

T.C
İSTANBUL UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN LANGUAGES & LITERATURES
ENGLISH LANGUAGE & LITERATURE
POSTGRADUATE THESIS

TOTALITARIAN PRACTISES & IDEOLOGICAL
APPARATUSES OF
THE WORLD STATE & THE PARTY

UTKU GÜREL

2501070280

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İSTANBUL 2010



T.C.
İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ



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Enstitümüz İNGİLİZ DİLİ VE EDEBİYATI Bilim Dalında ders dönemindeki Eğitim - Öğretim Programını başarı ile tamamlayan 2501070280 numaralı UTKU GÜREL'İN hazırladığı "TOTALİTARİAN PRACTISES & IDEOLOGICAL APPARATUSES OF THE WORLD STATE & THE PARTY" konulu YÜKSEK LİSANS/ ~~DOKTORA TEZİ~~ ile ilgili TEZ SAVUNMA SINAVI, Lisansüstü Öğretim Yönetmeliği'nin 15.Maddesi uyarınca 26.10.2010 SALI günü saat 10.30 de yapılmış, sorulan sorulara alınan cevaplar sonunda adayın tezininne* OYBİRLİĞİ /OYÇOKLUĞUYLA karar verilmiştir. KABUL

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ABSTRACT

TOTALITARIAN PRACTISES & IDEOLOGICAL APPARATUSES OF THE WORLD STATE & THE PARTY

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In the eyes of the state, an individual is a simple subject who needs to be indoctrinated with the official ideology of the nation. Every totalitarian regime has its own code of subjugating and oppressing the individual identity. In my thesis, I will focus on the totalitarian practices and ideological indoctrinations carried out by the World State in Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* and the Party in George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. I will demonstrate which of these methods are really accomplished by the governments in the 20th and 21st century and whether Huxley's or Orwell's predictions are compatible with them. In the last chapter, I will try to prove that Huxley's predictions are more accurate because he realized that global capitalism integrated with science and technology would eventually dominate the world, and a degenerated society feeding on trivial activities, consumerism and images of popular culture would be the victims of the state. Whereas, Orwell's fascist nation-state deprived of the global trade and economic welfare can not survive after the collapse of the Soviet Block.

ÖZ

DÜNYA DEVLETİ'NİN VE PARTİ'NİN TOTALİTER YÖNTEMLERİ VE İDEOLOJİK AYGITLARI

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Devletin gözünde birey, ülkenin resmi ideolojisinin telkin edilmesine muhtaç basit bir öznedir. Her totaliter rejimin bireysel kimliği baskı altına almak ve zapt etmek için kendine has kaideleri vardır. Tezimde, Aldous Huxley'nin *Cesur Yeni Dünya* romanında geçen Dünya Devleti ve George Orwell'ın Bin Dokuz Yüz Seksen Dört isimli romanındaki Parti'nin başvurduğu totaliter yöntemlere ve ideolojik telkin uygulamalarına odaklanacağım. 20. ve 21. yüzyıl hükümetlerinin bu yöntemlerden hangilerini kullandıklarını ve Huxley'nin ya da Orwell'ın öngörülerinin bu yöntemlerden hangileri ile bağdaştığını açıklayacağım. En son bölümde ise, Huxley'nin öngörülerinin daha isabetli olduğunu kanıtlamaya çalışacağım çünkü Huxley Küresel Kapitalizmin bilim ve teknoloji ile bütünleşerek dünya'ya hakim olacağını ve popüler kültür imgeleri, aşırı tüketim ve bayağı etkinlikler ile beslenen yozlaşmış bir toplumun devletin kurbanı olacağını kavramıştı. Halbuki, Orwell'ın küresel ticaret ve iktisadi refahdan yoksun olan faşist ulus devleti Sovyet Blok'unun dağılmasından sonra varlığını sürdüremez.

FOREWORD

This thesis was written during the time from autumn 2009 until autumn 2010, under the teaching supervision of Assistant Professor Canan Şavkay.

Nineteen Eighty-Four and *Brave New World* are politically and sociologically intense texts; it is required to know various disciplines of political orientations, technological developments and socio-economical theories in order to write a thesis about the methods of the totalitarian states in both novels. My thesis gave me the chance of reading distinct books from Marxist and Post-Marxist theories to Psychoanalytic and from Postmodernism to Popular Culture.

I want to thank my supervisor Assistant Professor Canan Şavkay for her help and advices.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ISA: Ideological State Apparatuses

1. INTRODUCTION

Totalitarianism was the most dominant revolution in the 20th century. It appeared in various forms in different nation-states. The reason behind the rise of totalitarian states was the rapid development in technology, science and mechanization of production. After the industrial revolution, governments armed with mass communication devices in order to propagate their ideology and advanced their technological equipments for surveillance. Improvements in psychology and behaviorism made the states realize that human beings' biological entity was impotent to conditioning and programming like a machine.

Classical Marxism and Anarchist Theories of the 19th century regarded the state as a mechanism privileging the bourgeoisie and suppressing the rest of the society with the help of its repressive forces in Althusserian terms. But Aldous Huxley and George Orwell were conscious of the ideological apparatuses and indoctrination practices of the totalitarianism. Their approach tended to speculate on the future of the 20th century despotism by predicting the forthcoming opportunities that technology and science offer to the authorities.

It has been twenty-six years since the Orwell's dystopian year passed but we have still much time for the year A.D 2540 in which Huxley's novel takes place. Most of the critics and literary theorists agree that Huxley and Orwell predicted similar dystopian imaginaries and state systems in their novels. That argument oversimplifies the issue because totalitarianism requires much more than a dictator, law enforcement forces and courts. The Party in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and the World State in *Brave New World* demonstrate two distinct ways of individual oppression. The former depends on nationalism, propaganda, violation of privacy and abolition of sexual desires, the latter depends on globalization, consumerism, hedonist conformity, and sexual liberty. The dichotomy between the ideological structures of the states is derived from the different concerns and anxieties of Huxley and Orwell.

What Orwell feared were those who would ban books. What Huxley feared was that there would be no reason to ban a book for there would be no one who wanted to read

one. Orwell feared those who would deprive us of information. Huxley feared those who would give us so much that we would be reduced to passivity and egoism. Orwell feared that the truth would be concealed from us. Huxley feared that the truth would be drowned in a sea of irrelevance. Orwell feared we would become a captive culture. Huxley feared we would become a trivial culture.¹

Huxley's dystopia is the futuristic version of "Jazz Age America"², but Orwell's state is an "extrapolation from the totalitarian regimes"³ of 1940s.

The traditional Marxist theories of Marx, Engels and Gramsci remain incapable of analyzing the complicated structure of the Huxley's high-tech and futuristic World State and Orwell's propagandist and surveillant organization, the Party. Unlike the political theorists who define what totalitarianism is, Huxley and Orwell define what totalitarianism will be. Hence I will apply for the theoretical approaches of Louis Althusser, Frankfurt School Theorists; Herbert Marcuse and Theodor Adorno and Neil Postman. These critics are also the pioneers of Post-Marxist theory which formed a new approach to the analysis of state hegemony in terms of examining the power of private corporations, communication methods and social discourses.

The World State and the Party use science and technology as a means of total control. Every state is an enemy of individuality and tends to induce individual to become a passive subject of its own. Totalitarian practices of both states apply for subjugating individual identity. We have already faced most of the Orwellian methods of oppression in the Cold War era but now our present society is getting closer to the point which Huxley predicts. With the impact of globalization and total control of open market economy, Orwell's isolated and patriotic nation-state conception has lost its validity. Huxley's post-capitalist World State fits to our present global economy. 21st century is not the age of scarcity, anguish, fear and political conflicts but is the age of hedonism, entertainment, excess consumption and the absolute hegemony of capitalism. Our socio-cultural identities are scarcely shaped by the family members or educational institutions of the state but mostly

¹ Neil Postman, **Amusing Ourselves to Death Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business**, New York, Penguin, 2005, p.xix

² Thomas M. Disch, **The Dreams Our Stuff is Made: How Science Fiction Conquered the World**, New York, Touchstone, 2000, p.91

³ Adam Roberts, **The History of Science Fiction**, Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p.208

influenced by the adverts, manipulations and instructions of the multi-national corporations. Orwell feared that we would be imprisoned by a despotic state. But we are becoming the victims of our own nonintellectual lifestyle full of trivial activities and getting preoccupied with the conceptions of popular culture which is very close to subvert high culture. Huxley's dystopia is becoming our reality.

2. BRAVE NEW WORLD

Brave New World was first initiated as a parody of H.G. Wells's utopian novel *Men Like Gods* which was about a world where there is only one world government ruling a technologically advanced society, but the novel's main theme was altered and extended by the scientific and capitalist developments in the first quarter of the 20th century. Unlike *Men Like Gods* and Wells's other utopian writings that refer science and technology as the saviors of human race from illnesses, poverty and labor, *Brave New World* is written as a dystopian fiction which mocks men's never-ending enthusiasm for an utopian lifestyle and contains a satiric attack on the technophilic tendencies of the 20th century people who praised the rapid development in the process of scientific discoveries and mechanization. Similar to the other novels in the genre of dystopian fiction, *Brave New World* demonstrates possible futuristic predictions threatening the freedom and free will of citizens for the sake of social harmony, economic stability and welfare of the nation. Stability of the World State depends on unconscious obedience of its citizens manipulated by conditioning, usage of semi-narcotic drugs and hypnopedia sessions.

The novel is a warning which is exposing the forthcoming perils of Americanization, mass production and globalization upon British society. The setting of the book is set in a distant future, in the Fordian Calendar, 632 years After Ford. Borders and nations are abolished by the global impact of capitalism, thus the entire world becomes one World State which is a specific epitome of Americanization. Citizens are bombarded by advertisement and manipulation for excess consuming in order to maintain the steadiness of the economy. Religion is abolished. Ceremonies of Catholic, Anglican or Protestant churches are replaced by the rituals that memorialize Henry Ford who is the omnipotent eternal leader of the materialist World State. In the history of open market economy and American lifestyle Henry Ford can be regarded as the prophet of mass production, American car trend and vast motorways. Individual hand crafting method was overwhelmed by Ford's invention of assembly line which

enormously advanced mechanization and mass production process; therefore cars came into popular usage and became affordable for most of the US citizens. Model T was the first mass produced car in history, and in the novel, it is regarded as a relic;

“Symbolically, the top portion of the cross has been removed to form the sign of the T in honor of Ford’s Model T. This change is indicative of the high esteem Huxley satirically accords to science and the machine in his society.”¹.

T sign has symbolic significance in the social discourse of the World State citizens because Model T is regarded as the crucial product that reconciles mechanized vehicles and technology with daily life. Motor car not only refers to consuming habit of individuals but also symbolizes the integration of biological human body with mechanics. Industrialization creates men like machines whose lives depend on the performance, stability and effectiveness of mechanized production. J.G Ballard who is the writer of *Crash* (1971) in which he brilliantly reveals how man is integrated into a motor car and metamorphosed into a mechanized object, exposes the relation between cars and mankind in the voiceover transcription of his book in 1971;

I think the key image of the 20th century is the man in the motor car. It sums up everything: the elements of speed, drama, aggression, the junction of advertising and consumer goods with the technological landscape. The sense of violence and desire, power and energy; the shared experience of moving together through an elaborately signalled landscape.²

Anxieties of Aldous Huxley are justified by the psychoanalytic assumptions of J.G. Ballard who has pointed out the impact of cars as the embodiment of 20th century. Even the Christian Cross is replaced by the sign of Model T in Huxley’s world in order to emphasize the fetishism of motor cars in urbanized places.

¹ William Matter, “Utopia isn’t All It’s Cracked Up to Be, **Readings on Brave New World**, Ed. by Katie De Koster, San Diego, Greenhaven, 1999, p.61.

² James G. Ballard, **Crash! Voiceover Transcription (1971)**, August 10, 2007, <http://www.ballardian.com/crash-voiceover-transcription-1971>, January 18, 2010.

Economy and capitalism are feeding on the rapid development process of science and technology. The more new mechanic items are invented by scientists, the more brand new items we buy and consume. Technology is integrated into the economy for the profit of multi-national companies rather than the benefit of mankind. Day by day our environment is besieged by mechanized items, vehicles and devices. Everything is becoming mechanized, therefore the generations of the World State do not object mechanized breeding called “Bokanovsky’s Process”³ in Central Hatcheries where the people are mass-produced.

“Speculating on the American future, we are speculating on the future of civilized man.”⁴ Huxley said when he foresaw that Americanization would eventually conquer the modern age. *Brave New World* is not only a satire about American way of life in the cities located at the Western Coast of USA in the 1920s and 1930s but also a futuristic novel speculating on the possible resembles of all major cities around the world which regard Anglo-Capitalist urbanization as a prototype. Advertisement bombardment, rushing people, consuming habit and rejection of non-capitalist norms are the central aspects of both World State and many of the metropolises that we live in right now. Although entertainment of every sort from television to shopaholic habits and from religious activity to other spiritual deeds is playing important role, it is hard to trace any intellectual life decorated by artistic or philosophical arguments among citizens. Rather than being independent individuals with various interests, intellectuality, mentality and personality, people are standardized in order to turn them into passive spectators whose interests are identically the same. There is no need to travel into the future to find the World State, because some of its aspects already exist in the Western metropolises since the postwar period of the 1920s. Americanization is an inevitable consequence in a world where all the countries denounce socialist nation-states in the interwar period and communist block in the Cold War era as the evil powers and take over American way of liberal open market economy and capitalist ideology. Americanization is a synonym for

³ Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.2.

⁴ Aldous Huxley, “The Outlook for American Culture: Some Reflections in a Machine Age”, **Complete Essays, Volume-III**, Ed. by. Robert S. Baker and James Sexton, Chicago, I. R. Dee, 2001, p.185.

standardization and degeneration for Huxley. In the novel, the word “standardization” means the rejection of the entire history of pre-capitalist civilizations, socio-cultural conventions of all ethnic groups and nations so the controllers of the World State manage to reverse traditional historical discourse and rewrite a brand new one purged from all of the written history books, documentaries and chronicles. Mustapha Mond declares to his students that “you all remember, I suppose, that beautiful and inspired saying of Our Ford’s: History is bunk.”⁵ Old institutions and government agencies are reestablished by the technocrats of the World State to alienate citizens from their historical and cultural background in order to condition them to approve Fordian discourse as the major doctrine of happiness and stability. Most of the totalitarian governments in human history intend to destroy previous discourses of the opposite ideologies; for example the Third Reich not only committed genocide upon Jewish people but also aimed to demolish all the documents, records and registrations of them in order to purge Jewish discourse from German history forever. The most vital duty of the World Controllers in *Brave New World* is to keep people unaware of the documents and records of former cultures, civilizations and nations, thus to fortify the ideological structure of the World State.

Huxley says in an essay called *The Outlook for American Culture: Some Reflections in a Machine Age* that “the higher the degree of standardization in popular literature and art, the greater the profit for the manufacturer.”⁶ The most problematic point in the American dream is that all the intellectual and technological developments are integrated into consumerism. Consumerism is a capitalist theory indicating that increasing consumption is always beneficial for the financial status of the companies and the central government so creating stereotypical individuals whose habits of consuming led by the concepts of popular culture is the main national program of United States, most of our contemporary governments today and the fictional World State. Standardized man is exalted by assimilating distinct ethnicities, cultural

⁵ Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.29.

⁶ Aldous Huxley, “The Outlook for American Culture: Some Reflections in a Machine Age”, **Complete Essays, Volume-III**, Ed. by. Robert S. Baker and James Sexton, Chicago, I. R. Dee, 2001, p.189.

differences and high culture or high art. Therefore, a mono-cultured civilization practicing the Capitalist Anglo-American lifestyle triumphs over all the other cultural discourses in the world. The extra-ordinary one feels alienated like an outcast and is forced to become a stereotypical one as the authenticity, ethnicity, intellectual depth of high culture are completely undermined and abused by the common people. Similar to the current arguments of mass culture critics who claim that “mass culture will eventually subvert high culture”⁷ in Huxley’s Fordian future, high culture and cultural differences are subverted; uniqueness and distinctiveness are not tolerated anymore because popular culture becomes the sole culture. Any distinct individual behavior and unorthodox thoughts about sexuality, community events and consumerism are regarded as punishable offenses in the World State. Everybody is supposed to be obedient to the duties and necessities of being a World State citizen. For example; Bernard Marx and Helmholtz Watson stand as a threat against social order and stability because they do not conform Alpha obligations due to Bernard’s opposition to soma usage, orgies, sport activities and Helmholtz’s inner desire that makes him enthusiastic about writing aesthetic and sentimental verses in propaganda poems rather than glorifying the images of popular culture and benefits of capitalism and consumerism.

All the citizens must suppress their inner thoughts and emotions opposing the main ideology of the State and they are manipulated to sacrifice their free will and individuality for the sake of World State’s uniformity, solidarity and constancy. However, as the examples of Bernard and Helmholtz demonstrate that not all the citizens, especially the Alphas are very attentive about following the rules of the appropriate decorum because they can not restrain the emotional instincts of their personalities in spite of the propaganda apparatuses of the central government.

Despite all the attempts of biochemistry and psychological conditioning in order to subjugate characteristics of the citizens and drive them out of autonomy, particular aspects of personality and individuality still survive. Hence *Brave New World* is not completely a pessimistic and hopeless novel in spite of the fact that capitalism and

⁷ Dominic Strinati, **An Introduction to Theories of Popular Culture**, London: Routledge, 2005, p.207.

popular culture will proceed to expand and standardization will hasten by the rise of Americanization. By the unusual responses of Alphas, the novel represents that free will, intellectual enlightenment and process of humanism are not halted.

The regime of power uses every means to destroy any kind of identity and subjectivity for sustaining control over society but “there will always be a few people for whom the things of the mind are so vitally important that they will not, they simply can not allow them to be overwhelmed.”⁸ The novel presents Bernard Marx and Helmholtz Watson as restless characters seeking for a new identity and consciousness rather than holding fanatical beliefs in technology and hedonism as the only true ideologies, however out of this false utopian illusion there is no alternative ideology and identity prototypes with which Bernard and Helmholtz can identify themselves because the World State abolishes every concept of thought and discourse except for the ones belonging to its main culture. Bernard Marx begins to realize that he is distinct from most of the Alphas because too much alcohol was accidentally injected in his blood surrogate. Helmholtz Watson is born with extraordinary intelligence and artistic talents that drive his mind to think about distinct conceptualizations and alternative worldviews so he manages to step out of his conditioning. The two nonconformists become fully aware of the fake utopian illusion of the World State by the help of their innate ability of comprehension, nevertheless society gives them no opportunity to express themselves so they suffer from the lack of expressing their feelings and being alienated from society due to their weird manners. Both Bernard and Helmholtz neither adapt themselves to the lifestyle of the World State nor negotiate their rebellious self with the conditioned self. Bernard hopelessly endeavors to establish a monogamous relationship with Lenina; Helmholtz forces himself inefficaciously to come up with new verses which are not indoctrinated by the official ideology of the World State so he attempts to think and comprehend new forms of ideas. Until both men are brought before Mustapha Mond at the end of the book, they lack the absence of companions and feel the bitterness of alienation and solidarity but Mustapha Mond’s speech to Helmholtz

⁸ Aldous Huxley, **Music at Night and Other Essays**, North Stratford, NH: Ayer, 2000, p.208-209.

reveals that self-consciousness is not rare among citizens, instead the World State controllers need to restructure most of the islands as prisons for the self-conscious people to be exiled. Mond says that:

“It is lucky, he added, after a pause, that there are such a lot of islands in the world. I don’t know what we should do without them. Put you all in lethal chamber, I suppose.”⁹

The government of the World State exiles the unorthodoxies to remote islands to let them lead a small community life. Contrary to the despotic political fanatics of the Party in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the World Controllers are reasonable scientists who value human existence and avoid carrying out inhuman punishment methods.

