

Spring 1969

## The Total State: A Study of Totalitarianism Based on Selected European Novels of the Twentieth Century

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### Recommended Citation

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**THE TOTAL STATE**  
**A Study of Totalitarianism**  
**Based on Selected European Novels**  
**of the Twentieth Century**

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by  
**Catherine Arveson Thoma**

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**A thesis presented to the Department of History of**  
**Old Dominion College**  
**in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the**  
**Degree of Master of Arts in History**

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**OLD DOMINION COLLEGE**

**April 15, 1969**

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**All that I could hope to make you understand  
Is only events: not what has happened.  
And people to whom nothing has ever happened  
Cannot understand the unimportance of events.**

**T. S. Eliot**

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## INTRODUCTION

The appearance of totalitarian regimes in twentieth century Europe has created a search not only for an explanation but also for the meaning of the term totalitarian. Historians and social scientists have argued both among themselves and with each other over the causes of totalitarianism and over the meaning of the term.

Despite the arguments over the meaning of the term totalitarian there are some areas of agreement. The disputants agree that the two most obvious totalitarian regimes in the nineteen thirties and forties were Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia. They concur that these states were terroristic in concept. They agree that totalitarianism has reintroduced mystery into politics and human affairs. For the ideology of a totalitarian society is a constant reminder of the mysterious. This is evidenced in the marvelous tricks that have been performed by the Marxist dialectic or the pseudo-religious appeal of the Nazi propaganda with its emphasis on race.

To state that the ideologies of totalitarian cultures appeal to the mysterious is quite simple, to understand this appeal is difficult. It is equally hard to understand the atmosphere which prevades such a culture and the life that is led by its members. The novelist, in his attempt to recreate or imagine the condition of the individual within his society, can help us understand this atmosphere through the vicarious experience afforded by his novel.

Literature has increasingly been used as historical source material as history has grown to include the total culture of a society. The knowledge of the culture of a nation and/or an era helps give greater insight into the workings of the entire society.

The novel is perhaps preeminently suitable as source material for several reasons. In the particular time period under discussion it was the dominant form of literature. As the epic poem had been in an early culture and as poetry and drama were in the preceding period, the novel became dominant in the western culture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Even more important in the eyes of the historian is the fact that the novel as an art form is basically the study of the individual within a particular social context. This makes it a valuable tool for exploring both the nature of the individual and of society. The novel can give the historian a particular reflection of a particular society. A variety of novels written about a particular theme can therefore either reinforce certain concepts or challenge them and, at the same time, give new and fresh insights into the culture.

The novels that serve as source material for this study have been chosen for several reasons. The first criterion was that their basic theme be totalitarianism. The second was that the authors had had some sort of contact with a twentieth century totalitarian regime. The third was that those chosen represent a variety of European countries. In addition the selection was made to include several types of novels. Some amount to almost memoirs of life under a totalitarian regime such as Arthur Koestler's Darkness at Noon, Ignazio Silone's Bread and Wine and C. Virgil

Gheorghiu's The Twenty-fifth Hour. Two are dystopian<sup>1</sup> novels, one, Eugene Zamiatin's We, written before Stalin's Russia or Hitler's Germany came into existence, the other, George Orwell's 1984, written during World War II. Others are symbolic novels such as Thomas Mann's Doctor Faustus, Albert Camus' The Plague and Franz Kafka's The Trial. They were also selected because they portray particularly well the sense of life under a totalitarian regime.

By studying totalitarianism through the medium of the novel it should be possible to verify or disprove some of the theories concerning the totalitarian state. Just because the novels were written by creative authors who had little or no knowledge of more or less abstract theories of the nature of totalitarianism they can be used as prima facie evidence of the reality of the phenomenon. A study of these novels actually should lead beyond the sphere of abstraction to deeper insights into what life was like under a totalitarian regime and to an understanding of that side of modern man's nature which led him to accept and extoll totalitarian ideals. Finally, it is hoped that in the course of this undertaking new insights will be gained into the possibilities and limitations of using literary works as a source for the historical understanding of certain epochs and cultures.

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<sup>1</sup>Dystopia is a word used to distinguish between types of utopias. Utopia is used as a general classification for imaginary societies, eutopia for good imaginary societies and dystopia for bad imaginary societies. See Carolyn Hodgson Meyers, "Psychotechnology in Fiction About Imaginary Societies" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept., of English, University of Kentucky, 1965), p. 21.

## CHAPTER I

### TOTALITARIANISM

The whole business . . . turns on the famous and preposterous notion of "totality" as they call it. It's sort of a mania with our intellectuals in the twentieth century. Such a phrase as "totalitarian civilization" is meaningless.

Malraux, L'Espoir

Although the term "totalitarian civilization" may not be completely meaningless it is, at the very least, an indefinite term. The word "totalitarianism," like so many other "isms," has been used until its meaning has become blurred. Part of its imprecision as a term is caused by the lack of consensus on its meaning. Totalitarianism has been defined in many, often contradictory, ways. Much of the contradiction centers around the controversy over the age of the total state. Some consider it as old as Plato's Republic, while others believe it a phenomenon of the twentieth century.

Those who try to trace the origins of twentieth century totalitarianism find them in a variety of ages and civilizations. Hannah Arendt focused her attention on the decline of the nation state and the eclipse of the eighteenth century belief in the rights of man which has occurred over the last one hundred years.<sup>1</sup> J. L. Talmon looked for the origins of "totalitarian democracy" in the political messianism that developed in the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Erich Fromm diagnosed western man's growing fear of freedom

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<sup>1</sup>Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism (2d. enl. ed.: New York: Meridian Books, 1958).

<sup>2</sup>J. L. Talmon, The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy (London: Sicker & Warburg, 1960)



as beginning with Luther.<sup>3</sup> Karl Wittfogel saw similarities between twentieth century totalitarianism and ancient "hydraulic despotisms" such as China.<sup>4</sup> Others have seen significant resemblances between the chiliastic thinking of the Middle Ages and modern totalitarian thought, or have argued that the first proponents of a totalitarian regime were the millinists of Cromwell's time.<sup>5</sup>

Thus the search for the origins of twentieth century totalitarianism leads to a variety of answers. The term itself became widely used in this century only after the publication in 1935 of Mussolini's article on fascism in *International Conciliation*. Shortly afterwards Ernst Juenger's study on total mobilization popularized the term in Germany. In 1933 Joseph Goebbels liked to use it to justify the coordination of groups and associations with the Nazi Party.<sup>6</sup>

Theories as to what constitutes a totalitarian state are as plentiful as are the theories concerning its origins. Those who argue that totalitarianism is a product of the twentieth century claim that the older so called totalitarian societies were in reality tyrannies, despotisms, or absolute monarchies but not "total" societies, although they do concede that totalitarianism belongs in the general classification of dictatorship.

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<sup>3</sup>Erich Fromm, Escape From Freedom (New York: Avon Books, 1967).

<sup>4</sup>Karl A. Wittfogel, Oriental Despotisms: A Comparative Study of Total Power (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957).

<sup>5</sup>Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (Fairlawn, N.J.: Essential Books, 1957). Alfred Cohen, "The Fifth Monarchy Mind: Mary Cary and the Origins of Totalitarianism," Social Research, XXXI (Summer 1964), 195-213.

<sup>6</sup>Waldemar Gurian, "Totalitarianism as a Political Religion," Totalitarianism. Proceedings of a Conference Held at the American Academy of Arts and Science, March 1953, ed. Carl J. Friedrich (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 120.

Theories of totalitarianism as a twentieth century phenomenon fall roughly into two different groups. The first takes "total" to mean complete disciplinary control over life, including beliefs and ideas, in accordance with a specific ideology. Theories of the second group ascribe to totalitarianism the complete destruction of the human personality by an absence of fixed authority, orthodoxy or stable personal relationships and thus the atomization of society. The two can be combined by defining totalitarianism as a system where technologically advanced instruments of political power are used without restraint by the centralized leadership of an elite movement for the purpose of effecting a total social revolution, including the conditioning of man, on the basis of certain arbitrary ideological assumptions proclaimed by the leadership in an atmosphere of coerced unanimity of the entire population.<sup>7</sup>

Such a definition implies a recognition, by the leadership in the totalitarian state, of modern sophisticated propaganda techniques which have emerged with the advent of the mass media, and a willingness to enforce goals through the use of terror. It also implies the recognition of man's psychological nature; especially in the sense of the awareness of his potential manipulation through psychologically designed techniques of persuasion. The opportunity to bring these techniques to bear is provided by the constant and complete supervision of all phases of social life and, most importantly, through the control of all educational processes.

Two of the foremost explorers of the phenomenon, Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, have extrapolated a model of the totalitarian

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<sup>7</sup>Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, "Totalitarianism and Rationality," American Political Science Review, L (Spring 1956), 754.

state from their studies of Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany. They are proponents of the theory that Totalitarianism is a twentieth century product. They adhere to the premise that without modern technological advances a totalitarian state is not possible. This premise is demonstrated by the fact that four of the six traits which they propose as characteristic of the totalitarian state depend upon technological innovations unavailable before this century. Friedrich wrote that "totalitarian dictatorship is a logical extension of certain traits of our modern industrial society."<sup>8</sup>

Friedrich and Brzezinski argue that all totalitarian regimes possess six organically interrelated traits. All these regimes have an official ideology which touches upon all the vital aspects of man's existence and which is focused toward a perfect final state of mankind. They have a single mass party, led by one man and made up of a minority of the total population, usually less than ten percent. They have terroristic police control which not only supports but also supervises the party. Such regimes have a technologically conditioned near monopoly of control of the media of mass communication. They have a similar control of all means of effective armed combat and finally, they have the central control and direction of the entire economy through bureaucratic coordination of corporate entities.<sup>9</sup>

The Friedrich-Brzezinski model of the totalitarian state was first presented at a Conference of the American Academy of Arts and Science in 1953. The response by the scholars in attendance was generally favorable

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<sup>8</sup>Friedrich, ed., Totalitarianism, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup>Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), pp. 21-22. Ivo K. Feilerabend, "Expansionist and Isolationist Tendencies of Totalitarian Political Systems: A Theoretical Note," Journal of Politics, XXIV (November 1962), 73, makes a similar model using a syndrome of traits--monopolies of organization, economic control, communications, force and ideology.

and they considered the model a useful tool in exploring the phenomenon of totalitarianism. Another view of totalitarianism was presented at this conference by N. S. Timasheff. He thought the meaning of the term totalitarianism connotes one definite trait-- the unlimited extension of state functions. Therefore the term does not only designate a concrete type of society but a trait which can appear in societies of various types. He argued, in contrast to Friedrich's insistence on the uniqueness of totalitarianism, that it is a variant of despotism. Bertram Wolfe pointed out in the ensuing discussion that both views are valid in that the historian must assume both continuity and uniqueness in the attempt to describe historical phenomena.<sup>10</sup>

Since the Friedrich-Brzezinski model has had widespread acceptance it will make a useful tool in the study of totalitarianism through the novels. Before using the model to study the novels of the model's components must be discussed in some detail and the criticism directed at the components and at the model must be considered.

According to the model all totalitarian regimes have an official ideology. This ideology is an operative force in the regime. Although its myths and symbols are significant and stay constant, the substantive content of the ideology is continually evolving. Friedrich and Brzezinski think that the roots of the totalitarian ideology are intertwined with the entire intellectual heritage of western man. Yet what they believe is the

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<sup>10</sup>Those who participated in the transcribed discussion period following the reading of Friedrich's and Timasheff's papers were: Hannah Arendt, George Denicke, Carl Friedrich, Kari Deutsch, Jerzy Glikzman, Michael Karpovich, Paul Keckemeti, George F. Kennan, Franklin H. Littell, Boris Mirkine-Guetzevitch, Albert Lauterback, Gerold Robinson, N. S. Timasheff, Bertram Wolfe. Friedrich, ed., Totalitarianism, pp. 39-84.

specific totalitarian ingredient in these ideologies--the employment and glorification of violence to attain the ideological goals--is largely absent from the ideas the totalitarian ideologies have utilized.<sup>11</sup> The use of an official ideology as an instrument for rallying the efforts of the people was clearly foreseen by the early theoreticians of dictatorial systems. Plato's "noble lies" and Sorel's "myths" serve the same purpose as the racial doctrine of the Nazis or the Marxist dialectic in Russia. The ideologies of the totalitarian states of the twentieth century are organic in that they hold that the nation or state is a kind of living organism in which the individual is a single cell.

Hannah Arendt points out three totalitarian elements which are peculiar to ideological thinking but are predominate in totalitarian ideologies. All ideologies claim that they have a total explanation to man's purpose and existence. Thus ideological thinking becomes independent of all experience since it already has a full explanation and can learn nothing new; it is almost as though the ideology had supplied its adherent with a sixth sense. Furthermore, thought is emancipated from reality by certain methods of demonstration such as reasoning or dialectics.<sup>12</sup>

Because of this total explanation and emancipation from reality the ideologies of the totalitarian state in the twentieth century have replaced or superseded religion. The energies and forces which once found their outlet and expression in religion and gave to the Church the power to limit the despotic ruler were now the driving force behind the despotic regimes

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<sup>11</sup>Friedrich and Brzezinski, Totalitarian Dictatorship, pp. 97 - 151.

<sup>12</sup>Arendt, Origins, pp. 468-474.

of the twentieth century.<sup>13</sup>

C. W. Cassinelli, a political scientist who has responded to the Friedrich-Brzezinski model in articles in leading political science journals, accepts the general traits of the model but criticizes some of their conclusions. For instance, he contends that totalitarian leadership uses the ideology to create maximum insecurity among the people it controls. Therefore he argues against Friedrich's and Brzezinski's use of the term "doctrine" in discussing ideology. He thinks that the concept of a doctrine implies that totalitarian beliefs have both factual and ethical content, which he denies and he disputes the Friedrich-Brzezinski contention that the doctrines of the ideology are the basis for beliefs in science history and the arts. His denial is based on the contention that the Nazis dismissed those scholars who were willing to serve them, and that Stalin neither described an original utopia nor did he develop the Marxian concept of a classless society.<sup>14</sup> He further argues that leaders and potential leaders are trained, not in order to indoctrinate them with the ideology but to condition them to accept an unstable, arbitrarily shifting gospel to be handed down by the leaders. Cassinelli feels that maximum insecurity can be created by ideology only when it reaches its aim of obliterating the distinction between truth and falsehood.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Gurian, "Totalitarianism as Religion," Friedrich, ed., Totalitarianism, p. 124. Bertram Wolfe pointed out in the discussion period after this paper that totalitarian regimes are psychologically exhaustive in that they demand total passion and total engagement and that the ideologies all contain an eminent eschatology. Ibid., pp. 134-135. Ideology as a replacement for religion is also stressed by R. R. Palmer, A History of the Modern World (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), p. 812.

<sup>14</sup>C. W. Cassinelli, "Totalitarianism, Ideology and Propaganda," Journal of Politics, XXII (February 1960), 70-72. For another who denies the factual and ethical content see Hannah Arendt, "The Mob and the Elite," Partisan Review XVI (November-December 1950), 819, Arendt, Origins, p. 336.

<sup>15</sup>Cassinelli, Ibid., p. 93.

In their discussion of the totalitarian party Friedrich and Brzezinski point out that such a party is decidedly different from the political parties found in constitutional democratic regimes. Within the totalitarian party are special cadres of highly selective elites. Despite the purges caused by changes in leadership or ideological direction the party still constitutes the mainstay of the totalitarian dictatorship for without its support the total power of the dictator would be inconceivable. The position of unquestioned leadership held by the dictator gives the party its peculiar dynamic, and the subjection of its members to the dictator is the psychological counterpart to the party's ruthless assertion of the will and determination to rule and shape the society in its image.<sup>16</sup>

Cassinelli thinks that Friedrich and Brzezinski do not go far enough in pointing out the differences between the totalitarian and non-totalitarian party. He argues that the totalitarian party is not a ruling group. This, he contends strengthens the broad concept he holds that totalitarianism is not simply a society based on a doctrine which describes an utopia nor a modern autocracy differing from lesser ones by the comprehensiveness of its political control but a quest for unlimited power. He contends that the totalitarian party, although it comprises only a small percentage of the population, is still too unwieldy a group and this, combined with the inefficient organization structure of the party apparatus, makes it impossible for the party to function as a ruling group. The real function of the party, in Cassinelli's view, is to control all ideas and actions especially in those individuals who show any potential for original thought and thus potential for leadership.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Friedrich and Brzezinski, Totalitarian Dictatorship, pp. 45-59.

<sup>17</sup>C. W. Cassinelli, "The Totalitarian Party," The Journal of Politics, XXIV (February 1962), 11-41.

The determination of the totalitarian state to achieve total change creates the necessity for terroristic police control and supervision of the party. Terror becomes the vital nerve of the system because it is the fundamental method of achieving the particular goals of the regime while maintaining the sense of permanent revolution that is necessary to prevent the regime losing its character and possibly its power.

Totalitarian society has a passion for unanimity that surpasses that of any other society. This passion for consensus makes the totalitarian insist on the enthusiastic assent of the entire population. The need for this assent has resulted in plebiscites which give ninety percent support to the government. To effect this sort of unanimity, an elaborate machinery of terror is necessary. The whole machinery of this terror is based on an elastic criminal code which makes the category of political crime a broad one.

