world. Greene's protagonists and antagonists are pitted against each other and mindful not only of their moral loss but also of their shame and sin of exploitation and treason.

As far as the researcher has observed, Greene built his storytelling on details: statistics, concise explanations, personal observations and quotes, with compact and deeper levels of meaning. This notion presented by Greene is used as an essential basis to provide support for this dissertation. Greene gradually prepares the reader for the disappointing conclusions of his stories after foreshadowing their implications. Greene's assumptions are often so dramatic that the reader is unable to consider them without evidence in the text. Because engagement was so crucial to him, Greene worked in a variety of ways on his personal information about plots, stories, facts, reports and experiences. Therefore, this variety of sources is the cornerstone of the rhetoric that prevails in his neo-colonial literary works.

Concerning the position of the author in the study, another conclusion drawn from this research is that Greene's stories are mixed with his real-life experiences in different neo-colonized lands, such as Vietnam and Cuba. This proves that these countries were infested with the traditions of the entertainment industry, nightlife, prostitution and places where low-life forms appeared and became dens for the neo-colonizers' soldiers, officials and espionage activities attracting international tourist flow into their cities. These countries and cities notoriously become centres for adventure-seeking Western men. This fact also prompts regular visits by many literary and scholarly people to such countries who noted down their memories of the place. Greene also uses these experiences in his novels, borrows and refers to many British novelists and literary critics.

During discussions of Greene and his novels, as the study has shown, a key element has often been ignored. It concerns the term "Third World" - a phrase Greene does not use but wants to legitimize in modern-political terms and its interpretation of society. The artificial introduction of this term is precise proof of how certain cultures, survivors of colonialism, the Western world and global powers' hegemony are regarded as a unified heritage. However, Greene is classified within the normal community of Western authors who view such cultures as culturally independent. Greene responds to moral and psychological universes that do not recognize the ambitions of communities and do not know Western traditions. Greene's novels also

demonstrate that several people must be desensitized by the exploiters to succeed in a Hobbesian outlook on life – a theory that promotes endless conflicts to achieve neo-colonization. This fact is instinctively applicable to the members of major economic organizations, international corporations, the CIA, political parties and mob cartels. Greene's novels insistently demonstrate that cynical evil dominates all those financial and political agencies and organizations that are specialists in the desensitization of their citizens via the media, TV shows, fake news and artificial chaos.

TQA is a literary text inspired by actual events in Vietnam where it is set. Greene visited and wrote about Vietnam while he was a correspondent there, and he is at his best when describing what happened to colonization strategies after the Second World War when the colonizers changed their strategies under public pressure. The novel is a close-knit portrait of the French-Indochina conflict, which explains its motivation and psychology at the levels of both neo-colonizing soldiers and neo-colonized lower classes. Consistent with Frantz Fanon's and Jean-Paul Sartre's violence against violence motto, neo-colonized peoples rise up as they try to free themselves from the exploitation and trappings of the new colonization strategy.

The neo-colonial voice in *TQA* is based on Pyle rather than Fowler as the narrator, or Graham Greene himself as the writer. Pyle is proud of his achievements when he realizes that the damage he causes as a neo-colonizer is out there, as it should be. He is not distressed by the gory sight of mutilated or decapitated corpses and the blood. Also, in most instances inside *TQA*'s story, the portrayal of disturbed individuals in the neo-colonized lands that Greene depicts is far from amusing. The CIA agent Alden Pyle in the novel, emotionally attached to his ideology as cruel as any antagonists in literary works, has much more complex attributions. The actions and reactions of Pyle, for example, demonstrate very clearly that emotionally devastated colonized people lack the capacity of understanding the evil intentions in the devastation and violent elimination of their rights in their homelands. Pyle's deep confidence in his strategic machinations and motives for assassination, that his superiors in the CIA have trained him to put into practice, allows him to react cold-bloodedly to the sight of innocents lying injured and dead from his bombings. His numbed nature permits him to keep a clear conscience, thus silencing any neo-colonial self-consciousness to restrain his actions. Greene managed to overcome this fact in his world, as demonstrated by his works that condemn such actions.

OMH can be read and studied in different ways by the reader, like any other narrative, according to the kind of perceptions they bring to the text. The plot uses various types of components and methods, along with a spy thriller, comedy of manner and romantic comedy. Many of the semantic aspects of Greene's previous works recur in this novel to influence the story and, particularly, see it as a symptomatic Greene novel: an easy-going setting and a narrator with a violent history. While *TQA* is exceptional in that it is one of the most popular works of all time, with a controversial message, *OMH* lets the intelligent reader examine how credible and sensitive the author has become. The book provides academics with a variety of subjects and messages that can be evaluated as anti-neo-colonial.

OMH and *TQA* reflect Greene's versatility and tolerance towards other communities, and his sincerity in understanding and honouring Asia and the Caribbean's originating traditions. His perception of social and military oppression is based on the peaceful peoples of the Caribbean and Southeast Asia. The results of neo-colonialism are characterized as unnatural integrations of both sides' cultures and traditions that are a cycle that has led to the success of the neo-colonizers' countries and is highly beneficial for their hegemony and rule. Greene's novel asserts that bi-racial and bi-national education weakens the native culture. The consequences are blatant materialism and uncontrolled dehumanization – two of the basic causes of degeneration in any society.