2.1 THE HEGEMONY OF SCIENCE & TECHNOCRACY

“*Brave New World* opens with a vision of unnaturally induced birth and closes with an artificially contrived death.”¹⁰ The Similarity between birth and death in the beginning and at the end of the book refers that science and technology give birth to a new materialist state which destroys human nature by suffocating the self-conscious individual in an artificial universe. Like the birth process accomplished by the multiple breeding techniques from one egg and mass produced embryos in tubes, John’s suicide at the end is artificial and man-made. In the first chapter, narration is scientifically terminological and the speech of the Director of the Hatcheries and Conditioning Center refers to the significance of artificial birth but at the end romantic narration is used to emphasize John’s melodramatic mood in the solitary island and the irony of his artificial death in nature.

The novel opens with an introduction scene in which the Director of the Hatcheries and Conditioning Center giving a lecture to the students about the technical

⁹ Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.201.

¹⁰ Robert S. Baker, **Brave New World: History, Science, and Dystopia**. Boston, Twayne, 1990, p.79.

process of producing children in the Central London Hatchery. The center is the ultimate achievement of scientific revolution in human history because it entirely displaces natural breeding which is vulnerable to hereditary illnesses and genetic deformity. The depiction of the Center emphasizes on its artificiality and how it excludes nature; only “a harsh thin light glared through the windows, hungrily seeking some draped lay figure, some pallid shape of academic goose-flesh, but finding only the glass and nickel and bleakly shining porcelain of a laboratory.”¹¹ Birth cycle and natural reproduction are displaced by genetic engineering and the World State’s mastery of human anatomy.

The tour in the central is scientifically didactic and aims to demonstrate how technology duplicates birth process. The novel’s opening chapter is placed in the fertilizing room, and then it proceeds through the bottling room, the social predestination room, the embryo store, the decanting room and ends at the nursery. The tour is an educational demonstration of fertilization, pregnancy and birth, aiming to instruct basic principles of the artificial birth and breeding. Children are not born in this center, rather they are mass produced. Henry Foster, administrator of the Hatchery explains the process that the eggs are gathered from the healthy ovaries of fertile women who were conditioned to be donators in their hypnopedia sessions, and then they are put into test tubes to be injected sperms under the control of expert scientist. Artificial fertilization is healthier, more stable and efficient than traditional biological pregnancy. The World State subverts cultural symbolism of womb because “the female womb has certainly, always and everywhere, been a child’s first and most satisfying house, a source of food and dark security, and therefore a mythic paradise imaged over and over again in sacred caves, secret shrines, consecrated huts.”¹² Contrary to Gilbert and Gubar’s identification of womb as the sacred symbol in literature and culture, the discourse of the World State profanes the traditional identification of womb and motherhood. The womb is regarded as a precarious and unstable organ that threatens the

¹¹ Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.1.

¹² Sandra M. Gilbert, and Susan Gubar. **The Madwoman in the Attic: the Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-century Literary Imagination**. New Haven, Yale UP, 2000, p.88.

physical and mental health of human beings. Pregnancy and motherhood are regarded as grotesque images required to be excluded from social structure. The laboratory becomes a scientific womb displacing the maternal nature and her fertilizing function; that's why Huxley emphasizes the artificiality and coldness of the lab in the first chapter of the book; "Cold for all the summer beyond the panes, for all the tropical heat of the room itself, a harsh thin light glared through the windows, hungrily seeking some draped lay figure, some pallid shape of academic goose-flesh, but finding only the glass and nickel and bleakly shining porcelain of a laboratory."¹³ In spite of the artificial tropical heat, laboratory is depicted as a cold and material place just simulating the light of nature but not its warmth. Artificial light in the laboratory is "frozen, dead, a ghost."¹⁴ The laboratory is represented as a distorted imitation of nature that creates mutilated and genetically deformed organisms. Therefore the World State displaces the romantic symbolism of Mother Nature with scientific materialism.

Indeed, there are two main principles of the World State in the child birth process; the first one is to mechanize breeding and birth in order to stabilize the hierarchical caste system; and the second principle which is the more vital one is to expel father and mother imagery from the minds of its citizens, therefore their characteristics are conceived by science not by women and men. Children are born with the lack of mother-father figures and role-models, moreover all their intellectual and psychological traits and their future are determined even when they are in the embryo form by injecting specific chemicals. In a world where mother and father roles are absent and nature is mastered by science, the World State becomes the only omnipotent uniting and inspiring force that keeps the whole world connected. This artificial high-tech dystopia of mankind is the utopia of technocratic dictators who dream of a materialist social order claiming mastery over nature which they regard as the chaotic and unbalanced ruin of God.

¹³ Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.1.

¹⁴ Ibid

Thomas, the Director, is the spokesperson of the World State's manifesto of technology and science; he often praises the motto: "Community, Identity, Stability". The motto is always repeated and reminds the standard principles and technocratic idealism of the government. It is a key element for constantly conditioning the community in order to make them obedient to the norms of the World State. The motto is symbolically a formula indicating the possible methods for an ideal community; Technological and Economical Stability + Standardized Identity = Obedient Community lacking self-consciousness and free will. This slogan functions "as a reassuring ritual bonding the members of the society to each other."¹⁵

As it is stated above, the World State's scientific ideology lacks rationalism, logical positivism and humanity. Science and technology are reconciled in order to form the basis of totalitarianism, not the basis of liberty and social benefit. The Central London Hatchery is not a research facility or a laboratory for experimental inquiry, but a human factory in which productions are cautiously observed and checked by the guards of the government. "Surrounded by the mass-produced creatures of the Hatchery, the Director is a kind of Victor Frankenstein supervising the production of a wholly transformed and monstrous race."¹⁶ Rather than formulating theories on science or developing technology, the primary concern and duty of Thomas is to preserve the current production method. He is an overseer not a rational scientist. Technocratic ideology is very pragmatic and utilitarian; it depends on applied science but does not tend to focus on pure science, theoretical approaches and rational experiments that modernize and elevate human civilization. The World State's scientific manifesto is not empiric, rational, positivist and humanist but oppressive, despotic, scholastic and platonic.

Plato's concept of the philosophical king is adopted by the technocratic controllers in the World State. The Ideology of Huxleyan dystopia has similar aspects with Plato's philosophical system of governing. In *The Republic* Plato claims that;

¹⁵ David Seed, "Aldous Huxley: Brave New World", **A Companion to Science Fiction**, Ed. by David Seed, Malden Mass, Blackwell, 2008, p.498.

¹⁶ Robert S. Baker, **Brave New World: History, Science, and Dystopia**. Boston, Twayne, 1990, p.81.

“Until philosophers are kings, or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy, and political greatness and wisdom meet in one, and those commoner natures who pursue either to the exclusion of the other are compelled to stand aside, cities will never have rest from their evils,-- nor the human race, as I believe,--and then only will this our State have a possibility of life and behold the light of day.”¹⁷

When Plato’s utopian thought is put into practice, it turns into a dystopia in *Brave New World*. The philosopher’s talent of seeing the two separate worlds or realms; the visible world and the intelligible world, assign them with the ability of gathering the perfect forms of thoughts from the intelligible world. In *Brave New World*, the World Controllers are the futurist philosophers and scientists who can discriminate the visible world of nature and the artificial world of technology. Foreseeing the new type of genetically advanced human anatomy that science offers, they regard nature as the distorted reflection of the primitive civilizations. The Fordian technocrats legitimize their anti-democratic authority by the power of scientific philosophy that saves society from the dangers of the natural visible world. Citizens or commoners as in Plato’s terminology pursue obediently their leaders’ philosophy not because they are compelled but because they are conditioned and manipulated. The World State’s adaptation of Plato’s theory is anti-democratic and centralist as it aims to confine commoners and arms governors with superior authority. However, in spite of all the Bokanovsky and Pavlovian methods to manipulate the society, there are always exceptional individuals who are emotionally or intellectually frustrated by the restrictions and banal socio-cultural way of life that the State offers, like Bernard Marx and Helmholtz Watson. Human beings are not as common as Plato thinks in terms of their intellectual, artistic and emotional aspects. Plato offers a philosopher government, for him “democracy passes into despotism”¹⁸ as the democracy privileges demagogues; indeed Plato’s skepticism on the future of the democratic system is justified in *Brave New World*

¹⁷ Plato, **The Republic**, Book V.

¹⁸ Ibid.

because the democratic states of the 21st century turn into an oligarchic World State which is governed by technocratic demagogues.

As we know from Mond that the World Controllers comprehend pre-modern philosophies and cultures for a better understanding of chaos and the lack of order in human history. Both Platon's philosopher king and Huxley's controllers aim is to "preserve stability and happiness of the state by"¹⁹ all means according to their ideal norms. They are privileged leaders to whom there is no juridical mechanism overpowering their absolute control in order to deprive them of political inequality. They have the right to lie to people, mislead them with propaganda and form a caste system in order to restrain them.

As I stated above, the World State's ideology tends to make people unconscious citizens by mutating, classifying and then locating them into particular classes in the caste system as Alphas, Betas, Gammas, Deltas, and Epsilons. Social stability is achieved by the order of the hierarchal system in which citizens are programmed genetically and mentally to take part. Specialists in the Hatchery and Conditioning Center work to make children get used to their obligated future life by conditioning them to be conformist, conservative and traditionalist, because absolute obedience to the caste system is also necessary for a happy and virtuous life. Henry Foster explains technically how predestination and conditioning works and states that children will inevitably love their class by saying; "our colleagues will teach them to love it,"²⁰ The Director concludes that the acceptance of the caste system and social structure are the only ways of happiness and virtuousness. "All conditioning aims at that: making people like their unescapable social destiny."²¹

A caste system is different from a class system. "A class system allows for the possibility of class conflict because of the differing interests of the various classes."²²

¹⁹ Peter Edgerly Firchow, **The End of Utopia: A Study of Aldous Huxley's Brave New World**, Lewisburg, Bucknell UP, 1984, p.115.

²⁰ Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.12.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Peter Edgerly Firchow, **The End of Utopia: A Study of Aldous Huxley's Brave New World**, Lewisburg, Bucknell UP, 1984, p.112.

However a caste system “obviates such conflict because each caste is genetically and socially conditioned to function without conflict.”²³ As the Director says, being a member in the caste system is inescapable. According to Marx, capitalist class system in the industrial societies of the Western World eventually causes class conflicts between the bourgeoisie and proletariat so the World State reconcile Eastern hierarchical system of caste with Western Capitalism. But the Alphas are exceptions as they do not undergo the process of genetic engineering and behaviorist conditioning because they are allowed to have self-consciousness to a certain degree to rule the rest of the society. While the nonconformist Alphas who endanger the society are removed, the conformist ones preserve their high status in the society.

Henry Foster is the administrator in the center and in charge of the production program. His speeches mainly focus on the technical details about the production program and conditioning, and how it dislocates natural production. Foster is a stereotypical scientist believing in the paragon of genetic engineering which has perfected the flawed anatomy of human beings. Science and technology take mankind “out of the realm of mere slavish imitation of nature into much more interesting world of human invention.”²⁴

Second chapter of the book introduces education and discipline techniques inherited by the behaviorist psychologist of the 20th century; Ivan Pavlov and John B. Watson. Pavlov’s theories of conditioning and involuntary reflex actions are the crucial factor in training Delta infants for particular situations, and Watson’s theory of behaviorism focuses on the external responses and reactions of human beings towards given situations. Both the views of Pavlov and Watson agitated contemporary thoughts on psychoanalytic and individualism because they “led to a reduction of human behavior to the laws of physics and chemistry.”²⁵ These disciplines of science identified human beings as responsive and manageable humanoids. “Such predictable and testable

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.10.

²⁵ Robert S. Baker, **Brave New World: History, Science, and Dystopia**. Boston, Twayne, 1990, p.88-89.

laws underlay Watson's psychology, which was premised on the belief that mind or consciousness was confined to psychological responses to external stimuli."²⁶ Therefore science is used to create predictable and limited individuals whose stimulations are programmed to activate in particular cases. Most of the totalitarian governments of 20th century like Mussolini's National Fascist Party or Hitler's National Socialist German Worker's Party invoked despotic and suppressive actions against the disciples of the opposing political orientations in order to eliminate or assimilate them and maintain the national unity of the Third Reich and Italy, whereas the World State scientists attempt to study the sources of personal opposition by examining specific mental and physical responses to particular situations, therefore they have the accessibility to condition human mind and make it avoid opposing behaviors and thoughts threatening the unity and political norms of the World State. Autocratic governments can advance further in keeping citizens in line if they cooperate with the scientific developments. In his book *The Impact of Science on Society*, Bertrand Russell states that;

“It is to be expected that advances in physiology and psychology will give governments much more control over individual mentality than they now have even in totalitarian countries. Fichte laid it down that education should aim at destroying free will, so that, after pupils have left school, they shall be incapable, throughout the rest of their lives, of thinking or acting otherwise than as their schoolmasters would have wished.”²⁷

Science can provide utmost control over individual identity that every dictator dreams of. Reforming genetic codes and conditioning deflect people from being self-conscious about the exploitation of the government. The traditional totalitarian governments are required to have the loyalty of armed forces to protect its hegemonic existence, censor mass-media, spread propaganda for persuasion and control educational institutions. All these apparatuses can be kept under control by giving a high standard of life to armed forces than workers for their loyalty, strictly restraining media with laws, carrying out a propaganda procedure and promoting adherent people

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Bertrand Russell, **The Impact of Science On Society**, New York, AMS Press, 1993, p.49-50.

in schools and universities. However the World State only applies for the improvements in science and technology to have entire authority on citizens. Armed forces do not even exist and advertisements and mass media are the new types of propaganda. After changing the biochemical content of embryos in the Hatcheries and then the conditioning and hypnopedia processes in primary education institutions, pupils can never be capable of being self-conscious or realizing the oppression of the State. They can not think of any idea, belief or concept that the government conditioned them not to think of and banishes from social discourse so citizens are supposed to believe that they are happy because they are programmed to believe that they are so. There are no limits or moral boundaries for a totalitarian government with the scientific bent because human anatomy can be reshaped by science and programmed to innately form tendencies toward particular discourses, cultures and ideologies.

After representing biological process of breeding, chapter two demonstrates the psychological step of conditioning by behaviorist techniques in Neo-Pavlovian Conditioning Rooms decorated with marble “as pale as death, pale as posthumous whiteness.”²⁸ Children are subjected to electric shocks and shrilling sirens when they attempt to touch flowers and books, thus the infants associate these grim cacophonies and glittering flashes with the image of flowers and books throughout their life. After this conditioning process;

“They’ll grow up with what the psychologists used to call an instinctive hatred of books and flowers. Reflexes unalterably conditioned. They’ll be safe from books and botany all their lives.”²⁹

Delta children are not allowed to read books because reading something may “undesirably decondition one of their reflexes.”³⁰ Individual thought and intellectual advancement derived from reading texts may stimulate and evoke consciousness among

²⁸ Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.15.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.18.

Deltas and other lower caste people, so the World State forbids books. Moreover, conditioning has also an economic reason. The Director explains that;

“We condition the masses to hate the country. But simultaneously we condition them to love all country sports”³¹

The economic stability of the Word State depends on society’s propensity for excess consuming and high-priced activities. By manipulating people to spend excess money on transportation and expensive sports like golf or flying aero planes, the government keeps financial market dynamic and active all the time.

In his book *One-Dimensional Man*, Herbert Marcuse indicates that alien needs and excess consumption are the causes of mass deception. Individuals release their time and money to afford alien needs which are subsidiary things.³² In the novel, the World State provides the society with high-priced alien needs in order to induce citizens spend their time on apolitical and non-philosophical activities. While freedom of thought and intellectuality are undermined, freedom of ignorance and consuming are glorified by the government. This is a “freedom beyond necessity,”³³ just a false freedom of choosing one of the trivial activities and purchasing products. In the Hatchery Center, individuals are programmed to be innately interested in non-intellectual activities and expensive sport equipments and they are imposed to hate reading books. Liberation, in industrial capitalist countries is reduced to freedom of excess consumption rather than the freedom of speech and thinking. The word totalitarian as Marcuse implies, “is not only a terroristic political coordination of society, but also a non-terroristic economic-technical coordination which operates through the manipulation of needs by vested interests.”³⁴ A state combining technological improvement with the methods of production and integrating it into economy does not necessitate suppressive forces

³¹ Ibid.

³² Herbert Marcuse, **One-dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society**, London: Routledge Classics, 2002, p.4-5.

³³ Ibid., p.4.

³⁴ Ibid., p.5.

because every identical individual becomes the manipulative apparatus of the state. In a state where capitalist method of production and distribution are monopolized; all the parties, newspapers, social institutions and non-governmental organizations are compatible with each other. The World State maintains itself through its power of creating standardized masses that are compatible with the hierarchical structure of the caste system and offers them a deceptive freedom. The government of the World State “can maintain and secure itself only when it succeeds in mobilizing, organizing, and exploiting the technical, scientific, and mechanical productivity available to industrial civilization.”³⁵ As capitalism flourishes, the scientific and technological development is assigned to manipulate individuals and discover more false needs to alienate them from vital needs. Individual identity is reestablished by capitalism and every member of the World State is designated as a potential customer. The London Hatchery is a symbol of the results of the exploitation of science and technology by the capitalist authorities whose entire project aims to monopolize social discourse and culture in order to create identical masses. As Theodor Adorno says in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, “Under monopoly all mass culture are identical.”³⁶ Government’s monopolization of ideology and culture is the modern totalitarian method of the state.

The Director completes the Hatchery tour after observing the erotic play of the naked children in the garden outside. The aim of the game is to make children have an infantile sexual intercourse with each other in order to make them accustomed to public nudity, orgies and sexual hedonism. The father of libertine sexuality, Marquis De Sade suggested similar ideas in the 18th century;

“Let us give ourselves indiscriminately to everything our passions suggest and we will always be happy. Conscience is not the voice of nature; do not be fooled by it, for it is only the voice of prejudice.”³⁷

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Theodor W. Adorno, “Dialectic of Enlightenment”, **The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism**, Ed. by Vincent B. Leitch, New York, W. W. Norton, 2001, p.1224.

³⁷ Neil Schaeffer, **The Marquis De Sade: a Life**, Cambridge, Harvard UP, 2000, p.123.

According to De Sade, strict morality and conservative views about sexuality are derived from patriarchal prejudices and religion that both of which are the inventions of human imagination but not the creations of innate feelings. He regards chastity, virginity and monogamy as the obsessions imposed by Christianity. The World State takes over the doctrines of De Sade into their program of child conditioning in order to estrange individuals from the corrupting effects of sexual restrictions, family bounds and Christian moral views. However, instead of De Sade's anarchic ideology that calls people to feel their natural emotions, the citizens of the World State rely on the artificiality of science because inner sexual desires and passions which De Sade emphasizes are manipulated by the scientific methods of the World State. Reconciling hedonist sexual attitudes with drugs and mass unconcern for the current socio-political outlook, the dictators of *Brave New World* succeed in creating a hedonist race of slaves who are indifferent to their will and freedom. Huxley states in the foreword of his novel that "Sade was a lunatic and the more or less conscious goal of his revolution was universal chaos and destruction,"³⁸ whereas the governors of the World State are not lunatics. Rather than anarchy, they aim social stability. Sexual freedom is an apparatus of the World State used to make individuals alienate intellectual life and politics but De Sade regards sexual anarchy, eroticism and sadomasochism as the ultimate purpose of human race for a better life.

The dichotomy between the sexually independent and hedonist ideologies of the World State and Marquis De Sade is the objective of their approaches. De Sade sees sexual desires and extreme freedom of sex as the primary defense of human beings against the tyranny of politics of hegemony and bureaucracy, whereas the World State exploits sexuality by using it as a tool to distract people's interest and induce them to concentrate on nothing but the temptation of sexuality. Practically De Sade's suggestion of free sexual hedonism makes individuals of the World State controlled slaves who lack the consciousness to see beyond their carnal desires. They are driven out of

³⁸ Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World*, London, Vintage, 2004, p.xxxiii.

intellectual enlightenment, knowledge and freedom and led to become sex addicts only seeking for sexual satisfaction and orgasm.