Purges, confessions, and the ever present threat of confinement in camps become part of the terror equipment in a developed totalitarian system. The purge provides the mechanism for elimination and stimulation within the movement. The public trial, with the spectacle of confessions, is used to vilify the opposition and to underline the infallibility of the leadership. The camps serve as a means of liquidating the enemy and as a source of cheap labor. All three make a contribution to the terror by which the system reinforces the propaganda which in time produces the almost complete consensus required by the totalitarian government. The gradual evolution and perfection of these instruments of terror often



mirror the history of the totalitarian regime.<sup>18</sup>

Boris Meissner, a professor at the University of Kiel, argues that all discussions of totalitarianism have been vitiated by over-emphasis on mass terror as the distinguishing feature of such a regime. He contends that terror is not a necessary ingredient in totalitarianism. He claims the really distinctive characteristic of totalitarianism is total control from above of all functions and thought in every area of the life of the society including total planning in the political and cultural sectors of the society as well as in the economic sector. He does not explain however, how all this is effected without terror.<sup>19</sup>

Herbert Marcuse does not see terror as a means of supporting the ideology of the totalitarian society. He argues that the purges in Russia during the middle and later thirties cannot be attributed to a philosophical concept. He contends that the need for terror differs in totalitarian societies but its basic use is to suspend the normal controls of law and order.<sup>20</sup> In this he agrees with Alex Inkeles who, like Cassinelli, feels that the real purpose of terror in the totalitarian state is to create in every man a deep sense of insecurity. Thus terror is important not only for handling those whom the regime wishes to eliminate but also those whom it regards as solid citizens. Terror becomes the means for institutionalizing and channeling anxiety.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Friedrich and Brzezinski, Totalitarian Dictatorship, pp. 161-202.

<sup>19</sup>Boris Meissner, "Totalitarian Rule and Social Change," Problems of Communism, XX (November-December 1966), . 56-61.

<sup>20</sup>Herbert Marcuse, "Notes on the Problem of Historical Laws," Partisan Review, XXVI (Winter 1959), . 117-139.

<sup>21</sup>Alex Inkeles, "The Totalitarian Mystique: Some Impressions of the Dynamics of Totalitarian Society," Friedrich, ed., Totalitarianism, p. 106.

The fourth component in the Friedrich-Brzezinski model of totalitarianism is control of mass communications. The uses of this control for propaganda are obvious. To the totalitarian, ideas are weapons and so not only must the population be indoctrinated with daily doses of ideology but protected from outside ideas. Since education can be one of the most effective means of communicating ideas it too must be carefully controlled. The responsibility for the ideological training of the younger generation is usually assumed by the party. The youth movements in Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany appealed to the moral sense of youth. This appeal was based on the concept that through such groups youth could effect a moral resurgence of their country. The youth movement has been used both as a training ground and as a recruiting device for ultimate party membership.<sup>22</sup>

This particular component of the Friedrich-Brzezinski model shows clearly how all the components interlock. The ideology is the basis from which the propaganda used by the controlled communications media is drawn; the propaganda then instills the people, particularly the youth of the country, with the principles of the ideology, often making the youth useful in the terroristic police control as informers on their friends and family. This terroristic control helps in turn to buttress the ideology.

The totalitarian control of the economy, whether in the name of the state, party, nation or proletariat, expands the role of bureaucracy much as has happened in all industrial nations. The distinction in the case of totalitarianism, apart from the lack of any institutional pattern of responsibility, is the sharp dualism of governmental and party bureaucracy. Any

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<sup>22</sup>Friedrich and Brzezinski, Totalitarian Dictatorship, pp. 60-69.

extension in industrial or bureaucratic size creates internal arguments which, at least temporarily, cause deterioration. In those societies where there has been a high degree of bureaucratization before the totalitarian regime there is marked retrogression after it. This is due no doubt to party interference and controls brought about by the insistence that not only people in key policy posts but officials up and down the line be active members of the party.<sup>23</sup>

Isaac Deutscher thinks the rationality of bureaucracy will instead transform the totalitarian regime. His thesis is that if totalitarian regimes are not overthrown they will eventually be transformed into more democratic states by the subtler but irresistible influence of the rationality that is inherent in the bureaucratic and managerial apparatus that is necessary to the modern state.<sup>24</sup> Brzezinski argues against Deutscher's idea. First he questions the concept that rationality, as the mode of thought induced by the requirements of the modern bureaucratic state, is really incompatible with modern totalitarianism. Secondly he points out that in Nazi Germany with few exceptions the German bureaucrats and technocrats adjusted meekly to the requirements of the totalitarian movement and that Russian bureaucrats have been indoctrinated to follow the party line, not to change it.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 205-221.

<sup>24</sup>Isaac Deutscher, Russia: What Next? (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953). Allen Kassof, "The Administered Society; Totalitarianism Without Fear," World Politics XVI (April 1964), pp. 558-575, argues that in the post-Stalin era the administered society is going to be an example of a "more advanced form of totalitarianism."

<sup>25</sup>Brzezinski, American Political Science Review, L, 757.

The Friedrich-Brzezinski model distinguishes the following traits as forming the components of the totalitarian state; an official ideology; a single mass party; a monopoly of mass communications; control of the effective means of armed combat; terroristic police control; and central control of the entire economy. As important as these traits are in distinguishing totalitarianism from other forms of despotism the definitive feature of totalitarianism lies in the word total. All cultures have had their ideologies but the ideology of a totalitarian society is deliberately total, embracing and prescribing every aspect of human life. Every modern society has involved a state, yet the totalitarian state is designed to be total, that is coextensive with society itself.

It is basic to this study that totalitarianism be considered a product of the twentieth century. The word itself was coined in this century to describe states that could not be satisfactorily described with such words as autocracy, dictatorship, despotism or tyranny. It is also important not to think of it only as a descriptive term for the developments in Russia and Germany in the nineteen thirties and forties but as a potential development in any twentieth century society. Without the atomized men that Hannah Arendt describes, a totalitarian society is not possible, and atomized men can be found throughout western society. Perhaps it is necessary for the establishment and maintenance of an indigenous totalitarian society for the society to have reached so vast and complicated a plane that the individual can no longer see his relationship to the whole and feels himself superfluous and helpless in a world beyond his power to understand without the props provided by the totalitarian illusion. The totalitarian

ideology appeals because it replaces the relativistic tendency to question the existence of truth with a dogma. It offers a fantasy substitute for the community.

The students of totalitarianism have provided a model of the twentieth century totalitarian state. This model gives meaning to the term totalitarian as far as the structure of such a state is concerned. Yet as a model it remains a mere skeleton, an abstraction from which the essential element of historical reality is absent. This reality can be provided by history which studies particular societies in their specific manifestation. It can also be provided to some extent by men who have lived with twentieth century totalitarianism and have created literary works out of their experience with it. These works recreate life within the totalitarian context. Thus the novelists from their individual viewpoints can help to add flesh to the skeleton of the model of the twentieth century totalitarian state. As George Kennan has suggested, perhaps the purest expression of totalitarianism as a general phenomenon is to be found in the fictional and symbolic images created by such novelists as Orwell and Kafka.<sup>26</sup> Through the insight of the novelists acquired by their experience with twentieth century totalitarianism we can gain a deeper understanding of its meaning. By examining their insights we may be able to better comprehend the general phenomenon of totalitarianism in the twentieth century.

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<sup>26</sup>George F. Kennan, "Totalitarianism in the Modern World," Friedrich, ed., Totalitarianism, p. 19.

## CHAPTER II

### THE NOVELISTS AND THE TOTALITARIAN EXPERIENCE

I am a poet . . . I have a sixth sense that enables me to catch a glimpse of the future. Every poet is a prophet. I am only sorry my prophecies are so pessimistic. My mission as a poet compels me to shout them from the housetops, even when they are unpleasant.

Gheorghiu, The Twenty-fifth Hour

Some of the novelists in this study were prophets foreseeing the totalitarian state in its entirety. Most of the novelists, however, experienced twentieth century totalitarianism in one form or another. From their experience with totalitarianism has arisen their fear that it is endemic in western civilization. On the whole their novels are attempts to show how easily the totalitarian state can be created. Without exception they protest totalitarianism's anti-human, anti-individual basis.

The novelist used in this study vary as much in the types of lives they have led as they do in their nationality backgrounds. There are purely literary figures and men of action, Nobel prize winners and inferior talents, advocates of a particular ideology and non-political men. Despite their differences they do have more in common than having written novels in twentieth century Europe. With one exception they have all had direct contact with a twentieth century totalitarian state. Their individual experiences with totalitarianism should be taken into account before studying their literary interpretations of it.

The novelist who is the least politically involved and the most prophetic is Franz Kafka. He was born in Prague in July 1883. He was tutored at home prior to attending school; after the Gymnasium he entered law school and received his doctorate in jurisprudence in 1906. After his graduation he took a minor job with an Italian insurance company until 1908 when he obtained a semi-government job with a worker's accident insurance institute which afforded him good pay and short hours.

Kafka suffered from terrible headaches and general bad health, which eventually led to tuberculosis. He was mystical by nature and this strain became more pronounced under various intellectual influences such as his friendships with Max Brod and Franz Werfel and his studies of Kierkegaard and Pascal.

In 1913 his first book was published. When the war broke out he was exempted from military service because of his government position and his poor health. During the winter of 1916-17 he began work on The Trial while his health continued to decline. He spent six months in the country and then returned to Prague to continue his work and his writing with intermittent stays in sanatoriums. His health continued to fail and he died in June 1924.

Kafka's literary career lasted only ten years and he published little, having destroyed many of his manuscripts. He even requested his friend, Max Brod, to destroy any existing manuscripts when he died. Fortunately, Brod did not. Most of Kafka's work was published posthumously. Kafka remains one of the most influential writers of the twentieth century; for his work prefigures the work of most of the writers who are considered

representative of our age.<sup>1</sup>

Arthur Koestler was born in Budapest, Hungary, in September 1905. He spent his childhood in Hungary, Austria and Germany and attended the University of Vienna. In 1926 he went to Palestine where he obtained a job as a foreign correspondent for the Ullstein Publications. In 1929 he left the Middle East to become their Paris correspondent, and in 1930 he was appointed editor of their Berlin newspaper B.Z. am Mittag. In December 1931 he joined the Communist Party to which he belonged for seven years. In the middle thirties he traveled in central Asia and spent a year in Russia.

In 1936 he went to Spain in order to gather information on Italian and German intervention for the Party. He posed as a correspondent for both the Hungarian paper Pester Lloyd and for the London News Chronicle. The day after his arrival at Franco's headquarter he was recognized as a former Ullstein man and a Communist. Despite a warrant being issued for his arrest he managed to escape to Gibraltar. He spent the next five months between Paris, London and Spain.

In February 1937 he was captured by the Falangists on the Andalusian front. He was sentenced to death and spent a hundred days in Franco prisons expecting to be shot. Protests from England held up his execution, and in May 1937 he was exchanged for another prisoner. It was during this period that his disillusionment with the party began to be very pronounced as a result of his Spanish experiences.

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<sup>1</sup>Stanley J. Kunitz and Henry Haycraft, eds., "Franz Kafka," Twentieth Century Authors: A Biographical Dictionary of Modern Literature (New York: The H. W. Wilson Co., 1942), pp. 740-741. Claude Mauriac, The New Literature, trans. S.I. Stone (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1959) pp. 15-34.



When World War II began Koestler was arrested by the French police as a refugee and imprisoned. After his release in January 1940 he followed a circuitous route which led to his escape to England that fall. In April 1941 he enlisted in the British Army. His novel, Darkness at Noon, based on the Moscow Trials, was published that same year.

Since World War II he has continued to write a variety of books and be at places where things are happening. In 1948 for instance, he was in Palestine. He lives intermittently in Pennsylvania, England and France. His latest book was published in 1968.<sup>2</sup>

The most politically active of the novelists is Ignazio Silone who was born Secondo Tranquilli at Pescina, Italy on May 1, 1900. He attended school in his village until it suffered an earthquake in which his mother and two brothers were killed. He completed his formal education in a variety of Catholic institutions. He gives two reasons for not attending a university: "In the first place I was advised not to do so by doctors who gave me very few years to live and in the second place political work left me very little free time."

He was indeed busy in politics. In 1917 he joined the Peasant League of Pescina, became secretary of the Federation of Land Workers of the Abruzzi and his opposition to the war led him to join a socialist organization and be appointed secretary of the Youth of Rome. In 1918 he became editor of Avanguardia which represented the extreme left of the anti-war movement. In 1921 he helped found the Italian Communist Party and traveled in Russia. In 1922 he was the editor of a Trieste newspaper, II Lavoratore,

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<sup>2</sup>Stanley J. Kunitz, ed., "Arthur Koestler," Twentieth Century Authors: A Biographical Dictionary, First Supplement (New York: The H. W. Wilson Co., 1955) pp. 531-533.

which was often raided by the Fascists. In 1925 he left Italy for a brief period. He was denounced in 1928 to the Fascist Special Tribune for clandestine political activity. During this period he had had brief stays in prisons both in Spain and Italy. After his denunciation he fled to Switzerland. While there he wrote his two most famous books, Bread and Wine and Fontamara, both to a great extent autobiographical. He left the Communist Party in 1930.

After the war he took an active part in politics again as manager of Avanti!, as member of the constituent assembly, and as leader of the left wing of Italian Democratic Socialism. In 1950 he retired from political life to continue with his literary life.<sup>3</sup>

George Orwell although not active in politics as such was active in political controversy. He was born in Bengal in 1903 of Anglo-Indian parents. He attended Eton from 1917 to 1921. From 1922 to 1927 he served with the Imperial Police in Burma. Afterwards he wandered about Europe and England writing and supporting himself with menial jobs. By 1935 he could support himself with his writing alone and he moved to the English country side.

In 1936 Orwell went to Spain to observe and write about the civil war. He joined the P.O.U.M. militia, which was part of the non-Communist left, as a private and fought mainly on the Aragon front. He was never, even at his most radical enamoured of Marxism as an intellectual system. He was, however, a partisan of the Communist program for the Spanish Civil war. Like Koestler his Spanish experience, including his growing belief that the real intention of the Communist Party was to prevent the revolution really happening in Spain, completed his disillusionment with the party. As he said:

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<sup>3</sup>Kunitz, ed., Twentieth Century Authors. First Supplement, pp. 910-911. Richard Crossman, ed., The God That Failed (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949), p. 261.

What I saw in Spain, and what I have seen since of the inner workings of left wing political parties, have given me a horror of politics. I was for a while a member of the Independent Labor Party, but left them at the beginning of the present war because I considered they were talking nonsense and proposing a line of policy that could only make things easier for Hitler.<sup>4</sup>

He was badly wounded in the civil war. After his recovery he returned to England where he continued to write. Much of his work was anti-totalitarian in theme. Although he was not active in politics in the manner of Silone he remained interested in it, wrote of it and continued to engage in political debates until his death from tuberculosis in January 1950.<sup>5</sup>

The one Russian in this study, Eugene Zamiatin, was born in 1884 in Tambor province. He graduated in 1908 from St. Petersburg Polytechnical Institute as a ship builder. He was actively involved in the revolutionary movement. A story of his, printed in 1911, led to his arrest by the Czar's Secret Police and his imprisonment and then banishment to Lachta.

Because he was building ships in England between 1915 and 1917 he missed the February Revolution. He described this life long regret as feeling, "like one who never having been in love gets up one morning and finds himself married about ten years." He did, however, get back to Russia in time for the October Revolution. He taught science at the Polytechnical Institute and edited literary journals. From 1920 on in essays and in short stories he warned against the insidious pressures of conformity.

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<sup>4</sup>Kunitz and Haycraft, ed., "George Orwell," Twentieth Century Authors, p. 1058.

<sup>5</sup>Kunitz, ed., "George Orwell," Twentieth Century Authors. First Supplement, p. 745. "Orwell in Extenso" The Times London Literary Supplement, No. 3 (October 17, 1968), pp. 1165-1166. Orwell, George, Homage to Catalonia Boston: Beacon Press, 1955. (First published 1952: New York, Harcourt Brass & Co.)

His novel We was written in 1920 and although it was not published in the Soviet Union it was not unknown in literary circles where it was read in manuscript form. We first appeared in 1924 in the United States and then in French and Czech editions. Zamiatin was criticized in the Soviet press and in 1929 when a Russian version of We was published abroad, he was denounced by the official press as a counter revolutionary. He was compelled to resign from professional organizations and his works were no longer published. In 1931 he wrote a letter to Joseph Stalin requesting permission to leave since for him being no longer allowed to publish was tantamount to a death sentence. He and his wife were granted passports and after brief travels in Europe he settled in Paris where he died in 1937.<sup>6</sup>

Another of the novelists who combined, at least during part of his life, a literary and an activist career is Albert Camus. Camus was born in 1913 in Algeria. His father was killed that year in the first battle of the Marne and Camus was raised by his mother in a poor district of Algiers. He attended the local primary school and won a scholarship to a lycée. In 1930 he was diagnosed as tubercular. After a short rest he returned to Algiers and was briefly a political propagandist for the Communist Party which he joined at twenty-one. He left the Party in 1935 a few months after Laval's mission to Moscow and the modification of the party line on the question of Algerian moslems. During the early thirties he continued his university studies on a part-time basis and in 1936 completed his

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<sup>6</sup>Kunitz and Haycraft, eds., "Eugene Zamiatin," Twentieth Century Authors, p. 1567-1568. Kunitz, ed., "Eugene Zamiatin," Twentieth Century Authors, First Supplement, pp. 119-120. Peter Rudy, "Introduction," Eugene Zamiatin, We (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1924), pp. v-xi. Marc Slonim, "Preface," Ibid., pp. xiii-xviii.

dissertation on relations between Greek and Christian thought in Plotinus and Saint Augustine. A new attack of tuberculosis prevented his taking the agregation and in 1937 his university career ended.

From then until 1939 he traveled a great deal, worked in the avant garde theatre in Algiers, and served as an apprentice journalist on the Alger-Republican. At the outbreak of World War II he volunteered for service and was rejected on grounds of health. Since his anti-colonialism made it impossible for him to find a job in North Africa he went to France in 1940. In Paris he joined the staff of Paris-Soir but the German invasion cut this career short and he returned to Oran to teach in a private school. In 1942 he returned to France and joined a southern resistance network. He operated chiefly in Lyon and St. Etienne until near the end of 1943 when the resistance sent him to work in Paris.