In *THC*, the key component is the fact that neo-colonial locations and countries are shown to be areas of risk, disorder, entertainment and narcotics that draw the low lives of the world to these places with their forms of leisure and immigration as in *TQA* and *OMH*. Undercover diplomats, abduction, anarchy, coup-planning, guerrilla activity and terrorism are all signs of a neo-colonial world. There are few choices left for peoples in the neo-colonized world. They are exposed to the lower criminal forms of life: Doctor Plarr, Father Rivas and Aquino are instances of this. Aquino, Plarr's father and Clara tell a different kind of story, of being brought up and stuck in poverty; they lead unhappy lives. Economic inequality is something that the neo-colonizing nation uses to drive the victimized country into instability and economic devastation of its infrastructure and trade networks, forcing certain areas of the country to be locked up and disadvantaged. Politicians fed by neo-colonizers give aid and money only to their followers so that the country becomes a satellite state. As in *TQA* and *OMH*, *THC*

contains anti-colonial remarks articulated by a character at the core of neo-colonial exploitation. In *TQA*, Fowler voices Greene's anti-colonial thinking, while Doctor Plarr in *THC* voices his rejection of neo-colonialism in the area where he lives. Unlike Fowler's critique of the American exploitative operation in Vietnam, Plarr is more critical of the idea of nationality and its implications.

Pyle and Fowler in *TQA*, Wormold and Hasselbacher in *OMH*, and Plarr and Fortnum in *THC* have similar roles in the story. Each of them plans to be a hero, and the other a villain, but at the end of the day, things get mixed up and they turn out to be good and bad in their way. Their discussions of and insights into neo-colonialism, life, love and other political issues resonate with each other in each story. They are political men with clear agendas, set either by the government or on their own, seeking to convince each other that they are doing the right thing for their own country and their cause. They are all involved in the shady business; they are still seeking personal gain and love after doing something for the neo-colonizers or their own countries. Whatever message Greene has about anti-colonial ideas in the novel, or whatever the characters and narrative tell us about the horrors of neo-colonialism and its consequences for the victims, at the end of the day, it is the neo-colonized and their sympathizers who have lost the game and died in grief without sympathy.

Charley, Plarr and Clara's love triangle is familiar to Fowler, Pyle and Phuong. There is a girl from a neo-colonial country, a young, pretty woman who is on the lookout for better living conditions watching out for any opportunities with colonizing men. The neo-colonizers compete to get a girl for her beauty rather than a genuine sense of love and devotion. While Plarr and Pyle are in the same place as lovers who want to take the girl away from older men, Charley and Fowler are the old ones who want to keep their lover away from young ambitious neo-colonizers, complicated by political problems that result in death and abduction. The mind-set and perceptions about women, love, sex and marriage in *TQA* and *THC* are similar because Plarr's and Fowler's ideals about women mirror each other in their roughness and lack of romanticism. The perspectives of Fowler and Plarr are distinct in the stories in which the lover of their adversary is kidnapped, and their feelings run in parallel with each other. Plarr feels he cannot fulfil the demands of passion; he is not ready for that kind of obligation.

One of Greene's most insightful observations in these novels is the complexity of his protagonist's psychology, in which definite insight is required for complete comprehension. This challenge mainly stems from narrative techniques, and in part, out of his ethical principles. The combination of power inside and outside the human soul generates a feeling of an unseen requirement for evil action, which seems to regulate the main characters' decisions in *THC*, *OMH* and *TQA*. It is driven by a Christian and perhaps a spiritual code in Greene's memories, or by irrational anxieties and wishes in his subconscious mind. The power of systemic racism, cruelty, crime and corruption which embody the fading authority of wickedness in colonization is difficult to reverse. This wicked authority depicted in the novels is represented by the head of the police force in the neo-colonized country who is under the total control of the dictator. Characters like Vigot in *TQA*, Captain Segura in *OMH* and Colonel Perez in *THC* are figures who are essentially evil people pursuing their interests and better positions, regardless of the humiliation they impose on their fellow citizens.

Neo-colonialism has been used effectively by the Western world under the cover of democracy, human rights and preventing the repression of authoritarian and Communist regimes. Moreover, neo-colonialism has tried to hide its support for loyal intermediaries, whose tyranny is tolerated and ignored to preserve the geopolitical influence of the neo-colonial powers. Cold-War policies and the media disclose and prevent a closer look at and investigation of these inhumane policies for the sake of neo-colonizing powers. Against this new exploitation concept, voices of justice and order from the neo-colonized world and a few humanitarian organizations have been ignored by the mainstream media, writers, and journalists, except in some specific occurrences that gave voice to the exploited world. This dissertation is an expression of these realities unnoticed by politicians, academicians, writers and readers of literature. The neo-colonized world of Greene's novels artistically represents and divulges these realities and experiences to the reader. It includes fictional representations of the exploited and oppressed people in neo-colonial societies, as well as those who seek repentance by the neo-colonizer, cornered by the machinations of vicious power blocs.

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