The Director proceeds commenting on erotic play by implying that erotic intercourse among children were regarded as a taboo; “for some generations afterwards, erotic play between children had been regarded as abnormal; not only abnormal, actually immoral and had therefore rigorously suppressed.”³⁹ The students are shocked by the sexual restrictions in pre-modern countries because sexual liberty is regarded as one of the most significant virtues of the society.

2.1.1. THE IDEOLOGY & POLITICS OF THE WORLD STATE

The World State’s political system can be defined as a totalitarian oligarchy, as it is governed by a committee containing ten World Controllers. All of them are Alpha-Double Plus who are recruited among intelligent Alphas whose thoughts are sometimes unconventional and contradicting to the doctrines of the World State. Members of the Alpha class are not conditioned or programmed to be slaves but raised to have self-conscious to a certain degree in order to be the leaders of the society. While rebellious Alphas who refuse to give up their unorthodox ideas are sent to island prisons, loyal ones can be rewarded by being promoted to a World State controller. The earth is divided into ten regions and each of them is mastered by a controller, in the novel *Mustapha Mond*, the controller of Western European Region, is introduced as the spokesperson of the World State and characterized to be the antagonist of Bernard Marx, Helmholtz Watson and John the Savage.

Mustapha Mond is a scientist and expert overlooking the stability of Western Europe and especially its vital mechanism, the London Hatchery. He is the embodiment of the ideology of the World State that is manifesting basic principles of the government

³⁹ Ibid., p.27.

by regarding the past as catastrophic and primitive. Moreover he endorses Watsonian behaviorism and Pavlovian conditioning as these techniques dismiss the natural instinct of human body. Throughout the chapter three, Mond's fragmented monologue, interrupted by the conversation between Fanny and Lenina, demonstrates a brief history of the civilizations before the establishment of the World State and its epochal technological system that refine wealth and anatomy of mankind. Mond's implications focus on the former socio-political conditions of the world before the World State, he lectures on Freudian psychoanalysis about family relationships and makes a political analysis about the chaotic consequences of the Nine Years War and a cultural analysis about the angry mobs vandalizing the British museum and most of the art monuments. Indeed, Mond is contradicting himself, because in spite of his regarding history as "bunk", he needs historical documents and recordings in order to demonstrate the failure of the governing systems of the Pre-Fordian world and compare them with the Neo-Capitalist organization of the World State.

Instead of A.D, the World State's calendar uses "AF"- "After Ford". Time starts in 1 AF which is equal to 1908 AD in Gregorian calendar when Model T was invented. That is not only a mockery of the birth of Christ but also an emphasis stressing that birth of Model T is also the birth of industrial capitalism that reconciles science with the production methods and birth of industrialization is much more epochal than all the events in the history of civilizations and religious conceptualizations. According to Mond, birth of the World State is the milestone of enlightenment in human history; all the early civilizations are primitive hordes. Therefore he eliminates the information about former civilizations from world history, "He waved his hand; and it was as though, with an invisible feather wisk, he had brushed away a little dust, and the dust was Harappa, was Ur of the Chaldees; some spider-webs, and they were Thebes and Babylon and Cnossos and Mycenae."⁴⁰ The World State does not need ancestors or inheritance; it rejects all the former values of civilization like art, philosophy and culture. "For Mond, the World State is a state without a past, continuous with nothing

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.29.

beyond itself.”⁴¹ In the 21st century, global capitalism has become a dogma in the world, and people can neither see beyond it nor establish Marxist structured systems, they are just stacked in a world without alternative political discourses rather than capitalist democracy which is based on the hegemony of bourgeoisie. Now, most of the socialist people are regarded as romantic idealists believing in a non-practical Marxist ideology because new generations are raised as alienated citizens from the opposing discourses like Marxist state system, Kropotkin and Bakunin’s anarchism and Max Stirner’s individual anarchism. Inhabitants of the World State are similar to the people in our world in that sense, their alienation from the world history and philosophy induces them to be loyal disciples of the Fordian disciplines. They are taught no history in order not to demonstrate any paradigm that has the possibility to distract citizens’ faithfulness toward the State.

In chapter three; Mustapha Mond interrupts the Director’s tour in the center and breaks the law of history prohibition by informing the students of the Director about the socio-cultural and political background of the earlier periods in the 20th and the 21st centuries. Thomas shivers of Mond’s intention to expose historical matters because the history before the establishment of the World State is strictly forbidden and excluded from the curriculums of the educational institutions.

“The D.H.C. looked at him nervously. There were those strange rumours of old forbidden books hidden in a safe in the Controller’s study. Bibles, poetry—Ford knew what.”⁴²

In spite of the strict censorship of books and documents, Mond does not destroy or vandalize books, but preserve them in his lockage. Similar to other Alpha characters of the novel, he has an innate interest in literature, culture and history that forestalls him from demolishing books, instead he satisfies his ego by owning the only sources of knowledge about the pre-modern civilizations and religions. He is not only a controller of Western Europe but also a controller of time and history who discards chronicles

⁴¹ Robert S. Baker, **Brave New World: History, Science, and Dystopia**. Boston, Twayne, 1990, p.91.

⁴² Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.29.

from citizens' mind forever. He is driven by his egoism and boastfulness that he does not foreclose himself from lecturing to students about the Pre-Modern or Pre-Utopian people in spite of the anxiety of Thomas. The aim of Mond's didactic speech is not to instruct students in learning history but is to reveal the catastrophic conditions of the earlier civilizations by stressing the mother figure, family relationships, wars and the social disorder; therefore he transcends the image of the World State in the mind of the students. Mond's technique has common points with the methods of John Wesley, the famous Anglican preacher known for his pioneering the Methodist movement. Aldous Huxley states in *Brave New World Revisited* that;

“John Wesley's enormous success as a preacher was based upon an intuitive understanding of the central nervous system. He would open his sermon with a long and detailed description of the torments to which, unless they underwent conversion, his hearers would undoubtedly be condemned for all eternity. Then, when terror and an agonizing sense of guilt had brought his audience to the verge, or in some cases over the verge, of a complete cerebral breakdown, he would change his tone and promise salvation to those who believed and repented.”⁴³

It is not the fascination for a utopian portrayal of paradise but the fear and paranoia for the eternal torments of hell make people religious. Mond is aware of both the methods of the early preachers and reaction of human nervous system, thus he successfully improves the faithfulness of students by first explaining the grim pre-modern life of non-utopian people, and then through the end of the chapter by providing the necessary apparatuses for a utopian life like the drug soma and electronic golf;

“Now—such is progress—the old men work, the old men copulate, the old men have no time, no leisure from pleasure, not a moment to sit down and think—or if ever by some unlucky chance such a crevice of time should yawn in the solid substance of their distractions, there is always *soma*, delicious *soma*, half a gramme for a half-holiday, a gramme for a week-end, two grammes for a trip to the gorgeous East, three for a dark eternity on the moon; returning whence they find themselves on the other side of the crevice, safe on the solid ground of daily labour and distraction, scampering from feely to feely, from girl to pneumatic girl, from Electromagnetic Golf course to ...”⁴⁴

⁴³ Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World Revisited**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.81-82.

⁴⁴ Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.47-48.

Old men are frustrated by the toughness of their life, physical deformities of the old age and absence of free time for entertainment. The World State offers necessary free time for consuming excess goods and soma for pleasure. Religious conceptualization of hell is displaced by the view of dark eternity in Mond's speech; soma is regarded as the only escape from the eternal damnation of degeneration derived from the primitiveness of Pre-Modern human nature. Like the believers who are in need of God's grace and might, the World State's disciples are in need of the production of soma, pleasure and ignorance. Utopia and dystopia are the anti-thesis of each other. The conceptualization of hell is the inferior mirror image of paradise, and the Pre-Modern civilizations are the alien and inferior mirror images of the World State. One concept can not exist without each other. It is a binary opposition where one opposite assumes a role of dominance over other. Mond's speech relies on the dichotomy between the history and the World State; "there are no grays in his picture of the world, everything is either diabolically black or celestially white."⁴⁵

According to Huxley's statement in *Brave New World Revisited*, all the totalitarian states need to have dogmatic systems of beliefs in order to set up coherence among their citizens rather than skeptical institutions or individuals. Bureaucrats like Mond are required to represent the official ideology of the state. The World State's existence depends on how successfully it preserves its ideological structure. The main ideological state apparatuses of the World State are Mond and his nine colleagues whose objectives are to monopolize capitalist ideology for mass deception.

Mond's dark history description starts with the image of fertile mother figure, he says that "try to realize what it was like to have a viviparous mother."⁴⁶ Pregnancy and motherhood are regarded as grotesque concepts of nature causing the births of deformed and ill-shaped children who lack the potential of keeping the wheels of society turning stable. The World State technology not only abolishes motherhood but also family and

⁴⁵ Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World Revisited**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.58.

⁴⁶ Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.30.

the image of home; Mond says “try to imagine what living with one’s family meant”⁴⁷ and he asks “do you know what a home was?”⁴⁸ Childbearing and caring under the control of family are prohibited for the sake of economic stability as psychological mood of children portray different characteristics due to taking after various relatives. Home as Mond depicts, is a filthy place containing;

“A few small rooms, stiflingly over-inhabited by a man, by a periodically teeming woman, by a rabble of boys and girls of all ages. No air, no space; an understerilized prison; darkness, diseases and smells.”⁴⁹

Home is not a hygienic surrounding suitable for healthy childbearing and lacks sterile conditions to keep pathological microorganisms away. Also hereditary deformities, illnesses, psychological and physical disorders jeopardize the future life of family members, hence the World State removes the concept of family in childbearing process.

In addition to halting physical and mental inheritance, the government also restrains infants from acquiring ideological tendencies of their family and the society in which they belong to, because the World State abolishes Family State Apparatus that Louis Althusser defines. Family apparatus works as the first manipulator of the dominant ideology in the society and it functions to impose obedience to young individual. As Althusser indicates in *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*;

“School takes children from every class at infant-school age, and then for years, the years in which the child is most vulnerable, squeezed between the Family State Apparatus and Educational State Apparatus, it drums into them, whether it uses new or old methods, a certain amount of know-how wrapped in the ruling ideology (French, arithmetic, natural history, the sciences, literature) or simply the ruling ideology in its pure state (ethics, civic instruction, philosophy).”⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.31.

⁵⁰ Louis Althusser, **Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays**, Trans. by. Ben Brewster. New York, Monthly Review, 1971, p.155.

According to Althusserian approach, the state organization allows parental and social inheritance of ideology to a certain degree till the age of six, and then the governmental education apparatuses become a part of the manipulation progress. When the children's minds are able to comprehend the political doctrines and become vulnerable to the indoctrination of the official ideologies of the state at the age of six, their education process is taken over by the agents of the government; school, teachers and other civil officers.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the World State finds out the possible menaces of the parental education because of the unstable childbearing methods of the families and regards independent parental education free from the official state ideology as a threat for the stability of the nation. Hence the government advances its educational apparatuses and expands the education progress by entirely abolishing Family State Apparatus which is never completely trustworthy and as effective as conditioning and hypnopedia. Manipulation by Neo-Pavlovian technique and teaching during sleep are more efficient than the influence of family members. Combination of science and indoctrination makes the World State's social programming system mechanized and static comparing to the Pre-Modern techniques that Althusser points out, because ideological inconsistency is likely to occur among the agents of Family State Apparatus according to their different socio-political background. Whereas mechanized and stable mass conditioning by Pavlovian method and hypnopedia do not pose any risks of failure during the indoctrination process. Forestalling children from seeing their parents as role models by discarding family life, the World State declares itself as the only patriarchal and matriarchal figure whose sole existence becomes the absolute omnipotent truth in the universe of *Brave New World*.

Mustapha Mond detests the image of family and motherhood because both genetic and intimate relationship between the child and the relatives trigger specific neurotic disorders in the minds of the children and result in growing up an unserviceable individual for economic constancy. He identifies home and family as the sources of perversions and Freudian complexes.

⁵¹ Ibid., p.155.

“Psychically, it (home) was a rabbit hole, a midden, hot with the frictions of tightly packed life, reeking with emotion. What suffocating intimacies, what dangerous, insane, obscene relationships between the members of the family group!”⁵²

Freudian psychoanalytical diagnosis indicates that certain complexes like penis envy, castration anxiety and Oedipus complex arise from the family relationships. In *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*; Freud states that sexual perversion and aberrant sexual neurotic tendencies of individuals are the results of early childhood experiences derived from the subjugated or oppressive actions of family members and their sexual tendencies and desires for authority. In the summary part he indicates by saying, “We hoped to be able to demonstrate the original disposition in the infantile life; among the forces restraining the direction of the sexual impulse we have mentioned shame, loathing and sympathy, and the social constructions of morality and authority.”⁵³

The World State integrates psychoanalytical studies of Freud into its main ideology and by charging family relations responsible for Freudian complexes, it destroys family concept. In the novel, the slogan “our Ford” turns into “our Freud” sometimes while the narrator is talking about psychological issues. Mond tends to say “our Ford” when talking about the danger of family life by saying “The world was full of fathers—was therefore full of misery; full of mothers—therefore of every kind of perversion from sadism to chastity; full of brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts—full of madness and suicide.”⁵⁴ In spite of the utmost sexual freedom, the World State tends to regulate sexual tendencies of individuals by keeping them away from certain sexual concepts. Mond defines chastity, monogamy and sexual abstention as perversions and his act of forbidding family relationships aims to halt Freudian complexes and sexual perversions derived from the intercourse of family members with each other. Unlike the patriarchal industrial societies of the 20th century, not only women but also men become

⁵² Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.31.

⁵³ Sigmund Freud, **Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex**, Trans. by. A. A. Brill. Ed. WM. A. White and Smith Ely Jelliffe. Ebook, Project Gutenberg, 2008, p.45.

⁵⁴ Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.33.

the victim of sexual objectification. Gender codes are not determined according to the traditional family roles because there is no family anymore. However the freedom of sexuality is not unlimited; instead it is restricted to a certain degree to preserve the stability of sexual life of the society. Huxley never mentions a homosexual or bisexual relationship throughout the novel, or any kind of bizarre sexual fantasies and fetishisms because individuals are allowed to lead an ordinary heterosexual sexual life. The World State does not let people be prepossessed by sexual obsessions and fetishism that are likely to drive them out of the control of authority.

Huxley justifies the prognosis of Freud on family by portraying John the Savage with violent and sadist tendencies because he is the only person having a family in the novel. He “suffers from a sadistic obsession with sexual chastity as a result of his mother’s influence”⁵⁵ due to being a victim of Oedipus complex. John’s sadistic reactions to Lenina and his mother Linda is derived from his rage against the repression of his step-father Pope in Malpais and his preoccupation with the idea of chastity. None of the male citizens of the World State commit violence upon female characters in the novel as they regard women as a sexual object not a property of masculinity, but John’s socio-cultural background is connected to the patriarchy in the Savage Reservation and he classifies a woman as a whore or a chaste one.

Getting back to Mond’s monologue, we come across his detest for family bounds and sentimental relationship among the members of the family. He complains about matrimony, monogamy and romance; “Mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters. But there were also husbands, wives, lovers. There were also monogamy and romance.”⁵⁶ The family can be defined as the smallest hierarchical unit of the society ruled by the coalition of a father and a mother figure that impose specific ethical values and ideological structures to the other members of the family. In that sense, as the anarchist philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon indicates; “the family is the cradle of the state, it preserved the idea of authority and sovereignty which is obliterated more and more in

⁵⁵ Robert S. Baker, **Brave New World: History, Science, and Dystopia**, Boston, Twayne, 1990, p.92.

⁵⁶ Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.34.

the state.”⁵⁷ The family is the first authoritative structure in the life of a child whose unconscious is first indoctrinated with the idea of obedience by the parents, therefore the family and the state are the allies against individual identity. However, the World State which is an ideal example for a futuristic totalitarian government tends to become the only omnipotent concept in the minds of its citizens. Contrary to all the ancient and feudal states that have been organized according to the model of the family hierarchy, the World State does not regard family as a sacred organization that fortifies the state structure but a menace threatening the standardization of individual identity. Subjective feelings inherited from the family members are dire threats for the stability of the community. “The reason Mond regards the family as a threat to such placid contentedness lies in his distinctly Freudian preoccupation with the violent consequences of frustrated desire and repression.”⁵⁸ The family is regarded as a chaotic and disordered concept full of repressed desires, irrationally intense emotions and egocentric rivalries. Thus the World State tends to cure Freudian complexes by abolishing family and launches behaviorist conditioning for producing a pure minded society freed from the psychotic problems.

The World State deems every individual as a psychologically disordered patient whose mentality suffers from neurotic diseases, psychosis, and psychopathy. Society is required to be provided constant drug treatment with anti-depressants and ataractics in order to be sedated and calmed down. Soma which is the combination of former medicines and chemical drugs is mass produced and distributed freely to the public. Today in the world anti-depressant and ataractics consumption is rising in considerable amounts especially in the developed countries in which governments do not hesitate to intoxicate society by medicines in spite of the strict regulations against the drug trade. Also, in the World State alcohol and any other drug usage is forbidden for damaging psychical health of individuals but government legalize soma and justifies its spoiling psychological health of the citizens. The state is a hypocritical organization which

⁵⁷ P. J. Proudhon, **System of Economical Contradictions; Or, The Philosophy of Miser**, Trans. by. Benjamin Ricketson Tucker, Boston, B.R. Tucker, 1888, p.259.

⁵⁸ Robert S. Baker, **Brave New World: History, Science, and Dystopia**, Boston, Twayne, 1990, p.93.

converts moral discourses according to its own benefit by regulating legitimization and interdiction. As long as the state authorities have the power of legitimization, enforcement and justice, moral and ideological discourses of the society can be easily shaped by the governmental elects.

Emotions and intellectuality are neutralized by the drugs so men and women are reduced to sexual objects of each other. They become automatized members of a society lacking art, philosophy and originative science because activities like philosophizing and science development require the reconciliation of imagination and rational consciousness, and creating an artwork necessitates the integration of intense emotions and imagination with the current social-political conditions. Mond points out the dangers of intense negative emotions caused by the harsh socio-economical circumstances;

“What with the temptations and the lonely remorse, what with all the diseases and the endless isolating pain, what with the uncertainties and the poverty—they were forced to feel strongly. And feeling strongly (and strongly, what was more, in solitude, in hopelessly individual isolation), how could they be stable?”⁵⁹

The World State privileges “hedonistic conformity” rather than allowing citizens lead a solitary and poor isolated life. Being an outsider or anarchist is prohibited in the World State because every citizen shall perform his or her role within the society to maintain stability. Right of privacy and individuality are pervert actions in a society where “everyone belongs to everyone.” Mond’s quotation implies that human nature is hostile to peace and order because of its anarchic aspects that alienate individual from the social unity and control of the state. Impacts of intense emotions like love or hatred, anguish or joyfulness, lust or sexual perversion may have encouraged mankind to create great works of art and schools of thought but such feelings are the boundaries against setting up an ordered society which is mono-cultured and standardized. Human history was full of wars, catastrophes, massacres, genocides and perversion because there was

⁵⁹ Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.35.

no ethical standard between self-centered and shallow nations of the Pre-Modern period. “Mond emphasizes only the disruptive aspects of human history”⁶⁰ not the exquisite works of human civilization because “he has no faith in humanity’s capacity for self-disciplined and creative labor.”⁶¹

Main doctrine of the World State is to constraint human capacity not to liberalize it, as Mond denounces liberalism in Britain “Liberty to be inefficient and miserable. Freedom to be a round peg in a square hole.”⁶² Mond’s chronological history speech about the Pre-World State era aims to portray the dystopian conditions of the Pre-Modern people and the corrupted political schools of thought. Mond does not tend to obliterate historical events but tries to remove the concept of history from the minds of the students. He represents all the history before Ford as a dark past which corrupted previous civilizations and indicates that past is never capable of resurrecting as long as the members of the World State obey social order. Mond’s opposition to liberalism and democracy is derived from the fact that such disciplines of political thought contradict caste system, Pavlovian conditioning and hypnopedia. Restructuring the genetic code by the studies on DNA and reformulating human psychology by hypnopedia and conditioning, the World State generates an unequal society in which Alphas, Betas, Gammas, Deltas, and Epsilons are anatomically different from each other. Mond defends the socio-economic requisiteness of the caste system by saying that “there was something called democracy. As though men were more than physico-chemically equal.”⁶³ Citizens of the World State are obligated to undergo mutation by Bokanovsky process and injection of particular chemicals when they are in the embryo forms in order to make them unequal, fit to their socio-economical class and maintain the necessary labor for their work.