After the liberation of Paris he took over the editorship of Combat which had begun appearing during the Occupation. He continued in this position until 1948. During the middle forties some of his plays were produced in Paris and some of his novels and essays published. The Plague was published in 1947. In 1957 he received the Nobel Prize for literature. On January 4, 1960 he was killed in an automobile accident.<sup>7</sup>

The foremost figure in German letters in the twentieth century, Thomas Mann, was born in 1875 in Lubeck, Germany. He was the second son of a father who was a well-to-do merchant and Senator in the city government

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<sup>7</sup>John Cruickshank, Albert Camus and the Literature of Revolt (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 11-19. Robert deLuppe, Albert Camus, trans. John Cumming and J. Hargreaves, (London: The Merlin Press, 1966), pp. xi-xiii.

and a mother who was a Brazilian of mixed German and Portuguese blood. After his father's death in 1891 the family moved to Munich. Thomas stayed in Lubeck to finish school and joined the family in 1893. In Munich he went to work as an insurance clerk. He left his job after a year to attend some university classes and then went to Italy for two and a half years with his older brother, Heinrich, also a novelist and essayist. While in Italy he began his first novel Buddenbrooks which is full of autobiographical references. When he returned to Munich he worked for a while as an editor of Simplicissimus and finished Buddenbrooks which was published in 1900.

From 1898 when his first volume of short stories appeared, until the First World War his collections of short stories appeared at regular intervals. After the war he journeyed in Italy, Egypt, and the near east. The war changed Mann from a "non-political" writer to a self-conscious spokesman for Germany. He appeared at first as a romantic conservative. His most reactionary book, Reflections of a Non-Political Man, mirrored his conservative viewpoint and his clash with his brother Heinrich. Gradually he moved away from his conservative position as shown by his endorsement of the Weimar government and his later political addresses, particularly his courageous speech against the Nazis, Appeal to Reason. One of his most famous novels, The Magic Mountain, was published in 1914 and was an immediate success. He was awarded the Nobel prize for literature in 1929.

Mann left Germany in February 1933 for a brief vacation and did not return for sixteen years. At first he stayed in Switzerland. There was some criticism in intellectual circles over his failure to denounce the Nazi regime in its first years of power. He finally broke silence in an open

letter which was published in the press in February 1936. The Nazi regime revoked his citizenship and banned his books in reply.

He came to the United States in 1938 and spent two years at Princeton. In the spring of 1941 he moved to southern California where he joined a colony of German exiles which included Bruno Walter, Arnold Schoenberg, and Franz Werfel. In 1941 he became an American Citizen. His novel Doctor Faustus was published in 1949 and stirred a lively debate in the United States and bitter controversy in Germany. In 1949 he returned briefly to Germany to receive a Goethe prize in Frankfurt am Main and another such prize in the Russian Occupied Zone of Germany for which he was highly criticized. This criticism later coupled with the McCarthy committee's investigation of some of his friends helped him decide to leave the United States. In 1952 he moved to Switzerland and established a permanent home near Zurich where he died in his eightieth year - 1955.<sup>8</sup>

Constantine Virgil Gheorghiu was born in Rumania in 1916. His father was the priest in a remote mountain village. He went to the Royal Military College at Kishiniew and then to the University of Bucharest. After graduation he was called into the army. He began writing poetry in college and in 1940 he won the Royal Poetry prize. While in the army he wrote pro-government novels. He was transferred to the diplomatic corps.

Gheorghiu and his wife were serving with the legation in Yugoslavia when the coup d'etat of August 1944 changed Rumania from ally to enemy of Germany and from enemy to ally of Russia. This coup marked the beginning

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<sup>8</sup>Joseph G. Brennan, Thomas Mann's World (New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1962). Henry Hatfield, Thomas Mann: An Introduction to His Fiction (London: Peter Owen Ltd., 1952), pp. 147-153.

of their exile. His wartime books made him an enemy of the new government. His service along the border in 1920 and 1930 made him afraid of the Russians. Yet if they went to the West they would be interned for as members of fascist diplomatic corps they were automatically enemies. They went west and were interned.

After they were released he attended courses in theology at the University of Heidelberg. At the same time he searched desperately for work in order to relieve the conditions of near starvation under which they lived. His last hope of work, a job with the Canadian Work Commission, was destroyed when they refused to hire him because intellectuals have no muscles. Gheorghiu wrote: "and so he refused to buy me. Canada refused to buy me. It was then that I began to write Ora 25."

He wrote the novel between 1946 and 1948. He had barely finished it when a compatriot denounced the novel to the police and Gheorghiu was arrested. He escaped and with his wife made his way to Paris on foot with a copy of the novel. A French publisher bought it twenty four hours after its submission and it became the biggest best seller in France since World War II.

He and his wife remained in Paris where he has written eight other novels the last of which has been translated into English. In May 1963 he became Father Gheorghiu of the Paris colony Rumanian Orthodox Church. He continues to officiate at his church and to write.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Const.-Virgil Gheorghiu, "Journal to Ora 25," Books Abroad, XXIV (1950), pp. 229-233. Const.-Virgil Gheorghiu, Review of The Twenty-fifth Hour, New York Times Book Review, October 29, 1950, p. 8. Mary Gaddis Rose, "C. V. Gheorghiu - - After The 25th Hour," Books Abroad, XLI (Spring 1967), . 166-168.



It is obvious even from these brief biographical sketches that the novelists qualify as observers of the twentieth century totalitarian state. For some of the novelists their experience with a totalitarian state has been overwhelming, for others it has been merely incidental to their lives. Yet despite the varying depths of their experiences they have all translated that experience into the literary medium. In the process of this translation they have given us a great deal more than the traditional journals and memoirs that are often used to buttress historical accounts. Not only do they see more clearly into the ways of humanity but they are much more capable of expressing these insights.

To use the varying insights of these novelists into twentieth century totalitarianism with any sort of validity some standard of comparison must be utilized. The organic model of the totalitarian state created by Friedrich and Brzezinski can supply this standard. The model has been selected on the basis of its wide acceptance as a frame of reference for the study of the total state through the novels. Like all models this is an abstraction from reality and cannot be proved true or false but must be judged on grounds of usefulness. In using this model as the basis for examining the novels we shall have to keep in mind the conflicting opinions about the various components. We can then compare the novelists view of the totalitarian society with these traits and judge whether the novels verify and amplify them or instead validate some of the opposing arguments.

Yet limiting the study of the novels to the model alone would mean concentrating exclusively on political institutions and relations instead of the areas in which the novel affords a unique contribution. It is in the insights of the novels into the psychological aspects of totalitarianism and into the sense of life in a total state that this contribution is made.

## CHAPTER III

### THE TOTALITARIAN IDEOLOGY

There were two in paradise and the choice was offered to them: Happiness without freedom or freedom without happiness . . . They . . . chose freedom . . . For centuries afterward they longed for fetters . . . We found a way to regain happiness . . . No more meddling with good and evil and all that; everything is simple again, heavenly childishly simple! . . . For all this preserves our nonfreedom that is our happiness.

Zamiatin, We

A return to Eden is the aim of all ideologies. They postulate perfect societies in which problems no longer exist. No ideology is simply a political theory; it attempts much more - - a total explanation of life. As a total explanation of life it of necessity gives all answers and by so doing removes the burden of moral choice from its adherents. This is particularly true of the ideology of a totalitarian state, although all ideologies, as Hannah Arendt has pointed out, have inherently totalitarian features. Each gives a "total" explanation for man's existence and purpose and this explanation frees ideological thinking from learning from experience. Ideological thought is also removed from reality by its particular method of demonstration such as reasoning or dialectics. In this role, the totalitarian ideology assumes the nature of a religion. One can quite legitimately compare the totalitarian ideologies and emotions with those of religion. The totalitarian ideology replaces God with the State and directs the religious fervor of the population to the State by answering the big questions with even more assurance than most religions. The ideology also requires the faith that religion requires.

Friedrich and Brzezinski see the official ideology as an evolving doctrine which provides answers in all spheres of life and as an instrument for rallying the efforts of the people. Other students of twentieth century totalitarianism see the ideology as an instrument used to foster the ultimate aim of totalitarianism - - the breakdown between truth and falsehood.

The ideologies of the twentieth century totalitarian states, although different in content, are similar in their belief that the state is a living organism in which the individual is a single cell.

The ideology of Stalinist Russia saw the state as the whole and the individual as the part. The Marxist ideology of this state is based on dialectical reasoning. Yet a thought process based on reason, no matter how logically constructed becomes divorced from reality and must demand acceptance on faith. As Rubashov, the protagonist of Darkness at Noon, explains in his diary:

But how can the present decide what will be judged truth in the future? We are doing the work of prophets without their gift. We replaced vision by logical deduction; but although we started from the same point of departure, we came to divergent results. Proof disproved proof, and finally we had to recur to faith - - to axiomatic faith in the rightness of one's own reasoning . . . Geometry is the purest realization of human reason; but Euclid's axioms cannot be proved. He who does not believe in them sees the whole building crash.<sup>1</sup>

Not only do totalitarian ideologies require the faith of a religion but they also elicit the emotional fervor of a religion. The religious intoxication of an ideology is well described in Doctor Faustus. Even the narrator of the novel, Serenus Zeitbloom, who is a humanist and man of reason feels this appeal. In describing Nazi Germany in the late forties he writes:

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<sup>1</sup>Arthur Koestler, Darkness at Noon, trans. Daphne Hardy (modern Library Edition, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1941), p. 100.

When I think of the exaltation and blind ardour of its uprising, the breaking-out, the breaking-up, the breaking down; the purifying and fresh start, the national new birth of ten years ago, that seemingly religious intoxication - - which then betrayed itself to any intelligent person for what it was by its crudity, vulgarity, gangsterism, sadism, degradation, filthiness - - . . . We drank - - for we Germans perennially yearn for intoxication - - and under its spell through years of deluded high living, we committed a superfluity of shameful deeds, which now must be paid for.<sup>2</sup>

The similarity between religion and ideology is portrayed in Bread and Wine. Silone demonstrates this through his hero, Pietro Spina. Silone draws an obvious symbolic parallel between the Church and the Party. Pietro, a Communist party member, has returned to his native land, ill and under indictment. He must conceal his identity in the role of the priest, Don Paolo, while he regains his health. As a boy in church schools he had been very religious and had hoped to become a saint. But he had left the church in disgust when he saw the schism between its actions and what it preached:

That disgust had provided his sole impulse for joining the socialists . . . His return to Italy had been an attempt to . . . get away from the Marxist bureaucracy, to return to the rank-and-file and recapture in action the enthusiasm that had originally led him into the movement.<sup>3</sup>

Pietro points out that in his career as a Marxist and revolutionary he has never met nor read of a revolutionary who had become so out of scientific conviction or economic calculation. The original impulse had in every case been moral condemnation of existing society.

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<sup>2</sup>Thomas Mann, Doctor Faustus: The Life of the German Composer Adrian Leverkühn as Told by a Friend, trans. H. T. Lowe-Porter (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), p. 175.

<sup>3</sup>Ignazio Silone, Bread and Wine, Trans. Gwenda David and Eric Mosbacher (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937), p. 68.

He shows how the doctrine of the party soon takes over, leaving no chance for personal decisions and moral considerations. Party ideology dictates his choice and Pietro questions this choice:

Has not truth, for me, become party truth? Has not justice, for me, become party justice? Have not party interests ended by deadening all my discrimination between moral values? Do I too, not despise them as petty-bourgeois prejudices? Have I escaped from the opportunism of a decadent Church only to fall bondage to the opportunism of a party?<sup>4</sup>

Rubashov in analysing the reasons for his imprisonment shows how an ideology can evolve. After the revolution there had been two factions within the party. One, to which Rubashov belonged, thought the revolution should be carried abroad in accordance with the Marxist philosophy. The other group, to which No. 1 belonged, thought that this period was a time of reaction and that they should fortify their position and wait until the world was ready for another revolution. No. 1's policy won out and the purges followed in which those who continued to support what was no longer part of the ideology - - world revolution now - - were eliminated.

This type of conflict which can arise over aims within a single ideology is well illustrated in Darkness at Noon by the story of Admiral Bogrov, a hero of the revolution. He was executed during the purges because he advocated the construction of submarines of large tonnage and long range capabilities while No. 1's men advocated small submarines with limited capabilities. Both sides had logical arguments yet the basic problem lay outside the sphere of naval armaments and in the sphere of long range policy. Big submarines meant a policy of aggression and thus

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

the furthering of the world revolution. Small submarines, on the other hand, meant coastal defense and therefore self defense and postponement of the revolution. So Bogrov despite his loyalty to the revolution died because of a change in ideological policy.

Those who argue that an ideology influences all spheres of society are partially right. An ideology, at least as shown in Darkness at Noon, can change direction and even some of its basic tenets yet the need to conform to the current interpretation of the ideology remains. As Rubashov states it:

Our engineers work with the constant knowledge that an error in calculation may take them to prison or the scaffold; the higher officials in our administration ruin and destroy their subordinates because they know that they will be held responsible for the slightest slip and be destroyed themselves; our poets settle discussions on questions of style by denunciations to the Secret Police, because the expressionists consider the naturalistic style counter - revolutionary, and vice versa.<sup>5</sup>

The ideology of Nazi Germany like other totalitarian ideologies saw the state as an organism and the individual as a cell. Their doctrine was basically one of racial superiority. In The Twenty-fifth Hour the protagonist, Johann Moritz, goes from the position of prisoner to that of prison guard through the discovery of a Nazi anthropologist that he is a member of "The Heroic Family." The strength of the racial instinct is described by the anthropologist, Colonel Mueller:

It was the racial instinct of self-preservation, the call of the blood, that safeguarded the members of this family from the mortal sin of racial intermarriage. Throughout the history of this family there has not been a single

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<sup>5</sup>Koestler, Darkness, pp. 158-159.

instant of it. That and that alone, explains how it came about that the young man we have here is an exact reproduction of his forefathers.<sup>6</sup>

The Colonel wishes to construct an Anthropological Park in which Johann as specimen of the best of races can be preserved and carefully bred. The usual negative aspects of racism are illustrated in Johann's original arrest. He was listed as a Jew by an envious villager and was arrested and sent to a labor camp.

Bread and Wine because of its setting is partially the story of Italian peasantry under Fascism. The peasant before all else is a realist. He accepts and even when necessary celebrates the Fascist government. The actual ideology of the government makes little difference to him. The fact that the government, constructed around whatever ideology, exists is what matters. As Pietro describes the peasants:

The poor people in the street were caught in the Land of Propaganda like fishes in a net. There was little to understand. The net was there for the fish, the net was reality, the only reality that counted. Whether the Propaganda was right or wrong was a problem for idle brains.

In a discussion with Murcia, who has been an informer for the police within the party, Pietro defines the working of party ideology and morality: Every party is based on a definite ideology and is equipped with a corresponding morality, which is codified in objective rules. Often these rules are very like those with which every man is inspired by his own conscience, often they are the very reverse."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>C. Virgil Gheorghiu, The Twenty-fifth Hour, trans. Rita Eldon (Pocket Book Edition, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), pp. 155-156.

<sup>7</sup>Silone, Bread and Wine, p. 164.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 211-212.

The use of an ideology as a rallying point for the population is not reinforced by these novels except in Doctor Faustus. The peasants of Silone's novel accept only what exists, while the masses of Koestler's novel remain the unknown "X" of the equation. In Gheorghiu's novel ideologies as such are hardly dealt with, for to him all western civilization is based on the ideology of technology.

Gheorghiu accuses western technological civilization of sacrificing the individual to bureaucracy and statistics. Father Koruga, the father of novelist Traian Koruga and a Rumanian Orthodox priest, sees little difference between the western nations. He expresses this feeling:

Democracy, for example as a form of social organization is undoubtedly superior to totalitarianism, yet nevertheless it represents human life only in its social dimension. To consider democracy as an end in itself is to kill human life by reducing it to a single dimension. This is the very mistake that the Nazis and the Communists have made.<sup>9</sup>

This human sacrifice is also one of the major concerns of Rubashov in Darkness at Noon. Rubashov argues that the one basic precept of all ideologies is the infamous ethic that the end justifies the means. Ivanov, his original inquisitor argues with him claiming that there are after all only two basic concepts of human ethics. One is Christian and humane declaring the individual sacrosanct and the other, Ivanov claims, "starts from the basic principle that a collective aim justifies all means, and not only allows, but demands, that the individual should in every way be subordinate and sacrificed to the community - - which may dispose of it as an experimentation rabbit or a sacrificial lamb."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Gheorghiu, Hour, p. 283.

<sup>10</sup>Koestler, Darkness, p. 157.



In the two dystopias we gain a slightly different view of ideology and its use by the state. Once again the basic premise is the organic one - - the state is the organ and the individual a mere cell and thus dispensable. As O'Brien, the interrogator of the protagonist Winston Smith, points out in 1984: "The individual is only a cell. The weariness of the cell is the vigor of the organism. Do you die when you cut your fingernails?"<sup>11</sup>

In 1984 the Party - - Ingsoc - - has grown out of the earlier socialist movement and has used socialist phraseology in its ideology. By Winston's time the Party's ideology has one central tenet - - the mutability of the past. Its whole ideology can be summed up in its three slogans: WAR IS PEACE, FREEDOM IS SLAVERY, IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH. These slogans along with the everchanging past and constantly decreasing vocabulary lead to a great sense of insecurity within the Party. The plan is for even the slogans to gradually change as concepts like freedom completely disappear. Then the whole climate of thought will change and there will be complete orthodoxy. As Syme, the philologist and specialist in Newspeak, explains: "In fact there will be no thought, as we understand it now. Orthodoxy means not thinking - - not needing to think. Orthodoxy is unconsciousness."<sup>12</sup> This, of course, would indeed be the ultimate return to Eden.

The Party continually works toward this goal. The language, Newspeak, is gradually being destroyed by constant elimination of words from

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<sup>11</sup>George Orwell, 1984, (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., Inc., 1949), p. 217.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

the vocabulary. The need to conform with Party propaganda also leads toward Orthodoxy. When the Ministry of Plenty decreases the ration of chocolate they announce that they are increasing it. The Party trains its members to stop short of any traitorous thought no matter what their senses tell them. As Winston points out: "The Party told you to reject the evidence of your eyes and ears. It was their final, most essential command."<sup>13</sup>

The reason for the goal of complete orthodoxy is the Party's need to stay in power. The Party's assessment of the past is that governments fell because they had ossified or because they had grown soft. Some had become stupid and arrogant and thus failed to adjust to changes and were overthrown. Others had become liberal and cowardly, making concessions when they should have used force and so they had fallen. Goldstein, a former member of the Inner Party explains this theory in his book:

They fell . . . either through consciousness or unconsciousness. It is the achievement of the Party to have produced a system of thought in which both conditions can exist simultaneously. And upon no other intellectual basis could the dominion of the Party be made permanent. If one is to rule and to continue ruling one must be able to dislocate the sense of reality. For the secret of rulership is to combine a belief in one's own infallibility with the power to learn from past mistakes.<sup>14</sup>

This art of simultaneous consciousness and unconsciousness is best illustrated in the process of "doublethink" which is in reality a vast system of mental cheating. It is a process of linking opposites together - - putting knowledge with ignorance, cynicism with fanaticism. The art is to hold the two opposing thoughts in the mind at the same time without

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 177.

being confused. This is one of the chief marks of Oceanic society in 1984. The names of the four governing ministries of this society are perfect examples of "doublethink." The Ministry of Truth deals with rearranging the past. The Ministry of Love deals in torture. The Ministry of Peace is the war department. The Ministry of Plenty plans below subsistence consumption for the population.

Winston Smith is an employee of the Ministry of Truth where he spends his days in a cubicle rewriting newspaper articles of the past so that they fit the present realities. The enemies of past wars are turned into allies, past speeches are changed to reflect present realities, people are removed from and added to the historical record. The ultimate aim seems to be the confusion of truth and falsehood so that the government may remain in power.

The United State of Zamiatin's We is a society based on mathematical logic. Here the individual is described variously as part of the mighty sum or as a cog in the great state machine. The heart of this society's ideology is The Tables. Their historical antecedent is the Official Railway Guide which is considered the greatest monument of ancient literature. The Tables are a precise plan for the day. D-503, the builder of the Intregal, a space ship, is the protagonist and explains the contents of the Tables:

At the same minute we wake up millions of us at once. At the very same hour, millions like one, we begin our work and millions like one, we finish it. United into a single body with a million hands, at the very same second, designed by the Tables we carry the spoons to our mouths; at the same second we all go out to walk, go to the auditorium, to the

halls for the Taylor exercises, and then to bed.<sup>15</sup>

But the Tables are not really complete since between four and five in the afternoon and nine and ten in the evening there is no universal activity in the plan. During these two hours the grand sum of the United State dissolves into separate numbers for the personal hours. Yet D-503 has hope for these hours: "But I firmly believe, let them call me an idealist, a dreamer, that sooner or later we shall somehow find a place in the general formula for these hours. Somehow all 86,400 seconds will be incorporated in the Table of the Hours."<sup>16</sup>

This is obviously the ultimate in Edens where twenty-two out of the twenty-four hours are preordained and only two widely separated hours are left in which one might be faced with any sort of decision making. The whole system, as D-503 gleefully points out, is built on a scientific ethic which all the "ancient's Kants" could not devise, it is a simple ethic based on adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing. Unfortunately, a small part of the machine does occasionally break down, but this is usually handled swiftly so that the repair work does not even stop the functioning of the great state machine.

In order for this United State to be created at the close of the two hundred years war two things - - hunger and love - - had to be conquered. Hunger was conquered by the development of petroleum food; love

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<sup>15</sup>Eugene Zamiatin, We, trans. Gregory Zilboorg (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1924), p. 12. I believe that the Taylor for whom the exercises are named and whose great wisdom, for an ancient, is admired in other parts of the novel must be the American, Frederick W. Taylor who, in the early days of the twentieth century, pioneered "scientific management."

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

by a law which stated that, "a Number may obtain a license to use any other Number as a sexual product."<sup>17</sup>

At one point D-503 reveals that the aim described in 1984 of blending the conscious and unconscious so that the unconscious is destroyed has occurred in this society. After an incident involving a most unconventional Number he has his first dream. Dreams in the United State are considered a serious mental disease, as are souls. There are other similarities with 1984 in the United State, for here too freedom is equated with evil. Freedom and crime are thought to be closely related since without freedom crime would be impossible. "The way to rid man of criminality is to rid him of freedom."<sup>18</sup>

With hunger and love out of the way there are a few minor vices to be taken care of, for here a Number is not allowed to destroy himself by irregular hours or the use of such things as nicotine or alcohol. Thus the whole of man is directed to the state. Even the energy of poets is harnessed for the good of the state. Poetry has become a commodity which is used mainly to support the ideology of the state. It not only performs the usual function of singing of the glory of the state but also moralizes, lectures and instructs.

In spite of the mathematical perfection, the sameness and equality of the people in uniforms, food, living space and so forth, the United

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 22. The whole problem of sex is neatly taken care of by categorizing people according to their needs and allowing them the partner or partners necessary. In 1984 the problem is solved by educating the people, particularly the women, to avoid sex. The basis of these opposing yet similar philosophies is to prevent the establishment of any close relationship to which citizens would devote their energies and emotions rather than to the state.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

State, like Oceania, must turn the human being into a complete automation in order to maintain control. In Oceania this will be achieved when Orthodoxy is finally accomplished. In the United State it will take a frontal lobotomy.

The novels of this study seem to support both theories about ideologies. The theory postulated by the Friedrich-Brzezinski model that ideologies are doctrines, permeating and directing every phase of life as most clearly exemplified in We. In Darkness at Noon the evolution of a doctrine is shown as is the need to follow the current viewpoint of the party at every level which is also a necessity in 1984, and Bread and Wine. Although the presence of an ideology does not eliminate decision making in these novels, it reduces the process to a minimum and makes the wrong choice a lethal one.

At the same time, these novels, with the exception of We, support Cassinelli's theory that the ideology is not a doctrine which cannot be changed but rather a basic way of viewing the world whose auxiliary views can be changed at a moment's notice. The constant change of enemies and allies in 1984 which are only surface changes in a policy dedicated to constant warfare is an example of this view. Another is the decision in Darkness at Noon that despite the Marxist belief in fomenting world revolution, the Party will build up the land of the revolution and wait.

Cassinelli's contention that the goal of the totalitarian ideology is to create a climate of insecurity is shown in Darkness at Noon in the necessity of following the party line and the vital necessity of guessing correctly what the future line will be. His contention that the method used by the totalitarian state to reach this goal is to confuse the population is perfectly

illustrated in 1984, where the aim of all propaganda is to erase the differences between truth and falsehood in order to attain absolute power.

The novelists' analyses of totalitarian ideology differ in many intricate ways, almost in as many ways as there are kinds of ideologies in these novels. In certain of the novels the ideology is an elaborately worked out philosophy with an answer to almost every conceivable problem. In others the ideology is pure faith in the superiority of the state and its beloved ruler so that any question can be answered in accordance with the current party line.

The ideologies which we have seen in these novels can be classified in two rather simplistic categories. Ideologies based on reason such as those in Darkness at Noon and We, or ideologies based on emotions such as those in Bread and Wine, The Twenty-fifth Hour, Doctor Faustus and 1984. It must be kept in mind that the emotional ideologies are merely a front for a logical drive to ultimate power and that the logical ideologies foster emotions directed to the state.

It would seem that the real essence of a totalitarian ideology is in its superseding of religion, for the ideology does not function as a guideline but as a faith. Like all faiths it serves as a focusing point for mysticism and emotions. The emotional appeal of an ideology helps to bring the totalitarian party to power. But the ideology must be continually reinforced and the people constantly indoctrinated with it. The most effective means for achieving this goal is the communications system. To further understand the uses and effects of ideology it is necessary to study the control and use of communications in the totalitarian society.

## CHAPTER IV

### TOTAL CONTROL OF COMMUNICATIONS

Tons of printed paper repeat the government slogans; thousands of loud speakers, hundreds of thousands of manifestoes and leaflets, legions of orators in the square and at the crossroads, thousands of priests from the pulpit repeat these slogans ad nauseam to the point of collective stupefaction.

Silone, Bread and Wine

It is by this constant barrage of propaganda that the totalitarian government indoctrinates the populace with its ideology. Not only are the mass media under direct government control, but all other means of communicating the ideology are also controlled. Although the educational system is under state control the system of ideological training of the young is by no means limited to the schools. The youth groups formed by the party are of equal, perhaps greater, importance than the schools. In these groups not only can the youth be indoctrinated with the ideology and prepared for future party membership but leadership potential can be carefully watched and directed.

This is the positive side of total control of the communications media but there is a negative side as well. In order for the complete control of communications to be effective the population must be protected from alien ideas. This can be done in a variety of ways. One method is the destruction of any seemingly antagonistic literature, philosophy, history, science and so forth by such crude methods as book burning or such sophisticated methods as rewriting them to fit the current



ideological outlook. The ideas and ideologies of other countries are kept out by constructing green walls or iron curtains. With the population protected from outside influences the totalitarian government can then proceed with its indoctrination.

In order for the totalitarian regime to promote its ideology through mass media it must master certain basics. The totalitarian ideological view must seem historically imperative; past history must point to it as the ultimate conclusion. It is also basic that the party and its ideology present a united front if the ideology is to be accepted. Because man is historically an inconsistent creature, the mastering of these basics necessitate some changes in his historical record. This is most often done by changing the history of the totalitarian regime itself so that it coincides with the current ideological viewpoint.

This is discussed in Darkness at Noon. Rubashov recalls his days as head of a trade delegation in another country, just prior to the second great purge trial. The atmosphere in the legation was strained. Photographs and portraits that had hung for years were removed leaving behind light patches on the walls, while the shelves of the library grew thinner and thinner. Most of the books on the history and antecedents of the revolution, on finance, on trade unionism, on the problems of political constitutions which were more than two years old, works by living authors, and even the encyclopedia disappeared. New books with new footnotes and new histories arrived to take their place. As Rubashov jokingly remarks: "The only thing left to be done was to publish a new and revised edition of the back numbers of all the newspaper."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Koestler, Darkness, p. 117.

Rubashov may have thought it a joke but just that sort of revision is Winston Smith's life work in 1984. His job is to correct back issues of the Times. Others take care of correcting books, periodicals, pamphlets, posters, leaflets, films, sound tracks, cartoons, photographs, any conceivable kind of literature or documentation that might hold any political or ideological significance. The reason for this, as Winston explains it is that, "in this way every prediction made by the Party could be shown by documentary evidence to have been correct; nor was any item of news, nor any expression of opinion, which conflicted with the needs of the moment ever allowed to remain on record."<sup>2</sup>

The Party in 1984 completely controls history and changes it at will. Not only can those who have offended the Party be eliminated from the stream of history but, when necessary, people who never existed can be added to the historical record to exemplify the virtues the Party wants stressed. Winston at one point creates a Comrade Ogilvy for the Party and describes the result, "Comrade Ogilvy, who had never existed in the present, now existed in the past and when once the act of forgery was forgotten he would exist just as authentically, and upon the same evidence as Charlemagne or Julius Ceasar."<sup>3</sup>

The identity of "the enemy" is the most often changed feature in the rewriting of history. In 1984 there are three nations in the world - - Oceania, Eurasia and Eastasia. At any given point in their history two are always allied against the third, but the alliances are always being shifted. Winston is well aware, because of his work, that Oceania

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<sup>2</sup>Orwell, 1984, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

has again changed enemies. When this sort of change occurs the records must be corrected to show that the current enemy has always been the enemy. As Smith explains, "Oceania was at war with Eurasia therefore Oceania had always been at war with Eurasia. The enemy of the moment always represented absolute evil, and it followed that any past or future agreement with him was impossible."<sup>4</sup>

This facility to alter history may seem imaginative and typically dystopian. But it is echoed in the conversation of Don Paolo with some village boys in Bread and Wine. The boys have been arguing and he asks the cause. He is told that in the game they are playing one side is always Italy and the other is the hereditary enemy but they are confused over who the hereditary enemy is:

For a long time our teacher said our hereditary enemy was France and Yugoslavia. Then she said it was Japan. But this morning she said; "Children the new hereditary enemy is England." But there's a chapter in our schoolbook with the heading: "The Age Long Friendship between England and Italy." So now we're completely puzzled. Who's wrong, our teacher or the book? . . . The Book . . . It was printed last year, so it's out-of-date.<sup>5</sup>

In We what remains of the historical record after the two hundred years war is kept intact. A house that belonged to ancient times is preserved as a museum. The past is treated with ridicule in this most logical of societies, the historians deride the time when humans wasted their lives and destroyed themselves by their illogical life patterns. After the abortive attempt to capture the Integral by the rebellious Numbers and those who live outside the wall, there is a change in the governmental policy

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>5</sup>Silone, Bread and Wine, p. 52.

toward history. The government decides to perform what amounts to frontal lobotomies on the population to cure it of the illness of fancy. The capture attempt which led to this decision causes the historians of the society to resign. In the proclamation announcing the operation it is stated that "the historians of the United State have all tendered their resignations so as to be relieved from having to record such shameful occurrences."<sup>6</sup> It would seem that although the history of past ages can be accepted the history which would include the failures of the current regime itself cannot be recorded.

The most backward of the societies under discussion is that of the peasants in Silone's Bread and Wine. Here the technological strides of the twentieth century have made little impact. Although the government controls the mass media, it has little direct effect on the life of the peasants. Despite the printing of tons of propaganda very little gets to the country side. In one scene the schoolmistress of Pietraseca, as part of her duties, reads the official press to the assembled villagers, the majority of whom are illiterate. They constantly interupt to ask very logical and literal questions which completely confuse her. She finally has to resort to telling them they must not take the paper literally but try to understand it in a spiritual sense. This does little to heighten the impact of the propaganda.

The radio has a somewhat different effect, although it is not in evidence in Don Paolo's village. In fact the only radio mentioned in the novel is in Fossa, the largest town in the diocese. Here the people of

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<sup>6</sup>Zamiatin, We, p. 166.

the area have gathered to hear the broadcast of the declaration of war against Ethiopia. Although few are close enough to actually hear the broadcast, the patriotic spirit engulfs the crowd. Don Paolo watches the scene with trepidation:

There came to his mind the fear he had once felt when he had attended a seance, . . . the fear he had always experienced, even in later years, whenever he was faced with any manifestation of the primitive and irrational forces that lie dormant in individuals and in the mass. How was one to reason with poor people who had fallen under the spell of a hypnotic wizard?<sup>7</sup>

As far as Spina is concerned, propaganda per se can have little effect. The peasants have always lived by facts and if forced to choose between facts and words they will always abide by facts. He thinks "the peasants accept the dictatorship not because they are convinced by its propaganda, but because the dictatorship is a fact."<sup>8</sup>

In Darkness at Noon, the party puts forth a greater effort than that seen in Bread and Wine, to indoctrinate the population. Not only do they repeat slogans as in Bread and Wine but see that all explanations are carefully simplified and dramatized. Gletkin, one of Rubashov's interrogators, who feels he is much closer to the masses than the intellectuals, Ivanov and Rubashov, argues: "What is presented as right must shine like gold; what is presented as wrong must be black as pitch. For consumption by the masses, the political process must be colored like ginger-bread figures at a fair."<sup>9</sup>

In 1984, the peasants or Proles, as they are called, are ignored by the propaganda. The mass media are used simply to entertain them.

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<sup>7</sup>Silone, Bread and Wine, p. 163.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 139.

<sup>9</sup>Koestler, Darkness, p. 234

Yet the mass media are fully exploited to indoctrinate the Party members. There are throughout the London of the novel, posters with the picture of Big Brother so contrived that the eyes follow the onlooker where ever he moves. The caption "Big Brother is watching you" runs underneath the picture. There are telescreens which can be turned down some but never off and through them comes a constant barrage of propaganda. They are also used as watching devices by the police.

Everyday at work instead of a coffee break there is the "Two Minutes Hate." The movie the workers are shown during this break varies from day to day although the basic format remains the same. The villain of the piece is always Goldstein, once one of the leading figures of the party now considered to be a traitor and the leader of "The Brotherhood," a group which aims at violent overthrow of the government. Goldstein is shown as the primal traitor from whom all subsequent crimes against the Party have sprung. The film raises the fury of its viewers and soon they are growling with hatred and flinging things at screen. All participate in this orgy of hatred. Winston feels "the horrible thing about the Two Minutes Hate was not that one was obliged to act a part but that it was impossible to avoid joining in."<sup>10</sup> At the end of the film a picture of Big Brother always appears filling the screen with a mysterious calm and a sense of his power. The viewers begin to chant his initials and the chant becomes a hymn, not unlike the chanting of "DOO CHAY" by the peasants of Bread and Wine as they listen to war being declared on Ethiopia, for both result in a form of self-hypnosis. Winston describes it as "partly . . . a sort of hymn to the wisdom and majesty of Brother, but still more

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<sup>10</sup>Orwell, 1984, p. 16.

it was an act of self-hypnosis."<sup>11</sup>

Big Brother and Goldstein serve as focal points for diametrically opposed emotions. Goldstein is used as a focal point for the expression of all the pent-up frustrations of the ugly, repressed life lived by the Party membership. Big Brother, who is never seen in person, is the symbol for the Party. His function is to act as a focus for all the love, fear and reverence of the people since an individual can inspire these emotions more readily than an organization. Goldstein describes the position of Big Brother as "infallible and all powerful. Every success, every achievement, every victory, every scientific discovery, all knowledge, all wisdom, all happiness, all virtue are held to issue directly from his leadership and inspiration."<sup>12</sup>

The trial of Rubashov in Darkness at Noon is used to create the same effect as is the opposing of Goldstein and Big Brother in 1984. That is why Rubashov is warned to avoid awakening sympathy and pity for himself at his trial. By doing this he would dangerously arouse emotions favorable to the opposition. Gletkin describes Rubashov's duty as helping "to gild the Right, to blacken the Wrong. Your task therefore is to make the opposition contemptible, to make the masses understand that opposition is a crime and that leaders of that opposition are criminals. That is the simple language the masses understand."<sup>13</sup> By making the opposition the villain the Party becomes the hero.