As I implied before, the World State is not a despotic state that use brute force to its citizens but is a hedonist “Welfare State” that monopolizes the methods of

⁶⁰ Robert S. Baker, **Brave New World: History, Science, and Dystopia**, Boston, Twayne, 1990, p.96.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.96.

⁶² Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.40.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

production, distribution and determines the ways of consumption in order to balance the economical and social welfare. People of the World State are not slaves or captives but volunteered servants who willfully obey the rules of the government. After “The Nine Years War begins in A.F 141,”⁶⁴ inhabitants of the earth face total annihilation by chemical and nuclear warfare. “The noise of fourteen thousand aeroplanes advancing in open order. But in the Kurfurstendamm and the Eighth Arrondissement, the explosion of the anthrax bombs is hardly louder than the popping of a paper bag.”⁶⁵ A World War occurs in the 21st century between Western Ally Forces and Russia that causes enormous casualties among the world. Russian bombers drops anthrax bombs to devastate Germany and France and the Russians also use chemicals weapons to poison the water supplies. Mond says that “The Russian technique for infecting water supplies was particularly ingenious.”⁶⁶ The ecological cataclysm and destruction of The Nine Years War turn the earth into a post-apocalyptic world in which all the human civilization is very close to total extinction. Second half of the 21st century is the birth of the World State and the death of nation states, liberalism, communist block, all the countries and borders. The Nine Years' War causes a Great Economic Collapse and there is a choice between World Control and destruction. Between stability and chaos.⁶⁷ Survivors have two choices either to rebuild the former national state systems or form a global world state by removing the shameful catastrophic history from the face of the earth. Therefore protests against libertarian and democratic instructions break out, and then vandalism of historical monuments and artworks occur like the “British museum massacre.”⁶⁸ People who want to lead a simple communal life are massacred; “Eight hundred Simple Lifers were mowed down by machine guns at Golders Green.”⁶⁹ Hopeless and fearful individuals unconditionally approve of the World State’s social reeducation. Due to The Nine Years War, natural birth is regarded as a potential threat

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.41.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p.43.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

which brings out criminal minded individuals that lead mankind to destruction so mechanized artificial birth process is replaced. The World State declares war against the past by provoking an anti-history movement including forbidding books, documents, all the reports of the past, closing of museums and blowing up of the historical monuments.⁷⁰ By destroying books the World Controllers not only disrupt the discourses of the past but also increase the free time of individuals to consume more, Mond says that “You can't consume much if you sit still and read books.”⁷¹ Every individual is conscripted to consume. Then the World State bio-chemists work on “morphia and cocaine” in order to create a perfect drug that gives pleasure and satisfaction without harming human body and nervous system. As Mond tells to students that soma has “all the advantages of Christianity and alcohol; none of their defects.”⁷² Mond’s sentence is similar to Karl Marx’s famous aphorism “religion is the opiate of the masses.” The only common point between the World State’s capitalist controllers and Marxist critics is the emphasis on the religion’s alienating effect that makes individuals unconscious about the facts of their socio-economical conditions. In spite of the religion’s considerable function of teaching servitude to individual and making them unaware of their exploitation by the material governmental power and methods of capitalist production, the World State removes religious discourse in order to encourage people entirely focus on the material needs rather than spending time on spiritual rituals and worshipping.

In spite of Mond’s praise for the bio-technological developments, the World State halts its social experiment program after Cyprus experiment which is followed by a civil war. The experiment’s purpose is to observe a community of self-conscious and intelligent Alphas who are left on Cyprus to live on their own. Mond gives the details of the experiment;

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid., p.42.

⁷² Ibid., p.46.

It began in A.F. 473. The Controllers had the island of Cyprus cleared of all its existing inhabitants and re-colonized with a specially prepared batch of twenty-two thousand Alphas. All agricultural and industrial equipment was handed over to them and they were left to manage their own affairs. The result exactly fulfilled all the theoretical predictions. The land wasn't properly worked; there were strikes in all the factories; the laws were set at naught, orders disobeyed; all the people detailed for a spell of low-grade work were perpetually intriguing for high-grade jobs, and all the people with high-grade jobs were counter-intriguing at all costs to stay where they were. Within six years they were having a first-class civil war. When nineteen out of the twenty-two thousand had been killed, the survivors unanimously petitioned the World Controllers to resume the government of the island. Which they did. And that was the end of the only society of Alphas that the world has ever seen."⁷³

The experiment shows that social consensus and stability are impossible as long as a society shares the same socio-economical substructure and have a population of self-conscious individuals. Thus the World Controllers halt the forthcoming experiment programs and declare that all the requirements of the World State's capitalist regime are already fulfilled; class consciousness is already imposed on individuals and the harmony between excess production and excess consumption is already established.

The novel takes place in A.F 632 about a century and a half years after the Cyprus experiment when the World State is already at the summit of its technological development process. In a stationary phase, it has no scientific program for new discoveries rather than "conquering old age"⁷⁴ so that ageing can be halted to take maximum performance from every working individual. Mond and the rest of the World Controllers are not skeptical scientists but conservative overseers assigned to conserve the current stability. They worship stability and use scientific inquiries to regulate human biology for an unchanging anatomical stable life. As Mond points out in the 17th chapter in which he gives an informative speech about the scientific approach of the World State;

"We have our stability to think of. We don't want to change. Every change is a menace to stability. That's another reason why we're so chary of applying new inventions. Every

⁷³ Ibid., p.196-197.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p.46.

discovery in pure science is potentially subversive; even science must sometimes be treated as a possible enemy. Yes, even science.”⁷⁵

In a world where philosophy of scientific realism and reasoning are restricted by a committee full of pragmatic technocrats, science becomes an apparatus of the state. French postmodernist theorist Jean-Francois Lyotard argues that “science can not resist ideology; science fosters and defends the reproduction of capital and the exploitation of workers, teachers and students.”⁷⁶ In the *Brave New World* science is integrated into capitalism and used to degenerate individuals, it is not assigned to evaluate and enlighten human beings so the World State can not have a future beyond its current stable socio-economical system as long as it rejects scientific revolution and halts scientific developments.

The World State is a continuation of the totalitarian structures of 19th and 20th centuries’ nation states and communist block. That’s why the names of the characters are associated with the political masterminds of the dominant ideologies in Europe. Mustapha Mond’s name is derived from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Turkish nationalist leader and founder of the Turkish Republic who led his country into modernism by official secularism and state socialism. Benito Hoover’s name comes from Benito Mussolini, Italian dictator, key figure in the creation of fascism. Lenina Crown is linked to Vladimir Lenin, revolutionary father of Bolshevik socialism. Darwin Bonaparte can be associated to Napoleon Bonaparte who raised the nationalist movement in Europe in the first quarter of the 19th century. All of these leaders symbolize a politic orientation from left wing to right wing and they are incarnated in the characters of the novel because the World State is not an alien country, it is an inheritor of the pragmatist and despotic state systems of the 19th and the 20th century. “No matter how divergent” all of these dominant political views in Europe “appear on the surface, are really tending in

⁷⁵ Ibid., p.198.

⁷⁶ Philip Goldstein, **Post-Marxist Theory: an Introduction**, Albany, State University of New York, 2005, p.38.

the same direction, that of the new World State.”⁷⁷ The World State resembles of all these ideologies as the futurist heir of its totalitarian ancestors. It inherits caste system from fascism, conditioning and propaganda from communism, “economy oriented system of purposeless production and consumption from democratic capitalism”⁷⁸ and exclusion of religion from official secularism.

Mond’s personality dissents with his totalitarian precursors of the 20th century; he is not a brutal dictator but a prominent bureaucrat focusing on the stability of the World State which can be achieved by the classification of workers for specific labors. His loyalty toward the utopia makes him a faithful follower of the system, whereas he is much more complex and privileged than the other members in the society. In spite of the prohibition against reading, he reads Shakespeare’s plays and keeps his books in his private lockage. “As I make the laws here, I can also break them.”⁷⁹ He says to Marx, John and Helmholtz when the three antagonists face with Mond’s interest in excluded artworks of human history before the establishment of World State. By admitting his readings of Shakespeare and other texts, he implies that he is one of the few intellectual elites in the world who has access to the fictional world of Pre-Fordian literature. But in spite of their privilege of breaking the laws and having the utmost bureaucratic power, the World Controllers are not the sovereigns but administrative officials of the World State who are obliged to obey the basic doctrines of it. As Mond describes, the World State itself is an “irresistible machine”⁸⁰ out of the control of its own citizens and mastering all the ideological and social manifestations of mankind.

⁷⁷ Peter Edgerly Firchow, **The End of Utopia: A Study of Aldous Huxley's Brave New World**, Lewisburg, Bucknell UP, 1984, .p83.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p.84.

⁷⁹ Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.192.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p.195.

2.1.2. THE SAVAGE RESERVATION: A PRIMITIVE DYSTOPIA

Bernard Marx's journey to the Savage Reservation is an anthropological research tour aiming to observe the primitive state of the community excluded from the post-industrial world and to witness the lifestyle of a society when high-technology and state structure are absent. In the Reservation he encounters John who is the illegitimate son of Thomas and Linda because he is born and grows up outside of the World State. Both Bernard and John have common personal identities; Bernard Marx is a romantic fighter, who is in conflict with the technological oppression of the World State and seeks the natural identity of human beings in the Reservation. John is also the victim and outcast in the society he belongs to. Racial and sexual discriminations of the patriarchal structure of the savage people alienate him from forming social bounds with the savage culture, so unlike any other individual in the community he becomes interested in reading books thanks to Linda's effort to teach him reading and writing. He improves his intellectuality by comprehending Shakespearian plays from the old books he finds in the village. But he becomes an old-fashioned romantic idealist who is prepossessed by the gender codes of Shakespearian Tragedies. He identifies himself as the savior of Linda and Lenina whom he sees as inferior victims spoiled by the debauchery of the World State and the illiteracy of the reservation.

Bernard and John "are the mirror images of each other."⁸¹ Although they are social outsiders and denounced by their own society, their personalities are formed by the ethical values of the community in which they are involved. John's fanatical romantic idealism and violent actions are the results of the patriarchal outlook in the Savage Reservation. Like his step-father Pope, he commits violent acts upon Lenina for her mischievous acts. He is the embodiment of old romantic individualism of the 19th century which opposed the industrial revolution and rejected the attendance of women into urban life and their contribution to economy as workers instead of dealing with

⁸¹ Robert S. Baker, **Brave New World: History, Science, and Dystopia**, Boston, Twayne, 1990, p.106.

housework and childbearing. John's interpretation of Shakespearian concept of life and art metamorphoses him into an imbalanced and restless individual who feels caged in both uncultured Savage Reservation and materialist World State. He despises the savages due to their illiteracy, lack of intellectuality and aesthetics, in addition he regards the citizens of the World State as immoral and indecent masses because he finds out that chastity, heroism, faith, loyalty and other Pre-Modern virtues in Shakespearian plays no longer exist in the hedonist capitalist world. Rather than Bernard and John the Savage the most reasonable and intellectual character is Helmholtz Watson. Aware of the fact that he is distinct from the rest of the citizens, he does not tend to be involved in the society of the World State so he considers the exile policy of the government as an opportunity to meet other intellectual and nonconformist Alphas. He requests Mond to send him to Falkland Islands because he says:

“I should like a thoroughly bad climate, I believe one would write better if the climate were bad. If there were a lot of wind and Storms.”⁸²

Regarding himself as a promising writer, Helmholtz is aware of the elements that inspire an artist's creativity. It is not hedonism or wealth but pain, hardships and individual determination are the sources of inspiration and spiritual enlightenment.

John is confused and not aware of where he belongs to, after his experiences in the Reservation and the World State, he decides to live solitarily in an abandoned lighthouse in order to purify his life with a masochistic way of salvation. John prefers to lead a monkish way of life in which he anticipates spiritual salvation for the sins he has witnessed throughout the time in the World State. Being an entire outcast in two alternative worlds; the Savage Reservation and the Fordian State, he is driven into Christian fanaticism and Mormon lifestyle in order to gain the grace of the Lord. He attempts to establish his own individual utopia in which he discards technology of the World State and archaic tribal culture of the village of Malpais. He has only the basic hand tools to fulfill his basic requirements for living. He is driven by the regret for the

⁸² Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.201.

guilt of his participation in orgies and drug parties in the World State experience. John turns into a sadomasochist hermit and a religious fanatic who sees self-disciplining and self-torture as a path for strengthening his faith and spiritual salvation. “From time to time he stretched out his arms as though he were on the cross and held them thus through long minutes of an ache that gradually increased till it became a tremulous and excruciating agony.”⁸³ He volunteers for the pose of crucifixion in order to torture his own body for cleansing his soul and find the image of God as a solitary man who alienates the hedonist conformity of the World State and ethical motives of Malpais. John’s self-ideology depends on finding God through masochism. John’s life has always been full of violence especially toward women; he slaps Lenina for her attempt of seduction and shakes his mother at the death bed. Also his mind is formed by patriarchal worldview of Malpais while witnessing the whipping scenes of her mother so he regards whipping as a way of punishment for the sinful acts triggered by the erotic desires. He focuses on self-disciplining his erotic desires toward Lenina by “hitting himself with a whip of knotted cords.”⁸⁴ The torture scene of the book in which John whips Lenina while crying “fry, lechery, fry”⁸⁵ in front of the cameras and paparazzi reporters, represents the middle-age Christian methods of punishment which exposes the agony of a sinner to the public in order to trigger the feeling of remorse and intension for repentance among society. John personifies Lenina as the scapegoat of the World State and by whipping in a frenzied manner he tries to both cleanse her soul from sins and give a lesson to the people watching him live. But rather than repentance and remorse, John’s brutal abuse toward Lenina awakens the sexual lust of the people. In the whipping moment, suddenly somebody starts singing Orgy-porgy song which is used in sexual rituals and in a moment they all begin to dance and sing the song one after another. “Orgy-porgy, round and round and round, beating one another in sixteenth time.”⁸⁶ Indoctrinated by De Sadian ideology, people interpret John and Lenina’s

⁸³ Ibid., p.215.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p.219.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p.228.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p.228.

torture scene as a sexual role play including master and slave fantasy. In the godless universe of the World State citizens, pain has no divine meaning rather than its sadomasochist sexual reference; therefore John and Lenina become the porn stars of that live pornographic fetish movie.

At the end, John commits suicide as he has not further way of escaping and leading a solitary life. As Herbert Marcuse states, violation of privacy by mass-media and other communication devices for public togetherness and social harmony is the inescapable end of industrial capitalist countries so that individuating personal identity out of the general social norm is impossible.⁸⁷ Capitalist states tend to invade “private household by the togetherness of public opinion; opening of the bedroom to the media of mass communication.”⁸⁸ John’s privacy in the remote cottage is violated because nothing is private in the world anymore. Consensus about idea of togetherness and mutual social identity in *Brave New World* justify the abolishing of privacy. In addition to Marcuse’s comment on media, the World State violates privacy even before the birth of a new individual by recoding anatomical structure of the human body with the Bokanovsky process and after birth it violates the privacy of mind by mass conditioning and hypnopedia,. Today in our world; scientific institutions genetically mutate food in order to raise production and grow standardized artificial food, corporations never hesitate to market these products and health organizations under state control justify mutation programs by referring to the idea of togetherness, social welfare and the sake of economical stability; so justifies the World State its program.

The Savage Reservation and the World State juxtapose the dichotomy between nature and science and their embodiment in two contrasting societies. Furthermore, nature of the reservation is not romanticized and transcended in order to be regarded as a positive alternative to the modern world of science. Primitive and patriarchal nature of mankind is emphasized in the Reservation for demonstrating that nature can not provide communal wealth, equality and freedom to society. Also the name of the community

⁸⁷ Herbert Marcuse, **One-dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society**, London, Routledge Classics, 2002.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.21.

“Malpais” which means “bad country” in Spanish suggests that nature is a kind of dystopia because in Greek dystopia means “bad place” too.

Hygiene, health and neatness are excluded in Malpais; “the dirt, the piles of rubbish, the dust, the dogs, the flies”⁸⁹ cause illnesses, unconformity and recklessness among individuals whose Pre-Modern and rustic way of life has an ambiguous relationship with nature. The Savage Reservation is Mustapha Mond’s nightmare, a non-urbanized place contradicting all the social standards and consensus of the World State because poverty, frustration and agony produce mentally and physically distorted individuals and lead them to ignore the rules of authority, economic welfare and responsibility of social ties. According to Mond; unhealthy environment, psychoneurotic obsessions, gender codes of religion and Freudian complexes handicap the welfare and civilized norms of a society. All these negative elements are the causes of brutality and oppression in Malpais.

The Savage Reservation is a dystopia but is not a totalitarian country. It is consisted of villages and small communities; there is no centralized power that dominates the whole territory. It is a typical example of Pre-Industrial agricultural society ruled by patriarchy and religious norms. Despotism is derived from the conventional identification of patriarchal discourse and racial discrimination. Whereas the World State’s totalitarian structure is carefully planned and organized. Its capitalist ideology frees itself from the primitive fascist conceptions of religion and patriarchy. It abolishes gender or religious discrimination but preserves class discrimination in order to regulate economic stability.

All the civilizations have their own code of despotism and oppression in order to claim power over individual identity and freedom. But unlike any other Pre-Industrialist totalitarian regimes depending on the power of religion, patriarchy and armed forces, the World State assigns science and technology to work for the sake of hegemony and absolute authority. “Orwell accused Huxley of leaving no room for opposition in his

⁸⁹ Aldous Huxley, **Brave New World**, London, Vintage, 2004, p.94.

dystopia”⁹⁰ but Huxley’s aim is to present an invincible and perfect superstate armed with bio-chemistry and cybernetic that leaves no chance for an escape out of its artificial world.

⁹⁰ David Seed, “Aldous Huxley: Brave New World”, **A Companion to Science Fiction**, Ed. by. David Seed, Malden Mass, Blackwell, 2008, p.502.

3. 1984

The first half of the 20th century was the era of dictatorships in which human rights; democracy and liberty were endangered by various fascist and totalitarian political orthodoxies. Human beings no matter which ideology or fraction they belong to from left wing to right wing were willing to devote their service to the authorities when they were forced into a state of constant fear, paranoia, helplessness and faced the threats of possible enemies. Although *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was hailed by the right-wing conservative Western ideologues of the Cold War era, the aim of the book was not only to demonstrate the brutal aspects of Stalinism or other fractions of left-wing ideology but also to juxtapose the totalitarian orientations of both East and West, Capitalism and Socialism, Conservatism and Revolutionism. The novel's setting, Airstrip One, one of the main provinces of Oceania is located out of the Iron Curtain and it is depicted as a dystopia that reconciles propaganda, conditioning and inquiry techniques of the communist block with the capitalist mode of production and economy due to its dependence on the widespread utilization of American dollar and cheap labor of the exploited proletariat whose population is about eighty-five percent of Oceania.

Nineteen Eighty-Four is an attack at all the political forces that dehumanize and restrain societies. Will for absolute power and desire for total control over individuality are the common aim of all ideologies and governments from right to left. Oceania is the fictional proof justifying these hypotheses of Orwell about the totalitarian impulses. Any society can be contaminated by a totalitarian outlook of a particular political orthodoxy in a short period of time without grasping the process of manipulation. The Western Liberal view incriminates Stalinist, socialist and all other fractions of Marxist ideology of being a partisan of the absolute state control and monopolization of all institutional forces because these aspects moves Marxism towards the hegemony of dictatorships. What Orwell tries to imply is that the Western Liberal movement of the Anglo-Saxon world integrated into hierarchical system of capitalism is not immune and invulnerable to the totalitarianism. Propaganda and manipulation methods of the

Western World resemble the countries of the Iron Curtain. Totalitarian ideology can infest rapidly even in the Western societies in particular situations like the state of war. It was certain that “Churchill’s war cabinet had behaved no differently than a fascist regime, censoring news, controlling wages and prices, restricting travel, subordinating civil liberties to self-defined wartime necessity.”¹ But the legitimacy of all these precautions was not even argued because of the current state of war. Authoritarianism can triumph anywhere if the individuals renounce their rights of freedom and independence for the sake of security and unity.

In terms of power politics and relations; two opposite factions; capitalism and socialism become allies instead of foes. In the Tehran Conference 1943, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill came together to share the unclaimed territories in the Eastern Europe and North Africa after the retreat of the Wehrmacht. Although the Ally commanders claimed that the battle against the Third Reich would lead Europe to democracy and liberty, indeed they set up a secret plan for the division of Europe after Hitler’s fall. Therefore, an ideologically balanced world shared equally between victorious superpowers of World War II would be settled and all these powers could guarantee their absolute existence in the long term. Like the pigs in *Animal Farm* who are more equal than the other animals, USA, UK and USSR were more equal and privileged than the other countries. What Orwell tried to emphasize was the unjust post-war world of the late 1940s. In the novel, the world is divided up among three superpowers; Oceania, Eurasia and Eastasia which has absorbed most of the world.

The main attention is drawn to Britain and especially London because there are not any American, Russian or Chinese characters in the book, or any clear information about the state system and political discourses of Eurasia and Eastasia. The capital city of Airstrip One, London is surrounded by ruined and rusty environment, constant observation of telescreens and billboards portraying the leader of the Party, Big Brother with his Stalin like moustache. According to Anthony Burgess, apart from its dystopian setting, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is also a sarcastic comedy satirizing the conditions of

¹ Thoms Pynchon, “Introduction”, **Nineteen Eighty-Four**, George Orwell, London, Penguin, 2000, p.x.

London during World War II. The shortage of cigarettes, food and razor blades, the smell of boiled cabbage which was “a redolent staple of British diet,”² constant cut off electricity, craters and old buildings mostly damaged by bombings and air strike are the common aspects of both Airstrip One and London during the wartime.

Whether the book is an anti-utopian prophesy foreshadowing the conclusions of the rise of the totalitarian movement in both the North Atlantic Treaty and the Warsaw Pact or a satire mocking the post-war state of politics or a melodrama portraying the tragic downfall of Winston Smith, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*'s main argument is to focus on the oppressive apparatuses of the central government called the Party and its official ideological manifestation called Ingsoc which aims to propagate and manipulate society by using Doublethink, Newspeak, Thought Police, spying and propaganda. Unlike Huxley, Orwell's concern is the concept of politics in a totalitarian state rather than remarking the power of capitalism and the menaces of scientific development. Oceania is a stereotype of the despotic nation states of the 20th century so its authority depends on political indoctrination by the state institutions and the surveillance of the law enforcement agencies, but the World State is a future government that keeps its citizens under control by scientific manipulation and overall wealth.

3.1 THE APPARATUSES OF THE PARTY

Illiteracy is very common among the dwellers of London which is the third most populous city in Oceania. They do not have any knowledge about the socio-political conditions of other provinces and the rest of the world, except for the fact that there are two hostile superpowers called Eurasia and Eastasia with which Oceania is everlastingly in conflict. However, the policy of foreign affairs and diplomacy among these superpowers are much more complicated than a simple and conventional never-

² Anthony Burgess, *Nineteen Eighty-Five*, Boston, Little, Brown, 1978, p.12.

ending war. When the main protagonist Winston Smith is permitted by O'Brien to read the book of Emanuel Goldstein, he discovers the elaborately developed international conspiracy that Oceania itself is a part of. Constant warfare, violence and aggressive foreign policy against other superpowers are strategic steps operating efficiently in order to regulate the power balances in the world. None of the three superpowers prevail and claim victory over each other, therefore their existences are guaranteed.

In the political terminology of international affairs, this strategy is called Triangular Policy which originated in USA in the Cold War and was contrived by Nixon and Kissinger. The main objective of Triangular Policy was to settle friendly relations with The People's Republic of China in order to induce USSR to accept a balanced power politics with two of its antagonists, because after 1956, Sino-Soviet split occurred due to the ideological divergences. Thus, Kissinger overcame any hostile attempt that might result in a mass nuclear war and total annihilation of USSR and USA, because the third superpower antagonist China would be the ultimate sovereign in a world in which USA and USSR were entirely devastated by fallout. This equilibrium strategy is the one that the Party in Oceania carries out in order to assure political stability among Eurasia and Eastasia.

The Triangular Scheme in the novel is modified according to the geopolitics of the Orwell's world, because Nixon-Kissinger policy also planned to assist Japan, South Korea and the Western European States for rapid development and to assign them as the allied forces of USA against USSR and PRC. In the Orwellian world, there are no lesser powers at all. The superpowers have extended their frontiers to their natural limits by conquering all the regional authorities and less powerful states. Eurasia comprises the whole of the northern part of the European and Adriatic land-mass, from Portugal to the Bering Strait. Oceania comprises America, the Atlantic islands including the British Isles, Australasia and the Southern portion of Africa. Eastasia, smaller than the other and with a less definite western frontier, comprises China and the countries to the south

of it, the Japanese islands and a large but fluctuating portion of Manchuria, Mongolia and Tibet.³

Neither Goldstein's book *The Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism* nor Winston's poor memory have an answer to how these immense territories were occupied by the superpowers. Although Goldstein's document about the political theory is inadequate for having a brief historical explanation, it describes the current socio-political conditions in detail. After the decrease in the number of international players, the whole world becomes homogenous because "the three super-powers appear to have the same kind of political structure and system of social satisfaction and, in other respects too, they are mirror images of each other."⁴ Their regimes depend on maintaining a stable political and social system of inhumanity which includes paranoia, hatred and exploitation of labor. Vital human needs are dissociated from the production circle in order to sustain the current balance policy. "The superpowers are in every respect identical, their international system is never at the mercy of misunderstanding or miscalculation."⁵ Their international collaboration and foreign policy are attentively established according to the domestic needs of the authoritative elites whose goals are to conserve the totalitarian state system by regulating the power equilibrium. In spite of the frequent propaganda visions and news about the constant war, there seems to be no spectacular battles requiring massive offense or defense units and resulting in heavy casualties. Military action is taken in certain non-strategical territories by inconsiderable amount of troops; therefore the possibility of a catastrophic war threatening the existence of the three powers disappears due to restraining international violence. Brutality, violence and ferocity are not eliminated but to some degree they are tamed and constrained. War becomes an international institution, a kind of official diplomatic stage business with identified rules and limitations that are perpetually operating.

³ George Orwell, **Nineteen Eighty-Four**, London, Penguin, 2000, p.215.

⁴ Gordon A. Craig, "Triangularity and International Violence", **On Nineteen Eighty-Four**, Ed. by. Peter Stansky, New York, W.H. Freeman, 1983, p.28.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.29.

There is no material cause or any ideological incompatibility triggering the conflict. Oceania, Eurasia and Eastasia establish the same oligarchic regime of a single ruling party which has omnipotent power and is based on the total suppression of individual freedom. War has nothing to do with the opposing schools of political thought or expansionism strategy.

War is an apparatus of the Party assigned to stabilize the current established regime. In order to keep the wheels of the machine turning, the production capacity of the industry is maintained to fulfill the vital needs of the Inner and Outer Party members, military inventory and intelligence organization, instead of providing standardized form of living for healthy and educated individuals. Industrial potential is not channeled to supply food, clothing, medicine and practical tools for the masses in order to improve their living conditions, health care and food diet. Winston, for example, constantly suffers from “a varicose ulcer above his right ankle”⁶ but never mentions a social insurance or any medical institution for treatment. High level of living triggers higher expectations and awakens the liberal senses of people by drawing them off the dullness and desperate struggle of survival in which proles and the Outer Party members strive for the bare subsistence. Well-fed, both mentally and physically contented citizens are negative subjects for the oligarchical state. Political doctrines are not imposed on citizens when they do not need government. In a state of welfare like that, any form of oligarchical and totalitarian system can not last in long term. The existence and continuity of the authority of governmental elites depend upon the poverty and ignorance of the masses. While the productive system is reversed and crippled to override wealthiness, the Party comes up with international enemies, Eurasia and Eastasia and domestic antagonists, Emanuel Goldstein and the secret underground organization called The Brotherhood. Perpetual threat of the outer and inner enemies evokes a sense of fanatical devotion to the Party, in spite of the fact that the society is drifted to a materially deprived poor state by the government. As Anthony Burgess

⁶ George Orwell, **Nineteen Eighty-Four**, London, Penguin, 2000, p.1.

summarizes “loyalty and patriotism are best sustained when the enemy seems to be at the gates.”⁷

Herbert Marcuse implies that conceptualization of vital needs in society’s psychosocial discourse are converted by the rulers of the national economy in order to channel the interest to false needs that the society is supposed to demand.⁸ Contrary to the World State’s Post-Capitalist regime creating falsified daily necessities to accelerate production volume, Oceania’s false needs are military wages, weapon expenses and research costs of technological developments advancing telescreens and microphone network for more sufficient security intelligence. As long as the mode of production in Oceania is monopolized by the oligarchies, manipulation of individual identity is maintained by determining basic human needs. The World State cares about the physical health and fitness of its members for fulfilling specific jobs in the manufacturing process, whereas the Party induces citizens to accept their insalubrious and pauper condition in order to weaken them. Undermining worker qualification is not problematic for Oceania because it does not have a complicated industrial system like the World State. According to Karl Marx; the production wastes of capitalism would eventually lead countries to economical crises which would end up with the proletarian revolution, but it is not likely to foresee a revolution led by Deltas and Epsilons against the technocratic aristocrats of the World State or a rebellion led by the proles against the oligarchy of the Party. The World State is a scientifically advanced cybernetic and biochemical machine that abolishes the aggressive and disobedient nature of human beings in the process of artificial reproduction by using genetic engineering and biochemistry. Oceania assigns inhuman oppression techniques of nation states in the 20th century like making food and clothing scarce in order to induce proles and lower bureaucrats to the level of poverty and destitution; thus they are stacked in a perpetual effort of survival. Torture, sadism and brutality are assigned if any individual steps out

⁷ Anthony Burgess, *Nineteen Eighty-Five*, Boston, Little, Brown, 1978, p.5.

⁸ Herbert Marcuse, **One-dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society**. London, Routledge Classics, 2002.

of the certain stereotype. The everlasting state of war and existence of antagonists justify the dystopian panorama of Airstrip One in the eyes of the loyal citizens.

International relations among superpowers are in a dialectical way depending on their ideological opposition. The system progresses by assigning each superpower as a potential ally and potential enemy. This bilateral process goes on by constantly reemerging a new alliance which automatically results in reopening a new hostility with a new state. Every successful coalition reconciled with similar ideological conformations raises its anti-thesis in Hegelian terminology. How the superpowers have established this dialectical system is not apparent because Emanuel Goldstein's document does not include clear information about diplomatic contacts and the places where the political leaders of the superpowers assemble to discuss the details of their complicated international system. Diplomatic activities and actions concerning all the people in the world as a whole are not taken in front of the public because there is no mention of international organizations like the League of Nations or the United Nations. Probably Oceania, Eurasia and Eastasia form tacit closed-door negotiations between each other when particular mutual agreements on serious matters are decided. The mass destructive firearms issue proves the tacit relationship of the states; in spite of the fact that there is no international law banning the proliferation and usage of nuclear, hydrogen or fusion bombs, the rulers of the superpowers agree on halting the utilization of nuclear warfare. Goldstein's document supports the thesis which puts forwards the confidential intercourse between Oceania and its two antagonists.

“Some hundreds of (nuclear) bombs were dropped on industrial centers, chiefly in European Russia, Western Europe and North Africa. The effect was to convince the ruling groups of all countries that a few more atomic bombs would mean the end of organized society, and hence of their own power. Thereafter, although no formal agreement was ever made or hinted at, no more bombs were dropped.”⁹

After witnessing the cataclysmic impact of the nuclear warfare which causes mass destruction and fallout in the major cities in every nation, necessary arrangements are

⁹ George Orwell, **Nineteen Eighty-Four**, London, Penguin, 2000, p.224.

made to cease nuclear retaliation. The rulers of Oceania, Eurasia and Eastasia are not reckless despotic tyrants with the lack of diplomacy and practical reason; rather they are reasonable enough for making mutual arrangements on specific issues threatening their own existence.

War must go on to insure patriotism and obedience among society, but contrary to conventional warfare, mass destructive firearms offer neither victory nor defeat rather than the total annihilation of all the states. As Dwight D. Eisenhower stated in 1956; “no war can ever be won by nuclear arms because it makes us close to the point of destruction the enemy and suicide.”¹⁰ Oceania’s continual state of war can only be achieved if it is waged by conventional firearms because conventional warfare can be restricted and taken under control in particular territories, whereas nuclear bombs and ballistic missiles armed with atomic warheads are inexpugnable weapons overwhelming all means of defensive lines. Only conventional warfare stabilizes the continuation of war.

Prolongation of war is the ultimate objective and it can prolong forever due to the fact that the superpowers do not seek glory. They do not carry out huge military attacks so they avoid having considerable casualties and losing the entire war. Battle territories are marked by perimeters in North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula and Southern India. Military headquarters are not permitted to launch huge offensive assaults on a grand scale that may cause a change in the margins of battlegrounds. They are perpetually bound to carry out localized forays. Tactical warfare in battlefield operations and strategic reinforcements of naval and air forces have been deteriorated since World War II, it is apparent that modern military doctrines of the first half of the 20th century have been abandoned. Furthermore, military arsenal and inventory of Oceania are very scarce except for the huge stockpile of nuclear missiles. There is even no mention of an air force supplying strategic bombers or fighter planes; the only air unit is the helicopters patrolling in the skies of Airstrip One, probably aiming to observe civilian

¹⁰ Sidney D. Drell, “Newspeak and Nukespeak”, **On Nineteen Eighty-Four**, New York: W.H. Freeman, 1983, p.35.

actions and gather intelligence. There is no defensive air unit for halting rocket bombs which symbolically represent Hitler's V-2 rockets during World War II. Rocket bombs contain conventional explosives on a small scale and they do not cause severe damages in London except for making small craters in the streets and damaging buildings. The proles call them "Steamer" due to its huge roar which takes utmost attention of all the civilians. As Julia indicates "the rocket bombs which fell daily on London are probably fired by the government of Oceania itself. Just to keep people frightened."¹¹ Because they have no function and damage effectiveness rather than making cacophonous sounds to alert and scare people. Oceania is supposed to have a naval force but only a few Floating Fortresses and submarines that are exposed in propaganda sessions on TV, are the only navy units in the inventory. Most of the weapons in the arsenal of Oceania are small in number and for limited conflict. In spite of the war, there is no conscription among proles or compulsory military service for the Outer Party members. Winston encounters with most of the civil servants and bureaucrats from various departments and law-enforcement officers like the Thought Police and intelligence agents but never gets across a military officer or army staff. On this occasion Oceania can not have a huge regular army consisting of active duty officers, military personnel and troops.

It is obvious that weapon production and development are at a deadlock for years. Epic wars which are perpetually propagated in Two Minutes Hate sessions and Hate Week are just an illusion to make patriotism and obedience gain momentum among the civilians. War is the key element in maintaining the power balance in the international system. "It is a grandiose conspiracy of the three superpowers against their own subjects, implemented by a form of war that has been rationalized to the point where it simultaneously protects the power and the territory of the governing elites by means of an imposed system of restraints."¹² This manipulation constrains the people. By taming violence and fear in the state of war, the Party directs citizens of Oceania to volunteer for renouncing wealth and freedom. When the constant paranoia derived from the

¹¹ George Orwell, **Nineteen Eighty-Four**, London, Penguin, 2000, p.176.

¹² Gordon A. Craig, "Triangularity and International Violence", **On Nineteen Eighty-Four**, Ed. by. Peter Stansky, New York, W.H. Freeman, 1983, p.32.

threats jeopardizing the national security and the existence of national identity is spread, the authority of the state structure can be more easily settled.

Emanuel Goldstein is indeed a fictional character made up by the officials of the Thought Police, and his book is mostly contributed by O'Brien, one of the chief officers of the agency. Indeed, the book is an apparatus of the state and some of its information may be misleading. Despite the fact that it gives true accounts of the International Triangular System and the current socio-economical state of Oceania, it also contains fake information about the fictional secret underground organization, the Brotherhood. Guerilla resistance of the Brotherhood does not exist, it is just a trick used to take the interest of rebellious people and trap them. The book is distributed among public by the state agents who disguise as civilians and pretend to surreptitiously spread the book. At the end Winston is struck by the fact that the book which he thinks claims reality, is another work of the Party's intelligence departments. Winton's own conspiracies, Julia's implications on the propaganda techniques of the state and O'Brien's fictional book written with a pseudonym are all alternative ways for speculating on reality. But the reality is the one that the authority manifests. The authority mastering the entire social, historical and psychological discourses manifests the truth. As O'Brien tells to Winston in the torture scene:

“Whatever the Party holds to be the truth is the truth. It is impossible to see reality except by looking through the eyes of the Party.”¹³

In the novel, reality is in the hands of government which has the power to influence every concept and discourse. The main aim of the totalitarianism is that it undermines the individuals' right to lead their own life in which they possess autonomous thoughts free from the absolute truths imposed by the main ideology of the state. The state aims to dictate what you think and how you behave. George Orwell implies in his essay *Literature and Totalitarianism* that “totalitarianism isolates you from the outside world, it shuts you up in an artificial universe in which you have no

¹³ George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, London, Penguin, 2000, p.285.

standards of comparison.”¹⁴ Main ideology of the totalitarian government is monopolized and presented as the apotheosis of the political and philosophical schools of thought. Therefore, in the standardized universe of the state, the individuals become prisoners who are unaware of their captivity unless they step out the main discourse of the totalitarian ideology. The State armed with educational institutions like schools, universities; economical institutions like central bank, exchange market, trade-unions and communication institutions that control TV, internet and radio broadcast isolates human beings in its artificial world by discarding hostile concepts from language and after from human mind with the help of these institutions. All these institutions are Ideological State Apparatuses in Althusserian terms. Classical Marxist theory only defines the repressive apparatuses of the state which are the government, the army, the police, the courts and the prisons¹⁵, nevertheless Althusser gives primary importance to ISA and he indicates that “no class can hold State power over a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the State Ideological Apparatuses.”¹⁶ All the states have repressive apparatuses but the Party and the World State’s absolute long term hegemony is based on their supervision and control over all the Ideological institutions.

¹⁴ George Orwell, “Literature and Totalitarianism”, **George Orwell - Novels. Essays. Articles. Reviews. Biography. Bibliography**, November 24, 2004, http://www.orwell.ru/library/articles/totalitarianism/english/e_lat, Spring, 2010.

¹⁵ Louis Althusser, **Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays**, Trans. Ben Brewster. New York, Monthly Review, 1971, p.142.

¹⁶ Ibid. ,p.142-143.