The constant bombardment of the population with propaganda is effective. Yet the indoctrinal processes operating within the educational system

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 18. Silone, Bread and Wine, pp. 162-164.

<sup>12</sup>Orwell, 1984, p. 171.

<sup>13</sup>Koestler, Darkness, pp. 237-238.

and within the youth groups are in concert the most forceful means of indoctrinating the young while at the same time it insulates them from any negative or outside ideas or ideologies.

In the primitive totalitarian society of Bread and Wine the school mistress attempts to propagate the government ideology but since she asks the peasants to accept this ideology in its spiritual sense and not in its factual sense the peasants simply shrug. The children are in school for such a short period that the ideology has very little effect on them.

In contrast to this society the educational system in We is quite effective. Children are raised by the state not in family units, for they are no longer private property. They are kept in school until training for a particular job is completed and then each becomes a functioning cog in the great state machine. The teacher of D-503 and his friend R had, of course in this most logical of nations, been a mathematician and a machine. They had been given, as are the children of the current era, classes in Taylor and mathematics and were taught the law of the United State by a priest who was also a machine.

Poetry and literature are used as propaganda forces and are focused on the young. "Mathematical Norms" and "Thorns" are two of the more useful poems. The first teaches the children to love the four rules of arithmetic and the latter is a classic image of the state as a flower being protected from rough hands by the Guardians who are thorns. There is also the morality tale of "The Three Forgiven Ones." This is the story of three Numbers who were given a month off from work. They were completely miserable and spent their time pretending to go about their work. After ten days of keeping up this pretense they committed suicide. The effectiveness



of this propaganda and conditioning on the young is shown by how little propaganda must be directed at the adults. The newspapers are, of course, well controlled but there is no constant barrage of propaganda as in 1984. There are just the papers and a few poetic works which are read by the adults such as the "Daily Odes to the Well-Doer," "Those Who Come Late to Work" and "Stanzas on Sex Hygiene."

The use of youth groups to indoctrinate the young with the ideology is best shown in 1984. Here one of the youth groups is known as "The Spies." This organization turns out ungovernable children. Yet although they are rebellious and impossible for their parents to handle they have no tendency to rebel against the Party and instead adore it. They are involved in many activities. The games they play are war games. The hangings of prisoners or traitors which take place once a month are one of their more favorite diversions. They also indulge in more traditional youth activities for they sing songs, march, hike, drill with rifles, cheer and worship Big Brother. All their ferocity is turned outward toward the enemies of the state who seem to them to be everywhere even among the ranks of their own parents. Winston says: "It was almost normal for people over thirty to be frightened of their children."<sup>14</sup>

Another group in Oceanic society, known as the "Junior Anti-Sex League," advocates complete celibacy for both sexes and believes children should be conceived by artificial insemination and brought up in public institutions. The League works particularly hard at ingraining chastity in women by early conditioning, games and cold water. The League

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<sup>14</sup>Orwell, 1984, p. 24.

achieves its goal, as Winston comments by "The rubbish that was dinned into them [women] at school and in the Spies and the Youth League, by lectures, parades, songs, slogans and martial music the natural feeling had been driven out of them."<sup>15</sup> The Party member is conditioned and trained so that all his energies and thoughts are directed toward the current goal of the state.

Mass control of communications is used by the totalitarian party to effect two goals: the indoctrination of the people with the ideology and a belief in the party's infallibility and subsidiary to this to have the population tolerate current conditions by having no standards of comparison. To accomplish this the population must be cut off from foreign nations and from the past.

The propaganda of the mass media is directed at effecting these goals. In this propaganda two basic characteristics of the totalitarian regime become apparent. In order to indoctrinate the masses with the ideology, the propaganda is couched in simple statements which are constantly reinforced. In the simplistic statements of the propaganda the totalitarian state's complete disrespect for the human as an individual is as apparent as it is in the ideological concept of the individual as a single cell of a mighty organism. The totalitarian ideology creates categories into which the individual must fit, and it is the propaganda which conditions him to accept his role. Gheorghiu in The Twenty-fifth Hour protests against this dehumanization of man. His book is a cry for the return to individualism. Traian asks one of the American officers in

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

charge of his prison camp if the individual's guilt or innocence was of any interest. The officer replies:

No . . . However much it may offend your susceptibilities as an educated man with an individualistic, theological, aesthetic and humanitarian upbringing, there is nothing I can do about it . . . Our system may perhaps appear dry, technical, and mathematical but it is just. The universe itself functions in a mathematical way and no one would take it into his head to change its course or direction.<sup>16</sup>

This sort of technical and mathematical approach to justice is reflected in the use of mathematical equations to explain human society in almost all the ideologies presented in these novels. We is predicated on it. In Darkness at Noon Rubashov points out that politics can be equated with algebra, the science for lazy people, where one does not have to work out x but operates as if one knew what it meant. He states that "in our case x stands for anonymous masses, the people. Politics mean operating with this x, without worrying about its actual nature."<sup>17</sup>

The second characteristic which becomes apparent through the propaganda is of a paradoxical nature. The propaganda is directed at the individual in order to destroy the individual. The propaganda destroys the unique individual human by appealing to the irrational forces inherent in each individual. This appeal to the irrational is most clearly shown in the two dystopias. As different as light and dark in their outward appearances both the United State and Oceania must bring to the fore and then control the irrational emotions. In both states religion has been replaced by worship of the state. Both societies find it necessary to personify the state - - Oceania with Big Brother, the United State with

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<sup>16</sup>Gheorghiu, Hour, p. 270.

<sup>17</sup>Koestler, Darkness, p. 84.

the Well-Doer. The propaganda of Oceania creates fear and alienation and then channels these emotions into a hypnotic worship of Big Brother. The propaganda of the United State joyfully celebrates the working of the great state machine and when a Number steps out of rank he is executed at a quasi-religious ceremony at which the other Numbers celebrate the heavy hand of the Well-Doer.

The hypnotic power created by these moments of hating or worshipping together erase the sense of alienation created by being a mere dispensable cell. The individual feels the joy of being unified with his fellow man in some great emotion.

The ideology of a totalitarian state sets the pattern for such a society. Thus the absolute necessity for the party in a totalitarian state to control all media through which its ideology is taught and constantly reinforced is evident. The youth group emerges as one of the most important means of teaching the ideology and arousing the irrational emotions through which each individual loses his uniqueness. The controlled communications system lays the ground work for the enforcement of the ideology. The tone for the terroristic police control is set in the propaganda. The ideology sets the pattern for society, the communications system reinforces it and prepares the population for its enforcement by police control.

## CHAPTER V

### TERROR AND CONFORMITY

The Land of Propaganda is built on unanimity . . . if one man says "no," the spell is broken and public order is endangered. The rebel voice must be stilled.

#### Silence, Bread and Wine

To still the rebel voice the totalitarian state must create an elaborate machinery of terror. This use of terror by the twentieth century totalitarian state has fascinated the novelists more than any of the other components of such a state, probably because it is the most inherently dramatic aspect of such a state. The use of terror and its effect upon its victims affords the novelist a multitude of dramatic situations. The range between the inhumanity of the perpetrator of terror and the often indomitable human spirit of the victim gives the novelist an opportunity to portray the paradoxes of humanity.

The totalitarian state's need for consensus is the basis for terroristic police control. To effect this necessary unanimity the machinery of terror, usually based on an elastic criminal code, is constructed. This machinery includes along with the police, methods of information gathering, prisons, camps, purges and public trials.

In the dystopia created in Zamiatin's We the need for unanimity is pronounced, and those who rebel are silenced. The announcement of a Holiday of Justice, means, as D-503 explains, "that again some number has impeded the smooth running of the great state machine."<sup>1</sup> The offending

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<sup>1</sup>Zamiatin, We, p. 24.

Number will be literally liquidated on this holiday as in Darkness at Noon the members of the original revolutionary party who do not go along with No. 1 are liquidated or as in 1984 offending party members are "vaporized." But the Holiday of Justice is not the most important holiday in the United State, that holiday is the Day of Unanimity which illustrates quite effectively the totalitarian state's need for consensus. On this holiday the whole population gathers to vote in public. D-503 describes the day:

Tomorrow is the day of the yearly election of the Well-Doer. Tomorrow we shall again hand over to our Well-Doer the keys to the impregnable fortress of our happiness . . . The elections themselves have a rather symbolic meaning. They remind us that - - to use the language of the "gospel" of the ancients - - we are a united church. The history of the United State knows not a single case in which upon this solemn day even a solitary voice has dared to violate the magnificent unison.<sup>2</sup>

In order to be ready to silence any voices raised in opposition to the regime a complicated system of information gathering must be organized. In each of the totalitarian societies this system works well. Luigi Murica in Bread and Wine describes this system as it operated in Fascist Italy.

It is well known that the police have their informers in every section of every big factory, in every bank in every big office. In every block of flats the porter is by law, a stool pigeon of the police. In every profession, in every club, in every syndicate, the police have their ramifications. Their informers are legion, whether they work for a miserable pittance or whether their only incentive is the hope of advancement in their careers. This state of affairs spreads suspicion and distrust throughout all classes of the population. On this degradation of man into a frightened animal who quivers with fear and hates his neighbor in his fear, and watches him, betrays him, sells him and then lives in fear of discovery, the dictatorship is based . . . The real organization on which the present system in this country is based is the secret manipulation of fear.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 129. Actually the Day of Unanimity that is celebrated in the novel turns out quite differently because of a well planned rebellion, see pp. 131-137.

<sup>3</sup>Silone, Bread and Wine, p. 209.

An official at the German factory where Moritz of The Twenty-fifth Hour is part of the slave labor force makes it clear that German information gathering is equally as efficient as the Italian. He tells Moritz that "in the German Reich every single one of your movements is observed . . . You can do nothing without our being informed at once. We can read your very thoughts. We photograph every idea in your head at least ten times a day."<sup>4</sup>

Rubashov in Darkness at Noon makes it evident that the elaborate machinery of the police for gathering information by which to punish those who oppose the regime creates a society of terror. He says, "We have built up the most gigantic police apparatus, with informers made a national institution, and with the most refined scientific system of physical and mental torture we ship the groaning masses of the country towards a theoretical future happiness."<sup>5</sup>

It is in the dystopias that the systems of information gathering reach their ultimate forms. In 1984 the Thought Police are official gatherers of information but they are helped by many amateurs. As mentioned earlier the youth group known as the Spies is helpful in this task. Winston comments after observing his neighbor's children that, "hardly a week passed in which the Times did not carry a paragraph describing how some eavesdropping little sneak - - 'child hero' was the phrase generally used - - had overheard some compromising remark and denounced his parents to the Thought Police."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Georghiu, Hour, p. 139.

<sup>5</sup>Koastler, Darkness, p. 159.

<sup>6</sup>Orwell, 1984, p. 24.

There are also much more elaborate methods of keeping watch and gathering information. The telescreen which is used for watching as well as viewing is the most omnipresent method. They are everywhere in homes, offices, lunchrooms, bars, social halls. But this close supervision is limited to Party members, close observation not being necessary for the Proles who are kept busy with manual labor, pubs, lotteries and families. The Thought Police exert only a slight influence among this, the largest segment of the population. As Winston observes; "a few agents of the Thought Police moved always among them, spreading false rumors and marking down and eliminating the few individuals who were judged capable of becoming dangerous . . . As the Party Slogan put it 'Proles and animals are free.'"<sup>7</sup>

In We control is made even easier by the fact that the whole city is made of glass and each Number lives within a glass cubicle. Here, in a society based on rationality and mathematics in which man is given a number instead of a name, the police are known as the Bureau of Guardians. They watch over the population and loyal Numbers inform not only on others but on themselves as well. These Guardian "angels" can also hover over the city in their aeros and listen in on conversations by a system which D-503 describes as "membranes [which] are handsomely decorated and are placed over all the avenues, registering street conversations for the Bureau of Guardians."<sup>8</sup> Yet in the end even all these precautions do not avail. After votes against the Well-Doer are heard on the Day of Unanimity and an attempt is made to capture and escape with the Intregal the ultimate solution to

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>8</sup>Zamiatin, We, p. 51.



the business of keeping the population under control is applied. The Operations Department proceeds to operate on the whole population with the exception of the leaders to create human automatons.

The prisons and camps of a totalitarian society are the most feared elements in the terroristic police control of such a society. To describe the prisons and camps is a difficult task. A few passages of a novel quoted out of context can hardly give the true sense of horror one receives reading the novel in its entirety when the cumulative effect can be produced. Two of the novels in this study are almost totally concerned with life within camps and prisons - - Koestler's Darkness at Noon and Gheorghiu's The Twenty-fifth Hour.

The Twenty-fifth Hour is the story of Johann Moritz, a Romanian peasant. He is reported to the authorities incorrectly but intentionally as a Jew and is sent to a Romanian labor camp. From here he proceeds through a variety of camps, prisons, and forced labor gangs to become a guard in a German prison camp where he helps three Frenchmen escape and accompanies them. After a brief but glorious period of freedom he is imprisoned by the Allies and is tried at Nuremberg and imprisoned again.

As Johann goes through his fifteen or so imprisonments it is made progressively more evident that there is no difference in the camps no matter what national group creates them in the name of what ideology or what purpose. The only thing which is quite clear is that the individual as an individual is totally ignored; only categories of people are important to any of the nations of western technological civilization. Traian Koruga, the novelist whose novel is contained within Gheorghiu's, claims that this denial of the

individual is the first and most important step toward totalitarianism. "The first symptom . . . is contempt for the human being."<sup>9</sup> Not only is the individual's humanity reduced in the prisons and camps but even his physical being until the characters of The Twenty-fifth Hour resemble statues by Giacometti.

The prison of Darkness at Noon is the prison of the Russian purges of the late thirties. Rubashov, one of the few remaining original revolutionaries, is arrested and brought to prison. His first questioner is Ivanov, an intellectual like himself, who is later summarily executed for tending to side with Rubashov. His next inquisitor is Gletkin whom Rubashov describes as a Neanderthal, a "barbarian of the new era which is now starting."<sup>10</sup> Rubashov is led by Gletkin to argue and then accept point by point the confession he will eventually sign. He is not tortured except by lack of sleep and questioning under bright lights. Gletkin explains the reason for this lack of physical torture, "besides there is a certain type of accused who confesses under pressure but recant at the public trial. You belong to that tenacious kind. The political utility of your confession at the trial will be in its voluntary character."<sup>11</sup> Gletkin admits that despite his disgrace Rubashov can look forward to the fact that, "after the victory . . . the material of the secret archives will be published. Then the world will learn what was in the background . . . Then you, and some of your friends of the older generation will be given the sympathy and pity which are denied you today."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Gheorghiu, Hour, p. 37.

<sup>10</sup>Koestler, Darkness, p. 187.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 220.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 239.

The prison of 1984 - - the Ministry of Love - - is an entirely different matter. O'Brien, Winston's interrogator makes clear that in his prisons no martyrs are created like those that were created by the Inquisition in the Middle Ages or by the Nazis and Russian Communists in the twentieth century. He blames the creation of these martyrs primarily on the fact that the confessions were obviously extorted by torture and basically untrue. In the Ministry of Love they see that all the confessions uttered are true and they no longer allow the dead to rise up as did the martyrs of the past. Here not only are the confessions true but history itself is revised to do away with any chance of martyrdom. Don Paolo in Bread and Wine also mentions the problems caused by creating martyrs; "killing a man who says 'No!' is a risky business . . . because even a corpse can go on whispering 'No! No! No!' with a persistence and obstinacy that only certain corpses are capable of. And how can you silence a corpse?"<sup>13</sup> To avoid just this sort of problem O'Brien will see that Winston is lifted out of the stream of history. As he tells Winston; "Nothing will remain of you . . . You will be annihilated in the past as well as in the future. You will never have existed."<sup>14</sup>

Thus O'Brien's aim and Gletkin's are quite different. There seems to be an unspoken agreement between Gletkin and Rubashov in their duel of words. If Gletkin can prove the basis of a charge to be true, even if only by something of a logically abstract nature, then Rubashov will allow him the freedom to insert any missing details. Gletkin's aim is to have Rubashov's confession ring true so he will sacrifice himself to the party even knowing his

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<sup>13</sup> Silone, Bread and Wine, p. 184.

<sup>14</sup> Orwell, 1984, p. 210.

innocence of the particular charges. O'Brien wants instead to make sure that the final surrender is total. The aim is to completely convert the heretic, to bring him to the government's side both heart and soul so that he totally believes his own confession before his execution. O'Brien cannot accept deviation even at the instant of death for he will have no unrepentant corpses.

O'Brien's aim is to have Winston accept as truth whatever the Party says is true. O'Brien holds four fingers before Winston's eyes and tries to convince him using shock treatments that he is holding up five fingers. Winston at first finds it impossible to deny what he sees but gradually he comes to accept whatever O'Brien says. The danger of starting the truth about what one sees is also pointed out by Dr. Rieux in The Plague: "Again and again there comes a time in history when the man who dares to say that two and two make four is punished with death."<sup>15</sup> O'Brien makes it quite clear that even if Winston is not killed he shall never again escape them. When his stay in the Ministry of Love is completed he will be a hollow man. "We shall squeeze you empty and then we shall fill you with ourselves."<sup>16</sup>

In the Ministry of Love, as in the prisons and camps of the other novels, torture is part of the routine. In The Twenty-fifth Hour, Darkness at Noon, and Bread and Wine the torture consists mainly of lack of sleep, beatings, starvation and insults. These physical tortures also take place in the Ministry of Love with the added fillip of shock treatments. The Ministry also makes use of psychological torture in the infamous Room 101.

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 206-209. Albert Camus, The Plague, trans. Stuart Gilbert (Modern Library Edition, New York: Random House, 1948), p. 121.

<sup>16</sup>Orwell, 1984, p. 211.

What happens in Room 101 differs according to the person who is sent there. Room 101 contains whatever is most frightening to the particular individual. In Winston's case it is rats. The torture in We is even more sophisticated. Here the inquisition of an irrational Number or any non-Number is handled in the Operation Department which is staffed by the most experienced physicans under the personal supervision of the Well-Doer. Their most effective instrument of inquisition is the gas bell. This is similar to the physics experiment of creating a vacuum. D-503 finds the often made comparison of the Operation Department with the ancient's Inquisition ridiculous. This, he feels, is like comparing a surgeon performing a tracheotomy with a highway cutthroat simply because they both cut the troat of a living man. The difference, D-503, declares is that, "one is a well doer, the other is a murderer; one is marked plus, the other minus . . . All this becomes clear in one second, in one turn of the wheel of logic, the teeth which engage that minus, turn it upward and thus change its aspect."<sup>17</sup>

\ The terror machinery of the totalitarian state has other functions in addition to providing consensus. This machinery produces scapegoats to help keep alive the emotions of the revolution and it also creates a sense of insecurity and alienation among the people.

Purges and public trials are the main means of providing scapegoats. Scapegoats are needed to provide simple explanations for the failures of the regime. As Gletkin explains, "Experience teaches . . . that the masses must be given for all difficult and complicated processes a simple, easily grasped explanation. According to what I know of history, I see that mankind could

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<sup>17</sup>Zamiatin, We, p. 77.

never do without scapegoats."<sup>18</sup> The purges and trials also help keep alive the emotions of the revolution by providing the opportunity to glorify the party and its leaders while discrediting the opposition.

To keep the spirit of the revolution alive and useful it must be kept channeled in appropriate fashions. The Holiday of Justice and the Day of Unanimity in We are means of directing these emotions to the exultation of the state. The Hate Period in 1984 gives the Party a chance to vilify Goldstein and "The Brotherhood," symbols of the opposition, while making Big Brother seem even more glorious and protective. The need to keep the peoples' emotions properly channeled is well expressed by Rubashov in his diary:

History has taught us that often lies serve her better than truth; for man is sluggish and has to be led through the desert with threats and promises, by imaginary terrors and imaginary consolations, so that he should not sit down prematurely to rest and divert himself by worshipping golden calves.<sup>19</sup>

The public trial is not really explored in great depths by the novels. In The Twenty-fifth Hour, Johann after being imprisoned in some thirteen or more camps is tried for the very first time at Nuremberg. Traian writes Swiftian petitions on Johann's behalf. In one such petition Traian points out that even though Johann has never killed and so feels he is not a criminal this is obviously absurd since fifty-two nations have said he was a criminal. Traian goes on to say that Johann's naivete is further shown in his insistence that since he has not even heard of many of these fifty-two nations he could hardly have committed crimes against them. Despite Johann's innocence as an

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<sup>18</sup>Koestler, Darkness, p. 226.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

individual and Traian's petitions on his behalf Johann is tried, found guilty and sentenced to still another camp.

In 1984 Winston is not put on public trial, but there is mention of public trials having occurred in the sixties, which was the period of the great purges, in which all the original leaders of the revolution except Goldstein, who supposedly escaped, were wiped out. The last three survivors of this original group were arrested and then brought before the public to incriminate themselves. Afterwards they were pardoned and reinstated in the Party but within a year they had been rearrested and executed for alleged new plots.

In We the offender is not simply lifted out of the stream of history as Winston will be but is publicly and physically dissolved. Although the offender is not given a public trial his execution is public and thus has the same purifying effect as the public trial. D-503 explains it: "Here in the Plaza of the Cube it is a celebration of the victory of all over one, of the sum over the individual . . . There was in our celebration something of the ancient religious, something purifying like a storm."<sup>20</sup> The public trial is in a sense a ceremony of purification. The evil doers are condemned and the goodness of the leaders is celebrated.

The ceremony of purification in Darkness at Noon is Rubashov's public trial at which he confesses to his evolution from opponent of the Party line to counter-revolutionary and traitor. In his final speech he makes clear his reasons for confessing as the Party had wished him to do. He feels he would die facing nothingness if he died in silence as others have done, in hope of saving their own neck or those of wives and sons. He feels it

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<sup>20</sup>Zamiatin, We, p. 44, 47.

would be equally futile to make some noble gesture, such as a Dantesque speech. Instead he feels that he must die as he has lived - - serving the Party. So he allows himself to be offered as a scapegoat. He says at his trial, "Therefore on the threshold of my last hour, I bend my knees to the country, to the masses, and to the whole people. The political masquerade, the mummery of discussions and conspiracy are over."<sup>21</sup> But Rubashov serves as more than just a scapegoat as is illustrated in the reaction of his landlord's daughter as she reads the newspaper accounts of Rubashov's trial to her father. This trial has aroused her cell. They are already busy collecting signatures for a resolution calling for such traitors to be mercilessly exterminated. And they will have no brief with sympathizers. "Whoever shows pity to them is a traitor and must be denounced . . . The workers must be watchful."<sup>22</sup> So Rubashov's trial not only reawakens the revolutionary spirit but gives fresh impetus to the cycle of terror.

Herbert Marcuse's contention that the importance of terror lies in the suspension of the normal controls of law and order is well illustrated in the novels. The insecurity caused by the suspension of the normal controls of law and order is best drawn in Kafka's The Trial. Here Joseph K., the protagonist, is arrested by unknown officials for an unknown crime and awaits trial by a court which is surrounded by mystery and confusion. For Johann Moritz there is no normal law and order. He is persecuted throughout The Twenty-fifth Hour for continually being a member of an enemy category. Johann had helped three Frenchmen escape from a German prison camp. He had shared his bread ration with a Greek in a labor camp. These were the only

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<sup>21</sup>Koestler, Darkness, p. 251.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 247.



events in his life which had related him to either France or Greece. France and Greece were, however, along with fifty other nations, categorizing Johann as the enemy and were his accusers at Nuremberg. The loyalty of Parsons to the Party in 1984 can hardly be questioned yet he is denounced by his children for something he mumbled in his sleep. In Darkness at Noon Rubashov may have opposed the general direction of the Party under No. 1, yet he has continued to work for it, never sabotaging it in any way, yet he is convicted of sabotage.

Thus even the most loyal citizen is made to feel insecure by the system of terror. The suggestion of Marcuse, Cassinelli and Inkeles<sup>23</sup> that the system is used to control the loyal citizen and to offer the opportunity for properly channeling his anxiety is well borne out by the novels. It is the opposition of party members to the party line that is important. Other members of the society are easily handled. It is clear that in the totalitarian society it is the party member that is most closely watched for any sign of deviation. All dissident opinion is destroyed, leaving the masses who might be led to oppose the regime acquiescent to it.

Coupled with this sense of insecurity is a sense of alienation from the rest of the citizenry. After all if the walls have eyes as well as ears and any human can be an informer, what basis for human relations exists? For the individual in such a society the only sense of community comes as a member of a larger group, a number in the great sum or a cell in a mighty organism. This results in the enforced but very emotional togetherness of the Hate Period in 1984 and the feelings of group unity produced by the Holiday of Justice or the Day of Unanimity in We and the need to continue to

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<sup>23</sup>See above, pp. 9-11, 13.

serve the party experienced by Rubashov in Darkness at Noon. Thus terror, by making the individual feel insecure, alienated from his fellowman, causes him to cling with even greater desperation to the only reality he knows, that of being a member, a small cog, a cell in the mighty organism of the state. By creating and then helping to channel the anxiety of the members of the state, the machinery of terror in a totalitarian state performs its primary function to provide consensus by creating a nation of conformists.

After viewing the terror machinery of the totalitarian state through these novels it is hard to accept Meissner's contention that the use of terror in the totalitarian state is over-emphasized and that a totalitarian state could be run without it.<sup>24</sup> In a total society conditioned by a specific ideology it is absolutely necessary for all to conform. It is impossible to imagine how this conformity could be imposed without terror or even how it is so completely accomplished with it. As seen in the United State of We not even in a clear and rational society founded on mathematics and a Tayloresque regime can a truly unanimous society be created. There is always the irrational number for whom the frontal lobotomy is indeed the only way to complete conformity.

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<sup>24</sup>See above , pp. 13, 14-15.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE TOTALITARIAN PARTY

#### AND THE TOTALITARIAN ECONOMY

The Party can never be mistaken. You and I can make a mistake. Not the Party. The Party, comrade, is more than you and I and a thousand others like you and I. The Party is the embodiment of the revolutionary idea in history. History knows no scruples and no hesitation . . . He who has not absolute faith in History does not belong in the Party's ranks.

Koestler, Darkness at Noon

The Friedrich-Brzezinski model of the totalitarian state describes the party as a small elite consisting of something less than ten percent of the population. Its structure is described as a paramilitary one made up of highly selected elites. As the totalitarian regime matures the influence of the party members often wanes. Yet despite the purges caused by changes of leadership or by changes in ideological direction the party remains the mainstay of the dictatorship. While the party as an entity is put in a position of unquestioned leadership by the dictator, the individual member of the party is subjected to the dictator and the party. This is a psychological counterpart of the party's will and determination to rule and shape society. As pointed out above one of the observers of the totalitarian party argues that the real function of the party is to control all ideas and actions especially in those who show any potential for original thought and thus of potential leadership.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See above , pp. 10, 12-13.

The hierarchial structure of the party in the Oceania of 1984 reaches its apex in Big Brother who is in effect the symbol of the Party, the face the Party presents to the public. Next comes the Inner Party which is composed of something less than two percent of the population and is known as the brains of the state. The hands of the state are the Outer Party. The other eighty-five percent of the population are the Proles, who pass from conqueror to conqueror, never becoming a permanent or necessary part of the structure. This gives the party a larger membership than is forecast by the Friedrich-Brzezinski model. But it does not invalidate the model's prescription of a party membership of ten percent or less of the population, for the party in terms of the model is a controlling group, which in Oceanic society means the Inner Party, totaling less than two percent of the population.

Membership in these three groups is not, in theory, hereditary. The Party does not plan to transmit its power to the children of Party members but to the ablest members of the population. The Party believes history has taught that hereditary aristocracies have always been short lived, whereas adoptive oligarchies such as the Catholic Church have persisted for hundreds or thousands of years. They interpret the essence of oligarchial rule not as inheritance but as the persistence of a particular world view and way of life imposed by the dead on the living.

Cassinelli's contention that the main function of the party is to keep its own members under control is well illustrated in 1984. Here the thoughts and actions of party members are always under control. Goldstein comments in his book that, "A Party member lives from birth to death under

the eye of the Thought Police . . . He is required to have not only the right opinions, but the right instincts."<sup>2</sup>

In We there seems to be no party defined as such. This society has existed for at least five centuries since the time of the two hundred years war and it seems that the necessity for a party has dwindled. The population has been so well indoctrinated that they can all be thought of as party members. Or perhaps the Bureau of Guardians, the equivalent of the Thought Police in 1984, which operates under the direction of the Well-Doer can be considered a party type of organization. This society, however, seems to show, as the Friedrich-Brzezinski model suggests, that as time passes the need for the party becomes more and more subdued.

Darkness at Noon in its discussions of the purpose of the Party stresses the non-importance of the individual. This is indicated most effectively in Rubashov's dealings with Richard, a young party stalwart in a country in which the party has suffered a severe setback. Richard has refused to distribute the current literature of the party because he disagrees with it. The leaflets have ignored the fact that the Party has been beaten to a shambles and refers to the defeat as a strategic retreat. Rubashov tells him the party line must be followed, that he cannot formulate a policy out of passion and despair. So despite Richard's devotion to the Party Rubashov must inform him that his actions have led to his dismissal from the Party. This same point is also illustrated in the story of Little Loewy who, following the party's boycott against a certain nation convinces his dockworkers not to unload that nation's ships. This was not in the interest

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<sup>2</sup>Orwell, 1984, pp. 173-174.

of the Party and since Little Lowey refuses to compromise his principles as Rubashov suggests to him, he too is eliminated from the Party.<sup>3</sup>

The Party in Darkness at Noon does not recognize the existence of the "I"; it thinks of the individual as, "the quotient of one million divided by one million."<sup>4</sup> Rubashov, well doctinated with Party philosophy, has christened the first person singular "the grammatical fiction." Here as in 1984 the Party's relationship to the individual is paradoxical. As Rubashov describes this relationship:

The Party denied the free will of the individual - - and at the same time it extracted his willing self-sacrifice. It denied his capacity to choose between two alternatives - - and yet at the same time it demanded that he should constantly choose the right one. It denied his power to distinguish good and evil - - and at the same time it spoke pathetically of guilt and treachery.<sup>5</sup>

Rubashov believes that the Party has seized power in order to persuade the masses that they do not need a tyrant. He believes that the Party will remain in power only until the people come to the realization of their own political capability. This he feels was the goal of the original revolutionaries. He says of them: "They dreamed of power with the object of abolishing power, of ruling over the people to wean them from the habit of being ruled."<sup>6</sup>

O'Brien, Winston's interrogator and a member of the Inner Party in Oceania, would disagree with this contention and claim that the purpose of the Party is simply to gain power for the sake of power. In his discussion with Smith he points out that the Nazis and Russian Communists had come close to Ingsoc's ideals but they had never had the courage to realize that they wanted power for the sake of power and they had pretended that they had taken

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<sup>3</sup>Koestler, Darkness, pp. 42-45, 59-74.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 257.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 261.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

power unwillingly and for only a limited time. They propagandized a paradise just around the corner where humans would be free and equal. O'Brien claims:

We are not like that. We know that no one ever seizes power with the intention of relinquishing it. Power is not a means; it is an end. One does not establish a dictatorship in order to safeguard a revolution; one makes the revolution in order to establish the dictatorship . . . The object of power is power.<sup>7</sup>

The makeup of the party in the totalitarian state changes with changes in the leadership or changes in the ideological viewpoint. This change in the makeup of the Party is the subject of Darkness at Noon. Thinking over the changes which have taken place in the Party, Rubashov recalls a photograph of the delegates to the first Congress of the Party. He describes the men and what had happened to them.

All their thoughts became deeds and all their dreams were fulfilled. Where were they? Their brains, which had changed the course of the world, had each received a charge of lead . . . Only two or three of them were left over, scattered throughout the world, worn out. And himself; and No. 1.<sup>8</sup>

Soon Rubashov will be eliminated and another change in ideological direction or the desire for a new leader could remove No. 1.

As the Party changes so does the type of person who is a Party member. This is exemplified in the contrast between Rubashov's two inquisitors; Ivanov, an intellectual and a believer in the original goals of the Party and an early Party member, and Gletkin, a rough peasant, a believer in the propaganda and a more recent Party member. Rubashov notes quite correctly that he has no right to look down on the Gletkins who are merely completing

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<sup>7</sup>Orwell, 1984, p. 217.

<sup>8</sup>Koestler, Darkness, p. 59.

the work of his generation and are in a way the product of his generation and of the Party. He compares the Gletkins of his nation with the first man, writing in his diary:

With what right do we who are quitting the scene look down with such superiority on the Gletkins. There must have been laughter amidst the apes when the Neanderthaler first appeared on earth . . . He was uncouth, cruel, without animal dignity - - from the point of view of the highly cultivated apes, a barbaric relapse of history. The last surviving chimpanzees still turn up their noses at the sight of a human being.<sup>9</sup>

In 1984 purges in Party membership have also taken place. The revolution had occurred in the 1950's and by 1970 none of the original leaders except Big Brother (whose very existence is up to question) is left. All the rest have been exposed as traitors and counter-revolutionaries. Goldstein, who may still exist in hiding, and a few others had disappeared. The majority, however had been executed after the public trials and confessions.

In Oceania the Party youth groups - - The Spies and The Junior Anti-Sex League - - are the means by which the Party educates the youth in its aims and recruits them for membership. The Party is not in principle based on heredity, therefore an examination taken at age sixteen is the prerequisite for admission to either the Inner or Outer Party. In reality there is only a certain amount of interchange between these two branches of the Party, just enough to insure stability. Goldstein writes that, "weaklings are excluded from the Inner Party and . . . ambitious members of the Outer Party are made harmless by allowing them to rise. Proletarians . . . are not allowed to graduate into the Party."<sup>10</sup> Any Proles who display talent of any kind are marked down for elimination by the Thought Police.

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 229.

<sup>10</sup> Orwell, 1984, p. 172.



There can be no argument that the Party in 1984, the Guardians, who are closest to a party group in We, and to a certain extent the Party in Darkness at Noon fit Cassinelli's description of the totalitarian party as an institution whose real function is to control all ideas and actions of party members. The Party in 1984, whose central tenet is the mutability of the past, is the extreme example of this. Goldstein writes, "Since the Party is in full control of all records, and in equally full control of the minds of its members, it follows that the past is whatever the Party chooses to make it."<sup>11</sup>

Although the novelists have created parties of varying goals and makeup, each of these parties verifies the model of the totalitarian Party that Friedrich and Brzezinski have designed. The parties in these novels also support Cassinelli's theory that the party's object is control of its own members.