3.1.1 SOCIAL LIFE & THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Nineteen Eighty-Four is an urban dystopia illustrated with “Ballardian”¹⁷ scenery. Winston is not only frustrated by the psychological oppression of Big Brother but also feels caged in the concreteness of London surrounded by old bleak houses, ruinous district of the proles and huge governmental buildings.

The ministry buildings are the most spectacular landscapes in London. The Ministry of Truth in which Winston works, is “an enormous pyramidal structure of glittering white concrete, soaring up, terrace after terrace, three hundred meters into the air.”¹⁸ The rest of the Ministry buildings including the Ministry of Love, the Ministry of Plenty and the Ministry of Peace have similar architectural aspects with the Ministry of Truth. Immensity of these buildings overshadowing the rest of the landscapes in London symbolically refers to the omnipotent political power of the government. Pyramidal design represents that Big Brother is transcended to the level of the pharaoh, the god on Earth as to ancient Egyptians believed, and Big Brother is also the god of Oceania.

The most prominent irony in the landscape of London is between the architecture of the Ministry of Love which has “no windows at all”¹⁹ and Victory Mansions. The government progresses confidential operations including torture, questioning and all kinds of inhuman activities in Room 101 behind the closed doors of the Ministry whose windowless concrete structure prevents the sadism of the Party from public discourse. In contrast, “Winston’s apartment house, Victory mansions, has glass doors, symbolizing the almost total lack of privacy created by the presence of telescreens

¹⁷ (adj) 1. of James Graham Ballard (born 1930), the British novelist, or his works (2) resembling or suggestive of the conditions described in Ballard’s novels and stories, esp dystopian modernity, bleak man-made landscapes and the psychological effects of technological, social or environmental developments.

¹⁸ George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, London, Penguin, 2000, p.6.

¹⁹ Ibid.

within and the swooping, prying Police patrol helicopters without.”²⁰ Private housing in Airstrip One is designed to facilitate spying on citizens. As Herbert Marcuse indicates in *One-Dimensional Man*; totalitarian governments always tends to violate privacy in order to perpetually keep an eye on the individual.²¹

There is an immense contrast between the districts where the Outer Party members and the proles live and where the Inner Party members lead a luxurious life. Winston’s neighborhood is like a labyrinth of London grim in appearance and the district of the proles is full of dusty roads, dirty pubs, narrow streets and battered doorways.²² In contrast, the Inner Party elites living in an exclusive part of town surrounded by “huge block of flats, the richness and spaciousness of everything”²³ lead a hedonist life with “good food and good tobacco.”²⁴ Similar to the caste system of the World State, Oceania has its own type of class system that distinguishes people according to their bureaucratic status in the government.

The Party induces the proles and the Outer Party members into a state of poverty and unpleasantness, and it demonstrates Eurasia and Eastasia as the creditors of their miserable conditions, so it raises patriotism and nationality within society. But the Inner Party members are the ones who compose the fictional war against Eurasia and Eastasia, create the indestructible fictional rebellion leader, Emanuel Goldstein and plan all the other propaganda and brainwashing methods of the Party, hence they live in a peaceful and comfortable world free from the fictional perils frightening the rest of the society. The district of the Inner Party elites is a utopia within a dystopia because the concept of war terrorizes and jeopardizes the lives of the proles and the Outer Party members, but does not change the lifestyle of the ruling aristocracy.

²⁰ Robert E. McGinn, “The Politics of Technology and the Technology of Politics”, **On Nineteen Eighty-Four**, Ed. by Peter Stansky, New York, W.H. Freeman, 1983, p.69.

²¹ Herbert Marcuse, *One-dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*. London, Routledge Classics, 2002.

²² George Orwell, **Nineteen Eighty-Four**, London, Penguin, 2000.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.194.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

Oceania deliberately has difficulties in managing its economy and industrial capacity in order not to distribute enough food and products of everyday use to the market. Everything is scarce in Airstrip One but the scarcity is not derived from miscalculation or from lack of economics, rather economy is directed to deficiency by deliberate mismanagement. The Ministry of Plenty pushes scarcity and starvation forward. The diet of the proles and the Outer Party members are below the required standards for sustaining a healthy body. While the Party elites have access to gather white bread, sugar, chocolate and wine, Winston can scarcely buy dark-colored bread, saccharine tablets, bad tasted coffee and Victory Gin which gives “off a sickly, oily smell, as of a Chinese rice spirit.”²⁵ The distribution of quality foodstuff takes place in the black markets where Julia illegally purchases them. These supplies are expensive and not permitted to the consumption of the Outer Party members. Although black marketing and distribution of quality staff are illegal, the Party tolerates black marketers, smugglers and bootleggers. Oceania is not a constitutional state, it has neither constitution nor any kind of law that limit or expand individual because the only crime that the party is interested in punishing is thought crime.

In addition to food problem, every item of everyday use is scarce including razor blades, buttons, darning wool and shoelaces. “At any given moment there was some necessary article which the Party shops were unable to supply.”²⁶ Although the Party informs people that the economy gets better year by year on telescreens, the clothes and poor lifestyle of civil servants belonging to the Outer Party are in deplorable conditions. “There had never been quite enough to eat, one had never socks or underclothes that were not full of holes, furniture had always been battered and rickety, rooms underheated, tube trains crowded, houses falling to pieces.”²⁷ The economic scarcity is contrived in most of the fields of production except for the intelligence equipments. The most satirical irony lies in the dichotomy between high-tech intelligence gear and wretched housings of the citizens. In spite of the fact that the Party provides every

²⁵ Ibid., p.7.

²⁶ Ibid., p.57.

²⁷ Ibid., p.68.

house with a telescreen which is 7/24 online, locates hidden microphones all around London to overhear citizens' conversations and build a huge network to deal with the millions of these intelligence devices, the Outer Party members and the proles who comprise about ninety-eight percent of the population suffer from extreme scarcity. These depictions of the contradictions and ironies of the socio-economic life of Oceania are exaggerated in order to caricaturize the government's policy of intelligence. The dichotomy between high-tech intelligence equipment and undeveloped life conditions in the flats turns novel into a parody mocking the inhuman politics of the ruling demagogues who are too enthusiastic about observing and monitoring citizens. But the politics work on behalf of the Inner Party members, because the Party's formulation of economic scarcity and social repression are justified by the society due to the progression of the fictional battle. Permanent authority is easy to be settled when the individual is driven into hopelessness by war, famine and poverty and regard the authority as the exclusive savior.

Eighty-five percent of the Oceanian population is proles, uneducated and indifferent working class living in "ratholes" as Winston calls their homes. As an Outer Party member, Winston's interpretation of the prole neighborhood expresses a general hostility and distaste for them because of their sordid streets, "smells of urine", "sawdust" and "sour beer", he sees their disordered lifestyle as a consequence of the lack of education and intellectuality. However, he writes in his diary "If there is hope, it lies in the proles"²⁸ because his ideas about the proles are complicated; on the one hand he identifies them as superior human beings than the oligarchs who despise them, on the other hand he realizes that they fail to be aware of the current political despotism due to their lack of comprehending political discourse. Their apolitical and nonintellectual lifestyle forestalls activist movements and proletarian revolution. When Winston roams the grimy neighborhood of the proles district, he encounters a mob of women in the street market rioting over the shortage of saucepans and "accusing the stall-keeper of

²⁸ Ibid., p.80.

favoritism and of having more saucepans somewhere in reserve.”²⁹ They fight harshly with each other to get hold of the saucepans instead of sharing them for a collaborative and fair social life. Witnessing this tragic scene, Winston writes in his diary; “until they become conscious they will never rebel, and until after they have rebelled they can not become conscious.”³⁰

The proles are apolitical and indifferent masses who are impotent to think of a Marxist revolution and put it into practice. The Party is aware of the fact that:

“The proles are inconsequential. Provided they work and breed, they can be left alone, turned loose like a cattle to roam at will.”³¹

The prole society is limited due to the lack of social service and the Party’s ignorance; sour beer, sexuality, gambling, football and their overall effort to survive are their only interest in the current socio-economic condition. The Party deliberately induces their life to the level of triviality and banality by simply neglecting them. The Inner Party members do not tolerate them, just dehumanize and insult them by caging them in their limited world out of the politics of Ingsoc and propaganda sessions. No attempt is made to indoctrinate them with the ideology of the Party. It is not desirable that the proles should have strong political feelings.³² On the condition that they avoid hostile political discourses and do not commit thought crime, the Party and its security forces does not care much about their crimes including debauchery and adultery which is strictly forbidden to the Outer Party members because how disordered and chaotic is their home, how inhuman and dreadful their habitat and what they do and commit simply do not matter for the Big Brother. The only thing the Party requires them to have a primitive patriotism which can be appealed to whenever it is necessary to make them accept longer working hours or shorter rations.³³ The proles are regarded as cogwheels in the machine used for maintaining necessary labor for keeping the wheels of the

²⁹ Ibid., p.81.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Patrick Reilly. **Nineteen Eighty-four: Past, Present, and Future**, Boston, Twayne, 1989, p.94.

³² George Orwell, **Nineteen Eighty-Four**, London, Penguin, 2000, p.82.

³³ Ibid., p.82.

economy turning in order to fulfill the luxurious necessities of the ruling class and financial expenses of the Thought Police, intelligence units and military.

When the proles are the case, the propaganda procedure of Ingsoc differs from the methods used for the Outer Party members. The ideological indoctrination of Ingsoc is not required to be imposed on the proles due to their lack of political terminology and education, thus trivial activities are organized by the Party in order to keep them apart from politics. Interest in political discourse and philosophy may trigger their curiosity and intellectuality so that they can criticize the current socio-political conditions and pursue alternative political movements like Anarchism or Marxism. It is almost impossible for the Thought Police and intelligence agency to spy on all the proles because most of them do no own telescreens and the microphones are not widely located in their district. The most popular activity among the proles is the Lottery. It is the only public event that takes the utmost attention. Indeed, Lottery is another fabrication of the propaganda department; it is just a fantasy because the prizes are “largely imaginary..... only small sums are actually paid out and winners of the big prizes are non-existent persons.”³⁴ Caged in a constantly poor and banal life, the proles are mesmerized by the fascination of the never-existing Lottery prizes which resemble the pot of gold under the rainbow.

Winston ventures into the prole district in order to have a truthful account of history in the first half of the 20th century because his mind is not very clear about the details of the Pre-Oceanic civilization before the emergence and governance of the Party. He hypothesizes that an old prole born in the early years of the century may help him to ascertain the past events because unlike the Party Members, proles are not brainwashed and indoctrinated by the educational and social institutions of the state but Winston’s hypothesis turns out to be a disappointment. The old man in the pub does not possess the political and social background of London before the Ingsoc revolution. This is the orientation of the Party. It declares that before the revolution, there had been nothing, just darkness and ignorance until Big Brother liberated and enlightened people.

³⁴ Ibid., p.98.

The history starts when the Party comes to power; human civilization and history before it are just accounts of chaos and disorder. Similar to the World State's strategy that obliterates the past before Ford, Oceania aims to remove the history before the establishment the Party from recognition and memories. Although the old prole is aged enough to have lived in England before it was absorbed by Oceania, he remembers nothing rather than the price and taste of the beer. The proles in general, "young and old have no talent for analysis, comparison or criticism."³⁵ The proles are impotent to establish an objective account of the political history but just capable of giving individual interpretations about the trivial details of daily life. Winston questions the old prole in order to learn something new free from the official history accounts of the Party but his memory is just full of useless details.

While the proles are directed to total ignorance about the past accounts of the political life before the Party, Ingsoc's historical discourse is manifested to the Party members according to the clichés of anti-capitalist Marxist rhetoric. What the Outer Party members are allowed to know is that before Big Brother, capitalists, bourgeoisie and a few lawyers and priests so forth who lived on them were the lords of the earth. Everything existed for their benefit.³⁶ The Party proposes a world of binary oppositions in which Pre-Oceanic capitalist bourgeoisie is evil and aristocrats of the Ingsoc ideology are angelic saviors of the Oceanians.

Winston wishes to compare life conditions before and after the governance of the Party in order to elucidate the truth behind the claim that Big Brother has recuperated economy and wealth of public. But Winston fails to gather adequate evidences to justify his claim that the Party distorts history. According to his observations, the proles are not reliable because they can not recognize the facts and explicate political and social life in a broader sense. As Winston implies, "they are like ants which can see small objects but not large ones."³⁷ The relevant information that Winston needs is far beyond their intellectuality and vision. Furthermore, the Party members are also ignorant of the

³⁵ Patrick Reilly, **Nineteen Eighty-four: Past, Present, and Future**. Boston, Twayne, 1989, p.98.

³⁶ George Orwell, **Nineteen Eighty-Four**, London, Penguin, 2000, p.103.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.107.

possible facts as they are all brainwashed and not wise enough to notice the inconsistencies and misinterpretations in Ingsoc's history accounts. Therefore, Winston becomes an individualist anarchist who is alone in his attempt to "forge his anti-Ingsoc ideology without their direct help"³⁸

The most prominent dichotomous aspect that distinguishes the proles from the Outer Party members, as Winston perceives, is their naïve life lacking the ideological discipline and instructions of the Party. Their mentality is not tampered by the abstract conceptualizations of the Party. Winston, thinking of his and other Party members' paranoid and horrendous bureaucratic life, senses a natural naiveté in the proles. While the Inner and the Outer Party disciples worship the totalitarian ideology of Ingsoc which aims to reform human nature by programming it with the artificial chauvinist and patriotic political discourses, the proles by the help of ignorance and indifference form a simple worldview that does not idolize the Party and not care about Ingsoc. Their ignorance leads them to the denial of all institutions and authority. Ideology does not matter in the proletarian discourse, instead their social and pragmatic relationships with each other are the vital issues, therefore they can make the necessary arrangements in order to survive and make their harsh life conditions at least bearable. The proles just know each other; they do not know the current conflicting political atmosphere in the world and the condition of people living out of the prole district. Comparing the proles and the Party members with this criterion, Winston justifies the women's fighting for saucepans because their will to survive and fulfill the necessities of their material existence is more rational than fighting for the abstract conceptions of politics made up by a high class of despotic intellectuals who are the actual benefactors. According to Winston, Ingsoc and other the political ideologies can not be transcended and valued more than the life and existence of an individual. The idolized leader Big Brother and the absolute political discourse, the Ingsoc, are the paradigms of Oceanian orthodoxy but not the prole district. Their minds lack idols, leaders and political masterminds so they live in apolitical world free from the degeneration of brainwashing. They do not

³⁸ Patrick Reilly, **Nineteen Eighty-four: Past, Present, and Future**. Boston, Twayne, 1989, p.100.

“become hardened inside”³⁹ and are not metamorphosed into inhuman emotionless disciples of the Party rather as Winston implies “they have held on the primitive emotions which he had to re-learn by conscious effort”⁴⁰ For Winston, the proles are the real human beings due to their natural emotions and naivety when they are compared with the Party members who are paranoid, indoctrinated humanoids. The proles are not loyal to the Party but are loyal to each other. In contrast Winston and Julia are supposed to show faithfulness and love to the Party and their bond is only allowed when it is induced to an act of reproduction for the sake of Oceania. “It is Winston and his co-intellectuals who inhabit a manic world of nightmarish dehumanization,”⁴¹ not proles in spite of their lack of intellectuality and modernity.

Winston sees proles as the only hope for overthrowing the Party with a proletarian revolution but the Party is invincible and the proles do not possess revolutionary activism. Their attributes that save them from the ideological corruption of Ingsoc, also makes them passive and unqualified for any revolutionary act. Their concentration on the daily life of the district precludes their involvement in the search of the truth hidden behind the illusionary vision of Big Brother. Political indoctrination is twofold; while it turns most of the individuals into mindless dummies, some of the reasoning citizens like Winston and Julia armed with the ability of interpreting politics is likely to realize the inconsistencies and contradicting actions between the ideological manifestation of the Party and its practical methods in real life. Whereas, the proles are completely ignorant of the political discourse and impotent to apprehend the misinterpretations of the state, a prole rebellion coordinated by the secret Brotherhood Organization is another fantasy of Winston’s romantic ideology. The proles are more naïve, natural and honest than the Party members but these inner human aspects are powerless against a state armed with the monopolization of all the historical, socio-economic and political discourses. Contrary to Winston’s romantic idealism, Stanley Milgram’s famous obedience experiment explains that human beings are naturally inclined to obey authority in

³⁹ George Orwell, **Nineteen Eighty-Four**, London, Penguin, 2000, p.191.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.192.

⁴¹ Patrick Reilly, **Nineteen Eighty-four: Past, Present, and Future**. Boston, Twayne, 1989, p.101.

critical situations and leave the decision to an authority. From birth to death, every individual is taught to obey by parents, teachers, elders and anyone who claims authority on individual act. In Hegelian terms, an oppressed class should be armed with the anti-thesis of the totalitarian ideology in order to dialectically acknowledge its methods and oppose it. Natural human tendencies lead proles to total obedience and unconscious loyalty to the acts of the Party. As Emanuel Goldstein's Marxist criticism points out;

“Left to themselves, the proles will continue from generation to generation and from century to century, working, breeding and dying, not only any impulse to rebel but without the power of grasping that the world could be other than this. They could only become dangerous if the advance of industrial technique made it necessary to educate them more highly; but since military and commercial rivalry are no longer important, the level of popular education is actually declining.”⁴²

It is obvious that Marxist ideology is fully comprehended by the Party intellectuals because the factors which are likely to trigger a revolutionary movement among proles, are conscientiously eliminated forever. Industry structure of Oceania is not complicated and does not require qualified and trained workers in order to fulfill specific jobs because unlike the World State, range and amount of products are very scarce and the economy does not depend on consumption. Huxley's post-capitalist State calls for qualified Delta and Epsilon workers in order to satisfy the high rates of demands all over the world but Oceania's industrial capacity and commerce network is already deteriorated and wealth of the nation is sacrificed to strengthen the authority of the state. Rather than educating, the Party depoliticizes proles and entirely excludes all the opportunities of knowledge and information by removing records, documents, books and documents from the prole district. The World State carries out the same method and imposed illiteracy on all the castes of the society by abolishing museums, libraries and historical monuments.

⁴² George Orwell, **Nineteen Eighty-Four**, London, Penguin, 2000, p.240.

3.1.2. TECHNOLOGY, COMMUNICATION & TORMENT

Telescreen network is the crucial element in the Party's communication system. All the Inner and Outer Party members are mandatorily required to have a telescreen which is a two-dimensional audio-visual device; it is always online and connected to the vast network. "There is no way of shutting it off completely"⁴³ for the user. "The telescreen receives and transmits simultaneously. "Any sound that Winston has made, above the level of a very low whisper, would be picked up by it."⁴⁴ Telescreen is a caricatured version of the TV, the people become not only passive viewers but also the main actors and actresses in the mass theater of the Party. All the males and females are given certain roles to perform and are observed attentively by Big Brother, the ones who are not able to play his or her role are disqualified.

Telescreens are not a device for entertainment because there is scarcely any visual program except for the gymnastic program broadcasted every morning to keep the Party members fit for work. Apart from its intelligence function, telescreens are used to repeatedly broadcast national anthems, military marches and propaganda speeches. Unlike Huxley, Orwell ignores the opportunities of TV as an ideal provider for broadcasting trivial entertainment programs and alienating people from the politics and the state affairs. In Orwell's terminology, telescreen is a propaganda machine hypnotizing the Outer Party members with fictional documentaries, news and chauvinist movies. Designing telescreen as a dull machine used for assisting intelligence and violating privacy, Orwell skips the attraction and great impact of visual entertainment that fascinates millions of people and detains them in front of the TV. Telescreens are also very costly and complicated machines that the state only affords to locate primarily in the flats of the Outer and the Inner party members. A small minority of the proles have telescreens because they are not worthy to be watched, it is just a waste of time for the police.

⁴³ Ibid., p.4.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.5.