State control of the economy is one of the bulwarks of the totalitarian state. Friedrich and Brzezinski have pointed out that this often leads to a temporary deterioration in efficiency due no doubt to party interference, party control, and party insistence that officials in the industries be Party members.

In Bread and Wine there is little discussion of the fascist party, Instead the communist party is under discussion. Since the party is in its formative stage the discussions of party members concern economics and their goals of economic change. One dissatisfied former party member cautions Spina on his optimism. He believes that if the Communists should take control they would only create another totalitarian bureaucracy differing very little from the current one:

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 176.

We shall have a so-called economic revolution, thanks to which we shall have state bread, state boots and shoes, state shirts and pants, state potatoes and state green peas, just as we now have state railways, state quinine, state salt, state matches, and state tobacco. Will that be a technical advance? Certainly . . . but it will be the basis of an official, compulsory doctrine, a totalitarian orthodoxy which will use every means . . . to extirpate heresy and tyrannize over individual thought.<sup>12</sup>

The problems of state economy have all been solved in the mathematically precise society of the United State in We. In this state all wear identical uniforms, live in identical rooms with identical furnishings, eat at precisely the same moment identical food made of petroleum and work at their assigned jobs as prescribed by the Table of the Hours. All is provided by the state so that there is no need even for a currency. There are no complications of overpopulation or even of family life for only those who meet the Maternal Norms are allowed to bear children, all of whom the state will raise.

In 1984 the Party owns everything. It controls everything and dispenses the products of the economy as it sees fit. The goal of the economy is to prevent a rise in the standard of living. The reason behind this is that an increase in wealth would have threatened the hierarchial structure with destruction. Such a structured society is only possible on a basis of poverty and ignorance. Goldstein states the reason for this in his book:

For if leisure and security were enjoyed by all alike the great mass of human beings who are normally stupified by poverty would become literate and would learn to think for themselves . . . they would sooner or later realize that the privileged minority had no function and they would sweep it away.<sup>13</sup>

The simplest way to keep the population poor and ignorant would be

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<sup>12</sup>Silone, Bread and Wine, p. 141.

<sup>13</sup>Orwell, 1984, pp. 156-157.

to slow down the industrial output. This, however, would make the state weak militarily and thus subject to being conquered. In order for the nation to be safe from conquest and yet prevent the increase of real wealth the state's economic aim becomes constant warfare. In this way the industrial wheels are kept rolling and the population is kept busy. Not only are the industrial products destroyed but their manufacture becomes a convenient way of expending labor power without producing anything that can be consumed. This, of course, leads to many shortages and Oceania has the deliberate policy of continuous shortage in at least half of the necessities of life. The unavailable commodities keep changing and they usually are among the minor but most missed items, as Winston remarks: "Everyone kept asking you for razor blades . . . there had been a famine of them for months past. At any given moment there was some necessary article which the Party shops were unable to supply. Sometimes it was buttons, sometimes it was darning wool, sometimes it was shoelaces."<sup>14</sup> This state of wartime scarcity increases the importance of any small privileges that are granted.

In contrast to the healthy, clean and glittering life in the United State the life in Oceania is dark, dirty and grim. Even the members of the Outer Party live a life quite below the standard of living of any middle class group in any current western industrial nation. Their food is tasteless, unsightly and inadequate. The only extras are Victory gin which is oily and soon destroys the taste buds and Victory cigarettes which have to be held just so or they lose their tobacco. The only people with any of the amenities of life are those in the Inner Party. They have real coffee,

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 43-44.

Economy is a subject that seems to interest our novelists little and with the exceptions which we have discussed it is not explored in any detail. This makes it difficult to verify the factors of this component of the Friedrich-Brzezinski model.

It can be said that the economic policies of the totalitarian state like the party, the police, and the communications media, are used to buttress the ideology and to support the primary objectives of the totalitarian leadership.

## CHAPTER VII

### LIFE IN THE TOTALITARIAN STATE

Men must hide the fact that they are human. They have to behave according to technical laws, like machines. Man has been reduced to a single plane - - the social plane. He has been transformed into a "citizen," which no longer has anything in common with the conception of a human being.

Gheorghiu, The Twenty-fifth Hour

With one exception a portrait of life in the totalitarian state as seen in these novels would be painted in tones of gray. The quality of life within such a state is nightmarish. It is a land of unreality in which the pervading atmosphere is that of fear and alienation. In the preceding chapters various elements of the totalitarian state have been isolated and discussed in terms of the Friedrich-Brzezinski model. This gives a piecemeal picture of life in such a state. A much clearer idea of life in a totalitarian state is gained by studying the novels as entities.

The one exception to the gray portrait of life in the totalitarian state is the society of the United State in Zamiatin's We. The literary device used to portray life in this state is a journal kept by the protagonist, D-503. As the builder of the Intregal, a spaceship, D-503 is writing this journal to be carried on the first flight of the ship to picture for others the life of the United State. Here the impact of life is one of an operating room; there is surgical cleanliness and precision, an impression of gleaming glass and stainless steel. The concerns of daily life

are gone, each Number in this society lives within a cubicle of glass, eats his meals in a group dining hall and wears a uniform. The only differentiation between them is the number they wear on their uniform and their physical characteristics. The creation of identical physical characteristics is being researched and soon the only difference will be that of sex and one's personal number.

The hour by hour precision of their lives is regulated by The Tables. Good and evil no longer exist, and the leaders are hoping that soon they can achieve the perfect state where nothing happens. Having eliminated good and evil in the cleanliness and mathematical perfection of this society they have come close to erasing the essential individuality of the human being. Only the mean in human nature remains, the extremes no longer exist. As R-, D-503's friend and a poet, expresses it: "We are the happy arithmetical mean . . . The integration from zero to infinity, from imbeciles to Shakespeare."<sup>1</sup>

Yet mathematical perfection has not been reached in this state and there is a rebellion against the Well-Doer on the Day of Unanimity. Later D-503 helps some discontent Numbers and some of those who live outside the green wall in an attempt to capture the Integral on her maiden voyage. The attempt proves abortive and the population, including our hero, is subjected to brain surgery to assure their conformity.

Life in the Oceania of 1984 is one of worn-out clothing, inadequate food, dingy living quarters in dilapidated nineteenth century buildings, of an atmosphere pervaded with the odors of cooking and inadequate plumbing,

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<sup>1</sup>Zamiatin, We, p. 41.

of continual sameness in jobs and in the pattern of the days. Each person stands alone except in moments of group togetherness. This sense of alienation is caused by fear of being exposed to the Thought Police. There is a constant sense of being watched not only by the ever watchful eyes of Big Brother on the posters throughout town and by one's acquaintances, but by the ever present telescreens which not only watch but talk back as well.

Life in this state is merely a matter of survival and even that seems of little value. Here the protagonist, Winston Smith, in order to establish some sense of reality writes a journal or diary of his life. It is a short life. He lived through the early days of the current regime as a child. He was once and perhaps still is married, but his wife has gone elsewhere. He spends his days rewriting back issues of the Times and attending the proscribed functions. He falls in love with a girl, Julia, who works in the literary department of the Ministry of Truth producing novels by machine. They conduct an affair by meeting at widely separated locations at different times. They become interested in contacting "The Brotherhood," a perhaps fictional group allegedly headed by the former Party member Goldstein and aimed at the overthrow of the Party. They think they can make contact through O'Brien, a member of the Inner Party. He loans them a copy of Goldstein's book. They procure the use of the room above Mr. Charrington's junk shop. Mr. Charrington turns out to be a member of the Thought Police and they are eventually arrested and brought to the Ministry of Love where they are interrogated by O'Brien. The interrogation is considered a success when they deny their feelings for each other and they are allowed to leave. They discover little to say to each other when they happen to meet on the outside. It is quite obvious as the book ends that Winston has little

reason left to live. Despite the changes which have occurred in him in the Ministry of Love, Winston's final change comes at the end of the novel. He is sitting in a bar looking at a telescreen on which Big Brother appears:

He gazed up at the enormous face. Forty years it had taken him to learn what kind of smile was hidden beneath that dark mustache. O cruel, needless misunderstanding! O stubborn, self-willed exile from the loving breast! Two gin-scented tears trickled down the sides of his nose. But it was all right, everything was all right, the struggle was finished. He had won the victory over himself. He loved Big Brother.<sup>2</sup>

So the state has won by giving him only one reason for life, his love of Big Brother.

In Bread and Wine Pietro Spina returns to his native portion of Italy from working abroad for the Communist party. He is ill with tuberculosis and in order to rest and regain his strength he disguises himself as a priest, Don Paolo, on sick leave and goes to the village of Pietrasecca. He attempts to make contact in Rome with former members of the Party to organize a new action group but his attempts end in failure. He re-establishes contact with his old teacher, the priest Don Benedetto, who is soon poisoned by the government. Spina's only act of rebellion is to chalk words opposing governmental policy on the walls of Fosca after the declaration of war with Ethiopia. His aim has been to better the life of the peasants who have been subjected to the tyranny of the church and of the state and whose life is unbearably hard. He wishes to remove the yokes of oppression and superstition and he has failed. Yet it is the strength of the peasants in the face of all their adversity that gives him hope. His attempts at revolution seem doomed and, having been reported to the police, he flees across the mountains. The ending indicates that he will meet death in the mountains.

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<sup>2</sup>Orwell, 1984, p. 245.



Although Rubashov is confined in prison in Darkness at Noon his entire life is presented through a series of flashbacks sparked by the questioning of Ivanov and Gletkin. As a young idealist and revolutionary he dedicated his life to the Party. Throughout his life he has sacrificed to the Party the people who were important to him personally. After having gone through a particularly painful experience in prison in a foreign country Rubashov had returned to Russia. No. 1 was now in power and Rubashov found the atmosphere too oppressive. Although he had not yet recovered he asked for and received an assignment abroad. He remained abroad until shortly before his arrest and imprisonment.

He realizes during the imprisonment that the basic formula on which the revolution has been predicated is wrong because it does not recognize the irrationality of human nature. By denying this the revolution has invalidated itself. Yet Rubashov is still a dedicated member of the Party and hopes that its failure is merely a matter of the "relative political maturity" of the people, so that when they achieve a higher level of political maturity the system will work. Rubashov's ideological viewpoint has led to his imprisonment. Because he believes that in order to validate his life he must be willing to die in silence for the sake of the Party, he goes through with the mockery of his public trial and is executed.

The Twenty-fifth Hour, while basically the story of Johann Moritz, also contains several other stories. The most important of these is that of Traian Koruga, a novelist who Gheorghiu admits is closely modeled on himself. Traian's father is the priest in Johann's home village. Traian marries Eleanora West, the head of a large publishing firm. Although they have been in love for years she only agrees to marry because of the racial laws. The

Rumanian laws are the same as the Nuremberg laws and since one of her grandparents had been a Jew these laws could lead not only to the loss of her business but that of her freedom as well. With her marriage she can transfer her business to Traian and the marriage will help secure her position as a Christian. Through her connections Traian is appointed ambassador to another nation. Here they are interned as enemy aliens, and after the Allied victory they are once again interned, this time by the Americans. After Traian witnesses his father's death in the prison camp he goes on a hunger strike. He is eventually removed from the camp and force fed but upon her return he commits suicide by forcing one of the guards to shoot him. Throughout the novel he has been writing his own novel which will carry the same title as Gheorghiu's. Traian's thesis is that western technological civilization will fall after turning human beings into robots and that his generation is doomed to die in the chains of the technological barbarians. In a discussion with a friend Traian explained the significance of the title of his novel: "The hour when mankind is beyond salvation . . . when it is too late even for the coming of the Messiah. It is not the last hour; it is one hour past the last hour. It is Western Civilization at this very moment. It is NOW."<sup>3</sup>

Albert Camus' The Plague looks at totalitarianism from a different angle than the other novels. It is the story of the occupation of a nation by an alien totalitarian force. On the literal level The Plague is a chronicle of a fight against an imaginary epidemic which supposedly afflicted Oran sometime in the 1940's. On the metaphysical level (the favorite of the literary critics) it conveys a picture of man's position in the universe in

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<sup>3</sup>Gheorghiu, Hour, p. 41.

relation to the problem of evil and the necessity of suffering. At the in-between level and in less total fashion Camus is telling the story of the German occupation of France. He has taken the image of the plague and used it to illustrate three major areas of human experience; the individual human life, politics, and metaphysics. The novel has very little plot. It follows the curve of the plague from the first indication in the large number of dead rats through the deaths of enough humans that the Government admits the fact of plague, through the closing of Oran and the attempts to find a cure until the death rate begins to fall sharply and the plague disappears. During the period of the plague it is mainly the consensual attitude of the population that is described. The fight against the plague and the different attempts to overcome it are studied in the principal characters; Tarroux, Rambert, Grand, Father Paneloux and Dr. Rieux. It is Dr. Rieux who narrates the story although this is not made evident until the end of the novel.

The plague as the symbol of occupation affords many obvious analogies. The confusion of public opinion and stupefaction when the plague's presence is accepted as reality, the rationing of food and gas, the electricity cuts, the disappearance of all but emergency traffic, the restrictive measures announced by the press, and the increased police surveillance, the growth of the resistance to the plague, Cottard's black market activities, the mass burial of victims in open graves, the isolation camps are the constituents of terror which would be present in an environment of occupation as well as that of plague. By placing his account of the occupation in mythical terms Camus removes it from the sphere of personal passion and private bias

that tend to lessen the value of many accounts of the occupation. By using a symbol he has also increased the scope of his narrative to include all political tyrannies.

Franz Kafka's The Trial also has a very simple plot line and is a parable as much as The Plague is. Most critics agree that it is basically an eschatological novel which sets forth in parable many of the same thoughts that Soren Kierkegaard expressed in his theology. Despite or perhaps because of this it portrays very effectively the sense of life in a totalitarian state.

As the novel opens the hero Joseph K., a trusted bank clerk expecting promotion, is served with a warrant for arrest by two policeman on the morning of his thirtieth birthday. The officers neither know nor care why Joseph K. is being arrested. K., in his humility and desire to cooperate with this authority assumes the air of a guilty man, drops all interest in the bank and concentrates on his case. His uncle appears from the country and secures the aid of a lawyer who, to K.'s surprise, assures him that all cases are actually settled out of court by influence or bribery. When nothing appears to be happening K. invades the judicial offices and makes a nuisance of himself because no one has heard of his case. He gradually becomes desperate not only because of the seeming futility but because he begins to feel that some authority has been watching and is becoming annoyed at his anxiety for the speedy triumph of justice. Having been hypnotized by trust K. gradually becomes hypnotized by fear. At the end, shortly before K.'s thirty-first birthday, two men come to his lodging in frock coats and bowler hats. He knows why they are there and goes with them. They take him to a quarry on the outskirts and hand him a knife. When he hesitates to use it they kill him.

Kafka's Joseph K. portrays most effectively man's ability to accept the most arbitrary type of authority. The strange court which arrests him and which in the end condemns him seems to have no actual civil authority. Yet K. only tentatively questions its authority in the beginning and grows to accept it, and almost with relief he abandons the freedom of his former life for the domination of the court. The Trial better than any of the other novels leaves us with an overall impression of the nightmare quality of life in a totalitarian state. The novel's prophetic tone gives it a different quality than the other novels, for Kafka sees the ideas and qualities that produced the totalitarian state as indigenous in twentieth century western culture and portrays the type of justice that will exist in such a state.

In Thomas Mann's Doctor Faustus the central theme is based on the close association of Germany, music, and the Faustian tradition. The protagonist, Adrian Leverkühn, is a German composer. His life is closely linked with Germany and although he is "Faustian" in the Spenglerian tradition, he is also linked over and over again with the traditional Faust of the chapbook. The novel is written in a complicated, almost musical form with varying themes and leitmotifs weaving in and out. The narrator of the story is Adrian's friend, Serenus Zeitblom, a humanist and teacher. The first section of the novel tells the story of Adrian's boyhood and his musical and intellectual education. The two most important experiences in Adrian's life, his decision to become a musician and his surrender to disease conclude this section of the novel. The dialogue between Adrian and the Devil stands at the center of the novel and formalizes the pact Adrian had made when he contracted syphilis.

After the pact with the devil daemonism becomes increasingly evident in the novel. This is depicted in Zeitbloom's discussion of Germany's growing intoxication with the Nazi ideology. It is shown in Adrian's music where furious productivity and illness alternate. It is illustrated in the increasing degeneration of Adrian's circle of friends in Munich. As Adrian passes the peak in his life the subsequent events reflect the patterns of his earlier life. The farm in Bavaria repeats his boyhood home and the Kridwiss circle takes up and exaggerates the non-rational politics of the students at Halle.

A succession of chapters deals with the partial rallies both in the life of Adrian and of the fortunes of Germany. These parallel developments are demonstrated by the period of the relative success under the Weimar Republic and in Adrian's life by the attaining of a degree of health and even of human warmth. The final section is one of catastrophe. Adrian's attempt at love and marriage results in effect in the murder of a friend. The death of his nephew, Echo, drives him to "take back" Beethoven's Ninth. His The Lamentation of Doctor Faustus repudiates the ideals on which German classical culture had been built. After his farewell to his friends Adrian falls into utter madness. Zeitbloom's description of Adrian's final breakdown is written in counterpoint with his description of the progress of World War II which links Adrian and the death agonies of the Third Reich. Although the two catastrophes are separated by fifteen years they become one in the mind of the reader.

Mann's novel is one of sorrow. He was convinced at the time he was writing that Germany had written her own death sentence and would not survive the aftermath of World War II. His novel is his attempt to understand the

death of his nation. He looked back and saw the ideas and qualities that produced the totalitarian culture. In Adrian he drew the conflict of German ideas and the dualistic nature of the German soul. Mann showed the leaning toward the daemonic and the acceptance of the irrational which led to Adrian's denial of the Germany of classical culture and his incipient madness and which also led Germany to accept Hitler and all that followed his rise to power.

The quality of life in the totalitarian state as it is portrayed in these novels is characterized by a marked despair which stems from an overwhelming sense of alienation, insecurity and anxiety. This somber portrait of life reveals the blend of mass hysteria and individual ineptitude; of an underlying irrationality, daemonism and mysticism. The tensions between the scientific and literary cultures are depicted. Yet through the gray gloom of the total picture runs a faint line of hope.

Recent indiscriminate use of the term alienation, like that of the term totalitarianism, has blurred its meaning. It is evident that alienation in the twentieth century totalitarian state is most vividly revealed in the confusion, or indeed lost, of social identity. As a result of this confusion or loss, man becomes anxious. Because he does not have a keen sense of his own individualism, he cannot enter into a vital relationship with his contemporary society, or with his fellow men. Most tragically, neither can he be a whole person for even his own sense of self has disintegrated.

It is this kind of alienation that is the most persistent theme in all the novels of this study. Alienation, of course, is hardly a specifically twentieth century literary theme. Long before Colin Wilson, Homer

wrote of the outsider. The motif of the eternal wanderer doomed to live outside society began with the Jewish tradition and appears throughout the history of western literature, as does the figure of the alienated artist. What is different about alienation in the twentieth century is that it has become increasingly one of the words used by psychologists, sociologists, theologians, philosophers and literary men to describe the Zeitgeist of this century.

Alienation and anxiety are conditions which are plainly immediate precursors to the totalitarian state. The ideology of the totalitarian state promised to correct these conditions, yet these conditions are intentionally perpetuated by the state as a means of maintaining political control. It is in the overall concept of the individual novels that these problems of alienation and anxiety become apparent.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been a time of rapid technological change. Ivanov in Darkness at Noon comments to Rubashov that, "since the invention of the steam engine . . . the world has been permanently in an abnormal state; the wars and revolutions are just the visible expression of this state."<sup>4</sup> As the machine grew in predominance many of the great thinkers and artists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were concerned with the individual maintaining his individual existence. Philosophers and social theorists examined from their own point of view and special emphasis the historical movement by which men were being transformed into things. They charted the process of the breakdown of accepted meanings and analyzed facets of the despair that comes from

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<sup>4</sup>Koestler, Darkness, p. 156.



meaninglessness. All looked for ways by which the individual could affirm himself under social conditions which increasingly threatened to annihilate the individual and replace him with the thing. But in the totalitarian environment which we have observed in these novels man does not enthusiastically join in this quest. Joseph K., the protagonist of The Trial is perhaps the best example of the thesis that modern man is fleeing the freedom to affirm his individuality. This freedom is fearful, and K. longs for some external authority which would remove the spiritual burden of his freedom.

The threat of technology is most poignantly drawn in We. Everything that makes the individual a unique human being, including his physical characteristics, is being erased by the United State. In The Twenty-fifth Hour Father Koruga forecasts this turning of the individual into a thing:

Once his life has been reduced to its social and automatic element and subjected entirely to the laws of the machine, it will simply have ceased to exist. These laws can never under any circumstances give life its meaning, and if life is deprived of its meaning - - its only meaning and one that is totally free and above and beyond the bounds of logic - - then life itself will finally become extinct.<sup>5</sup>

The need for consensus which has produced the need to turn the individual from a being into a thing is well illustrated in 1984. The Party will not allow Winston's alienation from the society and he cannot conform to society. So he is taken to the Ministry of Truth where they turn him into a non-human just as surely as the surgery that removes fancy in We turns the Numbers into non-humans.

One encounters in the novels another, somewhat strange, portrayal of alienation. Even those who are honest protagonists for the totalitarian

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<sup>5</sup>Cheorghiu, Hour, p. 284.

ideologies do not escape the frustration of estrangement. The "political man" finds himself unable to relate to or help those whom he would lead. The two best examples of this are Pietro Spina, the Communist worker in Bread and Wine and Rubashov, the party member and revolutionary of Darkness at Noon. Both have sacrificed their own lives to serve the cause and both have sacrificed individuals to the cause, yet at the end of their lives neither has the sense of having become one with the movement or of having created something of value.

Having lost his social identity and the ability to relate to his contemporaries, man begins to suspect and fear the loss of knowledge of himself. His inability to belong, in a vital sense, to his society precipitates a threatening aloneness. This estrangement has taken away the mirror which was provided by his social relationships and in which he has observed himself. His only alternative, if he is to be able to retain a sense of personal identity, is to turn to self analysis. In all the novels, this pattern is evidenced in the exposures which emerge from the private diaries and journals of the protagonists. This device is the central literary form of several of the novels such as 1984 which is in large portion Winston Smith's journal, The Plague which is the journal of Dr. Rieux, and We which is the journal of D-503. In others the journal is part of the novel, Rubashov keeps a journal in his prison cell on Darkness at Noon, Pietro Spina when masquerading as Don Paolo keeps a journal in which he completes his conversations with Christina in Bread and Wine, Joseph K. attempts in The Trial to keep his own record of his case, Doctor Faustus is written by Adrian's friend Zeitbloom and Traian Koruga while not keeping an actual journal is writing a novel of The Twenty-fifth Hour which includes the histories of the characters of Gheorghiu's novel.

A tension which is visible in the twentieth century totalitarian ideology has its roots in the seventeenth century. Since that period the underlying assumption of western culture regardless of differences in philosophical, economical or political concepts has been the belief that science was potentially capable of solving the problems of man. Yet as science made possible rapid technological progress its attempts to solve the problems of human society failed. Science continued to investigate man and nature in its objective manner while the arts turned to the investigation of the subjective nature of man, until it seemed as though science and the arts were describing two entirely different creatures called man.

The tension between scientific and literary cultures caused by basic conflicting appraisals of the nature of man, is evident in the totalitarian state. Twentieth century totalitarianism is pervaded by the influence of the rapid technological advances which have been a part of this era. It has also enlisted the techniques of modern psychological manipulation. The totalitarian state, influenced by a blend of these two forces, seeks to apply these psychological techniques to the citizen who is understood only in the technological sense of a perfectly functioning, rational, automaton. The novelists, writing as members of the literary culture, reveal their basic rejection of this understanding of the nature of man. They deny this arbitrary restriction of the human spirit. Totalitarianism is equated in their stories with the attempt to restructure complex man into a single dimension.

All totalitarian ideologies say they are based on scientific logic and they produce a mathematical formula by which life can be lived in the totalitarian state. The prime example is the United State in We which is

based on mathematics and in which the individual has been reduced to a mere number. Yet there are men in existence outside the green wall who have chosen to forego the creature comforts of the United State and to remain free.<sup>6</sup> The theories of the party in both Darkness at Noon and in 1984 are based on mathematics and scientific logis. In both novels the logic when applied to the individual human is shown to be faulty. As Rubashov expresses it:

There was an error somewhere in the equation - - no in the whole mathematical system of thought . . . Perhaps the Revolution had come too early, an abortion with monstrous, deformed limbs . . . Perhaps later, much later, the new movement would arise - - with new flags, a new spirit knowing of both: of economic fatality and the 'oceanic sense' . . . Perhaps they will teach that the tenet is wrong which says that a man is the quotient of one million divided by one million, and will introduce a new kind of arithmetic based on multiplication: on the joining of a million individuals to form a new entity which, no longer an amorphous mass, will develop a consciousness and an individuality of its own with an 'oceanic feeling' increased a millionfold, in unlimited yet self-contained space.<sup>7</sup>

This defect in the totalitarian ideology results from the basic misunderstanding of man by the totalitarian state's technologically dominated leadership. They have attempted to deal with their citizens through an appeal to only one part of their nature. They have ignored the complexity of man. But man can be dealt with only as a whole. And because of the complexity of the whole there can never be simple solutions for the problems of human society. The builders of the totalitarian state, in their quest for ultimate power, have ignored the whole and attempted to impose simple

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<sup>6</sup>This group is known as "The Mephi." It is interesting that here the daemonic is connected with the humanist side while in Doctor Faustus it is considered the antithesis of humanism.

<sup>7</sup>Koestler, Darkness, pp. 260-261.

solutions. Father Koruga in The Twenty-fifth Hour expresses this well:

Human life has no meaning unless it is conceived as a whole. We can only grasp its ultimate purpose if we bring into play the same senses that help us to understand religion and to interpret or to create art. In the search for the ultimate end of life reason plays only a secondary role. Mathematics, statistics and logic are as ineffectual as guides to the comprehension and organization of human life, as they are to appreciation of Mozart or Beethoven. But our modern Western society persists in trying to arrive at an understanding of Beethoven and Raphael by means of mathematics and calculations. It is relentless in its efforts to improve men's lives by resorting constantly to statistics.<sup>8</sup>

Despite the overall grayness of the picture of the totalitarian state painted by these novelists there is that thin line of hope. Mainly this hope lay in the common man who had managed to maintain a separate identity. It is this faith and belief in the common man as the repository of the truly human and the hope for the future that caused so many of these novelists to join the Communist Party. Winston Smith expresses this hope:

And the people under the sky were also very much the same - - everywhere, all over the world, hundreds of thousands of millions of people just like this, people ignorant of one another's existence, held apart by walls of hatred and lies, and yet almost exactly the same - - people who had never learned to think but were storing up in their hearts and bellies and muscles the power that would one day overturn the world. If there was hope it lay in the Proles!"<sup>9</sup>

Pietro Spina and Rubashov have this same faith. It will be the common man who will eventually overthrow the totalitarian government and erect a society of a more human cast. Father Koruga in his long death bed speech insists that only individuals, not categories will survive the destruction of western technological civilization.

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<sup>8</sup>Gheorghiu, Hour, p. 283.

<sup>9</sup>Orwell, 1984, p. 181.

Even Serenus Zeitbloom who paints the destruction and guilt of his fatherland in the darkest tones finds a faint glimmer of hope. Zeitbloom in discussing The Lamentation of Doctor Faustus finds a note of hope:

No this dark tone-poem permits up to the very end no consolation, appeasement, tranfiguration . . . Expression as lament - - is the issue of the whole construction . . . may we not parallel with it another, a religious one, and say too (though only in the lowest whisper) that out of the sheerly irremediable hope might germinate? It would be but a hope beyond hopelessness, the transcendence of despair - - not betrayal to her, but the miracle that passes belief. For listen to the end, listen with me; one group of instruments after another retires, and what remains as the work fades on the air is the high G of the cello, the last word, the last fainting sound, slowly dying in a *painissimofermata*. Then nothing more. Silence, and night. But that tone which vibrates in the silence, which is no longer there, to which only the spirit harkens, and which was the voice of mourning, is so no more. It changes its meaning; it abides as a light in the night.<sup>10</sup>

Life in the totalitarian state is designed to produce the conformity necessary to give the state absolute power. The individual is never considered as an individual but as a category. As a category his life is scientifically and logically planned for him. The sides of his character or his nature that are not amenable to such planning are suppressed, and if this is not possible he is removed from the group. Homogeneity is the state's aim. To realize this goal means to deny human individuality. It also means that those who retain the human instincts are alienated from such a society or who accept it on the surface and continue to live their own internal lives that the novelists place their hope.

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<sup>10</sup>Mann, Faustus, p. 491.

Along with this gray portrait of life the novels used in this study have also reflected, albeit imperfectly, the model of the totalitarian state created by Friedrich and Brzezinski. They illustrated the necessity for an all encompassing ideology in the totalitarian state. In the Friedrich-Brzezinski model the state is portrayed as an organism and the individual as a component cell. It is a doctrine which enjoys a pseudo-religious appeal. In the novels the ideology is expanded beyond the model and is shown to be aimed at the creation of a climate of insecurity. The novels reflect the model's view of mass control of communication as being used not only to indoctrinate the people with the ideology and the concept of the party's infallibility, but also to help the people tolerate the conditions under which they live by depriving them of standards for comparison. The novels also make a point, not in the model, that disrespect for the individual is inherent in the propaganda. The propaganda is aimed at the irrational side of man's nature with the goal of destroying the sense of individual worth. The novels also lay stress on the inversion, in totalitarian propaganda and ideology, of normal morality. This inversion of morality in which the ends justify the means and in which "Thou shalt not kill" becomes "Thou shalt kill," becomes the groundwork for the system of terror by which the society operates. The novels stress the suspension of normal control of law and order and the substitution of terroristic force by the police to create a sense of insecurity in all members of the state. They support the contention of the model that consensus is the basis for the terroristic control. They also deal briefly with both the nature of the totalitarian party and the economics of a totalitarian society, and what they have written in no way

disagrees with the model. They extend the model's treatment of the party to include the contention that one of the party's main tasks is control of its own members.

There is no question that the novelists concur with the underlying assumption of the Friedrich-Brzezinski model that totalitarianism, although it is in a sense a continuum of other forms of despotism, is a product of western technological civilization. It is mass society which produces the sense of alienation and anxiety in the individual member and thus produces a social atmosphere in which the dogma of the totalitarian ideology finds its adherents.

It would be very difficult to extract a model of the totalitarian state from the novels alone, for instead of assembling a collection of interrelated traits one would abstract a collection of symptoms. It would, however, be possible to describe on the basis of the novels a progressive chart of the disease. The progression would move from the consideration of the individual as an individual to the consideration of him as a category; from the consideration of the limited power of the state to the consideration of a state where there is unlimited extension of state functions into every avenue of life. The novels as noted, assume that totalitarianism is a product of twentieth century western civilization. They stress the change from a society which functions in order to promote and ease the life of the individual to a society in which the individual functions only to further the aims of society. The unique individual human is no longer important except as a part, and an easily interchangeable part at that, of society. He is no longer considered a multi-dimensional creature but only in the single dimension of his membership in the state.



Thus it becomes clear that the novels are not pre-eminently concerned with the individual in his relationship to the state in a political sense. They are, rather, the result of the search to uncover and reveal the existential predicament of the individual who lives in the total state. For this reason the study of the totalitarian state through novels does not reveal, except tangentially, the institutional, political, economic, or other more traditionally studied facets of society.

One important impression which results from the study of these novels is that twentieth century man in the mass societies of western civilization has found totalitarianism appealing because of its ideological promise to relieve the sense of alienation produced by his society. A second, and equally important, impression is that the totalitarian state fails to make good this promise. Instead of receiving relief from alienation the citizen of the totalitarian state finds his sense of alienation is compounded with those of anxiety and mistrust, alienation, thus strengthened, threatens the destruction of individuality.

## EPILOGUE: THE NOVEL AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

The study of the totalitarian state using novels as basic source material provides a particular, though limited, picture of such a state. Although the novel may include historical facts or assumptions, it does not purport to faithfully record the political, social, economic, diplomatic or intellectual history of such a state. It cannot be used in the manner of traditional historical documents. The novel, is not, after all, a historical document, but rather a highly individualized interpretation of a devised situation.

The novel's value as a historical source, as compared to the more traditionally valued documents, lies in its peculiar ability to reflect the spirit of the culture from which it emerges. The idea of life which underlies the novel is not the logical system of the philosophers but the beliefs and convictions on which the general consciousness of an era is based. Because it is the product of a society or culture, it is a legitimate tool for the historical investigation of that society or culture. Because of its form, the portrayal of the individual in his social context, the novel affords an easier access to the basic values of an age than do the other art forms. The novelist often performs the function of both prophet and interpreter of ideas. It is not only the underlying values of a society which are reflected in the novel but those ideas and values which are at that moment emerging in the consciousness of the age. The novelist may often, consciously or unconsciously, convey the spirit of an age that has not as yet been expressed in events.

Totalitarianism was the dominant factor in the Europe of the nineteen thirties and forties. The understanding of this factor would require the study of those historians who have interpreted the political, diplomatic, social, economic and intellectual premises of that time. This understanding would be furthered by the study of those novels which were written in twentieth century Europe. Although the novels may simplify and dramatize the elements of the totalitarian state, they do vividly convey its nature and its impact on its citizens. The novelists, using their art and talent, draw the reader into the framework of their stories. The reader, whose empathy has been elicited for the characters in the novel, receives a vicarious experience of living in the totalitarian state. The novels used as source material for this study have provided insights not only into the effect of the totalitarian state on people but also into its causes.

Each of the novels that has been used in this study of the total state has, on the whole, reflected a different idea of what reality is in such a state. There are a myriad of impressions of the totalitarian state to be gained and yet they all give one overwhelming impression of totalitarianism as an unreal world, as a dream, and in all cases but one that of a hideous nightmare in which all the Jungian archetypes of malevolence have been let loose.

In their study of totalitarianism the novelists make it abundantly clear that totalitarianism is very much a product of twentieth century western civilization and that it is incipient in all western cultures. They show that the ideological basis for totalitarianism is an extension not only of social ideas that are prevalent in western culture but of the

underlying assumption of western civilization that science can solve the problems of society. They show that despite disclaimers to the contrary those who seek power do not seek it for the betterment of the masses. Even though they may delude themselves, they seek power for its own sake. The seeds of totalitarianism lie in all ideologies and in most western societies. The novelists believe that only a jealous protection of individuality can prevent its maturation. Yet they do not paint an optimistic picture of the future even if individuality is maintained, for feelings of alienation continue to increase in twentieth century western civilization. Truth seems relative and perhaps unattainable. These feelings make the unity and absolute truth promised by the dogma of the totalitarian ideology most alluring. The novelists have tried to show that the ideologies have substituted myth for truth and in so doing have created the intolerance that always divides men. They have portrayed the false security and even greater sense of alienation of the individual in the Total State.

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This thesis was prepared by Catherine Arveson Thoma under the direction of the chairman of the candidate's supervisory committee, and has been approved by all members of that committee. It was submitted to the Dean of the School of Arts and Letters and to the Graduate Council, and has been approved as partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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