In addition to telescreen, other communication systems are also rare and are not technologically advanced in the novel. There is no depiction of telephones, TVs, radios or any other transmitting devices. Any private or two-way communication network used by the people for their personal interests and entertainment are not permitted. According to Herbert Marcuse's interpretation, privacy is violated by the totalitarian states in order to preserve security and assure ideological consistency. Privacy is the ultimate heresy against the Party's concept of togetherness. Telescreens function to strengthen social ties with Big Brother by "disseminating the Party's information simultaneously to all network members for their involuntary consumption, and extracts information from them without their knowledge or consent."⁴⁵ The concept of national unity depends on the mutual participation of individuals and the Party officials through the communication network.

Mail service is also restricted in Oceania. All letters are opened, scanned for indecent phrases and most of them are removed during transit. People need to rely on printed postcards on which phrases in Newspeak are already written. The Party tends to make citizens avoid writing by leading them to use printed postcards, therefore Old English is replaced by Newspeak.

The transportation system is no better than the communication network. Public transportation vehicles like tubes, buses or trains are very rare in order to diminish private traveling. Winston and the rest of the Outer Party members mostly travel on foot. Only Inner Party members are permitted to own a car because private cars offer considerable freedom as a means of private transportation. The citizens of Airstrip One are limited with places in walking distance.

Electricity and heating are the other major technological and mechanical problems that are imposed on people by the state. Central heating systems in the apartments are controlled by the Party and private rooms are deliberately underheated in order to gather family members in the sitting room across the telescreen. And in spite of the fact that

⁴⁵ Robert E. McGinn, "The Politics of Technology and the Technology of Politics", **On Nineteen Eighty-Four**, Ed. by Peter Stansky, New York, W.H. Freeman, 1983, p.72.

the electricity is constantly cut off and the elevators are out of order all the time, telescreens in each home always work properly, government must have inserted different energy supplies for telescreens and the rest of the electrical devices.

“The precisely synchronized, centrally time-telling system is another source of Inner Party Power.”⁴⁶ None of the Outer Party members have private clocks or watches in the novel. The only source for learning time is the telescreen. Winston sees an old-glass clock in the room upstairs in Mr.Charrington’s antiques shop. But the old man soon turns out to be an agent of the Thought Police in disguise. And the only man who owns a private wristwatch in the book is O’Brien. Even the concept of time is under the control of the Party by its exclusion of time-telling items from the market. Time is indeed relative and abstract but it materializes into something concrete with watches and clocks. Incarcerated in the Ministry of Love, Winston becomes dazzled and unconscious in the windowless cell due to being excluded from the concept of time; it is O’Brien who is the only source of knowledge about how long he spends his time in prison. As long as time progresses, society instinctually expects a change and development in every aspect of life. With the exclusion of time from daily life to the utmost degree, it occurs to the individuals that nothing is likely to change. For the Party everything shall be at a standstill forever. Preserving the established socio-political and scientific condition is the primary concern of the World State and the Party so they exclude time and the concept of social change, therefore their regime repeats itself over the years.

Oceania has no jailhouses for ordinary crimes because there can’t be any outlaws in a society where there is no law, the only crime that matters, is the thought crime which is punished by being incarcerated and tortured in the Ministry of Love. It is widely known that the Party uses brutal and inhuman methods of both physical and psychological torture in order to form a particular kind of society. But this torture is not a punishment, according to the Party, the Ministry of Love is a sanitarium for the rehabilitation of neurotics and psychopaths who display antisocial and indecent

⁴⁶ Ibid., p.73.

behavior that may harm the collective structure and unity of the society. O'Brien explains Winston why he is taken to the Ministry;

“Shall I tell you why we have brought you here? To cure you! To make you sane! Will you understand, Winston, that no one whom we bring to this place ever leaves our hands uncured.”⁴⁷

The torture technique of O'Brien is not very brutal; mostly he employs psychological methods and intellectual arguments to break Winston's encouragement and self-esteem. Long term imprisonment and execution are not applied because the aim is not to punish Winston but to cure him by emptying his mind from the various thoughts and indoctrinate it with the concept of Ingsoc. Every autonomous individual is a failure that demonstrates the incapability of manipulation techniques in Oceania, hence execution or any other annihilating methods are not engaged, and the point is to purify the mind with the help of mental and psychological pressure. As O'Brien says on behalf of the Party; “we do not merely destroy our enemies, we change them.”⁴⁸ Physical abuse and death penalty are replaced by the process of psychological manipulation which includes electric shocks, dehumanizing, isolating and making the prisoner face with his ultimate fear. Psychological torture maximizes the impact of the mental breakdown that induces the individual to a state of helplessness so that the Party can regain its reputation and respect by exploiting that psychological collapse. An FBI executive comments that; “when you break a man by torture, he will always hate you. If you break him by intelligence, he will always fear and respect you.”⁴⁹ That is the reason why O'Brien is not portrayed as a brutal torturer but is depicted as a sophisticated and intellectual agent armed with the political and philosophical knowledge. It is obvious that the Party allows the chiefs of the Thought Police to read various books about political discourse and philosophical schools of thought so that O'Brien can easily

⁴⁷ George Orwell, **Nineteen Eighty-Four**, London, Penguin, 2000, p.289.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.290.

⁴⁹ Darius Rejali, “Whom Do You Trust? What Do You Count On?”, **On Nineteen Eighty-Four: Orwell and Our Future**, Ed. by. Abbott Gleason, Jack Goldsmith, and Martha C. Nussbaum, Princeton, Princeton UP, 2005, p.175.

refute the arguments of Winston. The socio-cultural structure of Oceania presents few opportunities to Winston for developing his character; he is incapable of acquiring any kind of Pre-Oceanic document or account that is able to assist him in the process of forming his anti-Ingsoe ideology. He is destined to be defeated in the psycho-intellectual warfare against O'Brien because the society and the state do not give him the chance of reading the background information of various political orientations.

Although Winston fails to present rational proofs and prove his private thesis stating that the Party will somehow be dethroned by the inner force of human nature or some kind of abstract universal power, his romantic confidence for the revolutionary potential of the proles still remains. In order to break Winston's romantic idealism, O'Brien employs the most effective torture technique which summons the ultimate fear of Winston, the rats. The aim of this torture is to break all the emotional relations of the individual with the other people, hence he can channel all his energy and love at Big Brother. Forced to wear a mask in the shape of a rat cage, Winston is expected to betray the person he loves most in order to save himself. "Do it to Julia. Not me! Julia! I don't care what you do to her. Tear her face off, strip her to the bones."⁵⁰ These are the key words to end the torture. Winston is cured and purified from the negative aspects of the romanticism and love. Once he betrays Julia and himself, he can never love and respect her and his self-identity. Betrayal of love and his idealistic mentality induce Winston to be ashamed of his traitor-self so he can never have the enthusiasm for revolutionary actions.

Torture has always been a vital apparatus of the states used for discriminating and identifying traitors and antagonists by forcing them to confess. However, in Oceania the confession is already guaranteed with the strong evidences collected by the telescreens and hidden mikes. With the help of developments in various disciplines of psychology like psychoanalytic and behaviorism, the physical torture is altered by the Party and it is modernized to drive the victim to mental downfall and ruin individual identity forever. Oceania is a state of tyranny because the government does not hesitate to abuse

⁵⁰ George Orwell, **Nineteen Eighty-Four**, London, Penguin, 2000, p.329.

criminals and the brutal acts continues until the ideological purification is accomplished. In this respect, the World State has a civilized system that cares about the right to live and lets dissatisfied Alphas live on their own on the islands. The World State performs genetic and bio-chemical modifications on human anatomy because it essentially cares about wealth and happiness of the society in spite of its totalitarian structure. Whereas the Party sacrifices the lives of the majority of Oceania's population in order to favor the Inner Party members.

3.3 SYMBOLISM, SEXUALITY & GENDER CODES

The totalitarian regimes need eternal leaders who symbolize the official ideology and nation's unity. Abolishing opposing politic figures, governments create transcendent forefathers and reconcile public discourse with the perfection of them. The image of the idealized leader monopolizes the public's attention so it assists the state in preserving the ideological stability. Dialectical system of reasoning and democracy are disrupted as long as the idealized leader and the official ideology that he symbolizes define every other ideological anti-thesis as inferior and corrupted. The symbolic dominance of the eternalized leader continues forever, and the bureaucrats of the regime claim that they are the guardians of the official ideology and the state. Thus the mission of preserving the ideological structure of the state becomes an unquestionable duty and is imposed on society. Rather than the free choice of the public, obedience to the leader and his political orientation becomes an assignment and duty towards the state. Absolute power depends on how successfully the state monopolizes all the political symbols, images and icons. For example; in Turkey, the image of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was reconciled with the Jacobin nation-state ideology and his figure was made compatible with the nationalist and chauvinist movements by the governments after World War II. The eternal uniting symbol of Mustafa Kemal always exists to justify the totalitarian governance of the politicians, army officials and bureaucrats throughout the

history of Turkish Republic. Dialectical theory and democracy have been obstructed by the unquestionable idealism of Mustafa Kemal that officially labels every opposing political anti-thesis as inferior. His image has become a dogma that the state exploits and uses to legitimize its anti-democratic and oppressive acts.

In the novel, Big Brother never comes out, he is widely known among the public due to the references about him in announcements and news but his physical appearance is not revealed on the telescreen or in public places. None of the Party members see him personally; he is just a voice and “a face on the hoardings.”⁵¹ Winston doubts about the reality behind the legend of Big Brother because as a civil servant working in the fiction department of the Ministry of Truth, he is aware of the state’s policy of inventing fictional heroes and martyrs. Similar to Winston’s creation of the fake heroic death of Comrade Ogilvy who has never existed, the state may have made up the image of Big Brother. Novel ends without exposing the true account of Big Brother but probably he is just another work of the fiction department.

Indeed, the true existence of Big Brother is not of crucial importance because it is the efficient powerful symbolism of him that is feared and praised widely. Machiavelli states in *The Prince*; “since love and fear can hardly exist together, if we must choose between them, it is far safer to be feared than loved.”⁵² In society’s discourse, love and affection for Big Brother are derived from the utmost fear that is spread by the extrajudicial arrestments, torture and surveillance methods committed by the Thought Police. Unlimited juridical power and inhuman acts of punishment transcend Big Brother to the level of a deity which is extremely hailed and worshipped. Faithfulness of Muslims, Christians and Jews is not a consequence of their gratefulness upon God for the creation of mankind; rather it is God’s sovereignty and omnipotence that takes the attention and care of the believers. When an individual encounter the image of an undefeatable enemy, s/he embraces the ideology of it. The post-structuralist philosopher Judith Butler states that “subject’s desire for power explains why it adopts the norms

⁵¹ Ibid., p.238.

⁵² Nicolo Machiavelli, **The Prince**, Chapter XVII

and ideals of power and thereby subjugates itself.”⁵³ According to Butler’s assumption, an individual manipulated by the Althusserian apparatuses of the state intends to participate in the support of the official ideology and becomes a subservient person whose identity is based on the norms of the authority; therefore the individual becomes the subject of the state. The Party abolishes religious discourse and terminology and replaces them with the political manifestations of Ingsoc because the figure of God is a hostile concept of power against the absolute hegemony of Big Brother. In most of the totalitarian countries, the state collaborates with religion in order to repress citizens but the Party rejects being an ally with Christianity as it forces individuals to become the subjects of religious hegemony. All the passion, faith and energy must be channeled to the authority of the Party and not to be disrupted by the divine concepts. For example; the propaganda poet Ampleforth is arrested because he does not remove the word “God” in order not to ruin the rhyme pattern while they are rearranging a poem of Kipling. In the long term, the Party plans to entirely get rid of the concept of God and Christian customs.

Big Brother resembles the concept of God. The Party organizes mass worshipping rituals like mass rallies, mass exercises, Hate Week and Two Minutes Hate sessions in order to honor his leadership. Regarding Oceania’s own religious codes and dogmatic discourse, it can be called as the politicized version of a theocratic state. The image of God has always been a disguise for the political and religious authorities in order to demonstrate their ideology to the public. Similar to that interpretation, Emanuel Goldstein’s book indicates that; “Big Brother is the guise in which the Party chooses to exhibit itself in the world.”⁵⁴ It is just a guise, not a fact. It is not Big Brother himself but Thought Police is watching you. There is no concrete existence of him, he is just a symbol masking the machine behind.

Fascist states were mainly designed by the patriarchal male discourse; all of the leaders of the totalitarian nation states in the 20th century were male including Hitler,

⁵³ Philip Goldstein, **Post-Marxist Theory: an Introduction**, Albany, State University of New York, 2005, p.82.

⁵⁴ George Orwell, **Nineteen Eighty-Four**, London, Penguin, 2000, p.238.

Stalin, Franco, Mussolini and Salazar. Women were never allowed to play an active role in the hierarchical structure of the parties in these states because mainly men were associated with political power and they dominated the political discourse in the first half of the 20th century. Orwell's dictator is Big Brother, a male sibling, not a mother or sister figure because motherhood and sisters refers to affection, care and love towards the children. Mothers and big sisters mostly care about health, welfare, education and intellectual development of the family members. Whereas fathers and brothers tend to place emphasis on their authority in the house and are associated with material power.

The Party chooses to demonstrate a figure of Big Brother to the public not a Big Father because;

“assigning the role of political leader to a Big Father would arouse the expectation that the father would grow old, weaken and eventually turn over his authority to his younger, stronger male heir. By elevating the oldest brother to the position of ultimate strength, Oceania effectively claims that there is no possibility of changing the status quo. Your older brother will live as long as you will, especially since he is always bigger and stronger than you.”⁵⁵

In the hierarchical structure of the patriarchal family, the authority of the father is not perpetual, and is inevitably taken over by the male inheritors.

Interpreting the image of the big brother in Freudian terms, we see that he is excluded from the unconscious sexual relationships of the family. Domination of father triggers sexual tendencies; the Oedipus Complex and its analogous Elektra Complex. The former refers to a young boy's sexual attachment to his mother and the latter is a daughter's sexual desire for the father. But big brother is the symbolic obstructor that disrupts the Freudian relation among family members. Eventually he threatens and takes over the authority of father, therefore mother and daughter become the subjects of the new patriarchal figure. In Oceania, Big Brother strictly restrains sexual acts and chastity of women in order not to let them form their autonomous female identity. Unlike an elderly father, symbolically Big Brother is always young and powerful, and

⁵⁵ Anne Mellor, “You're Only a Rebel from the Waist Downwards: Orwell's view of Women”, **On Nineteen Eighty-Four**, Ed. by. Peter Stansky, New York, W.H. Freeman, 1983, p.116.

keeps women under surveillance in order not to let them step out of the sexist morality of the patriarchy. Also, big brother's dominance derived from his strong physical appearance induces younger brother to be the sexually inferior partner and destroys his sexual fantasies and personal authority in the family hierarchy. In the streets of Airstrip One, Big Brother is portrayed very masculine in the posters with a heavy black moustache and strong body, hence his image makes all the male population in Oceania look inferior in terms of both sexual and political power.

In such a patriarchal society, women are induced to limited and stereotypical gender roles. Male discourse of Oceania adopts the traditional patriarchal codes and personifies women as faithful disciples of the state or seductive whores tempted by sexual freedom. Extreme dichotomy between these two types of women builds a sexist society in which any distinct female discourse can not be formed. While the Party's femininity code and discourse are embodied in Mrs. Parson and Katharine whose body, mind and female identity are completely devoted to the politics of the Party, Julia is the only female antagonist in the novel who resists preserving her body for Big Brother. She is so sexually liberated, attractive and intelligent that her appearance triggers sadist instincts of Winston at first because he thinks that he can never go to bed with her and have a long term relationship with a satisfactory sexual intercourse. Winston wants to "flog her to death with a rubber truncheon"⁵⁶ or to "tie her naked to a stake and shoot her full of arrows."⁵⁷ The patriarchal propaganda makes a healthy sexual intercourse impossible by banning extramarital affairs and restraining sexuality. Sexuality becomes a taboo in social terminology.

Winston is good at perceiving the political manipulations of the Party because he can realize the incompatibilities in the current state of war and political atmosphere as a civil servant working in the Ministry of Truth but he fails to understand that desexualization is also a part of the politics. Julia is not old and experienced enough to compare recent history with the current conditions but is intelligent enough for exposing

⁵⁶ George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, London, Penguin, 2000, p.18.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.18.

that the Party aims to repress natural sexual instincts. She reveals the Party's policy by saying;

“When you make love you're using up energy, and afterwards you feel happy and don't give a damn for anything. They can't bear you fell like that. They want you to be bursting with energy all the time.”⁵⁸

The Party thinks that sexual satisfaction and orgasm stimulates individuals to ignore politics and provoke them for underestimating the authority of the state so the women are forced to alienate their physical body and sexual freedom. In a patriarchal society like that women “manifests themselves as terrified downtrodden drudges like Mrs. Parsons or fetishised projections of male sexual obsessions and fears like Katharine.”⁵⁹ Katharine is Winston's partisan wife whose mentality is brainwashed by the Anti-Sex League and her involvement in the Outer Party circle assigns her with the duty of reproduction. As Winston's depicts her; “she had not a thought in her head that was not a slogan, and there was no imbecility, absolutely none that she was not capable of swallowing if the Party handed it out to her.”⁶⁰ Unlike Julia, she regards sexual feelings and satisfaction as disgusting affairs. The Party manifests sexual intercourse as an indecent act but a required operation for reproducing future generations. Sex, especially vaginal intercourse becomes an “official business”⁶¹ in Oceania. The Party assigns the use of vagina only for reproduction missions and nothing else. Sex is induced to productive process and regarded as a necessary component for the Party's manufacture of acolytes. Reproduction is the only aim of sex. Although Katharine abhors sexuality, she is the one that insists on having a sexual intercourse and bestow a child to the Party in order to accomplish her duty as a woman.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.153.

⁵⁹ Jenny Taylor, “Desire is Thoughtcrime”, **Nineteen Eighty-Four in 1984: Autonomy, Control, and Communication**, Ed. by. Crispin Aubrey, and Paul A. Chilton, London, Comedia Pub. Group, 1984. p.29.

⁶⁰ George Orwell, **Nineteen Eighty-Four**, London, Penguin, 2000, p.76.

⁶¹ Patrick Reilly, **Nineteen Eighty-four: Past, Present, and Future**. Boston, Twayne, 1989, p.75.

Their sexual relationship turns out to be an official state work and is acted on a regular basis once a week. Katharine agrees to give up trying and she leaves Winston because she feels ashamed of failing to perform his duty of reproduction. The Party considers the female body as a manufacturing plant which is required to produce a child. It is useless as long as it lacks the function of production. Katharine embodies the ideal woman type that the Party aims to create; a woman who alienates her body and the natural act of motherhood, and sees sex as a disgusting unnatural act obliged to perform for the sake of the Party but not for pleasure or individual satisfaction.

Julia resists the indoctrinations of the Party and realizes that a sexually liberated conscious woman threatens the production process of the Party. In a state where the government claims absolute control over mental and physical aspects of women, Julia's hedonist rebellion oriented by the pursuit of sexual pleasure and sexual liberation assaults against the patriarchal hegemony of the Party. However, Julia is not a coquette that seduces Winston for physical satisfaction. She also reconciles love with the purity of sexual intercourse because sex and love are the two basic components of a healthy courtship between the partners. Love is also a revolutionary act due to its impact on diminishing the rate of loyalty and faithfulness of the society toward the Party. Love destroys sexual Puritanism program of the state with the aid of elevating individual's emotional identity over the Party's emphasis on anti-eroticism.

Julia has a natural tendency for love and reconciles the concept of love with nature. She plans to settle their first date in the country far from London. The depiction of Winston and Julia's naked bodies making love on the ground are romanticized and eroticized; it implies that love and eroticism still survive in nature which is isolated from the mechanic and industrial machine of the state and London with its urbanized and gloomy nightmare. London is depressingly dark and induces individuals into a mood of melancholy and paranoia, whereas the country stimulates the innate feelings

and intimate desires. Julia has a “special empathy with nature”⁶² which is depicted in traditional romantic writings; the female body is mostly integrated into the concept of nature and purity. Orwell follows that clichéd romantic narration in the country scene at first but then we learn that although nature has a peaceful atmosphere, it is not a sanctuary against the state because in the torture scene, O’Brien informs Winston that he is aware of their appointment in the country. Technology and the totalitarianism metamorphose nature into a hostile mechanism because the Party also locates intelligence devices and spies even in the rural areas.

As the monopolist of all emotions, the Party restricts private dates and sends lovers to the Ministry of Love to cure them. Until the terror and humiliation in Room 101, Winston and Julia are faithful to each other but O’Brien’s approach that presents the utmost phobia annihilates the intimacy between the lovers so Big Brother regains his own place in their mind. Loving someone rather than Big Brother is the utmost heresy in Oceania. Winston is not tormented in Room 101 because of his tendency for criticizing the politics of the Party or Julia is not punished due to her sexual intercourses with Winston and other Party members before. The Party excruciates them as they love and value someone instead of worshipping Big Brother.

Regarding the Party’s accounts of sexuality, gender codes and patriarchal view, the main thesis of the government emerges. The state tends to repress sexual drives in order to make the Party members focus on the activities of patriotism like marches, Hate Week celebrations and Two-Minutes Hate sessions. According to the Party, sexual liberty and totalitarianism are incompatible. Conventional political orthodoxy of Oceania is ruined if the Party members become sexually free individuals and spend their time to sexual act and love rather than militarist and patriotic demonstrations. Sexual intercourse is driven by the animalistic and primal instincts of human nature so it is considered as an uncivilized and immoral behavior in the Party’s discourse. As

⁶² Jenny Taylor, “Desire is Thoughtcrime”, **Nineteen Eighty-Four in 1984: Autonomy, Control, and Communication**, Ed. by. Crispin Aubrey, and Paul A. Chilton, London, Comedia Pub. Group, 1984, p.121.

O'Brien indicates, the government not only diminishes sexual desires but also seeks to discover ways to completely get rid of it.

“The sex instinct will be eradicated. Procreation will be an annual formality like the renewal of a ration card. We shall abolish orgasm. Our neurologists are at work upon it now.”⁶³

In the case of sexual drives, there is a huge contradiction between the policies of the World State and the Party; while the former one employ drugs and hedonism in order to increase sexual desires, the latter applies science for transforming human anatomy into a non-sexual humanoid.

For the objective of abolishing sexual instincts, the Party progresses a psychological warfare against the Outer and Inner Party members. First step is desexualization; by removing the concept of beauty from daily life, the Party prevents males and females from eroticizing their physical body. According to Winston's depiction, London is like a freak show because “the majority of people in Airstrip One were small, dark, and ill-favored”⁶⁴ and “nearly everyone was ugly”⁶⁵ he says. Physical aestheticism is the source of sexual temptation; regime's anti-sexual ideology illustrates human body as a grotesque image so none of the individuals become the object of desire.

By the help of Julia, Winston overcomes the manipulation of desexualization progress and her affection teaches him how to desire someone passionately. Tendency for sadism and violence in Winston's mind are vanished and metamorphosed into intimacy and love. However, at the end of the book, after the Party's torment sessions work efficiently and force them to betray each other, the couple becomes identical copies of the stereotypical Party members.

In the Ministry of Love Winston and Julia are accused of desiring; desire is thought to be a crime. Indeed, their sexual act and love toward each other are

⁶³ George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, London, Penguin, 2000, p.306.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.69.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

insignificant crimes for the Party but to desire someone apart from the shelter and mateship of Big Brother threatens the system and labels them as rebellious. Animalistic desire unrefined by the material ideology of Ingsoc poses the utmost menace if it is not kept under control among the Party members.

Most of the interpretations of literary critics I have read so far point out that Orwell's despotic state plans to abolish sexual tendencies of all the population. That criticism is incompatible with the case of prostitution. As I have implied above, the government aims to eliminate sexually liberal and conscious individuals whose sexual desires depoliticize them but it does not incline to wipe out sexual act from the discourse of all the population within the state. Prostitution is encouraged by the state and no legal process is required to halt debauchery or adultery because neither the prostitute nor the male customer is driven by an intense desire toward each other and wish to have a long term passionate intercourse, rather the aim of prostitution is orgasm, just a biological relief and satisfaction. Such a vulgar sexual act lacking desire, intimacy and joy does not menace the authority of the state.

The Party follows a distinct sexual program in the prole district. While the anti-sexual policy is imposed strictly on the Party members, the proles are freed from the sexual repression. In addition, they are provoked to be degenerated by debauchery and indecent sexual behaviors. "A whole bureau in the Ministry of Truth is devoted to creating pornographic novels and films for them."⁶⁶ Pornography and smut magazines promote the growth of vulgar sexual desires that only aim to achieve orgasmic satisfaction without intimacy and love. Dehumanized and descended to the level of animals by the regime, the proles are impotent to be conscious of the political system that indirectly disdains them. As Herbert Marcuse implies in *One-Dimensional Man*; in industrial societies, "sex is integrated into work and public relations and is thus made more susceptible to satisfaction."⁶⁷ The state de-eroticizes sexual intercourse and

⁶⁶ Paul Robinson, "For the Love of Big Brother: The Sexual Politics of Nineteen Eighty-Four", **On Nineteen Eighty-Four**, Ed. by. Peter Stansky, New York, W.H. Freeman, 1983, p.150.

⁶⁷ Herbert Marcuse, **One-dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society**, London, Routledge Classics, 2002, p.78.

demonstrates it as a communal gift that assures libidinal satisfaction. Instinctual energy of male population is channeled to the pursuit of sex in the spare time by the manipulation of pornography. Marcuse goes on to argue that political repression “asserts itself in the instinctual sphere: satisfaction in a way which generates submission and weakens the rationality of the protest.”⁶⁸ Desire for physical satisfaction objectifies woman body as a source for biological pleasures and drives men to disdain autonomous women that claim liberation for their own body. By integrating porn into literature and cinema, the Party creates a patriarchal ghetto of proletariats whose male population spends their efforts either for work or the pursuit of satisfaction and the female population is forced to be sexual devices either as a housewife at home or as a prostitute on the streets.

The Party restricts sexual intercourse to the Party members because sex and privacy undermine the social order. Being aware of the fact that sex becomes subversive if the couples discover the aesthetic aspects of their body and settle an intimate relationship when they are left alone, the Party distorts sexual intercourse by violating its privacy; telescreens and hidden microphones record sex scenes of all the Party members and convey the data to the police network. Big Brother directs his own porn movie and checks whether partners make sex according to the regulations of the officials. Sexual liberation is impossible in Oceania as long as it is monitored by the government. Busted in the upstairs above Mr. Charrington’s shop where they think it is a secure place, Julia and Winston at the end realize that a free sexual life is impossible because sex and any other physical act are always determined to be detected.

The relation between political consciousness and sexual liberty is also presented in Huxley’s *Brave new World*. The World State contributes to the growth of sexual promiscuity among the public to discourage political antagonism against its capitalist system. Huxley’s conjecture refers that; sexual act prevents individuals from engaging in political discourse so the state promotes sexual hedonism which depoliticizes the individuals and is the opium of the masses like soma. At first glance, Huxley’s view

⁶⁸ Ibid., p.78.

seems to be opposite to Orwell's but indeed both the World State and Oceania seek to find ways of destroying sexual love and loyalty of partners by way of spreading pornographic materials and de-eroticizing sexuality. In spite of the strict ethical rules of sexual Puritanism in Oceania, the Party is not concerned with prostitution and promiscuity.

Huxley identifies sexual activity with political passivity. In Orwell, the state seeks marching, even a form of fanaticism; in Huxley, the state seeks a kind of pleased, vacant indifference..... In Orwell's world, a form of sex that is not a frigid little ceremony is a treat to the political order, whereas in Huxley's the threat comes from a refusal of sex, or of soma, which will be and will produce rebellion.⁶⁹

Pornography is used by the World State and the Party in order to create an artificial world of sexual conformism that only promotes physical satisfaction; therefore citizens of the World State and the proles in Oceania are alienated from the socio-political discourse. For Huxley, desire for sexual satisfaction depoliticize and degenerate individuals so he associates Lenina mostly with sexual hedonism and portrays her as a non-intellectual and ignorant nymphomaniac but for Orwell, sexual liberty and pure love freed from the vulgarity of pornography and the patriarchal traditions of the nationalist society are the revolutionary acts against the authority of the state.

Orwell distinguishes promiscuous sexuality and passionate relationship. Orwell's hypothesis indicates that sexual liberty is the source of individual freedom because it is instinctual, naturally anarchic and non-governable by the authority. Unless it is dominated and distorted by the Party, sex is naturally pure and subversive. But Huxley represents the concept of sexuality as a primitive intercourse that banalizes the individual identity. Huxley explains the relation between intellectuality and sexuality by saying; "an intellectual is a person who has discovered something more interesting than sex." He sees sexual desire as a boundary obstructing the individual consciousness and

⁶⁹ Cass R. Sunstein, "Sexual Freedom and Political Freedom", **On Nineteen Eighty-four: Orwell and Our Future**, Ed. by. Abbott Gleason, Jack Goldsmith, and Martha C. Nussbaum, Princeton, Princeton UP, 2005, p.239.

intellectual deeds. While the artificial sex drive reconciled with the intoxication of soma encourage mass deception and ignorance within the borders of the World State, instinctual and animalistic sexual desires integrated into patriarchy halt the civilization process of the Savage Reservation and create a primitive paternal society in which women are identified as inferior beings objectified for the satisfaction of male society and reproduction. Huxley denounces both the World State's sexual hedonism and patriarchal sexual codes of the savages. While Orwell romanticizes his novel by eroticizing sex scenes and emphasizing the importance of pure love and sexuality derived from natural instincts and not corrupted by the Party's anti-sexual references, Huxley de-eroticises the sexual life of the World State citizens and just focuses on the vulgarism of orgies and senseless mechanical sex among couples because for Huxley, in all cases sexual desires obliterate the individual enlightenment and intellectuality. Freedom and autonomy are only achieved if individuals learn to suppress their innate desires with the help their intellect and become conscious of the socio-political conditions of the state and its despotic regime. But according to Orwell, sexual liberty saves individual from being a subject of the state because it is a revolutionary act that attacks on the oppressive moral norms, social discourses and the traditional gender codes of the totalitarian regime.

Thinking of the existing norms today, Huxley's thesis is more realistic than Orwell's formula that associates sexual repression with national fanaticism. Instinctual sexual desire can not be completely swept away or channeled to patriotism by the authority. In contrast most of the contemporary Western capitalist states today encourage sexual promiscuity and sexual freedom in order to depoliticize citizens; eroticism and nudity are often associated with the products of private companies for enlarging sale margin. Bombardment of sexual images on TV, in the magazines and newspapers proves that our sexual desires are capable of manipulating our choices in every field so authorities of the states and private businesses prefer to exploit our fascination for nudism, eroticism and pornography rather than trying to eliminate sex instinct.

4. CONCLUSION

Except for the telescreen network, there is nothing futuristic or technological in Orwell's novel, he had no reason to set it in the distant future because unlike Huxley, his main aim is to examine the present, not to predict the future. He envisaged a dark vision of Cold War by generalizing the contemporary conditions of 1949 and pointed out the perils of totalitarianism. Most of the Orwellian interpretations about the apparatuses and strategies of the totalitarian states have already come true in the Cold War era. SSCB, USA and PRC took the roles of Oceania, Eurasia and Eastasia. In spite of their ideological hostility, no great war among this trio was broken out; instead territorial wars were carried out by the small representatives of these superpowers. According to statistics, there were more than three-hundred wars between 1945 and 1984. Although the major members of the power blocs did not appear as combatants except for Korea, Vietnam and Falkland Islands, they arm, sponsor, provoke and force most of the second and third world governments in these battle campaigns.

Perpetual war strategy is still connected to current political rhetoric of United States. After the attacks at World Trade Center in September 11, 2001, USA is engaged in a "war that has no clear terminus and that may be nothing less than a war against evil."¹ Like Oceania, USA is always at war, one after another, the state of war never ends. Federal Government is very successful at presenting opposing forces like Saddam, Taliban and Iran. However, after the cold war, threat of the total nuclear annihilation considerably diminished and with the impact of Globalization, the Communist block and the isolated nation-states were mostly abolished.

Orwell was accurate in examining the political discourse of the totalitarian regimes and the repression methods of the state institutions and the law-enforcement forces in Soviet Bloc and centralized nation-states. Nevertheless, it is not communism

¹ Martha C. Nussbaum, *The Death of Pity: Orwell and American Political Life*, **On Nineteen Eighty-four: Orwell and Our Future**, Ed. by. Abbott Gleason, Jack Goldsmith, and Martha C. Nussbaum, Princeton, Princeton UP, 2005, p.281.

or nationalism but globalization and capitalism triumphed over all the political orientations in the new millennium. In *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Orwell concentrated on the monopolization of power in Oceania because what he wanted to emphasize is the centralized hegemony in the nation-states that completely control all the institutions and discourses of the public, but now the danger that we face is not the centralized dominance of the state at all but the private power of individuals, multi-national companies, corporations, religious activists, and Global Capitalism. The most dominant factors that change our convictions, discourses, language and the way of thinking are not derived from the state at all but from the utilitarian and pragmatist corporate advertisers. Anthony Burgess states in the foreword of his novel *Nineteen Eighty-Five* which is a tribute to Orwell that “the state is not magical, it is a device in the hands of a group.”² The state is not an invulnerable mechanism independent of the control of a social class. It is always governed by a privileged group and formed according to the contemporary political and economic norms. Today in our world where Global Capitalism becomes the primary principle of life, the state functions as a guardian majorly maintaining the commerce networks, trade and business enterprises of corporations in order to stabilize and enhance the flourish of capitalism. Orwell’s socialist and isolated totalitarian nation-state does not represent the conditions of the Western Civilization anymore due to the rapid development of Globalization, communication technology and open market-economy. In addition to the ideological institutions, now most of the states armed with technology and science have much more access to the methods of brainwashing and propaganda.

Huxley’s futuristic state is more helpful to describe the today’s world. His interest in science and capitalism makes his predictions accurate because these two concepts have dominated most of our daily lives. American science fiction writer Thomas Disch indicates that;

² Anthony Burgess, *Nineteen Eighty-Five*, Boston, Little, Brown, 1978, p.80.

“Huxley’s *Brave New World* seems more prophetic every decade. Technology keeps getting closer to creating true test tube babies, and human cloning looms ahead. Today’s blockbuster movies are mindless, thrilling, and overtly pornographic as his feelies.”³

Futuristic predictions of the novel have come or are coming closer. Like Bertrand Russell, Huxley succeeds in apprehending the scientific progress.

Sex is mostly made safe for pleasure by the invention of contraception methods like condoms, drugs and medical surgeries so nothing interferes with the pleasure of sexuality. Therefore the society is liberated and freed from the traditional restrictions of sex. Sexual liberation makes the public obsessive with the pleasure of orgasm and physical satisfaction. Popularity of sex lead advertisers and corporations make the advantage of eroticism and pornography. As Disch indicated above, most of the movies and works of popular culture contain sexual content in order to increase the market share of the products.

Entertainment technology has advanced to a degree that offers expensive and trivial activities. Shopping becomes a national habit and the most popular pastime. High culture is subverted by popular culture so intellectual interests are overwhelmed by the superficial standardized views. The state depoliticizes public in order to prevent the status quo because as long as the people are unaware of antithetic political discourses, they can not recognize the corruption of the current system. Genetic differentiation and mutation of castes have not been invented yet but we preserve the class system according to the demand of production methods.

Contrary to the World State, Huxley’s implications in the novel are coming true without a management and foresight because “our society has no utilitarian master plan and no utilitarian master planner.”⁴ The top executives of companies and their representatives in the bureaucracy have just agreed on the terms of advancing and stabilizing the capitalist systematization and production by standardizing ad restricting

³ Thomas M. Disch,, **The Dreams Our Stuff Is Made Of: How Science Fiction Conquered the World.** New York, Touchstone, 2000, p.7.

⁴ Richard A. Posner, “Orwell versus Huxley: Economics, Technology, Privacy and Satire”, **On Nineteen Eighty-four: Orwell and Our Future**, Ed. by. Abbott Gleason, Jack Goldsmith, and Martha C. Nussbaum, Princeton, Princeton UP, 2005, p.195.

citizens. Instead of the World Controllers, our world is ruled by the oligarchy of politicians and businessmen.

Orwell warns us that if our leaders are radicalized by the right-wing or left-wing ideologies, all the country metamorphoses into a mass prison in which there are constant surveillance, rigorous discipline and oppressive forces. The wardens are prudent and despotic Party bureaucrats whose authority is based on fear, intelligence and tyranny. But in the Huxley's world of hedonism and technology, oppression "is more likely to come from an enemy with a smiling face than from one whose countenance exudes suspicion and hate."⁵ In his brilliant book *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business*, American media theorist and culture critic Neil Postman states that;

"Big Brother does not watch us, by his choice. We watch him, by ours. There is no need for wardens or gates or Ministries of Truth. When a population becomes distracted by trivia, when cultural life is redefined as a perpetual round of entertainments, when serious public conversation becomes a form of baby-talk, when, in short, a people become an audience and their public business a vaudeville act, then a nation finds itself at risk; culture-death is a clear possibility."⁶

Everyday, Orwell's prophecies are getting irrelevant with the way we live now and we are getting closer to the Huxley's dystopia. 20th century was the age of wars, genocides and political conflicts because there was no consensus on the social-political and economic programs in the world, but now in the age of show business and technology, Capitalism becomes the tenet of the global economy. We still carry out wars against isolated countries in order to make them participate in the global economy and TV presents wars and other events as a means of entertainment and pleasure. We get confused and unconscious due to the bombardment of information, news, shows, and adverts in every field of life. Reality and fiction are blended so each one is indistinguishable.

⁵ Neil Postman, **Amusing Ourselves to Death Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business**, New York, Penguin, 2005, p.155.

⁶ Ibid., p.155-156.

In the world of Orwell, it is easy for an individual to recognize and oppose to the obvious despotism of the Party but in Huxley's World State, there is no physical abuse, surveillance and law enforcement forces. Today, all the states are getting "superfluous as multinational corporations wield power, and cut across boundaries."⁷ Daily political arguments among political parties are trivial and indoctrinated by the capitalist discourse. Most of our daily dialogues are about the superficial topics of popular culture. The public discourse avoids containing intellectual and philosophical arguments. People are forced to become naïve babies who are impotent to acquire information in spite of the opportunities of the internet, hence they are directed to interpret life according to what they see on prime time programs, social network sites or popular newspapers. Unlike the World State we have still access to most of the works of art, philosophy and science but nobody cares about them because entertainment and amusement are regarded as the utmost virtues of civilization. This ideology is being imposed on us, there is "no consensus, no discussion and no opposition. Only compliance."⁸ I think the tendency of compliance makes our world much more dystopian and tragic than the World State. In spite of the fact that free will is not yet abolished by genetic mutation, conditioning and hypnopedia sessions and freedom of thought and speech give the public the opportunity of recognizing the exploitation and the oppression of the current socio-political atmosphere, people always intend to comply and obey. It is easy to oppose a totalitarian state that enslaves people but what if the people voluntarily choose to be slaves.

⁷ Andrew M. Butler, "Postmodernism and Science Fiction", **The Cambridge Companion to Science Fiction**, Ed. by James, Edward, and Farah Mendlesohn, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2003, p.139.

⁸ Neil Postman, **Amusing Ourselves to Death Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business**, New York, Penguin, 2005, p.157.

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